Writing History to Reform the Empire:
Religious Chroniclers in Seventeenth-Century Peru

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation analyzes the historical and political significance of the religious historical discourse produced in the viceroyalty of Peru between 1600 and 1682. The goal of this discourse was to respond to the fiscal pressure of the Spanish Crown on the religious Orders. Accused of being a burden to the Royal Treasury and slowing the development of colonial economy, religious scholars belonging to the four main religious Orders (Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans) based in the city of Los Reyes (Lima), created a historiographical discourse aimed at defending the missionary, historical and political achievements of their corporations. Seventeenth-century religious historiography blended the medieval religious chronicle, the Counter-reformation sermon, the Renaissance ars historica and the early modern political literature (the memorial or arbitrio), to create a unique creole version of history and colonial Catholic statecraft: the chronicle-memorial. While pushing for institutional claims of the colonial corporate Church, religious chroniclers, through the revision of colonial history, advanced the politic and economic agenda of the Peruvian benemérito elites. Thus, this work goes from the text to the social and political context that produced such historical discourse. It also tracks the efforts of the first class of Peruvian historians and political thinkers from Lima to Madrid and Rome in order to build their careers and connect with an imperial Republic of Letters.
Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Part I: Imperial Church at Stake

Chapter 1

1. Allies and Foes: Church and Crown in Seventeenth-Century Peru 19
   1.1. Makers of a Sacred Alliance 28
   1.2. Spanish Crown vs. Castilian Church 37
   1.3. Restrictions on the Peruvian Colonial Church 49

Chapter 2

2. Lettered and Sacred City 64
   2.1 Civitas Limensis 65
   2.2. Another Rome 79
   2.3. The Lettered City 87

Part II: Religious Discourse and Colonial Politics

Chapter 3

3. Augustinian Frontier 105
   3.1. Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán and the Power of a Sanctuary (1621) 109
   3.1.1. Flemish Echoes in Upper Peru 119
   3.2. Martyrdom and Politics: the Historical Work of Fray Antonio de la Calancha (1638) 135
   3.2.1. Augustinian Blood and Imperial Politics in the Andes 149
3.3. Other Augustinian Frontiers: War, Rebel Indians and Dutch Pirates  
in the Works of Fray Baltasar de Campuzano (1646), Fray Bernardo  
de Torres (1657), Miguel de Aguirre (1647) and Fray Gaspar de  
Villarroel (1651)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1. The Missionary Monarchy of Fray Baltasar de Campuzano</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2. Augustinian Hearts in the Frontier of Bernardo de Torres</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3.3.3. Fighting Infidels and Heretics: Chile in the work of Fray Miguel  
  de Aguirre                                                             | 183  |
| 3.3.4. Creole Savant in the Colonial Fringe: The Voice of Fray Gaspar  
  de Villarroel (1651)                                                   | 189  |

Chapter 4  

4. Franciscan Family  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Franciscan <em>Beneméritos</em></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4.2. From Hagiography to Family History: Fray Diego de Córdova and the  
  Canonization of Francis Solano                                          | 213  |
| 4.2.1. Maturity works of the Franciscan Chronicler                       | 225  |
| 4.3. The Creole Agenda of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova         | 240  |
| 4.3.1. The *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú* (1630)       | 243  |
| 4.3.2. The Prophecy of Ezekiel: Salinas’s *Memorial* of 1639             | 258  |
| 4.3.3. Creole Take-over of the Franciscan Province: Salinas’s *Memorial*  
  of 1641 in Context                                                    | 270  |
| 4.3.4. Fray Buenaventura’s last years and last work. The 1646 *Memorial* | 281  |
Chapter 5

5. Jesuit Revisionism

5.1. Building Jesuit Reformism. Early Memoriales and the Indian Question

5.2. Giovanni Anello Oliva, an Italian Missionary in the Andes

5.2.1. Las Casas reinterpreted. Oliva’s Critique of the Spanish Conquest

5.2.2. Jesuit Martyrdom

5.2.3. The Final Years of a Jesuit Chronicler

5.3. Bernabé Cobo and a Landscape for Political Virtue

5.3.1. The Glory of the Spanish República

5.4. Jesuit Coda: The Chronicle of Jacinto Barrasa

Chapter 6

6. Dominican Journey: From Las Casas to Saint Rose of Lima

6.1. The Memorial of Fray Miguel de Monsalve against the Corregimientos (1604)

6.2. Limenian Nepote: Fray Cipriano de Medina y Vega.

6.3. The Memorial of Fray Antonio González de Acuña and the Dominican Creole Agenda (1659)

6.4. Limenian Upstart: Fray Juan Meléndez

6.4.1. Dominican Hagiographies

6.4.2. Las Casas Disowned: Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias (1681-1682)
Conclusions: The Waning of the Age of Chronicles and

Memoriales 472

Bibliography 485
List of Illustrations

1. The Virgin of Copacabana saves the life of an Indian Miner. 131
2. Martyrdom of Fray Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba in 1571. 161
3. Saint Augustine offering the Order’s heart to Peru. 182
4. Francis Solano as Patron Saint of the City of Los Reyes. 217
5. Francis Solano converting Indians in Tucumán. 219
6. Censured folio in Giovanni Anello Oliva’s manuscript (Lima, 1630). 324
7. Frontispiece of Fray Antonio de González de Acuña’s Informe a Nuestro Padre General de la Orden de Predicadores. 408
8. Archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo baptizes the future Saint Rose of Lima. 443
9. Lima as Catholic Civitas. 466
In loving memory of my parents

Carlos Gálvez y Orbegoso
and
María Celinda Peña y Ferreyros de Gálvez
Introduction

Between 1600 and 1680, the viceroyalty of Peru saw a veritable boom in the production of historiographical works penned by scholars belonging to the local creole clergy.\(^1\) Of the many historical narratives written during this period in several cities of the vast viceroyalty, this dissertation focuses on twenty-five works written by seventeen scholars belonging to the four main religious Orders based in the City of the Kings (present-day Lima).\(^2\) This dissertation contends that seventeenth-century religious historiography was unique in format and content, and constituted a turning point in colonial historical discourse. Seventeenth-century religious historiography in Peru, divided colonial historiography into two clear periods. The first one starts with the accounts and chronicles of the Conquest written by soldiers and conquistadors in the 1530s and ends with the works of first-generation biological and cultural *mestizos* - Inca Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609) and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615)- demanding a reorientation of colonial administration and exploring issues of identity for the first time. The second historiographical moment, initiated by religious historians in the 1600s, was defined not by its questioning of the Spanish Conquest and its social consequences but by its full acceptance and justification of these events. Seventeenth-century religious historians revised early episodes of colonial history to articulate and strengthen that justification and

\(^1\) Bernard Lavallé claims that the notion of being born in America from Spanish descent appears around the mid 1560s. Lavallé has also suggested a re-signification of the term due to the attempt of Spanish

\(^2\) The Orders of Saint Augustine, Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, and the Society of Jesus were the main religious corporations in the City of the Kings. Here I refer to them as the corporate colonial Church.
went even further, proposing political reforms aimed at cementing the colonial administration in the Andes, while at the same time delving into issues of citizenship, royal fiscalism and creole nationhood. The re-interpretation of colonial history proposed by religious historians was expressed in works published for almost eighty years, ending in the early 1680s when the political context and ideas that nurtured such discourse came to an end.

Seventeenth-century religious historical discourse was primarily a response to the attempt of the Spanish Crown to downsize and control the powerful Castilian Church during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV and constituted also a claim for a more active political participation of the Church subservient to the most Catholic throne. Being part of the Castilian Church and under the direct control of the Crown through the Royal Patronage, the Peruvian regular clergy framed its defense through historical narratives, in which the relationship between the Crown and the Orders was praised but also revised. Since the authors studied here, were first and foremost religious scholars, this institutional defense was shaped by the doctrine of Anti-Machiavellianism, itself eagerly appropriated from the European discourse on Catholic statecraft of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The formats chosen for this historical discussion between

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3 This process of control and fiscal submission of the Castilian Church to the Crown in the Indies, took the form of taxes on real estate property and temporary fiscal contributions. John Elliott has referred to this trend as royal fiscalism. However, such a reinforcement of royal power was accompanied by an impressive culture of symbols of majesty. Elliot, Spain, Europe, 183.

4 Anti-Machiavellianism is the political doctrine that subjected Macchiaveli’s general laws of politics - Reason of State- to the dictates of religion and put them to the exclusive use of absolute princes by divine right. For Giovanni Botero, founder of this school of thought, Reason of State had to be dressed in moral vestments to be really useful for government. See Kenneth Schellhase, “Botero, Reason of State and Tacitus,” in Enzo Baldini, Botero e la Ragion di Stato (Firenze: Leo Olschki editore, 1992), 244, 257. I follow Burke’s definition of cultural appropriation. Book or ideas are used by an “interpretative community” or “textual community” to guide the group’s thought or action. Peter Burke, The Fortunes of
the Crown and the colonial Church were the religious chronicle, the sermon, and the project, known in Spain as *arbitrio* or *memorial*.5

While writing to defend the corporate colonial Church (the Orders) from the fiscal pressure and political intervention of the Crown, creole religious scholars used historical narratives to push for local and class agendas as well. The authors studied here were either born in the Peruvian viceroyalty or at a long time residence in Peru. Most of them belonged to the class of *beneméritos*; if they were not members of the vecino gentry of the City of the Kings by birth, they eventually became well-acquainted and connected to Lima’s citizen elite. Thus, religious historians advocated in their narratives for the creole elite’s claims for prelacies, appointments, and the re-launch of the *encomienda* system. They conducted this promotion along with their claims for financial support from the Crown for the missionary expansion of the Orders in the colonial frontier and their exemption from taxes. In order to substantiate these claims, religious historians revised crucial episodes of colonial history, discussed their origin as members of the local aristocracy, and negotiated their allegiance to the Habsburg dynasty.6 There were political circumstances and institutions in Lima -the *locus* of this discourse- that made possible the creation and diffusion of the message contained in creole religious histories.

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5 In the Spanish tradition, the vassal had the right to advise the King in matters important to the health of the body politic. The authors of the *arbitrios*, the *arbitristas*, had their English counterpart in the projectors, also authors of treatises on different matters. See John H. Elliott, “Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain,” in *Past and Present*, 74, (1977): 43. In time, *arbitrio* and *memorial* became synonyms.

6 *Beneméritos* were the descendants of the conquistadors or of the first generation of colonial settlers, with an active participation in military actions destined to the consolidation of the Spanish rule of the former Inca Empire.
The political entitlement and wealth of the city determined the tone of the claims of its elite citizenry. Lima had the right to send representatives to court with the rank of ambassador (proctor or deputy representing urban corporations and groups to negotiate benefits and rights at court) and choose two representatives to the Cortes (Spanish Parliament) in case this body convened. The right of representation of the city gave Lima’s proctors a particular sense of entitlement and redefined the Spanish institution of the procuraduría as the colonial corporate Church sent its cadres of lawyers and theologians to perform as representatives of the Orders and Lima’s creole elite. This bureaucratization of the Counterreformation Church stemmed from the formation of the princely state, as Hugh Trevor-Roper has pointed out. Yet, in colonial Lima the bureaucratization of the regular clergy, in part a consequence of the expansion of the Spanish princely state, triggered demands for both the corporate Church and the city elite of vecinos.

Starting in the early 1600s, travel by religious scholars to Madrid and Rome to tend administrative affairs of the Orders was used by religious proctors and Peruvian elites alike. Proctors representing the Orders or the University were also hired by interest groups like the encomenderos to lobby in Madrid. To make the claims more effective, memoriales were printed and distributed at the Council of the Indies. Soon, religious scholars and laymen made history-writing history a means through which to produce propaganda for the religious corporations and creole elites, and thus the chronicle-

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7 I use the notion of “princely state” provided by Trevor-Roper for the European monarchies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hugh Trevor-Roper, The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century. Religion, The reformation and Social Change (Indianapolis: The Liberty Fund, 1999), 30, 61. The princely state or “composite state” -as defined by John Elliott- is a corpus mysticum of subjects and sovereign and is a way-station on the road leading to the formation of the unitary state. See John Elliot, Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 6.
memorial was born: a religious historical narrative with a significant political content. The Augustinian chronicle of Fray Alonso Ramos (1621) was the first example of such a religious history whereby the agendas of the encomenderos, the Limenian gentry, and even members of the old Inca elite can be noted. Between the 1630s and 1640s, creole religious histories revealed to a lesser or greater degree their involvement with the claims of Peruvian benemérito elites. This alliance between the religious corporations and Lima’s elite was very clear in Augustinian and Franciscan historical narratives and even in the case of the Dominicans until the late 1650s. Subsequently, the claims of the corporate Church were reoriented while the claims of the encomenderos disappeared from the pages of religious historical narratives. It is interesting to notice that among religious corporations in viceregal Peru, the Jesuit Order was less permeated by local claims and even developed voices that contradicted such claims. It might have been the case that the number of creoles within the Peruvian Province of the Society of Jesus was not as significant as in the other corporations. Moreover, the Jesuit curia more effectively controlled the Order and in particular its intellectual cadres.

The chronicling of history was not just a way of discussing political claims. History-writing certainly fostered personal careers as well. Through their connections with Peruvian encomenderos and creole elites, Limenian religious scholars extended their intellectual endeavors to matters related to the imperial rule of the Andes and honed their skills as scholars beyond religious issues. These connections with the economic and political creole elites had a very important role as well. Most often than not, religious historians relied on their wealthy lay benefactors and relatives to fund their work, to secure the approval of colonial authorities and even to defy internal censorship within
their corporations. The Church served as a network for the transmission of knowledge but was not always able to secure the means for publication and distribution of lengthy historical chronicles. Religious historians struggled with their vows of obedience and their own personal ambitions; of all the cases studied here, only three authors - the Franciscan Diego de Córdova, the Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha and the Dominican Juan Meléndez- enjoyed recognition of their Orders for their scholarly work, even though they also faced restraints. Other historians endured major obstacles with the hierarchies of their Orders and even the Inquisition, like the Franciscan Buenaventura de Salinas, the Augustinian Gaspar de Villarroel, and the Jesuits Giovanni Anello Oliva and Bernabé Cobo. The colonial Church as a network made possible the creation and circulation of knowledge but its strict regulations not always allowed the free expression and maneuvering of religious scholars. Although the Orders were interested in the promotion of historical chronicles, they were not necessarily efficient publishers and book dealers, functions that were left in the hands of religious historians and their secular connections. History-writing in seventeenth-century Peru was also a personal and class quest for identity; the experience of exile that came with the religious career severed links with the readership, the network of discussants, and the benefactors residing in the City of The Kings, as noted with the situation of Fathers Salinas, González de Acuña, Campuzano and Cobo.

Starting in the 1610s - but reaching a peak around 1620- history-writing became highly politicized and full of the claims of both the Orders and creole elites. The moment coincided with what John Elliot has defined as royal fiscalism at which time important measures were taken by the Spanish Crown to control the economic power of the colonial
corporate Church. The landmarks of this policy include the royal decrees to stop funding religious institutions (1607), the demands for the closure of under-populated religious institutions (1614) and the harsh report of viceroy Montesclaros in favor of the taxation of the Orders in Peru (1612). Royal fiscalism and a tense international context -defined by the beginning of the truce between the Dutch Provinces and the Crown, the penetretation of the Dutch commercial fleet in the Pacific Ocean in 1609, and the beginning of the Thirty Year’s War in 1618- fostered the appropriation of the doctrine of Anti-Machiavelianism by colonial religious historians interested in stressing the position of the corporate Church as an ally of the Crown in a global fight against heresy. All these topics would be abandoned after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), when the doctrines of imperial expansion dictated by European Anti-Machiavelianism ceased to be attractive for rulers in Catholic Europe. Yet, the comparison with the “heretic” subjects of the Spanish Crown in northern Europe galvanized earlier forms of Spanish nationalism in Peru and helped to define the political allegiance of the creole Peruvian subjects.

At the local level, seventeenth-century religious histories revised foundational moments in colonial history like the Conquest, the participation of the encomenderos in the civil wars of the 1540s-1550s, the final pacification of the Inca retreat of Vilcabamba, and the missionary, and evangelizing accomplishments. All these events appeared for the first time in the pages of religious historical narratives and drew a clear line at early colonial historiography. However, it is true that the native population was not the main concern of religious historians. The indigenous population would surface in the revision of the Cajamarca events of 1532, the legitimate possession of the Inca Empire by the Spanish Crown, the success of its religious conversion to Catholicism, and the need to
revamp the central institution of the *encomienda*. The role of the *benemérito* elites was pivotal to the welfare of the native population, religious scholars argued. Their criticism of the colonial mining draft aimed first at stressing the positive aspects of the *encomienda*, which was understood as a socially responsible labor grant without any of the negative effects the mining draft had on the indigenous population. Both *beneméritos* and their religious advocates coincided in considering that the *encomienda* would in the long-term lead to the increase of native population, the expansion of internal markets and the tributary pool, and connect in a more harmonious way the “arms” (creoles) and the “feet” (Indians) of the colonial body politic. Seven authors studied here (Ramos, Calancha, Salinas, Córdova, Medina, González de Acuña, Campuzano) had a personal connection to the elite of *encomenderos* and two (Villarroel and Cobo) showed empathy to the institution. After 1660 when the advocacy for a revamped *encomienda* waned among creole religious historians, the concern for the indigenous subjects disappeared as well.

The originality of seventeenth-century religious historiography stemmed from the fusion of genres that made it possible. It was a successful mixture of historical revisionism, political ideas and moral and religious teachings that fit the needs of creole elites in Peru. Colonial religious history blended the Late Renaissance *ars historica*, the medieval religious chronicle, the baroque sermon, and the early modern period project or *memorial*. The *ars historica* was already a blend of *historia humana*, *historia naturalis*, and *historia divina* and its erudite scope posed political questions as well. As Anthony Grafton has pointed out, the connection of law and history defined early modern
historiography; the historical hypothesis was expected to yield a political thesis as well.\textsuperscript{8} Not surprisingly, Peruvian religious historians combined the political possibilities of early modern historiography, religious chronicles, and the Spanish \textit{memorial} to create the chronicle-\textit{memorial}, which through the use of history, theology, and law, conveyed both a historical and a political message. Thus, the most important voices of European Catholic statecraft - Giovanni Botero, Justus Lipsius and Pierre Charron- made their way into creole religious histories, where were adapted for the sake of the Orders and the creole elites’ agendas. The firm belief in an ordered and disciplined body politic, ruled by a Christian Prince seeking political and social cohesion through religion, fit nicely with the expectations of religious scholars in Lima who used Catholic statecraft to praise the monarchy, fight royal fiscalism, and justify the political influence of the corporate Church in matters of colonial rule. However, European Catholic statecraft was appropriated at the same time that creole scholars who belonged to the local secular Church were developing a colonial version of Catholic political theory, centered on the economic and social promotion of the \textit{beneméritos}. This was the creole version of the doctrine of distributive justice, developed after the doctrines of citizenship at the base of the municipal rights of the \textit{vecinos} and first drafted by the Mexican Augustinian Fray Alonso Zapata y Sandoval in 1609.\textsuperscript{9} Rich and influential creole members of the Peruvian secular clergy like Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, Luis de Betancourt y Figueroa, Vasco López

\textsuperscript{8} Anthony Grafton, \textit{What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe} (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 28, 64, 76.

\textsuperscript{9} Distributive justice was the just distribution of offices and prelacies among citizens. It implied the generosity of the Crown, bestowing honors on selected subjects but also the recognition of their rights of citizenship to receive those benefits before the non-locals or those less distinguished in services to the monarchy. According to the doctrine of distributive justice, the elite citizenry was the first recipient of any royal favor.
de Contreras, and Feliciano de Vega—all of them with deep connections to the corporate Church and the *benemérito* class—followed Zapata wholeheartedly and wrote political treatises that shaped the historical discussion of the first half of the century along the lines of Zapata’s thoughts. After the 1650s, when the political context changed, both the doctrines of distributive justice and Catholic statecraft waned. Considering this original and rich political content, it is thus not possible to affirm that seventeenth-century religious histories share much with early colonial histories written by soldiers and explorers who conveyed such different mindsets and goals.

My interest in the study of this historiographical discourse has led me to discuss previous classifications based on the usefulness of these sources to answer questions on Pre-Columbian polities, and part of the contribution of this dissertation lies in the new questions asked of these religious histories. In the beginning of the twentieth century, when the first modern studies on the history of colonial historiography were written in Peru, seventeenth-century colonial religious histories were arbitrarily grouped with sixteenth-century early colonial accounts under the general label of “colonial chronicles.” While sixteenth-century chronicles were considered truthful and reliable because they were written by eyewitnesses and direct participants during the Conquest and the last years of the Inca Empire, seventeenth-century religious chronicles were looked down upon as “second-hand sources,” that contained unreliable historical knowledge. In addition, the fact that they had been written by religious scholars made these histories suspicious of being plain devotional literature and naturally biased in their understanding of indigenous polities.10 In the 1980s and 1990s, scholars on Pre-Columbian civilizations

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10 The prejudice of Riva-Agüero and his follower Benvenutto was shared later by Porras and Wedin. Pease started the renovation in the study of colonial historiography but still shared some of the biases of previous
perused these narratives with a more critical eye, looking for information on the last days of the Inca Empire. Following early historiographers, these ethno-historians approached religious narratives convinced of their importance for understanding the colonial construction of the Andean past, even when suspecting that their ethno-historical information had been distorted. The works of María Rostworoski and Catherine Julien are but two examples of this new trend that stresses the importance of colonial logic and context in the construction of colonial historiography.11

The analysis of the construction of colonial discourse progressively became as important as the information contained in it, as evidenced by new studies on the historical discourse and therefore the reevaluation of religious histories that took place in the 1990s.12 Franklin Pease reclassified and connected colonial religious histories to the early modern European tradition. He also initiated the first collection of critical editions, based on manuscripts of colonial histories scattered throughout the world. Both Pease and Sabine MacCormack stressed the importance of the classic tradition and the


11 María Rostworowski de Diez-Canseco, History of the Inca Realm (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), IX; Catherine Julien, Reading Inca History (Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 2000), 295

12 I use the term discourse to describe written expressions of colonial culture that used language to construct history and invent realities. Thus, the religious chronicle can be seen as a political intervention since it expressed tensions and desires of the society that produced it. See Walter Mignolo, “Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse,” in Latin American Research Review, Vol 28, No. 3, (1993): 122,124 and Bernard Lavallé, ed., Máscaras, tretas y rodeos del discurso colonial en los Andes, (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos and Instituto Riva-Aguero-Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005), 11.
Renaissance’s *ars historica* in the shaping of religious colonial narratives.\(^\text{13}\) David Brading, with his path-breaking study on colonial historiography in Mexico and Peru, demonstrated the importance of colonial historiographical tradition, pointing to some Peruvian landmarks of the seventeenth century: Garcilaso de la Vega, Guamán Poma de Ayala, Buenaventura de Salinas, and Diego de León Pinelo. While I do not agree with Brading’s teleological understanding of colonial historical discourse -that it leads to nineteenth-century republican historiography-which applies to Mexico but not for Peru. It was certainly his insistence on the existence of a tradition of creole historical discourse that made me realize the importance of identifying phases within that tradition. Another major contribution to the field was the emphasis on political and epistemological aspects of colonial historiography in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s book on eighteenth-century creole histories in New Spain. This contention that colonial historiographers engaged in a dialogue with their European peers during the Age of Enlightenment and were connected to the scientific paradigm of the period made me to reflect on the existence of a similar phenomenon in seventeenth-century Peruvian historiography and later to the analysis of the originality of the chronicle-*memorial*, that stresses the appropriations of European Catholic statecraft. A recent study of Cañizares-Esguerra has emphasized the originality of the Iberian tradition in the production of scientific thought and in particular of local clerics interested in creating “patriotic genealogies” for the Spanish American kingdoms. This dissertation contends that religious histories created an original product that is a part

of the European tradition of Catholic statecraft and also of a new tradition of Spanish American historical and political thought.\(^\text{14}\)

The critical dialogue with studies on colonial historiographical discourse written by Walter Mignolo, José Antonio Mazzotti, Bernard Lavallé, and Rolena Adorno has been constant throughout this work, helping me to analyze the layers of meaning in colonial religious historiography.\(^\text{15}\) Mignolo’s approach to colonial histories as expressions of an original intellectual production in the margins of the Spanish Empire has been very helpful in thinking about the corpus studied here. However, I do not agree with his conception of marginality, which was alien to the Spanish composite monarchy and reinforces the subordination of Spanish American colonial intellectual production to that of the Old World. Creole debates on the possession of Spanish America and the rights of its ruling elites are present in many of the historical narratives analyzed here and the contribution of the studies of Lavallé, Adorno, and Mazzotti has been crucial in my discussion of these issues in seventeenth-century Peru. I owe no less inspiration to the studies on medieval and early modern historiography by Gabrielle Spiegel, Peter Burke,


Anthony Grafton, and Richard Kagan. Without a deep comprehension of the tradition of history-writing, in which colonial religious scholars were trained, much of the intentionality of these narratives can be easily misunderstood. The focus of Burke and Kagan on early modern period historians as a class in evolution has inspired me to move from the texts to the individuals, and understand not only their personal struggles within the religious corporations and with imperial authorities.¹⁶

My analysis of social groups (colonial religious scholars and colonial elites), colonial politics, early modern political ideas, the production of history, colonial discourse and the religious issues behind them, places my dissertation in the intersection of cultural, intellectual and even religious history.¹⁷ Only by considering religion as a producer of culture and by understanding culture as the site where relations of power can be discerned, have I been able to transition from religious historical discourse to colonial and imperial politics. My focus on the context has allowed me to penetrate the text and read it in the way an early modern text was intended to be read. The analysis of the signification of words and images led me to the conventional milieu of these histories and


the intention of their authors. I think it will be clear in the following pages that an interdisciplinary approach has allowed me to delve into such a complex and rich phenomenon as that of the religious historiographical boom of seventeenth-century Peru and in the process offer a new interpretation linking the writing of history to imperial politics.

This dissertation is divided into six chapters organized in two parts. The first part analyzes the conflict between Throne and Altar that triggered the reaction of the colonial corporate Church in the viceroyalty of Peru at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the particular political circumstances in which that conflict developed in the capital of the viceroyalty. The first chapter explains how from the fiscal tensions between Crown and the Castilian Church in the peninsula, the conflict acquired a different tone when it reached the Peruvian viceroyalty during the first years of the century. The effort of the Crown to downsize and tax the religious Orders (the corporate Church) galvanized them to demand funding and political support. The second chapter shows how the sacramentalization of the Spanish Empire had turned Lima into a major center of production of narratives of empire-building, aimed at praising the relationship between the Orders and the Habsburg dynasty; it also shows how, in that context, the fiscal pressure of the Crown fostered specific expressions of cultural opposition from religious scholars. Moreover, this chapter explains how the wealth and political entitlement of the capital of the viceroyalty triggered political demands from its elite of creole citizens. These claims soon joined those of their social peers within the corporate colonial Church.

The second part, comprising four chapters, analyzes the historical production of the four main religious corporations in the city (Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits and
Dominicans) and shows how it constituted a negotiation with the Crown through the revision of colonial history both religious and secular. In the process of this revision, given the involvement of the authors in colonial society, religious institutional demands gave room to the demands of the *benemérito* elite. The chapters on Augustinian, Franciscan, and Dominican historiographies show the deep connection of these religious corporations with colonial society and elites. On the other hand, the Jesuit Order showed more connection with European Catholic statecraft but less involvement with the creole agenda and more internal conflicts that were not evident in the historical discourse produced by the other corporations. Altogether, the second part of this dissertation demonstrates that writing religious history started as an attempt to defend the Orders but progressively turned into an early reflection on nationhood and creole identity. It was not an inclusive notion of being Peruvian but at least attempted to include urban plebe in the common values that for seventeenth-century religious scholars defined a Peruvian creole. For that reason, such an early reflection on nationhood -instead of evolving into a more elaborated stage of national consciousness and even connecting with the ideas behind the emancipation process- ended abruptly by the mid 1680s when the political and epistemological paradigms that had nurtured this discourse changed. An historical discourse, produced to reform the Spanish Empire from its margins, never dared to think of political autonomy. What seventeenth-century religious historians wanted was to re-launch the political alliance between Crown and colonial Church. Their claims and reflections on historical identity had to serve the empire while reinforcing their condition of Trans-Atlantic subjects of the Spanish composite monarchy. The journey which had started in the pages of religious histories lost momentum after the 1660s, when the
changing political situation of the Spanish Empire and the affirmation of the modern state made the claims of creole religious scholars a matter of the past. Yet the affirmation of vice-regal Lima as an imperial center of devotion and loyalty had occurred, and so their battle to prove the excellence of the colonial Church had been won, at least partially. Like the character in Umberto Eco’s *Baudolino*, “…they would stock up on wondrous relics…and take them back to their native Alessandria, transforming that city, still without history, into the most celebrated shrine in Christendom.”\(^{18}\)

Part I: Imperial Church at Stake
Allies and Foes: Church and Crown in Seventeenth-Century Peru

In the city of Los Reyes in early May 1624, Don Juan de Mañozca - a prominent member of the Inquisition, in representation of the Peruvian merchant guild, financiers and entrepreneurs - begged the viceroy, the Marquis of Guadalcázar, to authorize an earlier departure of the silver fleet. In that year, the annual remittance of American treasure was in serious peril on Spanish American seas. A Dutch fleet under the command of Jacques L’Hermite had been seen off the coast by cargo ships; the fear of both an invasion of the viceroyalty and the loss of wealth at sea raised voices of alarm everywhere. The viceroy accepted the request and the “Little Armada” left the port of Callao on its way to Cartagena. It was the annual fleet carrying the Peruvian silver that would in turn join the Mexican fleet from Veracruz at the port of Havana and sail together to Cádiz.19

Merchants and members of the Inquisition in Lima were not speculating about economic and political consequences if the silver - belonging to both the Crown and to private owners - was captured by the enemy. According to the declaration of a Greek sailor who had deserted the Dutch, the foreign fleet outnumbered the Spanish vessels on Pacific waters. The Greek sailor also accused two Flemish soldiers living in the city of being spies for the Lutherans. Seized and tortured by the Holy Tribunal, one of the

19 The presence of Dutch ships on the Pacific Coast of Spanish America goes back to 1615 when the Jan Spielbergen fleet raided certain ports of the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1624; it was another fleet under Jacques L’Hermite, that put siege to the port of Callao. This was part of the operations that began after the end of the Antwerp truce and the establishment of the Dutch West India Company in 1623. In that year the Dutch also attacked Brazil and certain Caribbean areas. The attacks to the silver fleets were part of this strategy. Also, it is worth mentioning that from the mid 1610s to the early 1620s, Spain’s silver revenue reached levels never seen and the Dutch strategy was to seize that treasure. See John Lynch, Spain Under the Habsburgs. Spain and America, 1598-1700 (New York and London: New York University Press, 1981), 77-79 and Guillermo Lohman Villena, “Lima en el siglo XVII,” in Peru Indígena y Virreinal (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural, 2004), 112.
Flemings confessed that he had lived in the Netherlands and that he was indeed a spy under the orders of Count Mauritius of Nassau, who had sent a fleet of eleven galleons and two pataches to Spanish America to capture the silver and establish Dutch settlements. A few letters found among the belongings of the Flemish soldiers proved that sensitive information about the colonial silver armada had in fact been sent to the “Lutherans.” International espionage, Spanish American cities threatened, colonial trade disrupted and the Inquisition prosecuting spies proved that the political and religious fight between the Catholic Monarchy and Protestant Europe that had been taking place since the sixteenth century had already become a global war. Yet, something miraculous happened in that year.

When the Dutch fleet reached Callao on May 7th no silver cargo was found. The treasure was already on its way north since the 3rd on board two ill-protected galleons. Even though the Dutch vessels were heavily armed, no attempt to follow the Armadilla to Panama was made. Instead, the Dutch Admiral L’Hermite decided to attack the ports of Pisco and Guayaquil, and block the Pacific trade. When news of the killing of merchants and a Mercedarian friar reached Lima in 1625, panic escalated in the city. Fortunately, by then the Peruvian treasure had safely joined the Mexican silver and sailed from Havana to

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20 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BNM), Mss. No. 2355, Sucesos del año 1625, ff. 219r-220v. and Casos Notables Sucedidos en las Costas de la Ciudad de Lima, en las Indias y como el armada Olandesa procurava coger la armadilla nuestra, que baxa con la plata de ordinario a Cartagena y se paso dexandolos burlados: desde el mes de Junio deste ano de 1624 (Madrid: Juan González, 1625). Another leaflet with the same title was printed by Bernardino de Guzmán in Madrid in 1625. In Lima, the Jesuit Andrés Fuentes de Herrera penned a short but very dramatic account of the Dutch raid on the Pacific coast in 1624 under the command of L’Hermite. The Jesuit account also refers to the capture of the Greek sailor, who denounced the Flemish spy in the viceroy’s household. Moreover, the Spaniards, in an effort to protect the coast from the attack, celebrated the Corpus Christi festivity with all solemnity at the port of Callao. See “Relación Histórica Inédita del Padre Andrés Fuentes de Herrera (July 1624),” in Luis Antonio Eguiguren, Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos, Vol. III (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1951), 471-484.
Determined to seize the treasure, the Dutch, however, gathered their fleet in the Caribbean and chased the Indies *Armada* across the Atlantic. Off the coast of Portugal, near Cape San Vicente, a heavy fog descended between both fleets that made impossible for the Dutch to see the Spanish ships approaching the coast. Miraculously, the “Lutherans” missed the silver fleet and the treasure arrived in Cádiz to the joy of the Crown, bankers, merchants and individuals, thus completing an epic episode that began in the city of Los Reyes/Lima. To celebrate the “miracle,” His Catholic Majesty Philip IV decided to honor the Sacred Sacrament -to whom the miracle was attributed- with a second festivity within the year.\(^{22}\)

In the coming years, leaflets, relations, sermons and even chapters in historical chronicles were produced to commemorate that Spanish victory over heretics. Solemn Masses were held in every cathedral throughout the Spanish Empire to remember the

\(^{21}\) Fray Alonso Remón, *Relación de cómo martirizaron los hereges holandeses, Gelandeses y Pechilingues, en odio de nuestra Sancta Fe Católica, al religioso y observante varón, el padre presentado Fray Alonso Gómez de Encinas, del orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redención de Cautivos y Natural de la Villa de Cuéllar, en la entrada que hicieron este mes passado de Junio de 1624 en la ciudad de Guayaquil en la Provincia de Quito que es en las Indias y Reynos del Pirú* (Madrid, 1625).

\(^{22}\) *Corpus Christi* or the feast of the Holy Sacrament is usually celebrated in the Catholic World on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday, sometime during May or June. The new celebration would take place on November 29th, just before the beginning of Advent. According to Lynch, the saved cargo might have been the largest bullion delivery in the history of the Indies trade. See Lynch, *Spain Under*, 78. The royal decree ordered: “A viendo sido Nuestro Senor servido de traer los galeones y flota a salvamento como avez entendido parece justo y forcoso acudir con hazimiento de gracias a cuyo es todo y a oyo nuestras oraciones pleleando por nosotros donde a sido menester guindo nuestra flotas por donde no supieron encontrarlas sesenta avisos... y e mandado que se escrivían cartas a los obispos y generales de las ordenes para que luego que se reciban y todos los anos perpetuamente en 29 de noviembre que fue el dia de la llegada de los galeones y flotas se haga lo mesmo en reconocimiento y memoria desta merced tan extraordinaria y de todas las demas que este ano de 1625 a sido servido de obrar en defensa de la religion catholica y desta monarchia suya haciendo fiesta del Santísimo Sacramento los dichos dias en los conventos y lugares principales...” Bartolomé Vadillo, *Sermón a la fiesta real del Segundo Corpus de España instituida por la magestad católica del rey Filipo IV en hazimiento de gracias por el más que feliz milagroso suceso de los galeones que llevando el tesor de las Indias por medio del enéimigo aportaron en salvamento viñera del glorioso apóstol San Andrés. Predicado por el padre maestro Fray Bartolomé Vadillo del orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín, en la iglesia catedral de Lima en presencia del señor conde de Chinchón* (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1635).
victory of Heaven over the powers of “Evil” and to celebrate the glory of the Catholic monarchy. In 1635 and 1641 in Lima two distinguished creole preachers and scholars, the Augustinian Fray Bartolomé Vadillo and the Dominican Fray Cipriano de Medina, celebrated the “Second Spanish Corpus Christi” and explained to their audiences how the episode of 1625 was a tangible proof of the alliance between Heaven and the Habsburg dynasty. The Spanish sovereigns and the Holy Sacrament— as Vadillo and Medina stated— had been a unity since the early beginnings of the Habsburgs as a royal house and that alliance was destined to rule the world. God— according to Father Vadillo— protected the Spanish nation: King and subjects alike. The Spanish Empire was a Corpus Mysticum, in which the Holy Sacrament— the symbol of God and the ruling dynasty— and the Spanish nation led by its monarch formed a unity.

23 An early seventeenth-century Limenian account, describes the solemnity of the occasion at Lima’s cathedral in November 1629. Presided by the Viceroy, the solemn mass was attended by all civil and religious corporations in the city. The diary of Suardo also mentions the celebration that took place in November 1633. On this occasion the preacher was the Jesuit Juan de Córdova. See Juan Antonio Suardo, Diario de Lima, 1629-1634. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, ed. (Lima: Imprenta Vásquez, 1935), 33, 243.

24 Cipriano de Medina, Sermón a la Fiesta Real del Santo Sacramento del Altar, Segundo Corpus de España (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1641).

25 The story goes back to the thirteen century, when the founder of the dynasty, count Rudolph von Habsburg ran into a priest carrying the Sacrament in the middle of the woods. Rudolph not only showed pious reverence for the Sacrament buy gave the priest his horse to reach the bed of a sick man, as fast as possible. During the early modern period, the legend was interpreted as the beginning of a personal relationship between Christ in the Sacrament and the Habsburg rulers. However, the link between the Holy Sacrament and kingship was used and interpreted all over Europe during the Late Middle Ages. As Miri Rubin has stated, the cult of the Sacrament helped building social and institutional identities since the mid-eleventh century onwards and created a sacramental world-view, later re-interpreted. See Miri Rubin, “The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities” in David Aers, Culture and History, 1350-1600, Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 43-63. Alejandro Cañeque argues that the identification between the Habsburgs and the Sacrament was crucial to the concept of kingship in Early Modern Spain. It was a sacramental view of society that fit the Habsburg political propaganda. See Alejandro Cañeque, The King’s Living Image. The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 45-46.

26 Vadillo, Sermón.
The miracle of 1625 and the historical discourse created to explain and perpetuate the glorious deed of the Spanish monarchy were not unusual during the early modern period. The intertwining of faith and the princely state (e.g. identification between Church and the Crown) was the cornerstone of the Habsburg myth of empire-building explained by Father Medina and enthusiastically supported by many other religious scholars of the period. The myth not only served to keep united a vast empire, thought to be the embodiment of the true Christian civilization, but enforced a sense of legitimacy of the ruling dynasty over different kingdoms and ethnic groups, which was of particular importance for the distant Spanish American colonies. What made the myth powerful was that whenever the safety of Spain was at stake, the Holy Sacrament would show its presence to confirm His alliance with the Spanish House of Habsburg and the protection over its subjects, linking all different kingdoms under the protection of Heaven. The myth of the Holy Sacrament as protector of the Spanish nation served not only for the glory of the Crown, but from a Spanish American standpoint, also justified the expansion

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27 Old legends on the protection of the Sacrament to the Spanish arms were reinterpreted in imperial Spain. In a book presented to Emperor Charles V, a canon of the city of Daroca, remembered how in the context of the Spanish Re-Conquest in the year 1239, a group of soldiers attended mass during a break while fighting the infidels. Forced to go back to battle before giving communion, the priest hid the consecrated forms wrapped in a corporal under a rock. After the battle, which ended with the Spanish victory, the hosts were found stained in human blood. The miracle was interpreted as the presence of Christ among the Spanish soldiers leading the victory over the Moors. This miraculous episode became widely known in Habsburg Spain as the miracle of Daroca and provided the Habsburgs with stronger “Spanish” links. See Fray Alonso de Rivera, Historia Sacra del Santíssimo Sacramento Contra las Heregías destos Tiempos (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1626). On seventeenth-century sermons legitimizing the Habsburgs as rulers of Spain, see Fernando Negredo del Cerro, “La palabra de Dios al servicio del rey. La legitimación de la casa de Austria en los sermones del siglo XVII,” CRITICON, Nos. 84-85, (2002): 295-311.

28 Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas, Relación de un niño hermosíssimo que fue visto en la hostia consagrada la víspera de la fiesta del corpus a dos de Junio deste presente año de 1649 en la iglesia del Pueblo de Etem, diócesis del obispado de Truxillo del Perú (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1649).
of the Spanish empire over the Indies. Therefore the myth glorified Spanish American
identity, making it fit in the imperial order.

In a sacramental society, in which the body politic of the Spanish empire
articulated around the identity between the representation of the Holy Sacrament and the
monarchy (*corpus mysticum*), a very active Church was needed to produce and
administratethe symbolism and laudatory rhetoric on which Spanish rulers relied for the
consolidation of their power. Thus, it was almost unavoidable to give the Church a
privileged closeness to the princely state and consequently intervention in political
affairs. The existence of an ardent religious discourse exalting the Spanish Crown during
the early modern period had the potential to lead to the assumption that the Spanish
Monarchy and the Catholic Church were inextricably linked. It is true that major
phenomena -like the expulsion of Jews and Arabs from Spain, the Atlantic expansion, the
evangelization of Amerindians or the establishment of the Inquisition in Spanish
America- seem to confirm that alliance.29 Since the very beginning of the Spanish
Conquest of America, the close bond between Church and Crown seemed unchallenged.
The Papal Donation of 1493 to the Catholic Kings was made on the assumption that
Spain would Christianize the native population of the newly discovered lands; moreover,
the privileges granted to the Spanish sovereigns through the Royal Patronage enforced
the idea that the Church as executor of the rights granted by the papacy played an

29 “The Church joined the colonial bureaucracy as a major institutional buttress of European power in the
New World. Nurtured by the Crown financially and legislatively, the Church in Spanish America prospered
under a degree of Royal Control greater than that exercised in Spain itself. See Mark Burkholder and
Pedro Guibovich has emphasized the political use of the Inquisition in Spanish America by the Spanish
important political role in the growing empire. Every new conquest or discovery endeavor had a priest at hand to read the *requerimiento*, with which any military endeavor would be sanctioned as legal and moral. About fifty years after the conquest of the most important Spanish centers in the Americas - Mexico and Peru - the alliance between Church and Crown was sealed with the establishment of the Inquisition, the religious Orders and the opening of a University for the study of law and theology.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish American colonial Church would be deeply engaged in the conversion of natives, the education of urban population and the cultural life of cities through the active participation of cadres of religious intellectuals. A few years after its arrival, the Inquisition was already in charge of punishing those guilty of contraband and currency counterfeiting, as well as fighting enemies of the Spanish Monarchy who challenged its religious beliefs. The difference between the Spanish Crown and any other early modern European monarchy was the strong alliance with Catholicism at both the institutional and the symbolic levels. The episode of the silver cargo of 1625 was for the United Provinces solely part of a military strategy: seizing the

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30 The Royal Patronage was the right of the Spanish sovereigns to appoint ecclesiastical authorities (archbishops, bishops and canons, and even minor religious offices) and authorize the establishment of religious institutions in Spanish America and other parts of the Spanish Empire, like Sicily and Naples. It also implied the right to collect tithes from both the secular and the religious bodies in order to cover the expenses of the cathedrals and their chapters. See *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, Libro I, Titulo VI.

31 For the definition and political and ritual use of the *requerimiento*, see chapter 3 in Patricia Seed *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

32 For a recent, although arguably complete, definition of Inquisition as aid to the Spanish Crown, see Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions. Peru and the Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 57. I do not agree with Silverblatt’s concept of Spanish state defined as a bureaucratic machine fueled by a racist ideology. The Inquisition was indeed part of the Spanish state bureaucracy and the protection of the religion of state was one of its tasks. However, depriving the Spanish Monarchy of the symbolic aspects related to religion and introducing a modern concept of race, which did not exist in the early modern period, is problematic.
Spanish American treasure weakened the possibilities of Spain to sustain the war in the Netherlands. For the Habsburg dynasty in Madrid and the ecclesiastical body all over the Spanish empire, the same incident was at the same time an economic, military and religious affair, since protecting the financial resources of Spanish Monarchy assured the existence of a Catholic world order funded by Spanish American silver.

In spite of a history of close cooperation, the relationship between Throne and Altar in Spain during the seventeenth century became progressively estranged. A growing interventionist trend within the Spanish monarchy found that the privileged position of the Church as a corporation had become an obstacle for the policies needed for the consolidation of a powerful and centralized monarchy. That trend aimed to make the Church an institution that served the purposes of the Crown, thus contributing not only to

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33 The miracle of 1624/1625 made its way to the Spanish prints as soon as 1625 with two editions in Madrid in that year. An English translation published by a Dutch “Well-Willer” appeared also in 1625. The failed assault on the Silver Fleet was interpreted not as a religious phenomenon but as a commercial one. The “Well-Willer” appealed for the creation of the West Indies Company in order to take over the trade in the Indies from the hands of the Spanish enemy: “…it is necessary that we devise other means, by which we may support and bear the common charges, weaken the enemy by diminishing his means and giving him elsewhere worke. The West-India Company (as I take it) is one of the best means to effect this….for thereby our traffike augment and the enemies decrease, yea his meanes will be taken from him to make with the same warre upon himselfe”. See A True Relation of the Fleete which went under the Admiral Jaquis Le Hermite through the Straits of Magellane towards the coast of Peru and the towne of Lima in the West Indies with a Letter containing the Present State of Castile in Peru. Here unto is annexed an excellent discourse which shewet by cleare and and strong arguments how that it was both necessary and profitable for the United Provinces to erect a west India Company and every true subject of the same ought to advance it according to his power. Written by a Well-Willer of the Common-wealth (London” Mercurius Britannicus, 1625), 14, 17.

34 Another strike to Spanish economy occurred in 1628, when the Dutch pirate Piet Heyn captured the Silver Fleet with the Mexican and Peruvian silver and the Crown confiscated one million ducats of private wealth to afford the Crown’s expenses for that year. 1628 and 1629 were the peak of a depressed Atlantic trade because of that loss. See John H. Elliott, The Count Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986) and also Richelieu and Olivares (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 410. In the 1630’s, as the Dutch expanded military operations in Spanish America, the Crown warned local governments in the New World of the need for self-defense and the threat of a possible invasion. In July 1630, the Peruvian viceroy received a letter from Madrid about a huge Dutch fleet of about eighty vessels on its way to the New World. This was the fleet that occupied Pernambuco in Brazil, as the governor of Buenos Aires informed the viceroy a few weeks later. See Suardo, Diario, 73.
the symbolic and ideological aspects that enforced the power of the ruling dynasty as a champion of the Catholic faith but also to financial aid to the Royal Treasure. In turn, the secular and regular Church became progressively affected by these measures (e.g. taxation, legislation to control its corporative development and expansion, intervention in internal affairs) as early as the late sixteenth century. In the Peruvian viceroyalty in particular -part of the Castilian Church- specific measures were enforced through the Royal Patronage to control religious corporative growth. The efforts of the Crown to enforce these measures and the rejection of them by the religious Orders defined the conflict between Altar and Throne in Peru from the late sixteenth century until the Crown finally succeeded in imposing fiscal obligations on the Orders in 1643.

In response to this royal fiscalism, historical narratives, sermons, epic poetry and projects (penned by Lima-based clergymen that praised the political role of the colonial Church) strove to counter the alienation of religious corporations from the Crown between 1600 and the 1680s. The religious discourse produced in the viceroyalty of Peru in this period needs to be read and understood vis à vis the fiscal policies adopted in the peninsula and other conflicts between both powers; this discourse was the strategy of the colonial regular Church to defend itself from the critiques of its traditional protector, sponsor and ally. In order to make their defense stronger, religious corporations would appropriate European theories of Catholic statecraft and produce a politicas-laden discourse that called attention to the importance of the colonial Church in healing the body-politic of the Spanish monarchy that had been affected by a global economic and political crisis. Produced in the city of Los Reyes, this discourse relied on the political tradition of the vice-regal capital in order to shape its tone and message. In doing so, the
creole agenda of religious scholars surfaced, resulting in a close entanglement of the claims of citizens and authors with those of the religious corporations became closely entangled.

1.1. Makers of a Sacred Alliance

Miracles showing the Alliance between God and the Habsburg dynasty did not happen only on the peninsula; narratives on miracles enforced the sense of empire as well. A series of miraculous events took place in the Viceroyalty of Peru on June 21, 1649 in the Franciscan Indian parish of Eten, north of Lima. Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas, one of the leading Franciscan scholars in Lima at that time, described these events in an account published the same year. According to Córdova’s quill, after the celebration of Mass in the parish church, when the priest was about to put the Holy Sacrament inside the tabernacle, an image of the child Jesus was clearly seen inside the Host by all those gathered in the church. About a month later, when the town was celebrating the festivity of its patron saint, Saint Mary Magdalene, the miracle happened again. During the procession of the monstrance, two priests saw what they described as a human shadow moving inside the Holy Host. Once the public celebration was over, the Sacrament was placed for adoration on top of the altar and then four priests saw again a very clear image of the child Jesus floating before the Holy Form, with his head leaning towards the Scripture on one side of the altar and surrounded by three white hearts.

On both occasions, the witnesses declared that the child Jesus was a blond child dressed in an Indian purple tunic open in the front. The presence of Jesus in the host consecrated in an Indian town, claimed Father Córdova, was meant to assure both the
Crown and Spanish American subjects of the undeniable grace of Heaven over the Spanish dominions across the Atlantic and should be interpreted as a response to the violent episodes of desecration of the Holy Sacrament which occurred in Quito also in 1649. On the morning of the feast of Saint Sebastian, the nuns of the monastery of Saint Claire in Quito noticed that a silver chalice containing several consecrated forms and two hosts was missing. Remains of the holy forms were found on the street behind the temple but not the hosts. The religious corporations of Quito organized a penitential procession asking for a miracle, but to no avail. Upon receiving the news in Lima, a solemn Mass presided by the Viceroy and Archbishop with the attendance of corporations and estates was said to expiate the crime. For Father Córdova, God would choose a much humbler scenario to “forgive” His Peruvian subjects. In the Franciscan’s narrative, the symbolic and political use of the “presence” of the Child Jesus in an Indian Parish in the north of the viceroyalty of Peru, aimed to strengthen the alliance among natives, the Franciscan Order and the Habsburg rule. The “miracle” worked as an implicit endorsement of the good work done by the Franciscans in the area and even as a call to reactivate and expand evangelization among the native population. Besides the favor of Heaven, miracles were to be known throughout the world. Córdova’s Relación is a clear example of how religious narratives -sermons, chronicles and projects written by religious scholars-created propaganda from the symbolism of the Spanish Crown but at the same time worked for local agendas: those of the religious Order and the author.

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35 The episode was described in Córdova’s Franciscan chronicle of 1651. See Fray Diego de Córdova, Corónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1651), 170-171. Those years were full of incidents threatening the colonial Church. According to Remón’s Relación, the death of the Mercedarian missionary on one of the coastal islands off Guayaquil was followed by a brief alliance between the Dutch and the indios bozales, who thought they would be allowed by the Dutch to return to their native cults. Before being killed, the missionary was asked to desecrate the Holy Sacrament. The infidel threat would be a recurrent topic in colonial historical discourse. See Remón, Relación.
Colonial religious intellectuals - like Fray Bartolomé Vadillo, Fray Cipriano de Medina or Fray Diego de Córdova - wrote to convince colonial and European readership of the Providence’s unyielding support to the Spanish empire and to make public the existence of a bond between Church and Crown that had political advantages in this age of crisis. The printing of religious narratives during the seventeenth century reveals the concern of religious scholars for spreading the idea of a Spanish Crown allied to the Church - in particular in Spanish-America - and the need to have the support, both political and economic, of the Crown. For that purpose, the myth of empire-building based on the bond between Throne and Altar could was constantly re-elaborated. The idea that the Spanish monarchy had to lead the world and consolidate a Catholic world order was the myth which the Spanish American Church counterbalanced the progressively more secular measures of the Crown. The emphasis on Spain’s global mission of fighting heretics and infidels in continental Europe, America and beyond, explains the boom of scholarship celebrating events like that of the silver treasure of 1625 and the miracle of Eten in 1641.

However, a myth based on a confessional and political opposition between the Spanish nation and the non-Catholic world, waned progressively after 1640 for two major reasons. First, Spain’s imperial propaganda based on a militant Catholicism became more nostalgic and less nurtured with real historical achievements, such as when the Protestant European powers took over Spain’s leadership in both Europe and the Atlantic world.37

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In spite of such events, colonial religious discourse kept using pious and loyalist tropes because in this way religious scholars advanced the idea that only the Church could assist the Spanish Crown in rebuilding its former glory. The ardent defense of the Spanish imperial mission by Spanish Americans was related to the second reason behind the eclipse of the myth of a Catholic world order; since the colonial Church was also losing the battle against the central and powerful princely state it was strategic to convince the Crown that only a stronger, autonomous and loyal Church could remain an undefeatable ally in the final victory of the House of Austria.

Imperial politics and the construction of the myth that supported it allowed colonial religious discourse to deal with issues of creole identity and memory, which were constantly re-defined as well. Studies like those of David Brading, José Antonio Mazzotti, Bernard Lavallé and Walter Mignolo have provided valuable insight as to how colonial religious narratives linked local and imperial agendas. For David Brading, colonial historical narratives began delving into creole identity and patriotism as early as the late sixteenth century, establishing a tradition that would run uninterrupted for three-hundred years. Mazzotti and Lavallé have stressed the identity conflict and ambiguity in creole scholarship while also pointing out the multi-layered meaning of the creole agenda behind the colonial discourse. The study of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra for eighteenth-


century patriotic epistemology in New Spain has stressed the importance of the creation of a new genre. Historical narratives of the period, responding to an enlightened Eurocentric view of Spanish America that emphasized the backwardness of creole culture, created a new epistemology, according to Cañizares-Esguerra. Also exploring the tension between colonial and metropolitan scholarship, Walter Mignolo considers colonial historical narratives to be at the intersection of repressed ideas in the period of the Counterreformation. In his opinion, the “modern-colonial world” has allowed colonial scholars to tell stories not only from “the possibility of the modern and its outward position but from the perspective of the colonial and its subaltern position.”39 The notion of a subaltern position emphasizes the creole agenda but may lead to the assumption that no matter how intellectually and politically elaborated creole discourse was it never surmounted a marginal place in the colonial order.

Seventeenth-century Peruvian religious narratives certainly allow delving into issues of identity, patriotism and proto-nationalism. However, there are two other closely linked aspects of historical narratives written by colonial religious scholars that need to be addressed: their epistemological originality and their political message. Usually understood as “a project of preservation of the status quo’’ -control of the evangelization of indigenous population and transmission of European culture for urban elites- as Magdalena Chocano has proposed for the case of New Spain,40 the political content of


40 Magdalena Chocano Mena, La fortaleza docta. Elite letrada y dominación social en México colonial. (siglos XVI-XVII) (Barcelona: Bellaterra Edicions, 2000),11.
colonial religious narratives was overlooked for a long time. These narratives offer a privileged angle from which to re-think colonial historiography and creole scholarship in general because they constitute an interesting blend of the *ars historica*; the medieval chronicle and the early modern period project. Their historical revisionism undeniably stands out, but so does the political message contained in them.\(^4\) While offering valuable insight on society and politics of the period, colonial religious narratives reveal the personal stance of their authors in issues related to government. The study of each author’s trajectory matters in order to understand the tension between a corporative scholar and an independent one as well as the rise of the early modern period intellectual.

As members of the institutional realm of the Church, religious scholars were not isolated writers and historians. Colonial religious cadres were part of global cadres and therefore members of global networks of knowledge. Given that the Spanish American clergy received the same education their peers had in Europe, operated through the international structure of religious corporations, and had access to knowledge, books and prints within the Spanish Empire and the Catholic world, religious scholars never thought of themselves in a position of intellectual disadvantage in respect to Old World scholars.\(^4\)

This idea is important in order to understand the ultimate message of colonial religious narratives, since their authors wanted to participate in the ongoing intellectual and

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\(^4\) I follow the definition of *ars historica* provided by Grafton. It was a historiographical trend of the early modern period obsessed to capture the “whole world of particulars.” It was a blend of *historia humana*, *historia naturalis* and *historia divina* using all sorts of sources available from the Scripture to travel accounts. It was in fashion particularly during the Renaissance, reaching even the seventeenth century. See Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 28, 200.

\(^4\) In that regard, the case of Carlos de Sigüenza discussing and corresponding with the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in Rome is a clear example See Brading, *First America* and Irving Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).
political debates of the seventeenth century related to the economic crisis, the war and the reform of the state. The position of colonial scholars was far from being marginal even though it was physically distant from the centers of production and debate of knowledge.

The context in which these works were produced determined not only their main characteristics but also the specific agendas of their authors. The conflict between Church and Crown in the Spanish Empire already mentioned is crucial to understand how the Castilian Church and the Spanish American Colonial Church in particular reacted to centralist and fiscal measures of the Crown. The crisis of the Christian Self-as defined by Paul Kleber-Monod- is certainly an important component of the time context for it determined in part the theoretical bias and historical revisionism that defined colonial historical discourse. Opposing the fiscal measures of the Spanish Crown did not hide the interest of the Counterreformation Church for the constitution of a Christian state in Catholic Europe and the World and its subsequent frustration when it did not happen. The Spanish Church in particular sought to find a staunch protector and sponsor in the person of the King even though, as Quintín Aldea has stated, Spain was far from having a national Church or enforcing such a policy. In this particular context, it is crucial to consider the importance of the appropriation by colonial scholars of the European theory of Catholic statecraft and its adaptation for the needs of a Spanish American Church and their pushing for a more active political role next to the Crown. Seen from this particular

43 Quintín Aldea has stated that in spite of the closeness between Church and Crown because of confessional matters, Spain was far from having a Staatskirche or Landskirche (National Church). See Quintín Aldea, Política y religión en los Albores de la Edad Moderna (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999), 135. The Augustinian notion of the Christian polity was under attack by the rise of the princely state in the seventeenth century. This was evident in the attempt of the Christian monarchies of Europe to coopt the Church and put in under the control of the Crown. In turn, the construct of sacred kingship began to deteriorate. See Paul Kleber-Monod, The Power of Kings. Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 23-24.
angle, colonial historical narratives should be considered also as political literature, whose ultimate message was supposed to be understood beyond much politicized religious milieus. Religious narratives aimed at influencing statesmen, pushed for more influence and power of the Church in colonial society while fighting the constraints of the Royal Patronage. While seeking more political leverage next to the Crown, colonial religious scholars took part in a larger debate on how to reform the Spanish empire.

A traditional approach to religious historical discourse during the colonial period would consider it as essentially conservative, since it was the creation of members of the male urban intellectual elite, which on top of which were the clergy. However, recent works on late medieval historiography have shown a clearly identifiable political agenda in the claims of religious Orders and a religious discourse that could be deemed highly political; these aspects certainly could be shared by colonial religious scholarship. Besides the political component already mentioned, I want to point out the aspect of heterodoxy in some of these Counterreformation narratives, a feature that Chocano has noticed in colonial religious scholarship of New Spain. In issues of sainthood and the miraculous, creole scholars not always complied with Roman orthodoxy; they challenged the notion of a single discourse in the Church or of total submission to metropolitan spheres of decision-making. Dissention -both theological and political- permeated religious historical narratives in seventeenth-century Peru; such challenges were not necessarily a surprise considering that a critical stance on matters related to the Crown

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has been identified by Richard Kagan in histories written by the Royal Chroniclers of Spain. Exercising criticism and pushing the limits of royally-funded official versions of kingship allowed Spanish historians, several of whom were members of the Church as well, to express their own personal agendas within the larger frame of the discussion of national history.⁴⁵ Therefore, it is possible to see colonial historical narratives as a source of political dissention because they pushed for a revision of history in which the place and role of the colonial Church were defined by the agenda of colonial subjects rather than by that of metropolitan institutions. The corpus of chronicles, projects and sermons analyzed here, bear witness to the process of building the first theoretical approach on how to rule colonial dominions and to secure rights and autonomy for colonials within a reformed imperial system. This is also the history of early modern scholars who used pious tropes and traditional genres to tell their own personal stories and cement intellectual careers. When Fathers Córdova, Medina, and others wrote sermons or chronicles to inform on miracles and the presence of Providence in Spanish American political events, they were both promoting their careers as scholars and making public their expectations as colonial citizens. The proud story of creole religious scholars in colonial Peru -the colonial *gens de letters*- is part of this story.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ What Orest Ranum has proposed for seventeenth-century French historians is valid for colonial scholars as well. Their progressive political participation in political affairs became also influential in shaping historical thought. See Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory, Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 26, 29.
1.2. Spanish Crown vs. Castilian Church

Seventeenth-century rhetoric of empire-building based on religious tropes could not hide the estranged relationship between the Church and the Habsburg Crown. Early Modern Spain was a princely state in which attempts to intervene and downsize the Church were constant, especially under the rule of Philip IV (1621-1665) and his prime minister the Count-Duke of Olivares (1621-1643). Intervention in the life of the Church through the Royal Patronage sought to make the Church a subject rather than an ally, sometimes even confronting the power of the Papacy. In the process of building the princely state, the Spanish Crown along with many other secular voices behind the Habsburg throne found the Castilian Church too powerful, wealthy and independent. If the relationship between both institutions appeared to the public, to be sound and cooperative, particularly under the reigns of Charles V and even under Philip II- under Philip III and Philip IV, conditions began to change noticeably with critical voices raising their tone in the state’s administration in order to ask the Church to take a more humble and submissive role. The fiscal measures taken against the Castilian Church eventually reached Spanish America, where they specifically targeted religious corporations. However, the development of tensions between Church and Crown and the discourse that reflected it have to be pondered and understood also in relation to an ongoing confrontation between the Spanish Crown and the papacy. The struggle of the Spanish

47 The progressive subservience of the Church to the Crown is a phenomenon of the early modern period and was more noticeable in other European countries. See Theodore, K. Rabb, The Last Days of the Renaissance and the March to Modernity (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 139.

48 The Spanish Crown did not show total submission to the Papacy, but rather tried diplomatic negotiations that leaned to the Spanish side. The economic submission of the Church during the early modern period and the confrontation with the papacy was a well-spread phenomenon in Europe but not exclusive of Protestant countries. Philip IV was not far at all from James I, King of England, who also advocated for the
state to make the Castilian Church a more submissive one implied forcing the papacy to accept that the Royal Patronage was above the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as exercised by Rome.

Paradoxically, one of the voices in support of the entire submission of the Castilian Church to the Crown came from within the Church itself in the form of the influential Spanish intellectual Pedro Fernández de Navarrete; in his work “Conservación de Monarquías,” printed in 1625 and presented to Philip IV, harshly criticized the Church for being one of the causes of the crisis of Spain. Written by a Canon, a member of the religious body, it is not surprising to find that Fernández Navarrete accused the Castilian Church of appropriation of economic resources that would promote Castilian economy: population and money. As a member of the secular clergy, Fernández Navarrete supported the Crown’s policy of enforcing the Royal Patronage and criticized the corporate Church for enrolling young men under twenty-one (and thereby preventing them from working the land or getting involved in commerce). He also advocated for the taxation of religious property, accusing the Orders of hoarding wealth through the foundation of monasteries and religious institutions and taking money out of circulation.

49 Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, Conservación de Monarquías y discursos políticos (Madrid: T. Albán, 1805). The crisis of the Spanish monarchy in the seventeenth century is analyzed in Elliott, The Count Duke of Olivares and also John H. Elliott, Richelieu and Olivares (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64-65. Elliott explains how after 1620 there was in Spain a need for “reformation” in almost every aspect of life. This demand was pushed by a large number of informed and uninformed counselors and intellectuals due to the general belief that war was causing Spain’s decline and therefore a change was needed. Henry Kamen contends that the idea of a crisis was based on fears rather than realities -the “crisis within”- and that most likely the crisis was Castilian and only affected only the management of imperial finances. See Henry Kamen, Golden Age Spain (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 40, 55-56. See also Henry Kamen, Spain 1469-1714 (London and New York: Longman, 1991), 57.
and commerce. Finally, the Church was accused of not contributing sufficient donations to the monarchy (donativos) in spite of having enough money to help an increasingly under-financed Crown. Even though Fernández-Navarrete stated that the Church by its own jurisdiction and by papal dispense, was exempted from any sort of contribution to the Crown, he stressed it was a moral obligation for the Castilian Church to contribute to the “Most Catholic Majesty” and his treasure. 50

Fernández Navarrete is perhaps the most significant example of anti-clericalist philosophy in Spain at that time and reflects the opinion that the secular clergy had of its counterpart, the religious corporations. He is also one of hundreds of arbitristas or authors of projects 51 that sought to reform the body politic of the Spanish monarchy in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, albeit one particularly critical of religious corporations and their supposedly “passive” role in Spanish society. 52 Even though most of the members of the Spanish letrado class or intellectuals were laymen, arbitrismo was also a phenomenon developed within the Church, both in the secular and regular clergy. Yet, both lay and religious arbitristas did agree with the need to reform the Spanish monarchy affected by the economic and financial crisis of the early seventeenth century. However, as Rowlings has shown, lay arbitrismo took a harsh stance on the regular clergy while religious arbitristas saw the Church as a key factor in that reform; still it is true that they were divided into those who attacked the Orders and

50 Fernández Navarrete, Conservación de Monarquías, 131, 318, 323.


those who defended them from the fiscal pressure of the Crown. In Spanish America, 
grand arbitration
developed exclusively within the colonial Church; religious arbitristas mostly advocated for reform in which the Orders gained autonomy and more power in relation to the Crown. It was the case that religious authors belonging to the secular clergy - members of the Spanish American Cathedral chapters as we will see later- sided temporarily with the fiscal interests of the Crown while also pushing for other rights of the Trans-Atlantic subjects. The regular clergy, affected by the attacks of not adapting well to a secular model of society to which it should contribute economically, also participated in the arbitrista debate on how to reform the body politic but emphasized the confessional achievements and political support given by the corporative Church to the Spanish monarchy in building a Catholic world order that Spain was destined to lead. Both sides of religious arbitrismo in colonial Spanish America thought the Crown was part of the Church not outside of it, a belief not always shared by the former.

In order to fully grasp the message of the historical discourse produced by the regular clergy in the seventeenth century, we need to understand the imperial context in which that discourse was produced. The idea that the Church was at the service of the Crown was behind the Spanish Crown’s attempt to seize part of the Church’s wealth and make it work for secular purposes. Moreover, the critique made to the Church was not divorced from the fact that at the beginning of the seventeenth century Spain was going through a severe economic crisis reflected mainly in a lack of solid currency in

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53 The identity between an intellectual of this period and the Crown is quite absolute. Maravall defines the letrado class of this period as “bureaucratic” intellectuals, totally submissive to the interests of the princely state, who usually sponsored them. See Maravall, La Oposición Política, 32, 40. The work of religious letrados links mainly the affairs of Church and Crown. For Michael Levin, a letrado is a university trained scholar in government service. See Michael J. Levin, Agents of Empire. Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 145.
circulation. While prices escalated in the peninsula, more and more money was needed to consolidate the political role of Spain in the world. The Spanish Crown, probably the first economic power in the Western World during the second half of the sixteenth century, was in desperate financial need in the 1620s of covering war expenses in Flanders, Germany and Italy. American silver was not flowing as it used to due to the expansion of internal colonial markets, growing bureaucracies, security needs, contraband of silver and the Dutch attacks to the silver fleet. With this context, the Spanish Crown was looking for new sources of internal revenue to narrow the gap between military expenses and ordinary taxes. One way of doing this was to ask for extraordinary donations from the Castilian Church, which consisted of temporary taxes of many kinds. The more common ones were popularly known as the “Three Graces” (the Cruzada, the Excusado and the Subsidio), which in order to be effective - since the Church was not under the jurisdiction of the state for economic matters - needed the Pope’s approval to be collected.

Besides the taxes mentioned above, during the reigns of Philip II (1554-1598), Philip III (1598-1621) and Philip IV, there was a new levy imposed on the clergy with

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55 The Cruzada aimed at financing the war against infidels (Turks and Muslims). The Excusado, was a selective form of tithe, paid only by the richest piece of property in every Spanish parish. Finally, the Subsidio was the third part of all tithes collected in Spain, perhaps the major source of ecclesiastical revenue destined to build and arm ships to fight for the Catholic Faith. In 1565, the total income of the three taxes was calculated in about two million ducats a year. See Levin, Agents of Empire, 134-135. All these “extraordinary” taxes had their origins in war contexts – the battle of Lepanto, the building of the Armada against England and the war in Flanders- and received the immediate blessing from the Pope. But the context changed in the seventeenth century: in addition to the above mentioned taxes, the “Millions Tax” was added (tax paid on the consumption of religious institutions). Sometimes called “Sisas,” the “Millions Tax,” triggered the protests of religious corporations and the rejection of the Papacy who saw the money coming from it as a threat to the balance of powers in Europe. See Aldea, Política y Religión, 139, 228-229.
considerable consequences for the Castilian Church and eventually for the Spanish American clergy. This was known as the “Millions Tax” (*Impuesto de los Millones*) because it was supposed to provide the Crown with an income of at least two million ducats annually over a six-year period to help with war expenses worldwide. The Millions Tax was more aggressive than the others mentioned because it taxed all purchases of meat, wine, oil, vinegar, cattle of any sort and candles made both by the ecclesiastical and secular bodies. In the case of the clergy, the basic staples needed for such institutions as convents, monasteries, and hospitals would be considerably affected. Even though it required papal approval, one of the most criticized aspects of the Million’s Tax was that it treated the traditionally tax-exempted Spanish clergy and the commoners already paying *alcabalas* and *sisas* equally.

In spite of the reasons given by the Crown to enforce such fiscal measures, with the fight against heretics and infidels as the main one, the imposition of economic obligations on the Castilian Church was not an easy task because of the traditional ecclesiastical right of no fiscal contribution. The Crown had to ask the Pope for permission to interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the relationship between both powers was not always a smooth one, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century. Since the time of Charles V there were confrontations between the Crown and the Papacy due to the Spanish political and military presence in Italy. More often than not, the Spanish possessions of Naples, Sicily and Milan along with the Spanish alliances

56 Aldea, *Política y Religión*, 139-140.

57 When approved by Gregory XV in 1622, the tax was defined as one paid by: “…todas las personas eclesiasticas como seglares, como religiosas de cualquier orden, aunque sea exempto y sugeto a la sede apostolica y todos los monasterios assi de monjas como de frayles, colegios, y cabildos de iglesias de todos los reynos de Castilla…” Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (AHNM), Sección Estado (Italia), Libro 406, December 1622.
with Italian principalities had blocked the power of the Pope as secular prince. In spite of all the diplomatic efforts and money that poured into the Roman curia and the papal court to win allies, the Catholic Monarchy was not always granted everything it demanded for the cause of the true faith. The Pope -with a political agenda as that of any other ruler in Europe- sometimes sought alliances with other European powers like France much to the annoyance of the Spanish Crown especially during the reigns of King Philip IV and Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644). The need to get the emergency taxation on the ecclesiastical body approved would make the Spanish Crown seek a friendlier relationship with the Pope, even when the Holy See was clearly adverse to Spanish interests as was the case during the pontificate of Urban VIII, described by the Spanish ambassador in Rome in the early 1630s as: “strongly disaffected to the Spanish crown.”

Being crucial for Spain to have the papal authorization in order to tax the Spanish Church, the Crown took aggressive economic and diplomatic measures at the papal court to win the battle over the Millions Tax. In 1633, two extraordinary ambassadors, Don Juan Chumacero and the bishop of Córdoba, were sent to Rome with a written claim for Urban VIII. The document, known as the Memorial of Chumacero, is a detailed account

58 These allowances ran the whole gamut from pensions to the cardinals to help electing a pro-Spanish pope to bribes for courtiers and officials inside the Papal household. Only in 1591, the Spanish crown spent thirty thousand ducats on pensions to the cardinals. See Levin, *Agents of Empire*, 150.

59 AHN, Sección Estado (Italia), Libro 406. The turning point of the Spanish influence over the papacy was the election of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini as pope Urban VIII in 1623. The apotheosis of the canonization of Spanish saints in 1622 contrasted with the beginning of Spanish decline in Rome, when French influence was even more pronounced due to the alliance of the Papacy and the Most Christian King, with negative effects for the Spanish affairs. See Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome. 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 188-190.

of all the woes of the Spanish Crown related to the clergy but also with unattended claims by Spain before the Holy See. The *Memorial* was the Spanish response to Pope Urban’s refusal to approve the extension of the Millions Tax in 1633; the pope’s disapproval of this tax was a political measure on the Church’s part aimed at weakening the Spanish Crown’s power. The *Memorial* reflects the conception that the Spanish Crown held of the Church at that time, being a blunt critique of the wealthy Spanish ecclesiastical body and its insubstantial contribution to secular society, much along the lines of the anti-clerical *arbitristas*. It also stresses the vast funds used by the Spanish Crown to defend the Catholic Faith and the scant recognition found at Papal court for this service to God. In 1635 the Pope finally agreed to approve the Millions Tax for the kingdoms of Naples, Portugal and the Indies, most likely fearing a negative military or financial reaction from Spain.

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61 In the late 1620s, the Spanish Ambassador in Rome wrote to Philip IV that it was widely known in the city that the Pope would refuse to approve the “Millions Tax” because “he was French” and wanted to strengthen the power of the Church weakening the Spanish empire. According to this source, the Pope did not want the King to enjoy the money and, thus the Pontiff and the Papal Nunzio in Madrid, “concitavan a las iglesias a que pusiessen censuras a los ecclesiasticos que los pagassen y a los cobradores”. AHNM, Secció n Estado (Italia), Libro 406. See also Domínguez, *Regalismo*, 78-79.

62 “Representar a Vuestra Magestad algunos puntos dignos de reformacion que turban la armonia eclesiastica y van introduciendo abusos muy perniciosos a las costumbres al estado religioso y eclesiastico y a la conservacion y bien destos reynos…ninguna otra corona puede tener igual razon para ser ayudada por la silla apostolica con sus rentas porque la de Espana es la que mas la sirve y defiende a la Iglesia universal con las armas y con las letras y predicacion, un Nuevo mundo ha conquistado la Fe: siempre continua la promulgacion del Santo Evangelio en nuevos reynos y Provincias de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, consumiendo en esto sus thesoros y vassallos…” BNM, Mss 5801, *Memorial dado por Juan Chumacero y Fray Domingo Pimentel, obispo de Córdoba, a la santidad de Urbano VIII, año de 1633, sobre los excesos que se cometen en Roma contra los naturales destos reynos de España*, f. 41. A manuscript copy of this *memorial* exists in the Jesuit Collection at the National Library in Lima and shows to what extent religious corporations were aware of the conflicts between Crown and Papacy.

63 Because the Spanish monarchy was a composite monarchy, the Spanish Church -even though under the authority of the king because of the Royal Patronage- had no jurisdictional unity and was affected differently by secular and religious legislation. The “Millions Tax” was legal only in Castile, León and Portugal. See Domínguez, *Regalismo*, 83 and 89-90.
The tense negotiation between Rome and Madrid over the Millions Tax illustrates the difficult relationship between the Church and the Spanish Crown. In spite of the symbolically powerful myth of the alliance with the sacred and the Spanish silver flowing into state and private coffers all over Europe - in particular those of some members of the Cardinal College in Rome (known as the Spanish Party) - the Catholic Monarch could not avoid a strained relationship with the Castilian Church and the Pope. In order to tax the former, the Papacy had to be convinced of the good use of the money before issuing a Papal Bull to authorize the lift of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as finally occurred in 1635. But even when the Pope was convinced of the proper use of the newly imposed tax, the Castilian Church was not necessarily cooperative. Invoking rights of jurisdiction that not even a Papal Bull could overlook, the ecclesiastical body was able to claim that there were limits to the royal power.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the tensions among Crown, Castilian Church and the Papacy were common currency. In a letter from Philip IV to his ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Terranova, as late as September 1656, the King complained that the Castilian Church - subject to the Crown - had to help the Royal Treasure: “because of the obligation that the kingdoms of Castile and Leon have to help in the preservation and defense of the Catholic faith.”64 It is also interesting to note that the instructions sent to the Spanish ambassador to defend the King’s claim before the Pope, included harsh critiques of the wealth amassed by the Church, along the same lines

64 Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y Cooperación de España (MAEC), Archivo Histórico, Santa Sede, Leg. 129, Letter from the King to the Duke of Terranova (September 1656): “…en conformidad de la obligacion que tienen estos mis reinos de Castilla y León de asistirme para la conservacion y defensa de la religion catholica….Su Santidad se sirva conceder los breves necesarios para que el estado eclesiastico concorra en este servicio como lo an echo en las ocasiones passadas…doce millones via impuestos de sisa sobre vino, vinagre, aceite y carnes, etc.” f. 125. One example of many documents of the same sort exchanged between Madrid and Rome throughout the seventeenth century. The Millions Tax was active between 1632 and 1685; in 1650 it was restored for only three years.
of thinking that Fernández Navarrete had exposed in the mid 1620s. The royal letter stressed the need of the Crown firstly to retrieve some of the wealth retained by the Church that had greatly contributed to the impoverishment of the Castilian secular estate and secondly, to use that money -estimated at about twelve million pesos- to pay for the recovery of fiscal soundness and the foreign policy of Spain. The consolidation of a Catholic order in Europe was the justification used by the Spanish ambassador to support the King’s claim before the Pope. Convincing the Castilian clergy was another issue.

A clear example of how even the secular clergy refused to accept fiscal measures was the Memorial published by the members of the Salamanca Cathedral Chapter in 1623. In this interesting piece defending the rights of the clergy to pay no taxes or to make any financial contribution, the Salamanca Canons stated that even though both the ecclesiastical and the secular bodies together were the body politic upon which the sovereign ruled and therefore, they “loved, obeyed and followed” their sovereign as the head of that body, there was still room for dissention. If a law worked against the interests of the ecclesiastical body, the Canons said that their legitimate claims should be heard by the Crown regardless of what “ambitious ministers” wanted. Opposition to fiscal pressure was not only moral (according to God), but legal. In a very contentious

65 “Y podreis con toda verdad proponer y asegurar que la devocion y piedad de Castilla es tan grande que de las rentas reales enagenadas cuya suma importa casi doce millones como se a dicho y de los heredamientos tierras y casas y otros bienes estables tienen las iglesias y religiones una porcion tan grande que respecto al estado secular es la mayor parte de las hazientes porque las mas se an convertido y ban [sic] convirtiendo en fundaciones de conventos dotaciones capellanías memorias aniversarios y otras obras de piedad y esto se ve quando a los mas lugares les falta la poblacion y se despueblan crezen las fundaciones de conventos con los mas sumptuosos edificios rentas y otras comodidades….que el estado eclesiastico creze y se aumenta en todo y el secular por ser quien lleva las cargas solo padece y aun pereze …y con esto podreis responder muy concluyentemente a los que dizien que el estado eclesiastico de Espana contribuye tanto o mas que los legos….” MAEC (Madrid), Leg. 129, July 1656, F. 133r, v., 137v., 144r., 200r.

piece against the reforms introduced by the Prime Minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares, the Salamanca Canons expressed their clear opposition to the “Millions Tax” and openly criticized the structure of government in an upfront dialogue with the Crown. The most important conclusion of this *Memorial* was that the Canons acknowledged the right of the King to impose new taxes but such taxes could not be active until the Church -or the any other part of the body politic for that matter- agreed to pay them.\(^6\) What the *Memorial* of the Salamanca Canons ultimately proved was that in a composite monarchy, new forms of taxation needed acceptance from the different realms before being effective; yet most importantly this document demonstrated that when the interests of the Church were affected by the needs of the princely state, even the secular clergy –who were much closer to the Crown than the regular clergy- would oppose the action the Crown.

Understandably, this form of dissention was not liked by Spanish authorities of the time and thus the *Memorial* was sequestered by the Inquisition.

In the Salamanca *Memorial* the Canons not only opposed a specific tax policy but also the Royal Patronage itself, an institution with important consequences for both the peninsular and the Spanish American Church. The Royal Patronage would be defined in 1626 by Fray Luis de Bilbao -an influential Limenian Dominican and Theology professor at San Marcos- not only as the royal service to God and His church but in a more tangible way as the economic support given to any religious institution under royal sponsorship,

\(^6\) “Aunque Vuestra Majestad en resoluciones no tenga obligacion a esperar el consentimiento del reyno en material de los tributos la tiene en conciencia y sin el no puede con seguridad imponerlos…” Also interesting to notice in this document is the perception of the church regarding the government of Olivares: “No es conveniente al buen gobierno de las monarquias que se hagan ni publiquen muchas leyes…..una de las cosas que tiene desacreditado el gobierno de la monarquía de Espana en las naciones estraneras es la multitud de leyes y pragmaticas que cada dia se publican…lo que tiene destruido el partido de las ciudades y los mas lugares del reyno es la codicia de los ministros…” AHNM, *Memorial del Dean y Cabildo de Salamanca.*
whether it was the patrimony of the Pope or that of a religious corporation. For Father Bilbao and fellow members of the clergy in Spain, any aspect related to the Church’s economic life was untouchable since its “spiritual” nature made it directly related to Christ.\textsuperscript{68} The assumption that the economic side of the Royal Patronage had to do only with the King’s magnificence and generosity towards the Church and not the other way around, led to the belief that the wealth of the Church was first and foremost a royal donation rather than a source of revenue for the Spanish Crown. One of the privileges of the Royal Patronage was the use of tithes for political affairs, which for the secular clergy in Spanish America was fair enough to demand their payment by the regular clergy. However, even this internal confrontation demonstrated that the Church could share benefits with the Crown, but was still entitled to be subsidized by the latter. In spite of anti-clerical critiques like those of Fernández Navarrete and the secular policies of the Spanish government under Olivares, the Church on both sides of the Atlantic did not change its economic culture and submitted to the will of the Spanish Crown. The 

\textit{Memorial} of Salamanca and similar documents in Spanish America bear witness to a moment of history of the Spanish Empire that coincides with what Kleber-Monod has defined as the end of the Age of Confessionalization, when traditional assumptions on the relationship between state and religion were changing drastically and the rise of a more secularized state was evident even in Catholic Spain.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Memorial del Dean y Cabildo}, f. 86-87. The idea of Royal Patronage as royal \textit{lárguese} is also present in Limenian preaching of the period: “…nuestros Catolicos Reyes usan del senorio muy en servicio de Dios y su Iglesia: confiesan esta verdad a fuerza de los continuos beneficios recibidos los católicos de Armenia, África, Asia, Alemania, Irlanda y Inglaterra y las gruesas rentas con que se sustentan tantos conventos, monasterios, hospitales y el patrimonio del príncipe de la Iglesia, pues España rinde solo mas interes temporal a la camara apostolica que dos veces todo el resto de la Iglesia. Pues razon es que así distribuye los bienes que de Dios recibe…” Fray Luis de Bilbao, \textit{Sermón en Pública Acción de Gracias a Nuestro Señor por el Nacimiento de la Serenísima Infanta Doña Margarita de Austria} (Lima: 1626), f. 6v.
The tragic paradox of this moment is that while the Church refused to contribute to the economic demands of the Royal Patronage, at the same time it demanded more political leverage within a Spanish Empire whose power was in clear decay but whose revamping and expansion Church intellectuals thought they could attain. This was also the tone of the exchange between the Crown and the Spanish American regular clergy. On the one hand no taxation and limits to the Royal Patronage and on the other fiscal pressure and downsizing of the religious corporations defined the relationship of both powers during the seventeenth century. The symbolic propaganda of colonial religious narratives aimed at stressing the political alliance with a Crown, which was less and less interested in considering the spiritual character and the political usefulness of the Church. This tension would foster other colonial demands.

1.3. Restrictions on the Colonial Peruvian Church

In addition to tax burdens on the Castilian Church, there was a whole package of policies aimed at strengthening the Royal Patronage and downsizing the ecclesiastical body that would be particularly opposed by the Spanish American kingdoms. I want to focus on three specific policies that were especially sensitive among the Spanish American religious Orders: 1) intervention in internal affairs of the religious corporations, 2) restrictions on these corporations’ expansion and 3) the long and conflicted lawsuit followed by the Crown against the Orders for the payment of tithes on their properties. Fiercely fought by the Spanish American regular Church, these policies formed the subtext of the historiographical discourse by which the Church aimed to negotiate a revamped position in the imperial administration.

A few years before the end of his rule as viceroy of Peru (1607-1615), the Marquis of Montesclaros wrote a detailed report of urgent measures that needed to be taken to make the colonial administration more effective. What is striking about this account written in 1612 and sent to the Council of the Indies is its concerned tone when it comes to analyzing the economic status of the Church in the Indies. For Montesclaros, urgent measures had to be taken to control the wealth and growth of the Peruvian colonial Church, in particular the proliferation of religious establishments and the concentration of both urban and rural property in the hands of the Mendicant Orders -Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians- and of the Society of Jesus. The 1612 report is one of several in Spanish America on the wealth of the ecclesiastical body in response to the Royal Decree of June 1607 that queried the viceroys and governors about the money spent by the Crown to support the churches, convents and monasteries. The King, as Patron of every religious institution within the empire, was supposed to pay for the wax, wine, oil and medicine (sugar mostly) consumed in these institutions; yet already in the early seventeenth century, this sponsorship had proven to be a watershed of fiscal resources.70 Also, more often than not, the Royal Treasury provided money for the transportation, food and health-related expenses of missionaries from Europe to the Indies. Viceroy Montesclaros was emphatic in his assessment: the Crown should cut these expenses and downsize or close under-populated religious establishments.

The royal limosna of wine, oil and wax was not the only way the Royal Treasure could be affected. Montesclaros’s report stressed that the real reason for the expansion of

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70 Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid (BPRM), Relación del Virreyato del Perú, Memoria del Gobierno del Virrey Marqués de Montesclaros (1612), II/546, f. 107r.
the Orders in and out of the cities was their eagerness to purchase property and access land or Indian labor for their economic benefit, and thus profit from rents and the production of haciendas next to convents and monasteries. The viceroy complained that the Orders were asking for money from the Crown while prospering without being taxed for that income. Montesclaros said that an effective strategy would be to reduce the limosna of wine and keep the money for oil to be used to keep the Holy Sacrament lamps lit. However, he bluntly proposed to tax the Order’s properties. He warned the Crown about the wrong assumption that being the Orders, mostly mendicant congregations, they were poor. Both the public and the vice-regal administration, according to the viceroy, had overlooked their wealth especially in the case of the Franciscans under direct sponsorship of the King.

Montesclaros’s proposal resembled that of Fernández Navarrete and reflected the prevalent ideas among the members of the Spanish imperial bureaucracy as well. Philip IV, in a lengthy Memorial sent to Urban VIII in the mid 1630s, complained about the number of convents and monasteries in the Spanish Empire that were more and more connected with the secular world and less oriented to religious duties. The monarch specifically asked the Pope for a Bull (papal decree) authorizing him to carry out a

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71 Montesclaros described the Church property as mere secular business: “la granjeria...es de mayor grosedad y aprovechamiento que no otros reynos mayormente en las de la Compania......las haciendas de campo de las religiones si bien son costosas en su veneficio resulta dellas mas grangeria de la que se puede sacar por resumen de quenta porque en estos reinos esta recibido el estender los religiosos su inteligencia en la venta y contratacion de los frutos que coxen tanto y bienen a ser los de mayor grosedad para el sustento y abasto de las republicas...” BPRM, Relación del Virreinato del Perú, Memoria del Marqués de Montesclaros (1612), ff. 107v, 108r.

72 “...entre las haciendas de relixiones.....se a de advertir que en todas es de grande importancia y en la orden de San Francisco particularmente de mucha mayor grosedad por la devocion que generalmente se tiene con estos frailes que en todas partes se miran como pobres....se podria continuar el aceite y quitar el vino con una mana y artificio....que toda la contribucion alcanza alrededor de cincuenta mil patacones en todas estas provincias...”. Relación del Virreinato, ff. 109r, 116r, 116v.
profound reformation of the ecclesiastical body within his dominions. That reformation would encompass a census of all rents and properties belonging or benefiting the Church as well as the eventual suppression of Orders, convents and monasteries. Not surprisingly, in this Memorial to the Pope, the King emphasized once more the harm inflicted to the secular estate by the wealth concentrated in the hands of the Spanish Church and the right he had as ruler to find a remedy to the situation affecting his lay subjects.

A few years before the King asked the Pope for permission to tax the Orders, Viceroy Montesclaros in Peru had already proposed to force the religious corporations to pay tithes to the Crown. This measure aimed to relieve the Royal Treasury from the limosna to the Orders and to secure extra fiscal income to cover the expenses of the cathedrals and salaries of the staff at Lima’s University of which the King was a sponsor as well. Increasing tithe collection, customarily paid to the local Cathedral Chapters, would lead to a self-sufficient budget of the cathedrals, most of them in a constant process of being rebuilt and ornamented. It would also mean less money spent by the Crown to keep the University of Lima operating.

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73 “...porque siendo cierto que del exceso a que an crecido los ecclesiasticos regulares se sigue la falta de gente para la poblacion, cultura de los campos y jiro del comercio, si por esta causa faltase lo temporal por aniquilacion total es preciso se destruia tambien lo que toca a lo espiritual en aquel grado que conviene…..suplicamos a Vuestra Beatitud se digne despachar sus bulas apostolicas a nombre del prelado o prelados….para que puedan reconocer en nuestros reynos y senorios de todo el circulos de las Espanas el estado de las religiones en ellos fundadas, los conventos de que se componen, sus congregaciones y provincias, el numero dellos y sus religiosos de que se forma cada uno, sus rentas libres y conforme a lo que reconocieren puedan reformarlos, extinguirlos, unir las rentas de unos o aquellos, que hubieren de permanecer señalando el numero de religiosos que ha de tener segun las rentas o limosnas que bastaren a su sustentacion….” BNM, Memorial que el rey Phelipe hizo dar a Su Santidad exponiendo las Justas causas que movian a Sua Magestad a pedir la reformacion de el estado eclesiastico (c. 1630). ff. 219r, 230v, 231v.

74 “La corona de España es duena de los diezmos por bula de Julio II de 1508, donada por los reyes a las iglesias catedrales para su sustento, menos los dos novenos, pleno iure…” See Con las religiones de Indias. Alegación del Dr. Pedro Gálvez, fiscal en el consejo Real de Indias en el pleito con las religiones sobre la paga de diezmos (Madrid, c. 1660). The idea was also developed by viceroy Montesclaros in 1612: “Los diezmos eclesiasticos son de Su Magestad en las Yndias y por concesion de la santidad del papa Alejandro
only when buying goods in the market, but the obligation to pay tithes to the Crown would target rural property already owned by the Church. If the Orders relied on internal production to avoid the *sisa* or the Millions Tax, they would still be taxed, which was in particular the case of the Jesuits.  

Montesclaros’s report concluded that tithe collection could help to cover the Crown’s expenses in the Indies. However, the idea was not a new one, thus showing that the problem long predated the conflicts of the seventeenth century.

Back in the 1570s, during the reign of Philip II, Royal Decrees were issued to prevent the Orders from buying urban and rural estates. In 1570 the religious corporations were forbidden to buy any property, a measure which in 1572 became looser when another Royal Decree stated that these corporations were not allowed to buy property in Indian towns but could do so in Spanish cities. Four years later, the Council of the Indies asked the Viceroy of Mexico for the first known census of religious property; the same was asked to the Viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros in 1608 for Peru. The report on New Spain of 1576 coincided with a new Royal Decree forbidding the Orders to buy and own property in Spanish America. Never fully enforced, these measures became real threats.

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VI y con obligacion al sustentar de las iglesias y sus ministros y asi donde no ay con que poderlo hacer de lo procedido desta renta lo paga Su Magestad con otras que le pertenezcan pero alcanzando la congrua…..tiene el rey su cotta en la division porque sacando de la gruesa el escusado las dos quartas del obispo y capitulares, de la otra mitad restante que se divide en nueve partes le estan adjudicadas las dos…..el rey suele hacer merced a las iglesias para su fabrica y ornamentacion y …a la universidad de Lima todos los salarios de sus catedraticos…” Montesclaros, *Relación del Virreinato*, f. 43r. In 1613, Montesclaros assigned 8,000 pesos to the University from the archbishopric of Lima’s tithe income. The cathedral got almost 12,500 nonetheless. See Eguiguren, *Diccionario Histórico*, III, 731.

75 The Peruvian Province of the Society of Jesus complained to the King in 1621 on their obligation to pay tithes. The *Procurador* -Father Juan Frias Herrán- stated that the Jesuits were actually self-sufficient and that costs of training priests, travel expenses and limosna, were mostly assumed by the Order, as opposed to the Mendicant Orders. Juan Frias Herrán to the King, Cuzco, March 1621. Colección Vargas Ugarte (CVU), Universidad “Antonio Ruiz de Montoya”, Lima, f. 73v. Similar complaints can be found in a letter to the King of 1652. Even though mostly self-sufficient, the Society of Jesus still received money from the Royal Treasure to fund five provinces, forty-two schools and seven hundred priests with an average cost per person of 200 escudos. CVU (Lima), *Costos de las Compañía de Jesus*, Lima 1652, f. 32r-33v.
when in 1610, the Spanish Crown introduced a formal request in Rome for a papal bull to force the Orders to submit any future purchase of urban and rural property to the decision of the Council of the Indies. Additionally, the Orders had to start paying tithes on those already acquired.76 Thus, between the mid 1570s and the 1610s -at the peak of the growth of the colonial Church- both the Crown and the religious corporations in Spanish America became involved in a legal fight over economic contributions that undermined the authority of the Royal Patronage. The religious corporations claimed that the Crown was acting against Canon, Civil and even International Law, and thereby not only hurting their right to ownership but even the right of lay donors willing to contribute to the expansion of the corporative Church.77

When the rumor of the possible enforcement of these measures reached Lima, a very concerned archbishop of Los Reyes, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, wrote to the King in 1615 in opposition to the intention of the Crown of closing religious institutions in the

76 A complete account on the evolution of this policy can be found in Por la Iglesia Metropolitana de Los Reyes en el Perú y las demás de las Indias Occidentales con las religiones fundadas en estas partes sobre los privilegios que dizen tienen para no pagar diezmo. Escrivialo el Dr. Andrés García de Zurita, Canónigo Teologal de la Iglesia de Lima, Año de 1638, (Lima, 1638). García de Zurita wrote on behalf of the Cathedral Chapters of Spanish America to support the Crown’s position. Another account on this issue is an anonymous memorial of 1630. This source, probably written by a canon, complained specifically about the wealth amassed by the Society of Jesus. There we can have a glimpse at the problem of tax evasion when private owners donated to the Church to get rid of economic obligations to the Crown. See Memorial del pleito que las Iglesias Catedrales del Pirú y Nueva España y el señor Fiscal tratan con las religiones de Santo Domingo, San Agustín, la Merced y la Compañía de Jesús sobre la adquisición de bienes temporales que adquieren las dichas religiones. Y sobre los tres articulos nuevamente introducidos por las dichas religiones, de cosa juzgada, attentado y manutención (Lima, c. 1630), f.1r, 5r.

77 The Orders fought back with a Memorial opposing the prohibition on acquiring real estate: “en llegando a la tassa que les fuese senalada quedarian privados los unos y los otros de muchas acciones y beneficios que les pertenecen por derecho natural civil y de las gentes. Pues si alguien quisiese heredar a las religiones bienes raices y haber esta llegado a la tasa prevista, no podria heredar, con lo que se viola el derecho del testador. Lo segundo seria que se violaba la libertad esencial de celebrar contratos pues la religion no podria celebrar contratos de compra de bienes raices. Con lo que se iba contra el derecho instituido por Justiniano. Con lo qual se opone la dicha medida al derecho internacional tal cual lo propuso Francisco de Vitoria quien en ponderacion del dicho agravio…vino a dezir…que nuestros soldados españoles hizieron a los indios justa Guerra porque les cerraban injustamente la puerta a sus contratos y comercios” In Memorial de las Religiones Mendicantes de las Indias al Rey (Madrid, 1611), f.5r-v.
Peruvian viceroyalty without the required number of priests. The letter emphasized the
impact of such a measure in the evangelization process and the religious life of the newly
converted indigenous population. The archbishop responded to the King saying that he
had considered carefully the issue and decided to delay the application of the Royal
Decree of 1607, claiming that as the most loyal servant of the Crown, the Peruvian
Church would seek avenues by which to comply with the decree later. Lobo Guerrero
also reminded the monarch that a violent enforcement of such a measure would create
significant “spiritual unrest” in the kingdom, which basically meant that he would not
enforce the decree.78 Montesclaros’ report pinpointed a serious fiscal situation caused by
the expansion of the Orders in and out the main Spanish American cities with the
establishment of convents and places of worship in Lima, Cuzco, Potosí and the colonial
fringes. The Orders demanded constant economic support from the Crown, invoking the
expansion of both religious services and the confessional frontier; there was no clear idea
on how much property they actually owned and might generate in income that would not
not justify ongoing Crown support. Enforcement of the 1607-1608 decrees would lead to
a clear assessment on how much money, if any, was needed for these establishments and

78 “El Marques de Montesclaros virrey destos reinos me entregó un breve de la Santidad de Paulo V,
expedido a los 20 de diciembre de 611 a instancia de Vuestra Magestad acerca de la supresion de los
conventos de frailes que estan fundados en estas provincias del Peru que no exeden o no llegan al numero
de ocho religiosos y reduccion dellos a otros conventos mayores y habiendo hecho las diligencias
necesarias para certificarme de los conventos y del numero de religiosos que de presente hay en ellos para
poner en ejecucion la facultad que me concede y para excusar los inconvenientes que habria no me
parecio prudente usar della hasta informar a Vuestra Magestad del gran consuelo espiritual que causaria
la ejecucion del dicho breve…Generalmente con mandar a los prelados que tengan ordinariamente en los
dichos conventos el dicho numero de ocho religiosos continuos, obedeceran…” Archbishop Bartolomé
Lobo Guerrero to the King (Lima, August 1615) in Emilio Lisson, La Iglesia de España en el Perú, Vol. V
(Sevilla, 1946), 663. According to the Royal Decree of December 1608: “…es mi intencion y deseo que
en esas partes ay suficiente numero de casas de religion estan y esten los religiosos que fueren necesarios
para la predicacion del ebanxelio y ensenamiento y doctrina de los naturales y porque tambien es justo y
combien que pues ya en las ciudades principales ay conventos bastantes para el cumplimiento de los
sobredichos yententos quando se ayan de fundar otros de aquellas mismas ordenes o de otras se me avise
primero…”. Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral de Lima (ACL), Libro de Cédulas Reales y Otros Papeles
No. 1 Serie B, ff. 13v, 14r.
thus force the Orders to depend less on the royal coffers.\textsuperscript{79} Earlier legislation regarding
the establishment of religious institutions in Spanish America prohibited fiscal support to
those corporations able to pay for their own supplies, but the Crown’s loose enforcement
at the beginning of seventeenth century even contradicted that legislation;
consequentially the fiscal situation only worsened with the growth of the Crown’s
expenses. When the Orders in Lima realized that the growth of the colonial Church was
seriously objected by high officers and that the Crown was not willing to financially
support its natural ally anymore, the production of \textit{memoriales} that defended the Orders’
position multiplied.

From the point of view of the Orders, to pay tithes was not only an unfair economic
demand of the Crown but an assault to their old rights of being considered an exempted
estate. One report at the beginning of the seventeenth century stated that at least in the
viceroyalty of Peru, the Orders were already in control of one third of the real estate, so
taxing them would be a profitable and much needed revenue for the Crown.\textsuperscript{80} Plainly
defined, tithes were one-tenth of the value of rural and urban property paid by the owner
for the support of the local Church. Customarily paid by laymen, the Orders -when asked
to pay- claimed that the ecclesiastical body not only was exempted but that tithe
collection, being money paid for the support of the Church could be authorized only by

\textsuperscript{79} The Royal Decree of July 26th, 1608 stated: “he sido informado que son muchos los conventos de
relixiosos que ay en la Indias por aver alargado la mano los virreyes presidente, audiencia y autoridades en
dar licencia para fundar a las ordenes…y mi real hacienda muy cargada con lo que se les da della para vino
cera y aceite y medicinas, ornamentos, campanas y que conberna que los conventos desta calidad se
reduceyen a menor numero y se redujessen en otro conventos que por lo menos hubiessen diez frailes en
cada uno…” ACL, Libro de Cédulas Reales y Otros Papeles No. 1 Serie B, f. 14r.,v.

\textsuperscript{80} “…consta que en aquel reyno estavan las religiones tan acrecentadas en bienes rayces, casas, tierras,
chacaras y vinas, que tenian adquirido mas de la tercera parte de todas las que avia, con ocasion de
capellanias, mandas, y con titulo de profesion de religiosos, herencias y por compra que hazian que
convendria poner limite…” Memorial del Pleito que las Iglesias Catedrales del Pirá y Nueva España y el
señor fiscal tratan con las religiones, f. 5r.
the Pope; since the religious jurisdiction was affected.\textsuperscript{81} Between the 1630s and the 1660s both the Council of the Indies and the Orders produced a significant amount of printed material claiming their rights, either for demanding payment of tithes or for not paying them. Payment of tithes in Spanish America became the core of the conflict between Throne and Altar in the first half of the seventeenth century, in particular revealing the colonial interpretation and even opposition to the Royal Patronage by a predominantly creole regular Church.

The position of the Crown was ardently defended in a \textit{Memorial} written by a member of the Council in the mid 1630s, the licenciado Antonio de la Cueva y Silva. Cueva argued that if it were true that originally the tithes were solely an ecclesiastical right since the Pope had donated the right to collect tithes to the Catholic Kings at the moment of the Conquest, tithes in Spanish America had become another source of revenue for the King of Spain. Tithes -according to Cueva- had existed since the sixteenth century but as another Crown-controlled source of income. However, because of the financial needs of the young Spanish American Church, tithes had been graciously donated to the cathedral chapters with the exception of two-ninths of half the total amount of money collected. These two-ninths were either deposited in or collected by the Royal Treasury, so it was indeed true that at least a portion of the tithes went directly to the Crown and were used for secular purposes.\textsuperscript{82} There were two additional reasons why the Crown wanted a

\textsuperscript{81} A very detailed account on the spiritual nature of tithes can be found in Fray Miguel de Monsalve, \textit{Por las religiones de Santo Domingo, San Agustín, la Compañía de Jesús, Nuestra Señora de la Merced y otras de los reynos del Pirú y México} (Madrid, C. 1645). It is clear in this piece that in claiming exemption, the orders were openly defiant of the authority of the crown.

\textsuperscript{82} Divided by four, one part was taken by the bishop or archbishop, another fourth went to the canons and the other two parts were again divided by nine. Two ninths (22\% of the total collected) went to the Crown and the rest (seven ninths) was used to cover the cathedral expenses. On the secular (royal) conception of
significant increase of tithe collection. First, if by any reason the cathedrals fell short of money, the King as sponsor would have had to pay for their support; the second was that increasing tithe collection in general meant that the two-ninths that were already going to the Crown would increase.83 Both were reasons that benefitted the Crown, but there was another problem; the unpopularity before the Holy See of the use of tithes for secular purposes.84

With the moral support of the papacy, the Orders counterattacked early in the seventeenth century with the claim that they had been the main recipients of donations, not the buyers of rural and urban properties as the authorities thought; therefore with the the product of those properties -food and rent- served the Crown’s cause of expanding the Catholic faith in a land of heathen. In particular, the Society of Jesus, perhaps the most criticized religious corporation because of its opposition to another fiscal issue, claimed in 1610 that there was a papal dispensation allowing the Jesuits not to pay tithes for their tithes in Spanish America, Cueva said: “...Aunque los diezmos se donen a las iglesias por Su Magestad, quedan con el termino regalia, por lo cual toca a ellos la legislación secular, que afecta a la jurisdicción real”, See Antonio de Cueva y Silva, *Por el fiscal contra las religiones de Indias. Sobre que se ha de retener en el concejo el pleito de los diezmos* (Madrid, c. 1635), f. 3v. On the origin of the “tercias reales” see also Aldea, *Política y Religión*, 204-205.

83 In 1626, the archbishop of La Paz, the wealthy Limenian Feliciano de Vega, wrote to the King, complaining about the bad shape of La Paz cathedral, still unfinished. He proposed in his letter, that considering the low the tithe income of the cathedral (about 5,000 pesos per year), the money needed for repairs should be provided by the Royal Treasure, the encomenderos and the Indians, so the Crown would not be much affected. See Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, III, 796. We know that by the mid 1620s, Lima’s cathedral chapter had calculated the amount of money coming from non-collected tithes at about 50,000 pesos. Archivo de la Catedral de Lima (ACL). Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano No. 3 (1606-1625), September 24, 1624, ff. 360v, 361r.

84 Pope Urban VIII -seeking to annoy the Spanish crown- stated that tithes should be used only for ecclesiastical purposes and even though they had been donated to the King, they were still under religious jurisdiction. See Andrés García de Zurita, *Por la Iglesia Metropolitana de Los Reyes en el Peru y las demas de las Indias Occidentales con las religiones fundadas en estas partes sobre los privilegios que dizan tienen para no pagar diezmo* (Lima, 1638).
properties, by then the most coveted in Spanish America.\textsuperscript{85} The Dominicans would also claim exemption later.\textsuperscript{86} At any rate, because the Council of the Indies demanded retroactive payment of taxes, the Jesuits were willing to pay only in the case of property owned before by laymen and also on property that they would eventually buy in the future, not on property already donated. Similar reactions came from other religious corporations, mostly the result of the first legal drawback for the Orders in 1624 that included a harsh threat by the Council of the Indies that stated that local notaries would be punished by the confiscation of their property if they legalized purchases of land or real estate by the Orders.\textsuperscript{87}

From two \textit{Memoriales} printed by the Council of the Indies in 1660 and 1662, we know what happened until the very moment the Orders lost their legal fight with the Crown. Even though the demands of the Crown started in the late sixteenth century, it was not until 1632 and 1633 that the Council achieved a significant victory, when the courts finally denied the Orders any right to be exempted from paying tithes and secured the position of the Crown by keeping the lawsuit in the secular jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{88} Ten years

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\textsuperscript{85} According to a \textit{Real Cédula} of October 14\textsuperscript{46}, 1642, the Jesuits in Peru had been fighting the payment of the \textit{sisa} imposed on sugar consumption. See \textit{Instrucción y Providencias para los Virreyes del Perú}, f. 384. Yet the final sentence brought to an end any discussion on the issue.

\textsuperscript{86} The Royal Audiencia declared the exemption invalid on request of Lima’s cathedral chapter. ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano No. 5 (1638 a 1653), June 18, 1645, f. 175r.

\textsuperscript{87} García de Zurita, \textit{Por la Iglesia Metropolitana de Los Reyes en el Perú}.

\textsuperscript{88} “Pide se declare pertenecer a la corona y patrimonio real y a las iglesias y personas eclesiasticas que se hubieren subrogado en el derecho real por permission o en otra qualquier manera todos los diezmos de las heredades y qualesquier bienes y frutos diezmables que conforme a derecho y cedulas reales y por otra qualquier causa lo son o fueren que han tenido tienen y tuvieren las dichas religiones, conventos y religiosas dellos y cada uno y los condene a todo y a cada uno dellos a que paguen a los oficiales reales…” \textit{Real Cédula sobre los diezmos de las religiones} (Madrid, 1662), f. 1v., 2r.
later, in 1643, it was clear that the religious corporations were about to lose the case when they failed to present new arguments against the accusation of the Council. In 1651, the cathedrals in all of Spanish America, assisted by a lobby of lawyers and officials of the Council of the Indies, made a stronger claim for the need of the “mendicant Orders” to pay tithes to the Crown. This final effort involved the display of significant resources - money and the hiring of proctors- since the costs of coordinating a continental effort were certainly high; yet most importantly, this coordination demonstrated the consolidation of an alliance of the secular clergy and the the Crown. In 1655, the verdict of the Council was made public in the Indies: the Crown had the right to ask the Orders to pay tithes on their property. The Society of Jesus wanted the case to be revised at the Roman Curia, but the other corporations simply accepted the verdict and complied with the new measure. The era of tithe exemption thus was definitely over. Not only was the economic status of the Orders altered, but the relationship between secular and regular clergy became

89 Real Cédula, f. 74.

90 The cathedral Chapters of Lima, México, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Guatemala, Guadalajara, Puebla, Charcas, Cuzco, Quito, Trujillo, Arequipa, La Paz, Santiago de Chile and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. See Real Cédula, f. 36r. To pay for the lawsuit expenses the Royal Decree of September 10, 1652 demanded from the Archbishop and the cathedral chapter of Lima: “siete mil reales de plata con mas las costas de su conducion para costear el memorial y demas gastos del pleito de los diezmos hasta su conclusion que se a de repartir a esta santa iglesia y a sus sufraganeas divididos y consignado al senor Inigo de Fuentes racionero de la iglesia de Puebla que asiste en Madrid a la solicitud del dicho pleito…” ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano No. 6 (1653 a 1664), July 18, 1653, f. 10v.

91 Alegación del Dr. Pedro Gálvez, f. 22v. The sentence of February1655 ordered: “…la parte de las religiones no probo su excepcion como convino en consecuencia de lo qual condenamos a las dichas religiones de Santo Domingo, San Agustín, Nuestra Señora de la Merced y la Compañía de Jesús a que den y paguen a Su Magestad y en su real nombre a las dichas Iglesias en conformidad de la demanda del fiscal todos los diezmos de todos los predios posesiones cosas dezmares que han adquirido y que en adelante adquirieren”. Real Cédula, f. 78v. In the National Library in Lima, there is a manuscript with the final response of the Orders which I have not been able to read because of its physical condition. BNL, Mss. B 268, Expediente sobre la Prosecución del Juicio de Diezmos, 1676.
strained and certainly that between the corporate Church and the Crown. As the Era of Confessionalization came to an end, the Memoriales related to the tithe lawsuit portrayed a Crown victimized by the corporate Church, and the latter as an institution opposed to the welfare of the secular body and the modernization of the empire. It had taken over thirty years for the anti-clerical forces within the Spanish state to succeed in those fiscal issues and that victory somehow announced more drastic changes in the next century but the alliance between the two powers was far from being over.

In spite of their defeat in the economic realm, the religious corporations continued to praise the Catholic Monarchy and moved to a different battleground from which to fight the fiscal policies of the Spanish Habsburgs: empire-building propaganda. It was in that propaganda literature where colonial historical narratives blended with the argumentation of the Memoriales in order to have the last word on the role of the corporate Church in the Habsburg universal task, that of building a Catholic world order. The power of religious quills would be used to secure the ruling position that the colonial regular clergy wanted in the Indies. The main elements of this symbolic and political claim can be found in the Peruvian religious discourse produced between the 1620s and the 1680s. These elements were already present in the arguments used by the Orders throughout the long tithe lawsuit. By the time the confrontation over the payment of tithes reached a climax, a representative of the Orders before the Council of the Indies -a Jesuit priest- pleaded that

92 “…se trato de la exequcion y cobranca de los diezmos de las religiones por estar el tiempo tan adelante y se acordó por todos los dichos senores que se pida a Su Senoría Illustrísima los recados necesarios para la cobranza y que para el primer cabildo se traiga memoria de las haciendas que tienen las dichas religiones….” ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano No. 7 (1665-1669), January 31, 1668, f. 92v. In the coming years, the Orders constantly disagreed with the canons on the sum owed and the deadline for paying it. The Chapter decided in 1680 to auction the tithe collection to a “diezmero”, a private agent who would give the money in advance to the cathedral. ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano No. 9 (1674-1708), March 21st, 1680, f. 5r.
it was not true that the Orders in Spanish America were rich, since they used the income of their properties to support not only a considerable ecclesiastical population without the handsome benefits enjoyed by the secular clergy, but also all sort of religious institutions for the sake of evangelization. Due to the hard work of conversion carried out by the missionaries, forcing the Indian population to settle down and lead a “civilized life,” stated the Jesuit author, the colonial system had survived and grown. The evangelization frontier thus meant the opening of a land market for Spanish settlers, making possible a real increase in the tithe collection.\textsuperscript{93}

For that anonymous Jesuit scholar along with many other religious scholars in seventeenth-century Peru, evangelization had built the path to colonization. Conversion of infidels and expansion of Spanish polícia stood out as major services dedicated to the glory of the Spanish Crown, services that should have counted towards exempting the Orders from economic contributions to the Royal Treasury.\textsuperscript{94} However, the confrontation between Altar and Throne in Peru would acquire a very specific tone. While fighting the fiscal policies analyzed above, the dialogue between the colonial corporate Church and the Crown concerning the rights of the former and the limits of the Royal Patronage progressively shifted from fiscal issues to local agendas regarding the rights of creole elites. When religious corporations in Peru claimed that they were exempted from fiscal contributions to the Spanish Treasury, they did so based on the fact that the colonial Church was different from the Castilian because it was born out of the Spanish Conquest of America. The Conquest had implied the conversion of millions of natives by Spain; for

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Real Cédula}, ff. 71r., 72v.

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Real Cédula}, ff. 71r., 72v.
such major undertaking financial the Orders needed funding. To cover the cost of evangelization, the Pope had “donated” to the Spanish Crown the benefit of tithe collection, which the Crown had in turn graciously ceded to the Cathedral Chapters of colonial cities. Additionally, for over a century the House of Austria had manifested its generosity with religious establishments, paying for expenses of cult and liturgy of the Orders. This funding had actually sanctioned its position next to the Crown through its construction of Spanish civilization in America and in the process set a precedent on how the relationship between both powers would be. Royal sponsorship had legitimized the leading political role of the Church in colonial society and to some degree its exemption from obligations to the state. The Royal Patronage therefore had a different reading in Spanish America for the benefit of colonials.

The historical discourse that developed out of the clash between both powers replicated the claim that the corporate Church was the only possible way of healing the *corpus mysticum* of the Spanish empire that had been attacked by the crisis both nationally and internationally. However, the reforms of the body politic, as proposed by religious scholars, grew more involved with local creole agendas. In order to fully understand the nature and message of this dialogue between Church and Crown we have to understand the political, social, cultural and symbolic aspects of the vice-regal court, the *locus* in which that discourse was produced.
Chapter 2

Lettered and Sacred City

In his *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* published in Rome in 1681, the Dominican Fray Juan Meléndez defined the perfect city as a Christian Republic in which the religious communities were the armed soldiers always ready to protect the strength of the faith.  

Since the foundation of Los Reyes/Lima, according to Meléndez, the religious Orders had led the civilizing process in the Andes with the protection of the Pope and the King; expanding Catholicism in the Andes and hence, won for Heaven “miserable people and wretched nations.” The idea of a Limenian Christian república working to expand the Catholic Church worldwide, used by Meléndez and the most important religious historians of seventeenth-century Peru, was based on the fact that Lima already at the beginning of the century, had perhaps the largest religious population in the Americas. The city of Los Reyes was also one of the main venues in Spanish America for the training of religious cadres (missionaries, theologians, scholars, canonists) and thus was one of the major centers for the administration of the sacred.

In this chapter, I will analyze how the religious community in Los Reyes and in particular the elite of religious scholars who created the colonial discourse of empire-building –that is, the myth of the expansion of the Habsburg Empire overseas- used the legal tools provided by Canon Law as well as their expertise as theologians and lawyers.

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95 Fray Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* (Roma: Imprenta de Angel Tinasio, 1681). In recent study Alejandra Osorio demonstrates the power of the religious population in Lima, where it constituted over ten percent of its total population. See Alejandra Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 122.

to frame their rationale for their claims for prelacies and other creole agendas, understood as rights of Lima’s citizens. The fact that Lima was not only a major producer of ceremonial and symbolism associated with the exaltation of the monarchy and the Church, but also a privileged venue in terms of the rights of citizenship of its wealthy elite, also determined the tone of these religious scholars’ argumentation. I will also demonstrate how the creole agenda -whether religious or secular- linked scholars from the Religious Orders with those belonging to the ranks of the secular Church, since the creole esprit de corp linked both groups beyond institutional boundaries. Institutions such as the Cathedral Chapter but above all the University were venues in which to test the performance of creole religious scholars and the connections between regular and secular clergy. The conditions before mentioned -the city as a landmark of Catholic culture, the production of scholarship on Theology and Canon Law, and the political claims of the urban elite- will explain how the historical discourse produced by Lima’s religious scholars can be seen as the colonial counterpart of early modern European discourse on Catholic statecraft. This aspect explains the political nature of seventeenth-century historical discourse and its epistemological characteristics.

2.1. Civitas Limensis

Once the Conquest period was over, the recently founded colonial Spanish American cities became centers for evangelization and education concerned with the transmitting Eurocentric culture. In time, colonial cities became residences of viceroys, archbishops, universities, high courts and the Inquisition while developing highly trained and skilled bureaucracies in order to carry out that process of trans-culturation, as Angel
Rama has stated.\(^97\) In that regard, Lima clearly fit well with Rama’s conception of a main colonial city. However, I think Rama’s vision stresses the characteristics of the colonial city as venue of the colonial administration and misses the political and symbolic use of the colonial city by its vecino elites. Father Meléndez and his fellow religious historians saw the city of Los Reyes certainly as an urbs, the first political see of South America and one of the wealthiest urban centers in Spanish America. However, they also viewed Lima as a civitas, a center of virtues both political and religious. Limenian religious scholars also saw themselves as the embodiment of such virtues.\(^98\)

Spanish cities in the New World were founded by conquistadores, who by this single act -in spite of their original social background- with the approval of the Crown, became the gentry of the new urban settlement through being granted the category of vecinos (citizens), were thus allowed to rule the city through the control of the cabildo.\(^99\) Vecinos not only were given political rights, but also became members of the most important urban institutions, receiving the surplus of the work of the native population granted to them, privileges creole vecinos passed on their descendants.\(^100\) As guarantors and beneficiaries of the rights (fueros) of the city, the vecinos were socially and

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\(^97\) “Lettered city” is defined by Angel Rama as the relationship among the state, the urban scenario and the elite of men of letters; a Republic of Letters in a precise urban environment. See Rama, *The Lettered City*, VII and 13.

\(^98\) I follow Alejandra Osorio and her definition of civitas: the city as the privileged site for the uplifting of a civilized political animal. Osorio, *Inventing Lima*, 3.

\(^99\) Socolow equals vecino to citizen and says that it was necessary to reside at least four years in the city to be considered one. See Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, eds., *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 6-7.

politically elevated over other city inhabitants (moradores) and non-locals. Political entitlement or citizenship would be the basis of the claims of creole religious authors in seventeenth-century Peru, advocating for more leverage for both religious corporations and the creole urban elites of Lima with whom they were closely connected. The urban locus mattered in the political argumentation of colonial historical narratives, for this discourse was also thought as a dialogue with the Crown over fueros granted to creole citizens.

In a sacramental society such as vice-regal Peru, there was no clear separation between lay and religious spheres when it came to cultural, symbolic and even political aspects. In Los Reyes-Lima religion permeated lay affairs and a clear example of this was the overlap of Canon and Civil Law. With Canon Law at the core of the colonial legal system, religious scholars as interpreters and administrators of Canon law and theology-based juridical utillage, used this law to advocate within colonial narratives for the supposedly threatened citizen rights of their peer vecinos. Narratives of empire-building produced by Lima’s letrado stressed the “sacred” union between Crown and Church for the sake of the latter’s agenda but also for the sake of the extended network of local lay benefactors and friends. Religious ceremonies honoring the glory of the city as religious civitas led to a profuse production of historical narratives that celebrated the alliance of

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101 Tamar Herzog defines citizenship as the performance of social and political activities by a vecino that helped him gain reputation and honor. If the citizen failed to perform specific activities -those considered of importance for the urban community- he might lose this condition. Vecindad and citizenship in Lima were conditions sine qua non to be recognized as a member of the upper crust of society. Descendants of a conquistador-comemendero, or early settlers, embodied vecindad-citizenship in Los Reyes, but the arrival of newcomers in the seventeenth century challenged this title and caused the protests by the older citizens. See Herzog, Defining Nations, 42-44.

102 The Spanish notion of a seventeenth-century city implied that the vecino or citizen was first loyal to his/her fatherland (patria) and then to his/her kingdom (reino). Since the mystical body of the Spanish Empire was comprised of loyal cities to the Crown, the city was the venue where the political virtues were practiced and enforced. See Brading, The First America, 97.
Throne and Altar, as well as the prelacy of Lima’s citizens.\textsuperscript{103} As Rama has proposed, scholars in the colonial “Lettered City” were privy to the theocratic mysteries of the empire. In Lima, it was religious scholars who exclusively performed this function. Thus, the seventeenth-century Los Reyes was both a “Sacred” and a “Lettered City” where the service to the Crown and the “absolute metaphysical” was performed by a “priestly caste,” which was at the same time a scholarly cohort that ruled what Father Meléndez called the “Christian Republic.” While working on the creation of a sacred space through ceremonies and liturgy, Lima’s intellectual religious “caste” shaped the debate between Crown and the corporate Church of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{104} However, religious scholars went beyond even their corporate claims, becoming spokesmen of the creole urban elite and discussing the colonial situation in the “public sphere of debate on issues of the \textit{res-publica}.”\textsuperscript{105}

Through the basic claim of asking the Spanish Crown for economic and political sponsorship, religious scholars progressively pushed for more secular agendas, like the acknowledgement of Lima’s primacy over her peers in the Spanish Empire and the seniority of her citizens when they were considered for the appointment to offices, being descendants of those Spaniards who made possible the conquest of the New World. The development of these second agendas within the colonial historical narratives made of the “administrators of the Christian Republic,” true advocates of the urban elite to which they

\textsuperscript{103} Alejandra Osorio states that the written record was the counterpart to the ceremonial involving the symbolic aspects that celebrated Church and Crown but this discourse fostered the development of a historical memory about the city’s rights and privileges. See Osorio, \textit{Inventing Lima}, 100.

\textsuperscript{104} The creation of a sacred space is one of the functions that define urban settlements. See Joel Kotkin, \textit{The City. A Global History} (New York: The Modern Library, 2005), xvi.

\textsuperscript{105} Rama, \textit{Lettered City}, VIII, IX.
were connected. Lemenian secular and religious elites shared a sense of entitlement based on the fact that Lima was one of the first colonial metropolises of the New World and particular, during the seventeenth century in particular was the most important and wealthy city in South America. Due to its monopolistic control of the silver flowing out of the Andean mines and the trade movement in the Pacific area, Lima became -less than hundred years after being founded- an almost unparalleled urban and economic center in the Americas. Her mythical wealth attracted all sort of settlers: those who wanted to secure a high income in the flourishing religious and civil colonial administrations, those interested in trade at all levels, those offering sophisticated services to a rich clientele willing to pay any price and those looking to use the city as a doorway to the inner riches of the Peruvian viceroyalty. In 1614, the population of Los

106 Angel Rama has pointed out the influence of Neo-Platonism by early modern Europeans in the conception of the city. This conception saw the city as an ideal locus that went beyond the physical one. See Angel Rama, The Lettered City (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 2-3. I also find very useful the idea of Kagan that the ideological and symbolic aspects of the city (civitas) mattered more for its dwellers and rulers than its material aspects. See Richard Kagan, Urban Images of the Hispanic World (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 10-11.

107 For a complete description of the city in the period, see María Antonio Durán Montero, Lima en el siglo XVII. Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Vida Cotidiana (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 1994). Also, Jay Kinsbrunner, The Colonial Spanish-American City. Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). An in-depth analysis of Lima’s economic activities, her political entitlement and the construction of its political representation, see Osorio, Inventing Lima.

108 On colonial commerce, see Margarita Suárez, Desafíos transatlánticos: mercaderes, banqueros y el estado en el Perú virreinal, 1600-1700 (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001). The Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo described Lima’s mid-seventeenth century boom: “…es Lima la corte y emporio y una como perpetua feria de todo este reino…es muy grande el bullicio y tráfago del comercio, especialmente al tiempo que se despachan las armadas, para cuando suelen de ser de ordinario los plazos y pagos de compras y ventas se recogen las rentas reales y se embarcan para España con la plata de particulares que es el principal empleo que este reino…..la cantidad que cada año sale por registro del puerto…es de seis millones de ducados.” Bernabé Cobo, Obras, Francisco Mateos, ed. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1956, Tomo II), 320.
Reyes was already 25,000 and reached 38,000 by the end of the century. By the early 1650s, historians like the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo were at the same time stunned and shocked by the consequences of the economic boom fueled up by Andean silver and the trade monopoly. The wealth indicators of Lima’s creole gentry were evident - among many others - in over two-hundred gilded carriages on the city’s streets, more than ten thousand urban slaves, and streets covered with silver when a new viceroy was received, as occurred when the viceroy Count of Castellar entered the city in 1674.

History and wealth enhanced the awareness that Limenian citizens had of their political rights. However, these rights predated the economic boom that the city experienced in the early seventeenth century. Besides the fueros of the vecinos, the city was entitled to specific rights and honors not conferred on any other colonial city. Los Reyes - in spite of its geographical distance from the metropolis - had the right to be represented in the Cortes, the Spanish parliament, if it was convened by the Crown. But the right of representation in the case of Lima was real, since the procurador of the city (Proctor) had the right to vote. Besides the power of suffrage, the fact that Lima was a “Ciudad de Voto en Cortes” meant that her representative had the rank of ambassador

109 By 1619, a report sent by Lima’s archbishop to the Crown, gives a total population of about 24,902 people. More than 10,000 people were registered as Spanish/Mestizo and more than 11,000 were enslaved blacks See Emilio Lisson, La Iglesia de España en el Perú (Sevilla 1946, Tomo V), 251. Similar figures in Osorio, Inventing Lima, 24.

110 Cobo, Obras, 320.


112 Only twenty-one cities within the Spanish Empire had the right to send two proctors each to the Spanish Cortes but Lima, the right to vote. See Jose Ignacio Fortea Pérez, “An Unbalanced Representation: The Nature and Functions of the Cortes of Castile in the Habsburg Period (1538-1698), in Maija Jansson, ed., Realities of Representation. State Building in Early Modern Europe and European America (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 151.
when received at court and was preferred over other proctors.\textsuperscript{113} If the Cortes were convened, Lima’s representatives would certainly have more power than their peers who would solely be attendees. Thus, when the city of Lima sent proctors to the Spanish court, the assumption was that their requests would deserve special treatment, in particular requests made by the religious proctors, who were even more respected than their secular counterpart. These specific conditions need to be considered to understand the texture of the negotiation between the city’s corporations and the Crown.\textsuperscript{114} Another political advantage of the city of Los Reyes was that it was the only city in Spanish America to be exempted from having a corregidor, the chief royal magistrate with judicial powers. This meant that the cabildo or municipal government – the institution from which the rights of the vecinos stemmed- reported directly in judicial matters to the monarch and his representative, the viceroy.\textsuperscript{115} The combination of Lima being a city with the right to vote at Cortes, their Proctors able to exercise rank and power at the Spanish court and her

\textsuperscript{113} Legislation offers a glimpse of the rise and fall of Procuradores and the case of Lima’s proctors. In April 1609 a Royal Decree considered a receiving all the Spanish American Procuradores before the Council of the Indies, so their demands could be heard and solved at the same time. This measure was never enforced; it might have been the case that wealthier cities were preferred over less important ones. The Royal Decree of June 3, 1611, gave the Procurador of Lima, preeminence over other cities in Provincial Ecclesiastical Councils, confirming Lima’s seniority. However, in the Royal Decree of February 15th, 1620 we can see that the Crown tried to stop the flow of Procuradores from Spanish America going to Madrid to make demands before the Council of the Indies. Another one of June 11th, 1621, strictly forbade the passing of representatives from secular or ecclesiastic cabildos, or any other sort (“ni otro genero de comunidad”). Instruccion y Providencia para los Virreyes del Perú, ff. 288, 289. The two last measures provide strong evidence that religious proctors were particularly active and demanding.

\textsuperscript{114} Mexico City was given the privilege of being represented in Cortes in 1530. See Lohmann Villena, Guillermo, “Notas sobre la presencia de la Nueva España en las Cortes Metropolitana y de Cortes en la Nueva España en los Siglos XVI y XVII,” Historia Mexicana, XXXIX, 1, (1989): 33-39. As happened with Lima, it was more an honorific right rather than a real vote. On the role of Procuradores (proctors or deputies) in the Spanish Cortes system, see Jansson, Realities of Representation, 13. Jansson states that the blurry line between their roles as ministers of the kingdom and agents of the cities, made the system absolutely inoperative. Nevertheless, Spanish American cities used that honorific role of being part of the Cortes as an advantage for political purposes.

\textsuperscript{115} Lohmann, “Lima en el siglo XVII”, 107-108.
citizens being their own judges gave the city considerable leverage in political negotiations with the Crown. Building upon these privileges, religious proctors developed a great sense of entitlement, since according to Spanish law cities and the Church had preference in any claim presented before the monarch.\footnote{Memorial del Dean y Cabildo de Salamanca, f. 12.}

The seniority and privileges of Lima’s vecinos were at the base of the argumentation used by colonial religious discourse when addressing the King and the Council of the Indies in regard to appointment for offices. The best example of how the rights of creole citizens were used to negotiate privileges for the creole members of the ecclesiastical body is found in the work of one of the most prominent members of Limenian secular Church in the early 1630s: the licenciado Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa.\footnote{Betancourt was a full member of the Limenian religious and scholarly elite. He was born in Quito but as a child moved to Los Reyes where he spent all his life until he his appointment as bishop of Popayán in the late 1640s. He died there around 1659. Besides his work as judge at the Inquisition Tribunal, he was a canon and proctor in Madrid on behalf of the cathedral chapter. See Mendiburu, Diccionario, Vol. III, 66\footnote{Memorial del Dean y Cabildo de Salamanca, f. 12.} and AGN (Lima), Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 630, 1659-A, fol. 904r. His wealth and lifestyle bear witness the various contracts involving the purchase of Indian slaves, and the charge to merchants and commercial agents in Lima for money that Canon Betancurt took with him from Peru to Spain on the several occasions he crossed the Atlantic. Even after his death, his property was still rendering income. AGN (Lima), Notary Marcelo Antonio Figueroa, Prot. 586, 1641, fol. 773, Prot. 362, 1645, fol. 467 and Prot. 629, fol. 2665, 1658-C.} Betancourt, a wealthy and influential member of Lima’s cathedral chapter, came from of a prestigious Nuevo Reino lineage (present-day Colombia) and settled down in the capital of the viceroyalty. Betancurt’s Derecho de las Iglesias Metropolitanas (1637) is a treatise on the rights Limenian creole had over foreigners in regards to appointments to the highest administrative positions of the local Church, namely the cathedral chapter, bishoprics and archbishoprics.\footnote{Memorial del Dean y Cabildo de Salamanca, f. 12.} This now almost
unknown piece of colonial legal scholarship clearly exemplifies two issues. First, it sheds light on how religious discourse of the seventeenth century was built with the interpretation that *creole* scholars made of legal doctrines of *vecindad* and *naturaleza* that applied to the urban elite. Canon Betancourt was constantly cited in major historical works of the period because his doctrine aptly served the purpose of religious narratives when defending the rights of creole elites. Second, the appropriation of Betancurt by authors from the corporate colonial Church -and even of his personal acquaintances- contradicts the idea that secular and regular clergy were necessarily opposed. On the contrary, both parties conveniently allied when the rights of colonial urban elites were threatened by Crown’s measures. Creole awareness was above institutional divisions.

Betancurt’s work drew from three very important sources constantly cited in religious historical narratives of the period. The first one, published in Valladolid in 1609, could be considered the cornerstone of creole rights in the New World. It is the almost unknown *Disceptación sobre Justicia Distributiva* by Fray Juan Zapata y Sandoval, a Mexican Augustinian living in Spain and later made bishop of Chiapas and Guatemala. 119 The novelty in Zapata’s work is the introduction of the concept of distributive justice, an old legal principle by virtue of which, when the King had to reward his most distinguished subjects with prelacies and appointments either in the secular or religious administration, he had to consider the rights of seniority of local

118 Luis de Betancourt y Figueroa, *Derecho de las Iglesias Metropolitanas y Catedrales de las Indias, para la prelación de los capitulares y naturales dellas en la previsión de sus prelacias* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1637).

119 Zapata lived in Spain between 1601 and 1613. In that year he was returned to Mexico as bishop of Chiapas. In 1613 he was made bishop of Guatemala. See Fray Juan Zapata y Sandoval, *Disceptación sobre Justicia Distributiva y sobre la Acepción de Personas a ella opuesta*, Arturo Ramírez Trejo, ed. (Mexico: UNAM, 1994), XVII, XVIII.
citizens. An important assumption of distributive justice was that the King had to reward his Spanish American subjects because as King, a chain of reciprocity was needed to consolidate loyalties, especially with far-distant subjects. The King being also a judge, he could not ignore the law mandating the appointment of vecinos over non-locals. Betancurt’s ideas also drew from the memoriales written by licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes on the rights of creole elites between 1619 and 1620 and published in Madrid. Betancurt in particular drew from Ortiz de Cervantes’ Derecho que tienen los nacidos en las Indias a ser preferidos en las Prelacías, Dignidades, Canongías y otros beneficios (Madrid, 1620). Ortiz de Cervantes was the first Peruvian creole who followed -and adapted in the case of Peru- the doctrine of Father Zapata on distributive justice.

Thus, following Sandoval and Ortiz de Cervantes, Betancurt’s Derecho de las Iglesias Metropolitanas stressed the fact that the same rights and legal considerations that applied to vecinos of Spanish cities applied to Limenians as well, because the fueros given to the city of Los Reyes were similar as those of cities in the peninsula. As happened with openings in the secular or religious cabildos in Spain, whenever two candidates were applying for the same prelacy, the local with rights of citizenship had to be preferred over the non-local, because the former’s rights of birth could not be alienated. Even in the cases where the non-locals excelled in merits over the locals, the latter should be preferred. Given that this practice already had been sanctioned by divine, natural, civil and ecclesiastical law and that the laws were the same on both sides of the

120 “La justicia distributiva, exige proporcion en cada republica entre los honores y beneficios comunes que se distribuyen, y los meritos de las personas entre las que se hace la distribución.” See Zapata, Disceptación, 48.

121 Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, Derecho que tienen los nacidos en las Indias a ser preferidos en las Prelacías, Dignidades, Canongías y otros beneficios eclesiásticos y oficios seculares dellas (Madrid, 1620). It was the third memorial written by Ortiz de Cervantes and the one specifically centered on religious prelacies.
Atlantic, then Lima’s vecinos should be considered for Peruvian prelacies over newcomers.\textsuperscript{122} Betancurt’s notion of non-local, though, had nothing to do with the contemporary opposition between nationals and foreigners. His discussion focused on the rights given by the naturaleza of citizens understood as the rights of citizens to access government in their hometowns over the rights of other Spanish subjects pretending to be elected for local office based only on their merits. Betancourt sought for the Limenian clergy the extension of municipal rights (fueros) that vecinos already held, but he was clearly making a case that was valid for all creole elites regardless of the corporations with which they were associated.\textsuperscript{123} This intentional overlap between secular and ecclesiastical legislation that was used to elaborate political ideas and to push for the rights of colonial elites shows how crafty Betancurt’s argumentation was in order to move from secular to religious agendas and vice-versa.

As said before, Betancurt elaborated on the three Memoriales written by licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes on the rights of Peruvian encomenderos in 1619-1620. The first one, published in the Spanish court in 1619 and addressed to King Philip III, started a tradition that sought to establish a direct dialogue with the Crown in regards to the rights of Peruvian creole elites. In this regard, it is important to notice the difference between the treatise of Father Sandoval on the political theory that supported the rights of creole elites for appointments on the one hand, and the writings of his Peruvian followers, Ortiz de Cervantes and Betancurt on the other. Sandoval pointed out for the very first time the existence of a theory that protected the rights of creole subjects,

\textsuperscript{122} Betancourt, Derecho de las Iglesias, ff. 1v, 2r.

\textsuperscript{123} “No carecen deste derecho municipal las Indias ni deste su privilegio sus naturales, que desean la ejecucion, como tienen la determinación por sí”. Betancourt, Derecho de las Iglesias, f. 6r.
but his work was a piece of scholarship that was not related to specific issues. His Peruvian followers adapted Sandoval’s theory of distributive justice for specific situations and then addressed these writings directly to the Crown, demanding a reorientation of colonial rule. A good example of Peruvian memorialismo is the work of Ortiz de Cervantes, who arrived in Madrid in 1619 as proctor of Cuzco benemérito elite and published there the claim of the encomenderos for the permanent benefit of Indian labor. Facing the possibility of having the encomiendas abolished permanently, those who were still in possession of these labor grants at the beginning of the seventeenth century lobbied in Madrid to push for an extension of this benefit. But there was another issue present in the memorial of 1619 and that is the fact that those encomiendas taken from its original beneficiaries were given to courtiers and grandees in Madrid. Claiming that the rights of Peruvian encomenderos as vecinos should be always preferred over those of courtiers in Madrid -regardless of these courtier’s merits- Ortiz de Cervantes made wide use of the theory of distributive justice. A year later, the Peruvian proctor published at court another project titled Parabién al Rey D. Felipe III Nuestro Señor in which he asked for the same extension of the benefit of the encomienda, invoking not only the rights of Cuzco encomenderos but also those of the indigenous population, who would be greatly protected and looked after by their Spanish lords. The novelty of this

124 Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, Memorial, que presenta a Ss Magestad el licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, abogado, y procurador general del reyno del Pirú, y encomenderos. Sobre pedir remedio del daño, y diminución de los Indios: y propone ser medio eficaz la perpetuydad de encomiendas (Madrid: 1619), f. 7r. Cervantes basically argued in favor of the Peruvian encomenderos who wanted to retain two thirds of the existing encomiendas in the viceroyalty for their beneficiaries and successors, and the other one third as pensions (the part that could be granted by the Crown to non-Peruvians or newcomers), claiming that only the encomenderos knew how to make good subjects out of the Indian population. The beneméritos were the descendants of the first generation of Spanish conquistadors and settlers who had inherited some benefits granted to their ancestor. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, few of these beneméritos were wealthy.
second piece was the discussion for the first time of religious prelacies, bringing together both creole agendas, both secular and religious, as one.\footnote{Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, *Parabién al Rey D. Felipe III Nuestro Señor que da la cabeza del reyno del Perú y en su nombre el licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes su Procurador General en la Corte* (Madrid, 1620). The daring piece is half project, half personal congratulation on the occasion of Philip III’s birthday. Never before, such a straightforward piece, had been written before in Spanish America.}

In his 1637 work, Canon Betancourt decidedly pushed for the promotion of the creole elite inside the colonial Church. The obtaining of religious prelacies, he said, was the right of locals and when the King failed to honor and compensate colonial elites and kept them apart from his generosity, he weakened the bond between subject and Prince. Betancourt’s *Memorial* made a very important case by pointing out that in the economy of favor between Crown and Spanish American subjects, the former should never forget the immense treasure offered by the Indies to the Crown of Castile; if not by the rights acquired by birth as vecinos, the sheer size of the Peruvian contribution in silver to the Royal Treasury would suffice to promote its creole elites. Moreover, a broken reciprocity between people and sovereign would lead to rebellions and desire for secession as happened with the rebellion of the encomenderos following the passing of the New Laws of 1542.\footnote{“el pueblo…viendo a sus principales excluidos del gobierno se persuade es en su menosprecio tenidos por de condicion servil i de fe mal segura: de que procede el aborrecimiento, deseo de libertad i de mudanza de príncipe…Quando esta doctrina politica no se haya verificado en los grandes alborotos, i peligrosas inquietudes, que ya se vieron en el Peru, sobre aver quitado algunas encomiendas a los que por sus servicios las avian merecido i se pida ejemplo mas propio i en tierra i reino mas cercano, hallarase que las comunidades que en Espana huvo en tiempo del senor emperador don Carlos, nacieron, como advierte fray Prudencio Sandoval, de tres quexas que los castellanos dieron, a la una, ver salir a su rey del reino, la otras que se sacasse del todo el dinero, la otra que se diessen los oficios i beneficios a estrangeros. O lealtad de las Indias! Tan anticipada de su origen, tan debida a pechos espanoles, pues estando tan distantes no estan menos sujetos, ni obedientes, que los vasallos mas cercanos al Sol que los guia i rige, al rei nuestro suenos que los alumbra….” Betancourt, *Derecho de las Iglesias*, f. 37v.} Yet, in spite of the unbalanced reciprocity between Crown and Spanish American subjects, Betancurt praised the staunch loyalty of the Indies to their ruler. The tone of canon Betancurt’s *Memorial* was shared by most of the works that belong to the
corpus of seventeenth-century Limenian religious discourse not only because Betancurt’s agenda was in keeping with that of the other religious scholars but because unlike Ortiz de Cervantes—who had moved to Bogota as oidor of the audiencia of Nuevo Reino—Betancurt returned to Peru and met a few of these scholars in Madrid. Moreover, he exercised direct and decisive influence on his peer creole religious letrados who in keeping with their ideological leader infused historical narratives, sermons and projects with both the claims of the corporate Church and the more polemic issue of creole rights. When religious narratives of empire-building demanded canonizations, celebrated royal victories and missionary achievements, and honored the Virgin, the Holy Sacrament and the House of Austria, they were indirectly demanding from the Crown benefits for the creole elite: prelacies, secular offices and encomiendas.

The fact that the claims of creole religious scholars in historical narratives were theoretically and legally framed after the double secular and religious agenda present in the work of colonial memorialistas has been overlooked. The context in which these works were produced—that is midst the conflict between corporate Church and Crown—fostered as well the development of creole claims and even promoted the overlap of Church and secular demands. The demands of creole elites in the hands of religious authors revealed the depth of the human and intellectual connection between these two groups. The social background of the authors considered here leads to the core of the regional Peruvian encomendero class, whose ultimate attempt to lobby for their own sake

127 The most updated work on Peruvian colonial historiography considered colonial historical narratives as mere sources for the study of indigenous peoples, hence focused on the voices of Indians and information on indigenous polities in them. This approach greatly limited our understanding of these works as evidence of the transformation of the ars historica and its fusion with the memorial and the creation of a colonial Catholic statecraft. See Franklin Pease. Las Crónicas y los Andes (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995).
would result in the sending of its children to pursue a religious career in the viceregal capital of Lima. The licenciado Betancurt as representative and speaker of the religious creole elite of the “Sacred City” used the legal corpus behind the rights of citizens and vecinos along with the frustration and anger of the postponed encomenderos in order to build his argumentation for the privileges of both beneméritos and creole clergy, hence his ideas became popular among creole chroniclers in the Augustinian and Franciscan Orders. 128

2.2. Another Rome

The religious historical discourse produced in the period from 1620 and 1680, coincides with the apogee of Lima’s elite economic, cultural and political influence in South America. It was also the period of time during which the city was able to create the myth of its religious purity, that was based on an early notion of nationhood but above all on the discussion with the Crown about the political entitlement of the corporate Church. Coincidently, this period of six decades saw the elevation to the altars of two Peruvian saints, either creole or Spaniards long-established in the viceroyalty of Peru. The successful canonizations of Rose of Lima and Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo demonstrated the effective agency of the Dominican Order and the cathedral chapter of the city both at the Spanish and Papal court. However, the promotion to local sainthood was quite a widespread phenomenon among other religious corporations such as the

128 The benemérito colonial elite comprised the children or descendants of the conquistadors, local nobility and those who had excelled in war action in Spanish America. Beneméritos were by definition entitled to encomiendas and appointments in the upper levels of colonial bureaucracy. The condition was extended later to veterans of wars, like the war of Chile. The category entailed nobility and citizenship. See Fred Bronner, “Peruvian Encomenderos in 1630: Elite Circulation and Consolidation,” Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 57, No. 4, (1977): 642-643.
Franciscans and the Jesuits. Of these two corporations only the children of Saint Francis were able to achieve the beatification of their candidate, the blessed Francis Solano in 1675. The Dominicans actually had three other candidates, eclipsed after the triumph of Rose of Lima in 1671. That was the case of Fathers Vicente Vernedo, Martín de Porres and Juan Masías, the two last being beatified and canonized in subsequent centuries. The agency of religious corporations and urban elites behind these canonization causes reveal much not only about the use of local sainthood to push for the rights of creole gentry, but also about the greater power among Lima’s urban religious elite. In this regard, it is particularly interesting to see the maneuvering behind the unsuccessful cases of promotion of sainthood, since they reveal the challenges experienced by religious scholars in linking the rhetoric of Empire-building to their corporate agendas when trying to convince the courts of Madrid and Rome of the need for yet another saint.

The cohort of religious scholars producing the discourse on the rights of the corporate Church and creole elite was also in charge of the administration of the sacred in Los Reyes so it is useful to have a look at the process of making a saint in order to determine whether creole agendas are present. One main concern of the writers belonging to the different Orders was that the city of Los Reyes did not have a long sacred tradition and its position as a holy landmark in the trans-Atlantic Spanish possessions might be acquired sooner than later to consolidate its position as Catholic civitas. By the early 1610s Lima’s sacred symbolism had gained momentum with a significant religious population. According to the census ordered by viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros in 1614, the religious population of the city was about 1600 people. The male religious population belonging to the five main religious corporations (Dominicans, Augustinians,
Mercedarians, Franciscans and Jesuits) comprised almost 900 men while the secular clergy counted 400 priests among its members. Being not even a hundred years old, Lima already had the same religious population number as held by Madrid and Seville. The political and cultural influence of Lima’s religious population and the death of a humble Franciscan friar would galvanize the aspirations of both the Franciscan Order and the elite of the city. In 1610, unknown to most of the city, the Spanish-born friar Francis Solano died in the Franciscan convent. His virtuous life probably did not differ much from that of many other friars living in Spanish America at the time; yet two years after his death, he was already a celebrity. By May 1612, the Franciscan Order had already made Solano a symbol of Lima’s perfect Catholicism and convinced the Archbishop and the members of the cathedral chapter to write to the King to ask for his intercession before the Pope to start the process that would lead Solano toward official sainthood. The reason invoked by the city’s ecclesiastical elite was the need to promote local devotion with an exemplary life, that of this recently dead Franciscan. However, more than solely devotional issues would be at stake in this first attempt of a Spanish American city to have its own saint; the role of religious intellectuals would be crucial. Soon, the overlap of confessional and patriotic issues would be clear.

In order to promote Francis Solano’s candidacy to sainthood, and to position it as an appealing one -considering that he had lived most of his life so far from the European

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130 See Emilio Lisson, La Iglesia de España en el Perú, Vol. IV (Sevilla, 1946), 637-638.
cities from which saints had traditionally come- the Franciscan Order in Lima launched a mayor propaganda campaign in order to stress the uniqueness of the “religious career” of Solano in the short religious history of the Indies. In 1614, the Order launched the first biography of the saintly friar, written by the creole Franciscan Luis Gerónimo de Oré.\footnote{In 1613, Luis Geronimo de Oré, as proctor of the Franciscan Order went to Spain to do research on the life of Solano. A year later, the first biography of Solano was published in Madrid. See Fray Luis Gerónimo de Oré, \textit{Relación de la Vida y Milagros de San Francisco Solano} (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998), XVII.}

The strength of this first hagiography was undeniable, with a narrative centered on Solano’s years of preaching to the indigenous heathen in the Tucuman area. The diffusion of Solano’s saintly deeds made possible for the Pope in 1628 to open the formal process leading to the canonization of Solano. When the papal bull reached Lima, the celebrations took place for several days; they provided strong evidence that in the decade between the publication of Oré’s work and the bull, Solano had become very important to the urban elite and not necessarily for his massive baptisms among the Indians. In 1629, the vecinos of Lima took the canonization to another level when the cabildo of Los Reyes officially proclaimed the blessed Francis Solano as patron saint of the city and assigned the generous sum of two hundred ducats to be sent annually to Rome to expedite the process.\footnote{See Fray Diego de Córdova, \textit{Relación escrita por el P. Fray Diego de Córdova del Orden del Seráfico Padre San Francisco, Predicador y Notario Apostólico de los Patronazgos hechos en el Venerable P. Fr. Francisco Solano,} (Lima, c. 1634). According to new regulations on sainthood approved after the Council of Trent, fifty years had to pass in order to officially consider someone a saint. Any exemption to this required papal dispensation. The letter sent to the King by the vecinos of Lima pushed for that exemption: “La notoria santidad y raros milagros de la vida y muerte del religiosísimo y perfetissimo padre fray Francisco Solano de la serifica horden de San Francisco esta tan autenticada por sus informaciones y tan asentada por la general universal aclamacion deste reyno que el cavildo desta ciudad como cabeca del y ella como mas interesada por poseer y benerar su dicho cuerpo y sepulcro y aver tantos anos gozado de la pureza y excelencias de sus heroicas virtudes y del continuo fruto de su apostolica predicacion y doctrina se halla totalmente obligada a elegirle por su patron y a la solicitud de su canonizacion y es la grandeza de Vuestra Magestad el mas eficaz medio para conseguirla”. CVU, Letter from the Cabildo of Los Reyes to Philip IV, 1629.} The political support of the city and the Peruvian silver combined did have
great success. In 1633, the viceroy Count of Chinchón announced to an exultant city of Los Reyes that he had received a letter from the King Philip IV announcing the formal introduction of the canonization cause in Rome a year before with recommendation of the monarch, the queen and the count Duke of Olivares himself. Lima would have her first saint.

It is interesting to consider the union of different imperial institutions that took place in order to promote the cause of Francis Solano’s sainthood: the royal family, the colonial government represented by the viceroy, the local Church represented by the Archbishop and the Franciscan Order and finally, the cabildo and the University of San Marcos. This expression of Spanish pride was certainly the result of a very actively printed propaganda, which began in 1614 and would continue until 1676, certainly reflecting the vitality of narratives of Empire-building. However, the support of Lima’s city council and university linked the process of canonization of Solano to the creole’s political agenda and made the issue a regional rather than a Spanish one. Los Reyes’ creole elite understood that their wishes for political promotion were closely related to the success of the Franciscan reaching the altar. Nothing could equal sainthood in the hierarchy of honors of which Lima could be proud, but once this had been achieved

133 “Sanctísimo Padre las maravillas deste siervo de Dios ygualan con las de los Apostoles. Esto pide un Nuevo Mundo y el Rey de Espana, y assi todos nos conformamos en que Vuestra Santidad si es servido conceda la dispensa”, Fray Diego de Córdova, Relación de la Causa de la beatificación y canonización del venerable Padre. San Francisco Solano de la orden de Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la regular observancia y el estado que al presente tiene en la curia romana por el P. Fray Diego de Córdova coronista de su religión en el Perú (Lima: Pedro de Cabrera, 1641).

134 Besides the works of Oré (cited above) and Córdova (1630), there was a third major hagiography: Fray Pedro de Mena, Vida, virtudes y milagros del apostol del Peru el B. P. Fr. Fco. Solano de la Seráfica orden de los Menores de la regular Observancia, Patrón de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos que juraron ante los ilustrísimos arzobispos y obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Córdova…por el P. Fr. Diego de Córdova, natural de la misma ciudad de Lima. Tercera Impresión que saca a la luz el R.P. Fr. Pedro de Mena, Predicador de Su Magestad, Padre de esta Santa Provincia de Castilla y guardián del convento de Madrid (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676).
nothing could be denied to the people who ruled the *civitas*. Creole sainthood -Solano had become a *vecino* for his long residence in Lima- meant even more than solely Catholic perfection. It meant that Lima had come of age as a Catholic metropolis and its elite would soon be considered irreproachable for promotion in the administration of the Catholic Church, locally and in the empire. One example of religious scholarship and creole urban agenda is that of Franciscan Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas, whose life and work we will see later in detail; he was appointed as Solano’s official hagiographer shortly after the opening of the process of beatification. In 1630, a second major biographical piece on the “new saint” left the print with new miracles by the cultivated quill of Fray Diego.135 In the new hagiography, Francis Solano became the favorite devotion of prominent members of Lima’s social, political and religious elites, basically a network of relatives and friends of Fray Diego de Córdova, who along with his brother, also the Franciscan Buenaventura de Salinas, sought to push the claims of the Order, the creole and even those of their lineage through the canonization process of Solano.

The way in which the canonization of Solano could foster creole prominence is clearly stated in the letter that, on the occasion of the recently published hagiography, Salinas wrote to his brother Fray Diego in 1630. Here in which Father Salinas explained the symbolic and political importance of the new saint for the city of Los Reyes. The wealth and titles of Lima, Salinas argued, were substantial political achievements but nothing compared to the honor of being the cradle and the tomb of a new saint. The new devotion, explained Fray Buenaventura to his brother, would make Lima equal to Rome and Madrid or to any other major center in the Catholic geography. Most importantly, the

135 Fray Diego de Córdova, *Vida, virtudes y milagros del nuevo apostol del Peru el venerable P. F. Francisco Solano de la seráfica orden de los Menores de la regular Observancia, Patrón de la ciudad de Los Reyes, Cabeça, Metrópoli de los Reynos del Pirú* (Lima: Jerónimo de Contreras, 1630).
new saint would translate into the consolidation of those political rights and honors already bestowed on the city. In a sacramental conception of society, in a world split into Catholics and heretics, Lima’s creole religious intelligentsia wanted to make their city another landmark in the Catholic orb and a center of trans-Atlantic “sacredness” from which the final conquest of the globe would start. The letter, which reflects the mindset shared by Lima’s elite, was part of a political agenda to put the city at another level within the empire. This was evident in the rush of the cabildo to declare Solano patron saint even before having being canonized. It is also evident in the transformation of Solano from a preacher among the heathen to an urban healer among the wealthy creole of Los Reyes, patron saint of South American cities and celestial captain of the Spanish forces against the Araucanians, as was clear after the publication of Córdova’s work.

136 “…los respetos y títulos de las excelencias temporales de las ciudades, aunque compitan con Roma, no son de tanta consideración si se comparan con la gloria y soberanía que alcanzan por los respetos divinos de los santos, que las honraron en vida, y autorizan y guardan con las reliquias de sus cuerpos en la muerte…” Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 331.

137 It is also in this metaphorical sense and warlike sense of the colonial frontier, that the adoption of Solano as captain of the colonial troops should be understood. Between the 1630s and 1640’s, Solano became the unofficial “patron saint” of the Spanish army fighting the Araucanians in the colonial frontier of Chile. Solano became the Santiago of creole soldiers from Peru. The Captain General of Chile declared in 1633 of the victory due to the intercession of the Franciscan: “…aviéndose convocado treinta indios valentones de tierra de Guerra los mas escogidos y soldados de grande opinion y venidos muy encubiertos por unas montanas para dar en unas estancias junto a la ciudad de Chillan en nuestras tierras y quemarlas y llevar la gente que pudiesen. Fueron descubiertos por algunos soldados de Guerra que yo tenia en cierto paraje y cerrando con ellos pelearon matando nueve y cautivando veinte…..sea Dios alabado que juzgo a sido por medio e intercession del santo Solano, que a sido una grande suerte que aunque en la cantidad no es la mayor en la calidad grande porque eran los mayores corsarios que tenian en tierra de Guerra. Hagame favor Vuestra Paternidad de enbiarme una reliquia de su mismo cuerpo que la estimare en mi alma…..” See Córdova, Relación.
The cooptation of the canonization of Solano by the creole elite explains why the race for sainthood in Lima had no equal in Spanish America in those years.\(^{138}\)

The transformation of Solano from missionary hero to reformer of creole morals started within the Franciscan Order itself due to the talent of the Franciscan brothers already mentioned. But the episode that best exemplifies this transformation was his conversion of the city in 1609, which appeared for the first time in 1629: Fray Buenaventura de Salinas declared before the religious authorities of Lima in charge of documenting the miracles of Solano. The baroque tale of conversion, massive panic and the freeing of the city from the reins of the devil would appear a year later in Fray Diego de Córdova’s hagiography. In 1629, Salinas stated that on the occasion of Solano’s preaching twenty years before, Lima -“as another Nineveh after Jonas’ preaching”- converted and repented from her sins in just one night.\(^{139}\) Scared by the prophetic announcement of a heavenly punishment made by the blessed Solano, hundreds of colonials rushed to get married, pay debts and looked for confession to prepare their souls for the afterlife. The already dramatic tone of Father Salinas’s narration reached its

\(^{138}\) As a preface to the 1630 hagiography by Córdova, the licenciado Pedro de Oña, published an epic poetry in which the River Rimac in Lima, explained to the River Tiber in Rome, the importance of the new cult of Solano for the Spanish Indies:

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“...Que la Christiana majestad acuda
A lo que yo te pido:
Pues suyo es el Peru, por buen derecho,
Y suyo el interes de que la tierra
Producez fertile (al primer barbecho)
Al que por santo aclaman valle, y sierra.
Dichoso yo, y dichoso desde luego,
Si a instancia de Felipe, y a tu ruego
(Ay Padre, ay Tibre sacro)
Mis aras a de onrar su simulacro…”
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\(^{139}\) Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Causa de Canonización de Francisco Solano, Leg. 3, Declaración de Buenaventura de Salinas, May 22, 1629.
climax when he affirmed that the preaching of Francis Solano on that 1609 night had
even made Satan himself to repent. According to Salinas’s testimony, Satan, adopting the
figure of a twelve year-old boy, confessed “horrendous sins” to the prior of the
Augustinian Order the morning after the famous sermon. When the overwhelmed
Augustinian friar, taking confession of the mysterious lad, asked for help from other
fellow Augustinians, the “boy” vanished, leaving behind him the smell of hell.140
Considering that Solano had converted thousands of Indians in the colonial fringe, had
led a thirty-thousand people city to repent and convert, and -last but not least- had forced
the “Devil” to look for repentance, it was clear that Lima was more entitled than any
other Spanish American city, to lead the imperial project of expanding Catholicism all
over the world. The city had certainly won new rights in the confessional and political
geography of sainthood and had become the axis of a new age of militant Spanish
Catholicism.

2.3. The Lettered City

In order to have a better grasp of the political claims of the religious letrado class
living in Lima in the seventeenth century and the discourse that they produced, it is
necessary to consider the educational milieu that shaped these creole scholars. It is true
that reading and self-teaching accounted for much of the education of early modern
scholars. Studies on the history of libraries and collections show how much Spanish
American colonials cared about building up education and how active print houses were

140 AAL, Causa de Canonización de Francisco Solano, Leg. 3.
in cities like Lima and Mexico since the sixteenth century. Members of the seventeenth-century letrado class in Los Reyes, third or four generation creole, benefitted from educational institutions already active in the city like the colegios of San Felipe and San Martin which they attended first as well as San Marcos University from which they finally graduated. Two major disciplines taught at Lima’s university -theology and Canon Law- shaped the religious discourse produced in the city. San Marcos’ educational offerings trained the intellectual cadres who would be eventually incorporated into the Peruvian colonial administration. Therefore, it is important to have a look at the way creole scholars made use of San Marcos.

Lima’s scholars were all members of the colonial ecclesiastical body. A few belonged to the secular clergy as members of the cathedral chapter, but most of them were members of the religious Orders. At first glance, this meant a difference in terms of training since the secular clergy studied Theology at San Marcos University while the members of the regular clergy did so at the Orders’ seminaries, the so-called universities “intra-claustro.” However, because of the seniority of San Marcos, degrees were

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142 In the 1620s the Jesuit Order got approval from Pope Gregory XV (August 1621) and the King to open universities within their seminaries, a measure which was fiercely opposed by Lima’s and Mexico University. Only those Jesuit Universities far from these two centers were finally accepted to exist (Cuzco, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, Bogotá and Chuquisaca) and their degrees declared valid in 1634 by Urban VIII. The Procurador of San Marcos complained: “…y no fue menor [merced] la de la ejecutorial contra las universidades que se havian levantado sin tener facultad para ello en los colegios de la Compania de Jesus de la ciudad de La Plata, Cuzco y Quito con que se remediaron los danos que causaban con los nuevos grados pues llego al exceso a graduar e incorporar de todas facultades en forma de claustro con paseo y solemnidad como se hace en esta Universidad teniendo los rectores de la Compania sillas de terciopelo y
conferred only by the University, making it not only an important venue at which to complete a formal education, but most importantly the place at which a scholar belonging to the Church would have a certain degree of control and power, especially through teaching Theology and Canon Law.\textsuperscript{143} My interest here is not to delve into San Marcos curricula, but rather to understand the maneuvering by which colonial religious scholars kept an institutional and personal presence in the University. San Marcos, being a platform by which the creole elite ascended to the ranks of religious and secular bureaucracies, the control of its academic chairs by the Orders or by powerful religious figures, guaranteed the teaching of certain philosophical and theological trends, the successful graduation of their own doctoral candidates and the promotion of colonial lineages. Thus, the Jesuit Order managed to control the chairs of Latin Grammar, the Dominicans, those of Aquinas’ Scholastics and the Franciscans and Augustinians, the chairs for the teaching of the Philosophy of Duns Scotus and Peter Lombard, respectively. Throughout the seventeenth-century the teaching of theology and law at San Marcos was mostly in the hands of the powerful Augustinian and Dominican Orders. It is no surprise then that the most important scholars who belonged to both corporations were related to the university’s government and faculty.\textsuperscript{144}

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\textsuperscript{143} On the legal action followed by Lima’s university to defend its right to confer academic degrees, see Antonio Rodríguez de León Pinelo, \textit{Por la Real Universidad y Escuelas Generales de San Marcos en la ciudad de Lima, en las Provincias del Perú} (Madrid, c. 1631).

\textsuperscript{144} The Jesuit Colegios of San Martin and San Felipe were the educational centers that the creole elite of the region attended until they moved to San Marcos University to get their doctorates. San Marcos, originally under the control of the Dominican Order since its foundation in 1551, still had a major Dominican presence by the seventeenth century followed by the Augustinians. Eventually, a notorious Jesuit theologian or linguist was also appointed as professor. See Martin Monsalve, “Historia de la
Lima’s University -founded in 1551 and canonically erected in 1571- operated in the Dominican convent for a few years. It also retained the title of “Pontifical” for a long time, but none of these aspects made the school necessarily a religious institution. In terms of its funding, for example, San Marcos was much closer to the Crown because of its operations’ dependence on the Royal Patronage and the Crown’s generosity to operate. The school received the Crown’s share of the tithe collection of Lima’s archbishopric and its academic life was supervised by the viceroy and the Council of the Indies, who appointed and promoted faculty members. In regards to its administration and the training of the members of colonial bureaucracy, the University reproduced the “City of Protocols,” as Rama has defined that aspect of colonial urban life dealing with the training of state bureaucracy. However, the model proposed by Rama does not quite fit in terms of the case of Los Reyes’ university. It is true that San Marcos trained the colonial bureaucracy and was in many regards a Crown-controlled university, but in fact the University was effectively in the hands of its religious creole faculty rather than in those of state-appointed officials. Moreover, San Marcos’ religious faculty used it as a

Universidad de San Marcos y Facultad de Teología (1551-1640), Revista Teológica Limense, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2-3, (1994): 311-312. Saranyana thinks that the Jesuits had much of the control of the cultural life of the city through education and scholarly production, thereby leaving no room to San Marcos’ based scholars who belonged to the Orders. Jesuit Theologians did excel indeed, but San Marcos hosted a few distinguished Jesuit scholars as well. However, San Marcos certainly was more a stronghold of Dominican and Agustinian Theology during the colonial period. See Josep Ignasi Saranyana, dir., Teología en América Latina. Vol. I. Desde los Orígenes a la Guerra de Sucesión (1493-1715) (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 1999), 370-371.


146 The University charter was printed in 1602 by order of Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco. Constituciones y Ordenanzas de la Universidad y Estudio General de la Ciudad de los Reyes del Pirú (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1602). By virtue of this document San Marcos was made the Spanish American peer of Salamanca University.

147 Rama, The Lettered City, 29-30.
center for the propaganda of the local corporate Church, training local elites to oppose fiscal royalism and the control of the Orders by the Crown.

The use of the University as a platform for creole politics progressively weakened the Crown’s grip on the first educational establishment in the viceroyalty. In spite of being a Crown-funded and Crown-supervised educational institution, San Marcos was co-opted by Lima’s creole elite through the cohort of theologians and canonists that taught there. This cohort consolidated the colonial corporate Church and empowered the most distinguished lineages in the city instead of strengthening the secular and Crown-oriented “City of Protocols” required by the colonial state. In 1647, when one of the most prominent creole scholars of the period, the Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha, was asked by San Marcos faculty in compliance with a royal decree to write the History of the University, it was clear that the document was more a statement of creole politics that defended the theory of distributive justice above any other consideration. For Calancha, San Marcos’ graduates were meant to occupy the most important offices in the colonial administration, both in the secular and ecclesiastical realms in order to empower and honor, first and foremost, colonial elites. Only the excellence of the local elite -oidores, members of the local Inquisition chapter and parish priests graduated in Lima’s University- could accomplish the reproduction and soundness of the colonial system and not the other way around. Furthermore, trained in Canon Law and scholastic theology, the creole elite ruled justly the Spanish American dominions and so, as Father Calancha concluded, “the King’s conscience could be in peace.”148

148 “Si se hubiera de hacer copia de los graduados en esta Universidad que an asendido a prebendas en las catedras estas Indias Occidentales fuera dilatadissima relacion…” See Antonio de la Calancha, “Historia de la Universidad de San Marcos, hasta el 15 de Julio de 1647,” in Luis Antonio Eguiguren, Diccionario
Antonio de la Calancha, one of the most important names in creole religious scholarship of seventeenth century, whose work will be analyzed later, had both personal and academic connections to San Marcos. Nonetheless, in spite of an accomplished career, which made him the official historian of the university, Calancha is not the best case by which to exemplify the advancement and promotion of a creole career and lineage. The best example -albeit a totally forgotten figure nowadays- is the brilliant, cosmopolitan and ambitious creole priest whose name would be related to almost every major colonial institution, from San Marcos to Lima’s cathedral chapter and the vice-regal palace to the Council of the Indies: Don Feliciano de Vega y Padilla. Don Feliciano united, better than any other of his contemporaries, his ambitious use of the colonial Church, his dedicated teaching and ruling of the University, his advocacy for the creole elite and a superb management of his vast personal fortune. Doctor Vega, as he was usually referred to in the documents, had one of the most interesting ecclesiastical careers in colonial Spanish America: for more than four decades after his passing in he was still remembered in Spanish official circles as “the oracle of viceroys and Audiencias.”

Born in 1577 to a very wealthy lineage from Seville established in Lima, Vega entered priesthood at a very young age. In 1604, at barely nineteen years old, he graduated as Doctor in theology at San Marcos. In 1605, he applied for the Chair of Canon Law in


149 In his book on Saint Toribio de Mogrovejo, Echave y Assú described Don Feliciano as: “…ornamento grande, si ya no de las primeras lumbreras, de Lima su patria, catedratico de prima de canones en esta real universidad, canonigo, chantre, provisor y governador general deste arcobispado, comissario general subdelegado de el tribunal de la Santa Cruzada. Varon el mas consultado de los tribunales, oraculo de virreyes y audiencias, maestro universal del Peru, cuyos discípulos mantuvieron el magisterio en ciencias…” Francisco Echave y Assú, La estrella de Lima, convertida en Sol (Amberes: Vermussen, 1688), 132-133.
competition with the recognized canonist Gaspar de Villarroel, formerly his professor and father of the famous Augustinian of the same name, whose brilliant scholarly and ecclesiastical career we will discuss later.\textsuperscript{150} The social merits of young Feliciano proved to be superior to those of his contender and Vega was thus given the Chair, which he occupied until retirement in 1631. While teaching at San Marcos for more than twenty-five years, Doctor Vega became famous as a theologian and canonist and was appointed Rector of the University on three occasions, the first just five years after having become part of the faculty.\textsuperscript{151} In 1632, when he was appointed bishop of Popayán, in a very symbolic gesture showing how much the University mattered in his career as religious authority, Doctor Vega chose to be consecrated as prelate not in the cathedral but in San Marcos.\textsuperscript{152} It was a clear statement as to by which degree the university was linked to the creole Church and mattered in a respected elite member career.\textsuperscript{153} It was also a symbolic

\textsuperscript{150} Licenciado Gaspar de Villarroel, “Catedratico Sustituto de Visperas de Canones,” who used to teach young Feliciano de Vega at San Marcos, was father of Fray Gaspar de Villarroel y Cárdenas, also a canonist and prolific Augustinian author. See Eguiguren, \textit{Diccionario}, Vol. I, 460.

\textsuperscript{151} Canon Vega was President of the university in 1610, 1616 and 1621. Eguiguren, \textit{Diccionario}, Vol. III, 455-456. Other close relatives occupied that same position. Vega’s maternal uncle, Doctor Padilla, in 1618 and his brother in law, Doctor Cipriano de Medina in 1617. The latter was also a lawyer at the Real Audiencia. Eguiguren, \textit{Diccionario}, Vol. I, 445. Gil González Dávila, the Spanish official chronicler, said about Don Feliciano’s academic merits: “Y a instancia del virrey y por peticion del claustro de la Universidad bolvio a leer [after he retired]...Atendio el virrey y clausulro a lo mucho que se ganava y el gran fruto que se cogia de su lectura y liciones como se manifestava por los muchos discipulos que tuvo.” See Gil González Dávila, \textit{Theatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de sus arzobispos y obispos y cosas memorables de sus sedes en lo que pertenece al reyno del Peru dedicale a la magestad del rey, don Phelipe IV...el M. Gil González Dávila, su coronista mayor de las Indias y de los reynos de las dos Castillas} (Madrid, Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1655), 63.

\textsuperscript{152} In 1631, being General Vicar of Lima’s archbishopric, in the ecclesiastical trial followed to the nun Aldonsa Messía, Vega also declared being a retired professor of the chair of “Prima de Canones.” AAL, Monasterio de la Encarnación, Leg. IV, fol. 2, 1631-33. In April 10, 1632, Vega was consecrated bishop of Popayán (Nueva Granada) at San Marcos. See AHNM, Codices 241, B.

\textsuperscript{153} Each promotion had to be approved by the Crown and supported with a Royal Decree issued by the Council of the Indies. Making a career in such a competitive environment as Lima’s cathedral chapter
act of possession, signifying how much the creole clergy wanted to control the formation of elite cadres.

Doctor Vega’s successful career was based on his excellence as canonist and theologian, tools which allowed him to master the workings of colonial society. During his various appointments as member of the cathedral chapter of Lima, Vega had the chance to exercise these skills as a close aid to three archbishops, as General Vicar and as an administrator of one of the richest archbishoprics in Spanish America. He also became a confidant of high colonial authorities and his closeness to the viceroy Marquis of Guadalcázar (1622-1629), made him a very influential figure in Lima. However, Vega’s social credentials, fortune, knowledge and political influence met the opposition of those envious of his unstoppable success. In a few short treatises written to defend his career from the attacks of envious courtesans, Doctor Vega y Padilla made clear that the ideal religious colonial authority should have one foot in the cathedral and another in the university. In February 1622, most of the members of Lima’s cathedral chapter voted to cut a third of the stipend that Doctor Vega received for a chantry –that of 3,500 pesos annually- as a sanction for teaching at San Marcos that took time from his obligations as

supposed a considerable amount of money spent in Spain to gain constant support from royal officials. In the chapter session of August 1, 1606, Doctor Vega personally delivered to the members of the chapter the Royal Decree which promoted him to the vacant Chantry. ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano, No. 4, (1603-1637), f. 26. In 1618, Vega presided as a chanter over the ceremony of the festivity of Saint Martin at the Jesuit school in Lima. AHN (Madrid), Anales Martinianos del Colegio de San Martín, Códices 241, B.

154 La Paz was the second richest Spanish American archbishopric after Chuquisaca, with an annual stipend of 50,000 ducats for the Archbishop and 4,000 for the Dean of the cathedral. See Claudio Clemente, Tablas Chronológicas en que se contienen los sucesos eclesiásticos y Seculares de España, Africa, Indias Orientales y Occidentales (Valencia: Jaime de Bordázar, 1689), 218-219.
The measure was retroactive back to the year 1620 and this money, confiscated from Dr. Vega’s stipend, would be split by the members of the chapter. This was clearly a plot inside the cathedral against the wealthy canon. Doctor Vega, in spite of his already long career as professor, was accused of being an illegitimate member of San Marcos’ faculty by one of his fellow Canons, probably referring to his extraordinary appointment as professor and his various presidencies of the school. The wealthy Dean and canonist responded with a *Memorial* published in December 1622 in which he not only claimed to be entitled to receive his complete stipend but stressed the importance of teaching at San Marcos as part of the mission of a high-ranked religious official.  

In 1622, *Alegación en Derecho en Favor de los Catedráticos de Teología y Cánones de la Real Universidad desta Ciudad de los Reyes*, Feliciano de Vega claimed that failure to pay his complete stipend was illegal and that the claim that teaching at the University was not related to the work of a man of the Church was also against the law.

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155 ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano, Libro 3, (1606-1625), Chapter session of February 1, 1622, f. 183 r. See also Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, Vol III, 456. For the stipends of the ecclesiastical body in Spanish America, see Clemente, *Tablas Chronologicas en que se contienen los sucesos eclesiasticos y Secular*, 218-219. Canon Vega’s salary at San Marcos was about 1,000 pesos per year, by far the best-endowed chair at the University, where most of the chairs ranged between 200 and 800 pesos per year. See Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 165. The *Constituciones* of San Marcos record a higher figure: 1,500 pesos a year for the same Chair. See *Constituciones y Ordenancas de la Universidad y Estudio General de la Ciudad de los Reyes del Pirú* (Lima, Antonio Ricardo, 1602), 13-14.

156 “El canonigo Feliciano de Vega, presento apelacion a la sentencia del cabildo sobre perder un tercio de su prebenda, segun causa que sigue en la Real Audiencia”. ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano, Libro 3, (1606-1625), Chapter session, November 24, 1622, f. 245 r. See Feliciano de Vega y Padilla, *Alegación en Derecho en Favor de los Catedráticos de Teología y Cánones de la Real Universidad desta Ciudad de los Reyes del Pirú*: para que siendo Prevendados en la Santa Iglesia metropolitana della devan gozar enteramente de la renta de sus prevendas....por el doctor don Feliciano de Vega, Rector de la dicha Universidad y Catedrático de Prima de Cánones (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1623).

157 “Quien dira que ay fraude y collusion en darles a los dichos catedraticos toda la dicha renta sin descontarles parte alguna...? Vega, *Alegación en Derecho*, 7v.
Teaching Canon Law, Vega argued, was as important as teaching Theology since the former discipline provided the legal framework by which any theological argumentation should be understood.\footnote{“Se supone tambien por cosa cierta que no ay diferencia entre los catedraticos que leen teologia y entre los que ensenan canones y que las decisiones que hablan con los unos se an de entender con los otros por aver en todos la misma razon...” Vega, \textit{Alegació in Derecho}, f. 2r.} Making use of his wit, erudition and also his network of family and friends, Doctor Vega won his case and secured his right to continue teaching by order of the \textit{Real Audiencia}. He also got back his stipend. The content of the \textit{Memorial} was endorsed by the Jesuit confessor of the Viceroy Marquis of Guadalcázar, Vega’s brother - a Dominican priest- and by his brother in law, Doctor Cipriano de Medina, a lawyer at the \textit{Real Audiencia}. This network reveals not only the level of influence to which Don Feliciano was able to reach in key colonial institutions, but more importantly, shows that the Peruvian creole elite thought of the University as a platform for the empowerment of its own members. Ratified as a full-time canon and a full-time professor at the University, Don Feliciano had made a point: the “City of Protocols” and the “Sacred-City” were one through the teaching and practicing of Theology and Canon Law.\footnote{Vega, \textit{Alegació in Derecho}, f. 9v.} Such a marriage would be crucial to define the tone and logic of Lima’s religious discourse throughout the seventeenth century and in particular, to understand how the colonial historical discourse evolved into Catholic statecraft.

The relationship of Doctor Vega with San Marcos motivated the writing of his \textit{Alegación in Derecho}, having gone beyond the incident described above. After his retirement from the chair of Canon Law around 1631 and before his moving to the diocese of Popayán, Vega travelled to Madrid and requested from the Council of the...
Indies the creation of a new Moral Theology Chair at San Marcos, which he generously endowed with his own money. Once the Crown declared Vega proprietary of the Chair, Don Feliciano donated the Chair perpetually to the Dominican Order. It is worth remembering that Bishop Vega had a close relationship with the Order, having two half-brothers and a nephew who were Dominicans. During the 1630’s, when Vega was crowning his religious career with new appointments as bishop, his nephews, Fray Cipriano de Medina and Fray Juan de los Ríos, succeeded him to the Chair of Moral Theology. In 1647, Father Calancha mentioned in his history of the University that the Chair was already the property of the Dominican Order; yet in fact it was for over thirty years as part of the “property” of the Vega family until 1666, when Cipriano de Medina was appointed bishop of Huamanga. Only then did the Chair passed into the total control of the Order. The Crown’s approval was still required to legitimate the new holder of the Chair but the viceroy worked on nominations proposed solely by the Dominican Provincial. Another important requirement made by Bishop Vega was that the Chair could be given only to a creole born in Lima or within the viceroyalty of Peru. Thus, the creation of this Chair of Moral Theology at San Marcos reflects the desire to consolidate the control of the University by creole Dominicans, first by members of a

160 “…por quanto para la gloria y honra de Dios…y en parte de reconocimiento de grandes mercedes que he recibido…he comenzado a distribuir en obras pias mis bienes patrimoniales y entre los demas que con su infinito favor trato de hacer es el erigir una catedra nueva de Teologia Moral (sobre los libros de sentencias de Pierre Lombardo)....” Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, Vol. I, 455-457. In 1635, as bishop of La Paz, Vega endowed another theology chair at San Marcos with 600 pesos. See Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, Vol. III, 647.

161 Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, Vol. I, XXIV. Fray Cipriano de Medina, would be later an important scholar. He wrote one of the sermons commemorating the safe arrival of the silver fleet of 1625.

specific lineage, then by Lima born-creoles and finally by members of a religious
corporation. It was a move to oppose and counterbalance the control of San Marcos by
the Crown. In the 1610’s, the Council of the Indies had approved the creation of a Moral
Theology Chair by the viceroy Prince of Esquilache. The Chair then was given to the
Jesuits, who retained it for about three decades until the late 1640’s when it was given to
the Augustinian Miguel de Aguirre -confessor to the viceroy marquis of Mancera- whose
work we will discuss later. The dispute over the University continued after the days of
bishop Vega and his relatives. In 1643, the Crown established a Scholastic Theology
Chair funded by the rent of vacant encomiendas but this new state initiative was
somehow co-opted by the Orders again when the Dominicans got control of it and
demanded that it could be given solely to a San Marcos graduate, which was the same as
saying a creole theologian.163

In the list of Chairs active in San Marcos in 1647, according to the history of
Father Calancha, those in theology by far outnumbered the rest. There were seven Chairs
in this field, three in Canon Law, five in Civil Law, two in Latin Grammar, one in
Quechua and one Chair for the teaching of Medicine.164 In 1571, the University had only
one Chair of theology and two of law (one being Canon Law) while in 1576 there was an

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163 “Y para nombrar catedrático se an de juntar e intervenir el senor virrey y senor arcobispo desta ciudad y
el senor oidor mas antiguo y el padre provincial de Santo Domingo que por tiempo fuere desta provincia y
si sucediere que esta ausente en partes remotas a de votar en su lugar el prior del convento de Nuestra
Senora del Rosario y nombrar el religioso que le pareciere mas a proposito. Y en quien concurren mas
partes, calidades y requisitos de virtud y letras, exemplo, nacimiento y Buena vida”. Calancha, Historia de
la Universidad, f. 15r.

164 “Prima de Teologia, Visperas de Teologia, Sagrada Escritura, Segunda de Visperas de Teologia,
Teologia Moral Supernumeraria, Prima de Teologia Moral [on the work of Pierre Lombard], Prima de
Teologia Escolastica, Catedra de Canones, Prima de Canones, Visperas de Canones, Catedra de Decreto,
Prima de Leyes, Visperas de Leyes, Catedra de Instituta, Catedra de Codigo, Primera Catedra de Artes,
Segunda Catedra de Artes, Tercera Catedra de Artes, Catedra de Lenguas de Indios [and] Medicina” See
Calancha, Historia de la Universidad, ff. 7-9.
increase to two theology chairs. Comparing the growth between the late sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century, it is clear that in fifty years San Marcos had developed as a main center for the formation of creole theologians and religious scholars in the city, having managed to keep that profile and consolidate a corporate presence in San Marcos (lineage or Order). However, the dispute for the control of theology Chairs by the Orders also reveals a tense dispute on theological and philosophical grounds as well. The Dominican and Augustinian Orders leaned towards a scholastic approach. For example, the Chair that was created with the money of Bishop Vega was scholastic and naturally the Dominicans kept that profile once they took control of it. The Crown favored all tendencies, as far as they were sanctioned orthodox, but since the doctrine of Aquinas related better to the political nature of the Catholic Monarchy and the Spanish Empire, understandably it was favored in Spanish American universities by both, colonial authorities and creole elites. One incident in San Marcos around 1630 shows that in the seventeenth century Scholastics had become the first philosophical school of thought and that there was little room for other schools like Franciscan nominalism. In that philosophical dispute, San Marcos was not far from what was going on at the University of Salamanca, where Saint Augustine and Aquinas were in fashion during the first half of

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165 Saranyana, Teología en America Latina, 369-370.

166 According to Aquinas a state (monarchy) was part of the Universal Empire ruled by God and the sovereign was the vice-regent. Such a conception of the state fit nicely with the nature of the Spanish American vice-kingdoms. For more definitions of the ruler, natural law and the way they connected to the state, see Dino Bigongiari, The Political Ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas (New York and London: The Free Press, 1997), vii-xxvii.

167 Nominalism is a philosophical school, which discusses the definition of universals, e.g. the correspondence of concepts and reality. It denies the existence of abstract and universal concepts and refuses to admit that the intellect has the power of engendering them. What are called general ideas are only names, mere verbal designations, serving as labels for a collection of things or a series of particular events. Hence the term Nominalism. See Catholic Encyclopedia Online.
the seventeenth century. In Spain however, the Council of the Indies pushed the Orders to keep more diverse theological offerings in the University curricula, but nothing like that seems to have happened in San Marcos, where the Franciscan Order claimed to be forbidden to teach the doctrine of Duns Scotus.168

The pressure to teach Aquinas may be related to the influence of the Dominican Order, and as we saw, the coincidence of one of the first fortunes in the viceroyalty who was willing to endow a Chair for the Order. Yet, Scholastics served well the interests of the creole elite of the city and its obsession over the legal foundation of the political and social system. A well-trained colonial bureaucracy in Theology and Canon Law could successfully navigate the intricate web of Spanish Administration, both in Lima and Madrid as well as defend the interests of colonial elites, who from the 1610’s onwards became very active in trying to identify any legal corpus that fit their demands for distributive justice. As Martin Monsalve has pointed out, Lima’s University ended up being a creole Augustinian and Dominican stronghold and therefore a center for the training of religious -and secular- proctors sent to court to ask for benefits and rights for the colonial corporations. The constant praising and defense of San Marcos by religious scholars was simply another way to promote the merits and excellence of the benemérito class, the class to which religious scholars belonged.169 San Marcos helped to consolidate

168 Memorial por la religión de San Francisco en defensa de las doctrinas del seráfico doctor San Buenaventura, del sutílsimo doctor Scofo y otros doctores clásicos de la misma religión sobre el juramento que hizo la Universidad de Salamanca de leer y enseñar tan solamente la doctrina de San Agustín y Santo Tomás, excluyendo las demás que fuesen contrarias (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1630), f. 3v. The victory of the Dominicans over the Franciscans was clear in this and other academic issues. San Marcos never opened a chair for the teaching of Nominalism. See Felipe Barreda y Laos, Vida Intelectual de la Colonia (Educación, Filosofía y Ciencias). Ensayo Histórico Crítico (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1909), 200.

Lima’s creole elite, providing specific theological and legal tools to work on colonial issues, the tools colonial scholarship needed to build its argumentation and claims. It was also the case that prominent members of the secular clergy, like Bishop Feliciano de Vega and other Memorialistas, in a close alliance with the Dominican and Augustinian Orders, progressively took over San Marcos to promote their own careers and those of their creole peers.170

When the new viceroy of Peru, Count of Alba de Aliste (1655-1661) was formally welcomed by the University shortly after his arrival to Lima, Doctor Nicolás Flores y Aguilar, member of the Cabildo and the Audiencia, made a very clear statement on the expectations that the creole elite had for San Marcos as a training center for elite cadres. On that occasion, Doctor Flores said it was the conquistador’s descendants who studied and worked there, the same people who having graduated at the first Royal University in the south seas deserved later to be appointed to the highest levels of colonial administration, thus confirming in this way that San Marcos was the ideological trench of distributive justice.171

What Doctor Flores did not make explicit on that occasion - but was already evident in the pages of Limenian religious discourse - was that for the creole elite of Los

170 “De las Universidades mas numerosas de doctores y maestros que tiene la Cristiandad, es aquesta de Lima, oy en marco de 1647, tiene vivos doctores y maestros, ciento cuarenta y uno, los sesenta teologos, los sesenta y seis canonistas, y legistas, los doctores medicos tres y los maestros en artes doce. De los Teologos, los nueve son de Santo Domingo, diez y siete doctores de San Agustin y dos maestros en artes de la orden de la Merced...los restantes doctores y maestros son clerigos” Calancha, Historia de la Universidad, 29.

171 Nicolás Flores y Aguilar, Oración Panegírica Gratulatoria al Excelentísimo. Señor Don Luis Enríquez de Guzmán conde de Alba de Aliste, grande de Castilla, virrey del Perú el día de su recibimiento y entrada en la Real Universidad de Los Reyes, díxola el doctor D. Nicolás Flores y Aguilar, abogado de la Real Audiencia, regidor perpetuo de la ciudad de Lima (Lima, 165?), f. 12r.
Reyes San Marcos and the local Church guaranteed the permanence of a Scholastic order. In such an order, aristocratic religious cadres would fight the disintegration of the Catholic Monarchy with their contribution to colonial Catholic Statecraft. The Spanish Empire was at risk because of the new policies of the Crown towards the Church, the threat of heresy and a non-reciprocal relationship between Peruvian beneméritos and the Crown. This role was clearly enunciated by another creole member of the colonial secular clergy, Diego de León Pinelo, who in his Hypomnema Apologeticum Pro Regali Academia Limensi in Lipsianam Periodum (1648), responded to the assertions made by the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius in his work Lovainum (1605) about Universities in Spanish American cities. Lipsius, with whom Peruvian colonial scholars would follow on matters related to Catholic statecraft, had affirmed that there were no universities and centers of higher learning in the New World. A bewildered León Pinelo -professor of Canon Law at San Marcos- responded with an erudite work in Latin, making a staunch defense of San Marcos as part of the militant Spanish American Church committed to consolidate a Catholic World order. He was supposedly discussing with Lipsius on the importance of the formation of Catholic cadres for the Spanish empire. In fact, León Pinelo was discussing the issue with the King.

172 “…vera este hermosissimo y dilatado campo de la sabiduria, lleno de lucidissimas ramas producidas de los arboles generosos de padres y abuelos conquistadores deste reino…conocera Vuestra Excelencia su rector, tan lleno de sangre nobilissima, como de letras y sabiduria, ostentada en catedras y audiencias con todo lucimiento…Allí le deleitaran floridos y pomposos arboles con los lucimientos de su patrocinio en los estrados reales, siendo dignos de togas superiores por su nobleza y letras”. Flores y Aguilar, Oración Panegírica Gratulatoria al Excelentísimo Señor Don Luis Enríquez, f. 12r.

Writing from Lima and using the institutions and rights related and controlled by the local Church and elites, seventeenth-century *creole* religious scholars defended the ecclesiastical body from the accusations made by Spanish anti-clericalism. In doing so, the religious *letrado* class opened a new front on the negotiations between colonials and the Crown, since religious scholars made room in their discourse for the discussion of political rights and benefits for the elites. Colonial religious discourse and the *creole* agenda thus became intertwined through an effective use of theoretical tools like Canon Law and Theology, in order to elaborate the political claims made to the Crown. Even though at some point in Spanish America, the secular and the regular clergy opposed each other over fiscal matters, or so it seemed, Peruvian religious discourse proved that the line between regular and secular colonial clergy was a blurry one. Lima’s religious intellectual elite saw itself first as an aristocracy of *beneméritos* and second as voices of the colonial Church; therefore social background linked in a very effective manner both groups. Above any other consideration, the intellectual pursuits of creole religious scholars after the 1610s showed that in a composite monarchy as Spain, every kingdom, every city, every corporation and every estate could and should negotiate rights with the Crown. The agenda of religious creole scholars linked the claims of the *civitas Limensis* (*patria*), the corporation (religious Orders) and the class (citizens and *beneméritos*) harmoniously. Defending the University, the Church and the educated elites of the city, Diego de León Pinelo emphasized the resemblance of Lima to the harmony of the city of God: “Oh Lima, Royal City of the Kings…I would say what Lipsius said to Rome: by your temples we are not far from Heaven!”\(^{174}\)

Part II: Religious Discourse and Colonial Politics
Chapter 3

Augustinian Frontier

In his *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*—the first historical-religious narrative of seventeenth-century Peru published in Lima in 1621—Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán referred to his fellow Agustinians as “African Apples” brought from the North African desert to create houses of prayer and worship in a new geography, the Andes. There might be different interpretations for the “African Apples” metaphor, but they all deal with the idea of a fruit that satiates hunger and thirst that blossoms and nurtures barren soil. Ramos certainly wanted to stress the nurturing benefits of an alliance among his Order, the cult of Mary and the Crown. In the North African desert, the Augustinian friars had been Mary’s delight and grew as a community to prove the victory of conversion over a once pagan land. With the expansion of Islam into Africa in the seventh century, the “African Apples,” were uprooted from the original orchard and transplanted first to Europe and then in the sixteenth-century to the Andes via New Spain. The Order wanted to keep the original Augustinian promise alive: to be fruits of faith and true nourishment for a land also suffering from a long-rooted paganism. For an Order founded by one of the most famous converts in Antiquity—Saint Augustine—conversion through the missionary work in pagan lands had the utmost importance. For

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the Augustinian friars who had arrived from Mexico to Peru in 1551, the “New Desert”
would be the Andean highlands, the colonial missionary frontier.176

This chapter explores the Augustinian historical discourse produced in the
viceroyalty of Peru between 1621 and 1651. This historiographical discourse explained
and fostered the expansion of the Order in the colonial frontier, through a narrative based
on the successful experience of Indian conversion and the creation of sanctuaries. The
Upper highlands of Copacabana and the southwestern lands of the Chiriguanas and Chile
would be presented as the pagan frontier where Augustinian missionary work was needed
to expand the Catholic faith among the indigenous population, to fortify urban
Catholicism and even to block the contamination of heresy coming from the ever-
threatening presence of the Dutch in Pacific waters. Colonial Augustinian historiography
departed from the European experience of the Order in the sixteenth century. The
challenges faced in the European scenario would influence the missionary activities of
the Order. Forced to retreat from Northern and Eastern Europe and the British Isles
because of the Turkish advance and the rise of Protestantism, Asia and America became
the new frontier of conversion for the Augustinian Order. In their process of renovation
that was initiated shortly before the Reformation, the Augustinians centered their identity
on the search for the influence of the sacred -hominis per sacra- in mankind. Their

176 The Peruvian Province was created shortly after the arrival of the first friars from Mexico in 1551, under
the protection of Viceroy Mendoza and a few noble families. It is interesting to note the rapid growth of the
Order in Spanish America. In 1545 the Order had about 8000 members worldwide and about 12,000 in
1645. By the time Augustinian scholarship reached maturity in the Indies, the Mexican and Peruvian
Provinces together totaled more than one thousand men; roughly ten percent of the Order in the world.
Lima’s monastery alone had a total of 150 friars by mid seventeenth century. At the beginning of the
seventeenth century, the Augustinians in Peru were roughly 500 hundred men and in the Lima convent 150.
The important communities out of the capital were in Trujillo, Huanuco and the Upper Peru area. See
David Gutiérrez, The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia, 1518-1648
[translated from the Spanish by John J. Kelly] (Villanova, Pennsylvania: Augustinian Historical Institute,
Villanova University, 1979), 108-215-216.
missionary work was based on the premise that the sacred was already in human beings and conversion needed spiritual guidance. Hence, the Order was interested in the religious development of the conversion frontier. On a more secular level, they also developed a closer relationship with the papacy and the political powers on which they depended for their institutional development. Colonial Augustinian historical discourse demanded support of the Spanish Crown to expand the network of Augustinian establishments through the colonial frontier. That expansion also required key connections with local elites, whose claims would fuse with those of the religious corporation.

The six authors studied in this chapter - Alonso Ramos, Antonio de la Calancha, Bernardo de Torres, Baltasar de Campuzano, Gaspar de Villarroel and Miguel de Aguirre- were leading figures within the Peruvian Augustinian Province and most of them well-known in the political and cultural scenarios of the seventeenth-century Spanish empire. Their work reflected the Augustinian spirit of renovation and the adaptation of the Order to a complex process of negotiation with colonial rule. Alonso Ramos Gavilán and Antonio de la Calancha have received particular attention from scholarship throughout the twentieth century and have inspired critical studies in the

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177 See Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians*. In his claim about the reform of the Order, Giles of Viterbo, the Prior General, stated in 1512 that humans are to be changed by the holy: *hominis per sacra*. This was the core of his reform program very much present in the Augustinians in the New World. Also, Saak reminds us that in their process of building a corporate platform, the order seeking the advice and support of the papacy, “became the very architect of the theoretical construction of papal sovereignty,” an aspect which has to be considered in the study of their relationship with the princely state. Erik L. Saak, *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation*, 1292-1524 (Brill: Leiden, Boston, Koln, 2002), 2-6.

178 I am following the approach proposed by Eric Saak for the interpretation of Augustinian literature in the late Middle Ages: the double hermeneutic of “religionization,” whereby both the internal and the external contexts are taken into consideration. See Saak, *High Way*,705.
fields of ethnohistory, ecclesiastical history and even cultural studies. Gaspar de Villarroel -as famous as Calancha was between the 1630s and the 1650s- is nowadays a rather obscure author and his intellectual endeavors have not been as extensively explored. The only history of his Order that was documented in English provides no information on his vast and influential production of scholarly works on theology, politics and history. We even know less of the persona and intellectual career of Father Bernardo de Torres, although his work has been documented in two modern editions. Appointed to complete Calancha’s history of the Augustinian order, Torres did more than edit the second volume of Calancha’s history published in Lima in 1653. His own work in three volumes shows a mature scholar whose reflections on the political aspects of the


180 Gutiérrez only considers only the following colonial Augustinian scholars in Spanish America: Gerónimo Román whose Repúblicas del Mundo was finished in Spain around 1569 and Juan González de Mendoza, bishop of Popayán, who wrote History of China, which was published in Rome in 1585. When mentioning intellectuals of colonial Peru, Gutiérrez provides solely the names of the preachers Juan de Alcaráz and Gabriel de Saona. He mentions only Fernando de Valverde, known for his Life of Christ published in Lima, and his epic poem on Our Lady of Copacabana; he is the only cultural figure equivalent to the names of Calancha and Villarroel. See Gutiérrez, The Agustinians, 160,165.
end of war between Spanish settlers and the Araucanian Indians in the colonial frontier deserve its own study. Still truly unknown for scholars interested in colonial intellectual life are the names of Miguel de Aguirre and Baltasar de Campuzano Sotomayor, important figures to understand the link between the Augustinian Order and the local and imperial spheres of power. Their writings not only reveal original scholarship, but also illustrate the active cultural performance of the Augustinian Order in colonial cultural life. Through the work of these Augustinian authors, we can also ascertain a clearer understanding of the political context of the Peruvian viceroyalty of the seventeenth century.

3.1. Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán and the Power of a Sanctuary (1621)

When Father Alonso Ramos Gavilán was about to conclude his narrative on the miraculous image of the Virgin of Copacabana, published in Lima in 1621, he offered a clue as to how his work should be interpreted by posterity. Ramos claimed that it was possible to find historical truth in his chronicle as well as another level of meaning and truth coming from the moral interpretation of the allegories in his work. That statement is actually valid for the religious histories of the period, but particularly accurate in the

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182 Brief mentions of their names are scattered in articles and monographs. Surprisingly enough, Guillermo Lohmann, mentions the work of Baltasar Campuzano and Miguel de Aguirre, but does not go any further in his last work on colonial Augustinian scholars. See Lohmann Villena, “Pensamiento de Agustinos.”

183 “Nadie deve imaginar que se escrivio esto en balde o que solo devemos buscar aquí la verdad de la historia sin atender a ninguna alegorica significación.” Ramos, Historia, 319.
case of Ramos and the way he composed his history. Allegories in the early modern period were literary means to convey hidden messages intended to be told in a subtle way. The more serious and scholarly the text, the more complex the allegories (a legorías or empresas as they were known back then) were. Ramos’s Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana has been interpreted literally and much of the original message of the author has remained unnoticed because it has not been understood as an allegory but rather as a secondary colonial source with religious information and little useful data on indigenous polities.184

Colonial religious chronicles have to be read in the light of the double internal and external context of interpretation proposed by Saak, which explains the layers of meaning in them. Additionally, as Gabrielle Spiegel has pointed out, the use of the past as “an ideological structure of argument” in the medieval chronicle is a means used for the legitimation of its political goals. Thus, it is not the historical truth but “the discursive and constitutive force of the representation as such” which matters in these texts.185 The narrative of father Ramos has been considered as a somewhat interesting source for Andean ethnohistory, a field to which the book has certainly contributed with reliable historical information.186 Yet, Ramos’s purpose in his Historia del Santuario de Nuestra

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184 Nineteenth and twentieth centuries scholarship on colonial chronicles overlooked the fact that the genre itself had a long tradition within religious corporations, especially those of medieval origin. From Riva-Agüero to Porras Barrenechea, the image continued through the twentieth century. See José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, La Historia en el Perú, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1965) and Raúl Porras Barrenechea, Los Cronistas del Perú, (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1986). The obsession with ethnohistorical information can be seen in Espinoza, “Alonso Ramos.”

Señora de Copacabana was not to write on Pre-Columbian chiefdoms but on the effect of the sacred in the Spanish colonial world in which he lived, the miracles that occurred in the Marian sanctuary of Copacabana after its foundation and how these miracles changed the lives of colonial Spaniards and Indians alike. In the many allegories present in the text, we can learn about the political agenda of the Augustinian Order in and out of the Upper Peru region along with Ramos’s own social background and class interests.

Perhaps the most complex allegory related to Father Ramos Gavilán lies with his own life. The most updated information is attributed to the work of Waldemar Espinoza and because of that we know that Ramos was born in Huamanga around 1570, he was one of many illegitimate children of the local encomendero Alonso Ramos Gavilán, he was closely related to the conquistador Diego Gavilán, and was one of the founding vecinos and encomenderos of Huamanga. In 1583, when he was barely thirteen, Alonso was sent to Lima to study at the prestigious Jesuit school of San Martín, which he left after graduation to enter the Augustinian order in 1588 or 1589. In spite of being born out of wedlock, it is clear that Alonso and his siblings were members of


187 Until the Archive of the Augustinian Order in Lima is open to the public, it is impossible to offer new information on Ramos’ life or look at if from a different angle.

188 Both Espinoza and Villarejo emphasized the fact that Ramos’s profession act states he was a “filius” and not a “filius legitimus” of Alonso Ramos and Luisa Díaz. See Espinoza, “Fray Alonso,” 1972 and Avencio Villarejo, Los agustinos en el Perú, 1548-1965 (Lima: Ed. Ausonia, 1965), 261. Villarejo thinks Ramos was ordained an Augustinian in 1588 but Ramos gives the year 1589 in his chronicle. Ramos, Historia, 275. Espinoza provides the names of Melchor Gavilán (cousin?) and Hernando Ramos Gavilán, brother, also enrolled at San Martin in the early 1580s. According to the catalogue of students at San Martin, one of his younger brothers –Gerónimo Ramos- entered San Martin in 1600 and also entered the Augustinian Order later. AHNM Sección Códices, 242 B. This pattern was not unusual. Other intellectuals of the period also had siblings in the same religious corporation.
Huamanga’s *encomendero* elite and that their father’s money bought them the best education available in late sixteenth-century Peru. Ramos himself would recall in later years that his formation was not completed until he met a very influential personality when he entered the Order in 1589: the bishop of Quito and later of Charcas, Fray Luis López de Solís. This father figure would be very important in Ramos’s life and may have introduced the young friar to his interests in native elites and Andean history.

The first years of Fray Alonso as Augustinian are somewhat blurry. In 1593, after concluding his studies at the Augustinian convent of Guadalupe, north of Lima, he was ordained in the convent of Trujillo by bishop López de Solís, where he stayed until 1602. From 1604 to at least 1607, Ramos stayed in the convent of Lima, before being sent to the southern Andean towns of Huamanga and Cuzco where he spent six years between 1609 and 1615 working as a parish-priest, fighting native cults and even practicing exorcism. In 1617, Fray Diego Pérez, Prior of the Peruvian province, sent Ramos to evangelize Castrovirreyna and Choclococha, both mining towns north of the bishopric of Cuzco, where he became acquainted for the first time with the social consequences of colonial mining, an important topic in his chronicle. A year later he was already in Copacabana. It is important to point out that during his stay in Lima (1604-1607) Ramos met again and for the last time Bishop López de Solís, who after a successful rule of the bishopric of Quito (1594-1606), had been appointed as Bishop of Charcas. In Solís’s library, Ramos might have read the manuscript on Inca history written by Diego Lobato de Sosa, cited later by the Jesuit Blas Valera in his *Vocabulario* and *Historia*

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190 Ramos, *Historia*, 145.
Occidentalis, read in turn by Garcilaso de la Vega and the Jesuit Giovanni Anello Oliva. Any attempt to establish the ideological genealogy of Ramos’s work must consider the influence of this early account on the claims of Incan colonial lineages. However, some other authors were much more influential in the work of Fray Alonso.

One important influence in Ramos’s intellectual endeavors was the corregidor of Huamanga Don Francisco Fernández de Córdova, whose enthusiastic praise of the Augustinian introduces the reader to the chronicle. Córdova is still one of the most mysterious figures of colonial Peru; yet certainly a very influential one. The corregidor and Ramos met sometime between 1604-1607 in Lima’s University, where Córdova was taught Latin grammar by Father Ramos and graduated as a lawyer. It may have been the case that a reunion took place in Huamanga, where the corregidor met Ramos’s family in the late 1610s. Córdova’s foreword to Father Ramos’ history seems to indicate that by the time of its publication (1621) not only the past but also the current expectations of the claims of Peruvian creoles linked both men. As a matter of fact, Francisco Fernández de Córdova was the author of a now lost account on colonial history

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191 Lobato de Sosa’s manuscript was later owned and used by licenciado Fernando de Montesinos for his Ophir de España. Memorias Históricas y Políticas del Pirú (1642). See Sergio Barraza Lezcano, “La dinastía pre-hispanica de Fernando de Montesinos: identificación de su fuente,” in Liliana Regalado de Hurtado and Hidefuji Someda, eds., Construyendo Historias. Aportes para la Historia Hispanoamericana a partir de las crónicas (Lima and Osaka: Pontificia Universidad del Perú/Universidad de Estudios Extranjeros, 2005), 57-81. There has been some speculation about a possible third source for Ramos’ chronicle. In the late sixteenth century the Augustinian Baltasar de Salas traveled in the Copacabana region looking for hidden Incan treasures. Apparently his un-priestly interests enraged Bishop López de Solís, who asked the viceroy to send Salas back to Mexico. Some of the information Salas gathered might have ended up in the bishop’s library and read by Ramos. See Espinoza, “Alonso Ramos,” 172-178.

192 “yo como discipulo de Vuestra Paternidad de las letras humanas y a quien devo lo que se…” Ramos, Historia, 22.

193 “honra de los criollos deste Reyno…servicio a nuestro senor y a su madre santisima….” Ramos, Historia, 21-22.
whose content was related to Creole claims. According to his kinsman and fellow scholar Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, Córdova’s work was written in an elegant and inquisitive style and overall a much illuminating treatise on “matters of the past” that appealed to the Creole elites. Salinas used Córdova’s work in his Memorial de las Historias Pirú (1630) to elaborate on Lima’s University, the excellence of its graduates there and the need to reward the service of Creole subjects.

In the foreword of Ramos’s history, Córdova actually elaborated on the postponed benemerito elite going to fight in the Chilean frontier without receiving a suitable reward for their services or those of their ancestors for that matter. The corregidor went back to Lima in the early 1630s where he worked as prosecutor for the Real Audiencia. In Los Reyes, Córdova became a strong advocate of creole rights, inspiring the work of his relative Fray Buenaventura de Salinas whose ideas will be explored in chapter four.

Although we have no certainty of the content of the manuscript work written by Córdova, he was strongly connected to the scholarly careers of two prominent religious intellectuals and was at the center of a group of prominent creoles who discussed the rights and claims of the Peruvian colonial elite, all related by common ideas, class and

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194 Besides being mentioned by Salinas and Ramos, the licenciado Fernández de Córdova appears in the Epitome of León Pinelo as author of “Peru con Armas…que es historia de todo lo que sucedio con la esquadra que al paso de Jacques Treniet…manuscrito…” See Antonio de León Pinelo, Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental, Náutica y Geográfica (Madrid: 1629), 92. This seems to be the work read by Salinas and Ramos and it also seems the manuscript circulated among scholars in Lima.


196 “…los hombres de valor para gobierno y armas, togas, arneses; no se alcanza a dezir, la agudeza para los ardidies, presteza en la execucion, madurez en los consejos, pecho en las dificultades como los Araucos experimentan a pesar de sus monstruosos barbaros. Y a se entender desto que hazen mas de su parte los hijos deste reyno porque ni tienen Rey que los mire, aliente o premie, por estar tan lejos de sus ojos…” Ramos, Historia, 19.
even lineage. Surprisingly not, the approval for Father Ramos’ chronicle in 1620 was signed by Don Josef de Cáceres y Ulloa, *encomendero* in Arequipa, secretary to the viceroy Prince de Esquilache. Cáceres was brother-in-law of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas and therefore related to Córdova as well. Father Ramos was a friar in a far distant Augustinian sanctuary, but not far at all from important groups of interest in the capital of the viceroyalty.

One of Ramos’s most important social connections in the viceregal court was the Bravo de Saravia family. In a letter addressed to *oidor* Alonso Bravo de Saravia y Sotomayor and published at the beginning of the chronicle, Ramos expressed deep admiration for the man whom he called his sponsor. The financial support of such a noble lineage for the chronicle was not the only item Ramos wanted to emphasize. Alonso Bravo de Saravia’s father was remembered by the Augustinian chronicler as a fine example of loyalty to the Crown, fighting the rebels during the rebellion of the Peruvian *encomenderos* in the 1540s and the Indians in Chile a decade later. Creole loyalty and

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197 Warren Cook has proposed the hypothesis that Father Salinas and Fernández de Córdova -in his now lost account- may have taken information from a common Andean source, being that the work of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corona y Buen Gobierno*, completed by 1615, might have been read by Salinas in the viceregal archive. It is also possible that Fernández de Córdova had met Guaman Poma in Huamanga and shared a draft of the Indian author’s work with his relative in Lima. See Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, XL, 81.


199 Don Alonso Bravo de Sarabia was born in Lima in 1569, son of Melchor Bravo de Sarabia, *oidor* at the *Audiencia* of Lima (1548) and later Governor of Chile (1567-1573), where he had a good record of fighting the Araucanians. In the mid 1540s, Don Melchor conveniently sided with the Crown when the Peruvian encomenderos rebelled against the enforcement of the Leyes Nuevas (1542), regulating the work of Indians and the duration of the benefit of the encomienda. Don Alonso Bravo de Sarabia was *Alcalde del Crimen* of the *Audiencia* of Lima (1602) and later *oidor* at the *Audiencia* of México (1620), a city where he was living when Ramos dedicated the book to him. In 1621 Bravo de Sarabia got married in Lima to the widow of *comendador* don Domingo de Garro, Doña María Miguel de Lartaún, a very wealthy widow. Bravo de
excellence were key elements in Ramos’s work but the *encomendero* link is also very important. The praise bestowed on the Bravo de Saravias was Ramos’s formal support to the cause of the Peruvian *benemérito* class -his own- and to the enforcement of the rights of vecindad. The oidor Bravo de Sarabia was the first limenian appointed in his prestigious position not in his own hometown of Los Reyes but in Mexico City. No less appreciation gave Ramos to doctor Alberto de Acuña, professor of canon Law at San Marcos and *encomendero* of the Copacabana Indians and others in the Charcas district, for the latter’s support to the Augustinian Order in Copacabana. Ramos’ background and social connections translated in his chronicle into a subtle but clear advocacy in favor of two of the most cherished tenets of the creole elite: the survival of the *encomienda* system and the appointment of members of the *benemérito* class in high positions within the colonial administration. The connections with the Bravo de Saravias and Acuñas should be undertood not only as Ramos’s appreciation for the generous sponsorship of these two lineages but as a clear endorsement of the encomendero class, struggling with the decrease of indigenous population and legislation aimed at restricting the benefits enjoyed by descendants of conquistadors and first-generation *encomenderos*. However, Ramos never elaborated much on a possible re-launch of the *encomienda* in the pages of his chronicle but did start a discussion which would continue in the pages of later

Saravia was a member of the prestigious order of Santiago himself and along with his wife belonged to the titled gentry of Lima. His marriage was not well received by viceroy Montesclaros because judges were not supposed to marry within the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia*. Bravo de Sarabia’s defense was undertaken by Ramos in his praise of the oidor. See Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los ministros de la Audiencia de Lima en el reinado de los Borbones. 1700-1821* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1974), 157-158 and Enrique García-Hernán, *Consejero de Dos Mundos. Vida y Obra de Juan de Solórzano Pereira* (1575-1655) (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2007), 136.

Acuña’s wife was the encomendera of Copacabana and the union of the wealthy *creole* woman and the bureaucrat annoyed viceroy Montesclaros, who nevertheless accepted Acuña’s residence in Lima as opposed to what happened to Bravo de Sarabia, who remained in Mexico. Ramos, *Historia*, 134 and García-Hernán, *Consejero de Dos Mundos*, 136.
Augustinian religious scholarship, in particular in the works of Calancha -also from an encomendero background- and of Campuzano.

Since the viceroy’s approval and Ramos’s letter to Bravo de Saravia are dated January 1621, we might conclude the work was ready by the end of the previous year. The sponsorship of the recently appointed oidor to Mexico was crucial for the work of the Augustinian because it made possible the printing of a long work in a city where printing was quite an expensive endeavor. Additionally, the chronicle was a complex work for the press, containing three full-page images. The money offered by Bravo de Saravia should have been the sole source of finance since Ramos never mentioned any economic support of the Order, rather than its interest in making the chronicle public. Moreover, Ramos pointed out in the introduction that many important works written by Augustinians before had remained unpublished because of lack of funding, but all the big names of Augustinian scholarship and members of the Order saluted and endorsed the work in 1620: Antonio de la Calancha dedicated a poem on the back of the image of Our Lady of Copacabana and Gaspar de Villarroel. It also had the endorsement of Fray Francisco de la Serna, Prior of the convent in Lima and a former Prior, Fray Diego Pérez. The

201 “Por quanto e l padre Fray Alonso Ramos predicador desta nuestra Provincia, me a hecho relacion diziendo, que tiene compuesto un libro que se intitula: Historia del célebre santuario de Nuestra Senora de Copacabana…” The father visitador in 1620, Diego de la Madriz, approved the work. Ramos, Historia, 12.

202 Calancha’s poem goes like this: “Dos Milagros mas veran, en tu obra peregrina, una paloma divina en manos de un Gavilan. Y porque el otro veamos, para Gloria mas crecida, en autor y libro hallamos, al fruto y arbol de vida, colgado de vuestros Ramos.” Villarroel’s elogy pointed out the pathbreaking nature of the chronicle: “A aviento el autor camino, con queda libre de la obligación a letrados y hombres sin letras…” Ramos, Historia, 15.

203 Father Pérez, who sent Ramos to the southern Andes in 1617, said in his approval: “…su buena manera de inquirir antiguedades olvidadas, su claridad de estilo, y la brevedad con que se dize mucho, todas juntas muestran la conveniencia que ay para que salga a luz esta obra y se imprima”. Ramos mentioned that the Order had no money to pay for the printing of the many works on native languages of his fellow-Augustinian, Fray Juan Caxica but the convenience mentioned by Pérez led to a more engaged institutional support. Ramos, Historia, 14, 154.
sponsorship of the *encomenderos* acquainted with Ramos was not free since the chronicler made clear his sympathies through the pages of his history of the sanctuary, even though there never was a straightforward defense as stated earlier. After the chronicle was published in 1621, Fray Alonso Ramos became an enigma. He might have returned to Copacabana and spent a few years there but presumably went back to Lima where he died around 1639.\(^{204}\)

The *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* was a publishing success; by the mid-seventeenth century, however, the book had gone out of print. Its influence among other Augustinian historians was based on its defense of the missionary accomplishments of the Order in colonial Upper Peru. However, many other social and political topics in the chronicle appealed to creole religious scholars, as was the case with the work of the Jesuit historians Giovanni Oliva and Bernabé Cobo.\(^ {205}\) Thus, the expansion of the missionary frontier is key to understanding the message of Ramos’ chronicle and therefore has to be read *vis à vis* the conflicts between Church and Crown to which we already referred. According to Ramos, the Augustinians entered Copacabana with the support of the local *corregidor* and took over the Indian parish from a Dominican friar already settled in the area. The Augustinian Provincial at that time sought approval from the *licenciado* Juan López de Cepeda, president of the *Audiencia* of Charcas. There was resistance from the *oidores*, the Dominicans and the viceroy Count of Villardompardo, but the Augustinian Order moved quickly in Spain and asked directly to

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the King for permission to manage the parish of Copacabana and the cult of the Virgin there. It was a clear victory in times in which the Crown was not keen on the creation of new sanctuaries run by the corporate Church. Nevertheless, the Royal Decree was signed in Madrid in January 1588. Considering this, Ramos’s Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana sought to legitimize on historiographical grounds the existence of a Crown-sponsored monastery in a conversion frontier, a characteristic shared by similar institutional religious histories in Late Medieval Europe.206

3.1.1. Flemish echoes in Upper Peru

However, the reason why the Ramos’s chronicle appealed so greatly to creole religious scholars beyond the Augustinian Order was its elaboration of a very popular work by Justus Lipsius that centered on the role of the Church in the Spanish Empire. The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin of Halle (1604), originally published in Latin as Diva Virgo Hallensis Beneficia Ejus et Miracula, Fide atque Ordine Descripta, was a landmark in the literature that sought to strengthen the link between the Throne and Altar in the Catholic Monarchy.207 Lipsius was by far the most influential thinker in the Spanish Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century; as seen in chapter two,


207 I use the English translation of the original seventeenth-century work in Latin Justus Lipsius, Miracles of the Blessed Virgin or an historical account of the original and stupendous performances of the image entitled Our Blessed Lady of Halle (London, 1688). The English translator pointed out that after the Dutch edition of 1657, the Catholic Church introduced a note on the need of official approval for any miracle performed. The original Latin book was divided in three parts: the historical description of the City of Halle, the history of the image and its miracles and the gifts given to the image. Peruvian chroniclers referred to the Latin version as “Virgo Hallensis.” It is clear Ramos followed the model, dividing his chronicle in three books.
colonial scholars not only were avid readers of the Flemish author, but sought to be in
dialogue with his ideas. The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin is the only work by Lipsius
where a history of a Marian cult and his praise to the Habsburg dynasty were explicitly
linked in a tale of political loyalty through the mediation of the Church. Written by the
end of his life, when Lipsius was trying to get recognition from the Spanish Crown, the
book worked both as a devotional and political text on Catholic statecraft. The Miracles
of the Blessed Virgin of Halle provided Ramos’s second book of his chronicle with a
template on which to build a history of the Copacabana sanctuary as well as with an
opportunity to emphasize the political importance of the corporate colonial Church.

According to Lipsius’s 1604 narrative, the image of the Virgin of Halle (Flanders)
began to be worshipped by the end of the thirteenth-century. Yet, it was not until 1489 -
when the troops of Philip of Cleves rebelled against Emperor Maximilian I, a Habsburg,
and put siege to the city- that the cult finally developed. The loyal burghers of Halle
prayed to the Virgin to save the city from destruction, and indeed the imperial troops
defeated the rebels. Lipsius elaborated on the original fifteenth-century story that conveys
a message that fits better into the context of Spanish Flanders at the beginning of the
seventeenth century. The old Marian cult of Halle was re-signified during the war
between Spain and the Dutch Provinces. In the sixteenth century the loyal city of Halle
was besieged by the forces of the separatist Oliver van der Tempel but the pro-Spanish
and Catholic burghers were saved by the intervention of the miraculous image. Father
Ramos, as well as many other religious colonial historians, read Lipsius probably
sometime in the 1610s and followed the Fleming when he wrote his Historia del
Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana. Three notions were particularly useful for

208 Lipsius, Miracles, Chapter III, 9.
Ramos: Lipsius Anti-Machiavellianism that opposed Crown-protected Catholicism with political insurrection; the use of a Marian cult within a political context; and Lipsius’s association of the cult with the imperial lineage. This last aspect would be used by Father Ramos to stress his support not only for the noble Incan lineages that promoted the Copacabana cult but also for the connection between the Habsburgs and the loyal allegiance of his Order to the Spanish ruling dynasty. Ramos’s second book of his chronicle reveals undeniable loans from Lipsius in *Virgo Hallensis*: the history of the image itself, the birth of the devotion in a context of political crisis and the format for the miracles. Ramos’ third book of his history returned to the model of pious Marian hagiographies; it was dedicated to prayers to the Virgin of Copacabana, a sort of manual on devotion.

Further analysis of Ramos’ chronicle provides evidence of his borrowing from Lipsius. The legend of the origin of the image of Our Lady of Copacabana resembles that of the Halle image. The virgin of Copacabana was worked, donated and worshipped by a member (or members) of the Inca royal dynasty. Don Francisco Titu Yupanqui carved the wooden image for Copacabana while the image of the virgin of Halle was owned by Saint Elizabeth and his daughter, Duchess Sophia, among other members of the ruling elite of the Netherlands.209 Later, the old Flemish image passed on to the dukes of

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209 Francisco Titu Yupanqui visited the local bishop in 1582 to ask for permission to establish a brotherhood to honor the Virgin. He took to the meeting a canvas in which he had painted the image of the Virgin that he was working on. Looked down by the bishop household because of the poor quality of his work, the artist went back to Copacabana where with the help of a Spanish artisan, gilded and finished the image. Later, Don Francisco heard about the interest of a few towns in the area to host the image in their temples. According to Ramos, Don Gerónimo Marañón, corregidor of Omasuyos ordered the image to stay in Copacabana where it was officially enthroned in 1583. The first miracle was the alteration of the image without human intervention. Francisco was asked to modify the image of the child Jesus covering the face of Mary, and the image was miraculously modified over the night. The body of Jesus now reclined on the arm of Mary, thus allowing the view of her face. Ramos, *Historia*, 218-220, 232-233, 243.
Brabant, ancestors of the Royal Spanish House before being donated to the citizens of Halle to foster the cult to the virgin.\textsuperscript{210} The alliance between the Catholic faith and the imperial dynasty was then present in both Lipsius and Ramos’ accounts; yet in the case of the latter, the Incan elite still living in the Copacabana had converted to the true faith and accepted subjection to the Spanish King by intercession of the Augustinian Order. Thus, the Heavens had sanctioned the taking over of the Andes by the Habsburgs from the former native royal lineage. The use of the past to legitimate a ruling dynasty in the present through the mediation of a popular cult can be found in religious chronicles of the Late Medieval period; and, after all, Ramos’s work draws from that tradition.\textsuperscript{211} While promoting the Inca lineages still living in the region in the early seventeenth-century and presenting them before colonial authorities as examples of good Spanish subjects, Father Ramos also affirmed the rights of the Spanish Crown. Two members of Incan nobility in Potosi, descendants of Paullo Inca - the son of Emperor Huayna Capac - became main supporters of the cult of Our Lady of Copacabana and founders of the first brotherhood of the Virgin: Don Alonso Viracocha Inga and his brother Don Pablo.\textsuperscript{212}

The offspring of Paullo Inca and in general the descendants of Huayna Capac constituted a main topic in Ramos’ narrative, as examples of deserving members of

\textsuperscript{210} Lipsius, \textit{Miracles}, 2.

\textsuperscript{211} In the narration of the past (\textit{Vorgeschichte}), the chronicler justifies the possession of a country by a ruling dynasty by preparing the reader with a well-connected relationship between monarchical power and society that explains the present. See Laszlo Veszpremy, “Historical Past and Political Present in the Latin Chronicles of Hungary (12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries), in Erik Kooper, \textit{The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle (Driebergen/Utrecht), July 1996, Costerus, New Series 120} (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi Editions, 1999), 263.

\textsuperscript{212} The sculptor Francisco Titu Yupanqui mentioned another brother named Don Felipe de León. Ramos, \textit{Historia}, 218-220, 234.
colonial elite who were waiting for the generosity of the Crown. Ramos stressed the fact that the noble condition of the royal lineage of Paullo Inca or Cristobal Vaca Topa Inca, his name after being baptized, had been officially recognized by Emperor Charles V with royal decrees in 1544 and 1545. Thus, Inca Paullu became part of the loyal Peruvian subjects and a proxy allowed to talk about the rights of the dispossessed beneficito creole class. The political loyalty between the King and the Inka elite had the cult to the Virgin as an intermediary. The grandchildren of a former Inca Emperor showed in Copacabana in the late sixteenth century, the same loyalty as did the descendants of Saint Elizabeth in the city of Halle in Flanders hundred years before. Ramos’ acquaintance with Lipsius work facilitated the creation of a narrative which successfully associated politics and religion, bringing the former Inca royal lineage to the stage after the end of the civil wars among conquistadors in the 1540s and the last rebellion of the Peruvian encomenderos in the 1550s.

Ramos’ second book in his chronicle accommodated the original Lipsius’s template in order to introduce the Order and creole agendas. The Augustinians were presented as protectors of a recently converted royal lineage and at the same time as administrators of a popular Marian shrine in an area already favored by the economic boom fueled up by the silver of Potosí. The possibility of expanding the sanctuary by acquiring land nearby could mean considerable wealth for the Order. Another very subtle message was related to the rights of Peruvian encomenderos. In this regard, the claims of Melchor Carlos Inca and his relatives on encomiendas and pensions on encomiendas in

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213 A character to whom Ramos referred several times to was Doña Maria Pilcosisa Coya, daughter of Francisco Tito Yupanqui, who died in 1617 in the Copacabana region. Another son of Inca Paullu was Don Carlos Inga, father of Don Melchor Inca, who died in Spain. Ramos, Historia, 187-189. On the life of Melchor Carlos Inca, see Ella Temple Dunbar, “Azarosa existencia de un mestizo de sangre imperial incaica,” Documenta, Año 1, No. 1, (1948): 112-157.
the southern Andes would be used by Father Ramos as an excuse to introduce the reader to the claims of the Peruvian encomendero class, to which the chronicler belonged. Besides a personal interest, Ramos was following the institutional support of the Order to gain recognition by the Crown of the rights of Melchor Carlos Inca. In Spain, the support of Fray Diego de Zárate, Proctor of the Augustinian Peruvian Province, was crucial for the honors bestowed on Don Melchor Carlos. This was not a gratuitous move. Considering that it was common for noble natives to donate to Orders and sanctuaries, the defense of the descendants of Huayna Capac in Copacabana could have translated into more wealth for the sanctuary. The relationship among the Order, the Marian shrine and the Inca elite meant legitimacy for the missionary work of the Augustinians in the area and more control of the Order over local Indian labor and resources.

The most important contribution by Lipsius can be appreciated in the content and format of the miracles of the second book of Ramos’ chronicle which, as we will see, also aimed to be interpreted as a political message. In The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin of Halle, Lipsius presented the reader with the case of a possessed young man in Halle whose soul was saved after his family prayed for the intercession of the Virgin of the Consolation. In Chapter X of his history of Copacabana, Ramos described the possession of a young female Indian by the devil after having worshipped old idols under

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214 Melchor Carlos Inca requested from the Crown the right to keep the encomienda of Hatuncana granted to his father Don Carlos Inca. He was not allowed that grant, but instead an annual allowance from the Royal Treasury of 8,500 ducats, more than the rent coming from the former grant. In Madrid, the grandson of Inca Paullu also requested to become a member of the exclusive Order of Santiago, a status that was granted in 1607. It is worth noticing that one of the signatures in the probanza was that of Fray Diego de Zárate, Procurador of the Augustinian Province of Peru. Temple, “Azarosa existencia,” 133-137.

215 Lipsius, Miracles, Chapter VII, 13.
the influence of a local sorcerer. In another episode, Ramos describes the possession of the cacique of Yunguyo as a consequence of idol worshipping. It is clear that the exchange of possession for idolatry along with a compassionate view toward the revival of native cults were seen by Ramos not as consequence of the bad nature of Indians but as something caused by their possession by Satan. Ramos was optimistic that the recent conversion in the Andes would eventually grow sound. Sabine MacCormack has opposed Ramos’ tolerant view on native idolatry, to that of the Jesuit Joseph de Arriaga, whose book on the extirpation of Andean religion published in 1621 was a radical statement on the survival of native cults. Acknowledging the effect of Grace in the souls of recently converted Indians, Ramos was not in dialogue with Arriaga, but followed the Counterreformation ideas of Lipsius.

In the Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, we can appreciate the building of an historical vision of Andean conversion from the Pre-Columbian apostolic’s preaching to the conversion of the Inka royal lineage in the context of a still weak Indian Catholicism. Considering the use of the template coming from Lipsius’s work, however, I do not think that Father Ramos was describing the Andean experience of conversion but rather merely looking at it through the lens of his reading of the History of the Virgin of Halle. The legend of a royal lineage-born and sponsored Marian cult that

216 Ramos, Historia, Chapters X, XXIII.

217 “…pero el pueblo gentilico, aunque estaba en tinieblas, era como ciego que nunca vio, pues nunca tuvo rastro sino muy en los principios del mundo de la luz verdadera….y asi en nuestra America vemos, llevando Su Magestad siempre tan adelante el colmarla de mercedes, que cuando no fueran otras…avernos dado las imagenes milagrosas de Guadalupe, Pucarani y Copacabana…” Ramos, Historia, 208-209.

218 Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1621). MacCormack contends that Ramos thought Andean religion was naturally inclined to the revealed Truth, thus explaining the worship to the holy in the Copacabana region. See MacCormack, 404. This position will be shared and further developed in his chronicle by the Jesuit Giovanni Oliva (1630).
had a cascade effect on the spirituality of Andean commoners and on the implicit political allegiance to the Habsburgs through their conversion certainly came from Lipsius.\(^{219}\)

Another important aspect of the Augustinian’s work is indebted to the work of Lipsius: the idea that even among savages, religion was ingrained in the social body and that with the appropriate guidance, true conversion to Catholicism was unavoidable as proposed in Lipsius’s *De Constantia* (1584).\(^{220}\) Ramos’s attempt to explain how the sacred manifested in native religious systems and eventually led to a smooth process of conversion was not an easy adaptation of the ideas of Lipsius.\(^{221}\) In *On Constancy*, Lipsius stated that the shift from native religion to Catholicism in Spanish America was not an easy process.

The Flemish author, following Las Casas, recognized the importance of the sacred in Amerindian native religions while also stressing the fact that conversion for Amerindians was associated with the violence of the Spanish Conquest, which he actually criticized as being the cause of the violent depopulation of America and the fall of indigenous polities.\(^{222}\) Ramos bypassed the negative comments of Lipsius on the Spanish Conquest

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\(^{219}\) Kenneth Mills has rightly stated that Ramos’ narrative followed already established patterns of hagiographic literature developed in Spain to enrich the histories of Marian cults and sanctuaries. Kenneth Mills, “Religious Imagination in the Viceroyalty of Peru,” in Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt ed., *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels, South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Skira Editore and Cantor Art Center at Stanford University, 2006), 35.


\(^{221}\) The Pre-Spanish apostolic preaching of the Andes proposed by Ramos as a premise of the conversion process was later re-elaborated by Calancha for the whole Spanish America. Salles-Reese refers to this as the transformation of the “Christian Narrative Cycle.” Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha*, 136-137. Although the First Peruvian Council declared the Indians to be neophytes (1551), the seventeenth-century attempt to push the Pre-Spanish failed conversion would have aimed at explaining the miserable spiritual conditions of the Indian and asked for more compassionate treatment.

\(^{222}\) For Lipsius, even cannibals had an idea of true God in their souls which was even more certain in highly evolved native civilizations like the Aztecs or the Incas. Much to the joy of creole scholars, in his work
and used the idea of the sacred among Amerindians as the premise on which the Spanish Church could build the final and definite process of conversion.

A very interesting take on Lipsius is Ramos’ description and explanation of the miracles related to Indian labor and working conditions in Potosí. Ramos justified the encomienda system, a position he shared with other religious scholars of the period but he certainly did not stop efforts to condemn the mining mita. Around 1610, the native lords of the Titicaca region had asked Fray Diego Pérez, former head of the Peruvian Augustinian Province, to be their intermediary before the Viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros in order to be exempted from the mining mita. The claim of the Indian elite in Ramos’s narrative was built on the premise that conversion to Catholicism entitled the native population to better treatment and certainly exemption from any type of forced labor. Conversion gave the Indians rights as Christians and subjects to the Spanish Crown. Ramos’ theological and legal opposition to the mita—a rather polemic statement at the beginning of the seventeenth century—was a response to other voices within the colonial Church that were justifying the mining draft. The popular treatise of the Franciscan Miguel de Agia, Tratado que contiene tres pareceres graves en

Admiranda Sive de Magnitude Romana (Antwerp, 1602) Lipsius praised Inca institutions and state. However, his approach to the Spanish Empire seems to be contradictory, something which was highly resented by religious scholars in Lima. See Antonello Gerbi, “Diego de León Pinelo contra Justo Lipsio. Una de las Primeras Polémicas sobre el Nuevo Mundo,” FENIX, 2, (1945): 200. It is true, De Constantia was written in the time Lipsius was leaning towards Protestantism; therefore his vision of Spanish American conversion was a double-edged sword: “Show yourself awhile, Mexico and Peru. O marvelous and miserable spectacle! That mighty large country and in truth another world, appears desolated and wasted…” Lipsius, A Discourse on Constancy, 120.

223 “…viendo los pocos indios que asistian a la fabrica de la capilla mayor…pidio a los curacas y caziques principales que acudiesen con algunos mas indios para llevar adelante la fabrica de una tan insigne obra…el curaca principal le respondio [to the Prior, Fray Diego Pérez]….si en tiempo en que estavamos todos ocupados en servicio del demonio, el Inga nos relevava de servicios personales y de acudir a la guerra, por que agora despues que la verdad del Evangelio se nos ha predicado estando como estamos en servicio de la madre de Dios, no nos an [sic] de relevar siquiera de las mitas de Potosí?” Ramos, Historia, 173.
derecho...sobre la verdadera inteligencia, declaración y justificación de una cédula real de Su Magestad su fecha en Valladolid del año pasado de 1601, que trata del servicio personal y repartimientos de Indios que se usan dar en los reynos del Perú, Nueva España, Tierra Firme (1604) provided legal and theological support for Indian mining labor, stating that Canon and Civil Law were not opposed to the use of Indian labor at mining sites. For Agia, the Indians, being Spanish vassals, should contribute with their work to the glory of the Spanish Crown. As Christians, they should be aware that their work made possible the defense of Catholicism worldwide. In time, Church scholars sided with Agia’s vision of the legitimacy of Indian mining labor.

Ramos’ position on the work of Indians in the mines is present in his adaption of Lipsius’s list of miracles attributed to the Virgin of Halle. Sick children, healed and brought back to life, and saved victims of shipwrecks in Flanders turned into miracles of the Virgin of Copacabana brought on the abused Indians working in the mining pits of Potosí. Two episodes of collapsed tunnels and hundreds of Indians buried for days led to the most poignant description in Ramos’ chronicle. An Indian working in a silver mill was pushed by an infuriated Spanish overseer into the cauldron where the metal was

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224 Fray Miguel de Agia, Tratado que contiene tres pareceres graves en derecho que ha compuesto el padre fray Miguel Agia...sobre la verdadera inteligencia, declaración y justificación de una cédula real de Su Magestad su fecha en Valladolid del año pasado de 1601, que trata del servicio personal y repartimientos de Indios que se usan dar en los reynos del Perú, Nueva España, Tierra Firme...para el servicio de la república y asientos de minas, de oro, de plata y de azogue (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1604). The work was approved by Feliciano de Vega and Doctor Cipriano de Medina, a member of the Audiencia.

225 Lipsius, Miracles, Chapters V, VII and IX. It is interesting to notice that if Lipsius made children the center of his narrative, Ramos uses another innocent abused “legal minor:” the Indian. In 1589, one hundred Indians and a Spaniard were buried for eight days until their prayers to the Virgin took effect and they were rescued. In 1590, Juan Cusinga, a miner with a limp leg, was healed after invoking the Virgin. Later on, another episode involving abusive overseers and buried miners will be described in detail. Ramos, Historia, 295, 299, 372.
being ground by a huge metal wheel. When the Spaniard saw the Indian about to be crushed by the powerful mechanism, he repented his cruelty and invoked the Virgin of Copacabana. Once the wheel stopped, the repentant overseer asked for the Indian’s forgiveness and became a devoted Christian. Lipsius, in his *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin of Halle*, had already presented the reader with the miracle of a woman who fell into a water mill and was saved by the intercession of the Virgin when she was about to be crushed by the wheel.\(^{226}\) Ramos’s adaptation reflects an Augustinian perspective. Not only the victim but the victimizer could be redeemed by the intercession of the Virgin. There was hope for both *miserable* Indians and *greedy* Spaniards, and thus colonial society could be bettered. To make his claim even more powerful, Ramos included a full-page illustration of the miracle on the front cover of his history. Image and narrative conveyed the political message for reform of the mining *mita*. The cauldron symbolized at the same time greed, the mint of Potosí and the curse of silver (see illustration 1).

The message of Ramos’ work was certainly multifaceted and complex. The sanctuary of Copacabana allowed him to delve into various layers of social problems in the area, putting the new Marian cult at the center of a whole program of reform that involved his Order: the claims of the remaining Inka elite to be recognized as such, the perpetuation of the *encomienda* both as a reward to *beneméritos* and as a better option to the mining *mita*, and the compassionate response of the local Church towards native idolatry and Spanish

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\(^{226}\) Lipsius, *Miracles*, Chapter XVIII, 25-26 and Ramos, *Historia*, Chapter XXX. The miracle as narrated by Ramos goes like this: “En la villa imperial de Potosí (que tan conocida es entre todas las naciones del mundo, por aquel admirable cerro, que a dado a la cudicia Española mucha mas plata que el tiene de tamaño, con ser tan estremadamente crecido) sucedió un admirable y portentoso caso….en uno destos ingenios trabajava un indio con menos diligencia que quisiera el mayordomo. No dexare de condenar toda mi vida la crueldad con que tratan a estos miserables indios, casi a una mano todos los ministros y sobre estantes de los ingenios, y las vezes que a la memoria me vienes las molestias que a los hijos de Israel davan los egipcios…enojado el mayordomo….le arrojo dentro del mortero del metal…cuando advertido de su delito se arrodillo invocando a la virgen de Copacabana…” Ramos, *Historia*, 373-374.
sin. Following the teachings of the late-medieval theologian Antonius Rampegolus and in perfect coherence with the Augustinian mission, Ramos’ ultimate message in his chronicle was that both spirituality and ethics could be improved. Provided with the moral guidance of the Augustinian missionaries, both Spaniards and Indians could walk on the right path of Grace. Andean heathens needed to understand how the blood of the saints could wash away their sins and greedy Spaniards -the *mali christiani* as defined by Rampegolus- could be redeemed by the cult of Copacabana. Therefore Ramos would denounce the effect of greed in the corruption of Spaniards evident in the mining system and ask for redemption not only through prayer and repentance but through political reforms as well. The monastery in his narrative would turn into a frontier post for the moral and political reform of the Upper Andes. 

An important trope in Augustinian theology and colonial religious narratives was martyrdom. The blood of the saints, needed to complete the cycle of redemption among Pagans according to Ramos could foster and perfect Indian conversion. Martyrdom was also a way to claim rights of

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227 The Augustinian Antonius Rampegolus (1360-1423) stated that there were four winds threatening the stability of the Church, that because of these winds was unable to reach the *sensus spiritualis*, the real understanding of the Faith and become a truly religious people, *fideles observantes*: The Jews, who raged against their Saviour; the Pagans, distancing themselves from the love coming from the Saints, whose blood was then poured as water; The Turks and Muslims by perverting the Scriptures. The fourth were the perverse *mali christiani*, with their division and belligerency, the plague that would come in the time of the Antichrist. See Saak, *Highway*, 602.

228 The role of monasteries as centers in political peripheries has been studied in the medieval narrative of Capetian France by Amy Remensnyder. She contends that because these new centers of devotion and social organization were located in regions outside the sphere of effective royal power, they invoked royal intervention in their legends. See: Amy Remensnyder, “Topographies of Memory, Center and Periphery in High Medieval France,” in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary, ed., *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Washington DC and Cambridge: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 2002), 197, 213.
Illustration No. 1
The Virgin of Copacabana saves the life of an Indian Miner

Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán
Frontispiece of the Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana
(Lima, 1621)
seniority and possession over missionary areas by the different religious corporations. In his chronicle, Ramos argued that early Christian preaching by an anonymous apostle in Pre-Columbian Peru ended tragically with his martyrdom, predating that of Father Diego Ortiz, the Augustinian friar the Order who claimed to be the Peruvian proto-martyr who died in Vilcabamba in 1571.\footnote{Ramos, \textit{Historia}, 56-57, 60, 62.} Since martyrs announced the beginning of a new era, it is no surprise that Ramos proudly stated that the beginning of the Augustinian-sponsored cult to the Virgin of Copacabana coincided with the martyrdom of members of his Order in England and the much publicized death of Mary, Queen of Scots. By taking the humble monastery of Copacabana out of the Andes in order to justify its mission in a broader program of a militant Catholicism, Father Ramos made its mission universal.\footnote{“…el principio desta santa imagen, y de sus Milagros…aya sido…quando en Inglaterra, la reyna Isabel de desventurada memoria, rebolviendo sobre la persecucion de las imagenes, que avia comenzado su padre Enrique Octavo y tratava de destruir la iglesia militante, poblando y enriqueciendo la triunfante de tantos como alli ha martirizado y entre ellos una multitud de frailes agustinos que reprovavan y contradecian su falsa y perversa opinion…entre estos martires entra tambien la reina de Escocia, de nombre Maria…” Ramos, \textit{Historia}, 248. Ramos’ links with world affairs and religious prosecution in Protestant Europe were not that well informed. Mary Stuart’s “martyrdom” was created by a Catholic and royalist Scot by the name of Adam Blackwood, who published in France in 1587 the book titled \textit{Martyre de la Royne d’Ecosse} (Paris, 1587). See John Guy, \textit{My Heart is my Own. The Life of Mary Queen of Scots} (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), 511.}

Ramos stretched out the historical truth when referring to the Augustinian martyrs in England since his Order lost no members during the rule of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. However, it is true that the first Catholic martyrs of Reformation were burned at the stake in Brussels in 1523 and were Augustinian friars. This episode gained enormous public attention in Catholic Europe and beyond after reaching print and could be considered the
origin of a tradition of narratives on early modern martyrdom which, as we will see later, appealed strongly to colonial religious scholars.\textsuperscript{231}

At the end of the third book of Ramos’s history, the reader is presented with an elaboration of all the symbolic aspects of the corpus mysticum of the Spanish Monarchy, diverse yet inclusive. In 1618, the curacas and Indian lords of the Titicaca region gathered in the Augustinian convent to convene their incorporation into the brotherhood of the Slaves of the Holy Sacrament. The next morning, the lamps in front of the Tabernacle and the image of Our Lady of Copacabana were found at the same time burning but pouring endless holy oil, as if “the Lord had approved with this miracle the pious request of the Indian nobility.”\textsuperscript{232} If the Sacrament represented the monarchy, the holy oil was more than solely a metaphor since the oil flowing from the Sacrament’s lamp celebrated the King’s generosity towards the Order. The alliance between the Habsburg dynasty and its Andean subjects under Augustinian tutelage had been sanctioned by God and redefined the peripheral territory of the Spanish settlement.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{231} Saak, \textit{Highway}, 675. Martyrdom narratives became a booming genre in the early sixteenth century due to the rise of Protestantism. The martyrdom of two Augustine monks in Brussels in 1523 made it into print sixteen times that year. Since Catholic Europe demanded more martyrological literature, between 1566 and 1640 more than fifty different publications were dedicated to the martyrdom of English Catholic. The Roman Martyrology was published in Latin nine times between 1584 and 1613 with translations into vernacular languages. The social impact of the English martyrs was quite remarkable: at least 203 editions of works on the English martyrs were published between 1580 and 1640. See Gregory, Brad S., \textit{Salvation at Stake, Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 285. No wonder Father Ramos included the topic in his work.

\textsuperscript{232} Ramos, \textit{Historia}, 423.

\textsuperscript{233} Ramos’s vision of the Habsburg rulers may have not been that appreciative. It is not casual that his statements on the “vices” of the Inca ruler Huayna Capac -not being able to see the importance of true religion- are directly linked to his reading of Cesare Baronius’ \textit{Tractatus de Monarchia Siciliae}, an anti-Spanish work. See Ramos, \textit{Historia}, 180. Cardinal Baronius, who was a native from Naples, lost the papal election of 1605 because of his French sympathies. The Pro-Spanish cardinals did not vote for Baronius and later he wrote a history of the Kingdom of Naples in a much anti-Habsburg tone. Ramos’ depiction of Huayna Capac might have conveyed a critique of Philip III.
Relics, devotion and the Augustinian Order made the Sanctuary of Copacabana part of the New World’s topography of royal action.

Veronica Salles-Reese contends that Ramos’ historical account is a portrait of the social fabric of Upper Peru, in which Augustinian missionary work is an alternative to the violent extirpation campaign going on in the Archbishopric of Lima in the same period. Espinoza has also called attention to Ramos’ advocacy for the Indians evidenced in his knowledge of Andean culture and native religion. Both authors are in accord with Mac Cormack in this regard. However, it is clear that Ramos manifested only support and advocacy for the Andean population in his vision of the mining draft. His ideas on conversion and redemption through an orthodox Catholicism are more indebted to Justus Lipsius’ ideas on the manifestation of God and the sacred in everyday life. Ramos read Andean reality through the model proposed by Lipsius for Flanders and made it fit in the colonial Andes. Ultimately, his subtle but constant defense of the encomienda system and his connections to the encomendero class clearly relate his thoughts to his own class’ agenda. Ramos demanded a model of colonial society in which the native population, spared from the mita, was protected by a patronizing encomienda.

A second aspect in the message of his work, the institutional claim of his Order, demanded further expansion in heathen land and financial support from the Crown. The ultimate message of Ramos’ history endorsed a social model in which Spaniards and Indians were united in the Augustinian missionary frontier under the protection of the

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234 Salles-Reese, From Viracocha, 156-157 and 169-170. The Augustinians discovered remnants of idolatry among the Indians in Guanuco and it was reported to the Real Audiencia in Lima. Altogether, since their arrival, the Order had banned idolatry from Omasuyos, Huamachuco, Conchucos, Aymaraes and Cotabambas. All was the work of the monks and the Virgin. Ramos, Historia, 96, 133, 195-196.
Crown. It was a frontier of conversion demanding a stronger alliance of State and Church. The *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* proved that Augustinian missionary work at the beginning of the seventeenth century needed strong printed propaganda to convince the Spanish Crown of the feasibility of a new colonial order based on the reform of the mining system, recognition of Indian elites and the expansion of Augustinian missionary work.

### 3.2. Martyrdom and Politics: the Historical Revision of Fray Antonio de la Calancha (1638)

In spite of being the most successful case of a Peruvian colonial intellectual in the seventeenth century, there is still much to discover about the Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha and his massive work *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín* published in Barcelona in 1638. The first striking characteristic of Father Calancha’s performance as scholar is the fact that he was able to dedicate his life almost exclusively to scholarly activities with impressive institutional support from his Order. This made possible the impression of a lengthy and costly historical work in Europe with the text printed in Barcelona and the illustrations in Antwerp.\(^{235}\) Sabine MacCormack has referred to the privileged life of Calancha as the sheltered existence of a man of learning enjoying the appreciation of a circle of Limenian *eruditi* even beyond the Augustinian, a circumstance that I will be focusing on in the next pages.\(^{236}\)

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\(^{235}\) The main illustration was printed in the prestigious Flemish atelier of the Quellinus family in Antwerp. Erasmus Quellinus (1607-1678), the artist, was a close collaborator of Peter Paul Rubens.

\(^{236}\) Mac Cormack, *Religion*, 383
Calancha’s work is the effect and impact his history had on colonial Spanish America and Europe. He was read in Peru and Mexico and translated into Latin, French and Dutch.\(^{237}\)

The reception of his work was unequaled by any of his fellow Peruvian religious historians and not even by any other Spanish American historian of the period.\(^{238}\) Yet, Father Calancha was not far from his Peruvian peers in at least two things: his social background and his aim at establishing a dialogue between the Crown and the colonial


\(^{238}\) One of the first studies in English on Calancha’s work is that of Benjamin Frank Zimdars. In his 1965 dissertation, he stated that in the realm of seventeenth-century Peruvian historiography it was possible to establish a comparison between the works of Calancha and Córdova y Salinas based on their debate over seniority of the Orders. See Benjamin Frank Zimdars, *A Study of Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Historiography: The Monastic Chronicles of Antonio de la Calancha, Diego de Córdova y Salinas and the Compendio y Descripción de Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa* (PhD Dissertation, University of Texas, 1965). The historiographical debate among Orders has been pointed out recently by Pedro Guivovich. See Pedro Guivovich-Pérez, “Hagiografía y política. Las crónicas conventuales en el virreinato peruano” in *Máscaras, tretas y rodeos del discurso colonial*, Bernard Lavallé, ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005), 75-84.
corporate Church through a revision of colonial history. His chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine became a landmark of colonial historical revisionism. Calancha was the first colonial historian who proposed a major political role for a religious Order in the conquest of the Inca Empire, the promotion of the rights of the *benemérito* class and the first historical vision of the accomplishments of Peruvian creoles.

Antonio de la Calancha was born in the city of La Plata (present-day Chuquisaca, Bolivia) in 1586. He was one of the four children of captain Francisco de la Calancha, the Spanish *encomendero* of Ambana and Chumba (Province of Larecaja) and Ana de los Ríos, related to the infamous Martín de Robles, one of the rebel *encomenderos* who opposed viceroy Nuñez de Vela and the *Leyes Nuevas* of 1542. In the pages of the chronicle, a very much hurt Calancha would claim that even in the context of the rebellion, Robles was on the side of the Crown and that his execution by order of the Viceroy Count of Nieva was an act of revenge never approved by the King who ordered the restitution of property to Robles’ niece, Doña Ana.²³⁹ Young Antonio was then raised in an *encomendero* household in the capital of the Audiencia of Charcas in a densely populated and wealthy area of colonial Upper Peru. His father had been granted the *encomiendas* by Viceroy Luis de Velasco; besides the Indian tribute, Don Francisco was a merchant, selling and buying white cloth in the booming mining markets of the

²³⁹ According to Calancha’s declaration in the process of canonization of Francis Solano in 1629, he was 43 years old, therefore born in 1586 and not 1584. The parents were “gente noble y principal, cristianos viejos, limpios de toda mala raza y hidalgos conocidos…”. Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Proceso de Canonizacion de San Francisco Solano (March 23rd, 1629). The correct lineage could not prevent political misfortunes. Martín de Robles was one of the Spanish founders of Charcas, but after his involvement with Francisco Hernández Girón and its defeat was hanged in a public square in 1557 by the licenciado Altamirano, corregidor of La Plata. See Avencio Villarejo, *Los Agustinos en el Perú. 1548-1965* (Lima: Editorial Ausonia, 1965), 262. In his chronicle, Calancha acknowledged being related to Robles, but did not elaborate much his switching sides from being a strong advocate against the New Laws and later to the side of the Crown against the rebel Gonzalo Pizarro and when Sebastian de Castilla rebelled. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, ff. 123, 191, 204.
southern Andes. Captain Calancha made enough money to send his son Diego to the prestigious San Martín School in Lima and his daughters to profess as nuns in the viceregal capital. Once the offspring settled in Los Reyes, the old encomendero and his wife moved to the capital as well and relied on the Corregidor of Arica to collect his money from the Larecaja natives.240

Antonio was barely fourteen years old when he entered the Augustinian convent in Chuquisaca and later moved to Lima to be ordained. Soon after, his two sisters Luisa and María were also sent to the capital of the viceroyalty to enter the Augustinian monastery of The Incarnation, the most exclusive religious institution for women belonging to the colonial elite. In 1611, when Father Calancha was twenty-five years old, his brother Diego Jacinto was already studying in Lima with the Jesuits and his sisters had already professed in the monastery. In that very same year, his sister Luisa de Benavides renounced her rights to any inheritance that she might have received from her father and recognized the dowry paid by captain Calancha to the convent of the Incarnation as her sole inheritance. It seems that the other sister María received the same sum as dowry: two thousand three hundred pesos.241 It is interesting to notice that by then the whole family

240 Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (AGN). Notary Lope de Valencia, 1612-1616, Prot. 1927, fol. 354, October 26, 1613. In his will Calancha’s father mentioned money owed to him by two other merchants Juan Ossorio y Alonso Dias for 200 yards of white cloth from Rouen. For a few years, the money from his encomienda had been collected by Fernando Ordóñez, corregidor of the port of Arica. Besides Antonio, the other children of captain Calancha were Diego Jacinto de la Calancha and the Augustine nuns, María de Benavides and Luisa de Benavides at the convent of the Incarnation in Lima. Diego entered San Martín being 14 years old, on August 18, 1611. AHN (Madrid), Catálogo de Colegiales de San Martín, Codice 242, B. Further information related to Calancha’s family can be found in AGN (La Plata), Notaries Cristóbal de Vargas, Prot. 1980, year 1608, fol. 1531 and Luis del Póstigo, Prot. 1545, years 1608-1612, fols. 13, 31.

241 AGN, Lima, Notary Juan de Zamudio, years 1610-1611, Prot. 2022, fol. 1494, October 13, 1611. Luisa de los Ríos renounced her rights to the inheritance of her father to her mother, Doña Ana de los Ríos y Montenegro.
was living in Lima and Calancha’s father had even made arrangements to be buried in the Church of Belen belonging to the friars of Our Lady of Mercy. As many encomendero families, the Calanchas had moved from the area of their declining encomiendas to the capital of the viceroyalty and connected with the most prestigious religious institutions in Lima, a process of social promotion followed by creole lineages. By 1617, Father Antonio de la Calancha, already thirty-one years old, was building a career as a theologian and preacher in Lima and kept close acquaintance with his sisters in the monastery of The Incarnation. In that year, he complained before Lima’s Archbishop about the frequent calls to his cloistered sisters from two other Augustinians: the General Vicar of his Order and Fray Gaspar de Villaroel, whose work will be analyzed later.

Between 1617 and 1618, Calancha’s career as preacher and scholar took off. He was appointed to preach at Lima’s cathedral to honor the Immaculate Conception of Mary, a festivity of great religious and political importance throughout the Spanish empire. In the following years, Calancha resided in the Augustinian convents of Cuzco, Arequipa and Trujillo, where he taught Latin Rhetoric and Grammar. In 1622, he was back in Lima.

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242 According to information gathered for the canonization process of Francis Solano in 1629, Father Antonio had a first-cousin named Francisco de la Calancha, “presbitero, teologo y predicador. Hijo legitimo de Luis de la Calancha y de Maria Nuñez de Villavicencio, naturales de Jerez de la Frontera, christianos viejos limpios de toda mala raza de moros y judios, que es de edad de cuarenta y seis anos y que es capellan del hospital de San Andres”. This Francisco de la Calancha also declared having visited Solano in his Franciscan convent in Trujillo. Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Causa de Canonización de San Francisco Solano, 1628-1630.

243 Colección Vargas Ugarte, Lima (CVU). Father Antonio de la Calancha asked the Archbishop of Lima for stricter regulations concerning calls to cloistered nuns by other clergymen (March 18, 1617). In response to Calancha’s request, Father Villaroel was sent to Cuzco in 1620. It is interesting to notice that Calancha and Villaroel lived in the same convent. This episode reveals that there was not a close relationship between the two scholars.

244 In 1617, Antonio de León Pinelo referred to Calancha as an outstanding preacher on the celebration of the Immaculate Conception. He also stated that an imprint of the 1618 sermon circulated in Lima, unfortunately it is lost now. See Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, Vol. I, XXIII and Vol. II, 619-620.
as head of the Augustinian seminary of San Ildefonso. In 1629, when asked to provide testimony in the canonization process of Francis Solano, Calancha declared that he was a theology Professor at San Marcos and preacher at the viceregal court and the Inquisition chapel.\footnote{Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), \textit{Causa de Canonización de San Francisco Solano}, April 23, 1629, ff. 57r., v. See also Eguiguren, \textit{Diccionario}, Vol. I, XXIII and Vol. II, 687-688, 793.} On that occasion Calancha, as judge of the canonization process of Francis Solano, interviewed a nun who declared having been told her religious future by Solano.\footnote{AAL, \textit{Causa de Canonización}, 1629. María Magdalena de Salinas was first-cousin to Buenaventura de Salinas and Diego de Córdova, whose work will be studied in chapter three.} In 1630, we find Calancha again preaching for the vice-regal court on the occasion of the festivity of Saint Joseph at the convent of \textit{Las Descalzas}.\footnote{March 18th, 1630. The sermon was heard by the nuns, the Viceroy and members of the \textit{Audiencia}. See Suardo, \textit{Diario}, Vol. 1, 63.} His interest in writing Augustinian history and the long process of gathering information should have begun by the mid-1620s for it took about ten years to complete the history of his Order in 1633. In 1638, being fifty-two years old, he crowned his ecclesiastical and intellectual career with his election to Prior of his convent in Lima and the printing of his History of the Peruvian Augustinian province in Spain.

Father Calancha was quite a prolific author, but unfortunately some of his works are lost.\footnote{One of the first critical essays on Calancha’s work is that of Riva-Agüero. See José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, \textit{La Historia en el Perú} (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1965).} Besides the Augustinian chronicle in two volumes (the first one printed in Barcelona in 1638 and the second in Lima in 1653), we know of his lost sermon on the Immaculate Conception of Mary cited by León Pinelo in his \textit{Epítome}. Villarejo stated that Calancha also wrote a theological treatise on the Virgin in 1629, with the title \textit{De}
Inmaculatae Virginis Maria Conceptionis Certitudine and a biography on the life of
Father Francisco Martínez de Biedma, subsumed later in the first volume of his chronicle
and printed posthumously in Mexico in 1763. None of these works have been found so
far, but maybe the first one is either the sermon of 1618 or a piece after it. Calancha
supposedly also wrote another history of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Copacabana and
one on the convent of Our Lady of Prado in Lima, both published -again according to
Villarejo- in 1642. It seems that those works, if they ever existed independently,
became later chapters of the second volume of his chronicle. As a matter of fact,
Calancha stated in the second volume that he wanted to work on a new updated history of
the sanctuary because Ramos did not include all the information relevant to the devotion
of the Virgin of Copacabana, Ramos’s chronicle had become very rare and, most
importantly, because Ramos’s work “did not reach Europe.” This last statement reveals
the concern of both chronicler and Order about the importance of publicizing the
prodigies of the Andean Marian sanctuary all over the Catholic world. Calancha’s version
of the History of Copacabana was built upon Ramos’s account and was powerful enough
to inspire the later work of Gabriel de León, printed in Madrid. Although León probably
followed the chapter in the second volume of the chronicle rather than being published as

249 León Pinelo mentions this sermon when citing his own work Relación de las Fiestas de la
Congregación de Lima a la Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora, printed in Lima in 1618. See Antonio
de León Pinelo, Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental, Náutica y Geográfica (Madrid: 1629) and
Villarejo, Los Agustinos, 264.

250 Villarejo, Los Agustinos, 264.

251 “asi lo quise hazer, pero conoci, o porque quizá no han llegado destos libros a Europa, o porque ya en
este Peru se halla qual o qual, o porque no se puso el padre Prior Fray Alonso en su libro todo lo que
pudiese y avia de dezir…”. Antonio de la Calancha, Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín
Nuestro Padre. Tomo Segundo (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1653), f.1v.
an independent book, this sequel of Calancha’s late work proves the impact of this new wave of Peruvian Augustinian propaganda abroad.\footnote{252}{The only reference for one of these works printed in Lima is that of a fellow Augustinian. See Gabriel de León, Compendio del origen de la esclarecida y gloriosa imagen de Nª Sª de Copacabana, Patrona del Perú. Sacado de la historia que compuso el R.P.M. Fr. Antonio de la Calancha (Madrid: Pablo de Val, 1663). In his approval for the second volume of the chronicle (August, 1653), Father Agustín de Berrio, stated that Calancha “reservo este segundo para celebrar las maravillas del celestial sagrario, que tenemos de María en nuestro convento insigne de Copacabana, i el del Monasterio de Monjas Hermitanas de Lima en el santísimo convento de la Recoleccion del Prado...”. Bernardo de Torres confirmed this: “Aviendo dado a la estampa las milagrosas fundaciones de los dos celebres santuarios de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana y del Prado...le assalto de improviso la muerte.” See Calancha, Corónica Moralizada. It does seem that the work of 1653 was the first edition of both narrations.}

Other known historical work by Calancha is his history of San Marcos University, for which he was appointed author by the University faculty in May 1639. Actually, the origin of this work was the Royal Decree of 1635 that requested information to be sent to Spain for the official history of the Spanish chronicler Gil González Dávila. The Relación Dispuesta por Cédula del rey Don Felipe IV, Nuestro Señor de la Real Universidad de Lima, Ciudad de Los Reyes, primera y mayor en este Nuevo mundo, Segunda en toda la cristiandad, solo inferior a la de Salamanca is a brief account of Lima’s university, describing its chairs and the excellence of its graduates. In this work, Father Calancha saves no effort in praising creole academic achievements.\footnote{253}{On the genesis of the official chronicle of González-Dávila, see Eguiguren, Historia, Tomo III, 608. The complete text of Calancha’s history of San Marcos is in Eguiguren, Historia, I, 1-30. See Gil González-Dávila, Theatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de sus arzobispos y obispos y cosas memorables de sus sedes en lo que pertenece al reyno del Perú dedicale a la magestad del rey, don Phelipe IV...el M. Gil González Dávila, su coronista mayor de las Indias y de los reynos de las dos Castillas (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1655).} Finally, Vargas Ugarte, and Benvenutto following him, found evidence in Rome of a Memorial penned by Calancha in the late 1640s, on the importance of hunting “beavers” (sea-lions) in coastal Peru. The summary of the document provided by Vargas Ugarte implies that there were two memoriales on the same issue written for the consideration of the viceroy, the Count of
Salvatierra, and in response to the Royal Decree of 1641, inquiring about industrial possibilities in the Spanish colonies. In that Memorial, Calancha made a brief reference to another work on astronomy in which he had built an interpretation of celestial bodies for the New World using Ptolemy. Again, in the second volume of the chronicle there is an astronomical description of Copacabana using Ptolemaic theory. So far, no evidence of an independent treatise on astronomy by Fray Antonio has been found.

Calancha is unique among Peruvian colonial scholars because we have information about the printing process of his work that we do not have for his peers. This makes a great difference in order to understand the rise of the letrado class in colonial Peru and the making of early modern scholars in general. In 1635, two years after Fray Antonio completed and sent to Spain the manuscript of his Corónica Moralizada, he asked a

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256 Around 1651, Calancha stated: “…tratado que agora se imprime de signos, estrellas, y planetas, que ajustando el cuadrante de Tolomeo a todas las provincias, naciones y costumbres deste Nuevo Mundo e trabajado yo, siendo el primero que lo ha intentado”, Vargas Ugarte, “Impreso Limeño…”, 6. Describing Copacabana in 1653, the Augustinian said: “Esta Copacabana en altura austral de diez y siete grados cortos. Los signos y los planetas que la predominan, según el cuadrante deste Nuevo Mundo deducido del de Ptolomeo…”. Calancha, Corónica, Vol. II, f. 2v. Did he mean this part of chapter 1 of 1653 when talking of his astrological work in 1651?
Limenian merchant traveling to Spain to deliver the sum of 1,086 pesos to the Augustinian Pedro del Campo in Cádiz. The merchant, Pedro de Saldías, in the document signed before a notary, accepted the money from Calancha and the Father Procurador of the Order, Juan Bravo, and agreed to deliver it once he disembarked in Spain. The merchant had also received 450 pesos to be delivered to the secretary of the President of the Council of the Indies or to the father Procurador of the Augustinians in Madrid, Fray Martín de Arançolo.257

This interesting document sheds light on the mechanisms used to have Spanish American scholarly works published in Europe. They involved the safe transfer of money to Spain backed up by a notarized contract using Limenian commercial networks and agents known as safe carriers of money across the Atlantic. Saldías may have had a solid and honest reputation because he was not delivering money only for the Augustinians but for the Dominicans as well. The international network provided by a religious Order worked well for the best use of the money and for the delivery of the final product. In this case, we know the final destination of the money was Barcelona, where printing costs were lower but also the technology and the craft was superior to those in Lima. Father Calancha, in the introduction to his History, defended his work in advance not for its content but for any typo or print defect it might have had. In the absence of the author, reported Fray Antonio, wrong sentences and bad spelling could not be avoided. In this regard, he humorously stated: “Printers are like physicians. If the patient dies, it is all

257 AGN, Notary Antonio de Tamayo, year 1635, Prot. 1856, fols. 385r., v. 387r., v. It is certainly worth noticing that in addition to the transfer of funds to cover the cost of the publication, extra money had to be sent to speed up Augustinian affairs at court, maybe related to the permission to publish.
attributed to his excesses and poor physical health. Blessed Virgin, protect me not from the critics but from the bad printer!” 258

In 1651, almost fifteen years later, Father Calancha visited the notary again. This time he was taking care of legal and material issues regarding the printing of four hundred copies of the second volume of his history. It may have been the case that printing costs were still much higher in Lima than in any European city, but Father Calancha had reached fame as a religious scholar and had been able to get funding from supporters and his Order in Lima for this new scholarly endeavor.259 We know by the permission given by the Father Provincial that the first volume printed in 1638 had even been read and praised by the Prior General of the Order, Father Ippolito Monti. The approval included in the new contract sheds light on the higher status gained by Father Calancha within his Order and of the intellectual respect for his work out of Peru. His chronicle -now considered an institutional priority- had gotten institutional financial support. Moreover, Calancha received permission to dedicate his time exclusively to writing history, using one of the rural retreats owned by the Order near Lima as well as the assistance of a young friar for transcription and proof-reading.260 In all these regards, Calancha enjoyed benefits hardly shared with other Peruvian religious scholars. Most of his peers wrote on the side, sharing their intellectual endeavors with missionary work, being reminded most

258 “A la Virgen, a quien dedico este tomo le pido el amparo rogandole que me defienda mas de los malos impresores que de los maldicientes.” Calancha, Corónica, Introduction.

259 “…atendiendo a que obra tan digna de perpetua memoria no quede sin estampa publica para la presente agradeciendole el sudor estudios y cuidados con que a de crecer el lucimiento de nuestra provincia con las especiales grandecas del dara a noticia comun de todos le damos licencia y para que luego mas meresca le mandamus [roto] estas nuestras letras y con toda la brevedad posible imprimy [roto] imprimir el dicho Segundo tomo en la ciudad de los Reyes…” AGN, Notary Francisco Holguín, year 1651, Prot. 941, fol. 766. See also Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “Nuevos datos sobre Fray Antonio de la Calancha y la impresión de su Corónica Moralizada,” Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica, No. 2, (1992): 233-245.

260 AGN (Lima), Notary Francisco Holguín, year 1651, Prot. 941, fol. 767r., 767v.
of the time -if not expressly encouraged- about the importance of giving more time to
spiritual than to scholarly affairs. Calancha was fortunate to reach that safe haven that
meant institutional respect for his intellectual work. His international success made the
Augustinian Order realize his value as an author and the need to provide him with the
material support necessary for continuing his intellectual work. He was no longer a local
religious scholar writing the history of his corporation. Father Calancha had become a
member of the Catholic Republic of Letters.

The contract of 1651 between author and printer reveals some other interesting details
that illustrate the process of printing a major manuscript like the second volume of
Calancha’s Augustinian History. Notaries and print houses in Lima had become by mid-
seventeenth century new places in the geography of knowledge: authors and printers got
together to agree on the physical characteristics and cost of books. Convents and
monasteries turned into spaces where forms of sociability related to the developing
scholarly work. What is very interesting in the case of Calancha is that his work had
created specialized areas for writing history within his own corporation, with specialized
tasks assigned for copyists and assistants. Also worth noticing is the fact that in
seventeenth-century Lima, writing history was a joint-venture among religious
institutions, since one author might belong to one specific Order and his proof-readers or
discussants to another. That is particularly clear in the 1651 contract for Calancha’s
second volume. In spite of being an institutional Augustinian history, it would be proof-

261 For Burke, the geography of knowledge of the Early Modern Period was divided into private and public
spaces. The first ones were the library, the University and the monastery. Among the public ones, the
printing house was a novelty. See Peter Burke, A Social History of Knowledge. From Gutemberg to Diderot
(London: Polity, 2002), 55. In Lima, spaces like the University and the different convents, with their own
libraries were at least semi-public spaces that were accessible for religious scholars.
read in the Jesuit school of San Pablo. Unfortunately we know nothing about the Jesuit fellow-scholar who collaborated with the proof-reading, but it is certainly interesting to see this kind of collaboration beyond institutional boundaries.262

Physical characteristics of the book were discussed at length between printer and author in 1651. We know for instance of the negotiation over paper and its cost. Father Calancha agreed to provide the material, whose cost was about twelve pesos per printed sheet. In order to lower the final cost of the book, the printer committed before a notary to accommodate three pages of the text in the space originally considered for four pages, making the font smaller and therefore using fewer sheets. The modus operandi implied the printing of one page per day, sent immediately to the Augustinian quarters for revision. It is also interesting to know that the printer received paper of two different kinds. The cheaper one would be used for printing the corrections for eventual typos in the text.263 Even though paper was an expensive and somewhat scarce commodity, it seems that both the author and the Order had secured money to pay for the paper. Nevertheless, the four hundred copies of the chronicle were not printed as cheaply or as promptly as Father Calancha would have liked. In 1652, Father Calancha went back to the notary, this time to sign a second contract with the printer Joseph de Contreras because in almost the period of one year, Jorge López de Herrera had produced only

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262 “...Yten es condicion quel dicho padre maestro a de dar persona que lleve las probas a la Compania de Jesus o a este convento de San Agustin y todo lo que se mudare en ellos me obligo de lo enmendar...” AGN, Notary Francisco Holguín, Year 1651, Prot. 941, fol. 766.

263 “...Yten es convencion que el dicho padre maestro ha de dar persona que lleve las pruebas...y todo lo que se mudare en ellas me obligo de lo enmendar y de ser obligado a rehazer el pliego o pliegos en la forma o manera dicha sin poner escusas en ello...Yten me obligo de dar un pliego impresso todos los dias como aya quien lo enmiende con puntualidad...Yten me obligo que todo el papel impresso que sobrare que llaman defectos se lo he de volver e entregar al dicho padre maestro fray Antonio de la Calancha y me obligo de no me quedar con ninguno dellos en manera alguna...” AGN (Lima), Notary Francisco Holguín, year 1651, Prot. 941, ff. 766 r., v.
eighty-two printed sheets, roughly three hundred thirty pages of the chronicle. However, the already printed sheets amounted to roughly one thousand pesos. Printing in Lima was expensive and the quality poor as compared to Europe. This was evident with the two volumes of Calancha’s history, one printed in Barcelona and the second in Los Reyes.264

The cost of printing such a long book raises the question of funding. Considering the prestige of the author, the Augustinian Order or other sponsors might have put money into this new scholarly endeavor. Father Calancha might have also invested some personal money coming either from his paternal inheritance or extra earnings from economic activities on the side, in spite of the fact that he was member of a mendicant order. He certainly made money from his preaching and might have saved it. We know that in 1638, the year of his consecration as author, Father Calancha bought the debt of the owner of a piece of property already mortgaged in favor of the Augustinian.265 Rich clergymen provided cash to business owners and private persons, lending money at a somewhat high interest. Calancha was no stranger to such colonial economic practices and this side of him as money lender and investor was shared by many other religious scholars, the most notorious case being the already mentioned Doctor Feliciano de Vega the most notorious. Nevertheless, Fray Antonio was already sixty-five years old when he started working on the third book of the chronicle. He died shortly after in 1654.

264 Although part of book five of the second volume was printed by Contreras, it seems López de Herrera ultimately did most of the work, AGN (Lima), Notary Francisco Holguín, year 1652, Prot. 942, fol. 721v.

265 In 1638, Father Calancha received from Esteban Fernández the right to collect one hundred and ninety-five pesos from Francisco de Palacios, money the latter owed from the rent of a house near the convent of the Incarnation. Calancha was the beneficiary from a censo on the property in exchange for money borrowed by Fernandez in the past. AGN (Lima), Notary Bartolomé de Cívico, year 1638-c, Prot 349, ff. 2544 r., v., 2545 r.
3.2.1. Augustinian blood and imperial politics in the Andes

Soon after its publication in 1638, Calancha’s *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín* was the center of a polemic involving the other religious corporations in the Peruvian viceroyalty. This is not a historiographical debate, as Pedro Guibovich has recently proposed. Calancha did respond to the publication in Lima of the *Memorial de las Historias Pirú* (1630) by his contemporary and acquaintance, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova. Calancha went beyond a disagreement on precedence and seniority among the religious corporations established in Peru, although this might seem to be the case. A careful reading of Calancha shows that his intention was far more complex than solely claiming an early arrival for his Order. Based on the content of the Royal Decree of 1551 that ordered the Augustinian Order to settle in Peru, Calancha built a twofold argument. The Augustinians were the only Order, which crossed the Atlantic due to an official request of the Crown. The consequence of this journey was significant since the Order had rights that could not be revoked. Therefore, Calancha reminded the Crown -not the Orders- of the rights granted to the Augustinians. The other aspect was to prove that the history of Spanish Peru did not begin with the encounter and massacre of

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266 Guibovich has pointed out the transatlantic historiographical polemic in which these works should be inscribed. See Guibovich, “Hagiografía y política,” 75-84. Even aspects of Calancha’s narrative may indicate that it was just a historiographical debate on which Order arrived first in Peru and which one evangelized first. Calancha briefly but emphatically reminded his readership that his work aimed at establishing seniority for his Order in the Andes and that he did not want Peruvian Augustinians to be robbed of their right. Even though he admitted that Augustinians as members of the clergy were not the first in arrive in Peru, Calancha did emphasize -relying on Salinas- that his Order as a corporation was the first, complying with royal orders: “…después que he visto el libro que el año de mil y seiscientos y treinta imprimio el padre lector de Teología Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, donde pone varias cosas deste reyno y con particularidad trata de las fundaciones, que las ordenes hicieron en el, quienes y quando las fundaron, solo pone a mi religion cedula en cuya conformidad fundo i no lo dize de la suya…ni de otra…i es sin duda que persona que tanto vido y leyo para tan onroso trabajo en gloria de los nacidos en este Peru…..” Calancha, *Corónica*, Vol. I, ff. 13, 82, 191.
Cajamarca in 1532, where the Dominican Vicente de Valverde, accidentally played one of the leading roles in reading the requerimiento to Inca Atahualpa and calling the Spaniards to battle against the Indians.\textsuperscript{267} The real evangelization -the corporate Church politically allied to the Crown- started when the Augustinians were legally authorized to establish their first monastery.

Being the only Order allowed to arrive in Peru by means of a royal decree implied that the Augustinians were officially the first state-sponsored religious corporation. In the context of the early seventeenth century, this meant that the Augustinians were allowed to build churches and own property among the Indians without tax demands and restrictions from the state.\textsuperscript{268} Ramos and Calancha spared no effort to stress how the Marian sanctuaries in the hands of the Order fulfilled the Crown’s expectations of indigenous conversion, which could be interpreted as a claim over control of Indian parishes.

Copacabana, in particular, was taken over after a Royal Decree in 1588 authorized the establishment of the Augustinians in the area, already missioned by Dominicans and Jesuits.\textsuperscript{269} Competing with other religious corporations and the secular clergy for a

\textsuperscript{267} The text of the royal decree goes as follows: “Nos somos informados que en esa tierra no ay monasterio alguno de la orden de San Agustín y porque ahora nos embiamos a ella destos reynos doze religiosos de la dicha orden e de la Nueva España proveemos que vayan otros quatro que entiendan la instrucción e conversión de los naturales desas provincias y porque no teniendo como al presente no tiene echo [sic] monasterio donde residan convendrá que se les aga [sic]… [In Valladolid, March 23, 1550]” Calancha, \textit{Corónica}, Vol. I, ff. 4, 83.

\textsuperscript{268} For Calancha evangelization and the Spanish imperial project came together. Therefore the need to re-tell colonial history from the point of view of the Crown relying on the Order was necessary. Calancha, \textit{Corónica}, Vol. I, f. 8.

\textsuperscript{269} In the second volume of his chronicle (1653), Calancha shed light on the Augustinian settlement in the Upper Andes. The initial request to the Crown, sometime in the mid 1580s, shows a humble approach: “…en el lugar de Copacavana esta una imagen de la gloriosíssima Virgen María…i siendo vuestra alteza servido hazer merced a esta Santa religion de la dicha doctrina…”. The Royal Decree of January 1588 granted the Order the right to control Copacabana and reveals a more aggressive lobbying of the Order: “…aviéndose pedido por parte del dicho
privileged position next to the Crown, it was of the utmost importance for the
Augustinians to prove that the Order was the true arm of the Crown in the expansion of
the Catholic faith in the New World. For Calancha, two historical episodes in early
colonial history proved that. The first was the conversion of one of the last Inca rulers, the rebel Inca Sayri Tupac. The second was the martyrdom of the Augustinian Fray Diego Ortiz after his failed attempt to convert Titu Cusi Yupanqui, successor to Sayri Tupac. Thus Calancha’s revision of early colonial history became powerful enough to convince his readership and the Crown of the defeat of the Inca Empire through Augustinian conversion of its rulers and the political importance of Ortiz the first martyr of the colonial Church.

The sequence of historical facts for the political and spiritual conquest of Peru presented by Fray Antonio de la Calancha implied a radical revision of history because the end of native sovereignty and the dominion of Spaniards over the Andes did not happen when the requerimiento was read to Atahualpa Inca by the Dominican Vicente de Valverde, or the subsequent capture of the Inca Emperor by Pizarro in Cajamarca in 1532. Instead, the true beginning of the Spanish conquest was the conversion of the rebel Incas of Vilcabamba through the preaching of the Augustinians Marcos García and Diego Ortiz. Ultimately, the martyrdom of the latter established a deep alliance between Crown and Order that defined the history of the conquest. Ortiz became a politically laden symbol for the newly Catholic Andes and his death legitimated the translatio imperii.

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definidor i convento en la mi Audiencia Real de la dicha provincia de los Charcas se le hiziese merced de la doctrina del lugar de Copacavana, de la dicha provincia…i en la administración de los sacramentos…quatro religiosos en lugar de un clerigo viejo e impedido”. Calancha also mentioned that the viceroy tried to block the taking over of the doctrine: “si bien conocia lo mucho que importava la fundacion…se uvo remisamente en el despacho y acudiendo la Religión a Su Magestad negocio la cedula…e querido poner estos autos, i cedula, porque quede perpetua memoria de todo…” Calancha, Corónica, Vol. II, ff. 75-76.
The first novelty in Calancha’s revision of colonial history is his assertion that by the late 1550s the ruling of the Spanish Crown over the Andes was at stake because of the existence of a parallel Inca state. Even more importantly, the rule of the Spanish monarch was not legitimate since the Inca rulers had not accepted their submission to the Habsburgs and therefore the colonial government was not legitimate as well. The first step was the conversion of the rebel Incas; asked by the viceroy, the Augustinian Juan de Vivero left Cuzco for Vilcabamba to convert Inca Sayri Tupac and his Coya in 1558. Sayri Tupac — by then known as Mancocapac Pachacuti Yupanqui or according to Calancha’s free translation, “the one without a kingdom” — welcomed Father Vivero and accepted his preaching. When asked about his submission, the Inca claimed that he was no rebel but just defending his rights as natural sovereign of the Inca Empire. He had not been read the requerimiento nor accepted its terms. The conversion of the Inca led to his surrender and trip to Los Reyes to formally recognize the Habsburg ruling of the former Tawantinsuyu. In that moment, Calancha stated, Indian autonomy in Peru came to an end, the final peace arrived and his Order succeeded as diplomatic agent in one of the most important political accomplishments in history. In his interview with the viceroy Hurtado de Mendoza, Sayri Tupac renounced his political rights emphasizing that he was doing so for the sake of permanent peace between his Andean subjects and the Spaniards. For the chronicler, that was a true lesson of majesty to be followed by all Christian Kings.270

270 “davan nombre de delito criminal a la que era natural defensa y conservación de erencia [sic] propia….se pondere la cordura de un Indio quando la govierna una sangre real i desta prudencia que vimos, colijan la de sus antepasados; a estos como en su dominio magestuoso y a este como en su retiro violentado, i aprendan los cristianos reyes a querer mas las vidas y quietud de sus vasallos, que lo imperioso y rico de sus monarquias pues no deven mas a su ambicion que a su naturaleza, ni tiene privilegios la codicia para que con desafuero se incluya la commiseracion.” Calancha, Corónica, Vol. I, ff. 454-456.
Calancha presented the negotiation between the Spaniards and Indians as a consequence of the progressive awareness of the Indian elite that their rule had come to an end and peace had to be secured. This was not an easy process since the Inca stronghold of Vilcabamba established after Manco Inca’s rebellion in 1535 had led to a state of rebellion against Spanish rule that lasted for over twenty years. The Augustinian Order made possible the peaceful submission to the Habsburg dynasty of the former Inca elite through their conversion to Catholicism. Calancha’s narrative subtly undermined the importance of the *requerimiento* and advocated for a truthful evangelization as premise of political submission. Once Sayri Tupac converted and only then did he agree to surrender Vilcabamba, negotiate the terms of the truce between Indians and Spaniards and legitimate the *translatio imperii* of his political rights as ruler. More importantly, Calancha introduced here the idea that subjection to the King of Spain was a contractual pact. The Inca surrendered in exchange for benefits for him and his family. By the same token, the new subjects -the Indians- agreed to contribute with their work in exchange for becoming part of the Catholic monarchy and receiving salvation through the colonial Church. Thus tribute was legitimized, a political statement that coincided with the vision of Miguel de Agia analyzed before. Yet, the idea that any contribution to the sovereign implied an exchange of favors with the Crown was also an idea developed by Justus Lipsius in a work that was much popular in those years.\(^{271}\) In this moment of the

\(^{271}\) Justus Lipsius, *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae extant* (Antwerp: Apud C. Plantinum, 1585). Calancha stated that the Crown relied on the original *encomienda* for religious purposes. The fact that many *encomenderos* neglected the evangelization of their Indians, did not cancel the original intent. Referring to the claims of the *licenciado* Francisco Fernández de Córdova, descendant of the *encomendero* of Chachapoyas, Juan Sánchez Falcón, Calancha transcribed the royal decree that entitled the later with the benefit: “con cargo que seays obligado a los doctrinar i ensenar en las cosas de nuestra Sancta Fee católica...Esta saque del original que el licenciado don Francisco Fernández de Córdova, nieto de su nobleza y eredero de sus meritos me dio... los encomenderos no trataron de siquiera rezarles las oraciones
narration, the contractual relationship between indigenous subjects and the Crown led to the agenda of the Peruvian encomenderos. The former Inca accepted his new status as encomendero but not without certain regret and declared before the viceroy: “I owned a table cloth now only own one thread.”272 Through the mouth of the Inca, the dispossessed encomenderos complained to colonial authorities about their decaying status.

The Augustinians intervened in a crucial political moment to reconcile the Inca elite and the Catholic Crown and to reorient colonial history. The viceroy chose father Vivero, head of the order in Cuzco to convert Sayri Tupac. After the baptism in 1558 of Don Diego Sayri Tupac and the Coya (first wife of the Inca ruler), the Order moved at a higher level to secure a special papal dispensation that allowed them to marry in spite of being siblings.273 This was very important since their only daughter -Beatriz Clara Coya who later married Martín García de Loyola, first governor of Chile- was the sole heir of the privileges and rights over the encomienda and entail, and therefore had to be legitimized.274 Unfortunately, the Order did not fully succeed as peace negotiator. Sayri’s half-brother, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, did not recognize the treaty signed by the first one and

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272 After being read the royal decree by which, he was given an encomienda in the Yucay valley –the lordship of Oropesa- Sayri Tupac looking at rich table cloth covering the table before which he was seated: “...cogio el fleco de seda de la sobremesa y arranco un hilo: yo era dueno de todo este pano y se me devuelve una hebra,” anecdote which is in itself, a clear subtle message on the dispossession of the benemérito class to which Calancha belonged. Calancha, Corónica, Vol. I, f. 457.


the viceroy and persisted in his state of rebellion in Vilcabamba. Gonzalo Lamana has pointed out the complexity of the political situation in Cuzco between the 1540s and 1570s and the many interests behind the Spanish accounts, stressing Sayrí’s surrender and Titu Cusi’s state of rebellion. For Lamana, the whole Vicabamba affair was overdimensioned for political gains in Spanish accounts, even in the religious ones. In 1535, when Manco Inca retired to Vilcabamba after his failed attempt to get rid of the Spaniards, his brother Paullu peacefully remained in Cuzco and performed the symbolic, political and economic duties of the former native rulers for many years. Both Incas coexisted peacefully with the colonial system in a state of truce. When Sayrí converted and left Vilcabamba, Titu Cusi’s conversion and submission suddenly became a goal for the Augustinians and for the colonial government as well. The ambiguity of the period 1566-1571 coincided with the consolidation of the colonial situation and the beginning of the ruling of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. In that context, Vilcabamba became an issue for both Viceroy and Augustinians, the latter interested in consolidating their role as allies of the Crown. The killing of Fray Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba in 1571 helped to build the Augustinian legend.

According to Calancha’s narrative in chapters four to six of the fourth book of the chronicle, Diego Ortiz arrived in Peru with the ardent desire to become a missionary among Indians. “As anxious to learn Indian languages as greedy men looking for mines,” Ortiz was appointed parish priest of the town of Lanacache, north of present-day La Paz in 1563, where in spite of his poor theological training converted many Indians.

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276 Busto, Historia Cronológica, 111.
years later he was a parish priest in Capinota, near Cuzco. In that year, Titu Cusi sent for the missionaries and received baptism as Felipe Titu Cusi Yupanqui along with the Coya Doña Angelina Polanquilaco, allowing Father Marcos García to preach, evangelize and build a church in the town of Puquira. Then, Vilcabamba -far from being a rebel town- was a tolerant enclave where Indians, mestizos, whites and Christians and non-Christians co-existed and it was the Incas who asked for the missionaries not the Viceroy who sent them with a political mission. Nevertheless, the Augustinians pushed further in their attempt to make Vilcabamba a mission town and sent Diego Ortiz to found a parish in the town of Huarancalla around 1570. This and Father García’s demands to Cusi Titu in order to lead a moral life apparently triggered the violent reaction against the priests that has been described by Calancha as a “relapse of apostasy.”

However, as convincing as Calancha’s narrative is, it is not the only source to read on Father Ortiz’s martyrdom. In 1659, another Augustinian, Father Nicolás Suárez, published in Madrid Vida y Martirio del Glorioso Fray Diego Ruiz Ortiz based on different accounts including Calancha’s. A comparison between both accounts reveals some gaps and even contradictions in the treatment of the episode. This helps us understand how the myth of Ortiz’ martyrdom was built and adorned by Calancha


280 Nicolás Suárez, Vida y martirio del glorioso fray Diego Ruiz Ortiz de la orden de nuestro padre San Agustín... sacada de las historias de la orden que tratan de la entrada que hicieron nuestros religiosos en aquellos reynos (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1659).
because it worked effectively for the purpose of strengthening the position of the Augustinian Order in the viceroyalty of Peru. According to the *Corónica Moralizada*, Fray Marcos García was expelled out of Vilcabamba by Titu Cusi, having being accused of being a spy of the viceroy. For Calancha, it was all a consequence of a plot by the secretary of the Inca, a *mestizo* by the name of Martín Pando and his wife, Juana Guerrero with the support of the Coya herself who hated García.\(^{281}\) With Father García gone, Titu Cusi went back to native cults and indigenous usages. One night, after a particularly excessive banquet, the Inca fell gravely ill and hours later died. Looking for a scapegoat, the Coya Doña Angelina accused Diego Ortiz -the only Augustinian still in the Vilcabamba area- of having poisoned the Inca.\(^{282}\) Calancha’s version leads more toward the direction of a political and personal difference between the Augustinians and Titu Cusi, rather than a confessional difference. After all, the Inca had already been baptized and the Augustinians presence tolerated.

Father Suárez’ version -published two decades after Calancha’s- differs in several important things that reveal part of the story from the Indians’ point of view. First, García and the Inca had an argument over baptisms of members of the royal household performed by the Augustinian without the Inca’s consent. Second, Father García protested against the killing of a Spaniard by the name of Romero, who had discovered gold ore in the area. Fearing the arrival of Spanish miners, Titu Cusi ordered Romero’s execution. Third, knowing that García’s situation in Vilcabamba was precarious, the Order sent Ortiz as replacement. Finally, when the Inca caught pneumonia, he was given


care by his secretary Martín Pando. When the Inca died, Pando accused Father Ortiz of murder, probably to avoid accusations of poisoning.\footnote{Suárez, Vida y martirio, ff. 16v-35v.} Although not far from Calancha, Suárez’ version provides details that help us to understand how tense and even desperate was the situation in Vilcabamba on the eve of its fall under the forces of viceroy Toledo. Far from remaining an isolated Incan enclave as the Spaniards claimed, Vilcabamba was full of Spanish settlers, priests, mestizos and even miners. Yet, it seems that Titu Cusi wanted to control the political influence of the Augustinians in his negotiations with Toledo, not necessarily their cultural and religious influence, as the Order claimed.

Suárez’s account raises a dramatic and yet unanswered question not present in Calancha. It might have been the case that the death of Titu Cusi was a political murder by the members of its own group, fearing his pro-Spanish position as a consequence of the influence of Fray Marcos García and Diego Ortiz. It seems that Vilcabamba became more Inca and nativist by the end of its period of autonomy than it had been before.

In spite of the differences between both accounts, Ortiz was indeed the victim of these very confusing and tense times. Once Tupac Amaru was recognized as successor to Titu Cusi, Father Ortiz was taken to the Inca’s presence and formally accused of sorcery before being killed. His death was a clear statement about cutting links with the Spaniards but Calancha used it conveniently as proof of the sacrifice of his Order. To make it particularly appealing, Calancha spared no detail in one of the most gruesome descriptions of physical torture in colonial Spanish America. While Suárez told the story in two pages, Calancha dedicated two chapters to describe in full detail the nineteen stages of physical abuse resembling Christ’s passion. After being badly beaten, Father Ortiz was tied with his hands on his back and left naked in the evening cold. The day
after, he was beaten for a second time while his cords were fastened tighter. With his arms dislocated, Ortiz was forced to say Mass while the Indians mocked him. He was beaten for a third time and water was poured on the ropes to make them tighter. Martín Pando forced Ortiz to say Mass for a second time, dragging him by the hair and kicking him on the chest. With his arms dislocated, Father Ortiz managed to put the vestments on and celebrate Mass. After that he was crucified, beaten and given a putrid drink. Ortiz’s cheeks were pierced and a rope passed through his flesh by which he would be later dragged. He was whipped and thorns put between his nails and fingers. Finally, Father Ortiz was impaled on a chonta trunk, which went through his body from the groin to the back of his neck. Surprisingly he was still alive but left to die there, experiencing some mystical rapture as shown in the engraving by the hand of Erasmus Quellinus (Illustration No. 2). From Suárez’s narrative we know that the Indians yelled at Ortiz in Quechua: “he never dies.” Nonetheless, Ortiz died shortly after that. His remains were recovered when Spanish troops captured Tupac Amaru in Vilcabamba in 1572 and taken back to Cuzco.

Ortiz’s death was indeed an historical fact but the extraordinary construction of the martyrdom by Father Calancha, reveals a highly skilled baroque narrator, one who was master of the arts of rhetoric and preaching. Yet, two aspects reveal the originality of Calancha’s narrative. First, we have the use of Ortiz’s death to convince the reader of the

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285 Textually: “Manan guanunca.” Suárez, Vida y Martirio, f. 47r.

286 Suárez, Vida y Martirio, f. 60v.
crucial role played by the Augustinian Order in the final defeat of the Inca Empire. Ortiz’s martyrdom became a site of both religious and political meaning. The tortured body of the “proto-martyr” of the Americas announced the end of the Conquest and the beginning of the real Spanish dominion of the Andes through the action of the Church in the colonial frontier. The shedding of Ortiz’s blood in frontier land -both geographically and politically- sanctioned the authority of the Spanish Crown.\footnote{Luigi Guarnieri Calo Carducci, \textit{Idolatria e Identità Creola in Peru} (Roma: Viella, 2007), 75.} The second aspect of Calancha’s originality is his mastery of early modern anatomic knowledge in order to make his narrative truthful and convincing. Recent studies on the body have emphasized the importance of “piecing out” the body and the symbolic aspects related to body parts, limbs and organs in narratives of the period. In particular, Hillman and Mazio have pointed out that since medieval times -and Calancha’s chronicle drew from the Late Medieval tradition of history writing- the body and body parts have played a major role in the relic trade but the dissection of the body implies the creation of a “comprehensive order” through a “unified body of knowledge.”\footnote{David Hillman, David and Carla Mazio, eds., \textit{The Body in Parts. Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe} (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), xiii, xiv.} The detailed description of the body of Diego Ortiz in Calancha’s narrative relates to the old tradition of relic-making, but also takes the reader to a careful consideration of joints, postures and wounds which were physically possible to extend torture and pain to in order to achieve a slower death. The effectiveness of the narrative relied on its feasibility.
Illustration No. 2

Martyrdom of Fray Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba in 1571
From Calancha’s Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín (Barcelona 1638)
Engraving by Erasmus Quellin, Antwerp.
In a recent work, Marjorie Garber has stated that “out of joint” is an ontological and philosophical condition in this period.\textsuperscript{289} A careful reading of Ortiz’s martyrdom reveals that Calancha stressed many times that the arms were “out of joint.” However, Ortiz was still able to celebrate Mass, an interesting opposition between order (Mass) and chaos (brutal torture/Indian rebellion), with the first one prevailing through the celebration of the Eucharist. The description of the disjointing and impaling of Ortiz is very modern when seen from this double perspective of anatomical studies and political symbolism. It was part of a Christian tradition of spectacular deaths that occurred while defending the faith, but also was part of the rising scientific movement concerned about the human body and its reactions. The spectacle of the “body in pain” of the martyr had been a very popular topic in Catholic culture since the Middle Age as Mitchell Merback has stated, precisely for its cathartic and redemptive uses by the Christian 	extit{republica}.\textsuperscript{290} The description of Ortiz’s suffering leading to his death by impalement certainly sought a pious reaction, but the death had to be long and detailed to be even more effective than a rapid execution. In Calancha’s narrative, the body of Diego Ortiz became the body of the Spanish Empire and its suffering until its final redemption had to be stressed.

The violent death of a missionary was associated with the Spanish Reconquest and the expansion of global Catholicism. It is not totally clear what might have been the source for Calancha of Ortiz’s death; David Gutiérrez has advanced the idea that some events involving the fight of the Spanish Crown against Islam influenced the creation of

\textsuperscript{289} Marjorie Garber, “Out of Joint,” in Hillman and Mazio, 	extit{The Body}, 31.

Ortiz’s martyrdom. One is the killing of one Augustinian by the hands of Muslims in northern Africa (1605) and in particular the death of members of the Order in the Alpujarras region of Spain by morisco rebels in the 1560s. The death of the Augustinians in Brussels in the 1520s adds to Calancha’s conception of martyrdom as the perfect trope by which to unite the goals of his Order and the Spanish Crown. Since Calancha wanted to stress the opposition between Church and infidels, the morisco rebellion between 1568 and 1571 and the violent death of Augustinians in North Africa and Flanders provided a good historical source of inspiration as well as numerous gruesome details. The impalement might have come from another source. It is very likely that Father Calancha read Jerónimo de Vivar’s Crónica de los Reinos de Chile (1558) where in Chapter CXXXVI Vivar describes the defeat of the Araucanian warrior Teopolicán and his death by impalement by Spanish soldiers. The war in the Chilean colonial frontier was a very popular topic in colonial Peru.

291 Gutiérrez, The Augustinians, 133-134. Calancha’s French translation, Histoire du Peru aux Antipodes. Et de grand progres de l’Eglise en la conversion de gentils par la predicacion de Religieux Hermite de la Ordre de S. Augustin (Toulouse, 1653), included other Augustinian martyrs. One was the death in Tripoli of Father Alipe (1645) and the second, the death in Morocco of Father Deguisiany (1606). The Dutch edition, Het Wonderlyck Martelie vanden Salighen Pater Didacus Ortiz Erste Martelaer van Peru. Religieus van d’Ordre der Eremyten vanden H. Vader Augustinus (Antwerp, 1671) referred only to the dramatic Peruvian episode.

292 A careful reading of sources on the Alpujarras rebellion in sixteenth-century Spain, reveals striking similarities between aspects of Calancha’s narrative and the records of the deaths in different towns of the Granada region, in particular that of Canon Juan Martínez Jáuregui in the town of Mairena, whose beating and disjointed legs resemble Ortiz’ torture. In the town of Huecija, thirteen Augustinians were killed with arrows, swords and knives. See Francisco Hitos SJ, Mártires de la Alpujarra en la Rebelión de los Moriscos (1568) (Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, 1935), 4-5,75-76. The seventeenth-century records can be read in Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Valeriano Sánchez Ramos, Maritirio y Mentalidad Martirial en las Alpujarras (De la rebelion Morisca a las Actas de Ugijar), (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 170.

293 Jerónimo de Vivar, Crónica de los Reinos de Chile (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988), 342.
Calancha’s work meant a radical change in the conception of early colonial history. By pinpointing new historical landmarks that followed the Augustinian expansion in the Andes, Calancha produced a new historical memory of the Spanish Conquest for the descendants of the conquistadors. His history, conceived as propaganda instrument for the deeds of a religious Order and the colonial Church, included the agenda of the *encomendero* and the *creole* class to which the author belonged. Calancha redefined the religious chronicle making it a political text in which the *memorial* blended harmoniously. Thus, I disagree with the position of MacCormack and Arias about Calancha being the conservative author of a hybrid text. His reform message may be closely intertwined with that of his Order, but it is one with a political goal. It seeks the expansion of the mission frontier and the Crown’s support for the corporate colonial Church. As Ramos before him, Calancha did not hide his sympathies for the *encomendero* class and subtly endorsed the idea that a way of protecting the Indian population was the revival of the encomienda, a message also present in the second volume of the chronicle and in his History of the University. The recognition of his work within the Catholic world its several translations made Calancha a unique case in Spanish America. We have to approach his work from the multifaceted *loci* from which Calancha wrote: that of a Counter-reformation priest, early modern scholar and proud child of an *encomendero* Peruvian family.


295 “El Peru ha hecho temer a los ereges [sic] y por el tiemblan de nuestras dos monarchias Eclesiastica y Real los infieles que nos enbidian y los mahometanos que nos acechan, enfrenanse los enemigos, conservanse los confederados, amilananse los sopechosos, castiganse los ereges…sirve lo precioso a su
3.3. Other Augustinian Frontiers: War, Rebel Indians and Dutch Pirates in the works of Fray Baltasar de Campuzano (1646), Fray Miguel de Aguirre (1647), Fray Gaspar de Villaroel (1651) and Fray Bernardo de Torres (1657)

The expansion of the mission frontier was unquestionably the central message in colonial Augustinian historiography. Located south of the center of Spanish civilization and policy, which was the capital city of Los Reyes (Lima) in the thirty years between the works of Ramos (1621) and Villaroel (1651), that frontier progressively moved southeast, reflecting the expansion of the Order. However, by the late 1640s, the frontier was still a war-like zone. Not surprisingly, the captaincy of Chile and the rainforest of Moxos became major topics in religious historical narratives and also the loci from which this discourse is produced. With the central areas of the viceroyalty of Peru already pacified and politically and economically controlled, peripheral areas of colonization turned into areas of expansion for the missionary activities of the Orders, Jesuits and Augustinians in particular. This is clear in the works of Baltazar de Campuzano, Miguel de Aguirre and Gaspar de Villarroel. Chile, in spite of the end of the Aracaunian wars in 1642, remained a rather unstable society even when threatened by a Dutch invasion in 1641. Moxos, the chuncho land that the Incas never conquered, remained unexplored and lured settlers and missionaries alike. The colonial frontiers became places where all the promises of the alliance between the corporate Church and the Crown could be made true. There was one striking novelty, though, and that was the incorporation of the voices of Indian peoples in an historical discourse that emphasized their willingness to be converted and become

Criador y crece la grandiosidad magestuosa de nuestro rey, mas cavalleros han introducido las riquezas del Peru que las guerras de Espana…..Todo esto se debe al Peru, mejor dire a los que le ganaron a los que con sus vidas le defendieron, miren la tierra con amor pues que la buscan con codicia, no la murmuren cuando la gozan, pues que la lloran quando la dejan que los nacidos en ella son peregrinos en su patria y los advenedizos son los erederos de sus honras….” Calancha, Corónica, Vol. I, ff. 13, 72.
subjects of the Spanish Crown. The oppositions between “civilized” and “savage,” “Christian” and “infidel,” “loyal” and “rebellious,” and “center” and “fringe” have been pointed out by Christophe Giudicelli as the historiographical premise of the growing missionary program of the Orders.296

3.3.1. The Missionary Monarchy of Fray Baltasar de Campuzano Sotomayor

Not even known in seventeenth-century Peru, the Augustinian Baltasar de Campuzano Sotomayor y Peñaloza was one of the most active and controversial personalities of the Peruvian Province of his Order.297 Born into Limenian creole nobility in 1605, he had a brilliant scholarly career within his Order. We know he studied with the Jesuits at the San Martin School in Lima and entered the Augustinian cloister in 1620, ratifying his vows five years later, being just twenty years old. Not much is known of his life in the next twenty years but he should have been very active in Lima, working on a network of influences that secured for him the much desired positions of Prior of his monastery in Lima and calificador (judge) of the Inquisition, sometime in his early thirties. In 1642, being thirty-seven years old he was elected to go to Madrid and Rome as proctor of his

296 The discourse on the Spanish colonial frontier predates and shapes the reality it described. Even before the arrival of settlers and missionaries, this discourse classified and labeled peoples and nature. It is very interesting to think that in the case of the Chilean frontier and the southeast Andes (present-day Bolivia) many categories were imposed on the Aracaunians, Moxos, Chiquitos and the so-called “Chunchos,” usually confused with the two last groups. The nomenclature of “nación” and “parcialidad,” “rebel” and “civilized” was easily imposed. See Christophe Giudicelli, “Pacificación y construcción discursiva de la frontera. El poder instituyente de la guerra en los confines del imperio,” in Lavallé, Mascaras, tretas y rodeos,” 157-176.

124 His name occasionally shows up in colonial studies. Recently, Rafael Sánchez-Concha has included a reference to his work in an article related to an eighteenth-century Peruvian Jesuit, Father Alonso Messia. See Rafael Sánchez-Concha Barrios, “Ascendencia y colateralidad del virtuoso limeño Alonso Messia Bedoya, de la Compañía de Jesús (1655-1732),” Hidalguía: la revista de genealogía, nobleza y armas, No. 321 (2007): 243-270.
Order. He stayed for the next twenty-four years in Europe, dying in the Papal court in 1666. According to Manuel de Mendiburu, Father Campuzano penned several works: *Planeta Cathólico sobre el Salmo 18 a la Magestad de Felipe IIII, La Conversión de la Reina de Suecia, España Perseguida* and *Alma y Cuerpo, de las Calidades de un Nepote*, most of them not published by the time of Campuzano’s death and the last three are now lost. The titles indicate political awareness of seventeenth-century European religious conflicts and politics. However, a clear Augustinian regional agenda is present in his *Planeta Cathólico* published in Madrid in 1646.

It is important to understand Campuzano’s work vis à vis his performance as proctor in Rome. The involvement of Fray Baltasar in some incidents in Rome in the 1650s sheds light on his ambitions as a religious scholar travelling out of the Peruvian viceroyalty and his astute management of volatile situations. Far from returning to Lima once his duties as proctor were finished, Fray Baltasar stayed in Rome, a situation which was resented by the Spanish Ambassador and the Council of the Indies, precisely because of the freedom of performance of wandering priests. By an exchange of letters between the Council and the Spanish Embassy before the Holy See in 1653, we know Fray Baltasar de Campuzano was involved in a daring mishandling of official documentation regarding the election of the Ultra-Montane Assistancy to the Prior General of the Augustinian Order in Rome. The Spanish Crown wanted this position to be occupied

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299 Baltasar Campuzano Sotomayor y Peñaloza, *Planeta Cathólico sobre el salmo 18 a la Magestad de Felipe IIII* (Madrid: Diego Diez de la Carrera, 1646).
by an Aragonese friar, but Campuzano ended up being elected much to the chagrin of the Crown. Campuzano and a peninsular fellow Augustinian were accused by the Ambassador Duke of Terranova of hiding royal orders to have Campuzano elected as Ultra-Montane Assistant and thus guarantee his permanent stay in Rome in a powerful position. For the Crown, interested in controlling the Order’s internal affairs through the Spanish Assistancy, this election was a very important issue in the Roman political battlefield. To have a peninsular friar next to the General Prior of the Order proved crucial for opposing the political moves of a not always pro-Spanish papacy interested in weakening the Royal Patronage in Spanish America. The Crown was also not keen on the presence of ambitions priests who were eager to make a career in Rome, overstaying their permits as proctors. In the case of Campuzano, there were suspicions that besides being quite independent, he was well-acquainted with important figures in Rome. 301

Campuzano rejected the accusations against him arguing that his election did guarantee the Spanish presence within the Priorate General of the Augustinian Order and

300 The Ultra-Montane Assistancy to the Prior General was a six-year advising position created to make the government of the Order more international. One Assistancy was supposed to be occupied always by an Italian and the other two by representatives of the two other major Provinces: the Spanish/Portuguese and the French one. In 1637, a Limenian, Fray Alfonso de Agüero was elected for the first time for the Spanish Assistancy during Ippolito Monti’s convoluted General Priorate. See David Gutiérrez, The Augustinians, 74-79. For this author these were years of lots of irregularities and nepotism within the Order.

301 “Por lo que me ha escrito el cardenal Tribulcio….y por unos papeles que me embia con ella de Fray Baltasar Campuzano, asistente de Espana en la orden de San Agustin y de Fray Andrés de Aznar….se ha entendido que estos religiosos exceden en la emulaciones entre si y que entre ellos se ha ocultado un despacho que por mi Consejo de Aragón se entrego a Fray Andrés de Aznar que partio de aqui para dicha corte…sobre la provision del dicho puesto a sugeto aragones….la culpa de aver quemado el despacho cualquiera dellos el uno al otro se imputan. Parece que se puede atribuir a Aznar….pero si el Campuzano ha dicho (otro lo refiere) que el despacho era falso y que le havian falsificado…de que conviene esteis advertido…en una carta y papeles que vienen con ella de Fray Baltasar Campuzano y Fray Andrés de Aznar se ve…lo mal que esos religiosos..en las negociaciones para obtener puestos de su orden y que han ocultado un despacho mio….“ MAEC, Correspondencia de la Embajada Española ante la Santa Sede. Letter from the King to the Duke of Terranova (Madrid, November 5th, 1653). Leg. 140 (1653), ff. 121-129.
constituted a real opposition to the Italian party, who wanted to have that assistancy suppressed.\textsuperscript{302} It may have been the case that Campuzano wanted to stay in Rome to pursue his own personal goals of becoming a scholar, recognized by European peers. Yet, it is very interesting that he saw himself as Spanish first and creole Peruvian second; and therefore he saw no contradiction in occupying the Ultra-Montane assistancy of the Order with his origin. Within this heated context, Campuzano wrote Planeta Cathólico which assured Philip IV of his loyalty to the Crown and at the same time asked permission for his Order to open a mission in Moxos in the southeastern colonial frontier. However, the work also advocates for the cause of Don Diego Pérez Manrique, former oidor in Lima, who was willing to cover the expenses of an entrada (military expedition) to consolidate the Spanish conquest in the Moxos in exchange for an encomienda grant. The book, probably funded by Pérez, speaks volumes of Campuzano’s ideas on the ways Church and Crown could cooperate in Spanish America.\textsuperscript{303}

Planeta Cathólico has two novelties not present before in Augustinian scholarship. First, Campuzano proposed an alternative to the expansion of the colonial frontier without money being spent by the Royal Treasure that was already affected by the wars in Europe. The cost of the mission experience would be covered by the encomienda.\textsuperscript{304}

\textsuperscript{302} MAEC, Leg. 140, ff. 126-127.

\textsuperscript{303} “…a quien sino a Vuestra Magestad se pueden pedir favores para la conversion de los Indios Moxos del Peru pues en tiempo tan apretado de guerras en Europa, esta costeando en la America las expediciones y conversion del Nuevo Mexico por los religiosos del serafico Francisco y de las de Sinaloa, donde ya resplandece la luz evangelica introducida por los soldados del fervoroso Ignacio? A Vuestra Magestad se dedican los fieles obsequios de un buen vasallo y recto ministro suyo, don Dionisio Pérez Manrique que con piadoso zelo se encarga de hazer la conquista a costa suya y expensas de su muger y deudos….y deviendo hazerse quien mejor puede solicitarla que un hijo del patriarca agustino…” Campuzano, Planeta Cathólico.
This is very interesting in itself because it re-launched the colonial model, not in the way already seen in Ramos and Calancha that was dependent on royal support but by making the Crown more the overseer of a colonization model which implies a joint-venture between a religious corporation and a financier, a model closer to the Portuguese captaincy. For Campuzano, the alliance encomienda-religious Order was ideal to protect the native population -the feet of the empire- whose labor made possible the wealth of the Crown. Additionally, this partnership would fight the problem of abuse of Indian labor, known as yanaconaje due to the venality of Viceroy Marquis of Mancera and colonial authorities. However he stressed the need for Indian labor to boost the colonial economy. Campuzano never condemned the mining mita and centered the remaking of the administration of Indian labor on a redimensioned encomienda.

The second novelty in Campuzano’s work is his elaboration of the global mission of the Spanish Crown. It was based on the idea that the King was the center of the republica and articulated around him the different estates, orders and corporations, the different parts of the body politic. Fray Baltasar conceived Philip IV as the “Planet Sun,” the

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304 “…desean recibir ministros sagrados que los ayuden e instruyan en la fe. Conquista es pero mas de almas que de cuerpos….la real Audiencia de Chuquisca lo suplica a Dios y a su rey…y movida deste zelo ha puesto los ojos en Don Dionisio Pérez Manrique, cavallero noble del abito de Santiago...oidor que fue de Lima y presidente de los Charcas, el cual asistiendo a ste christiano motivo se ofrece a costear la empressa…” Campuzano, Planeta Cathólico.

305 “…la codicia humana ha introducido en partes del Peru, una diabolica grangeria. Reciben los espanoles Indios Yanaconas para culto y beneficio de las chacaras o heredades….compra un espanol pobre o rico algunas tierras sueltas en poca cantidad porque no tienen yanaconas que las labren. Vanse a Potosi enganan a los indios de las minas, ponderanles el trabajo dellas prometenles tierras de valde en que siembren….vanse con ellos, faltan a las mitas y al trabajo del cerro, que tanto importa a la Real Hazienda y conservacion de las Indias…..todas estas noticias dio al rey Felipe III su padre el zelo de Fray Miguel de Monsalve, religioso del Patriarca de S. Domingo….Excesivo es el numero destos yanaconas y digno de remedio su desperdicio porque faltan al servicio y poblacion de los lugares, a la labor de las minas y a llevar el peso del real servicio que tanto importa no solo a Espana sino a toda la christiandad….ciento ochenta mil indios…faltan a la poblacion del Peru a los tributos de Su Magestad y al beneficio de minas…..” Campuzano, Planeta Cathólico, ff. 233-255.
center of the cosmos. In this regard he was not totally original since the notion of King as planet, whose gravitational force articulated the Catholic monarchy of Philip IV was apparently coined in the early 1620s in Spain.\textsuperscript{306} However, Campuzano went beyond the original idea of center of the \textit{republica} to promote the notion of a Spanish monarchy entitled to rule the world based on the Papal Donation of 1493. “All the land that belongs to God belongs to the Spanish Crown,” said Campuzano in a militant affirmation of Spanish pride that matched nicely the missionary goals of colonial religious scholars concerned about the political role of the corporate Church in relation to the princely state. For Fray Baltasar, the King of Spain ruled over the whole world because he was the ultimate defender of Christendom. Since God owned the orb and the King was the Planet-Sun in a universal-Catholic planet, the expansion of imperial Spain was unavoidable.\textsuperscript{307} This notion not only fit with the interests of the Spanish American religious corporations, but also with the notion of an expanding composite monarchy, that fit the need of identity of the creole elites. This providential mandate did not exonerate the monarch of the contractual bond with the republic. Thus, the expansion of the Church in the missionary frontier, stated Campuzano, mattered to the Crown because the monarch should care for his most humble subjects, the Indians, eager to be incorporated in the body politic through their conversion. Appealing to a baroque image, Campuzano used the metaphor

\textsuperscript{306} The image of Philip IV as a King-Sun or the planet king may have been coined in 1623 in one of Tirso de Molina’s plays. See Elliott, \textit{Olivares}, 177.

\textsuperscript{307} “Toda la tierra que es de Dios, es del rey de España…Planeta Catholico le llamo por estar dedicado al IV Filipo el Grande que como el mayor planeta en el cuarto cielo, alumbrá y govierna sus dos mundos con tan esencial dependencia en sus vassallos que le conviene en lo politico….por ser tan universal en sus influencias se intitula ajustadamente catholico denomination que le da a la Iglesia a quien patrociná y defiende…El sol es planeta catholico porque es mas universal y conocido que lo mismo es universal que catholico. Por eso se llama catholica la verdadera iglesia y el monarca de España”. Campuzano, \textit{Planeta Cathólico}, ff. 12, 61.
of the human body to refer to the Spanish Empire, stressing the need of taking care of the “feet.”

This interpretation of the King and the Indian subjects as connected parts of the body politic—the head and feet respectively—may help us to understand better the political undertones in the body of the Augustinian martyr: suffering, pierced but still connected as a whole in the colonial frontier.

Campuzano goes beyond contractual theory to explain the duties of the prince as already set by the movement of celestial bodies. Philip IV was born on a Good Friday on the day in which Christ died, but in doing so he also made possible his resurrection and final victory. Then Philip, the “Catholic Planet,” was born to announce the final victory of the Catholic Church in the world manifested in the conversion of heathen and the defeat of heretics. Only the Spanish Monarchy could accomplish the redemption of humanity. Providence and stars still needed some human help; therefore the alliance between Crown and Altar was the premise for that victory. Drawing from ideas of Catholic statecraft like those of Lipsius in his On Politics and Botero in his Reason of State, Father Campuzano reinterpreted the contractual bond between Monarch and Church to explain the mission of the Spanish monarchy, the conquest of America as part of it and the future missionary program. The reason of state of the Spanish Crown was for Campuzano “that political cause, which makes kingdoms grow, is the same one by which

308 “Los reyes…son esposos de sus republicas y por serlo deven tratar de su aumento…Advierta el rey que es substituto de Dios y el Catholico que ha de imitar a Jesuchristo en el aumento de su republica…no es la republica un cuerpo mistico que consta de todos sus miembros? Pues de todos ha de cuidar el rey como cuida la cabeza del cuerpo y como christo de su Iglesia…” Campuzano, Planeta Cathólico, ff. 70-73.

309 “Nacio la magestad de Felipe Quarto un Viernes Santo a las diez del dia hora en que se estaba cantando en nuestra Europa la passion de Jesu Christo….el oriente del rey Felipe Quarto es el occidente de Cristo quando aquel entra al mundo, se celebra la salida que hace del hijo de Dios, destruidos quedavamos de amparo sino naciera quien cuidase de la conversion de los gentiles, para esso nace…” Campuzano, Planeta Cathólico, f. 78.
they were born.” Furthermore, the Spanish Crown was born to defeat heresy and consolidate Catholicism as Philip was born on the day of the transition of the Redeemer to take the Spanish nation to the times of glory. Following Lipsius, Fray Baltasar stated that religion then should foster the expansion of the princely state otherwise the monarchy had no real goal. However, the Augustinian scholar stressed that the Spanish Crown had reached its political glory and reason of state only when the Indies was conquered and conversion started.\textsuperscript{310} That was a very Spanish American centered interpretation of the European doctrines of Catholic statecraft. It was not the Habsburg-Catholic dominion of Italy, the Netherlands or Germany that would secure the glory of the Spanish Crown but rather the expansion of the Catholic order from America to the world. In \textit{Planeta Cathólico}, the Moxos Indians were part of a stage used by Fray Baltasar Campuzano to set a larger play: that of the future of the Spanish monarchy. In this play, the Indians themselves certainly had a minor role. The actors with the most important roles were the religious corporations and the colonial creole elite.

3.3.2. Augustinian Hearts on the Frontier of Fray Bernardo de Torres

In 1653, Fray Bernardo de Torres became the editor of the second volume of the Augustinian chronicle written by Fray Antonio de la Calancha. Gravely ill, Calancha would die a year later and Torres would be appointed official chronicler of the Order. In

\textsuperscript{310} “…otra causa ay política a quien podemos llamar en buen sentido, razón de estado. Principio y dogma es de todos los políticos que se conserven y aumenten los reynos no con otras sino con las mismas artes que se adquirieron y en faltando estas van en total disminucion. Así el doctor Lipsio en sus \textit{Políticas}. El arte con que se adquirieron las Indias fue con la conversión….los imperios que se fundaron en razón de gobierno en faltando este por incuria o ignorancia, descaecen cuando se fundaron en deleytes, se mudan si prevalece el rigor de la virtud…” Campuzano, \textit{Planeta Cathólico}, ff. 74 y 75. “Reason of State” was the fight against infidels and heretics by a Catholic princely state. For the identification between Catholic ruler and Catholic Church as proposed by Botero, see Kenneth Schellhase, “Botero, Reason of State and Tacitus” in Enzo Baldini, ed. \textit{Botero e la Ragion di Stato} (Firenze: Leo Olschki editore, 1992), 247.
1657, Fray Bernardo gave to the press in Lima the *Crónica de la Provincia Peruana del Orden de los Ermitaños de San Agustín*, a three-volume work inspired on Calancha’s original plan of the history of the Order yet also a new work in itself.\(^{311}\) Torres completed the chronicle in the aftermath of the killing of three missionaries in the Chuncho area (southeast of the city of La Plata), an area still under weak control of the Spanish colonial government.\(^{312}\) Therefore, Fray Bernardo organized his work around the major topic of the martyrdom of his fellow Augustinians -and of a Jesuit- in order to advance the claims of his Order in the missionary field. However, Torres’s true originality lies on his reflections on the war against the Indians and the legitimacy of political subjection through war. The voices of the Indian elite were used to advance an agenda centered on the welfare of the indigenous population of the poor colonial fringe.

No significant creole agenda is found in Torres and that may have had to do with the fact that although he spent most of his life in Peru, Fray Bernardo was born in Valladolid, Spain in 1601. Considered a *hijo de la Provincia*, he could not regard Lima as his *patria* and therefore was a newcomer. His father was apparently a merchant belonging to the commercial class of the city with enough means to pay for a good education and secure a religious career for his son. At sixteen, Bernardo was already enrolled in the Jesuit school of San Martín.\(^{313}\) Once in the Augustinian Order, Torres was trained and mentored by Father Fernando de Valverde, one of the most brilliant minds in the Peruvian province.

\(^{311}\) Bernardo de Torres, *Crónica de la Provincia Peruana del Orden de los Ermitaños de San Agustín* (Lima: Julián Santos de Saldaña, 1657).

\(^{312}\) Even though the geography in historical narratives of the period is never accurate, in the work of Torres “chuncho” is a synonym for “savage” and he is actually referring to the region known as Moxos.

\(^{313}\) AHNMM. *Catálogo de Alumnos del Colegio de San Martín* [Codices 242, B]. Torres was admitted when he was sixteen years old on September 28, 1617.
Valverde, inspector of libraries for the Inquisition, was one of the enthusiastic discussants of the second part of the Augustinian chronicle penned by Torres between 1654 and 1657. Torres’s merits as scholar and theology professor had already been recognized in 1648, when he was appointed to succeed Fray Miguel de Aguirre to the Chair of the “Master of Sentences” at San Marcos University. This was a position traditionally held by the Augustinian Order, but Torres became so famous that the Crown approved the increase of the salary for the professor succeeding him after his retirement. Father Torres was also Director of Studies at San Ildefonso, the Augustinian college in Lima and had other positions of importance in the province as official chronicler (1654), definidor (advisor to the Prior) around 1656, and even candidate for Provincial, a career interrupted by his death in 1661.

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314 Villarejo, Los Agustinos, 264. Torres inserted a brief auto-biographical note in his chronicle: “El Maestro Fray Bernardo de Torres, castellano de Valladolid, discípulo del Padre Maestro Fray Fernando de Valverde, Segundo padre de las letras del colegio. Ha sido regente de los estudios desta provincia, secretario della y prior de la de Chuquisaca, es doctor en Teologia por la Real Universidad, maestro de la provincia, actual definidor della y autor desta obra. Sucedio en la catedra de Prima Supernumeraria del Maestro de las Sentencias al P. Miguel de Aguirre por dexacion que hizo della el ano de 1648 y nombramiento y merced del senor marques de Mancera”. Torres, Crónica de la Provincia, 237. Valverde said about Torres’ work: “La cronica entera concibio en su mente el Maestro Calancha…..el padre maestro [Torres] abreviando el tomo del maestro Calancha y labrandolo en forma de compendio y Epitome forjo de ambos libros una cronica”. Torres, Crónica, Aprobación.

315 The salary was 600 pesos annually for four years. The official document stated that: “[of Father Torres] se halla muy reconocida la Universidad por el conocido aprovechamiento de las escuelas.” Eguiguren, Diccionario, Vol. I, 549 and Vol. III, 382, 400. David Gutiérrez has argued that the revitalization of Late-Medieval Augustinianism came with the compilation and teaching of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. By the mid fourteenth-century, the Order had put the lectorate at the core of their mission. The Theology that was taught at the Order’s studia was a main component of the order’s social mission. In the 1539 chapter, it was approved that Aristotle and Lombard would be preferred over Aquinas in Augustinian seminaries. See Gutiérrez, The Augustinians, 143.

316 In 1656 Torres was present along with Father Valverde in the signature of the deed by which the Augustinian convent in Lima purchased some property. He declared being definidor of the Province (Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa. Year: 1656, Prot. 624, 1657-A, fol. 309r. See also Villarejo, Los Agustinos, 264 and Eguiguren, Diccionario, Vol. II, 161.
The core of Torres’s work was the future of Augustinian mission in the south-east of present day Bolivia, an area which would end up being controlled by the Jesuits by the end of the century: by the 1640s, however, it was still being claimed by both Orders through the power of propagandistic narratives. According to Torres the colonization of Moxos started with the expedition of Pedro de la Egui Urquiza in 1615 who, accompanied by four priests from different Orders, entered the territory in the name of the Crown. Torres admitted that in those early years, early missionary work among the Alguachil Indians was in the hands of the licenciado Cabello de Balboa and the Jesuit Miguel de Ureia, this one also killed by the Indians after failing to cure a local chief. In 1601, Ureia’s body was taken to La Paz and both the Jesuits and Augustinians began collecting information on his death.317 An account of Ureia’s death written by the Augustinian Fray Diego Ramírez ended up in the hands of Calancha. However, Calancha silenced the whole episode of the Jesuit’s death in an area claimed as mission territory by both Orders so as to emphasize the importance of Diego Ortiz’s death. We will see in chapter five the Jesuit version of these incidents.

The second entrance of the Augustinians in the region, that is narrated in chapter tenth of Torres’s history, led to the first foundation of the Order in the Moxos area. It is here that Torres shows a powerful and convincing narrative. He goes for a more politically appealing narration of what happened between Spaniards and Indians in the Moxos region, making the Indians narrators of their own story. The Jesuits in particular excelled

317 “Todo este suceso consta parte de la relacion que el cazique Avio Marani senor de los Aguachiles hizo verbalmente al Padre predicador Fray Diego Ramírez que la puso luego por escrito y la remitio a esta ciudad para que pudiesse servir en esta obra….y parte consta de la información que el governador….hizo de todo el suceso a instancia del maestro Calancha a quien se la remitio para que le contasse de la verdad por instrumento autentico….” Torres, Crónica, ff. 284, 290-291.
in the use of this discursive device defined by Carlo Ginzburg as the dialogical element. Common in early modern period historical narratives, the dialogical element introduces harangues delivered by natives in the middle of a narration, to provide counterargumentation to the main voice in the historical discourse. The debate over whether these harangues could be considered historical truth was already present in the 1580s when the Jesuit scholar José de Acosta was writing his own work. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, harangues had gained respect and legitimacy by a double movement led by historians and early modern translators of Sallust. The format fits well the intentionality of religious narratives, in which through the voices of noble Indians all sort of speculations on the nature of political power could be made. Furthermore, the dialogic aspect allowed the author to remain impartial in his presentation of the moral issues debated in the harangue.

Thus, Torres’s vision of the conquest of the Moxos region reached the reader through the lens of an Augustinian witness who remained impartial while confronting the reader with the drama of the end of indigenous autonomy. When the local caciques knew that a Spanish army was entering the region, they got together in assembly and decided that they would fiercely oppose the Spanish threat that could have resulted in having their wealth and labor stolen and their way of living changed forever. Yet, according to

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318 Harangues are the speeches given by politically important indigenous characters in early modern period religious narratives. They emphasize certain climaxes in the narration of their local history, in moments of crisis. In the case of Torres, the native lords of the Chunchos addressed the missionaries and their own subordinates. See Carlo Ginzburg, “Alien Voices, the Dialogic Element in Early Modern Jesuit Historiography,” in History, Rhetoric and Proof (Hannover and London: University Press of New England, 1999), 71-91.

319 Ginzburg, “Alien Voices.”
Torres, the wise and well-natured caciques among the Indians, reflected on the convenience of peace and cooperation, and the Spaniards’ provision of the superiority of technology as well as on the possibilities of trade and the caring and educational improvement for their children by the Augustinian missionaries. After weighing the two possible options, the Moxos Indians decided to accept the settling of the Spaniards and the rule of the governor. The main caciques led by Calipa, head of the Eparamona people, swore loyalty to the Crown of Spain in the town of Moxos in July 1617. Soon after, the Augustinian Father Joseph García returned to Lima to recruit more missionaries in order to carry out the definitive spiritual conquest of the area. It is interesting to notice that Father Torres made the Moxo Indians consider their options and decide for themselves, which one would be better in the long term. It is also important that in his narrative, the Indians considered the possibility of a rebellion in case the Spaniards tried to enslave them. A certain tone of revisionism regarding Spanish conquests can be read between the lines and a similar position –that of the Indians discussing the benefits of the Spanish conquest- is found in the work of the Jesuit Anello Oliva (1630).

320 “ser conveniente a la salud publica y a la seguridad de todos resistir…la entrada de extranjeros y no permitir la predicación de sus sacerdotes en las provincias porque si atentamente se considerasse el designio de los espanoles, no era otro (dezian) sino debelar nuestras tierras, y reducirnos a todos a la dura servidumbre que padecen los peruanos….fingen cautelosos que el bien de nuestras almas les obliga a trocar las comodidades de su patria por las asperezas de nuestros montes y envían delante sus sacerdotes a que nos lo persuadan…nos despojen de nuestros dioses, de nuestras leyes y de las costumbres y ritos que heredamos de nuestros padres para que mudando de religión y de leyes, primero nos hallemos hechos esclavos que Christianos…” Torres, Crónica, f. 302.

321 “…que agravio (dezian) hemos hasta oy rezevido destos hombres?...Pacifica fue su primera entrada y población en Apolobamba [Augustinian residence], pacifica tambien esta segunda en los Moxos: ninguno ha recibido dano dellos que antes no los huviese provocado con traiciones y graves ofensas, como se experimento en los Lecos. Que razon pues avra para que tratemos con hostilidad intempestiva a los que en nada se nos han mostrado enemigos?...Asentemos la paz con los espanoles y demos a su governador la obediencia, pues siempre ha de ser sin perjuicio de nuestra libertad…” Torres, Crónica, ff. 302-304.
The Augustinian missionaries’ final attempt to reach the area, narrated in chapter sixteenth of Torres’s chronicle, introduces the reader to a very complex issue: the overlapping of control by different Orders over the same region. Martyrdom became again an important tool used to construct a political narrative that demanded support from the Crown and claimed seniority in a mission area. Three Augustinian friars - Father Laureano Ibáñez, Father Baltasar Butrón and Brother Bartolomé Alvarez- were sent to the recently-founded convent in Moxos by the Provincial. From there, the Augustinians tried to consolidate their presence in the area between 1625 and 1629, all the time encountering the opposition of the Indians. On their way to the Chuncho land, these Augustinians met two Jesuits priests doing exactly the same: Joseph de Ruga and Brother Bernardo Reus. After a few days together, only Reus was able to continue the journey since Ruga got sick and returned to Cuzco. Once the party reached the village of Pelechuco, the local caciques, Don Pedro Biexisto and Don Alonso Arape, being aware of this new attempt to establish a mission town, sent messengers to the Uchupiamona ruler who in turn ordered his archers to wait for the priests and kill them. When the missionaries arrived at the town of Chipillosani, the cacique Chuquimarani, his son Piata and Amulatay, cacique of Salinas, were waiting along with twenty archers.322

Through the Indian interpreter Alonso Vizalla, the priests greeted the crowd. The cacique Piata scolded the missionaries for not having brought tools, knives, needles and other utensils with them. Surrounded by an angered mob, the Augustinians and Jesuit realized they were about to die. Poisoned arrows were shot and Bernardo Reus was the first to fall with three arrows that went through his chest, apparently while giving

322 “…que ya estavan en Pelechuco los sacerdotes que iban a predicarles y que en conformidad de lo tratado les saliesen al camino y los matassen en el campo porque en esto consistia la conservación de su libertad y del culto de sus dioses y de las costumbres heredadas de sus padres.” Torres, Crónica, ff. 319-329
confession to Father Ibañez. The latter tried to reach a nearby creek and finally fell by the effect of the arrows going through his body. He died “pronouncing the names of Jesus and Mary.” Bartolomé Alvarez was killed by the blow of Piata’s club on his head. After that, the three bodies were stripped and their chests opened with knives. Their hearts were taken out and in a sort of a victory ceremony the Indians covered their own faces with the blood of the missionaries. Later the hearts were burnt along with the arrows in a sacrificial fire. Father Ibañez was twenty-nine years old, Brother Reus, twenty-eight and Brother Álvarez, twenty-four.

The tragic death of the young missionaries shocked the religious community in Los Reyes and convinced Torres to make it the main topic of his chronicle. Departing from Calancha’s original plan of centering the second volume of the chronicle on Copacabana and the monastery of El Prado in Lima, Torres made the death of the missionaries the core of his work, using a highly elaborated symbolic interpretation that connected imperial politics, martyrdom and baroque imagery. The poignant image of the Jesuit taking the confession of the Augustinian while both are being shot at with arrows was powerful enough to convince a Catholic reader of an Augustinian sacrifice for the sake of conversion. It is not clear whether the burning of hearts took place or not. Again, Torres’s reference could have been the killing of Augustinians in the Alpujarras region of Spain during the morisco uprising where such a brutal act actually happened and the heart was an important symbol for this Order. The front illustration of Calancha’s Corónica Moralizada has at the top an image of Saint Augustine offering his heart to an

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323 Torres, Crónica, ff. 330-334
Augustinian missionary who holds the image of Peru in his arms. The trope was close to Augustinian sensibility (Illustration No. 3). Nonetheless, Torres’s narrative aimed at convincing a much more important reader than his fellow Augustinians. The hearts taken out of the dead bodies and burnt along with the arrows and bows that were used to kill the priests would be used in the narrative to stress the theological and political symbolism of the whole episode of martyrdom. In seventeenth-century theology, the heart was not only the residence of the soul but also of the Church itself and even of the monarchy, as Scott Manning Steven has pointed out. Moreover, in the Aristotelian conception of the body -followed by Augustinian theologians as Saak has reminded us- the knowledge of the heart is the knowledge that is truly close to God. The hearts of the martyrs physically destroyed but nevertheless (theologically) indestructible reunited both Church and King in the expansion of faith and empire. For Torres, the burning of the hearts of the missionaries was a way of explaining the mystery of the redeeming sacrifice, which is the Eucharist. Considering the sacramental order the Habsburg dynasty promoted, the hearts of the priests also symbolized the sacrifice of the Crown to expand conversion in the world. Through the Augustinian martyrs, the Habsburgs had taken symbolical and political possession of the

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324 In the martyrdoms of the Alpujarras rebellion, the hearts of many of the victims were also taken out of their bodies and even cannibalism was practiced. See Hitos, *Mártires de las Alpujarras*, 64.


Illustration No. 3

Saint Augustine offering the Order’s heart to Peru
Detail from the Frontispiece of Calancha’s *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín* (Barcelona, 1638)
Engraving by Erasmus Quellin, Antwerp
Chunchos region. Torres made it clear that his Order was the true arm of the Catholic monarchy.

3.3.3. Fighting Infidels and Heretics: Chile in the work of Fray Miguel de Aguirre

By the mid seventeenth century the colonial southern frontier of Chile had finally reached stability with the peace between the Araucanians and the Spaniards. It was also clear that it had become a destination for the expansion of colonial settling and missionary activities; the work of Fray Miguel de Aguirre, *Población de Valdivia, motivos y medios de aquella fundación defensas del reino del Perú para resistir las invasiones enemigas en mar y tierra pazes pedidas por los indios rebeldes de Chile acetadas y capituladas por el governador y estado que tienen hasta nueve de abril del año de 1647*, sheds light on this moment.327 According to the biographical information provided by Bernardo de Torres and Eguiguren, Aguirre was born and raised into the creole elite of Chuquisaca. After his ordination as Augustinian in Lima, he became a respected theologian who taught Scholastics at San Marcos University. Aguirre also performed as confessor and advisor of the Viceroy Marquis of Mancera (1639-1648) during the 1640s. Mancera became so fond of Aguirre that he took him to Spain in 1650,

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327 Miguel de Aguirre, *Población de Valdivia, motivos y medios de aquella fundación defensas del reino del Perú para resistir las invasiones enemigas en mar y tierra pazes pedidas por los indios rebeldes de Chile acetadas y capituladas por el governador y estado que tienen hasta nueve de abril del año de 1647* (Lima, Jorge López de Herrera, 1647). Torres mentioned two additional works now lost: “imprimio en nuestra lengua dos apologeticos elegant y eruditos, uno en defensa del valeroso y prudente Marques de Mancera…..otro a favor del doctor Francisco de Avila, canonigo de la catedral de Lima, calificando y defendiendo un libro que imprimio Hispano Indico en dos lenguas espanola y peruana…” Torres, *Crónica*, 234, 241. More biographical information on Father Aguirre’s life can be found in Victor Maturana, *Historia de los Agustinos en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Valparaiso, 1904, Vol. I).
where the career of the Augustinian was consolidated at court. In Madrid, Father Aguirre became confessor of the Papal Ambassador and, with the support of the Council and the Nunzio, went to Rome in 1655 as definidor and proctor of his Order.

Aguirre’s aim was actually twofold. As an Augustinian, he wanted to expand the operations of his Order in the recently pacified Chile. In 1641, the definitive peace treaty had been agreed upon between the Araucanian Indians and the Spanish governor, Marquis of Baydes, ending almost a century of violence and poverty in colonial Chile.328 The Augustinians were certainly -as before in the Moxos region and the Upper-Peru area-not the only ones interested in expanding the mission frontier; they had in the Jesuits, once more, their most significant adversaries. When the war with the Indians ended and the Spanish settlement began, those not favored by the colonization policy of the Viceroy sent biased reports to court to discredit Mancera. Aguirre’s Población de Valdivia had the goal of defending the government of his noble sponsor before royal eyes as well.329

Father Aguirre also wrote Mancera’s governmental report in which the latter is portrayed

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328 Relación verdadera de las Pazes que Capituló con el Araucano rebelado, el marqués de Baides, Conde de Pedroso, Governador y Capitán General del Reyno de Chile y Presidente de la Real Audiencia. Sacada de sus Informes y cartas y de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús que acompañaron el real exército en la jornada que hizo para este efecto el año pasado de 1641. Contiene Raros Prodigios que precedieron a estas pazes. Un bocán que rebentando con las encendidas cenizas y peñascos que arrojava, calentó las aguas y coció el pescado de los ríos. Una mostruosa bestia que corria por uno dellos en seguimiento de un crecido y emphinado árbol que iva sobre sus aguas. Dos exércitos que se vieron en el aire y peleando el uno con el otro vencia siempre el de nuestra vanda y le governava un famoso capitán en un caballo blanco y espada ancha en la mano. Trátese de la libertad de los cautivos españoles y de las solemnidades y ceremonias con que los enemigos capitularon las pazes y otras cosas de gusto y provecho (Madrid: Francisco Maroto, 1642). The Relación apparently was written by a Jesuit or at any rate was definitely pro-Jesuit as some parts of the anonymous text reveal: “Concluida la ceremonia, los caciques abrazaron al marques de Baydes y los capitulares y a los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que se hallaban allí…claman por los padres de la Compañía de Jesus, que vivan entre ellos y les ensenen las cosas de la salvacion y los que instan mas en ello, son los espanoles cautivos.” Relación, f. 3v.

329 Many pamphlets and libels circulated against viceroy Mancera in the 1640s. Some of these Memoriales, as well as Mancera’s responses to the charges made by the Council of the Indies were edited by Hanke. See Lewis Hanke, ed., Los Virreyes Españoles en América durante el Gobierno de la Casa de Austria. Perú III (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 282, 1978), 196-278.
as a champion of the interests of the Crown regarding the Royal Patronage and the defense of the viceroyalty in the very explosive context after the Portuguese secession in 1640. Mancera’s strong anti-Portuguese feelings actually blocked the exploratory and missionary efforts of both Jesuits and Franciscans who were eager to reach the Amazonian rainforest from Quito. Trying to block the immigration of the Portuguese population to the viceroyalty of Peru, the Viceroy denied permission to explore the Amazon River in order to keep the political border intact with Portuguese Brazil. Jesuits and Franciscans in Lima and Quito, who had sponsored explorations in the area, held back no efforts to put Mancera’s administration in a very unfavorable light before the royal authorities.330

Since it was customary to present the viceruler in a very positive light by the time he left office, the report written by Father Aguirre was overly partial to Mancera’s interests and less in contrast with Población de Valdivia. In this work, Father Aguirre presents a more complete assessment of the situation in Chile but also uncovers the Augustinian agenda in the region. The first novel aspect of this Memorial is the problem of Chile’s vulnerability for undesired foreign settlements. The Dutch attempt to establish a permanent presence in Valdivia in 1643 was actually a problem that could be traced

330 “…además de las entradas que los enemigos tienen para acometer el Peru se descubrio un nuevo camino perniciosissimo y de que no se tenia noticia y fue desta manera. El año de 638 o poco antes salieron de Quito unos frailes franciscos y algunos soldados con ellos por el rio Marañón y después de varios sucesos que tuvieron en aquel largo camino llegaron a un fuerte de portugueses que por la corona de Portugal esta con capitán y soldados en la boca del rio Maranon que allí por un brazo se llama Para…” José Toribio Polo, ed., Memorias del marqués de Mancera y conde de Salvatierra (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1899), 2, 64. The Jesuits and Franciscans fought on the historiographical ground to open the exploration of the Amazon rainforest but to no avail. The major historical works in this line are: Manuel Rodríguez SJ, El Marañón y el Amazonas. Historia de los Descubrimientos, entradas y reducción de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores y dichosos de otros, así temporales como espirituales en las dilatadas montañas y mayores ríos de la América (Madrid: Antonio González, 1684) and Fray Laureano de la Cruz, América en la Mar del Sur llamada Imperio de los Reynos del Perú. BNM Mss. 2950. Its most recent edition is: Descripción de la América Austral o reinos del Perú con particular noticia de lo hecho por los franciscanos en la evangelización de aquel país. (Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Instituto Riva-Agüero and Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1999). This work was probably finished around 1653.
back to 1614 or 1615 and had been overlooked by colonial authorities focused on the war against the Indians. The merit of Aguirre’s work is that it pointed out the simultaneity of Dutch incursions on Spanish Pacific waters with the ongoing Thirty Years War, making America another warfront for the conflict already taking place in Spanish Flanders and Germany. Aguirre explained the Dutch threat as a maneuver to block and control the remittance of silver from America to Spain, an idea not totally new; colonial authorities had such suspicions when the Dutch fleet tried to seize the silver treasure in 1624.  

However, rather than explaining the Dutch incursions as isolated threats, Father Aguirre presented the phenomenon as part of a global war against the Catholic monarchy. The several attempts by the Dutch to settle down in a timespan of thirty years posed for Aguirre a major question; the issue of the unsafety of the empire’s borders. If the Dutch could control the port of Arica, point of embarkment of the silver coming down from Potosí, they could strike a major blow to the power of the Catholic monarchy.

The problem with Chile was its poor and scarce Spanish settlement. The local population, according to Aguirre was mainly indigenous; even though recently pacified, their loyalty to the Spanish Crown was fairly new. This weak loyalty was exploited by the enemy who was looking to establish an alliance with the always discontent and not fully converted Araucanian Indians. The voice of a Christian Indian surfaced in Aguirre’s narrative to stress the concern over the contagion of heresy. Thus, the threat was at the

331 “…el poder y gueessas expensas con que el rey de Espana conserva sus estados y los aumenta con poderosas guerras en Europa, estrivan en los tesoros que le van de esta America, han puesto todo su cuidado y esfuerco….para quitarle estas fuerzas o por lo menos atajar los envios y tesoros....” Aguirre, Población de Valdivia, f. 5v.

332 “Verdad es que fui a ver al Olandes que no quiero mentir ni negar lo que he hecho pero ni yo le di la obediencia ni recibi del cosa chica ni grande…antes lastimado mi coracon de ver govierno de gente que no conocia a Dios....” Aguirre, Población de Valdivia, f. 49v.
same time economic, political and confessional. Not surprisingly, Aguirre proposed the presence of missionary outposts among the Indians to foster their conversion and political allegiance to the Crown. Expanding the colonial frontier southwards and making Valdivia a truly Spanish town would be an effective way to fight the Dutch in Europe. The protection of the Peruvian silver and its safe remittance meant fighting heresy and political rebellion with the resources of the Indies. The evangelization of the Indians was another warfront since their conversion meant the rejection of any future attempts of a heretic invasion of the viceroyalty of Peru. Yet, Aguirre argued, the abused Indians could always rebel against bad Spanish settlers. A considerable obstacle to Indian loyalty was the violence of a war-torn country where the abuses and crimes committed by the Spanish soldiers were constant. Therefore, something had to be done with the idle Spanish population who were taking advantage of the indigenous population in Chile. The *mali christiani* were eroding the recently achieved peace with the Araucanians and putting at risk the internal stability of Spanish American kingdoms; it was up to the missionary outposts to make of Chile a center of justice, civilization and religion.

In a very modern take, Aguirre reflected on the best way to raise funds to protect the Spanish Empire from its enemies without relying exclusively on the Royal Treasury. Several pages of Aguirre’s *Población de Valdivia* were dedicated to justifying the unpopular taxation policy of viceroy Mancera, claiming that in spite of the rumours of

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333 “…se colixe que los rebeldes olandeses desseosos de executar ya lo que ha tantos anos que previenen y dessea…intentaron assentar el pie en Valdivia concitados, no solo del deseo de lograr la templanca fertilidad y riquezas del pais pero aun tambien emprendian apoderarse desde alli por mar y tierra de todo este reyno del Peru, defraudando a Dios del culto, y verdadera religion con la introduccion de sus heregias y arrancar a Vuestra Magestad la mas preciosa punta de su corona real y Imperial de las Indias usurpandola la mayor opulencia de su Monarquia Catolica con que sin duda davan por arruinadas todas las provincias que posee en Europa…” Aguirre, *Población de Valdivia*, ff. 1v., 2r.
corruption that the Viceroy’s critics had spread throughout the peninsula. Mancera had sent fourteen million pesos for the royal coffers during his seven-year term but had also raised two key taxes which affected directly the commercial class of Lima (the *situado* and the *averia* duties, both related to the security of the ports and fleet) and some other revenue-making strategies of a more general effect, like the one on the consumption of sugar and a mandatory draft of black slaves to build the wall surrounding the city of Los Reyes. The goal of security was reached and Mancera succeeded in collecting money from every possible corporation in Lima, even the religious Orders “being already so affected;” still the viceroy’s reputation suffered. Aguirre’s defense of his mighty sponsor in *Población de Valdivia* allowed the Augustinian to push his personal agenda, that of the *benemérito* class. While justifying the security taxes on the merchant class, Aguirre stressed the need to alleviate taxes for the creole population, considering the state of dispossession given the dramatic decrease of native labor and the *encomiendas* gone. Invoking the doctrine of distributive justice, Aguirre protested against benefits given to

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334 “…se ha osado publicar que el virrey a dissipado el reyno con gabelas y pechos insufribles enhaziendas y navios que no rinden para pagar lo que les quita por fuerça y que estos empenos ha tomado el virrey para hazer una cosa fantastica y sin fruto que quando se conviertiera en alivio de Vuestra Magestad se hiziera tolerable y que la cobranca se hace con grandes rigores y palabras cominatorias” Aguirre, *Población de Valdivia*, F. 18r, 20v.

335 “…se valio el virrey de otros medios mas suaves y ninguno le parecio mas que hazer junta general de Ministros a quienes para la defensa destos reynos tan amenazados de los enemigos y con necesidad de tener mas cuidado por la cercania del Brasil no solo por el olandes sino por los accidentes que podian resultar del alcamiento del Portugal, les propuso y pidio donativo voluntario y gracious servicio para Vuestra Magestad que hecho por los ricos quedan relevados los pobres…y a esta imitacion correspondieron todos los estados eclesiastico y secular, Real Universidad, Comercio y aun las religiones con estar no poco empenadas algunas en esta ciudad…” Aguirre, *Población de Valdivia*, f. 22v. The documents against Mancera’s administration can be found in Lewis Hanke, ed. *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Los Virreyes Españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria* (Madrid: Gráficas Castilla, 1978, Vol. III).
peninsular nobility and not to the descendants of the Conquistadors, those who gave the Spanish Crown the most fabulous income any monarch could possibly dream of.\textsuperscript{336} 

His defense of a questioned viceroy notwithstanding did not hide Aguirre’s sympathies for the postponed and impoverished Peruvian \textit{beneméritos}. \textit{Población de Valdivia} revealed Aguirre’s creole agenda in a much more explicit way than taken by Ramos, Calancha and Campuzano; this writing emphasized the need to work on a profound reform of the empire. The war against the rebel Dutch could become a war on many fronts and jeopardize Spanish American internal security and the supply of Peruvian silver. Frustrated subjects -creole and Indians- might be tempted to rebel but Augustinian missionaries would secure loyalty to the Spanish Crown and the prosperity of the colonial fringe.

\textbf{3.3.4. Creole Savant in the War frontier: Bishop Fray Gaspar de Villarroel}

By the time of his death in 1665, Fray Gaspar de Villarroel had become a legend among religious scholars. His eulogist and fellow Augustinian, Fray Francisco de Loyola Vergara, said in the funeral sermon that Villarroel could be remembered as the “Angel of Peace of the Republic…the biggest Wit of Peru.”\textsuperscript{337} Such praise by Loyola suggests a

\textsuperscript{336} “…y porque los moradores de este reyno en lo comun son pobres…las encomiendas y repartimientos de indios a los hijos de conquistadores, pobladores y benemeritos deste reyno se han menoscabado sin poder ya suponer y las mas se han incorporado en la real corona y en algunos senores de Espana con que los que habitan estas provincias del Peru nacieron en ellas y los que descubrieron el reyno poblaron las ciudades y sus descendientes, los que labran sus minas y surcan sus mares con tantos afanes y peligros vienen a ser como los artifices del arca de Noe que la fabricaron para el provecho y seguridad d de otros, quedandose ellos fuera…por esto y por la gran suma de tesoros que destas provincias se han sacado que conforme al computo mas curioso passa de tres mil millones devian de ser estas Indias relevadas porque disminuidos los indios, cargadas de censos las raizes muy subidos los precios de bastimentos y vestidos estan muy delgados y casi inexhaustos los pueblos…” Aguirre, \textit{Población de Valdivia}, f. 19r.

\textsuperscript{337} “…Angel de Paz de la Republica…El crédito mayor de los Ingenios del Perú, El Demóstenes Christiano, el Tertuliano español…” Francisco de Loyola Vergara, \textit{Oración Fúnebre Panegyrica en la
scholar who excelled at every possible genre but Villarroel’s interests were actually centered on legal and theological issues. However, it was through the introduction to many of these works, even those written in Latin, where Villarroel discussed colonial politics and history. Thus, the frequent citation of Fray Gaspar’s ideas on the rights and political empowerment of creoles actually leads to these brief pages scattered throughout several books that deal mainly with liturgy and preaching. Here, I will focus mainly on one of Villarroel’s works that was originally conceived as a legal treatise to delimit the jurisdiction of Church and State: the *Gobierno Eclesiástico y Pacífico, Pontificio y Regio* (1651). Written entirely in Chile during the 1640s, the book filled an important void in the recently pacified colonial fringe: how to build colonial institutions of governance. For decades, Chile had lacked a tradition of government and functioning colonial authorities given that Santiago was a city where military chiefs had ruled instead of oidores. Few legislators and administrators had permanent appointments and they mostly had a blurry idea of the nuances of political maneuvering and courtesan practices common in other colonial cities. Thus *Gobierno Eclesiástico* was conceived as a handbook on how to rule colonial society by respecting the boundaries between secular and religious jurisdictions. This was not a text about the frontier, but one written to organize the frontier; it matches the corpus of Augustinian historical discourse on how to conquer the colonial fringes.338

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338 “Mis motivos han sido muy mas altos, hazer a Dios y a Vuestra Magestad un senalado servicio, poner en paz los obispos y los magistrados y unir estos dos cuchillos, que considerandolos juntos al lado de Christo nuestro senor. Los hallo en las Indias no solo divididos sino encontrados. Este es el primer servicio que he hecho a Vuestra Magestad en estos libros, ajustar los ordenes con nuestras leyes y que vean los obispos y los magistrados que no discuerdan los dos derechos que pueden andar juntos los dos cuchillos…” Gaspar de Villarroel, *Gobierno Eclesiástico, Pacífico y Unión de los Dos Cuchillos, Pontificio y Regio* (Madrid: Domingo García Morras, 1651).
Not much has been written on Fray Gaspar de Villarroel, even though he was one of the leading Peruvian colonial scholars. The vastness of Villarroel’s intellectual and pastoral work cannot be fully addressed here, but it is possible to divide it into three moments: the Spanish stay of the early 1630s when he wrote sermons and theology; the Chilean period in the 1640s which produced Govierno Eclesiástico; and his last years in the bishoprics of Arequipa and La Paz with a significant emphasis on theology. I will focus on Villarroel’s ideas on ruling the colonial fringe, understood as that dual space comprise of both spiritual and material backwardness. Seen from this angle, Govierno Eclesiástico completes the works of Torres, Campuzano and Aguirre. However, I also want to oppose the writing of Villarroel’s Govierno Eclesiástico, in which he denounces of the corruption rampant in Chile in the late 1630s and early 1640s. It would be his fight against corruption and incompetence that convinced Bishop Villarroel that the Church was the only institution in possession of effective knowhow on how to rule the colonial fringe. However, these ideas made the bishop go through an Inquisitorial trial. It is also important to compare Govierno Eclesiástico with the ideas present in the introductions of others of Villarroel’s works that have not deserved contemporary editions. By the time of his death in 1665, Fray Gaspar had penned more than a dozen books, which contributed to cement creole legal and theological studies in colonial Peru.


340 For a complete list of Villarroel’s works, see Vargas Ugarte, “El Iltmo.” 39-44.
Fray Gaspar de Villarroel was born in Quito, probably in 1592.\textsuperscript{341} The family moved to Lima a few years later and settled there permanently. In Los Reyes in 1608, Villarroel entered the Augustinian Order and in 1620 he got his doctorate in Theology at San Marcos. Two years later, he started teaching Theology at San Marcos, replacing Fray Francisco de la Serna, the Augustinian provincial, who was on leave. At thirty, Villarroel had been elected \textit{definidor} and Provincial Vicar of his Order, the second most powerful position within the Peruvian Augustinian Province. In 1623, he was appointed full professor at San Marcos, sharing the same status with Father Calancha and Feliciano de Vega. In 1626, he was elected Prior of the convent of Cuzco and became confessor of the local bishop. Three years later, Fray Gaspar went to Spain where the influence of prominent distant relatives -the Dukes of Maqueda- and his acquaintance with the President of the Council of the Indies Don García de Haro, Count of Castrillón, made him a court preacher and later bishop of Santiago de Chile.\textsuperscript{342} While in Madrid, the University

\textsuperscript{341} The year 1587 has also been considered as the year of his birth. However, it makes more sense to think of 1592 as the correct year, for he was sixteen years old when he entered the Order. See Vargas Ugarte, “El Ilmo.,” Castillo, “Fray Gaspar de Villarroel” and Villarejo, \textit{The Augustinians}, 251.

\textsuperscript{342} His sermons, printed in Lisbon and Madrid, reveal a zealous militant preacher, defending the dynastic rights of the Spanish Habsburgs in Flanders and the Spanish Monarchy as Defensor of the Faith. See Gaspar de Villarroel, \textit{Dos sermones en la fiesta de Nuestro Padre San Agustín el uno y en la canonización del glorioso San Ignacio el otro}. Por el padre maestro Fray Gaspar de Villarroel de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín, prior y vicario provincial del convento del Cuzco (Lisboa: Antonio Alvares, 1631) and \textit{Sermón en la fiesta que celebro la religión de Nuestro Padre San Agustín en el convento de San Felipe a los desagravios del Santísimo Sacramento del Altar por los desacatos que se le hizieron en el saco de Tirimón, predicado por el Maestro Fray Gaspar de Villarroel de la Provincia del Perú} (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1635). The last one was dedicated to the Prime Minister Conde-Duque de Olivares. However, the political figure who might have been responsible for Villarroel’s success at court was the Count of Castrillón, Don García de Haro y Avellaneda, President of the Council of the Indies, who discovered the talent of the Augustinian preacher. In the Introduction to one of his books, Villarroel stated from his sponsor: “…siendo yo hechura de Vuestra Excelencia, es forcoso que no le desagraden mis estudios…solo, sin favor, ni deudos, nacido mas alla del mundo, halle en Vuestra Excelencia un grande amparo…y hizo consulta a Su Magestad para que me hiziesse su predicador, cosa que esse supremo real Consejo de las Indias no hizo con otra persona…” Gaspar de Villarroel, \textit{Primera Parte de las Historias Sagradas, Eclesiásticas, Morales} (Madrid: Domingo García de Morras, 1660), ff. 3r-4r.
of San Marcos appointed him as proctor. In 1637, Fray Gaspar was back in Lima where a year later he was consecrated bishop of Santiago.\(^{343}\)

In 1638 soon after Villarroel y Cárdenas was consecrated bishop, he visited the Viceroy Count of Chinchón to ask permission to travel to his diocese. On that occasion the wise Viceroy advised the young bishop “do not oversee everything, do not try to understand everything; do not punish everything.”\(^{344}\) Yet, the passionate youthful bishop was far from knowing that Chile was a very difficult post. The land had been war-ridden almost since the beginning of the Spanish settlement in the mid-sixteenth century; because of war, a lack of mining opportunities as well as a scarcity of indigenous labor the city had become the fringe of colonial Peru. Once he arrived to his diocese, Fray Gaspar did the opposite of what the viceroy recommended to him. Villarroel was shocked with a lax, violent and above all corrupted city, which resembled more a battlefield than an Episcopal See. As late as 1638, royal instructions sent to the viceroy justified total war against the rebellious indigenous population and approved the sale of captives in Lima’s slave market.\(^{345}\) The Spanish population contributed to this abusive environment and even institutions related to the Church were afflicted by mediocrity and corruption. A long internal war had created all political and moral voids and the bishop did complain

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\(^{345}\) In the instructions given to Mancera in December 1648, the King specifically said: “Ya tendreis entendido cuan importante es la guerra de Chile y los muchos espanoles que han muerto en ella, cantidad grande de hacienda mia que se ha consumido, y como quiera que deseando que se acabe con brevedad, como ocasi de tan grande importancia he prevenido y ordenado que aquella Guerra sea ofensiva y que se tengan por esclavos los indios que se cautivasen en ella…” Hanke, *Los Virreyes*, 114.
about the miserable situation of Indian conversion, Church administration and state of the clergy in a dramatic letter addressed to the governor, Marquis of Baydes.346

The real ordeal for the young bishop came after he audited the funds in charge of the Chilean Church. Villarroel found that the Dean of the Cathedral, Tomás Pérez de Santiago along with his aide, the priest Salvador de Ampuero, were the visible heads of a corruption net which accused wealthy merchants of religious heterodoxy in order to have their property seized by the local Inquisition. Villarroel sequestered the records and papers from Pérez de Santiago’s home and had him arrested for more than twenty days, during which time a thorough investigation was carried out to determine the extent of the Church’s participation. The priest Ampuero -because of his lower position- was whipped publicly as a vicarious punishment intended for the Dean.347 It was a harsh measure that sent a clear message to the city, but also gained many enemies for the newly appointed bishop. Soon, Villarroel found that the moralizing efforts of his episcopal administration would have little resonance in Spain. Shortly after the imprisonment of the Dean, Villarroel was in turn accused before the Inquisition of Aragon of blocking and interfering with the Holy Tribunal and also of going beyond his role as Santiago’s archbishop in matters related to the Royal Hacienda.348 As a newcomer, Villarroel was shunned by santiaguinos who complained about the excesses of the bishop, going from

346 “…el infelícísimo estado que tienen oy los beneficios y doctrinas de este obispado de Santiago de Chile es tanto más grande que toda ponderación…no refiero a U.S. otros trabajos de los curas; de las calumnias, testimonios, descortesias, hambres, frios, falta de servicio, malas cobranzas y falta de casa en que vivir, porque U.S. lo sabe y lo comprende todo…” See Vargas Ugarte, “El Iltmo.,” 33-34.

347 AHNM, Sección Inquisición, Leg. 1646, Exp. 8. Información del Comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Chile de los desacatos, e injuries que se le an echo por el Obispo Fray Gaspar de Villarroel, Lima, 1639, ff. 1, 2.

348 “de todo quiere ser dueno el senor obispo, desde la Audiencia como de religiones y del Santo Oficio…” AHNM, Información, f. 5r.
insults directed to members of the clergy to affronts aimed at members of the local administration and elite. The bishop and his entourage were even accused of having accepted bribes. Tens of witnesses supported the actions of the Cathedral Dean and of Father Ampuero; even Pérez de Santiago’s slaves lent their support. As tension escalated in Chilean society and Pérez de Santiago realized his position was becoming more vulnerable, he escaped from the bishop’s prison and sought refuge in the Dominican convent of Santiago, making the affair a confrontation between secular and regular clergy. As a matter of fact, not even the Augustinian Provincial in Chile was on Villarroel’s side. Only the members of the Audiencia sided with the bishop in the need to fight corruption and put Pérez de Santiago back in prison. In the meanwhile, the scandal reached Madrid where the priest Ampuero -who had fled Chile- was organizing the counterattack before the Holy Tribunal.

The corruption scandal took the first six years of Villarroel’s episcopal administration in Chile; at least in July 1644 the Aragonese Inquisition issued the final sentence for the affair. Surprisingly, neither Pérez de Santiago nor Villarroel were punished. The first one claimed that the bishop went beyond his jurisdiction, seizing money and official documents related to the Royal Treasure and the Inquisition. The defense of the Dean revealed the overlap of jurisdiction common in Spanish America. When accused of corruption, the Dean imposed a fine on Bishop Villarroel of two thousand pesos plus ex-communion. The infuriated Bishop responded with the

349 “dicho senor obispo ha ultrajado y baldonado al dicho senor comissario...El Obispo llamo al comissario, perro mestizo...” AHNM, Información, f. 76v.

350 “...el origen desta segunda prision que el senor Obispo hico a dicho senor comissario fue por el recelo que dicho senor Obispo tenia de que el dicho doctor Ampuero (el qual estaba oculto huyendo de sus rigores) se embarcaba por orden de dicho senor comissario a dar quenta a dichos muy ilustres senores...” AHNM, Información ff. 30v-33v, 67.
whipping of Ampuero, and then the violence of actions and speech escalated in both parties. The Council of the Inquisition concluded that in spite of the “mismanagement of funds,” the Chilean Inquisition was not under the bishop’s authority and thus Villarroel’s actions had violated the secret with which the Inquisition operated and set a bad precedent for future religious authorities. A public apology of the bishop to all members of the Holy Tribunal in Santiago was ordered.\textsuperscript{351}

It is in this political context that \textit{Gobierno Eclesiástico y Pacífico} has to be read and understood. The weakness of colonial government in a frontier city like Santiago made Villarroel realize that it was the bishop who was the one who should step in and fill the void of proper ruling. His zeal for justice and the honor of the Crown made Villarroel the victim of the attacks of different corporations accusing him of overstepping his position. In response to these accusations, Villarroel wrote a work in which the jurisdictions of bishop, viceroy, governor and Audiencia were perfectly delineated. For its detailed analysis of the functions of every colonial office and defense of the Royal Patronage, \textit{Gobierno Eclesiástico} has been considered a staunch justification of royal power, although it basically advocates for the political performance of the colonial episcopate as the only institution capable of enforcing sound principles of administration in the colonial fringe.\textsuperscript{352} Thus, the book delimited boundaries for the power of the Church

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{351}“Digo que sabiendo o debiendo saber el dicho senor Obispo lo que importa al bien de nuestra sagrada religion y publico desos reinos el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion….lo ha impedido por diversos medios de fuerca y extorsion…” AHN, \textit{Información}, f. 97v. More details on the life and work of Villarroel in Chile in Vargas Ugarte, “El Ilustrísimo Fray Gaspar de Villarroel.”

\textsuperscript{352}“El segundo servicio que he hecho a Vuestra Magestad en estos libros ha sido dar luz a gran numero de cedulas de Indias que aunque traen consigo bastante justificacion, siendo leyes de un tal Rey y averse fabricado en tan sabio y santo consejo, con todo eso para el pueblo rudo y para los reynos estranos ha sido diligencia forcosa que las que tocan en materias de la iglesia sepan todas las naciones que estan ajustadas con los sagrados canones. Que en puntos de inmunidad, es justo que este sin mota la soberana opinion de...”}
and the state in kingdoms without a long history of urban *fueros* (rights of the cities) such as peninsular Spain or core areas of colonization. The absence of true urban elites—due to their questionable social backgrounds and their lack of political and economic rights of citizenship—produced flawed *cabildos* and made the whole system of government a bad copy of the cores. Villaruel showed that in missionary frontiers, the Church was the only institution on which the Crown could rely.  

Corruption, backwardness and violence were just the counterparts of war and deficient structures of government. Years later, back in Peru and reflecting on his stay in Chile, Fray Gaspar remembered that even rebel Indians and Dutch invaders were nothing compared to the violence of desperate Spanish soldiers, drafted in Peru from the lower classes and sent to Chile in most cases to die. Villaruel concluded that “wars are useless unless they are followed by religion and piety.”

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353 A retired oidor of the Chilean Audiencia said in a letter to Villaruel on the publication of *Gobierno Eclesiástico*: “…la paz y concordia que Vuestra Señoria ha tenido en esta Real Audiencia y ministros reales en materias de jurisdicción sin faltar a la suya ha sido grande y rara...que es muy antiguo en la Iglesia de Dios que los Pontífices no solo sean medio de paz entre Principes sino que por ellos sean electos, ungidos, y puestos en las soberanas fillas de sus monarquías como parece en las divinas y humanas letras”. Villaruel, *Gobierno Eclesiástico*, Introduction.

354 “Esta tierra toda es armas, toda es penas (que son sinónimos penas y armas)...mis pensamientos son todos de paz...Estos anos passados han congojado estos países los indios y los holandeses, y aunque unos y otros han sido tan perjudiciales, no nos lastiman tanto todos juntos, como nuestros mismo soldados. Vienen a enjambres a deshacernos por rehacerse....hemos visto en este reino matar los soldados un indio solo por quitarle un cavallo que han de vender por un peso y despedazar una india por robarle una manta...” Gaspar de Villaruel, *Primera y Segunda Parte, y Semana Santa de los Comentarios, Dificultades, y Discursos Literales y Místicos*, sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma y Semana Santa por el doctor Fray Gaspar de Villaruel de la Orden de San Agustín, Arzobispo de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de las Charcas en los Reynos del Perú. Segunda Impresión (Madrid: Domingo García Morras, 1663).
The real goal of Villarroel was to prove that bishops in Spanish America were entitled to rule in the name of the Crown and that the Spanish King could be asked by a bishop to reform issues of government without undermining his symbolic power as ruler. Villarroel was certainly foreseeing the government of viceroy-archbishops that took place in Peru by the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the next one, although that proved to be a conflictual situation. Fifty years before the era of bishops-viceroys, Fray Gaspar de Villarroel advocated for a ruling alliance of Church and Crown reminding the monarch that bishops were the most loyal and suitable colonial rulers. America had been donated by the Pope to the Crown of Castile, and through the Royal Patronage the Crown could appoint bishops in the name of the Roman Pontiff. Thus, the relationship between the colonial episcopate and the Crown was not necessarily one of submission of the former to the latter but of cooperation and mutual advice between both. Bishops, stated Villarroel, were princes of the Church and therefore equal to Kings at the level of decision-making whenever the Crown’s authority needed to be enforced. After all, the goals of Church and Crown in the Catholic monarchy were the same. In cities and kingdoms where secular rule was strong enough, bishops were under the King’s authority with enough leverage to govern independently in ecclesiastical matters. In this sense,

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355 “…las guerras seran infelices donde la religion y la piedad no acompanen las armas”. Gaspar de Villarroel, Semana Santa, Tratos de los Comentarios, Dificultades y Discursos Lterales, y Místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma (Madrid, Domingo García Morras, 1662), 155.

356 “Los obispos…son verdaderos principes de la iglesia….Son los obispos ordinarios de los Reyes y los pueden excomulgar si los tales Reyes no tienen privilegio para que no los excomulguen…Los principes catolicos ponen gran cuidado en que sean respetados los obispos….No debemos los obispos espanoles embidiar a los franceses porque nuestros Reyes Catolicos los autorizan mucho. Filipo IV que oy vive haze de los obispos tan grande estimacion que no les da la mano para besar….Hazen nuestros reyes tanto caso de los obispos que en cuantas cartas que nos esctiven y sobreescriven nos llaman Padres y esta palabra es de gran honra porque pesa mucho ser consejeros de principes tan soberanos…” Villarroel, Gobierno Eclesiástico, ff. 4-9
Gobierno Eclesiástico was part of a Peruvian colonial tradition of linking the Church to the Crown in governmental affairs, claiming more power of action for creole clergy.\textsuperscript{358} Such a strong defense of the colonial Church’s loyalty and autonomy made Gobierno Eclesiástico part of the tradition of Catholic statecraft with which Peruvian colonials contributed to the imperial debate on how to reform the Spanish monarchy.

The agenda of both the colonial Church and creole elite connected clearly in many of the works of Villarroel. Yet, in Gobierno Eclesiástico, Villarroel made a bold assertion related to the entitlement of the colonial Church. To further his demands on the authority of bishops, Fray Gaspar delved into the sensitive issue of the delayed canonization of Francis Solano, a matter of urban pride for many cities in South America, which had declared Solano their patron saint even before its formal canonization. In the late 1630s and throughout the 1640s, Solano’s canonization was being debated all over the viceroyalty of Peru as a matter of creole rights rather than a confessional issue. It is worth remembering that the importance of the canonization of the Franciscan for the city of Lima, which not only declared Solano Patron-Saint but was paying in order to speed up the process in Rome. Villarroel’s proposal was quite daring because somehow it challenged the new regulations on sainthood approved by Urban VIII. The local bishop, according to Villarroel, could gather and certify miracles attributed to the candidate to

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\textsuperscript{357} “Puede el Sumo Pontifice restringir o limitar a los eclesiasticos su exemptcion por la publica utilidad en los casos que no son meramente espirituales y eclesiasticos y dar jurisdiccion a los principes seculares en sus personas y en sus bienes...Pueden los Reyes Catholicos de Espana supuesta la facultad que para ello tienen de la Santa Sede Apostolica obligar a los obispos y a las demas personas eclesiasticas a que guarden sus cedulas e imponerles penas pecuniarias y ejecutarlas...” Villarroel, Gobierno Eclesiástico, 110.
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\textsuperscript{358} “Alego por ellos con harta erudicion el senor don Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa que es oy inquisidor de Lima, quando fue procurador de las Iglesias catedrales de las Indias en un memorial lleno de Derechos y bordado de buenas letras y con ser religioso y poder embarazar aquellas alegaciones mi eleccion me parecieron justisimas porque aviendo iglesia para todos es mucha razon que se premien personas de tanta autoridad”. Villarroel, Gobierno Eclesiástico, 603.
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sainthood, prior to sending all that information to Rome where it would be approved and
sanctioned by the different levels of Roman administration. Villarroel made two clear
points: first any canonization process must start at the local diocese level and second both
local bishops and Roman curia should work together to produce a new saint.\footnote{359}

In a letter addressed to Pope Innocent X and inserted in \textit{Gobierno Eclesiástico}, the
bishop asked for a waiver to the fifty-year period before formal sainthood was approved
by Rome. Villarroel’s reasons were clearly related to creole pride: Solano would be the
first Spanish American saint; his miracles had already been certified by Spanish
American Episcopal Sees and his prompt canonization would foster the evangelization
process among the Indians. Additionally, the sainthood of Francis Solano would be an
honor bestowed upon the Spanish nation and upon the Peruvian creoles within it.\footnote{360}

Besides the symbolic and political importance of the new saint for the city of Los Reyes,
the letter is an interesting claim as to how the mature Spanish American Catholicism
needed a much less bureaucratic interpretation of legal procedures. The letter also shows

\footnote{359} “Pueden los obispos sin embargo que no pueden canonizar, recibir informaciones de los milagros de los
no canonizados, publicarlos y remitirlos. Esta disputa se ofrecio en la ciudad de Lima en los milagros que
obro Dios Nuestro Senor por la intercession del bendito padre Fray Francisco…Dificultose, si podria
recibir la informacion… quiero concluir la disputa con poner aqui una carta que he escrito a Su Santidad a
instancia del Padre Fray Diego de Córdova…para que Su Santidad se sirva dispensar en la constitucion de
Urbano VIII en orden al prolixo termino para tratar de la canonizacion de los santos”. Villarroel, \textit{Gobierno
Eclesiástico}, 22-25.

\footnote{360} “Santisimo Padre La constitucion en orden a la nueva forma de proceder en la canonizacion de los
 santos que hizo la santidad de Urbano VIII antecessor de Vuestra Beatitud ha causado notable dolor en toda
la Christianidad. Porque aviendo de retardar aun los primeros passos cincuenta anos enteros no ay quien
tenga tan dilatadas las esperancas de una larga vida que se pueda prometer aver visto vivo y alcanzar
canonizado el santo a quien tuvo afecto. Vi este sentimiento en Espana, experimentelo en las Indias y estoy
lo tocando con las manos en esta iglesia que sirvo en que se oyen suspiros que llegan hasta el cielo de ver
tan detenida la canonizacion del bendito Padre Fray Francisco Solano…Vuestra Santidad…mire con
paternales ojos los espanoles que vivimos en este tan apartado mundo. Y declarandonos por santo un
ciudadano nuestro…Y que sepan las naciones todas que justamente ponen en aver dado santos a la iglesia
that the Spanish American Church of the mid-seventeenth century saw itself solid enough to not need that its work be revised but simply approved by Rome. This issue, however, proved to be another cause of woe for the creole bishop. His interpretation of the authority of Spanish American bishops in the definition of local sainthood was long debated before the Spanish Inquisition, even after the first edition of *Gobierno Eclesiástico* appeared and even after Villarroel’s death. In 1671, the Spanish Inquisition finally declared that Fray Gaspar’s stance on the authority of colonial bishops related to the certification of miracles did not go against the doctrine, showing that colonial religious scholarship had come to age before the Spanish Crown and the Roman hierarchy.\(^{361}\)

Fray Gaspar de Villarroel was a truly baroque figure. By the end of his life, when Bernardo de Torres asked him for a biographical synopsis, Fray Gaspar sent a letter complaining about his vanity and his many wrong-doings that had led to God’s punishment of his flock.\(^{362}\) His humbleness was part of his baroque personality, minimizing what was a life of good deeds and intellectual success. His manuscripts and

\(^{361}\) AHNM Sección Inquisición, Leg. 4439, Exp. 5, “Delación y censura del *Gobierno Eclesiástico* del Obispo de Chile, Fray Gaspar de Villarroel.” Another case of censorship on Villarroel’s work was that n “Discursos de los Domingos de Adviento”, imposed by Father Juan Váscones, calificador of the Holy Office in 1664. Supposedly, there was in the book a comment based on a free translation of the Vulgata Bible. The work had been printed in Madrid in 1661. AHNM, Sección Inquisición, 1664. Leg. 4441, Exp. 9.

\(^{362}\) “Grande acierto de la Providencia que acabe Vuestra Paternidad la cronica que dejo imperfecta el padre maestro Calancha porque quedara muy adelantada la obra con tan docta pluma. PIDeme Vuestra Paternidad noticias de mi persona para honrar con lo que escribiere….nací en Quito en una casa pobre…entreme fraile nunca entro en mi la frailla, porteme vano….tuve oficios en que me puso no la santidad sino la solicitud….lleve a Espana la ambicion, compuse unos librillos, juzgando que cada uno habría de ser un escalon para subir, hicieronme Obispo de Santiago de Chile y fui tan vano….por mis pecados envío Dios un terremoto. Ponderaron lo que trabajé en aquellas aflicciones y el Consejo…me dio en premio este obispado, que es de los mejores deste reyno. Quitóme Dios en el mi companero y quitóme en el la mitad de mi coracon, que estoy edificando mi catedral tan desenganado de las vanidades deste mundo…” Fray Gaspar de Villarroel to Bernardo de Torres, Arequipa 1654.
books crossed the Atlantic several times and most of them ended up in convent libraries, but above all his works were widely read and discussed by most religious scholars in the Peruvian viceroyalty. Villarroel’s *Gobierno Eclesiástico* was published several times; as late as the mid-eighteenth century his work was interpreted as a defense of the state over the Church, the opposite to what he would have wanted. Villarroel barely fitted into the comfortable life of a rich creole bishop. He gave away most of his stipend as a prelate to charities and the poor. He rejected any sign of wealth and status in the form of silver and slaves and worked himself as a mason in the reconstruction of the cathedral of Santiago after the 1647 earthquake and the construction of the new cathedral of Arequipa years later. In spite of his problems with the Inquisition, the Crown entrusted Fray Gaspar with two other miters: Arequipa in 1651 and the much-coveted episcopal see of Charcas seven years later.

363 In 1631, Villarroel said about the perils of trans-Atlantic publishing: “…solo fue poderoso a que me apresurasse fue aver robado Olandeses una nao en que remitia un tanto de aquestos libros y no saber que fortuna corrieron ellos que a ser verdad que los razgaron herejes, sera presagio de felicidad que quando comienço a servir a la Iglesia blasfemen mis escritos enemigos de la Fe….Los otros dos tomos sacaremos luego y otro sobre los Cantares de Salomon que embie a Espana a imprimir y no se imprimio, porque no lo acavavan de rever y seria posible que antes para imprimirle yo obstasse el estar revisto…” Gaspar de Villarroel, *Primera Parte de los Comentarios. Dificultades y Discursos Literales, y Místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma al Rei Nuestro Señor en el Supremos Consejo de Indias, por el Maestro Fray Gaspar de Villarroel…Prior y Vicario Provincial de la Provincia del Cuzco* (Lisboa: Antonio Alves, 1631). On the donation of his books, see Loyola Vergara, *Oración Fúnebre*, f. 13r.


365 In 1641, before the notary Bartolome de Cívico, the priest Joan Hordóñez de Cárdenas, on behalf of the bishop of Chile, sold a slave named Pedro, age fourteen, born in Angola to Andrés Ramirez Segundo for the amount of 335 pesos. AGN (Lima), Notary Bartolome de Cívico, Prot. 354, 1641-A, fól. 188. Loyola Vergara, *Oración Fúnebre*, f. 4r, 7r, 9r.
The successful religious and scholarly career of Fray Gaspar de Villarroel certainly convinced many creole religious scholars that they were close to getting their demands of recognition and appointments satisfied. Even the peninsular administration recognized that Spanish American religious cadres had the credentials needed to become part of the upper religious hierarchy and work on the consolidation of Spanish rule in the Indies. In the introduction of his *Primera Parte de los Comentarios, Dificultades y Discursos Literales y Místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma*, an early work published in 1631, Fray Gaspar had expressed the hopes of his fellow creole scholars to see the full enforcement of distributive justice by the Crown and he lived to see expressions of such recognition. But Fray Gaspar had another expectation too. In a sermon dedicated to his protector, the President of the Council of the Indies, Count of Castrillón, Villarroel had stressed the fact that the alliance between Throne and Altar in the Spanish Empire would foster a new era of a militant Catholicism that was

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366 His brilliant career went hand in hand with his generosity. Villarroel was remembered for giving a third of his income for the poor when he was earning only 5,000 pesos annually as bishop of Santiago. The income of the bishop of Charcas was 60,000 pesos annually. Loyola Vergara, *Oración Fúnebre*, f. 4r. For rents within the Church in Spanish America, Claudio Clemente, *Tablas Chronológicas en que se contienen los sucesos eclesiásticos y seculares de Españ a, África, Indias Orientales y Occidentales* (Valencia: Jaime de Bordázar, 1689), 218-219.

367 “En tiempos anteriores morian las esperancas de los criollos a manos de la imposibilidad de sus ascensos y traian aquellos sentimientos….y en esta conformidad los que nacieron en Indias holgaran haver nacido Indios, que viendose desiguales en la condicion, no cayeran en sus corazones pensamientos de igualdad. Hoy que VM los iguala pero aun los prefiere poblando las audiencias de oydores, las iglesias de obispos y las ciudades de governadores, bendicen enternecidos los que vieron nacer la tierra que lleva ya tales plantas…” Gaspar de Villarroel, *Primera Parte de los Comentarios, Dificultades y Discursos Literales y Místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma. Dedicado al Rey por Fray Gaspar de Villarroel, prior y vicario provincial del convento de su orden en el Cuzco* (Lisboa: Antonio Alves, 1631), Introduction. The decrees appointing him bishop of Arequipa and Charcas both stressed their intellectual performance too. MAEC (Madrid) Leg. 115. Letter from the King to the Duke del Infantado presenting Fray Gaspar de Villarroel to the Bishopric of Arequipa, June 22, 1651, f. 138 and Letter from the King to the Spanish Ambassador before the Holy See, presenting Fray Gaspar de Villarroel to the Bishopric of Charcas, October 17, 1658, f. 183r.
characterized by internal peace, order and prosperity.\textsuperscript{368} That was God’s promise to Spain; a promise neither Philip IV nor Fray Gaspar would come to fruition. The King and his creole bishop died in 1665.\textsuperscript{369}

Seventeenth-century Peruvian Augustinian historiography evolved from a predominant religious format, in which the political agenda of the Orders and of the \textit{benemérito} class was subtly introduced into straightforward \textit{memoriales} in which recent history and political reform were openly addressed. The works of Ramos, Calancha and Torres adapted the format of the medieval chronicle and classic hagiographies to the needs of a local discourse on Catholic statecraft. Religious tropes like devotion and martyrdom were used to address the claims of the Order for state support. From the very first moment (1621-1646) we can see an interesting blend of the religious chronicle and the work of Justus Lipsius. The appropriation of European discourse on Catholic statecraft is evident but not acknowledged. A second moment (1647-1651) is defined by the elaboration on local political authors like Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa and is characterized by a shift to more politically open literature, starting with the transitional piece by Campuzano and followed later by the works of Aguirre and Villarroel. These two moments also reflect two distinctive periods in the history of the Order, expanding its missional operations and the \textit{locus} of the writers from the Andean frontier to the Chilean fringe. However, the premise of Augustinian historiography remained the same

\textsuperscript{368} “Puede dormir con gran sosiego la Iglesia pues nunca cierra los ojos el leon de Espana. Que union ha tenido siempre Espana con la Iglesia! Que grande reverencia a la Primera Silla! O lo que estima Dios esta uniformidad…..Al rey de Espana debe la iglesia como de justicia su tutela…grande felicidad goza hoy la Iglesia…” Villarroel, \textit{Sermón que en la fiesta}, ff. 15r, v, 16r.

\textsuperscript{369} Castillo, “Fray Gaspar de Villarroel,” 21.
throughout the century: the conquest of the conversion frontier required a strong alliance between Crown and colonial corporate Church.

The group of Augustinian scholars analyzed in this chapter also shows the evolution of colonial religious scholars as a class. Connected through interests of class and background, Ramos, Calancha and Campuzano spoke up for the interests of the Peruvian encomendero class, even though Campuzano’s take on the problem of a revamped encomienda was more modern. As scholars, they all relied on private secular sponsors and on their own funds to have their works published. The Augustinian Order endorsed their works, but hardly funded them. A turning point was the edition of the second book of the chronicle by Father Calancha, a financial and institutional support that followed the international exposure and recognition of his work. Aguirre was funded by the viceroy and Villarroel first by the president of the Council of the Indies and then with his own income for most of his later publications. The shift from the local (Peru) to the imperial level (Madrid and Rome) in the career patterns of these authors secured international exposure, but one not free of challenges. Becoming international scholars and political figures forced them to navigate the waters of power and fight the Inquisition, the conflict between Crown and Papacy and the surveillance of the Council of the Indies as in the case of Fathers Campuzano and Villaroel. Finally, I have shown here the importance of Augustinian historiography in seventeenth-century Peru and its evolution into a colonial discourse on Catholic statecraft.\textsuperscript{370}

\textsuperscript{370} In the case of the viceroyalty of Peru Saranyana contended that the Jesuits were at the top of scholarly achievements. See Josep Ignasi Saranyana, dir., \textit{Teología en América Latina. Desde los Orígenes hasta la Guerra de Sucesión (1493-1715)} (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 1999), 370.
Chapter 4

Franciscan Family

In his *Relación de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú*, written in 1638, the Limenian historian Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas offered a version of the conquest of the Inca Empire that challenged the long-established episode of the capture of Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca in 1532. As Father Córdova recorded, Francisco Pizarro and his men were accompanied not only by the Dominican Fray Vicente Valverde, but also by the first Franciscan Commissary in the Andes, Fray Marcos de Niza. Even though Córdova offered no details as to whether Niza was present when the *requerimiento* was read to the last ruler of the Tawantinsuyu, the role of Valverde as sole representative of the Spanish Church had been questioned. This slightly different version of the events of Cajamarca had political consequences. It implied that the Franciscan Order along with the Dominican had the moral representation of the Spanish Church and the Crown at the moment of the Spanish Conquest of Peru. An apparently trivial statement had in fact two important goals: first to emphasize the seniority of the Franciscan Order as a

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371 This work was the genesis of the major historical narrative Father Córdova published in Lima in 1651. The 1638 *Relación* was written to comply with the royal request of submitting information for the official chronicle of Tamayo de Vargas on the Spanish American Church to be written in Latin (Royal Decree of December 12, 1635). Córdova was asked to work on the account by Fray Pedro Ordóñez in 1637. BNP, Diego de Córdova, *Relación de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles* (1638), Mss. B124. See Lino Canedo, Introduccion, in Diego de Córdova, *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú* (Washington DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957): XXI. Another reference to this work in Raúl Rivera Serna, “La Relación de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles,” *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, No. 15, Diciembre (1952): 95-172.

372 “El padre Fray Marcos de Niza, que fue uno de los primeros religiosos que pasaron al Peru con los primeros espanoles y consta que se halló en Caxamarca en la muerte del rey Atagualpa, a pocos dias de su vencimiento que fue a 3 de mayo de 1533...”, Córdova, *Relación*. Calancha, quoting Las Casas, stated that Niza arrived in Peru with two Franciscans not before 1543. Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639), 80.
foundational institution in the formation of colonial Peru, and second to stress the role of the Franciscans as mediators in the incorporation of the former Inca Empire into the rule of the Spanish King.

Fray Marcos de Niza was not in Cajamarca at the moment of the Conquest, but the idea of one of the founding fathers of the Franciscan Order arriving in Peru at such an early date established a parallel with the Franciscan presence in New Spain and the subsequent foundation of the important Mexican Franciscan Province. It also made the Franciscan Order in Peru an early ally of the Crown in the spiritual conquest of the Indies.  

Seniority was very important in the argumentation on rights and *fueros*; thus the Franciscan presence in Cajamarca meant that the Order -already a royally sponsored corporation- could receive even more benefits from the Crown. Rather than discussing the truthfulness of Father Córdova’s historical information, I want to point out how this episode demonstrates the need of the official chronicler of the Franciscan Order to emphasize the performance of his corporation in the Andes at a time when religious corporations in Peru were having problems with the Spanish Crown, and therefore historical narratives stressing the alliance between Church and state were effective weapons in order to better their relationship.  

The first contingent of Franciscan missionaries in the Andes who were taking care of the spiritual needs of the native population was but one topic that highlighted the use of history-writing to gain royal favor. Another one would be Franciscan sainthood, extensively developed by Father

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Córdova and his brother Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova over several works between the 1620s and the later 1640s.

The institutional Franciscan agenda of these two religious scholars allowed them to build brilliant careers while also promoting their personal goals. Fray Diego de Córdova and his younger brother Fray Buenaventura, who entered the Franciscan Order after a civil career, wrote to validate the agenda of their lineage and their social class, that of the Peruvian benemérito elite. This chapter tells the story of how two children of a well-known family of Los Reyes, co-opted over about twenty years the Peruvian Franciscan Province, writing history to promote their lineage as well as their personal and intellectual pursuits and using networks of power related to the Order and their family in and out of their hometown. This chapter also deals with the way members of the Peruvian colonial elite developed a colonial discourse on Catholic statecraft with which they sought to re-launch the colonial system by emphasizing local autonomy, support of the Crown for Franciscan sainthood and a revamped version of the encomienda. Ultimately, through the life of these brothers and intellectual peers, we will be able to learn more about the international performance of religious scholars in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.\footnote{Fray Diego de Córdova and Fray Buenaventura de Salinas were not the only Franciscan scholars in seventeenth-century Peru. José de la Riva-Agüero thought that Father Baltasar de Bustamante, a very well-known preacher in Lima who penned the Teatro Eclesiástico Indico and the Tratado de las Primicias del Perú en Santidad y Letras; this one cited by Córdova, was comparable to that of the famous brothers. Unfortunately, Bustamante’s works are lost today and I only know of a few of his sermons printed in Lima. Riva-Agüero also stated that only in the mid-eighteenth century, another Franciscan historical work would get attention and that was the chronicle of Father Fernando Rodríguez Tena. See José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, La Historia en el Perú (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1965), 253. However, there was another Franciscan historical chronicle written in the 1640s and that was Father Laureano Ibañez’s work, whose manuscript exists in the National Library in Madrid and has been recently published in Lima. See Fray Laureano Ibañez, Descripción de la América Austral o reinos del Perú con particular noticia de lo hecho por los franciscanos en la evangelización de aquel país (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Instituto Riva-Agüero and Banco Central de Reserva, 1999).}
4.1. Franciscan Beneméritos

The family and social milieu of the Franciscan brothers are crucial to the understanding of their agenda and performance in and out of the viceroyalty of Peru between the 1620s and the 1650s. Diego and Buenaventura were two of the children of Doctor Diego de Salinas and Doña Juana de Silva.376 Don Diego de Salinas was a creole bureaucrat of mercantile origin who graduated in Law at San Marcos, worked as a lawyer for the Inquisition and the Royal Audiencia and married into the Peruvian benémerito elite.377 His wife Doña Juana - albeit a member of a lineage which dated back to sixteenth-century Peru, came from a more troubled stock.378 Lino Canedo stated that even though the family constantly emphasized the nobility of Doña Juana - supposedly her mother Mencia de Silva belonged to the house of the Silvas of Lisbon, Counts of Tentugal while her father, Don Diego Fernández de Córdova was from the house of the Marquis of Priego in Spain- nonetheless information circulating in Lima in the sixteenth century questioned these origins. New data provided by Holguín also leads us to the conclusion

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376 For biographical information on the family, see the recent study of Oswaldo Holguín Callo, *Poder, Corrupción y Tortura en el Perú de Felipe II. El Doctor Diego de Salinas (1558-1595)* (Lima: Congreso del Perú, 2002).


378 Riva-Agüero stated that the couple descended from the conquistadors Lope de Salinas and Diego Fernández de Córdova. See Riva-Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú*, 242.
that morisco and converso stock were present in both Doña Juana’s both paternal and maternal ancestry.\textsuperscript{379}

Rumors about Doña Juana’s background were not strong enough to prevent the family from becoming part of the colonial elite of Los Reyes. Her first marriage to the poor hidalgo Don Juan Arias de Saavedra ennobled the daughter of an already wealthy merchant. With the handsome dowry of his wife, Don Juan bought a prestigious position for himself and his descendants: the Escribano Mayor of the viceroyalty of Peru, a position that after Saavedra’s early death was claimed by Doña Juana’s second husband, Don Diego de Salinas in 1584.\textsuperscript{380} Don Diego and Doña Juana had almost everything: youth, education, status and money; thus their five children grew up as elite members of Los Reyes. Lope de Salinas and Diego de Córdova were the first two children to enter the Franciscan Order, although only the last one -born in 1591- had a career there. The little information that we have on Lope, who died as a young Franciscan at age twenty-two, 

\textsuperscript{379} When he applied to the position of Judge of the Inquisition (Calificador), Buenaventura de Salinas said in 1633 that his father Don Diego was son of Lope de Salinas and Juana de Escobar, whose ancestors had been living in the Indies for more than ninety years. Juana was the daughter of Diego Fernández de Córdova and Mencía de Silva. AHNM, Inquisición: Leg. 1207, Exp. 24 and Leg. 1575, Exp. 114. The same information with a slight variation in the family name of Doña Juana -not Silva but Roca- appears in the records of Fray Diego de Córdova when he applied for the same position.;AHNM, Inquisición Leg. 1575, Exp. 169. When the nephew of both Franciscans, Juan de Cáceres y Ulloa, applied for the position of Calificador, he declared that his maternal grandmother, Doña Juana de Silva, had been married first to Juan de Saavedra. See Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “Fray Diego de Córdoba y Salinas. Alcance a un artículo,” Revista de Indias, Año XII, No. 48, (Abril-Junio 1952): 343-345. Canedo brings the information of one Inquisitor in Lima who sent a letter to the General Inquisitor in Spain in 1637, stating that both brothers were children of wrong lineages: the Fernández de Córdovas descended from moriscos and the Silvas from Jews. See Canedo, Introducción, XVII. This might have been an attempt to prevent both brothers from receiving the much sought-after title. Buenaventura was appointed calificador in 1637 nonetheless. See AHNM, Inquisición, Leg. 1207, 1637. The “newly-converted” Christian lineage of Doña Juana has been confirmed by the study of Holguín, where he proved that in spite of her “mercantile” origin, her first marriage to Juan de Saavedra ennobled her; with the handsome dowry of 25,000 pesos her father paid, the couple was able to buy for the husband the position of Escribano Mayor. See Holguín, “Don Diego de Salinas,” 45.

\textsuperscript{380} Viceroy Francisco de Toledo refused to appoint Don Diego as Escribano Mayor and the couple Salinas-Córdova, would legally demand Viceroy Count of Villardompardo in 1587 for the salary and benefits they did not get for many years: the staggering figure of 90,000 pesos. See Holguín, Poder, Corrupción y Tortura, 67.
sheds light about the early years of the other brothers. All of the boys were sent to the prestigious school of San Martín run by the Jesuits and later entered the Franciscan convent, where the two elder brothers were followed by young Sancho. Sancho de Salinas –known as Buenaventura after he entered the Order- was appointed page to three viceroyys: the Marquis of Salinas (1596-1603), the Count of Monterrey (1604-1606) and the Marquis of Montesclaros (1607-1615). Under the latter, Sancho performed as Escribano Mayor, making use of the right of his family to the position. The daughters - Mencía and Isabel- married into the Peruvian encomendero and bureaucratic elite.

Mencia de Córdova, born in 1589, married Don Jorge Manrique de Lara, encomendero de Curamba y Huancarama in Cuzco and later oidor of the Audiencia of Charcas and Panama. Isabel de Córdova, married Don José de Cáceres y Ulloa, who later received also the title and rank of Escribano Mayor of the Viceroyalty and was also made on his own right, encomendero of Omate in Arequipa. Canedo thinks there was another

381 Lope, the eldest son of Diego de Salinas and Juana de Silva, was admitted in San Martín on March 19, 1598, when he was thirteen years old; AHN, Catálogo de alumnos del colegio de San Martín, Códices, 242, B. See also Canedo, Introducción, XVIII.

382 Mencia de Silva (or Córdova) declared in 1610, as one of the witnesses in the Canonization cause of Francis Solano, that she was twenty-one years old; AAL, Causa de Canonización de Francisco Solano, Lima 1610. Her husband, Don Jorge Manrique de Lara, was the grandson of Don Hernán González de la Torre and Doña María de Cepeda, sponsors of the Order of Saint Augustine in Lima. See Calancha, Corónica, I, 138.

383 See Holguín, “Don Diego de Salinas,” 45 and Canedo, Introducción, XVIII. See also José de la Puente Brunke, Encomiendas y encomenderos en el Perú (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992), 492. Mencia de Silva and her husband Jorge Manrique de Lara, oidor of Panama, were granted permission to live in Spain for two years to receive medical treatment for different ailments: “…por la falta de medicos y medicinas que ay en aquella tierra, os era fuerca buscar temple donde con comida os pudiesedes curar para cuyo efecto deseavades venir a estos reynos y tambien para informarme de algunas cosas de mi servicio, assi tocentes a la administracion de justicia como a la conservacion y cobro de mi Real Hazienda y fabricas de los castillos…por el plazo de dos anos con retencion de salario y oficio”. JCBL (Providence), Royal Decree, February 12, 1615. Mss. 1-size-BB. S7336 1627.1.
daughter, Magdalena, who entered the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara in Lima, but she was actually a first cousin.\textsuperscript{384}

Everything was promising for the Salinas-Córdoba family until a major scandal threatened the social prospects of this Limenian lineage. Doctor Diego de Salinas was the center of a corruption affair involving some of his associates in mercantile activities in the late sixteenth-century. The viceroy Count of Villardompardo (1584-1589) demanded an investigation, which led to the confiscation of part of Salinas’s property (jewels and silverware) and even worse, the spread of the rumor that he had stolen money from other people. In times in which honor led to credit, Don Diego reacted promptly to defend his credibility. But he did more than defend himself. He actively promoted the circulation in the city of a letter insulting the viceroy of Peru. Salinas was imprisoned and tortured but being a lawyer working for the Inquisition, he managed to seek asylum in the Holy Tribunal until the arrival of the new viceroy, the Marquis of Cañete, in 1589. With the charges withdrawn, Don Diego went to Spain to restore his honor. Unfortunately, Doctor Salinas died from a fever in Cartagena in 1595.\textsuperscript{385} The Salinas family was left with little money and a reputation that had to be socially vindicated by the two surviving male members. This opportunity came with the death of Francis Solano in 1610. The window

\textsuperscript{384} Canedo, Introducción, XVIII. Mother Magdalena de Salinas was quite an entrepreneurial nun. In May 1628, being thirty-two years old, she declared in the process of beatification of Francis Solano, promoted by her cousin Buenaventura de Salinas. She was the daughter of Don Antonio Xuárez de Medina, regidor of the Lima Cabildo and Doña Francisca de Salinas. In 1628 she declared being the owner of “…alguna hazienda de sus padres y que esta en poder de Pedro de Vergara su cunado…” AAL, Causa de Canonización de San Francisco Solano (Lima 1628). In August 1638 she gave power of attorney to a merchant to sell an adult male slave whom she and her sisters owned; AGN (Lima), Notary Bartolome de Cívico, Prot. 2509, year 1638-c, fol. In 1642 she sold for 2,000 pesos and a lot of land, the property of her cell in Santa Clara with Don Fernando Bravo de Lagunas, who acquired it for his daughters and sister; AAL, Monasterio de Santa Clara, Leg. VI Exp. 42, (June 1642) f. 2r. Mother Magdalena put the money in a censo to have a steady income and moved with her other sisters, Juana and Sebastiana, to another cell within the monastery.

\textsuperscript{385} Holguín, Corrupción, poder y tortura, Chapters II and IV.
that opened with the passing of the humble Franciscan was be smartly used by the children of Don Diego to promote their parents. The process of bringing Solano to the altar became a priority for Fray Diego and Fray Buenaventura. The family’s saga and the agenda of the Franciscan Order were from the 1620s onwards linked in the intellectual pursuits of both men.

4.2. From Hagiography to Family History: Fray Diego de Córdova and the Canonization of Francis Solano (1630)

With the death of Francis Solano in 1610, the Franciscan Order started an aggressive campaign to put the humble Spanish friar onto the list of saints of the Catholic Church. The first attempt of doing so was the publication of the hagiographical account written in 1613 by Fray Jerónimo de Oré-a Peruvian Franciscan and member of a Peruvian *encomendero* lineage established in Huamanga- and published in Madrid in 1614. This brief account was based on information provided by the Spanish bishops of the cities where Solano lived prior to his moving to Peru and by some local information gathered in Lima by the Order. In general this hagiographic account is an institutional source that emphasizes the formation of Solano as Franciscan and his missionary experience. However, there is one episode in this narrative that reveals the agency of the

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Salinas family already lurking in Solano’s canonization cause. Among many miraculous and extraordinary aspects of Solano’s life, Father Oré stressed his fellow Franciscan’s ability to read the human mind and the gift of prophecy. This gift was revealed to Solano during the last days of no other than Doña Juana de Córdova, the widow of Doctor Diego de Salinas and the mother of the Franciscan scholars Diego and Buenaventura. In the midst of a feverish state, having spent days without being able to talk, the matron was visited by Francis Solano. After a few minutes of praying on her bedside, Solano eagerly encouraged Doña Juana - in front of family members and two Jesuit priests- not to doubt God’s immense power and goodness. Being asked why he had said that to an agonizing woman, Solano responded that he had read Doña Juana’s mind at the very moment in which she, afflicted by physical suffering, had been tempted by Satan and briefly doubted God’s plan for her.

The episode is one of many with which Oré illustrated the extraordinary personality and life of Francis Solano. However, the inclusion of Doña Juana’s illness is what interests me because behind it there was the attempt of her children - evident in some other familiar episodes included in later narratives- of linking the dishonored memory of Don Diego de Salinas and the questioned Catholic roots of Doña Juana de Silva/Córdova with the would-be first saint in Los Reyes and Spanish America. The next move of the Franciscan Order was to commission a larger biography of Solano that was approved in the General Congregation of 1625 and Fray Diego de Córdova was asked to

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387 There is no evidence of Oré and Córdoba being personally acquainted. We know that in 1620, when gathering information on Peruvian Franciscans for his chronicle, Diego de Córdoba was introduced by Fray Diego Sánchez to Ore’s “Símbolo Católico Indiano” (BNL, Mass. C341). Therefore, the information on Juana de Córdoba’s illness should have been given to Oré by the Order not by her sons.

388 Oré, Relación de la Vida y Milagros, 23.
write it. By then, Fray Diego was already General Chronicler of the Peruvian Province and Apostolic Notary of his Order.\(^{389}\) The new biography of Solano was completed in 1628, the year in which the book was authorized by the Viceroy through Córdoba’s brother in law, José de Cáceres. The work was also approved by Lima’s archbishop, after being read by the influential canon Doctor Feliciano de Vega. Welcomed by such a powerful network of friends, approved by the Prior of the Dominican Order in Lima and celebrated with poetry especially written by Fray Antonio de la Calancha and by the already famous licenciado Pedro de Oña, the work reached the press in 1630.\(^{390}\)

The publication of *Vida, Milagros y Virtudes del Nuevo Apóstol del Perú, el venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano de la seráfica orden de los menores de la regular observancia, Patrón de la ciudad de Lima, cabeza y metrópoli de los estendidos reynos y provincias del Perú*, consecrated Fray Diego as religious historian and made him a well-known author outside Peru. The popularity of this narrative in the Catholic world resulted in the work being translated into three European editions. In 1643, Fray Alonso de Mendieta, another Franciscan, published in Madrid Córdova’s work; the same

\(^{389}\) Archivo del Convento de San Francisco, Lima (ASFL), Letter from Fray Juan de Nápoles to Fray Diego de Córdova (Alcalá 1645). Fray Diego was appointed chronicler of his Order at the early age of twenty-nine years. In Lima in 1630, just after the publication of Córdova’s hagiography of Solano, Fray Lope de Navia as former proctor of the Canonization cause of Francis Solano, declared that Córdova was already “coronista destas provincias.” AAL, *Causa de Canonización de Francisco Solano*, Leg. 3, 1610. Canedo was not sure when was Córdova was appointed chronicler of the province; he thus inferred the date from the works penned by the Franciscan in that decade. Among these works, Canedo pointed out the “anonymous account” of the Dutch attack to Peru, dated in the early 1620s that exists in the British Library. See Canedo, Introducción, XIX-XXI. It might be the case that this was the work that José de la Riva-Agüero attributed to Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, Fray Diego’s brother. See Riva-Agüero, *La Historia*, 245.

\(^{390}\) Córdova, *Vida, virtudes y milagros*. Oña was the author of several epic poems such as “Arauco Domado” (Lima, 1609), “Ignacio Cantábrio,” “El Vasauro” and “El Temblor de Lima de 1609.” The poem included in Córdoba’s first work is titled: *Canción Real del licenciado Pedro de Oña, en que se recogen las excelencias del santo derramadas por este docto libro. Introduce el poeta al río de Lima, hablando con el Tibre de Roma.*
happened in 1676, also at the Spanish court, this time by Fray Pedro de Mena. In that same year, in the aftermath of Solano’s beatification in 1675, Córdova’s hagiography became known in Germany, where after Mendieta’s edition of 1643 and abridged version reached the press. This was actually the first to contain a European illustration of the candidate to sainthood (Illustration No. 4), in which the Patron Saint of many Spanish American cities appeared holding a cross on one hand and baptizing Indians gathered around him. Although we do not know where the engraving was made, it certainly speaks volumes of the enthusiasm for both the “saint” and the narrative after Solano’s beatification. However, it is worth pointing out that the 1630 Lima edition also had an engraving not present in the copy that existed in Peru’s National Library; yet by the description given by Canedo we know it depicted Francis Solano also holding a cross but with a violin in the other hand, suspended in ecstasy over the city of Los Reyes, with two Indians at his feet (Illustration No. 5). This representation of Solano as patron saint appealed to the Limenian creole readership, but probably not as much to European

391 Diego de Córdova, Vida, virtudes y milagros del apóstol del Perú, el venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano de la seráfica orden de los menores de la regular observancia, Patrón de la ciudad de Lima, cabeza y metrópoli de los estendidos reynos y provincias del Perú...y en esta segunda edición añadida por el Padre Fray Alonso de Mendieta de la misma orden calificador del Santo Oficio, Comisario Provincial de la Santa Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú y Procurador de la Ciudad de los Reyes en la causa de canonización del mismo sierbo de Dios Solano (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1643) and Diego de Córdova, Vida, virtudes y milagros del apóstol del Perú el B. P. Fr. Fco. Solano de la Seráfica orden de los Menores de la regular Observancia, Patrón de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos que juraron ante los ilustrísimos arzobispos y obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Córdova... Tercera impresión que saca a la luz el R.P. Fr. Pedro de Mena, Predicador de Su Magestad, Padre de esta Santa Provincia de Castilla y guardián del convento de Madrid (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676). This edition has an additional book of miracles that was not present in neither the 1630 nor the 1643 edition. See Canedo, Introducción, XXIX, XXXIV.

Illustration No. 4
Saint Francis Solano as Patron Saint of the city of Los Reyes

Pedro Rodríguez Guillén
*El Sol y Año Feliz del Perú. San Francisco Solano, Apóstol y Patrón Universal del dicho Reino* (Madrid, 1735)
readers who were more drawn to the missionary work among the heathen rather than to
the political aspects of having Solano been designated patron saint of the vice-regal court.
The 1630 image was again reproduced in a Spanish publication celebrating the
canonization in 1735.393

In the 1630 edition of *Vida, Virtudes y Milagros* Father Córdova dedicated two
chapters to a very detailed description of the miraculous aspects of his mother’s illness.
Chapter 27 describes two episodes not present at all in Ore’s work of 1614. The first one
is Doña Juana de Silva’s vision of her Guardian Angel and the second is her conference
with Father Solano in which she was revealed the date of her death. Chapter 29 is
basically a re-elaboration of the episode narrated by Oré. While having a theological
discussion with the Jesuit Juan Sebastián de la Parra, Francis Solano suddenly scolded
Doña Juana when he realized she had been tempted by the devil, trying to convince her
that being bed-ridden for seven months was a suffering even greater than that of Christ.
Theological implications aside—which show how lenient was Lima’s Inquisition in the
approval of the text and how promptly the powerful network of Córdova’s friends

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393 Canedo, Introducción, XXVIII. The image of the patron saint of Los Reyes had already “lost” the violin
in the late 1680s, when *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol*, the first hagiography dedicated to Toribio de
Mogrovejo, was printed in Antwerp. In the illustration in side that book, Solano along with Saint Rose of
Lima and Archbishop Mogrovejo were presented as the protective triad of Los Reyes. There, both in the
map of Lima, where Solano appears on top of the arms of the city, and in the front illustration the
Franciscan saint is holding solely a cross. See Francisco Echave y Assú, *La Estrella de Lima convertida en
Sol sobre sus tres coronas. El Beato Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo su Segundo arzobispo celebrado con
epitalamios sacros y solemnes cultos por su esposa la santa iglesia metropolitana* (Amberes: Juan Bautista
Verdussen, 1688). The eighteenth-century edition is that of Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, *El Sol, y año feliz del
Perú. San Francisco Solano, apóstol, y patrón universal del dicho reyno* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Casa de
la Viuda de V.M. de Agreda, 1735).
Illustration No.5
Saint Francis Solano converting Indians in Tucumán

promoted it- what interests me here is how the Salinas’s lineage took over the life of Francis Solano and related it for the sake of their own agenda. 

In the documentation gathered by the Franciscan Order to comply with the canonization process as requested by Lima’s archbishopric in May 1629, Buenaventura de Salinas declared that the relationship between Francis Solano and his family was a very close and old one, with Solano constantly spending time at his house. It is very interesting to notice that one year before the publication of hagiography of 1630, the information provided by Córdova’s brother in regard to the acquaintance of Solano and Doña Juana de Córdova, was much more abundant and elaborated than that finally published. In the 1629 declaration, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas gave details regarding his mother’s illness and the episode of Solano reading Doña Juana’s mind while she was comatose that were not present later in Solano’s biographies. Most importantly, Salinas related a miracle which is present neither in Oré’s account nor in the 1630 hagiography; the revelation that the sick woman had from her Guardian Angel that she would go directly to Heaven and all her sins be forgiven. This miracle might have alarmed the censors and most likely it was the miraculous agony of Doña Juana.

394 Córdova, Vida, virtudes y milagros, 185-186.

395 “…declaro este testigo que conoció al santo siervo de Dios por lo que iba a menudo a la casa de sus padres, con quien tenía grande familiaridad y comunicación…declaro que Solano comía y dormía en su casa regularmente y declaro haberlo visto salir del oratorio de su casa con el rostro ‘venerable y lleno de resplandor’ por lo que infiere su comunicación con los ángeles…” AAL, Proceso de Canonización de Francisco Solano, 1629.

396 According to Salinas’s declaration, Father Solano said: “…diga Vuestra Merced señora doña Juana para mayor gloria de Dios lo que se a revelado y la visión que ha visto y dénos a todos las dichosas nuevas que le trae tan lindo y cierto mensajero”. Salinas then declared: “…obedeció la enferma y con suma paz y alegría dijo que había visto al santo ángel de su guarda que con gran regocijo le certificó el perdón de sus
This was, however, not the only story related to the Salinas family. In 1629, Fray Buenaventura also declared that a few months before giving birth, his sister Doña Mencia de Silva y Córdova, wife of the *encomendero* and *oidor* Jorge Manrique de Lara, was visited by Francis Solano who requested to be present at the moment of the child’s birth. When that moment came, Doña Mencia’s life was miraculously saved by the Franciscan, since she was unable to deliver her only son safely; after Solano prayed by her side, the baby was finally born.\(^{397}\) In time, Doña Mencia became one of the active supporters of Solano’s cause, building and decorating the chapel inside the Franciscan church in which the saintly remains were buried and worshipped to promote the cult and her brothers’ cause.\(^{398}\) It is very clear at this point that the whole family was involved in the re-telling of Solano’s life, stressing their own agenda: that of cleansing their parents’ memory and promoting the intellectual affairs of the scholars and brothers. Even a first cousin of the Franciscan brothers -Doña Magdalena de Salinas- declared in 1628 that her religious life as a nun in the convent of Saint Claire in Lima had been prophesied.\(^{399}\)

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\(^{397}\) AAL, *Proceso de Canonización de Francisco Solano*, 1629.

\(^{398}\) A description of the expensive chapel built by Doña Mencia is found in another seventeenth-century account: “ricordandosi quanto era obligata al santo padre Solano per i beneficii da lui ricevuti mentre viveva, volle fabbricare una suntuosa capella nella chiesa del convento di San Francisco, magnificamente doratta, e di belle pitture adornata, e affetuosamente la destino pe’l culto di Dio Francesco Solano. Nel principal loco di essa in alto e posta la imagine de San Buenaventura, sin tanto che la Santa Sede Apostolica determindi la solenne Beatificazione del P. Solano, e piu basso si vede una cassa riccamente lavorata, che iui e preparata pel sacro diposito dello”. See Juan de San Diego Villalón, *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio Fra Francesco Solano* (Roma: Michele Hercole, 1657), 278. The Order also issued an official document authorizing Doña Mencia to remodel the chapel and use it as familiar burial site. See ASFL, Registro No. 31, I-31, 32. After becoming a widow, Mencia de Silva, kept doing business. In 1645, she gave 1800 pesos to the merchant Gregorio Rodriguez Pinto who bought for her merchandise in Panama, “attractive for the taste and needs” of Lima. (AGN, Notary Bartolome de Cívico, 1645-A, Prot. 362, fol. 893).
While promoting the Salinas lineage through the life of Francis Solano, Fray Diego de Córdova also aspired to be recognized as religious historian; consequently the institutional frame of the Order sometimes clashed with the his demands as author. For instance, the 1643 Spanish edition of Solano’s hagiography did not see the public light under Córdova’s name, but rather under that of Father Mendieta’s. This was a request of the Order to facilitate the circulation of information on the Peruvian Franciscan Province in Europe for use by the General Histories of the Franciscan Order. The same happened to a few Franciscan biographies that Córdova wrote and sent to Spain to be included in the General Chronicle by Father Antonio Daza in 1625/1626. A similar situation occurred with the Relación of the Province completed in 1638 and sent to Madrid to be part of the General Chronicle of Tamayo de Vargas, even though Córdova would use this previous work later to complete his chronicle of the Peruvian Franciscan Province. In spite of being locally praised and acknowledged for his erudition and commitment to the Franciscan Order, Father Córdova realized that outside of Peru there were obstacles to have his own name related to his work, out of Peru. It was hard to reconcile his religious obedience and his personal ambitions.

The peak of the conflict for his rights as author was the year 1644, when Father Córdova formally protested before the General Commissary for the Indies, Friar Joseph Maldonado, about his hagiography of Solano being taken out of circulation. The Spanish Inquisition had demanded the collection of the books and the order was promptly executed by the General of the Franciscans, Fray Juan de Merinero. Merinero sequestered the 1643 edition of Francis Solano’s biography in Spain and forbade its circulation in Spanish America even though the edition had made its way to Los Reyes. Córdova asked

\[390\] AAL, *Causa de Canonización de Francisco Solano*, 1628.
the Franciscan Commissary in Madrid to revoke Merinero’s order, arguing that the supposed theological issue found in a “few pages” of his work by the Inquisition judge, Fray Juan de Ocaña, was due to the careless work of the editor Father Mendieta. Furthermore, Córdova argued that he had sent a new manuscript to be published in Madrid as the fourth book of his 1630 edition and accused the General of the Order of not being able to draw a line between Mendieta’s editing and his own intellectual work. Nevertheless, the crates containing the books were kept at the Inquisition’s houses instead of being distributed in Los Reyes. 400

In 1647, Córdova succeeded in getting a new patent from the Commissary for the Indies that authorized the circulation of Mendieta’s edition in the Spanish Empire. Since a formal Inquisitorial process to the book was never opened, however, we do not know whether the “few pages” were strictly related to the narration of Doña Juana’s saintly final moments, but the prophetical skills of Solano should have been part of the theological issue. It is also worth pondering here that Córdova, being a friar and thus subject to a vow of obedience, was well aware of his rights as author beyond the intellectual assignments given to him by the religious corporation. 401 Another aspect that I would like to stress is that in his defense before the Commissary of the Indies, Fray Diego conditioned the success of the fund-raising campaign for the canonization of

400 “…conque todo ha sido confusión y descrérito de su lectura y por esta causa no an corrido los libros y algunos cajones dellos que vinieron de España a esta ciudad aun no se an sacado en publico y allandome agravado deste mandato como principal parte puesto soy el autor de dichos libros y justamente procurador general en estas Indias de la causa y limosnas y que esta patente nada las adelanta sino las desfavorece grandemente…me vi obligado a dar quenta al Padre Comisario General de Indias…” ASFL, Carta de Fray Juan de Durana a Fray Diego de Córdova, 1644, I-6, 27, Reg. No. 6, 1644.

401 Canedo thinks that Father Mendieta did introduce modifications to the 1630 hagiography of Solano by Córdova. However, he thinks these changes were related to style rather than to content and in fact perfected Córdova’s “flawed style.” Canedo apparently missed the letter of 1644 because Córdova gave another interpretation of the sequestered boxes containing the book, placing the incident in the conflict over authority within the Franciscan Order. See Canedo, Introducción, XXXIII.
Solano on the circulation of his hagiography. This seemed to have been a reason powerful enough to lead the Commissary to revoke the patent of the General in June 1646 and face the conflicts coming from such an overlap of jurisdictions. Fray Diego’s personality is clearly revealed in this incident.

Far from being just a humble friar, Fray Diego showed clear assertiveness when it came to protecting his work from the decision made at the highest level of the Franciscan government. In 1642, he had to comply once more with superior orders. In that year, Córdova completed his Epítome a la Historia de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles (the 1638 Relación) and sent it to Rome, along with the fourth book of his hagiography of Solano, to be included in the work of the General Chronicler of the Franciscans, the Irish Friar Luke Wadding. There is no evidence that Father Córdova complained about this request of the Order. The Epítome was already very popular in Lima where it was read and circulated in manuscript. These would be the last works that Fray Diego had to write for another Franciscan and there is no evidence that Wadding used both manuscripts at all, maybe because they were not written in Latin. The following years in the scholar’s life would be those of his consecration as historian. These years also coincided with the

402 Besides the 200 ducats approved by Lima’s Cabildo to help with the canonization cause, there was public fund-raising in charge of the Franciscan Order. In 1681, the Franciscan Proctor of the canonization cause in Lima, Father Obregón, sued the heirs of the Limenian merchant Pedro López de Gárate, for the 8,500 pesos that the dead merchant had bequeathed for Solano’s cause. Because of this document, we know that the Franciscan order aimed at collecting no less than 64,000 pesos, which was the sum needed to speed up the canonization of Saint Peter of Alcántara in Rome a few years earlier. AGN (Lima), Sección Corregimiento (Causas Ordinarias), May 16, 1684. No wonder the written propaganda was much needed.

403 Canedo, Introducción, XXIII. ASFL, Letter from Fray Juan de Nápoles to Fray Diego de Córdova, (Alcala 1645). This is the only reference of the manuscript of the fourth book of Solano’s biography being sent to other Franciscan author out of the Spanish Empire. On Wadding and his writing of the Annales Minorum, for which he was supposed to have made use of the relaciones sent to Rome from all over the world, see Manuel de Castro, “Wadding and the Iberian Peninsula,” in Father Luke Wadding, Commemorative Volume (Dublin: Closemore and Reynolds, 1957).
success of his brother Buenaventura as a scholar abroad, whose fame put Fray Diego in a different light in the eyes of his superiors in Lima.

4.2.1. Maturity works of the Franciscan Chronicler

After completing the 1638 Relación of the Franciscan Province, Fray Diego started working on two major historical projects, those that consecrated him as historian: the Teatro de la Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima completed in 1650 and the massive Franciscan history, Crónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los Doze Apóstoles, published in Lima in 1651. It is very likely that Córdoba wrote both works at the same time since it is possible to detect common topics and borrowings from one to the other. The Teatro was a request of Lima’s Archbishop, Fernando Arias de Ugarte and the Cathedral Chapter and looks very much like an institutional history of the Archbishopric. However, an attentive reading of Córdova’s Teatro reveals a close relationship with the writings of his brother, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, in particular with the Memorial de las Historias Pirú (1630), which I will analyze later in this chapter. The Teatro copies entire paragraphs from Salinas, in particular the description of Lima and its religious and secular institutions. The second aspect that I want to stress is the emphasis placed on promoting the career of Fray Buenaventura in that work. By 1650, Salinas was already living in Mexico, but wanted some propaganda for his role as proctor.

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404 “Esta Relación del teatro de la santa iglesia catedral metropolitana de la insigne ciudad de los Reyes acabe de escribir oy sábado sinco de marco de 1650 con todo ajustamiento a la verdad como la que es según San Agustín el alma de la historia o como dijo Polibio los ojos della. Vuestra Senoria Illustrisima se digne favorecerla...” Diego de Córdova, Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima. New York Public Library, (NYPL), Mss. Coll. 672. This work was a request of the Crown. Similar ecclesiastical histories of Spanish America were produced and sent to Madrid (Royal Decree, November 8th, 1648).

405 Córdova, Teatro, Chapters 1-3.
in Rome where he had secured a piece of the Holy Cross for Lima’s cathedral a year before. Chapter ten of the Teatro, which supposedly was about the virtues of Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez took an unexpected turn when Córdova described the success of his brother at the Papal Court and how because of Salinas’s intervention, the cathedral had acquired the most coveted relic in the Catholic orb.

However, the most interesting aspect of the Teatro is Córdova’s historical revisionism lies in chapter IV, where he dealt with the legacy of Fray Vicente de Valverde. Valverde was for many early chroniclers the best ally of the conquistadors since he called Pizarro’s soldiers to attack Inca Atahualpa and his entourage in Cajamarca. Even though Córdova questioned Valverde in the 1638 Relación, he finally redeemed the bishop in the Teatro and even presented him as a martyr of the early colonial Church, revealing an interesting evolution on the subject. Valverde’s death on the island of Puná off the Ecuadorian coast was presented as Valverde’s martyrdom, since the bishop was supposedly killed while preaching the Gospel to the local Indians. In truth, Valverde had fled Cuzco and was waiting for the King’s envoys to control the rebellion of the Almagristas; he therefore was not doing any pastoral work. Most likely the natives wanted to rob Valverde and his companions. But this episode introduced the reader to a much more compassionate vision of Valverde’s legacy and a complete

406 “Aviendo orado ante Su Sanctidad el muy reverendo padre Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, hijo del insigne convento de San Francisco de Jesús de Lima y natural de la misma ciudad, las glorias de la iglesia catedral de Lima (turquesa dichosisima de santisimos y apostolicos prelados, coronas inmarcesibles de su illustísimo cabildo y hecho relación de las heroicas virtudes de don Fernando Arias de Ugarte, le embio con el mismo fray Buenaventura parte de la cruz santisima…”, Córdova, Teatro, f. 47r.

407 “Algunos autores escriven que el matarle aquellos indios fue por vengarse del por el suceso de Caxamarca, quando aviendo dado el breviar a Atagualpa inga le arroxo el rey gentil en el suelo y el padre Valverde se fue dando voces a los españoles, diziendo los evangelios por tierra Christianos, Justicia de Dios, venganza, a ellos, a ellos que menosprecian nuestra ley…”, Córdova, Teatro, f. 21v.
reassessment of the Conquest. Córdova revised the foundational episode of the Conquest, opposing Garcilaso’s canonical version and defending Father Valverde, arguing that in fact he wanted to protect the Indians; after Atahualpa’s rejection of the breviary, the Dominican shouted: “Do not attack.” Unfortunately, Valverde’s order was not heard by the roar of the Indians yelling at the Spaniards. Had Pizarro heard Valverde, the Dominican would have become a peace negotiator and not the agent for the killing of a ruling sovereign. Furthermore, the *translatio imperii* of the Inca ruler to the Spanish King would have been of a different sort. The revision of Valverde’s role in the Conquest was a very important topic for the creoles, since the way that their homeland had become part of the Spanish Empire was related to the position of the Peruvian viceroyalty along the political spectrum of the composite monarchy.

In these endeavors, Fray Diego was not alone and actually might have changed his position on Valverde because of a very influential character. In 1649, Vasco de Contreras y Valverde completed his manuscript of the history of the Archbishopric of Cuzco. Contreras, a member of Cuzco colonial elite and grandson of Francisco de Valverde, brother of Friar Vicente, presented in a *Memorial* published in Madrid in 1638 a very positive appreciation of his ancestor’s historical performance. Contreras’ revision of the role of Valverde opposed Garcilaso’s version, according to which the Dominican had caused the Spanish attack on Atahualpa’s entourage. The acquaintance in and outside of Peru of Canon Contreras and the Franciscan brothers, of Fray Buenaventura in

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408 “…quien negara siendo esto así que fray Vicente se porto en este caso con secreta inspiración…que si bien no podemos negar se siguieron codicias, muertes, robos y otros excesos que ejecutaron impiamente en los indios los españoles quien negara que con un mesmo rocío del cielo nacen flores y espinas, trigo y pajas oro finissimo y piedras brutas y no por eso se a de excluir la providencia divina en lo que es suyo…” BPRM, Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, *Relación de la gran ciudad del Cuzco de su fundación, descripción vidas de los obispos religiosos y de todo lo demás perteneciente a lo eclesiástico desde el descubrimiento deste reyno hasta el tiempo presente* (1649), Mss II/1280.
particular, might be behind Córdova’s change of view. Yet, there might have been another reason: Contreras’s *Memorial*, presumably written in Quito, was circulated in Lima and was well known by religious scholars; his historical redemption of the polemic figure of Valverde could be understood as *esprit de corps*. On the eve of the Crown’s fiscal victory over the issue of real estate taxes, it made more sense for the corporate colonial Church in Lima to ally, in particular for the powerful Franciscan and Dominican communities, and not expose fissures. Reconciling through the historical figure of Valverde meant for the Orders that they had always been behind the Spanish throne and for the creole community that Spain had gained the Andes militarily and morally.

Another part of the *Teatro* that reveals Córdova’s creole agenda is chapter three, dedicated to the history of Lima’s cathedral. There, the Franciscan chronicler provides information on the history of the main religious institutions in Lima, but takes more space to tell the story of one very influential colonial character who was closely connected to every intellectual activity in the first four decades of the seventeenth-century: Doctor Feliciano de Vega y Padilla. Doctor Vega, a longtime member of Lima’s cathedral before being appointed bishop of Popayán, La Paz and Mexico, was never granted what he probably most wanted: the Archbishopric of Los Reyes. The description of Vega’s last will along with the magnificence of the alms and bequests for poor maidens and priests - more than a decade after his unfortunate death in Cuatitlán (New Spain) on his way to Mexico City to be invested Archbishop, constituted a clear homage to someone who gave the canonical approval to Córdova’s first work and was one of the most ardent defenders

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409 Vasco de Contreras, *Memorial y discurso legal del doctor Vasco Arias de Contreras y Valverde, clérigo presbítero natural de la ciudad del Cuzco en los reinos del Perú* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1638) f. 2r.
of creole rights as well.\textsuperscript{410} Thus, the \textit{Teatro de la Iglesia Metropolitana} went beyond institutional history and actually addressed many of the most sensitive issues for the cohort of religious scholars in the capital of the viceroyalty.

The \textit{opus magna} of Fray Diego was the history of the Peruvian Franciscan Province, the \textit{Corónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco}. Its writing, begun after the completion of the 1638 account, was finished by 1648.\textsuperscript{411} Published in Lima in 1651, the work consecrated Fray Diego as Franciscan chronicler and creole religious historian. Fellow scholars like Bishop Gaspar de Villaroel and the Dominican Fray Cipriano de Medina expressed their admiration for the work and the latter even said in the preface that Córdova and his brother Fray Buenaventura “had added with their scholarly accomplishments more crowns to the city’s coat of arms.”\textsuperscript{412} The chronicle is full of episodes that emphasize the alliance between the Order and the Crown, but contains less historical revisionism and creole advocacy than other similar narratives. There are three reasons for these content decisions. First, it was the official history of the Franciscan Province therefore a more orthodox narrative with less personal interpretations was required and censorship was probably not easily avoided. Second, Father Córdova had to be very cautious with the image that he wanted to leave of his brother Fray Buenaventura in the Order’s history, who by then was a candidate for a few Spanish American

\textsuperscript{410} Córdova, \textit{Teatro}, Chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{411} Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas, \textit{Corónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco}, Fray Lino Gómez Canedo, ed. (Washington DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957). For a full description of the chronicle and its parts as well as Canedo’s assessment on Córdova’s work as religious historian, see Canedo, Introducción, XL.

\textsuperscript{412} Canedo, Introducción, LXXVII.
bishoprics. Fray Diego’s concern to protect his brother’s reputation -even justifications of Fray Buenaventura’s performance in Europe between 1638-1647- is quite evident in the last chapters of the chronicle. Finally, by the time the work was published the relationship between the Orders and the Crown had reached a stalemate and the political content was less notorious in religious narratives since it was clear that the colonial Church had lost influence in the circles surrounding the Most Catholic Throne.413

A small degree of revisionism present in the Corónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles is evident in two topics; first the role of Fray Vicente de Valverde in the Conquest -briefly explored in the Teatro- and second the end of the Inca Empire as caused by an internal crisis. Building upon Canon Contreras’s Relación del Cuzco, Córdova stated that it might have been the truth that Father Valverde called the Spanish soldiers to attack Inca Atahualpa, but Valverde did this out of fear for the life of the Christians. Even accepting the fact that the conquistadors were wrongdoers and that the Conquest could have had a less violent outcome, reported Córdova, God indeed performed a miracle with the conversion of the Andes.414 For Riva-Agüero -who did not know the content of the Teatro and Cordova’s first attempt to vindicate Valverde- this episode was by far the most revisionist episode in the 1651 chronicle. Riva-Agüero overlooked the fact that in revisiting the trauma of the Conquest, Córdova’s version of

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413 Canedo states that the manuscript was ready by 1646 and Cordoba decided to wait for more information coming from the other Franciscan Provinces. It is true Córdoba used accounts sent from Charcas, Chile and even Central America, but in that year his brother Buenaventura had published in Spain his polemic last work in an attempt to justify his career from the accusations made before the Council of the Indies. It seems Fray Diego “sweetened” his work to help his brother. See Canedo, Introducción, XLI.

414 Córdova cited Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca’s Relación of 1542 to explain how God’s will always prevailed over the deeds of wicked men. In the end, Pizarro and Valverde’s acts mattered very little because Providence had already decided the destiny of the Andean people. Córdova seems to be the only Peruvian scholar in that time acquainted with Cabeza de Vaca’s account. Córdova, Corónica, 30, 34.
Cajamarca had in fact closed a cycle in which creole scholars struggled with their colonial past but were still able to construc a version that reconciled the Spanish nation and the Church, that were coping with a violent beginning for colonial Peru.\footnote{Riva-Agüero opposed the kinder view that Córdova had of Valverde in his Teatro, stating that in fact Valverde was fleeing Peru to meet the army of Vaca de Castro when he was killed by the Puná Indians. See Riva-Agüero y Osma, La Historia en el Perú, 248-249.}

The second episode showing Father Córdova’s alternative vision of colonial history was his version of the end of the Inca Empire and the final victory of the Spaniards. Explaining how the Spaniards broke the Indian siege of Cuzco during the rebellion of Manco Inca of 1534, Córdova stated that the victory was due to the intervention of the Virgin. When the Spaniards had been cornered in one building and the structure set on fire by the attackers, an apparition of the Virgin mesmerized the Indians and made them flee. Garcilaso was the first one who attributed that victory to the Virgin, but it seems that both Garcilaso and Córdova had a common source of inspiration in Justus Lipsius’ Miracles of the Blessed Virgin of Halle. In The Miracles, the siege to the Flemish city where the loyal followers of the emperor had sought refuge also came to an end due to the intervention of the Virgin Mary.\footnote{Córdova, Corónica, 40-41. See Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru, Vol. II (Austin and London: Texas University Press, 1996), 801-802 and Justus Lipsius, The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin or an Historical Account of the Original, and Stupendous Performances of the Image Entitled Our Blessed Lady of Halle (London: 1688), 6-8.} As seen in chapter three, the Augustinian chronicler Father Ramos used the template provided by Lipsius to build a narrative abundant in Marian miracles in order to defend the corporate colonial Church. Lipsius, whom Fray Diego did read, was one of the first names in Catholic statecraft; his use by creole religious scholars appealed not only to a common belief in Providential
intervention in history but also to the solution of social and political conflicts by building a strong cohesive society based on one religious confession.

Building upon those lines, Cordova interpreted the end of the Inca Empire as caused by an internal crisis related to idolatry and ignorance of the true religion. This interpretation was also a crafty way to exonerate the Spaniards from the excesses of the Conquest; after all, the end of the Incas had been announced before 1532. Following Garcilaso, Córdova explained the end of the reign of Inca Huayna Capac with a prophetic vision. At the court gathered to celebrate the Sun-God, a royal eagle was seen flying over Cuzco’s main square, chased by falcons. Attacked by the falcons, the eagle succumbed and to fell to earth in the center of the main square. Huayna Capac’s courtiers interpreted the whole incident as a prophecy of the political collapse of the Inca Empire.417 Garcilaso and the Jesuit Oliva backed up the prophecy of the eagle with similar minor details. Córdova however, introduced a new detail, which reveals his fascination with astrology and the movement of celestial bodies in the sky. When the eagle finally collapsed in the middle of the day, the moon extraordinarily appeared in the daytime sky surrounded by three colored circles to which the chronicler gave a precise interpretation: the red circle symbolized the blood that would be shed in the conquest of the Andes. The green circle - green being the color of Islam- symbolized the end of idolatry while the gray symbolized the evaporation of the Indian polity and the beginning of the rule of Spain.418 In the natural realm of celestial bodies, the one controlled by God, the fate of Peru thus had


418 Córdova, Corónica, 42.
already been decided. The violence of Spanish soldiers did not change dramatically the destiny of an already dying empire. The redemption of the people living under Inca rule had been decided by a greater power.

Being the official history of the Order, Franciscan loyalty to the Habsburg Crown had a prominent position in Córdova’s narrative. In this regard, Córdova followed the Augustinian pattern in the political use of martyrdom as a narrative strategy. In the Teatro of 1650, Fray Diego had already dedicated a few paragraphs to praise the Franciscan missionary work in the eastern Andean slopes as well as the death of at least three Franciscans by the natives living east of the province of Tarma that is known as the Panataguas. The Franciscan settlement started in 1627; the killing of Fathers Christoval Larios and Gerónimo Ximénez by the arrows of the Autis and the Ciguas while trying to establish a permanent mission happened about a decade later. By 1641 three other Franciscans were missing and probably also killed by the Indians, revealing a very unsuccessful missionary settlement. For Córdova, the death of the missionaries was a clear signal from Heaven that the missionary expansion of the Franciscan Order to the eastern Andean slopes had been approved by God. In the context of the campaign of the Archbishop of Lima against Andean idolatry, Córdova’s narrative aimed at strengthening the public image of his Order as an active missionary force.

This might be an earlier case of a scientific mind, what Glacken has called the practice of “physico-theology,” that characterized the union of natural science and theology before the arrival of “secular science” with Newton-Galileo-Kepler. Córdova and Calancha previously that were particularly interested in celestial bodies and placed on a divinely articulated nature -which they did not want to explain but simply admire- their expectations for the resolution of political conflicts. See Clarence J. Glacken, Traces from the Rhodesian Shore. Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1990), 392-394.

Córdova, Corónica, 69, 88.

Córdova, Teatro, f. 91r.
The narration of the killings of the Franciscans reveals that the area was also desired by the Dominicans, evidencing an overlap of missionary control. In December 1637, Fathers Gerónimo Jiménez and Cristobal Larios, along with the Dominican Fray Tomás de Chaves, entered the Panatagua region in the Eastern Andes and sailed the river near Quimiri. Left alone by the Dominican friar who was forced to go back due to illness, the Franciscans continued their journey until they were attacked by the Indians shooting arrows at the rafts. Father Larios knelt down on the raft and died on the spot from an arrow and a blow to the head at the hands of the local cacique, Don Andrés Zampati. Father Larios, who was walking along the river, was also killed by the arrows. Next, the bodies of the priests were stripped off and their possessions distributed among the killers who drank chicha (corn liquor) in Larios’s chalice to celebrate.\textsuperscript{422} The story is strikingly similar to the one told in 1653 by Bernardo de Torres about the death of the Augustinians among the Chunchos of the Moxos region.\textsuperscript{423} It also reveals the presence of witnesses who were able to identify the killers and the way that the missionaries lost their lives. Ethnographic research on the peoples of the area would probably render interesting information on conflicts between the Franciscan and these semi-sedentary indigenous peoples. Details like distributing the vestments and drinking from the chalice of the missionaries added to the drama of the narrative in order to stress the sacrifice of the Order in the colonial frontier.

Later in the second book of the chronicle, Fray Diego told another moving story of Franciscan proto-martyrs. The events took place in the late sixteenth-century, but again

\textsuperscript{422} Córdova, Corónica, Second Book, Chapter XXX, 449-450.

\textsuperscript{423} Torres, Crónica, ff. 319-334.
the pattern set for the Augustinian missionaries of 1629 was followed by Fray Diego. In the mission towns of Yuti and Gasape and on the Eastern Andean slopes as well, Fathers Juan de San Bernardo and Luis Bolaños were killed by the hands of enraged local Indians. After hanging both Franciscans from a tree, Father San Bernardo miraculously kept preaching to his murderers. The Indians then opened his chest and took the heart, which was later thrown to the fire. The miraculous, yet gruesome, circumstances of Fray Juan preaching even though he was hanged and without a heart, led-as in the case of the Augustinians- to the even more miraculous circumstance of a saintly heart jumping out of the fire to avoid its physical destruction. This story, however, drew from another and earlier account published in 1643. It was the story of the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionary Diego de Tapia by the Sonoran Indians in Mexico in 1568. Andrés Pérez de Ribas, author of the History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith, most certainly inspired the format of the martyrdoms in Torres and Córdova as well as similar narratives of fellow Jesuits. In the age of missionary martyrdom, symbols exercised a powerful effect on Catholic readership. The loftier the symbolism, the more compelling the narrative of religious chronicles for both pious readers and state-makers. Roy Porter has pointed out that according to Aristotelian Scholastic teachings, which these scholars as Theologians certainly shared, the flesh -understood as the body and its organs- was the instrument of the soul. Therefore, the living heart in these narratives symbolized

424 Córdova, Corónica, Chapter XXIV, 653-654.

425 After being killed, Tapia’s head and left arm were cut. The Indians tried to burn the arm, but it kept coming out of the fire intact. The Indians used Tapia’s head as a chalice to mock the Holy Mass. See Andrés Pérez de Ribas, History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith amongst the most Barbarous and Fierce Peoples of the New World, Daniel T. Reff, ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 125-126.
Franciscan flesh, whose soul never died. I have also stressed before the importance of the symbolism of the heart in Baroque Catholic culture, the place in which both Christ and humanity would be reunited, something that Fray Diego had already proposed in his account on the miracle of Eten in 1649.\textsuperscript{427}

Nonetheless, the climax in Córdova’s history was the presentation of his Order as the guardian of the Crown, evident in the Franciscan participation in the fight against the Dutch fleet of Jan Spielberghen who raided the coast of Peru in July 1615. As told in the second book of the chronicle the fleet that viceroy Montesclaros put together to reject the Dutch attack had four Franciscans on board: Father Bernardo de Gamarra as chaplain, Father Cristóbal Ruiz, Father Alonso Trujillo and a later candidate to beatification, Father Juan Gómez.\textsuperscript{428} The presence of Franciscans in a Spanish vessel was not exceptional, considering that it was customary to have members of the clergy on board to attend to the spiritual, medical and even technical needs of crew and passengers. The real novelty was the fact that according to Córdova, when the Dutch tried to disembark in Cañete, a small port south of Los Reyes, they were rejected by the ill-prepared Spanish \textit{armada}. In spite of a few Spanish casualties, the vice-regal forces won the battle and forced the attackers to flee. As a consequence of the clash between Catholics and heretics, the \textit{Almiranta} – the main vessel of the Pacific fleet- went down into the waters with Father Trujillo on board.


\textsuperscript{427} For the symbolism of the heart, see Scott Manning Stevens, “Sacred Heart and Secular Brain,” in David Hillman and Carla Mazio, eds., \textit{The Body in Parts. Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe} (Routledge: London and New York, 1997), 264 and Fray Diego de Córdova, \textit{Relación de un niño hermosísimo que fue visto en la hostia consagrada la víspera de la fiesta del corpus a dos de Junio deste presente año de 1649 en la iglesia del Pueblo de Etem, diócesis del obispado de Truxillo del Perú} (Lima: Jorge López de Herrera, 1649).

\textsuperscript{428} Córdova, \textit{Corónica}, 376.
holding a crucifix and wounded by the Dutch fire. The death of yet another martyr did not excite the Franciscan historian as much as the fact that the naval battle and its victorious outcome were announced by a mysterious celestial phenomenon. The night before the battle of Cañete, Fray Juan Texada -an old Franciscan living in the convent of Ica- saw in the sky the clash of two comets, one coming from the north and the other coming from the south. After the comets clashed, “tongues of fire” filled the evening sky and once the sparks were gone, the image of a white man with his head shaved like that of a monk and his arms crossed over his chest, wearing solely a loincloth, was visible in the starry sky. The peaceful vision was interpreted by the old witness as a prophecy of the death of Father Trujillo and the Spanish victory the next morning.429

Many interesting aspects have to be considered to decode the meaning of this prophetic episode.430 First, the Franciscan ability to foresee the future and read a celestial phenomenon was found in Father Texada, whom Francis Solano predicted would become a member of the Order. Second, it was not by chance that the author chose to include a comet in the narrative. In the early modern period, comets were popularly thought of as

429 “Fray Juan Techada…que siendo en el siglo rico, encomendero de indios en la provincia del Tucumán, le profetizó el santo Padre fray Francisco Solano su muerte en la Religión…antes de morir hizo ante mi su declaración…que la noche antes se diese la batalla naval…estando este declarante en el patio del convento de San Antonio de la villa de Ica, vido cerca de las nueve horas de la noche que, se levantaba de la parte del Callao y ciudad de Lima un cometa en forma de fuego, que, despidiendo centellas pasó velozmente al paraje de Cañete donde ya avía llegado otro cometa proveniente del sur (estrecho) y en un tiempo se embistieron y encontraron de donde procedió que de ambos se hizo una gran bola de fuego y con notable presteza deste globo o bola se formó un cuerpo humano de un hombre desnudo, muy blanco quedando la cabeza la parte del Callao y los pies a la parte de Arica y Chile…,” Córdova, Corónica, 377-378, 491.

430 In the Franciscan tradition prophecies were used within historical narratives to link Franciscan issues and the real world. This was particularly clear since the Late Middle Ages, when the Order grew significantly and became itself powerful. One example is the chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, in thirteenth-century Italy, in which the author’s own prophetic visions were connected to imperial affairs and the Franciscan identity. See Alison Williams Lewin, “Salimbene de Adam and the Franciscan Chronicle” in Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duane J. Osheim, eds., Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 2007), 91.
heavenly envoys that announced tragic changes (e.g. death of kings and wars). A Catholic reading would render a more positive meaning, which in this case was twofold: the Franciscans were enemies of heresy but also an armed squadron of the Spanish Crown, “servicing both majesties, the Human and the Divine.” As already seen in the first chapter, the Dutch peril was understood as both political and confessional; thus the Order had proved to be suitable for fights at both in the internal and external frontiers of the Spanish American dominions. Ultimately, the Franciscan friar seen in the sky the night before the battle was a prophecy that symbolized the future colonial corporate Church as shield and soldier of the King’s treasure and subjects. Even though the Franciscan, Father Texada was killed in military action, he became -like other martyrs of the colonial Church- immortal.

The conflict between religious corporations and the Crown was unquestionably present in all of Córdova’s works, but the extent to which the author decided to explore and elaborate on them was determined by local and imperial contexts. At the end of his Franciscan history, Córdova introduced the reader to the conflicts of power and authority within the Peruvian Franciscan Province in the early 1640s that described the overlap of functions of the Provincial and the Commissary of the Province. This moment in the history of the Order was related to the very sensitive issue of prelacy and quotas of creoles and Spaniards in the higher levels of Franciscan administration, an issue Fray Diego had explored briefly at the end of his 1630 biography of Francis Solano. I will

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delve deeper into this episode later in the chapter in an analysis of the performance of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas in the whole affair. This particular issue of the prelacy, rather than a story of conflicts among priests, has to be read and understood as part of the creole agenda, as how creole religious scholars benefitted from a larger conflict taking place outside Peru in order to affirm their local rights. The exchange of documentation between the Franciscan Peruvian Province and the office of the General Commissary in Madrid and the General Franciscan Curia in Rome reveals a larger conflict between the and papacy, as well as the Crown’s intervention in Franciscan affairs in this period.

The last years of the official chronicler of the Franciscan Order were full of hard work and also well-deserved recognition. Fray Diego’s cell in the convent of Saint Francis the Great in Los Reyes became the final destination of written accounts coming from all over the viceroyalty of Peru. There, the quill of the chronicler of the Franciscan Order would turn straightforward narratives, even administrative reports, into compelling and poignant stories aimed at strengthening the relationship between the Crown and the Franciscan Order. While complying with the Order’s requests, Fray Diego was also able to express his own ideas, support his own lineage and defend his rights as an author who went beyond the limits of a mere official chronicler. Unfortunately, his life came to an

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433 Córdova, *Vida, virtudes y milagros*, 283-284. See Chapter XX, “Dificultades sobre la Inteligencia de unos Breves Apostólicos de las Incorporaciones de los Religiosos de que se ocasionaron disturbios en la Provincia”, Córdova, *Corónica*, 1116-1128. A few years before, Córdova wrote an earlier account on this issue. See BNP, B 351, Fray Diego de Córdova, *Relación hecha por el Predicador Padre Fray Diego de Córdoba, cronista general y notario apostólico en todas las provincias del Perú de la orden de nuestro padre San Francisco acerca de las dificultades y penalidades que se levantaron sobre la inteligencia del breve del Papa Clemente VIII que dio en favor de las Provincias de las Indias* (Lima, 1646).

434 Fray Lino Canedo, Córdova’s modern editor, thought the Franciscan chronicler conceived his work as something to be read only within the Order and therefore focused his critique on Fray Diego’s style which, Canedo argued, could have been lighter considering that it was supposed to teach young priests. This is an extrapolation of contemporary assumptions on readership that I do not think apply to seventeenth century
end sometime in the early 1650s, before he could complete the revision of the manuscript for the second edition of his Franciscan history that he intended to publish in Spain. He would have liked to know that his work was later translated into German and Italian and that he had contributed significantly to the canonization of Francis Solano, which finally occurred in 1725. The last honor he received in life was the recognition of his Order as “Father of the Province” for his long and fruitful years of work in January 1647.

4.3. The Creole Agenda of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova

Fray Buenaventura de Salinas was one of the most important, conflictive and attractive characters of seventeenth-century Peru. He embodied all the characteristics of a colonial scholar: wit, fame and disgrace. José de la Riva-Agüero said of Father Salinas that he was merely an “ambitious friar” and I think he was right, but for the wrong reasons. Salinas was not ambitious solely for the sake of vanity, power or money. He certainly did not seek the latter, but he flirted with the former two. Above all, Salinas wanted to be heard and be part of the debate on the political rights of Peruvian creoles and in particular of the members of the benemérito class, his own class. His life and career knew all sort of rewards and bitter moments alike; and even though he was not as

religious scholarship intended to reach a wider audience. Religious history allows scholarship to go beyond the boundaries of a religious corporation as colonial scholars wanted. See Canedo, Introducción, XLIV.

435 No evidence of Fray Diego has been found in the Franciscan archives after April 1654. He might have died shortly afterwards. Canedo, Introducción, XXVI. A part of the manuscript for the second edition, with Córdova’s additions to book six, has survived in the Archive of the convent of San Francisco. See ASFL, Registro 17, No. 16.

436 ASFL, Registro 3.

437 Riva-Agüero, La Historia en el Perú.
productive as his brother Fray Diego de Córdova, he certainly had a deeper impact on later generations of Peruvian scholars and his ideas have received more attention from contemporary scholarship.\footnote{In the late seventeenth century, after Fray Buenaventura had died, he was often quoted in treatises dealing with Indian labor in the mines. One example is the work of Nicolás Matías Del Campo y de la Rinaga, \textit{Flores Peruanas, Históricas, Políticas, Jurídicas, recogidas en tres memoriales consagradas al eminenteísimo Don Pasqual de Aragón, arzobispo de Toledo, gran canciller de Castilla, embajador en Roma, Inquisidor General} (Madrid: Mateo de Espinosa, 1673). In the eighteenth century Fray Buenaventura was quoted in the work of the Peruvian savant Llano Zapata. See José Eusebio del Llano Zapata, \textit{Memorias Físico Apológicas de la América Meridional} (Lima: Imprenta de San Pedro, 1904), 74. Salinas has been defined by the distinguished British historian David Brading, as an example of conflicted creole patriotism. See David Brading, \textit{The First America. The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 315 and “Patria e Historia: tríptico peruano,” in Ramón Mujica, ed., \textit{Visión y Símbolos. Del virreinato criollo a la república peruana} (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2006), 2.}

The beginnings of the life of Sancho de Salinas, born circa 1592, were marked by the scandal which brought disgrace upon his father and eventually his death. However, Doña Juana de Córdova was able to secure for Sancho and his brothers a good education at the Jesuit school of San Martín. We know that at age nine, Sancho was already serving as page in the vice-regal palace. We do not know about his performance as a young courtier, but in that capacity he was close to the vice-regal administrations of the Marquis of Salinas, the Count of Monterrey and the Marquis of Montesclaros. At some point before Montesclaros left office, young Sancho was also appointed \textit{Secretario de la Governación}, a position that had been purchase by his mother’s first husband.\footnote{Buenaventura de Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto del Padre Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba de la Orden de San Francisco, Lector Jubilado...representa las acciones propias y la estimación con que ha servido a Su Magestad y a su Religión} (Madrid?, 1646), ff. 25r.-27r.}

According to the documentation kept in the archives of the convent of San Francisco in Lima, Sancho de Salinas professed no earlier than 1616 and the first biographical
information of the novice is dated 1619.\textsuperscript{440} Surely by 1619, being twenty-five years old, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas -Sancho’s religious name- was already wearing the Franciscan habit. He was twenty-four years old when he entered religious life after Montesclaros left Lima, quitting the position of Secretario Mayor of the viceroyalty.\textsuperscript{441}

Unfortunately we know nothing about Salinas’s first years in the Franciscan Order, but they were certainly the years in which many future projects were born in daily acquaintance with his brother and many other scholars in the city. In 1626, he was asked to read the manuscript of a fellow Franciscan, published a year later.\textsuperscript{442} In these years, Father Salinas also began a three-year appointment to teach Latin grammar and later Theology, in the Franciscan seminary.\textsuperscript{443} It was not until 1629, being thirty-seven years old, that Father Salinas became again a public figure in the city of Los Reyes. On the commemoration of the death of twenty three Franciscan martyrs in Japan, Fray Buenaventura delivered a sermon in the church of San Francisco, that according to his contemporary Juan Antonio Suardo impressed the whole city.\textsuperscript{444} Two years later, he preached again with great success on the occasion of the funeral mass for Fray Juan

\textsuperscript{440} Unfortunately, the pages with the information on Salinas are missing. There is a brief note in the records on this regard. ASFL, Registro No. 4, Información sobre limpieza de sangre de Sancho de Salinas. Salinas declared being fifty-four in 1646 when he published his last Memorial in Spain.

\textsuperscript{441} Later in his life, Salinas will state that although Montesclaros’s succesor knew that Sancho had been appointed Secretario, young Salinas decided to follow God’s call. In fact, he was under legal age to perform as secretary. It is not clear whether Esquilache removed Salinas from that position because of the age issue. See Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, 26v, 27r.


\textsuperscript{443} Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, 35r.

Moreno Verdugo, the former Franciscan provincial and did the same at the funeral mass of the Marquis of Guadalcázar, former viceroy of Peru and one of his mentors. By then Fray Buenaventura was already working on his first and most polemic work, the *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú* that was published in Lima in 1630. This was not the result of isolated scholarly work. On the contrary, evidence points in the direction of a very active discussion of the text in Lima, even before the manuscript was ready for the press. The interest in the work expedited its approval at many levels of colonial administration. In February 1630, the text received the official approval of the Viceroy Count of Chinchón, through his Secretary, Joseph de Cáceres, Father Salinas’s brother-in-law. In June, the canonical approval was given by the Archbishopric of Los Reyes, after the work was read by no other than Doctor Feliciano de Vega y Padilla, champion of creole scholars. Finally, in September of the same year, the University endorsed the manuscript. It was clear that all those years in the convent had not made Fray Buenaventura a less influential figure in the political milieu of his native city.

4.3.1. The *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú* (1630)

In his autobiographical account published in Spain around 1646, Fray Buenaventura reported that his work as *Secretario de la Governación*, allowed him to conduct research in the archives of the viceroyalty and to study the corpus of legislation issued since Pizarro’s days. These studies made him realize the importance of the *encomiendas* as the institutional cornerstone of the colonial system; therefore he

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*Suardo, Diario, 149.*

discussed this institution to some extent in his first published work, the *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú*. By the time of its publication however, the work was promoted as an historical description of the excellence of the city of Los Reyes in which the saintly life of Francis Solano had flourished. But the life of the Franciscan candidate to sainthood was not fully developed in the book, with the exception of a brief mention of the importance of the cause in the third part. Most of the *Memorial de las Historias* was in fact dedicated to the *beneméritos*’ claims over prelacies, appointments in the colonial administration, and as said before, the revamp of the *encomienda*. The first book elaborated on the doctrine of distributive justice and opposed the wealth given by the viceroyalty of Peru to the Spanish Crown for the sake of the Catholic cause to the deserving graduates of Lima’s university. In this way, Salinas built his argument on the works of Canon Luis de Betancurt and Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, which as seen before stressed the importance of a fluid exchange between Spanish American silver and the King’s generosity.

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448 “Para inclinar a la Magestad de Su Catolico Monarca Don Felipe IV…a que pida a Su Santidad la canonización de su Patrón Solano.” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 1630.

449 “...hablo como apasionado hijo, por el amor de la patria; a causa de que los que menos le deven al Peru son los nacidos de su propio vientre, porque ni el calor del premio los anima, ni la possession de las riquezas los alimenta, y assi se crian flacos y sin fuerzas, tomando del oro, solo el color de su amarillez y hambre con que viven por darlo todo a su rey.” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 86.

In spite of the approval given to the book, the publication of the *Memorial of 1630* was not an easy process after all. The work was probably printed by the end of that year, but as Warren Cook has pointed out, the differences between the two surviving copies of the *Memorial de las Historias Pirú* reveal that the copies that circulated in Lima prior to the trip of Salinas to Madrid in 1638 differed from the one that the author wanted to print at the Spanish court, in which there is a dedication to the King but none of the local permissions present in the Limenian imprint.\(^{451}\) Moreover, in the Library of the Royal Palace in Madrid, there is a partial manuscript of the *Memorial*, mainly the description of the city of Lima. This could have been either a copy that Salinas took with him to Spain or even one he sent beforehand.\(^{452}\) This Madrid manuscript may be the link to Father Salinas’s struggle to publish his first work in the peninsula. Some Royal decrees regarding the *Memorial de las Historias* shed light on the sequence of the production of the manuscripts and certainly, on the interesting figure of Fray Buenaventura.

In 1635, five years after the publication in Lima of the *Memorial*, Father Salinas was living in Cuzco. On the festivity day of Easter, he was asked to deliver a sermon in Cuzco’s cathedral. To the surprise and anger of the Bishop, Fray Fernando de Vera, Salinas used the pulpit to denounce the abuses of parish priests and *corregidores* on the Indian population. Later in his life, Salinas would argue that he was so shocked to witness the rows of Indians travelling through the Cuzco countryside to the local markets,


\(^{452}\) The manuscript was discovered by Bronner. See Fred Bronner, “Acerca de un manuscrito olvidado del ‘Memorial’ de Fray Buenaventura de Salinas,” *Revista de Indias*, 84 (July-December 1977): 235-240. The manuscript is not exactly the published text in Lima or the imprint in the British Library. There are a few differences in the thematic order and even some topics missing but it is undoubtedly Salinas’s text of the second discourse in the 1630 *Memorial*. BPRM, Mss. II-2579.
with loads of produce on their shoulders to sell and pay for the demands of Spanish authorities that he needed to speak out. But Salinas’s sermon dealt not only with the abuses of corregidores but also with the excesses of the secular clergy, under direct supervision of Bishop Vera. The day of the sermon, February 28th, 1635, Bishop Vera wrote to the King to inform him that the preacher had even dared to say that Philip IV “ruled like a tyrant,” “taking the silver” and giving rewards to “newcomers and courtiers, thus neglecting the children of the conquistadors.” In a second letter to the King, dated April 7th, 1635, the Bishop reported that he had opened a formal process against Salinas for treason and had looked for witnesses who were willing to declare. But the benemérito and Franciscan networks of Father Salinas proved more efficient and faster than the actions of the bishop. The Franciscan Provincial, Father Jiménez, relatives and friends in Los Reyes, provided enough witnesses who swore to the solid loyalty of Fray Buenaventura to the Crown, thereby minimizing the Bishop’s accusations.

The next move of the Franciscan Order was to ask for the viceroy’s permission in 1636 in order to send Father Salinas to Spain to attend the Order’s affairs as Proctor of the canonization cause of Francis Solano. In 1637 the mission was confirmed by the Provincial Chapter in Lima. On that occasion, Salinas was also made Definidor of the Peruvian Province in the General Chapter of the Order in Rome to be celebrated in

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453 Salinas, Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto, 42v, 44r.

454 The letter is transcribed in Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 32-33.

455 Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 34-35.
Finally, the Cabildo of Lima voted to make Salinas Proctor of Solano’s canonization cause on behalf of the city. Last but not least, Archbishop Fernando Arias de Ugarte named Fray Buenaventura his personal delegate *ad visitanda Limina Apostolorum* before the Pope. All these institutional endorsements to the priest, that the Bishop of Cuzco wanted to send to Spain in chains, secured his presence at both the Papal court and the Franciscan curia. Most importantly, they reveal not only Salinas’s popularity among his own class, but also the prompt response of Lima’s political and social elite to defend one of its members.

Royal justice moved at a much slower pace. Upon receiving the first letter of the bishop, a Royal Decree was issued in April 1637 in which the King ordered both Bishop Vera and Viceroy Chinchón to send Father Salinas discreetly to Madrid, where he had been “summoned” by the Franciscan Commissary of the Indies, always acting by orders of the Council. When the royal summons reached the Peruvian viceroyalty in 1638, the Bishop of Cuzco complained first that it was late and second that his efforts had been blocked by Salinas’s network. In turn, the Viceroy apologized for not being able to act, saying that when the Royal Decree reached Lima, the Franciscan Order had already invested Salinas with powers of representation as Proctor and that by then, the priest was probably already in Madrid. The Royal Decree of 1637 proves that the King was indeed alarmed by the sermon as well as by the tone and content of the 1630 *Memorial de las Historias*. The Decree explicitly mentioned Salinas’s work in which according to the royal words- the Franciscan “had shown little affection for his sovereign in a book that he

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456 Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 35.
tried to print.” 457 Father Salinas never knew that the effects of the Royal Decree of 1637 would send him into exile for the rest of his life.

The exchange of decrees and letters, accusations and protestations of innocence, reveal one thing: Fray Buenaventura was an agitator but not an easy one to silence. The city of Lima, his Order and his class joined together to prevent his dishonorable exile and the censorship of his work. The Royal Decree of 1637 had clearly stated that Father Salinas “tried to print,” which might explain why there are so few surviving copies of the Limenian edition of 1630, another one now in London and the partial manuscript of Madrid. It is not clear whether the decree referred to an attempt of publication in Lima or in Madrid. The imprint in London and the manuscript of the Royal Palace seem to lead in the direction of an attempt to publish the 1630 Memorial in Madrid. Assuming that the book was printed and circulated in Lima, once the Royal Decree of 1637 reached the city the book was obviously taken out of circulation. What is very clear is the reason why the book was rejected. It is a highly political text, containing historical revisionism but also unfavorable criticism of the government of the Prime Minister Conde-Duque de Olivares. This issue in particular was boldly phrased in the third book when Salinas, following the critical vision of Giovanni Botero on political Tacitism, elaborated upon a harsh critique on the Prince as to his being influenced by advisors and courtiers rather than by the Church. Kingdoms, stated Fray Buenaventura, could not be properly ruled when a King falls asleep. A dormant Prince was not a good ruler and even worse if the King’s sleep

457 Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 36-37; Avencia Villarejo, Los Agustinos en el Perú y Bolivia (Lima: Ausonia, 1965), 248 and Emilio Lisson, La Iglesia de España en el Perú, Vol. VI (Sevilla, 1946), 173. The Royal Decree ordering the bishop and the viceroy to send Salinas to Madrid is reproduced in Lisson.
was watched by the Minister who wanted the monarch’s ruin. That was arguably the boldest critique ever expressed in Spanish America against the ruling of Philip IV and the government of his Prime Minister Olivares. The career of Father Salinas as a Catholic statecraft ideologue had begun.

The *Memorial de las Historias Pirú* is one of the most complex of Salinas’s works, one in which he blended an incredible awareness of international politics and regional demands. It is hard to summarize such a rich piece of colonial criticism, but I will concentrate on those topics that Fray Buenaventura would touch again in the other two *Memoriales* that he wrote: the question of Indian labor and the rights of creoles. A careful reading of the 1630 *Memorial de las Historias* reveals a particular vision of the Indian question. Salinas did indeed ask for protection of the Indians who were affected by mining drafts but not necessarily all of them or their exemption from other forms of labor contribution. Yet, the main issue denounced in 1630 is the effect of colonial labor on the decline of Indian population and through Salinas’ phrasing, we are able to have an idea of

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458 “Reinar es velar. Quien duerme no reina (dixo otra voz mas valiente que la mia), y rey que cierra los ojos, da la guarda de sus ovejas a los lobos. Y el ministro que guarda el sueno del rey, lo entienda vivo, no le sirve, porque lo infama; no le descansa, porque cuando le guarda el sueno, le pierde la honra y la conciencia: y estas dos cosas traen apresurada su penitencia, con la ruina, y desolucion de los reinos. Rey, que duerme (dixo un gran politico) govierna entre suenos, y quando mejor le va, suena que govierna. De modoras y letargos de principes adolecieron muchas republicas y grandes monarquias se acabaron. Ni basta que el rey tenga los ojos abiertos. Y los de aca velan con los ojos cerrados, la noche, y la confusion seran duenos del Piru, y no llegaran alla con tiempo las advertencias, que importan.” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 297.

459 Botero was much concerned with the preservation of the princely state, especially if threatened by bad or mediocre ruling. However, he despised a state-centered notion of Tacitism as the solution because of its Machiavellian tendency. In that regard he opposed Lipsius who defended Tacit’s vision of a strong monarchy. See Kenneth Schellhase, “Botero, Reason of State and Tacitus,” in Enzo Baldini, *Botero e la Ragion di Stato* (Firenze: Leo Olschki editore, 1992), 243-257; Robert Bireley, *The Counter-reformation Prince. Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 53 and Peter Burke, “Tacitism, Scepticism and Reason Of State,” in *Cambridge Histories Online* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 474-490.
the tone of the sermon of 1635. The mining labor draft of the mercury mines of Huancavelica -key component for processing raw silver in Potosí- was harshly condemned by the Franciscan scholar who presented the devastating social and physical consequences of the *mita* at Huancavelica. Not only were the Indians affected by the toxic fumes inside the mine shafts, but once they returned to their hometowns their lives were over. To make his narrative more convincing, Fray Buenaventura told the story of an ailing Indian returning to his native Jauja in Central Peru after completing his time in the mercury mines. Upon knowing that his wife was dead, his lands had been occupied by others and his children were unattended, the Indian miner realized that the *mita* had destroyed his life and that the system had already condemned to death his sons, soon to be drafted. The Indian took the children outside of the town and strangled them.

The dramatic narrative notwithstanding, Father Salinas offered a technical solution to the tragic situation described above. He did not oppose the silver mining industry -even though he was also a hard critic of the use of American silver for European endeavors- but thought it would be better to import mercury, as indeed happened in the eighteenth century. The import of the mineral from Germany and even China would be the solution for the social issues of the uprooted and poisoned Indians. Taxes on this segment of colonial population would pay the cost of this import. Since

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460 “…yo dire gritando hasta que muera, que es mas cruel y mas terrible que un mundo entero se acabe y se carcoma que pierda Dios sus derechos y provechos, que le quiten a la Iglesia sus triunfos que perezcan infinitas almas de gentiles convertidos a la fe, del cargo de Vuestra Magestad…..no es razon, ni justicia, ni valentia matar callando a infinitos inocentes, ni amargarme a mi que trato de avisarlo, que esconderan lo que escrivo los que pierden interes…..” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias Pirú*, 281.

the natives were no longer subject to the violence of the mercury *mita*, they would be free to work, growing crops and therefore earning money. Still the burden of paying for the supply of mercury would rest exclusively on the indigenous population. Nevertheless, the mining system was not the only threat for the Peruvian Indians. Along with their release from the mercury mines, the Indians would also be free from the pressure of corrupted *corregidores*, whom, eager to make money, usually imposed on them extra economic burdens. Following the work of *licenciado* Juan Ortiz de Cervantes published in Madrid in 1619, Salinas asked for the abolition of the *corregimientos* and the return of the Indians to the exclusive control of the *encomenderos*.\(^{463}\) Far from being agents of the Royal Justice, the *corregidores* had become agents of their own interests, using the money from the Indian parishes and the tribute of the *encomenderos* to pay for their own commercial activities. Protecting the native population and going back to the old system, claimed Salinas, would yield substantial economic benefit for the Spanish Crown.

\(^{462}\) “Eso mismo han avisado por sus cartas de algunos anos a esta parte los ultimos…virreyes del Pirú, marques de Guadalcazar y conde de Chinchón. Porque por la falta de indios, nunca pudo el marques haber el Nuevo asiento que hazen los virreyes con los mineros de Huancavelica y suplico ahincadamente a Su Magestad le mandase embiar de Alemania por quatro anos en cada armada quatro mil quintales de azogue (que es la mitad de los ocho mil que los indios sacan de las dichas minas, para el beneficio de la plata) porque si su antecesor el príncipe de Esquilache y el avian hallado doce mil quintales de azogue en caldo sobre la haz de la tierra, pero que acabados estos no podrian enviar la plata que avian embiado los demas virreyes si Su Magestad no le socorria con los dichos quatro mil quintales porque ya se habian acabado y consumido los indios de los repartimientos y provincias que acudian a la mita de Guancavelica. Por lo qual Su Magestad anduvo tan humano que los comenco a enviar de Alemania….” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 304-305.

\(^{463}\) “…el dano que causan los corregidores en general que se proveen para los pueblos y distrito de los indios que con ser solos setenta y dos son la causa mayor de la destruicion dellos y los que como peste los acaba y va acabando, pues en lugar de hazer justicia, de dar a cada uno lo que es suyo, de vivir conforme a las leyes reales y ordenanzas de aquel reino esta todo tan desordenado….que solo tratan de tratar y contratar y vender y comprar, y emplear y reemplear a la hazienda que tienen a su cargo de las caxas pertenecientes a Vuestra Magestad, doctrineros, encomenderos, Iglesias y Espitales y con ellos traginar vino, coca, harinas, maiz y madera: de embiar forzados a los indios a cien leguas y docientas, sacandolos de sus pueblos…..” Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, 306.
Elimination of the middlemen would hold the *encomenderos* accountable for the care of the main economic resource of the land: labor.

The economic ideas of Ortiz de Cervantes allowed Father Salinas to link his personal commitment to the interests of Peruvian *encomenderos* -a class to which both his sisters belonged- with his interests as a Franciscan. The elimination of the *Corregidor* would break the alliance with the secular priest and leave the *encomenderos* with leeway to appoint parish priests of the regular clergy. The protection of the rent of Indian parishes was guaranteed by the double supervision of the Order and the *encomendero*; thus both corporations would profit. It may seem at first glance, that this was an anachronistic approach going back to the state of economic affairs prior to 1565, but as a matter of fact Fray Buenaventura was quite modern in his discussion of colonial government and economy. The *encomienda* was a feasible way to reward the neglected *benemérito* class. Taxation on the indigenous population instead of a mining draft also meant also their prompt inclusion in the colonial market and the expansion of the fiscal revenue to pay for technology. The claim for the rights of Peruvian *benemeritos* was also connected to the history of Lima’s university -following the ideas of his relation Francisco Fernández de Córdoba- and was used to explain the need to employ well-educated creole gentry, far more able and entitled to occupy office than the newcomers.

The successful re-launch of the colonial system rested on two pillars, according to Salinas’s conception: first the reinstatement of the creole elite as such, via *encomiendas* or offices, and second the protection and prosperity of the Indian population under the supervision of the colonial corporate Church. Only the Orders could guarantee the
expansion of the colonial frontier and the smooth incorporation of native peoples into the colonial economy.\textsuperscript{464}

Salinas’s reformism aimed at fixing the unequal relationship between Crown and Spanish American subjects based on the Scholastic legal-theological distributive justice which entitled subjects to be beneficiaries of royal generosity. The constant reference to Spanish American wealth sent to Europe was a reminder that the trans-Atlantic subjects were carrying out his part of the contract. As Tamar Herzog has stated, the payment of taxes or any economic contribution that the Spanish monarchy received from the far-distant colonies was understood as a positive act of dominion. They enforced the condition of subjects and therefore generated citizen rights, required for the appointment of creoles in local government.\textsuperscript{465} The first notions of distributive justice can be found in the work of Ortiz de Cervantes, on which Salinas relied. But unlike Cervantes, Salinas’ critique included a fastidious reckoning of wasted American silver used to pay for the international politics of Philip IV. The war in Flanders and other long-term European military campaigns were paid with the sweat of Peruvian Indians, the silver of Peruvian mines and the impoverishment of the creole elite. They were all evidence of the dramatic

\textsuperscript{464} Salinas mentioned a Royal Decree issued in Segovia in 1573, in which the Crown made clear its concern for the natives, preferring the new explorations to be in the hands of the missionaries rather than of soldiers, even in the case of dealing with fierce natives (\textit{indios de guerra}). Salinas, \textit{Memorial de las Historias}, 326-327.

\textsuperscript{465} “...hablo como apasionado hijo, por el amor de la patria; a causa de que los que menos le deven al Peru son los nacidos de su propio vientre, porque ni el calor del premio los anima, ni la possession de las riquezas los alimenta, y assi se crian flacos y sin fuerzas, tomando del oro, solo el color de su amarillez y hambre con que viven por darlo todo a su rey...la herencia de los hijos la gozan los extranos, siendo verdad que sus capillas y bonetes, pudieran ser mitras y capelos....” Salinas, \textit{Memorial de las Historias}, 86. The best work on citizenship in colonial Spanish America is that of Herzog. See Tamar Herzog, \textit{Defining Nations. Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America} (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).
scenario of a failing empire. Instead of caring for its loyal and generous Peruvian subjects, the Spanish Crown bought with their taxes the loyalty of mercenaries in foreign wars of uncertain outcome.466

Another important topic in the first work of Fray Buenaventura was his idea that the viceroyalty of Peru was an equal part of the Spanish composite monarchy because the trans-Atlantic kingdoms of the Habsburg dynasty had the same political position of the European ones. His critique on the lack of distributive justice should not be interpreted as a protest against the colonial situation. This interpretation was certainly not Salinas’s assumption when he conceived the Peruvian viceroyalty at the same level of other European or peninsular dominions of the Spanish Crown. On the contrary, when Salinas reminded Philip IV of his obligations as sovereign of Peru, he assumed that the Spanish Crown had to respect the rights of the citizenship of its Spanish American subjects as much as those of any other kingdom. However, Salinas’s reflections on the nature of the composite monarchy also led also to early reflections on creole nationalism and ethnic identity. Peruvian subjects, claimed Fray Buenaventura, embodied the true identity of the Spanish nation. In that regard, their contributions to the Crown should be particularly appreciated because they came from far-distant kingdoms, which in spite of their physical distance remained loyal to the Crown and the Faith. Salinas actually followed Fernández de Navarrete’s Conservación de Monarquías, when he proposed a Castilian-centered program as the solution for the crisis of the empire. The two main concerns of the

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466 “Pone el soldado o capitán en Flandes, en Italia y Alemania, la puntería de la bombarda al enemigo, mas pico al viento, buelta la cara al blanco del sueldo, que le a de dar Potosi, y al premio de la renta, y el oficio que le a de dar el Piru, que es el sustento de tantas gentes, sagrado de tantas naciones y la piadosa madre de tantos propios y adoptivos hijos. Y al Piru madre rica, que sustenta a España, saca de las ciudades….mil excelentes sujetos….” Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 85.
Spanish *memorialista*, as seen in chapter one, were depopulation and the crisis of the Castilian economy. When Salinas addressed the issues of Indian depopulation, the Dutch threat in the Pacific, the money wasted in Flanders—more than two hundred million pesos—and the economic decay of Peruvian elites, he was actually using Fernández Navarrete’s logic to propose a reform program centered on a rational use of Peruvian resources as well as on the merits and excellence of creole subjects whose political loyalty had no equal.

The importance of the Indies within the empire took the author back to the issue of the relationship between religion and Crown, revealing a very Anti-Machiavellian notion of the “reason of state” as proposed by Giovanni Botero.467 A strong monarchy, argued Botero, has to protect one single religious confession and make it the power behind the throne; therefore religious tolerance was not seen as the foundation of the princely state.468 This idea was behind Salinas’s concern for the prompt canonization of Francis Solano, which being an obvious reason of state, required royal support. Creole sainthood and the importance of supporting the candidacy of who might become the first Spanish saint in the Indies, led Fray Buenaventura to advance a xenophobic notion of the ideal Spanish subject. Whereas the creole subject remained loyal even in unfavorable conditions, other members of the composite monarchy were to be blamed for the draining

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467 Botero’s “reason of state,” the core of the Anti-Machiavellian doctrine was defined as the body of measures or actions which discovered by human reason made possible the preservation of the political body. Among these measures, religion had the utmost importance. A strong monarchy had to consolidate one confession; therefore the expansion of Catholicism had to be protected. See José A. Fernández-Santamaria, “Botero, Reason of State, and Political Tacitism the Spanish Baroque,” in Enzo Baldini, ed., *Botero e la Ragion di Stato* (Firenze: Leo Olschki editore, 1992), 267.

468 Botero’s notion of Reason of State implied making war on infidels and heretics. A Catholic ruler must dedicate his right arm to the Church. See Kenneth Schellhase, “Botero, Reason of State and Tacitus” in Baldini, *Botero e la Ragion, 247.*
of economic resources and the constant state of rebellion, evidence of their condition as foreigners and heretics. Spanish ethnicity -or rather Castilian national identity- then was defined by default based on a pure Catholicism and a fierce loyalty to the House of Austria. Solano symbolized the best of the Spanish nation; Catholic, Castilian, militant and imperialistic. So did the creoles.

With his appropriation of European Catholic statecraft to build his argumentation on the problems of the corporate Church and the claims of the _beneméritos_, Fray Buenaventura coined a notion of Spanish nationhood that was exclusively Castilian or more aptly, Castilian-American, implying that the political bond between the Crown and its colonial territories was based on a strong ethnic identity. This notion of the proud “Peruvian Castilianism” would justify even the shift in the axis of the interests of the Crown from Europe to Spanish America. Thus, Salinas’s notion of being a Spanish subject was not an inclusive one. Spanish Americans, as children of Castile, fit in this schema but not all the nations subject to the Spanish Crown did. Language, religion and ethnicity constituted the divisive line between the former and the latter; good loyal

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469 Salinas’s statement that the Potosí silver went directly to the Spanish Crown to be used to fight the Dutch naval power comes from Botero. Juan Botero Benes, _Relaciones Universales del Mundo_ (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdova, 1603), 173-175.

470 “Gracias a Dios que no queda corto el Piru en dar su retorno pues vemos que abriéndose como pelícano las propias venas, reparte por tantas partes sus entradas que no ay region por remota que sea que no beva su sangre a dos carrillos y se alimente de su humor…y sino quien hace temblar al turco? quien obliga a parar sobre las manos al desbocado Flandes? Quien a la descomulgada Inglaterra pone espanto? Quien el terror y miedo a Alemania, donde no esta segura la heregia, como tampoco lo esta el Alcoran y barbarismo en Mauritania? Quien alienta propias y estrajeras guerras para su rey, nunca imaginadas en el mar de Lepanto, sino el Peru?” Salinas, _Memorial de las Historias_, 85.

471 “Descubrire el estado y el peligro en que se halla la mayor y la mas rica parte de todo el universo y batallando contra enemigos extranos…ven en España las extranjeras naciones los tesoros que llevan del Piru saben que ay poca gente que los defienda y ya se conjura el universo por saquearlos…” Salinas, _Memorial de las Historias_, 273, 275.
Catholic subjects on the one side and bad, rebellious, heretic, non-Spanish speaking subjects on the other. In a recent work, José Antonio Mazzotti has proposed a notion of the “creole nation” in Salinas which would be the result of the creole awareness of the richness and excellence of America, what Mazzotti understands as an extrapolation of the “notion” of “El Dorado.” Mazzotti stresses the idea that the “creole nation” in Salinas is different from that of the Spanish nation, while it is clear that Fray Buenaventura used both indiscriminately. Another aspect with which I do not agree with Mazzotti is the simplistic readings of “wealth,” “silver” and mineral riches in general. It might be the case that the legend of “El Dorado” influenced the notion of American abundance, but the mention of mineral wealth in seventeenth-century historical actually led to a politically defined notion of wealth as an economic contribution in exchange for favors between the King and his subjects, not for patriotic visions of natural riches.472

Salinas’s final critique of the reign of Philip IV was wrapped in a fictional episode of the Conquest period. When the Spaniards disembarked in the coastal town of Tumbes, somewhere between March and April 1532, the curaca of the area decided that Alonso de Molina, a Spanish soldier who had been sent along with Pedro de Candia to impress the natives, should go to Quito and meet the Inca emperor. When Huayna Capac met Molina and realized how different the Spaniards were from Andean people, the Inca asked the High Priest, wise men and councilors about the meaning of the presence of this foreigner among his subjects. The High Priest concluded that the presence of Molina was indeed a bad omen, announcing that the Inca rule would come to an end. Angered, the Inca

ordered Molina to be sacrificed but also ordered the destruction of the Sun temples, since the principal deity had allowed foreigners to reach his empire. Frustrated by the presence of foreigners in his realm, the Inca retired to Tumipampa where he died shortly afterwards. The metaphor of the “foreigner,” the “other” reaching the core of the empire to destroy it from within, was an attempt to draw a line between Castilian subjects and the other subjects of the Spanish Crown. Huayna Capac’s successor, Inca Atahualpa, was described by Father Salinas as a fine man and a wise ruler, “a bright and sagacious mind, bold, generous; friend of scholars, deeply religious but above all his merits, as his father and grandfather had done before, he ruled without a favorite.” For a baroque reader, well trained in deciphering symbols and metaphors, Salinas’s Atahualpa embodied the political virtues that Philip IV lacked.

4.3.2. The Prophecy of Ezekiel: Salinas and his Memorial of 1639

As soon as Fray Buenaventura arrived in Madrid in 1638, he started working on his second work, the Memorial del Padre Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova….Procurador General de la ciudad de Lima…cuya grandeza y méritos representa a la magestad del rey nuestro señor Don Felipe IIII católico monarca en ambos mundos para que pida a su santidad la canonización de su apostólico patrón el venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano. Warren Cook first mentioned the existence of the 1639 Memorial published in 1957, but neither he nor any other historian of colonial historiography ever read it, since

473 Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 58-59.

474 Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 60.
the only surviving copy is held at the New York Public Library.475 Cook followed the information that he found in bibliographies and assumed it was a work related to Salinas’s defense of the creoles.476 More recently, Brading mentioned Salinas’s appropriation of the ideas of licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes in the 1630 Memorial not knowing that Fray Buenaventura had followed Cervantes even more closely in his 1639 Memorial.477 The work is certainly related to the creole rights, but it is a political treatise in which the Franciscan showed a more structured program of reform of the colonial system, linking the re-launch of the encomienda system with creole sainthood, all wrapped in a prophetical vision of the evolution of the Spanish monarchy.

The genesis of Salinas’s second work has to do with the original format of the 1630 Memorial. The Memorial de las Historias was supposed to delve deep into the canonization cause of Solano, as promised in the introduction. Then, it seems that the 1639 Memorial was originally the last part of the 1630 Memorial yet published as an independent work because of the difficulties with the Council of the Indies. In 1638 Solano’s canonization was still a priority and, most importantly, the new text would be read with interest in Madrid and Rome, the final destination of Salinas as Proctor of his Order. Hence, Fray Buenaventura used the pious topic of Solano as an excuse to gain the approval of the Council and still deliver a political message in a new publication that was not tainted with scandal. Another reason to publish the 1639 Memorial had to do with the

475 Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, Memorial del Padre Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova….Procurador General de la ciudad de Lima…cuya grandezza y méritos representa a la magestad del rey nuestro señor Don Felipe IIII católico monarca en ambos mundos para que pida a su santidad la canonizacón de su apostólico patrón el venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano (Madrid, 1639).

476 Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 38.

477 Brading, The First America, 315.
intellectual and social milieu that Fray Buenaventura was part of while staying in Madrid. The clue for this is in Salinas’ application as judge *calificador* of the Holy Office in 1638, along with his brother Diego, a position they actually received. The *calificador*’s function was to determine the content of heresy in declarations and writings, and along with prestige, it entailed a lot of power. Thus, a successful application to be *calificador* implied that the social and religious background of the applicant was irreproachable according to the declaration of selected witnesses. All the witnesses provided by the Franciscan brothers in 1638 were upper-class Limenian creoles residing in Madrid. This *benemérito* network at the Spanish court not only verified the Salinas’s background, but constituted a group of discussants that were interested in the promotion of a work directly related to their own claims as *encomenderos*. The names of the witnesses in Salinas’s application for the position of *juez calificador* illustrated the creole agenda behind Salinas’s second *Memorial*. First, we have Canon Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa, whose important work on the rights of creoles to occupy the highest positions within the Spanish American Church we have already discussed. Then follows a whole cohort of wealthy Limenians related to the influential and powerful Bishop Feliciano de Vega y Padilla: Agustín de Medina y Vega, son of Doctor Cipriano de Medina, who was close friend of Salinas’s father; Juan de Padilla y Vega, friend of Fray Diego de Córdoba; Hernando de Santa-Cruz y Padilla; Luis de Santa-Cruz y Padilla, a friend of Francisco Manrique de Lara, Salinas’s nephew; and finally Fray Luis de la Reinaga, former Provincial of the Augustinians in Peru who

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478 For the institutional aspects of the Inquisition and the role of its members, the most updated study is: Pedro Guibovich-Pérez, *Censura, Libros e Inquisición en el Perú Colonial, 1570-1754* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2003), 62-63.
declared that he knew Fray Buenaventura for more than thirty years.\textsuperscript{479} Medina, Padilla and the Santa-Cruz brothers were all cousins of the soon-to-be Archbishop of Mexico, Feliciano de Vega and were already in high governmental positions or would be, as was usually the case with wealthy creoles staying at court while pushing their files before the Council of the Indies.\textsuperscript{480} Manrique de Lara, son of Doña Mencía de Córdova, was actually appointed oidor in Mexico.

Thus, the social context in which the 1639 \textit{Memorial} was prepared for publication explains much of its content. If we assume that the claim for the canonization of Solano and the eschatological conception of the history of Spain were already in the draft, given that they were topics in the original 1630 manuscript, the elaboration on the \textit{encomienda} as the best alternative to re-launch the colonial economy has to be related to the claims of the \textit{beneméritos} around Fray Buenaventura in 1638-1639. Furthermore, the personal influence of Canon Betancurt contributed to shape a new set of claims of the Peruvian colonial elite, present in the new treatise. Other important ideological sources of this work are the works of canon Vasco de Valverde y Contreras on offices for creoles, the

\textsuperscript{479} After graduating in Alcalá, Francisco Manrique de Lara was given the position of Prosecutor in the Audiencia of Mexico. In 1645, Doña Mencía de Silva y Córdova, Francisco’s mother, asked the Caja de Comunidad of Cochabamba to pay the pension owed to him as son of the former \textit{encomendero} Manrique de Lara (AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, 1645, Prot. 594, 1645, ff. 741, 747). AHNM Sección Inquisición, Leg 1207 Exp. 24 and Leg 1575, Exp. 114. That same year, the file of Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas was also introduced, and the same people declared as witnesses. See AHNM, Sección Inquisición, Leg. 1575, Exp. 169.

\textsuperscript{480} Hernando de Santa-Cruz was in Madrid asking for either a pension on a vacant \textit{encomienda} or a \textit{corregimiento}. The demand was introduced in the Council of the Indies for the first time in 1627. See Antonio Rodríguez Moñino, \textit{Catálogo de Memoriales presentados al Real Consejo de Indias (1626-1630)} (Madrid: Imprenta Maestre, 1953), 208. It became customary for elite \textit{creoles} from all over Spanish America to stay at court even for years looking to secure their future with a handsomely-paid office. In order to help them with tips, a sort of handbook on how to behave at court and what to do “to surf the ocean of the Spanish court” was published in Lima in 1644. Fray Alonso de Almeida, \textit{Pretendiente de la Tierra para conseguir y carta para los que navegan el golfo de la corte} (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1644).
work of Bishop Gaspar de Villarroel also on the same issue, and certainly the already mentioned memorial of Juan Ortiz de Cervantes on the encomiendas.\footnote{Contreras, Memorial y discurso legal. The work mentioned by Salinas is Gaspar de Villarroel’s Primera Parte de los Comentarios, Dificultades y Discursos Literales y Místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma. Dedicado al Rey por Fray Gaspar de Villarroel, prior y vicario provincial del convento de su orden en el Cuzco (Lisboa, por Antonio Alves, 1631). Villarroel’s preface in Primera Parte, shows the coincidence of ideas between him and Contreras: “En tiempos anteriores morían las esperanzas de los criollos a manos de la imposibilidad de sus ascensos y traían aquellos sentimientos….y en esta conformidad los que nacieron en Indias holgaron nacido Indios, que viéndose desiguales en la condición, no cayeran en sus corazones pensamientos de igualdad. Hoy que Vuestra Magestad los iguala pero aun los prefiere poblando las audiencias de oydores, las iglesias de obispados y las ciudades de gobernadores, bendicen enternecidos los que los vieron nacer la tierra que lleva ya tales plantas…” Villarroel, Primera Parte.} So, when Father Salinas stated in his 1639 Memorial, that Francis Solano must be canonized for the sake of the Indians of Peru he was actually advocating again for the claims of the beneméritos. With the Memorial of 1639, Salinas mastered the genre of the religious arbitrio on colonial Catholic statecraft, proposing a new colonial management based on more economic benefits for the encomendero elite, the protection of the indigenous population, a more direct and source of revenue for the Crown and even the advancement of the agenda of his own corporation, the Franciscan Order. The 1639 Memorial allows us to understand the perfect connection between the Franciscan and the creole agendas.

The work develops seven reasons that justify the canonization of Francis Solano as a national cause of Spain. The seven reasons allowed Salinas to connect to specific agendas -those of the Franciscans, the beneméritos, the city of Lima and finally the Indians- because they worked like stages, which evolved and connected to the next claim. The first reason was related to the rights of the city of Los Reyes, but also to other Peruvian cities that had elected Solano as patron saint. The King had to support the decision of the cabildos; that is of the Spanish American creoles and their citizenship rights to have a patron saint. I have already explained in the first chapter the political importance of
having trans-Atlantic cities incorporated into the sacred geography of Catholicism and how interested the cabildo was in Los Reyes for Solano’s cause. The second and sixth reasons of the Memorial dealt with the Franciscan Order’s agenda. Solano was a Franciscan, a member of the religious corporation that kept closest links to the Crown. It was certainly the Order who benefitted the most from the King’s generosity and the only one who had a special administrative position that allowed for the direct intervention of the Crown: the position of the Commissary of the Indies. Solano was also the first Franciscan missionary in the New World, a powerful symbol for the evangelization of the colonial frontier. The third reason, also related to the Franciscan Order, introduced the Indian issue. If Solano was canonized stated Salinas, he would be the first saint of the New World, showing the successful expansion of Spanish Catholicism as well as the reception of it among the indigenous population.

The real message of the 1639 Memorial was developed in the fourth and fifth reasons. The latter was somehow advanced within the first reason about the claim of the city of Los Reyes. It explained how the creole/benemérito claim for the canonization of the Franciscan friar was a political right of the cabildo of the city. Since Solano had been elected the Patron Saint of Lima’s citizens, the Crown needed to stand for the rights of the children of the conquistadores. At this point, Fray Buenaventura used again the ideas of Contreras and Betancurt to argue that since Spanish American elites had been neglected for so long and prevented from receiving rewards and offices, at least their

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482 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff.8v.-9r.

483 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff. 10r.-12r.

484 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff. 12v.15r.
right to choose a patron saint should be championed by the Crown. The rights of the citizens of the Spanish American cities thus would be the expression of the King’s magnificence, of his justice, a political virtue needed to keep the reciprocity between the Crown and the Peruvian subjects alive. At this point in Salinas’s argumentation, the topic of the re-launch of the encomienda system was brought up. The fourth reason to canonize Solano was the devotion of the indigenous population, a social group that suffered the burden of unjust labor drafts. Arguing that the social and economic consequences of the mining draft on the natives were enormous, Salinas warned the Crown of the future ruin of the kingdom if the Indians disappear.

Therefore, the most effective way to protect the native subjects while also keeping the colonial economy afloat was return the Indians back to the nurturing, secure environment of the labor grants controlled by the Catholic creole aristocracy: the encomiendas. The encomiendas would protect the feet –that is, indigenous population- from the body-politic of the Spanish monarchy. Following the ideas of Giovanni Botero on the protection of human resources and Diego de León Pinelo on the benefits of the encomiendas, Father Salinas stated that the increase of indigenous subjects would mean more taxable revenue for the Crown, the kind of revenue that grew accordingly to the birth rate, a revenue-

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485 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff. 21v.-22r.

486 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff. 20r.-22v.

487 A conception of the body politic of the Spanish monarchy using the metaphor of the body was common during the early modern period and can be found in several authors. Salinas, Memorial del Padre, ff. 15v.-18r.
source of the kind that did not exhaust as was usually the case with mining ores. In the meantime, since the Peruvian silver industry could not be stopped, mercury should be imported from Germany and China to alleviate the Indians. The money for that new trade would come from the funds paid by the expansion of encomiendas in the frontier lands of the viceroyalty. Last but not least, a well-to-do encomendero class would gratefully and generously support his King when needed. Hence, every part of the colonial body politic benefited in Salinas’s proposal.

The next step in Father Salinas’s argumentation was to convince the Crown of the need of a new colonial order. Briefly mentioned in the introduction of the 1630 Memorial, Father Salinas built in 1639 a quite elaborate prophetical evolution of the Spanish Empire that was based on the prophecy of Ezekiel by which each monarch of the Habsburg dynasty was related to a phase in the development and consolidation of the Spanish rule of the world. According to the scripture, the Jewish priest experienced the

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488 The concern for the right administration of natural and human resources was one main characteristic of Giovanni Botero and other theorists of the Catholic statecraft. Therefore indigenous depopulation was seen by colonial religious scholars, not only as a moral problem but mainly as an economic issue. See Glacken, Traces of the Rhodesian Shore, 371. León Pinelo said on the importance of the encomienda system: “De todo el derecho particular de las Indias, ninguna parte es más necesaria, de ninguna esta más pendiente el gobierno, que aquella que trata de las encomiendas y de los oficios…porque como sean dos medios los del gobierno, premio y castigo, los animos de los moradores de aquellas provincias, que con hechos tan esclarecidos se han mostrado grandes y heroicos, solo necesitan de premio…El principe fue elegido para tener en la tierra las veces de Dios…establecio dos modos de premios, honores y rentas, encomiendas y oficios. Encomienda es un contrato, que hace el rey con el encomendero, que obliga a ambos contrayentes: al rey a que ceda al encomendero la percepción de los tributos: al encomendero, a que instruya al indios, que recibe debaxo de su amparo en ambas prudencias, divina y humana.” Antonio de León Pinelo, Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas, Oficios i Casos, en que se requieren para las Indias Occidentales. A Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado del Consejo del Rey Nuestro Señor en el Supremo de las Indias y Junta de Guerra dellas i en el de la Cruzada i Junta de Competencias. Por el licenciado Antonio de León Relator del mismo Consejo de las Indias (Madrid: Juan González, 1630).

489 Salinas, Memorial del Padre, f. 21r.

490 “Aqueste Nuevo mundo….conquistolo la Gloria militar de Carlos, para imperar y reducir a vencimiento los laureles y palmas de todo el mundo imperial. Felipe II, la idea de los principes, el padre de la patria, el
vision of a flaming chariot -symbolizing the majesty of God- pulled by four angels, three of whom had faces of animals (eagle, lion and ox) and the last one, of humans. Fray Buenaventura, by identifying the four angels in Ezekiel’s vision with the four Spanish rulers, built an eschatological interpretation according to which, each ruler led to the glorious reign of Philip IV, the era when the Church and the Catholic Crown would rule the world. In Salinas’s model, Charles I was the Lion, the conqueror and soldier. Philip II was the eagle and the policy-maker. Phillip III embodied the qualities of the ox, stability and strength. Finally Philip IV, the “man,” represented the age of the Spanish nation, an era of justice, honor to law and religion, and military victories.491 In Salinas’ model, Philip IV would “conduct the chariot of Peruvian government,” the one that carried the majesty of both Crown and colonial Church, to a new age that Fray Buenaventura/Ezekiel -the priest- had foreseen as in the prophecy of the Old Testament.492 The evolution of the

tutor de la religion, el maestro del gobierno, lo animo y formo con sus leyes. El senor don Felipe III, aviendole heredado ya de la espada y mano de su abuelo, ya de la prudencia, y autoridad de su padre: de los lienclos largos de la monarquia, quando emulavan todo el ambito de la tierra, no dejo caer una almena. Vuestra Magestad es de todos su gloriosa herencia, donde oymos a los valerosos, experimentamos a los sabios, y veneramos los justos, siendo de tantos reyes y monarcas la historia viva, y verdadera, en que se muestran mas grandes…” Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 2

491 “Los quatro animales que llevaban el carro de Ezequiel son jeroglifico y estampa del gobierno de las ultimas quatro monarquias de Espana…Carlos V conquista el Peru con los bramidos y garras de un Leon y esclarecido Cesar...El Peru bien conservado y mantenido en justicia con los agudos gavilanes de aquella radiante pluma...y sabio Salomon de Felipe II...Felipe III a imitacion de su padre llevo tambien entre el Leon y el aguila mansamente como el buey el espacioso carro del gobierno Peruano...Y para honrar mas las leyes, dar alma a las armas y justicia a sus vasallos, puso luego el quarto rostro de hombre, siendo Vuestra Magestad el quarto en nombre”. Salinas, Memorial del Padre, f. 28r.

492 The eschatological vision of Spanish history was not totally original. In Late Medieval Franciscan histories, it was used as a format when addressing political issues that needed secular attention. The Franciscan Order would act as a prophetical voice for mundane politics re-arranging history. This was a re-elaboration of the ideas of Joachim de Fiore, for whom world history was divided into three ages according to the personae of the Holy Trinity. The first was the age of the Law of the Old Testament, the second was the time of the New Testament and the Church and the third was that of the Holy Spirit. In this regard Salinas was part of a long established Franciscan tradition. See Allison Williams Levin, “Salimbene de Adam and the Franciscan Chronicle” in Sharon Dale, Allison Williams Levin and Duane J. Osheim, eds., Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy (Philadelphia:
Spanish Empire from its founder to Philip IV announced the progression towards a glorious age in which internal and external crises would be surmounted. The re-launch of the colonial system went hand in hand with the final victory of the Spanish Crown on the international front since the increase of tax revenue meant an even more powerful Royal Treasury. Rather than attacking the monarch as in the 1630 Memorial, the text published in Madrid nine years later took the persona of Philip IV to the highest level of perfection: the apotheosis of royal justice and faith. Yet, Salinas was emphatic as to the need to reform the monarchy itself in order to fulfill this prophecy. Only the exercise of distributive justice would make a perfect Catholic ruler.

It is clear that Salinas’ reformist ideas drew from Botero, Cervantes, Contreras and León Pinelo. Overlooking this early modern period influence, some scholars had depicted

493 Víctor Mínguez has pointed out the importance of the symbolism of the lion in the iconography related to the Spanish Crown. The lion symbolized the monarchy itself but also the composite monarchy. At some point it also symbolized the monarchy in a moment of crisis. It is very interesting that Salinas related the figure of the lion to Charles I, founder of the Spanish Empire. See Víctor Mínguez Leo Fortis, Rex Fortis, El León y la Monarquía Hispánica” in Víctor Mínguez and Manuel Chust, eds. El Imperio Sublevado. Monarquía y nación en España e Hispanoamérica (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004), 58, 61, 94.

494 “Muestre pues Vuestra Magestad el quarto rostro de hombre a su Perú porque los que nacemos en el y lo han conservado y defendido de las fuerzas y poder luterano no digan con el paralítico que les falta el hombre que les de la mano: siendo Vuestra Magestad el hombre y rey que los govierna y a quien tantas alas de querubines hazen sombra para que debaxo della broten las esperancas muertas de sus originarios hijos con el premio….Porque el León de España no trae acaso el cordero de Austria en el pecho sino para mostrar al mundo que si tiene las garra de Leon para enemigos de la Fe católica tiene tambien entrans de cordero para vassallos que le consagran sus vidas. Saquelos Vuestra Magestad como monarca poderoso a semejanz de aquella aguila real de su prudente aguelo a bolar para que como polluelos mire alegres de ito en ito a los rayos de la justicia distributiva y desechando como el aguila los hijos que no son propios, los escoja como naturales. Y si el buei toca primero con la lengua el mantenimiento que ha de embiar al estomago, toque senor Vuestra Magestad con la lengua en las necesidades que padecen como aquellos que dividen tan remotos mares pues el dezir y hazer de los Reyes es obra sola de la voluntad y el mundo rico que sus padres ganaron conservandolo estan con la misma fidelidad sus descendientes.” Salinas, Memorial del Padre, f. 29r.
Fray Buenaventura as an ardent defender of the indigenous population and considered a precursor of indigenous rights. Moreover, Salinas’s supposed identity with colonial indigenous population has been attributed to his acquaintance with the work of the Indian chronicler Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, whose manuscript Sancho de Salinas might have read in the state archive when performing as Secretario de la Governación. There is no tangible evidence of this; moreover Salinas probably read another source because there is barely a coincidence in the information presented by both authors on native history. However, the confirmation that Salinas did not follow Guamán Poma -if he ever read or knew about him- is that the Franciscan’s ideas on indigenous population as developed in the 1639 Memorial were totally opposite to those of the Indian chronicler. Father Salinas not only thought of the Indians as permanently subordinated to the creole elite but he did not want the Indians to be freed from some labor drafts, precisely the argument of his second Memorial to the King. Fray Buenaventura was convinced that the Indian subjects had to contribute through their work under the supervision of the encomendero and the parish priest.

Father Salinas’s legal and theological conception of Indian labor actually coincided with the ideas of his fellow Franciscan, Fray Miguel de Agia, the first religious scholar in

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496 The idea that Salinas followed Guamán Poma is based on the fact that when dealing with Pre-columbian history, Fray Buenaventura said it had been divided in four ages. See David Brading, “Patria e Historia,” 2. I contend that Salinas did not read Guamán Poma, because the names of the ages of Indian history not only differ from one author to the other but Salinas gave them a different meaning. For a comparison, see Salinas, Memorial de las Historias, 13 and Guamán Poma de Ayala, Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 54. Guamán Poma also used another division of time – “ages of the world”- not present in Salinas. Lohmann Villena pointed out that Francisco Fernández de Córdova, maybe related to Fray Buenaventura, also used the same division of time when writing about Andean history. See Guillermo Lohmann, “El Licenciado Francisco Fernández de Córdova,” Revista de Indias, Vol. XLVIII, No. 182-183 (Ene-Ago 1988): 285-325.
seventeenth-century Peru who wrote on the effects of the mining draft on the native population. Unlike Fray Buenaventura, Agia’s treatise did not argue for the exemption of the Indians from the mercury mines. On the contrary, Agia’s *Tratado* defends the right of the Crown had to ask for Indian labor as a contribution that would reinforce the condition of vassals of the King of Spain, a principle behind the establishment of *corregimientos* and Indian parishes in the sixteenth century.\(^{497}\) For Fray Miguel de Agia, who was writing in response to the Royal Decree of 1601, the forcing of the indigenous population to work for the sake of the *republica* was legal, Christian and human. Moreover, the King of Spain was entitled to ask for the mining draft because the use of silver produced this way was absolutely legitimate.\(^{498}\) Father Agia was widely read and discussed in Peru; the debate that started on the existence of mining drafts continued throughout the century.\(^{499}\)

Thus, Salinas is clearly part of a tradition which conceived of the Indians as the real feet of the colonial body-politic, and without whom that body politic had no stability. Yet, far from just explaining the problem, Salinas offered a solution.\(^{500}\) Fray Buenaventura was convinced that Indian and *beneméritos* alike should contribute to the cause of His Most Catholic Majesty, especially in such a critical moment for the supremacy of Spain in the

\(^{497}\) Fray Miguel de Agia, *Tratado que contiene tres pareceres graves en derecho...sobre la verdadera inteligencia...de una cédula real...que trata del servicio personal...para el servicio de la república y asientos de minas de oro, plata y azogue* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1604).

\(^{498}\) Agia, *Tratado*, f.56

\(^{499}\) One example is Nicolás del Campo y La Rinaga, *Flores peruanas, históricas, jurídicas*. Del Campo discussed the ideas of both Agia and Salinas.

\(^{500}\) Alejandro Cañéque has studied how in the case of seventeenth-century New Spain, Bishop Palafox’s vision of the Indians as both good Christian subjects and labor force at the same time reconciled the Franciscan utopia and the colonial needs. See Cañéque, *The King’s Living Image*, 191-192.
world, which was the context of the Thirty-Year War. In accordance to their estate and “nation” of origin, the King would give back to his Trans-Atlantic subjects.

4.3.3. Creole Take Over of the Franciscan Province: Salinas’ s 1641 Memorial in Context

Somewhere between January and March 1640, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas was presented at court and put his second work into the hands of Philip IV. The occasion was described by Salinas as an exchange of courtesan niceties. The King praised the Franciscan proctor and gave him letters of recommendation for the Spanish ambassador before the Holy See, so the canonization of Solano could be formally presented to the Pope. On May 5th, Salinas entered the papal court, lodging at the Roman Franciscan convent of La Minerva. He had two goals in the capital of the Catholic world: to expedite the canonization process of Francis Solano and to participate in the election of the new Franciscan General that was scheduled for June of that year. Being more a courtier than a priest, Salinas soon got involved in the high politics of the court of Urban VIII; he was particularly agitated on the occasion of the Franciscan general election. The future separation of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns was also evident in the tension among Spanish and Portuguese Franciscans inside La Minerva. The Protector of the Order, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who was nephew of the Pope, expected to make political gains from a divided Franciscan Order, working on the defeat of the Spanish party and

501 Salinas, Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto, f. 46v.

the election of a General whom the Pope could easily manipulate. Fray Buenaventura quickly learned how to sail the risky waters of Roman politics while promoting his career. Befriending the Barberinis and the Spanish ambassador, Salinas managed to publish his third work, the *Memorial del P. Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, Lector de Prima Jubilado, Calificador del Supremo Consejo de la Santa, y General Inquisición, Padre y Custodio de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú, Procurador General de la Ciudad de los Reyes para la Canonización del Venerable y Apostólico Padre Fray Francisco Solano y Comissario Delegado o Metropolitano de Lima* (1641).

Shortly before the Franciscan General Election, Salinas met for the first time the powerful Francesco Barberini, known as “Cardinal Nepote,” one of the three nephews of the Pope and occupier of key positions in the Vatican chambers. Barberini, officially a protector of the Franciscan Order, arranged for Salinas to get an audience with the Pope and deliver the salutations of the Archbishop and the Peruvian Province. Once Fray Buenaventura had conferred with the Pope, both Barberini and the Spanish ambassador

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503 The tension between Crown and papacy can be noticed in the letter of the Spanish Ambassador to the Pope (May, 14th 1637), complaining on Cardinal Barberini: “no se podia tolerar la aceptacion de un sobrino de Su Santidad tan amado suyo por fuctor y agente de Francia, cabeza de los herejes de Europa…suplicar a Su Beatitud no permita que semexante cosa se tome en la boca ni aun por simple discurso y conversacion por lo que perderia la Christianad lo que se pudiese imaginar de un vicario de Christo semejante accion en tiempos en que Su Magestad no ha rehusado en ninguna occasion verter hasta la ultima gota de sangre si fuere necesario” AHNM, Sección Estado (Negociación de Roma), Libro 82D, ff. 61-62.

504 Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, *Memorial del P. Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, Lector de Prima Jubilado, Calificador del Supremo Consejo de la Santa, y General Inquisición, Padre y Custodio de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú, Procurador General de la Ciudad de los Reyes para la Canonización del Venerable y Apostólico Padre Fray Francisco Solano y Comissario Delegado o Metropolitano de Lima…..el qual presentó al Revmo. Padre Fray Francisco de Ocaña Padre de toda la Orden de nuestro seráfico Padre San Francisco, Confessor de la Reyna y Comissario General de todas las Indias* (Madrid?1641).
realized that the creole Franciscan could be used as a pawn in the complex political game that was about to be played. Prior to the arrival of Fray Buenaventura in Rome, the Spanish Ambassador, fearing an attempt by Francesco Barberini to manipulate the Franciscan Election, asked the Pope to move the election to Naples, a city under control of the Spanish Crown.\footnote{Protesting on the change of venue, the Ambassador wrote: “…como va dicho lleva fines particulares…” AHN, Sección Estado (Italia), Libro 94-D, Letter of the Spanish Ambassador to the Pope (Rome, March 22, 1638).} Not only did the Pope refuse to change the location, but even delayed the election until September 1639, making clear that the Barberinis needed time to co-opt the election and secure their candidate. The ambitious creole friar—who suddenly appeared as ideal to be used either against the ambassador or against the cardinal—also discovered that he could try to play on both sides to his own benefit. Barberini, acknowledging Salinas’s solid theological background appointed him as preacher for one of the chapters, in the hopes of winning him for the Italian party. Being supposedly a member of the Spanish Party, Fray Buenaventura was asked to submit his sermon beforehand to the Ambassador Extraordinaire, Juan de Chumazero, in order to check his loyalty to the Crown’s candidate. Salinas, nonetheless, flirted with both parties and impressed the audience with his eloquence nonetheless.\footnote{“En el capítulo de 1639, dos criollos presidieron conclusiones: El P. Fray Alonso Briceño, hijo del reino de Chile y Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, quien dedico sus conclusiones al presidente del Consejo de Castilla, Don Juan Chumacero y Carrillo, quien asistio acompanado de la faccion espanola. Tuvo por sustentante al espanol, Fray Juan de la Cruz del colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo de la Universidad de Alcalá” Córdova, \textit{Corónica}, 1008-1009 and Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, ff. 53v, 55v.}

The election of the Franciscan General became a true battlefield. In spite of the efforts of the Spanish Ambassadors, the outcome was not favorable for Spain. After a heated argument with the Spanish ambassador the night before the election, Cardinal Francesco Barberini blocked the chances of the five candidates supported by the Spanish
Crown; thus the elected General, Father Giovanni Merinero, fulfilled the expectations of the Pope and his nephews. It was then that Fray Buenaventura astutely switched sides to get closer to the little court of the Cardinal Nepote and used his influence as Protector of the Franciscans to his benefit. The first achievement was Salinas’ appointment as Theology Professor at the Franciscan Seminary in Naples in 1640. In that year, Fray Buenaventura returned to Rome to meet the Pope for a second time, push the canonization cause of Solano and inform His Holiness of the work done by the Archbishopric of Lima, whose personal legate he was. Salinas did not obtain any definite information on the canonization but the Pope offered instead the most coveted relic in Christendom for Lima’s cathedral: a piece of the Holy Cross. Father Salinas knew that if his work as proctor failed, his success as legate would have his name remembered for ever in Los Reyes.

Nevertheless, the most important contribution of Fray Buenaventura to the Peruvian Franciscan province was his negotiation with the Pope on issues of governance, in which Barberini’s support proved to be of the utmost importance. This issue was brought up by Salinas on the occasion of the Franciscan General Chapter of 1639; this

507 “Lo que sucedió en la noche del 10 de setiembre de 1639 en el convento de Araceli con el cardenal Barberino, cuando queriendo el Padre Campana informarle de las cinco personas que se había propuesto al rey en Madrid para general de la orden (perdida la esperanza de ver nombrado al Padre Francisco Guerra)...le atajo con decir que no pasase adelante que no quería oírlol...y que sin embargo que se le procuro muchas veces meterle por camino dandole a entender quan justo era ohir los medios de dar satisfaccion a Su Magestad pues su intento principal era el mayor servicio de Dios y bien de una religion que tenia y sustentava tantas provincias en sus reynos y que tenia tanta parte en la quietud y aun en el gobierno political dellos...” Papel de la junta que tuvieron los señores cardenal Albornoz y Don Juan Chumazero con el marqués mi señor en lo que se resolvo que no fuese a la Audiencia del cardenal Barberino y lo hecho en el capítulo general de la orden de San Francisco, AHNM Seccióón Estado (Negociación de Roma), Libro D 83/84.

508 “Moviose aquella Beatitud y concediome aqueste don, y prenda segura de nuestra salvacion, en premio de la Fe constante con que le pedí esta gracias y ayudandome a la exequion, el Cardenal Nepote, Protector de mi religion serafica, Don Francisco Barberino, haziendo traer, dentro de seis dias, a la presencia de Su Santidad, algunas particulas de la santa reliquia...” Salinas, Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto, ff. 59v, 60r.
discussion explains the content of the 1641 Memorial. To understand the genesis of this work and how Salinas negotiated on the Franciscan ruling at the papal court, we need to go back in time. In 1634, Fray Alonso Pacheco was appointed Commissary of the Peruvian province and in 1637—as part of many internal reforms undertaken—he appointed Fray Pedro Ordóñez Flores as Father Provincial. This election was immediately rejected by the Peruvian Province—which was mostly creole—on the basis that it was illegitimate and against the Papal bull of Clement VIII (1606), that clearly stated that only children of the province—that is friars locally ordained—could be appointed to the highest-ranking positions. Father Ordóñez was from Salamanca and therefore not ordained in Lima. Most importantly, he was clearly a protégée of the Commissary.509 Maybe Salinas was still in Peru when this contested election took place; yet as soon as he reached Rome, he started working at the highest level to have the bull of 1606 recognized, Ordóñez removed and the Peruvian Franciscan Province under creole control.

The first victory occurred in August 1639, when Urban VII issued a bull validating the 1606 Papal document. This action would have put Father Ordóñez immediately out of office, but his alliance with a new Commissary in Peru, Fray Joseph Cisneros, proved to be convenient for protecting his interests. Cisneros interpreted the new papal bull in a way in which the election of Ordóñez could be seen as legitimate.510 Once Salinas knew about this, he used again his influence before Cardinal Barberini; soon afterwards His Holiness issued two very important documents. The first was the bull of September 1640,

509 Córdova, Corónica, 1116-1117. The Franciscan Convent of Jesus in Lima had in 1650 two hundred friars, by far the biggest religious community in Los Reyes. Córdova, Teatro, Chapter XI.

510 Córdova, Corónica, 1118.
in which the Pope appointed the Archbishop of Los Reyes and the Dean of the Cathedral as papal legates for the execution of the 1606 bull in every election held within a religious corporation. A copy of this document was also sent from Rome to Madrid and approved by the Council of the Indies. The second document was the Bull of February 1641, in which Urban VIII elaborated on the correct interpretation of his previous bull of 1639. However, once the bull of September 1640 reached Lima and was distributed among the religious corporations, the Franciscan Commissary Father Cisneros spread the voice that the bull was a forgery and had not been approved by the Council of the Indies and therefore was invalid. The representatives of the Orders in Lima expressed their concern to the Archbishop and requested the suspension of the bull because, as the representative of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy declared, if it proved a forgery the 1640 bull would undermine the authority of the Royal Patronage and promote disruption and disobedience within religious corporations. But what the Provincials of the Orders feared the most was secular intervention in internal affairs of the Orders: namely the control of the elections within religious corporations or any other internal affair by the Archbishop.\footnote{“…que esto se cria y erige aqui otro tribunal diverso y nuevo y nunca visto en grave detrimento del mismo patronasgo real. Lo tercero que es dar un pernicioso ejemplar para que cada dia se despachen por solo el gusto de quien alla lo piden bullas y patentes que aca turban la paz religiosa a que tanto encargan las reales cedulas. Lo quarto que los religiosos de este reyno no tenemos otra defensa para evader las molestias que con bulas obriticias y subreticios cada dia se intenta sino es el recurso al real amparo y ultimamente que si esto passase assi seria introducir una general licencia para que cualquiera religioso se exima de la inmediata y devida obediencia de sus prelados y los iniba en casos de su ordinaria jurisidiccion”. Similar reactions had the Jesuits, Augustinians and Dominicans. The most belligerent of all was Cisneros, the Franciscan Comissary, who said: “A Vuestra Excelencia Pido y suplico…..se sirva de recevir esta causa en su protection como negocio de tanta gravedad y pesos y que tanto puede importar al Real Patronazgo a la quietud y paz en estos reinos…..mande se suspenda la execucion de los dichos breves y patentes y se informe a Su Magestad en su real Gobierno de Indias para que mi sagrada religion tenga siempre respecto de otros negocios el resguardo que le dara la verdadera relacion…” AAL, Sección Documentos Importantes, Leg. X, Exp. 8.} It is interesting to notice the way the Orders read Papal or Royal orders to
their convenience and perhaps Urban VIII wanted to create such a conflict to undermine the authority of the Crown in Spanish America.

Salinas should have received news from his brother Fray Diego in Lima about the maneuvering of Father Cisneros to keep Ordóñez as Provincial; in this way he used his influence before Urban VIII once more. The pope issued a third bull dated August 1641, this time declaring the election of Father Ordóñez illegitimate. Ordóñez counterattacked and moved his influences in Rome with the General of the Order. In 1643, a letter patent signed by the General of the Franciscans, Giovanni Merinero, reached Lima. The letter patent praised the ruling of Ordóñez and again raised doubts as to the authenticity of the Papal bull of 1640 that arrived in Lima, because it had been suspiciously approved in record time by the Commissary of the Indies and the Council in Madrid. To make his case stronger, Merinero sent to Lima a copy of his own official protest before the office of the Commissary of the Indies at the Spanish court. This document added nothing to the conflict about the election of the Peruvian Provincial, but rather agitated the city even more by questioning the legitimacy of the Commissary at the Spanish court. Merinero’s letter patent was interpreted in Lima in the sense that the original message of the Pope in 1641 had been manipulated by the Council and that the Royal Patronage wanted to control the Orders through the establishment of Commissariats. In a quite tense moment in the relationship between Crown and Orders,

\[512\] Córdova, Corónica, 1121-1122.

\[513\] The Council considered during the reign of Charles II, the convenience of establishing a Commissariat for the Augustinian Order. Naturally, the position should be occupied by a Spanish priest, controlled by the state. The Commissary should also prevent the presence of Spanish American proctors in Rome: “Los beneficios para la corona seran muchos, pues se aliviara el trabajo del Real Consejo de Indias, la nacionalidad espanola del Comisario asegurara la sujeción de la orden a la casa de Austria, sin dar lugar a las dilaciones perniciosas de que suelen usar los estrangeros por sus particulares fines…se evitara salga el
the papal bulls that were negotiated with the aid of Salinas, even though they intended to solve the Franciscan conflict, were interpreted as mere political pressure from the Crown.

In any case, the alliance of Merinero-Ordóñez-Cisneros did not win and the creole party took over the reins of the Franciscan Province. Merinero’s letter patent was declared invalid by the Council of the Indies, sequestered soon after it began to circulate in Peru and the 1606 Papal bull reinstated. In 1645, a new Franciscan Commissary, Fray Juan de Durana, was sent to Lima by the Council. Durana’s first act of government was the annulment of the questionable election of 1637. Ordóñez was ordered to retire to a secluded convent out of the city to await the next armada to sail back to Spain. Father Salinas and the creole party therefore won a complicated case and secured the ruling position of the children of the province. His brother Fray Diego stated in his chronicle of 1651 that “the Province had defended its rights.”

Thus, the rights of locally ordained members of the regular clergy received the support of the Crown after a tense debate and negotiation that involved three cities on both sides of the Atlantic for over eight years. Fray Buenaventura explained in his 1646 Memorial that the importance of the bull of 1606 lay in its defense of the rights of Peruvians to be rewarded with the highest administrative positions within the Franciscan Province: Provincial, Custodio, Definidor,
dinero del reyno (siendo continuo el desague que se reconoce en pretensiones y contribuciones)...evita tambien que se concentren los procuradores en Roma, como lo prohibio la Real Cedula de 1686...” See Conveniencias en la Institucióin de Comisario General en esta corte, y de Vicarios Generales en las Provincias de Indias, del Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, c. 1690).

514 Córdova, Corónica, 1127-1129. A version of this episode is also in Lohmann, Inquisidores, Virreyes, 30. Lohmann failed to see the connection of this episode with the claims for creole rights and the progressive control of the Franciscan Province by Peruvians. He also overlooked the international context of the polemic.
Guardian, Vicar, *Visitador de la Provincia* and Provincial Vicar, all usually monopolized by the peninsular Commissary. 515

Yet, the acknowledgement by the Crown that creoles could rule the corporate colonial Church was not a total victory for creole scholars who had long advocated for the application within the Church of the rights of citizenship that Spanish legislation granted. 516 The ideas of Sandoval and Betancurt that were defended by Salinas in the 1641 *Memorial* were certainly curtailed with the introduction of the *alternativa* in the Franciscan Province -the alternating of elections of one local (mostly creole) and one peninsular- for the ruling positions. Fray Buenaventura opposed the *alternativa*, because after all it could be mishandled by the Commissary *du jour* and demanded legislation allowing the incorporation of more creoles into the Province, regardless of fixed quotas. 517 Nevertheless, the pressure of the Crown to establish quotas was considerable;

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515 “…el honor de los religiosos hijos naturales y alumnos de la dicha provincia donde tomaron el habito y se han criado desde novicios en los coros y pulpitos, en las catedras y confessionarios, en las escuelas de las comunidades, llenos de canas y de meritos y no los estranos que sin ellos se llevan las honras, premios y dignidades, dandoselas los Comissarios generales que los llevaban consigo y los incorporavan como lo significa el Breve…..y se mando poner el dicho breve en el convento para cumplirlo como Constitucion Apostolica…” Salinas, *Memorial del P. Buenaventura de Salinas*.

516 “Ser debida a los naturales dellas la prelacion en los oficios y beneficios, dignidades, obispados y arzobispados de sus provincias. Que para esto son dignos por letras, virtud i meritos i son idoneos por naturaleza, utilidad i conveniencia, calidades que los hacen mas dignos, i en que tambien concurren con los mismos derechos los capitolares que en sus iglesias sirven, aunque no sean naturales por nacimiento, pues basta que lo sean por beneficio del tiempo y del servicio y ocupacion en que asisten a los prelados, como miembros suyos y partes principales de su gobierno por lo qual se deven preferir a los que siendo de Espana y estando en ella pretenden ser proveidos en las prelacias de las Indias, sin que los nacidos en estos reinos hayan obtenido algunas en estos, ni sean promovidos a ellos…” Luis de Betancourt y Figueroa, *Derecho de las Iglesias Metropolitanas y Catedrales de las Indias, para la prelacion de los capitolares y naturales dellas en la previsión de sus prelacias*, (Lima), ff. 51r., v..

517 “para recibir novicios en aquella provincia no se aguarde ni espere a que pidan el habito tantos de esta nacion y tantos de la otra, que es un abuso, que de pocos anos a esta parte lo han querido introducir, de que han resultado gravissimos escandalos, destierros y discordias y porque por esperar a igualar la diferencia (si aquesto se consiente y se permite) sera necesario forcosamente excluir idoneos y admitir indignos, sino que
thus the *alternativa* was finally accepted by the Order in 1664 and officially approved by the Papacy in the 1680s, when the violence of elections in Los Reyes went beyond limits. Father Salinas’s negotiations and 1641 *Memorial* constituted a political landmark in the history of the control of the Orders by creoles.\(^{518}\)

The access of Father Salinas to the powerful Barberinis made him a respected and even feared figure in Rome. He presided once more over sessions at the Franciscan General Chapter of 1642, where he preached before the Cardinal Nepote, the Spanish Ambassador and the Father General; these three leaders being aware of the outcome of the conflict over the control of the Peruvian Province due to the smart son of a disgraced bureaucrat and a woman from *converso* origin. Fray Buenaventura had consecrated himself as an imperial politician.\(^{519}\) Yet, his use of the Barberini connection gained him new adversaries. The first to attack Salinas was the Spanish Ambassador who controlled Salinas’s movements in the city and even out of it, suspicious that Fray Buenaventura

\(^{518}\) The Peruvian Province asked in the General Chapter of the Order in 1664 to have the alternative approved. The Crown introduced the formal request in Rome as late as 1682, after violent incidents in Lima, in which a Spanish Commissary was almost burnt alive by creole friars opposed to the rule of non-locals. The papal bull that approved the *alternativa* for the Peruvian Provinces of Lima and Charcas was issued in 1683. In 1682, the Spanish ambassador extraordinaire in Rome, Francisco Bernardo de Quiroz, informed to the King: “Los religiosos de San Francisco que habitan en las Indias se dividen en tres partes: criollos (son hijos de espanoles pero nazieron en las Indias), gachupines (hijos de espanoles pero nazieron en Espana y tomaron el habito en España y despues los enviaron a las Indias para las misiones) y los hijos de Provincia (hijos de espanoles, nacidos en Espana pero de seculares se pasaron a las Indias y tomaron el habito)...Los criollos ahora pretenden se les den mas oficios que aquellos dos que siempre se les dan. El fundamento que tienen los criollos para pretender esto es, porque son mas en numero que los Gachupines e hijos de Provincia....” MAEC, Santa Sede, Leg. 139, ff. 2-112.

\(^{519}\) In his letter patent Merinero said to Cisneros that “algunos religiosos, sin orden ni licencia suya, movidos de particulares intereses y con siniestras y falsas relaciones, habian impetrado algunos breves de Su Santidad, muy en perjucio de Su Magestad...del bien comun de la religion, paz y quietud de los religiosos....” Córdova, *Corónica*, 1134. Salinas, *Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto*,
was becoming too close to the Papal family and therefore too free for a Spanish priest who should be reporting to the embassy.\(^{520}\) The second and even more threatening adversary was the General of the Order, Father Merinero, who felt that Fray Buenaventura had somehow undermined his authority. Merinero would not attack Salinas directly, probably fearing the reaction of his Protector Cardinal Barberini; yet as seen before, the General issued a letter patent in 1644 that forbade the circulation of Mendieta’s edition of Fray Diego de Córdova’s hagiography of Francis Solano. It was a clear move aimed at damaging the popularity of Córdova and even maybe an attempt to block the efforts of the Spanish Crown in order to expedite the canonization process of another Spanish saint. When the new General, Fray Juan de Nápoles, discovered that the letter patent had been sent to the Indies using obscure channels, he issued a new one in 1646 that authorized the “free circulation of the book in New Spain and Peru.”\(^{521}\) Once more the Franciscan *benemérito* brothers had succeeded.

Fray Buenaventura’s stay in Rome was coming to an end. During his last year there (1643-1644) he still enjoyed popularity at the Papal court, taught Theology in Naples and even Bologna -where he was at the beginning of 1643- and was entrusted with political missions by the Spanish Ambassador. He had done this before, when he spied for the Ambassador on the moves of the Portuguese Franciscans in Rome shortly  

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\(^{520}\) Between February and April 1643, the last year Fray Buenaventura was in Rome, the Spanish Ambassador, Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, appointed a friar in the convent of San Francesco a Ripa, Fray Lorenzo de San Elías, to keep him informed of the moves of Salinas in the city. The four letters preserved in the National Archive in Madrid tell how difficult was to keep track of the Peruvian Franciscan or maybe, there was already an agreement to misinform the ambassador?: “Hoy he buscado de nuevo al padre Fray Buenaventura en San Francisco de Ripa y me respondieron que aun no avia venido pero creo que no respondieran diferentemente de lo que respondi la semana pasada aunque le vieran...” In another letter, Fray Lorenzo said that Fray Buenaventura was in Bolonia. AHNM, Sección Estado (Italia), Libro 89-D, Letters from Fray Lorenzo de San Elías to the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo (Rome, 1643).

\(^{521}\) ASFL, Registro 3, Letter of Fray Juan Maldonado, Commissary of the Indies (August, 18, 1646).
after the secession of Portugal.\textsuperscript{522} Salinas was also in good standing with the Commissary of the Indies who re-appointed him as Peruvian Proctor and also as Proctor of the Indies before the Holy See.\textsuperscript{523} Yet, his enemies rallied around the Crown to present Salinas as a spy for the Barberinis and a cunning friar interested only in his own agenda; maybe both accusations were partially true. In his defense, Salinas wrote a fourth and last \textit{Memorial} published in 1646, in which he justified his actions in Rome saying that he did “all what was needed to be done for the cause of the Spanish Crown, at risk of being considered a spy for the King.”\textsuperscript{524} In a city clearly not on the side of Philip IV, Father Salinas’s political leverage in obtaining papal bulls, relics and teaching appointments -even against the will of the General- is a clear signal that Father Salinas was very close to the Barberinis and not as tight with the Spanish ambassador.\textsuperscript{525}

\textit{4.3.4. Fray Buenaventura’s last years and last Memorial (1646)}

In 1644, Father Salinas settled down in Valencia where he wrote his defense before the Council and last work, the \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto del Padre}

\textsuperscript{522} Fray Buenaventura referred to two specific tasks in which he served the Spanish cause. The first one was to follow a Mexican priest who was in Rome against the will of the Council but with the support of the General. Salinas did not provide details on this issue. The second was the control of the Portuguese friars who supported the cause of the Duke of Braganza. Salinas even broke into the cell of a Portuguese friar and stole the manuscript of a book about the right of the Braganzas to the Portuguese throne that was about to be printed in Rome. Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, ff. 66v., 68v.-69r.

\textsuperscript{523} Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, f. 65v-66r.

\textsuperscript{524} Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto}, f. 103r.

\textsuperscript{525} In a letter to the Commissary of the Indies, dated June 1644, Barberini described Salinas as having: “…los grandes meritos de la prudencia, diligencia, zelo, exemplo, y valor que siempre ha mostrado en esta Curia, a satisfaccion de todos. Que yo por la gratitud, y aficion que le he tenido, participare de todo, con singular gusto…” In Salinas, \textit{Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto} (Second Part), f. 33r.
Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba de la Orden de San Francisco, Lector

Jubilado...representa las acciones propias y la estimación con que ha servido a Su Magestad y a su Religión (1646), an interesting mixture of autobiographical account and political claim. In this 1646 Memorial -probably published in the same city- Salinas revised his life, centering the narrative on his irreproachable performance as Franciscan proctor in Madrid and Rome. He dedicated the final six folios to the problem of uncontrolled peninsular migration to the Indies and in particular to the need of limiting the access of newcomers to crucial positions in colonial government. Actually Fray Buenaventura was discussing the Royal Decree issued in March 1646 that asked the viceroyos and Presidents of Audiencias to prevent the permanent settlement of Spanish clergy in the Americas because of the high cost of sending them overseas. Even within the regular clergy, many friars moved to Spanish America, arguing that they would remain temporarily when in fact their goal was to stay and increase their income with higher stipends and alms while competing with the local clergy over administrative positions. Salinas claimed that much needed restrictions for the peninsular clergy and bureaucrats alike would allow Spanish Americans to occupy the ruling positions to which they were entitled not only because they were talented and educated but because creoles were multicultural and versatile. In making creoles the perfect link between European and indigenous culture as well as between the Crown and their native subjects, Fray Buenaventura once more advanced a notion of nationhood that was exclusive and distanced peninsular Spaniards. Unlike European Spaniards, Spanish Americans were better trained to perform in a diverse Spanish empire, a daring idea indeed.

Salinas, Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto, ff. 106v.-115r.
With the publication of the 1646 *Memorial*, Father Salinas succeeded in vindicating his reputation. A slight suspicion that he was not telling all the truth must have remained among the circle of bureaucrats at the Council of the Indies for he was not allowed to go back to Peru. He was appointed Commissary of the Franciscan Province of New Spain in 1645, which was an honorific position but far enough from Los Reyes. His exile was not so difficult for him after all, considering that his nephew Don Francisco Manrique de Lara was already an *oidor* at the Mexican *Audiencia*.\(^{527}\) During the following years, his religious performance and loyalty to the Crown were spotless, judging by his production of sermons published in Mexico in 1646 and 1647.\(^{528}\) Moreover, through the content of various letters sent by the viceroy Count of Salvatierra to the King between 1647 and 1648, we also know that Salinas’s actions as Franciscan Commissary and mediator in the conflict between Bishop Palafox and the Jesuits were characterized by “good example, knowledge and prudence.”\(^{529}\) In particular, his skills as

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\(^{527}\) In November 29th, 1644, the Council of the Indies ordered the General of the Franciscan Order to give permission to Father Salinas so he could leave court and travel to Mexico as *legataire* of the Commissary of the Indies. This tension reveals a final attempt by the anti-Salinas Franciscan faction at blocking his promotion. See *Catálogo de Consultas del Consejo de Indias. 1644-1650*, Antonia Heredia, dir. (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1990), 66.

\(^{528}\) Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, *Oración Evangélica Predicola el RRPP Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, lector Jubilado, calificador de la Suprema, Padre de la Sancto Provincia de los Doze Apóstoles de Lima y Comissario General de las de Nueva España. El día de la Festividad Gloriosa de Nuestro Padre San Francisco en su insigne convento de la Ciudad de México. Diose a la Estampa a instancia y devoción del Illmo. y Rvld. Sr. Don Fray Marcos Ramírez de Prado, obispo de Mechoacán….dedicala al Excmo. señor Don García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, conde de Salvatierra, virrey destos reynos* (México: Juan Ruyz, 1646) and *Oración Fúnebre a las Honras y Pompa Funeral Augusta que hizo la Nobilíssima Ciudad de México; su virrey y Capitán General de la Nueva España, conde de Salvatierra al Sereníssimo Señor Don Baltasar Carlos de Austria, nuestro príncipe jurado por Rey de las Españas y Emperador de las Indias. Orola el Padre Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, Lector Jubilado, Calificador del Consejo Real de la Santa Inquisición, Padre de la Provincia de los Doze Apóstoles de Lima en el Perú y Comissario General de todas las de la Nueva España de la Orden de San Francisco en su Iglesia Catedral a 17 de mayo de 1647* (México, 1647).
administrator impressed the Count of Salvatierra, who told the King in a letter dated April 1648 that Father Salinas had done a good work in regards to converting the Indians in the missionary frontier of Río Verde, appointing the best parish priests, traveling more than five hundred leagues in a very difficult geography and procuring from the Council the money for new chapels, sacred ornaments, wine and oil in the Franciscan mission of Río Verde. Salinas’s pastoral visit was completed with Michoacán, Zacatecas and Guadalajara where new Franciscan authorities were elected and the convents reorganized.530 Fray Buenaventura’s bishop-like performance granted him three nominations to Spanish American bishoprics in 1651: Arequipa, which was given to the Peruvian Augustinian Gaspar de Villarroel; Santiago de Chile; and Concepción, obtained by the Peruvian Augustinian Francisco de Loyola Vergara.531

Going back to Lima as a bishop would have been the culmination of an already formidable career for this colonial scholar. Nonetheless, the nominations revealed that his acquaintance with the Mexican viceroy had convinced the King that after all Fray Buenaventura was not that disaffected to the Crown. The final chapter of his life involved the two things that Father Salinas had honored the most: power and faith. In 1648, the

529 On Salinas’s role as mediator in the conflict between Palafox and the Jesuits of New Spain, the Mexican viceroy wrote: “…me vali del [Salinas] en los negocios arduos que se han ofrecido del servicio de Vuestra Magestad con el obispo de la ciudad de Los Angeles en el caso de la competencia sobre los alcaldes mayores, en que por el modo de introducirla, estuvo a peligro la quietud publica. Y en el del que movio a la Religion de la Compania, que no estuvo menos que arreglada: y en ambos casos fue una de las principales asistencia que tuvo la autoridad y jurisdicción real y su mucha atencion, buena disposicion y acierto, con que finalmente se redujeron a buen estado las cosas (Mexico, August 21st, 1647). In Córdova, Corónica, 1010.

530 Córdova, Corónica, 1010. For more information on the region or Salinas’s performance as visitador see Antolín Abad Pérez, Los Franciscanos en América (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 113.

Count of Salvatierra, Viceroy of New Spain, was appointed Viceroy of Peru; therefore Fray Buenaventura bade farewell to the vice-regal couple in the palace of Mexico. Before retiring to his convent in Cuernavaca, Salinas put in the hands of the Count and Countess the only thing that would grant him glory and recognition for years to come. Since 1639, he had zealously kept the relic of the Lignum Crucis, the one that Urban VIII had given him in Rome. The relic was safely transported to Lima on board of the Armada of the new Viceroy, reached Los Reyes in 1649 and was delivered with a personal letter from Father Salinas to Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez. In that letter, the Franciscan Commissary of New Spain emphasized his devotion to the prelate and to his beloved hometown and the esteem and affection given to him by the Roman curia and two pontiffs. Fray Buenaventura, reminding Villagómez of the many services that he and his brother Fray Diego de Córdova had carried out for the Peruvian colonial Church, asked the archbishop to protect his brother. In September of that year, in one of the most solemn ceremonies known up until then in Los Reyes, the piece of the Holy Cross was taken in procession from the Franciscan convent to the main Altar inside the Cathedral. Once there, Archbishop Villagómez, surrounded by the members of the cathedral chapter, opened the little jeweled box, certified its content and worshipped the relic. After that, a solemn mass was sung and the creole Dominican Blas de Acosta -old acquaintance of

532 “…esta reliquia para esta santa iglesia a ynstancia del dicho don Fernando Arias de Ugarte que como tan piadoso padre della procuro dejarla enriquecida con tan ynsigne y singular thessoro y el dicho padre Fray Buenaventura siendo como es general de su horden en las provincias de Nueva España como hijo fiel desta ciudad la traxo en su poder y la guardo hasta que tuvo occasion de remitirla con la mayor decencia y seguridad que pudo por mano de los excelentísimos senors don Garcia Sarmiento de Sotomayor y dona Antonia de Salinas y Guzman, condes de Salvatierra, marqueses de Sogrosso entonces virreyes de la Nueva España y estavan de partida para venir a serlo como oy lo son deste Pirú como consta del dicho padre escrita a Su Illma. fecha en México en tres de mayo de 1648…” ACL, Libro de Actas del Cabildo Metropolitano (March 4th, 1649), ff. 296v.-297r. The ceremony has also been described in Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 45-47. The best description of the procession is in Córdova, Teatro, ff. 52r.-52v.
the Franciscan brothers reached the pulpit to deliver a sermon which celebrated the arrival of a piece of the Holy Cross and the patriotic intervention of Fray Buenaventura in such a holy affair. The arrival of the most precious relic of Christendom to the first Metropolitan See of South America had in part achieved what creoles wanted to complete with the canonization of Solano since the 1610s; to make Lima a landmark in the Catholic geography. But the relic had made an even larger miracle. When Father Acosta reached the pulpit, he described Salinas as “of noble lineage, as wise as an oracle and so virtuous that he equaled any of the crowns on the coat of arms of the city of Lima.”

The Salinas family had achieved their final vindication in going from scandal to honor and fame. The polemic Fray Buenaventura died in Cuernavaca, in November 1653.534

This chapter has analyzed the intellectual work of two exceptional Franciscan scholars. Fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas was arguably one of the best Peruvian historians of the seventeenth century and his brother Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova was perhaps the most important political authors of the period. They were not only scholars producing works of impressive quality in the Peruvian Franciscan Province, but the circumstances of both being members of the Franciscan Order and the beneficiente elite adds extra texture and significance to their lives and historical work. Both brothers centered their work on the canonization of Francis Solano, the rights for prelacies and the

533 Fray Blas de Acosta, Sermón en la Solemníssima Colocación de la Sagrada reliquia del santo Lignum Crucis que la santidad de Urbano VIII de felice recordación embió a la Santa Iglesia de Lima por mano del Rmo. P. Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova del orden de los menores de la observancia lector jubilado comisario general de las provincias de México donde la entregó al Excmo. Señor conde de Salvatierra siendo virrey y capitán general de aquel reyno y su excelencia viniendo a serlo deste Perú, al Ilmo. Señor doctor don Pedro de Villagómez, arçobispo de Lima, traxola su Illma en processión solemne desde la iglesia de Nuestro Seráfico P. San Francisco y la colocó en su cathedral Domingo 19 de setiembre en lugar del día de la festividad de la exaltación de la Cruz en que se despacho siete visitadores contra la idolatría y se leyó la bula de la reformación de las festividades que se deben guardar de precepto (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1649).

534 Cook, “Fray Buenaventura,” 47.
appointments of the creole regular clergy. These issues served another purpose as well: the advocacy for their own lineage and the claims of the *encomendero* elite, to which the Franciscan brothers were related through their sisters. The intellectual performance of both brothers took place in Peru and Europe; Fray Buenaventura, in particular, was able to move from colonial to imperial political scenarios in Madrid and Rome. Their personal journeys and abilities to build networks within the Spanish Empire shed light on the process of building scholarly careers during the colonial period.535

Through hagiographies, chronicles and political projects published between 1630 and 1651, these two authors revisited key chapters of colonial history to defend the role of the Franciscan Order next to the Spanish Crown and justify the conquest and the political role of the conquistadors in the expansion of the Spanish monarchy to the Indies. Both Fray Diego and Fray Buenaventura built their argumentation on the work of creole ideologues like Luis de Betancurt, Juan Ortiz de Cervantes and Vasco de Contreras y Valverde on distributive justice and the rights of citizenship of local elites. Córdova and Salinas also drew from European Anti-Machiavellianism, like the works of Justus Lipsius and Giovanni Botero that were conceived as part of the discourse on Catholic statecraft. Both Córdova and Salinas imagined a revamped Spanish Empire in which the colonial Church and elites were aides to the Crown in the expansion of Castilian civilization and values in Spanish America and beyond. Salinas in particular, advanced a very modern proposal that was based on an increase in the native population and their progressive

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535 Examples of contemporary studies of Córdova’s work, in which the political dimension has been totally overlooked are: Federico Richter Prada, “Tres Cronistas Franciscanos (Siglos XVII-XVIII),” *Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica*, No. 2, (1992): 233-245; Canedo, Introducción, XXXIII and Guillermo Lohmann, *Inquisidores, Virreyes y disidentes. El Santo Oficio y la sátira política* (Lima: Congreso Nacional del Perú, 1999), 30. The two last authors overlooked the imperial conflict behind the overlap of authority between the Franciscan Provincial and the Commissary and even worse, the conflict between the Council of the Indies and the authority of the General of the Order.
incorporation into the colonial market economy through the expansion of fiscal
contributions. Fiscal contributions also were proposed for colonial elites in exchange for
the re-launching of a more socially responsible *encomienda*. The increase of fiscal
revenue from different segments of colonial population would fuel the modernization of
colonial economy –of the mining system in particular- while helping to consolidate the
political supremacy of Spain in the world. Feasible or not, it was a bold and original idea.
Chapter 5

Jesuit Reformism

The Children of Loyola were the last members of a religious corporation to arrive in Peru in the sixteenth century (1568), but by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Society of Jesus had become one of the largest and powerful Orders in the Peruvian viceroyalty. The Jesuit’s contribution to colonial education, evangelization, economy and the arts has been praised in many scholarly works. However, in 1910 José de la Riva-Agüero pointed out that the Jesuit historiographical contribution to Peruvian colonial culture was not significant for an Order whose cadres had reached the highest level of theological and humanistic formation. It is true that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Peruvian Jesuit Province was home to major figures like the historian José de Acosta and the linguist Ludovico Bertonio. However, during the seventeenth-century, when creole scholarship and especially history were flourishing within religious

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corporations, only the names of Bernabé Cobo and Giovanni Anello Oliva stand out as examples of Jesuit historiography.539

Cobo’s chronicle, completed by 1653, is still considered a landmark of natural history, even though it is only the part on natural history that has survived of the original work.540 The original manuscript was far more complex than the version we know now that has been reduced to the Natural History found in the early nineteenth century. We know the first manuscript involved a quite ambitious historical comparison between Mexico and Peru -following Acosta’s model- from which only the history of Lima, an Incan history and part of the Natural History mentioned above have survived.541 The Incan history, though celebrated for its new data related to the Incan religion, has nonetheless been considered problematic given the reliance of the author on secondary sources.542 Given that the historical information in Cobo was not truly original,

539 A recent Jesuit monograph considers the names of Giovanni Anello Oliva, Bernabé Cobo and Jacinto Barrasa as the historians of the Order in seventeenth-century Peru, even though the latter is arguably comparable to the first two. Some other Jesuits wrote minor historical narratives for specific Jesuit colleges or missions, like Diego de Torres Bollo and before him the anonymous author of the 1601 account. I focus on these three because of their broader scope of the position of the Order within the empire. See Angel Santos, Los Jesuítas en América (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, 1992), 341-343.


541 In the introduction to the English translation of Bernabé Cobo, History of the Inca Empire, Hamilton offers a complete analysis of the different manuscripts and their publication. The manuscript of the Historia de la Fundacion de Lima with which I am working with is in the Collection of the Royal Palace in Madrid. BPRM, Bernabé Cobo, Historia de la Fundación de Lima, Mss. II/204 (1639).

542 John Howland Rowe, “Foreword,” History of the Inca Empire, X-XI.
scholarship has centered on the natural description of the flora and fauna of Spanish America.

The publication in 1895 of the chronicle written by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Anello Oliva, discovered in Paris in 1857, did not change the vision that early twentieth-century scholars had of colonial Jesuit historiography. In spite of two nineteenth-century editions, Oliva was considered a “second hand,” if not a mediocre source for Incan history. The notion that Jesuit historiography had not contributed much to our understanding of colonial times has remained unchallenged until quite recently when the last edition of Oliva’s chronicle -based not on the partial manuscripts published in 1857 and 1895 but on the one held at the British Library- revealed a much more complex work and renewed the discussion on Jesuit historiography and the role of the Order in Peruvian colonial society. The apparent isolation of Cobo and Oliva in a century of religious historiography and their supposed thematic disconnection has posed the question of what happened with Jesuit scholarship in the seventeenth century. This chapter explains the evolution of Jesuit historical discourse between the 1600s and the late 1670s, considering


two moments: the first trend within the Order started around 1599-1601, peaked by the mid 1630s and declined by the mid 1650s due to the eclipse of the discourse on how to reform colonial society and the strict effort on the part of the Order itself to control reformism and revisionism among its members. The works of Father Oliva and Father Cobo stand out as landmarks in this moment of Jesuit historiography. The second phase goes from the late 1650s to around 1680 and reflects a loss of momentum by Jesuit criticism. The chronicle of Father Jacinto Barrasa that was completed around 1678 and known through an incomplete nineteenth-century copy reveals a significant decrease in interest in Catholic statecraft and historical revisionism.

Early Jesuit Memoriales that discuss Indian labor and the mining draft paved the way for the more elaborated historical narratives of Cobo and Oliva. These two authors will not be approached here as exponents of natural history and the history of the Inca Empire. Rather, they will be seen as the Jesuit expression of colonial discourse on Catholic statecraft, analyzing their appropriation of the ideas of Giovanni Botero, and for Oliva in particular, those of Justus Lipsius through his reading of Pierre Charron. This focus on their political messages reveals the transformation of sixteenth-century lascasianismo into an original colonial Catholic reformism, centered on the role of the Prince, political stability and the importance of the city. Moreover, the evolution of Jesuit discourse from Oliva to Cobo reveals the emergence of the creole agenda within the Order that was interested in the rights of the city as the axis of a consolidated colonial

545 No evidence has been found on the appropriation of the ideas of the founder of the Spanish tradition of Catholic Statecraft, the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira, whose work drew from both Botero and Lipsius. Considered a member of the first generation of arbitristas - the writers who proposed programs of reform for Spain since the late sixteenth-century- Ribadeneira aimed at being read by a European readership. Perhaps that is the reason why Jesuit scholarship in colonial Peru centered on the analysis of other European thinkers. See Robert Bireley, The Counter-reformation Prince. Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 111.
order. However, neither author, even though acquainted with other creole scholars, picked up on creole ideologues, thus demonstrating that these authors’ reading and training were much more connected to Europe than to the creole tradition. Oliva did not assimilate into the creole party nor did he share its demands while Cobo did have this connection but without a deep commitment to the claims of the benemérito elite. The conflicts among creoles, peninsulars and foreigners are important to understand the ideas of these two authors because these conflicts, which in other Orders fueled debates and scholarly production, contributed only to repression inside an Order for which internal discipline was very important. After the late 1650s, the censorship of the Order had successfully blocked Jesuit colonial reformism in history writing. The late work of Father Barrasa -and even Oliva’s second work in 1634- show a return to conservative formats of institutional history.

Both the first and the second moment of Jesuit scholarship focused on the very sensitive issue of the relationship between the Order and the Crown. Father Oliva coincided with his fellow religious chroniclers in the use of martyrdom and sainthood as important tropes through which the Jesuit historian established a dialogue with the Crown over missionary politics. Barrasa structured his late chronicle as a defense of the actions of his corporation in Peru and emphasized Jesuit orthodoxy, maybe to avoid the conflicts with the hierarchy faced by previous scholars. However, novelties among the second phase of Jesuit historiography are the development of Jesuit preaching and the overlapping of the sermon, the memorial and the historical project. This chapter also will address the processes of creation of Jesuit historical narratives raise important questions
about the political tensions within the Peruvian province of the Society of Jesus in the second half of the seventeenth century and its relationship to imperial politics.

5.1. Building up Jesuit Reformism: Early Memoriales on the Indian Question

In 1599, a few well-known members of the Jesuit Order in Peru - Fathers Juan Sebastián de la Parra, former Provincial, Estevan de Avila, Manuel Vásquez, the famous theologian Juan Pérez Menacho and Francisco de Vitoria - gave the Viceroy Luis de Velasco a memorial dealing with various aspects of indigenous labor. The Parecer de los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús, Juan Sebastián, Estevan de Avila, Manuel Vásquez, Juan Pérez Menacho y Francisco de Vitoria, dado al virrey D. Luis de Velasco, sobre si es lícito repartir indios a las minas que de nuevo se descubieren could be considered the departing point for Jesuit scholarship about the reform of the colonial system in the seventeenth century; this document was in reference to the colonial debate on the ethical position of the Orders in regards to indigenous labor. The Parecer of 1599 is a straightforward opposition to the participation of natives in colonial mining industry and reflects the intense discussion that the Jesuits were already involved in for roughly thirty years after their arrival in Peru. Five aspects were discussed at length in the text: 1) the legitimacy of the use of native labor by the colonial mining industry, 2) the quantity of Indians that should serve the mining mita, 3) the places from which Indian mitayos should come, 4) the legitimacy of taking mitayos out of obrasjes and estates to send them to the mines, and 5) finally, whether Indians already serving in exhausted mines should be sent to work in newly-discovered and more productive ones.\textsuperscript{546}

\textsuperscript{546} Parecer de los PP. De la Compañía de Jesús, Juan Sebastián, Estevan de Avila, Manuel Vásquez, Juan Pérez Menacho y Francisco de Vitoria, dado al virrey D. Luis de Velasco, sobre si es lícito repartir indios
The main issue at stake in the *Parecer* and other works -like that written by the Franciscan Miguel de Agia in 1604 already discussed- was the legitimacy of using Indian labor for such a physically demanding task within the context of pronounced decrease of Indian population. The Jesuit theologians argued that no more *repartimientos* or new labor drafts should be established for the very simple reason that the mining draft was against human liberty and that viceroy Toledo’s policy on the matter was morally wrong even though Potosi silver was much needed for the catholic monarchy.\(^{547}\) Along the lines of the proposals of Father Salinas that we saw in the previous chapter, early Jesuit reformism pointed out that the mining draft could exhaust the best source of revenue and the real source of wealth: the indigenous population. Indian tribute and the labor draft destined to agriculture were the true productive “nerves of the Republic.” The Jesuit theologians’ claim for taking Indians out of the agricultural production and manufacturing was not so distant from that of the scholars who were in favor of the perpetuation of the *encomienda* system. Moreover, such a claim was shared by the *benemérito* elite as well.\(^{548}\)

However, the most important aspect of the Jesuit *Parecer de los Padres* lay with its ideas on how to reform the administration of labor in the mining industry. It was a

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\(^{547}\) *Parecer*, 338-341.

\(^{548}\) *Parecer*, 341.
response to the claims of Spanish and creole miners, since the former considered that without silver the viceroyalty would decay while the latter believed that silver not only fostered the growth of the Spanish population but also served to reward the *benemérito* population. The Jesuit theologians in 1599 stated that the Indians serving Potosí were numerous enough to keep the industry going and the kingdom in peace and order. Moreover, a larger labor Indian draft would make the situation of the Indians even more tragic, forcing them to escape to isolated areas of the viceroyalty where they would most likely go back to idolatry. In response to those justifying new Indian drafts to keep the kingdom wealthy, the *Parecer* agreed with other treatises as to the need to mine Andean silver and pay for the expansion of a Catholic order worldwide. Being such a crucial political goal of the Spanish empire, the Jesuit theologians argued that there was no reason to make only the indigenous population work in the extraction of silver, since slaves, free blacks or even poor Spaniards as members of the *república* also had duties towards the Crown.549

The most interesting aspect of the *Parecer de los Padres*, however, is that it questioned the laws passed in Spain without knowing the social reality of the viceroyalty. The Jesuit theologians argued that because royal decrees had been issued -there had been a few during the 1590s- it did not mean these laws could necessarily be enforced. It was legal, when larger and graver issues were at stake, to postpone the effect of a law until the Crown and the Council had been informed of the social consequences of the application of a specific legislation. The scarcity of male Indians had even led to the immoral situation of women working in sweatshops (obrajes) and agricultural estates, and even

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549 *Parecer*, 342-343.
led to the extreme measure of sending under-aged Indians to the mines.\textsuperscript{550} The 1599 Parecer opened up a discussion on social issues that was followed by other scholars of the period, in which an upfront criticism and even contention of royal orders can be appreciated, a tone maintained by Jesuit historical criticism until the 1630s. Yet, the most important consequence of the Parecer by the theologians was its influence on a new royal decree on Indian labor issued in November 1601 that addressed some of the problems discussed above.

The royal decree of 1601 constituted a turning point in terms of colonial legislation that was passed to protect the indigenous population.\textsuperscript{551} It was only partially enforced, but originated a very active discussion in Spanish America in which the Jesuits certainly had important participation as we will see with the memorial of Father Alonso Messía published in 1603. The discussion of the 1601 royal decree was at the basis of a renewed lascasianismo, which could be found in the work of Father Oliva. The decree, with its twenty-eight measures related to indigenous labor, sought to alleviate the burden imposed on the shoulders of the native population. The royal decree of 1601 forbade all personal services of Indians in sweatshops, mills, pearl fisheries, agricultural estates and transportation. In a very bold move, it also stated that Indians should be paid for their work in the mines. Furthermore, blacks, mestizos and idle whites would be incorporated into the mining industry as recommended by the Jesuit memorial of 1599. Another important measure of the royal decree was the reduction of the tribute paid by the

\textsuperscript{550} Parecer, 343.

\textsuperscript{551} Cédula Real sobre el trabajo de los Indios (Valladolid, November 1601) in Aldea, El Indio, 347-370.
mitayos. Nevertheless, the decree made a quite strong case about the need to put the indigenous population to work since idleness among Indians was considered to be negative. Building upon this assumption, the 1601 decree stated that the mining draft for the exploitation of the silver and mercury mines was a positive practice because of the “conservation of both the Indian subjects and the kingdom.” In spite of its progressive spirit, the 1601 decree clearly stated that Indian mitas for both Potosí and Huancavelica should not be modified.

In order to be enforced, the ambitious measures of the 1601 Decree demanded a major shift in the colonial society and that was not an easy task to undertake. Therefore, the Viceroy of Peru, Don Luis de Velasco, asked one leading Jesuit in Los Reyes to study carefully the Royal Decree and come up with a realistic set of measures in order to improve the working conditions of the mitayos without paralyzing the mining industry. Father Alonso Messía Venegas, an influential and prestigious figure in early seventeenth century Los Reyes, worked on a memorial presented to the viceroy in 1603. The Memorial del Padre Alonso Messía sobre la Real Cédula del Servicio Personal de los Indios de 1601 contributed with an ethical approach -very much appropriate for a priest- and with a practical one as well much needed to reconcile theory and practice. Messía’s original training as a courtier who was well acquainted with colonial government and with connections in the secular world proved to be very useful. Father Messía arrived in

552 Cédula Real, 352-361.

553 “y porque sin el azogue, que se saca de las minas y Cerro de Guancavelica no se pueden beneficiar los metales de plata, como se ha visto por experiencia, conviene que la labor y beneficio de las dichas minas de azogue se prosiga y continue como hasta ahora…” Cédula Real, 367.

554 Alonso Messía Venegas, Memorial del Padre Alonso Messía sobre la Real Cédula del Servicio Personal de los Indios de 1601 in Aldea, El Indio, 373-412.
Peru as a page in the entourage of Viceroy Count of Villardompardo in 1586 and shortly after his arrival he entered the Society of Jesus, retaining his connections in Los Reyes and Seville. By 1592, he was already rector of San Martin College and involved in major endeavors of the Order such as the construction of the Jesuit church in Lima. In 1606, the influential Messía was elected Proctor of his Order and sent on a special mission to Europe to purchase the best works of art that he could find to adorn the Jesuit church in Lima, a replica of the *Chiesa di Gesù* in Rome. In Rome, Messia succeeded not only as art dealer but also in securing the rights of his Order in the conflict with the University of San Marcos over degrees conferral in 1608.\(^{555}\) But probably Messía’s best credential was his missionary work in the mining area of Upper Peru for many years. He was a man of the world with social and political awareness.

In 1603, Messia delivered to viceroy Velasco his *Memorial* on the feasibility of the enforcement of the 1601 royal decree. In his opinion, the royal decree as a whole could not be enforced without grave consequences for the economic life of the viceroyalty, yet certain idealistic aspects of the decree could be used to improve the conditions of the Indian workers affected by the mining *mita*. Messía’s opinion was based on a case he knew well. Every year, from the Jesuit mission of Chucuito in the Upper Peru two thousand three hundred men and their families, cattle and supplies left the mission towns on their way to Potosí but only less than two thousand would return. The reasons for this progressive decrease in the indigenous population were death in the

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\(^{555}\) Alonso Messía Venegas was born in Seville in 1557 to a wealthy and somewhat influential family. After a brief period as courtier in Lima, he professed as a Jesuit in 1587. In 1592, shortly after being ordained as priest, he became Rector of San Martin College. He went to Europe as Proctor of his Order in 1592, 1606 and 1630. See CVU (Lima), *Relación de Padres de la Compañía*; AHNM, Sección Códices. *Anales del Colegio de San Martín de Lima*, 242, B; Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, 395; Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, I, 89 and Aldea, *El Indio*, 373-375. Father Messia was an influential but controversial figure within the Jesuit Order.
mining camps, no supplies for the trip back home, poor payment which did not cover the cost of food, and informal hiring at the mining site that could mean extra income with which to pay travelling costs and tributes but could put the workers’ well-being at risk at the same time.\textsuperscript{556}

For Father Messía, there could be at least at least three remedies. First, Spanish miners should pay for the travel expenses of the \textit{mitayos} and their families. Second, the Crown should lower the tributes for the Indians drafted for Potosí, and third, an agrarian reform of the arable lands in the vicinity of Potosí should be undertaken. With these changes instead of favoring Spanish landowners, who in turn sold livestock to the mining camps, the Indians working in Potosí could grow their own food supply or buy it at a very low price from small owners.\textsuperscript{557} Far from being the perfect solution, the 1603 \textit{memorial} of Alonso Messía was an effective start fro which to discuss a very complex issue and attempt to solve the problem with realistic measures. Even though Messía’s \textit{memorial} was connected to that of 1599, it was more original because its reformist message considered the evolution of colonial reality with its carefully pondering of the costs of Indian labor. The mining \textit{mita} was necessary but so was the need to alleviate the burden of the Indians; with this scenario, the real contribution of Messía, was his proposal of the Jesuit mission town as the solution for protecting the native population from the devastating effects of the mining draft. Jesuit advocacy for the mission frontier thus was coming of age.

\textsuperscript{556} \textit{Memorial del Padre}, 377-412.

\textsuperscript{557} \textit{Memorial del Padre}, 377-412.
Father Messía’s work was followed a few years later by another arbitrio on the issue of Indian labor in the mining sites that was written by another group of Jesuit scholars. The *Parecer de los Jesuitas sobre el Trabajo de los Indios en las Minas de Potosí*, finished in March 1610, elaborated on the 1603 memorial. By the end of his memorial, Messía had pointed out the need to look for another opinion on how to enforce the 1601 decree. Thus, the viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros ordered the President of the Audiencia of Charcas to form a committee, which ended up being again a group of Jesuit theologians who lived in Cuzco and the Upper Peru region and knew well the problems related to the *mita*.\(^{558}\) The most important consideration of this document was its strong condemnation of Toledo’s mining *mita*, thought of as a major offence against human liberty and the cause of a total disruption in the life of the indigenous population: abandoned crops, deaths, runaway Indians, loose morals, etc. The *Parecer de los Jesuitas* coincided with the Jesuit scholars of 1599: new Indian towns should be established in the surrounding areas of the mining center in order to prevent long, dangerous and costly displacement of Indians during weeks. As the *Parecer de 1599* and Messía’s memorial, this new document also urged for a better administration of the *mita*, not for its abolition.\(^{559}\) The *Parecer de los Jesuitas* of 1610 once more asked colonial authorities for measures to avoid the Indian depopulation of the viceroyalty or at least that of the upper provinces, but did not contribute original ideas on how to enforce the 1601 decree.

\(^{558}\) *Parecer de los Jesuitas sobre el Trabajo de los Indios en las Minas de Potosí*, in Aldea, El Indio, 463-493.

\(^{559}\) *Parecer de los Jesuitas*, 463-492.
Among the Jesuit *memoriales* of this early moment in time, one stands out as quite original and strongly related to the creole scholarship on the issue of Indian labor as related to the claims of the *encomendero* elite. This was the *Informe o Parecer del Padre Diego de Torres sobre si conviene la perpetuidad del servicio de indios a sus encomenderos* published in Valladolid in 1603, the same year that Father Messía delivered his Memorial to the viceroy.\footnote{Informe o parecer del Padre Diego de Torres sobre si conviene la perpetuidad del servicio de indios a sus encomenderos y con que modo se convendría hacer, si conviene (Valladolid, 1603) in Aldea, *El Indio*, 423-432. On Diego de Torres’s life, see Enrique Torres Saldamando, *Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru. Biografias, Apuntes para su Historia* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1882), 114. He published -based on litterae annua of the Peruvian province- one work which had two more editions: Diego de Torres, *Breuis relatio historicum rerum in provincia Peruana apud Indos à patribus Societatis Iesu gestarum* (Mainz, 1604) Diego de Torres, *La nouvelle histoire du Perou par la relation du Pere Diego de Torres, de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris, 1604) and Diego de Torres, *De rebus Peruanis, R. P. Dieghi de Torres, Societatis Iesu Presbyteri commentarius* (Antwerp: Ioanne Hayo, 1604). These were not really historical chronicles but missionary reports much focused on the Upper Peru region.} If the Jesuit *Memoriales* of 1599, 1603 and 1610 pushed for better working conditions and for the creation of Jesuit mission town as alternatives for the preservation of the indigenous population, the work of Torres Bollo incorporated the institution of the *encomienda* as a solution to the problem of Indian labor.\footnote{This Diego de Torres is Diego de Torres Bollo -sometimes referred as Diego de Torres Villalpando, because of his birthplace- who worked for many years in the mission frontier as founder of the Province of Paraguay and as missionary in the Tucumán area of northwest present-day Argentina. See Torres Saldamando, *Antiguos Jesuitas*, 79 and Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú. Crónica anónima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en los países de habla española en la América Meridional, Francisco Mateos, ed. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1944), 21. Torres Bollo had two other fellow Jesuits contemporaries in the Peruvian Jesuit Province by the same name: Diego de Torres Vásquez and Diego de Torres Rubio.} This work by Torres Bollo predated Buenaventura de Salinas’ ideas because it proposed the re-launch of the *encomienda* as the axis of a renewed colonial system and in doing so, the author redefined the *lascasianismo* in Jesuit scholarship of the early seventeenth-century, advocating for the Indians but not opposing the *encomienda* as in
the previous century.\textsuperscript{562} The main argument of Father Torres Bollo was that the viceroyalty of Peru was afflicted by two scourges: the decrease of Indians and the risk of sedition of discontented \textit{beneméritos}; he conceived that both problems could be solved by a redefined \textit{encomienda} adapted to fit the needs of both abused Indians and postponed \textit{encomenderos}.

According to Torres Bollo, creole \textit{beneméritos} were granted Indian labor based on their merits and those of their lineage. It was then natural for the beneficiaries of such grants to reciprocate the King’s generosity, performing social and judicial duties among their Indians and therefore helping with the administration of the kingdom. Besides showing gratitude to their King, the \textit{encomendero} class would develop a sense of responsibility that was natural and Christian among local elites. Not only Fiscal and judicial aspects of colonial administration would be taken out of the hands of \textit{corregidores} -this had occurred since 1565 along with personal dealings with the Indians as well- but the \textit{encomenderos} also were allowed to oversee the pastoral work of the parish priests. Another important consequence would be the avoidance of the union of Indians, blacks and \textit{mestizos}, an astute way for Indian women to procreate children who would be exempted later from tribute.\textsuperscript{563} Torres’s \textit{arbitrio} was utterly patronizing with a major \textit{lascasianista} influence with his emphasis on a pure Indian \textit{republica}, but his stress

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{562} For the influence of Las Casas’ doctrine in colonial Peru, see Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “La Restitución por conquistadores y encomenderos: un aspecto de la incidencia lascasiana en el Perú,” \textit{Anuario de Estudios Americanos}, XXIII (1966): 79-104. Las Casas’ opposition to indigenous labor and the \textit{encomienda} system, reflected later in The New Laws of 1542, determined that several conquistadores left money in their wills for the support of various colonial institutions related to the welfare of the native population, such as hospitals and places of worship. Yet, the \textit{encomienda} as the foundation of the colonial system would not be discussed by the first generations of Spanish settlers in Peru A recent study by Daniel Castro offers a new approach to Las Casas and his work, in which the famous bishop appears as a supporter of the imperial dominion of Spanish America but still an advocate for social reform. See Daniel Castro, \textit{Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism} (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

\textsuperscript{563} \textit{Informe o Parecer}, 426-427.
\end{footnotesize}
on social responsibility for the *encomenderos*, on the money the Crown would save with the replacement of the *corregidores* and on the increased revenue that would come from the expansion of tribute upon a growing indigenous population makes his a realistic and modern approach to early colonial administration. However, the most revolutionary idea - perhaps even more radical coming from a prominent Jesuit - was that the *encomienda* should not be an anathema. Contrary to what Bartolomé de las Casas proposed, the old medieval institution could be re-launched and promoted for the sake of the Peruvian viceroyalty. The end of the document advanced a very interesting idea: parish priests should come from the *encomendero* elite. That is, every second child of a *feudatario* family should enter the clergy and be trained as a *doctrinero*; a very early advocacy for the constitution of a creole priesthood, who would be involved in the administration of the indigenous population along with the creole elite.  

Diego de Torres Bollo published in Valladolid in 1603 or 1604 a second *memorial* regarding the effective governing of the Indies. The *Segundo Memorial de Diego de Torres sobre el recto gobierno de las Indias* was dedicated to the President of the Council of the Indies, the Count of Lemos, closely related to the Jesuits since he was the grandson of Saint Francis of Borgia, former General of the Jesuits. In this document, Torres went back to the topics already revised by his fellow Jesuits before - such as the *mita*, the *corregidores* and the Indian labor draft - but emphasized two other aspects that announced the work of Giovanni Oliva and even other religious scholars. The first one was Torres Bollo’s claim that the Crown was not supporting the missionary

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564 *Informe o Parecer*, 431-432.

Church with enough funding in their expansion into the colonial frontier. Torres Bollo was particularly interested in addressing the problems of the recently conquered frontier of Tucumán where he had worked in the conversion of the Calchaquí Indians. The young Jesuit missions in Peru needed economic assistance for oil, wine, and medication for the missionaries, a claim that was not new since it was at the core of the conflict between Crown and corporate Church. The real novelty was Torres Bollo’s proposal that newly-converted indigenous population should be exempt from tribute in order to nurture their incorporation into colonial society and Spanish uses. This proposition was the origin of the Jesuit stance on the administration of the colonial frontier by the regular clergy, that led to many conflicts later in time in Paraguay between the Order and the settlers. Diego de Torres Bollo’s ideas raised the question as to what extent he was the voice of the beneméritos, a connection which I have not been able to identify. However, it is more important to point out that his proposals on the reform of the colonial situation and in particular on the status of the indigenous population linked the expansion of the Jesuit mission, the demands for financial support of the Crown and a socially responsible version of the encomienda. Even though the three issues would not necessarily be kept together later as part of an identifiable Jesuit agenda, this updated lascasianismo and advocacy for the religious corporations and colonial elite made Torres Bollo the precursor of Baltasar de Campuzano Sotomayor, Bernardo de Torres and Buenaventura de Salinas.

By 1620, the mission became the only agenda that the Jesuit Order was decidedly pushing for, as it appears in the work of one of the most brilliant minds within the Order: Father José de Arriaga. *La Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú* (1621) constituted a

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566 Segundo Memorial, 459-460.
powerful statement on the need to complete a still unfinished and flawed evangelization, as evidenced in the revival of idolatry in the highlands of the archbishopric of Lima.\footnote{On the revival of native idolatry in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Kenneth Mills, \textit{Idolatry and Its Enemies: Extirpation and Colonial Andean Religion, 1640-1750} (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1997).} For Arriaga, it was of the utmost importance for social stability to build a homogeneous society, anchored in one religion. Native idolatry in early seventeenth-century Peru could be compared to underground religious practices in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries like those of \textit{moriscos} and \textit{conversos}. Yet, the solution for colonial Peru was not a war or a massive exile, but rather religious education. A solid evangelization would not only make possible a solid and sound Andean Catholicism, but more importantly create true Spanish subjects out of the Indians. The Peruvian viceroyalty thus was a social and cultural laboratory in which the Spanish American Church could create a better Christian civilization than that of peninsular Spain.\footnote{“La principal causa y raiz de todo este dano tan comun en este arzobispado…es falta de ensenanca y dotrina. Porque aunque a cualquier curato de indios llamamos doctrina lo es en algunas partes en el nombre…” Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, \textit{Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú} (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1621), 38. Arriaga’s work has sometimes been understood as a monument of intolerance but his book is more a handbook on how to perfect evangelization, with a strong emphasis on building a missionary-managed hinterland rather than one on how to fight native idolatry. For a narrow understanding of Arriaga see Irene Silverblatt, \textit{Modern Inquisitions, Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World} (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 108.} The erosion created by native idolatry in the building of the Catholic Monarchy could only be repaired only by the work of the Jesuit mission, the perfect institution to heal that edifice and consolidate Spanish culture and the kingdom. Arriaga also stressed the need that the missionary Church had for financial support to accomplish that goal, coinciding with Torres Bollo.
Only with proper liturgy -that is, churches with the means to convey the “mystery of the altar,”- could such task be carried on.\textsuperscript{569}

Father Arriaga wrapped up his \textit{Extirpación} with a strong defense of the missionary policy of the Jesuits in the Andes. By the 1620s, this was important to convince the Crown to continue to fund the passage of missionaries from Europe but also to consolidate the position of the Order in the dispute with other religious corporations over the control of the colonial frontier of southeastern Upper Peru.\textsuperscript{570} Seeking to legitimize the Jesuit occupation of the area, Arriaga stressed that the nature of his Order was the mission among infidels, drawing a clear line between the Jesuits and the mendicant Orders. In 1621, it was quite clear that the main concern of Jesuit scholarship was to defend the fast expansion and political influence of the Order.\textsuperscript{571} Arriaga’s emphasis on the obligation of the Crown to fund the initial establishment of the Jesuit mission and to prevent the overlap of its missionary activities with those of the mendicant institutes announced the work of Giovanni Oliva. With the Jesuit \textit{memoriales} and the work of José de Arriaga, Jesuit reformism had reached maturity and originality but also closed a period. Future debates would take place through the revision of colonial history.

\textsuperscript{569} “Estos dos medios que son el uso del santissimo sacramento del altar, el ornato de las iglesias y culto divino como tan proporcionados y necessarios para esta nueva christiandad…” Arriaga, \textit{Extirpación de la Idolatría}, ff. 42, 71.

\textsuperscript{570} The hinterland of La Paz was missioned in 1621 by Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits. Arriaga \textit{Extirpación de la Idolatría}, f. 125.

\textsuperscript{571} ‘Y que dixesse alguno y no sin fundamento que parece que nos queremos alcar los de la Compania en estos reynos del Peru con las misiones y dar a entender que solos los de ella son los que trabajan en provecho de los Indios y lo que tienen zelo de su conversion…Y en servirse los principes eclesiasticos y seglares mas de los de la Compania en este ministerio (la mission) no es por querer favorecer a unos y desfavorecer a otros…” Arriaga, \textit{Extirpación de la Idolatría}, ff. 122, 124.
5.2. An Italian Missionary in the Andes

“...escribir en lenguaje que no me era patrio...”

Giovanni Anello Oliva is one of the most complicated yet interesting intellectual figures of seventeenth-century Peru. Discovered by scholars in the mid-nineteenth century, Oliva’s work did not receive much attention until 1998 with the edition of a manuscript kept in the British Library. The partial French and Peruvian editions of 1857 and 1895 respectively -after the manuscript in the collection of Henri Ternaux Compans- were based on a copy produced by the author following the censorship of the London manuscript. Even though Oliva provided some new information on the mythical origin of the Inca civilization, he was considered a second hand source for those interested in the study of the Inca Empire and his work was considered to be the product of the imagination of an Italian Jesuit, excited by the exotic environment in which he spent half of his life. However, the publication of the London manuscript revealed something more important than information on Andean polities: the politics behind the writing of


573 For a complete account of the manuscripts and editions of Oliva’s work see Carlos Gálvez-Peña, “Introducción” in Giovanni Anello Oliva, Historia, XXVIII-XL.

574 Referring to Father Oliva, Raúl Porras hammered out the ironic label of “perfect soldier of Loyola”. See Porras, Los Cronistas, 499-500. Riva-Agüero said that Oliva’s Incan history was confusing and chaotic and altogether the product of a delusional mind. See Riva-Agüero, La Historia, 263. A reappraisal of Oliva started in the late 1980s. The originality of the ethno-historical information in Oliva’s chronicle was stressed by Szeminski. See Jan Szeminski, “Manqu Qhapaq Inca según Anello Oliva S.J. 1631,” Historia y Cultura, No. 20 (1990): 269-280.
Jesuit history during the 1630s that opened new avenues for the understanding of the historical context in which Oliva and other unruly religious scholars lived.

Giovanni Anello Oliva was born in Naples in 1574 and in 1593 at the unusually late age of nineteen he entered the Jesuit seminary in his hometown, with the blessing of his fellow Neapolitan, mentor and later General of the Order, Father Claudio Acquaviva.\(^{575}\) Being a member of the local nobility granted Oliva a quite familiar access to his peers: Acquaviva and his successor, Father Muzio Vitelleschi, with whom Oliva had a close relationship while studying at the Jesuit seminary and later in his life through an active correspondence from Peru.\(^ {576}\) In 1597, following Acquaviva’s orders, Oliva left Italy with nine other Jesuits to go to Spain and embark for the far distant Peruvian missions.\(^ {577}\) He would never return to Europe, a fact that would have a deep impact in his

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\(^{576}\) In May 1631, Oliva remembered Vitelleschi’s guidance: “...como otra línea que sale y tiene su principio de centro, salió de su presencia de V.P., dándome como amanerado padre su bendición que fue principio de la línea tan larga de tan largo viaje para estas Indias Occidentales...” Oliva, *Historia del Reino*, 6. In 1618, three years after his election as General, Vitelleschi wrote a quite intimate letter to his former pupil Oliva, justifying his ruling of the Order and the reform undertaken in the Jesuit Curia. Sharing with Oliva on issues related to the ruling of the former General Acquaviva, reveals a close acquaintance between the three men in spite of the difference in rank. Archivio Storico Societate Jesu, Roma (ARSI), Perù 1ª. Letter from Muzio Vitelleschi to Anello Oliva (Rome, February 18th, 1618). Philip Means thought Oliva and Vitelleschi were close relatives. Means, *Biblioteca Andina*, 416.

\(^{577}\) Claudio Acquaviva S.J. was General of the Jesuits between 1581 and 1615. Even though he gave a major impulse to the Jesuit missions in America, he was also a hard-liner regarding admission of mestizos to the Order and the appointment of creoles in ruling positions within the Peruvian province. See Francisco de Borja S.J., “La dialéctica integración-exclusión del otro en la Compañía de Jesús: la cuestión criolla en
decision to write history. The experience of exile was a powerful factor in the life of uprooted Jesuits in the New World.\footnote{578}

In 1597, Brother Oliva entered the Jesuit Seminary of Saint Paul in Lima to complete his theological training. The catalogue of Jesuits living in the Seminar in 1601 described the Neapolitan as “good for Theology, choleric, impulsive but promising as worker and ruler.”\footnote{579} At age twenty-seven Oliva was showing talent but also a conflicted personality. The same year, Brother Oliva received a letter from his old mentor and Jesuit General, Father Acquaviva, saying that he was consoled in knowing that Brother Oliva had found solace working in Peru. Yet in a letter addressed to the Provincial Father Esteban Páez, the General expressed doubts as to the benefit of sending Oliva to the missions and asked the Provincial to wait and test Oliva’s obedience.\footnote{580} Father Páez may have thought differently since by 1606, Oliva was already living in the Jesuit residence of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the door to the missions in the Chuncho lands of southwest Bolivia. In that year Oliva wrote about his homesickness for the first time to his old spiritual director in Naples, Father Muzio Vitelleschi. Vitelleschi’s response in 1607 was


\footnote{579}{Egaña, Monumenta, 250.}

\footnote{580}{Egaña, Monumenta, 181, 515.}
comforting, but appealed to Oliva’s vow of obedience. Oliva’s melancholy and frustration would accompany him for the rest of his life.

Between 1610 and 1612, Brother Oliva worked among the Chiriguanas, still a nomadic ethnic group with a bad reputation for violence, and the Chiquito: both ethnic indigenous groups were under the pastoral administration of the Jesuit mission residence of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. A letter to Vitelleschi from this period reveals Oliva’s frustration over the flawed evangelization of the Chiquito Indians. In spite of this irritation, Oliva’s missionary work was much praised by one of his superiors at Santa Cruz, who wrote the litterae annua for 1606-1608 and had it published in Germany. It is a very positive appreciation of the work of two Italians, Brothers Anello Oliva and Angelo Monitola, among the semi-nomadic Indians of the Bolivian rainforest. When Brother Oliva appeared to have adapted, he suffered a physical crisis due to a fever that forced him to bed and even justified his moving to Cuzco. It was then in 1614 that Oliva asked for the first time to be sent back to Europe, a request which was denied by the

581 “…el contento que le da el Señor en esse empleo de grangear almas para el cielo…obliga más a V.R. para que con mayor cuidado y fervor se sirva en lo porvenir…” ARSI, Peru I, (Letter from Vitelleschi to Oliva. Rome, 1607).

582 ARSI, Perú I. Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, October 1610).

583 “…prosiga V. R. en lo comenzado y asegúrese que por más que le parezca no hazer tanto fruto por no querer domesticar esos naturales, ni reducirse a poblaciones; es cosa cierta que no ha de quedar defraudado del mérito de sus trabajos…” ARSI, Perú 1, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1612).

584 These documents -a kind of annual report sent from the different Jesuit Provinces to the General in Rome- were sometimes published as examples of the good work of the Jesuits all over the world: The Litterae Annua for the college of Chuquisaca, from which the residence of Santa Cruz depended, stated that the linguistic skills of both Italians, Oliva and Monitola, were crucial for the success with the ethnic groups known as Chanonu and Gogotocoru. Oliva’s piety was also acknowledged. Litterae Annua Societatis Iesu. Anni, 1606-1608 (Maguncia: Ioannis Albini, 1618), 225-227.
General whom dryly encouraged him to continue his missionary work.\(^{585}\) This moment can be identified as the turning point in Oliva’s life. Being a foreigner in a milieu much controlled by Castilians, he simply wanted to abandon Peru.\(^{586}\) But he recovered his health and went back to Juli -the main town of the Jesuit mission of Chucuito- where, at the age of forty, he finally professed the fourth vow (obedience to the Pope) and was formally admitted into the Society of Jesus.\(^{587}\)

With priesthood also came the first ruling position of father Oliva’s career, albeit not within the Order. In 1614, he was appointed rector of the diocesan seminary in Cuzco. This was an important position in a quite difficult context. The bishop of Cuzco, Antonio de la Raya, had asked the Jesuits to take care of the seminary for the formation of secular priests but it was clear that there was the need to draw a line between the diocesan seminary of Saint Anthony and the Jesuit one of Saint Bernard in order to avoid resentment and gossip from other religious corporations in the city who claimed that the Jesuits were taking over the region. In 1616, in a very cautious letter, Vitelleschi urged Father Oliva to report exclusively to the rector of Saint Bernard for advice in the training and management of the diocesan seminary but maintain a distance from the Jesuit seminary as well.\(^{588}\) It was at this moment that the Crown hardened its policies against

\(^{585}\) ARSI. Perú 1, Vitelleschi to Oliva, (Rome, 1614).

\(^{586}\) “...con la buena relación que da de la juventud que se va criando en esse seminario que dize tiene a su cargo y holgaré que prosseiga....esto me obliga a rogarle que no trate de volver a Europa sino se asegure ser voluntad de Dios que le sirva en essa tierra...”. ARSI. Perú 2, I, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1614).

\(^{587}\) ARSI, Libro de Admisiones. Hispania 3-III. ff. 348-349.

\(^{588}\) ARSI. Perú 1, Letter from Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, January 1616). The seminary remained under Jesuit tutelage until 1618. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, Vol I, 322-323.
religious institutions; the Jesuits in particular were in a predicament since they opposed taxation policies and competed with the University of San Marcos over the conferral of degrees on Theology. In 1617, Father Oliva left the direction of the seminary and informed the General that after the death of Bishop de la Raya, the Cathedral Chapter of Cuzco had taken back the control of the school. In that year, he asked a second time for permission to return to Europe. In his response in 1618, Vitelleschi emphasized that nothing in Europe would grant Father Oliva as much content and satisfaction as his ministry among the natives.  

Between 1618 and 1628, Father Oliva lived in several cities and towns of Upper and Lower Peru: Lima, Arequipa, Oruro and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. In 1619, in a letter sent from the Jesuit College in Arequipa, he asked for the third time for permission to return to Italy, which again was denied. The General responded quite impatiently: “…even though I love you in Christ, I am sure you would not find as much consolation here as that already provided there by His Divine Majesty.” A year later, Vitelleschi wrote again to Father Oliva but this time to congratulate him on his decision to remain in Peru for the rest of his life. The General had won, yet he probably had little idea of the important role that was played by the influence and friendship of a fellow Italian in the Peruvian Province: Father Nicola Mastrilli Durán. Mastrilli was a member of Jesuit and Neapolitan aristocracy as well. The old lineage of the Marquises of San Marzano from which he came, had deep roots in the Society of Jesus. Two uncles of Nicola Mastrilli were Jesuits and most importantly, his cousin, Father Marcello Francesco Mastrilli would

589 ARSI, Peru 1a, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1618).

590 ARSI, Peru 2, I (Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome 1618)
be one of the famous Jesuit martyrs in Japan. The acquaintance of Oliva and Mastrilli - in particular during the years of the latter’s direction of the Peruvian Province- would be crucial for the intellectual pursuits of the former.

In 1622, Oliva was appointed head of the residence of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, much to the satisfaction of the Father General. Nonetheless -and this is an interesting aspect of Oliva’s unruly personality- in a letter that year the General reprimanded the Neapolitan for his sophisticated outfits and expensive taste that dramatically went against the simplicity of the Jesuit institute. Vitelleschi had been informed that, when travelling back to Santa Cruz as superior, Father Oliva had done so with excessive “comfort,” wearing a long cloak of fine wool with a silk lining that usually would be worn by rich members of the secular clergy and not by “…a religious person, who was supposed to set an example to others.” In spite of this, Oliva did a good job as head of various Jesuits establishments in the region between 1622 and 1628. From 1625 to 1628, he was Superior of the Jesuit College in Oruro but also lived in Chuquisaca, Misque and Cochabamba. From a letter dated 1624, we know that Father Oliva had become interested in gathering information on the life of a missionary dead in 1612, Father Andrés Ortiz

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591 Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Vida del dichoso y venerable padre Marcelo Francisco Mastrilli de la Compañía de Jesús, que murió en el Japón. A su alteza el serenísimo príncipe Baltasar Carlos (Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1640) and Philippo Alegambe, Mortes Illustres et Gesta Eorum de Societate Jesu (Rome: Typographia Varesii, 1652), 466-518.

592 Luis Martin defined Mastrilli as an Italian of “great intelligence.” See Luis Martin S.J. “La Biblioteca del Colegio de San Pablo,” FENIX, No. 21 (1971): 28. However, the Jesuit Catalogue of 1601, described Mastrilli as “…sensible, smart, prudent…fast learner, choleric, impulsive…moderate skills for ruler and extraordinary worker with the Indians…” Egaña, Monumenta Peruana, VII, 259,274. Mastrilli was instrumental in building the economic power of Jesuit Peruvian Province during the seventeenth century.

593 ARSI, Peru 2, I. Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1622).
Somewhere between 1628 and 1630, Oliva started to write the vitae of dead missionaries of the Peruvian province and gladly reported his findings back to Rome. This *Menologium* of saintly Jesuits was the beginning of Oliva’s Jesuit chronicle that would be completed by 1630.

Oliva’s *Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú* was both a personal attempt to cope with his solitude and homesickness and an ideological project that the author shared with a sector of reformists within the Jesuit Peruvian Province. Oliva’s motivation was unique, but it seems that a few other Jesuits showed great interest in the publication of Oliva’s history. The first member of this group was the creole Gonzalo de Lira, who as a visitador of the Peruvian Province met Oliva in Chuquisaca and encouraged him to write a longer version of the few short biographies of fellow missionaries to “lighten up his spirit and assuage his fears.” To the pious literature proposed by Lira, a totally revisionist Pre-Columbian and early colonial history was added due to the advice of Father Diego de Torres Vásquez, with whom Oliva shared various Jesuit residences.

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594 ARSI, Peru 2, I, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1624, 1628).

595 ARSI, Peru 2, II, Vitelleschi a Oliva (Rome, 1631).

596 The *menologium* was an old genre in medieval Europe. It was a compendium of biographies of men who had excelled in the virtues of religious life, therefore mainly devotional and inspirational literature. In a recent work however, Pauline Head has stressed the fact that the *Menologium* - a metrical calendar based on biographies- could also be understood as metaphoric historical discourse. See Pauline Head, “Perpetual History in the Old English Menologium” in Erik Kooper, *The Medieval Chronicle, Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle (Driebergen/Utrecht), July 1996*, Costerus, New Series, 120 (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi Editions, 1999) 155-157. In the early seventeenth century, Jesuit scholarship in Europe recovered an old genre: hagiography and its kin, the menologium. This school of research was known as Bollandisme, because of its founder Father Jean Bolland. See Carlos M. Rama, *La historiografía como conciencia histórica* (Barcelona: Montesinos Editor, 1989), 28-33.

during the late 1620s: Misque, Cochabamba and Chuquiabo (present-day La Paz).\textsuperscript{598} Torres Vásquez would be an important ideological influence in Oliva’s revisionism since he introduced the Italian to the work of the former mestizo Jesuit Blas Valera, whose manuscript on Inca history -the now lost Vocabulario Histórico- was brought from Cádiz to the library of the Jesuit college of Chuquiabo in 1599.\textsuperscript{599} The third decisive influence was Nicola Mastrilli, who as Provincial helped to make the work of his fellow Neapolitan a goal of the Peruvian Province, actively supported the completion of the manuscript, its discussion, censorship and remission to Europe.\textsuperscript{600}

In spite of a group of active supporters, Oliva was not the most popular priest in the Province; therefore at some point differences over the content and timing of his chronicle strained his friendship with the Provincial Mastrilli. Actually, the differences over the process of revision of the chronicle had little to do with the work itself and more with internal tensions in the Jesuit Peruvian Province. The correspondence that Vitelleschi exchanged with the Province between 1631 and 1634 shows concern over the escalating tension between creole and European priests, the context in which the Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú was completed and initially discussed. As occurred with other religious corporations in Lima, the confrontation between an empowered Spanish party (creole and Spaniards, children of the Province) and foreigners (mainly Italians)

\textsuperscript{598} Vargas Ugarte stated that according to the Cartas Anuas of 1628, Torres Vásquez supervised Oliva’s pastoral work. Apparently Torres also encouraged Oliva to start writing. See Vargas, Historia de la Compañía, II, 217.

\textsuperscript{599} On Blas Valera and their use by Garcilaso and Oliva, see the work of Sabine Hyland, The Jesuit and the Incas and Oliva, Historia, 95.

\textsuperscript{600} Mastrilli was only six years older than Oliva, his fellow-countryman, and had worked with him in the Upper Peru region. As with Oliva, Mastrilli had a great concern for the indigenous population. See Egaña, Monumenta Peruana, 821.
was motivated by the supposed control of the Province by the first group and the postponement of the second. Father Oliva resented the powerful and influential Spanish party and in particular Mastrilli’s loose grip on local and creole priests. One of the most notorious figures in the Spanish party was the influential Father Alonso Messía who seemed to have been the leader of the opposition to the “Italian faction.” Years later Messía would secretly send a *Memorial* to the Council of the Indies, protesting against the co-optation of the Peruvian Province by foreigners. Messía specifically complained against the control of ruling positions and concluded that: “such a control by foreigners has not been seen in any other religious corporation.”^601

Thus in the early 1630s, Oliva’s *Historia* was caught in the middle of a conflict of power and his attempts to get institutional support for his work, his criticism and his passionate ways made the situation even worse. Oliva accused Mastrilli of leaning towards the creole party which had delayed the approval of his chronicle. In turn, warned by the Provincial, Vittelleschi assured Oliva that Mastrilli did not make distinctions between Europeans and Spaniards because that was not in the Jesuit rule, but nonetheless he had asked the Provincial for more conciliatory regulations and to make amends with Oliva.^602 Mastrilli endured the attacks from both parties, but could not avoid such aggression to his friend the chronicler, in the form of anonymous offensive messages left under his door. In a letter to Oliva in 1634, the Father General strongly condemned the circulation of written insults within the school of San Pablo in Lima, asked the chronicler

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^602 ARSI, Peru, 2, II, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1631) and Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome, 1631).
to be patient and added that considering the situation, even though he wanted the best for the project, a stricter strategy would be put in place.\textsuperscript{603}

A less conciliatory tone was used in the letter sent to the Provincial the same year. Vitelleschi harshly reprimanded Mastrilli for the local promotion of Oliva’s work and the approval of the chronicle before receiving the opinion of the Jesuit curia in Rome. To make things even worse, the General complained that he had known about the conflict in Lima from no other than the polemic Father Alonso Messía, who as Proctor of the Order in Rome had delivered letters and part of Oliva’s manuscript along with one printed biography of the \textit{Menologium}. Not only the manuscript and the biography lacked proper permission but before reaching Rome, Father Messía had published a \textit{Menologium} of the Peruvian Province in Seville in 1632 without Mastrilli’s and Vitelleschi’s knowledge.\textsuperscript{604} Vitelleschi could not believe the challenging attitude of the members of the Peruvian Province; in letters dated 1635 and 1637, he specifically objected to Messía’s proctorship and the fact that the Peruvian province had acted in such an autonomous way with issues of censorship, undermining his authority as General. We also know through the letters of the General that he particularly opposed religious scholarship dealing with saints, miracles and martyrs, since the promotion of public devotion of unofficial sainthood was

\textsuperscript{603} “…del dano que hacen algunos padres nascidos en esa tierra avorandose entre si; el remedio que pide lo deshechan papeles y a todo procurare se acuda con verdad y estimo la prudencia y humildad con que V.R. se porto quando topo uno en sus aposentos. Lo de su historia deseo se acomode muy a su gusto y de mi parte en todo lo que ubiere lugar V.R. se asegure se lo dare...” ARSI 2, II, Vitelleschi to Oliva (Rome, 1634). The messages were supposedly written by Father Juan de Córdova. See ARSI, 2, II, Vitelleschi to the Peruvian Provincial, (Rome, 1634).

\textsuperscript{604} ARSI, Peru 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome, 1634 and 1635). See Alonso Messía Venegas, \textit{Catálogo de algunos varones insignes en santidad de la provincia del Perú de la Compañía de Jesús. Hecho por orden de la Congregación Provincial que se celebró en el colegio de San Pablo de Lima, año de 1630, en que fue elegido por su Procurador para Roma el Padre Alonso Messía} (Sevilla: Francisco de Lyra Barreto, 1632).
against the papal bull issued by Urban VIII.  

The Jesuits -because of their allegiance to the Papacy- had to strictly obey any papal bull and the circulation of unofficial hagiographies could put the Order at risk of an official sanction by the Inquisition. In a second letter dated 1635, a fuming Vitelleschi reminded Mastrilli of the faults committed against obedience -in response to the latter’s protest and chastised the Provincial reporting that he and Father Torres Vásquez were guilty for all the misunderstandings regarding the works that the Province wanted to print in Europe: Oliva’s history, a biography written by Torres and a theology treatise penned by Father Juan Pérez Menacho. Consequentially Vitelleschi denied permission for the publication of all of them.  

The letters exchanged between Vitelleschi and Mastrilli allow for the reconstruction of the events regarding the ban on Oliva’s chronicle. When the work was completed in 1630, Mastrilli appointed three required censors: Fathers Alonso Messía, Joan Zapata and Francisco de Villalba. In the context of the Provincial Congregation of 1630 -a battlefield between Spanish priests and foreigners- Mastrilli pushed to make the Oliva’s work a priority as part of the propaganda of the Peruvian Province and even of his own rule. Considering that the final permission should come from Rome, in the meantime Mastrilli authorized the publication of the Menologium to satisfy Oliva and his supporters without challenging those opposed to the revisionist part of the chronicle. The anti-Oliva party included Father Messía and probably an important number of Spanish priests, for whom the chronicler’s negative vision of the Spanish Conquest put this nation

605 ARSI 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome, 1637).

606 ARSI, Peru 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome, 1635).
in a negative light. Messía and his followers in the Spanish party negotiated with Mastrilli to vote the publication of the chronicle in the 1630 Congregation, but they demanded the election of Messía as proctor in Rome. In 1632, Father Messía arrived in Spain with three requests to the General: the publication of Oliva’s *Menologium* and chronicle along with the promotion of the canonization cause of Father Juan Sebastián de la Parra. None of these goals was achieved, yet Messía had received permission to go to Europe and conduct his own business. 607

What Mastrilli and Oliva did not know was the personal agenda of Father Messía. It is true that the Proctor delivered Oliva’s work to important fellow Jesuit readers at the Imperial College in Madrid where it was praised by the already famous Father Eusebio Nieremberg. 608 As soon as Messía noticed the enthusiasm of the members of the Province of Toledo, he rushed to publish Oliva’s *Menologium* -with slight variation in the content- in his hometown of Seville, even before reaching Rome. 609 It is hard not to see Messía’s actions as an act of intellectual plagiarism. The name of the real author was not

607 In several letters to the Provincials in Lima and Seville, Vitelleschi protested for the “freedom” of Father Messía, who had gotten involved in secular financial operations, much against the Jesuit rule. Vitelleschi also opposed Messía’s nomination for judge of the Holy Tribunal (*Calificador*): ARSI, Congregaciones Provinciarum, 1630-1636, Vitelleschi to Messía (Rome, 1633), ARSI, Peru 2, II Vitelleschi to Messía (Rome 1636) and ARSI, 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome 1636). The Diary of Juan Antonio Suardo mentions that Messía travelled to Europe in 1631, transporting about eight million pesos from Peruvian investors. The commission for taking that amount of money across the Atlantic should have been considerable, but the popularity of the polemic priest among creoles was even greater. Suardo, *Diario I*, 163.

608 “El P. Anello Oliva a escrito y trabajado muy bien dos tomos de los Varones Insignes de la Compañía en el Peru, que an parecido muy bien en Espana donde se an leido y el Padre Eusebio en Madrid los llevo a su celda y paso con cuidado y los aprobaron el Padre Eusebio y el Padre Hurtado, ay licencia del ordinario y del Consejo…sera singular consuelo de la Provincia del Peru que se imprima. V.P. los haga estampar y honre la buena memoria de aquellos padres y premie los trabajos del P. Anello Oliva…” ARSI, Congregaciones Provinciarum, 1630-1636. Vol. 63.

mentioned in the 1632 imprint and the collection of biographies presented as the work of the Province represented by its Proctor. Moreover, Father Messía paid for the impression with his own money. Yet, it is worth mentioning that in the dedication to the King, Messía offered for royal consideration the “treasures from the New World,” as part of many Jesuit achievements in Peru. That is, the _Menologium_ was used as justification for royal support of the Jesuit missionary cause.\(^6\)

In any case, the complete manuscript of Oliva’s _Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú_ was never read in its entirety by the General of the Jesuits. The manuscript sent from Lima in 1631 was divided into three books. The first dealt with the history of the Incas, the Conquest and the arrival of the Jesuits; the second and third parts were dedicated to the biographies of Jesuit missionaries. The _Menologium_ - an abridged version of parts two and three of the chronicle (Jesuits who died between 1587 and 1629) - was the final appendix. As we know from his letter to Mastrilli in 1635, Vitelleschi received in Rome in 1634 only one biography from Oliva’s _Menologium_, that of the martyred Brother Bernardo Reus. Since Messía had already published the _vita_ in Seville, it made no sense to deliver the original manuscript to the General. Vitelleschi claimed later that he had only received only the biographical account mentioned above, both in manuscript and printed version and emphasized that the issue at stake was not Oliva’s work but his authority as General of the Order that had been undermined by Mastrilli’s rush and

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\(^6\) An introduction to this text in Italian, addressed to the King, was signed by Messía. See ARSI, Cartas Annuas, Peru, No. 21a (1629-1630). In the Spanish edition, Messía did not present the text as a Menologium but rather as a Memorials, twisting the significance of the collection of biographies: “Sirva este quaderno de Memorial a Vuestra Magestad para dar gracias a la Divina, que si le hizo Monarca de tan glorioso imperio con obligaciones de la conversion de las almas, ha dado a Vuestra Magestad ministros apostolicos en la tierra…” Messía, Catálogo.
Messia’s opportunism. Partial use of Father Oliva’s work took place in Madrid even before Messia left for Rome in 1633. Eusebio Nieremberg used biographies coming from Oliva’s work in the publication of his own collection of virtuous Jesuit vitae in Madrid in 1644-1645. The highly hierarchical structure of the religious Orders plotted against individual scholars and especially those whose work was sent from Spanish America to Europe.

The reason why Alonso Messia took control of the whole affair -thereby marring the final delivery of Father Oliva’s work in Rome- had to do with his problematic relationship with the Provincial Mastrilli and Oliva. His aversion toward Italians partly explains why Messia was so harsh when censoring the first book of the chronicle, as seen in the manuscript with the censor’s notes and corrections (Illustration No. 6). Messia as leader of the Jesuit Spanish party (both Spaniards and creoles) in Lima opposed Oliva’s historical revisionism, because it undermined the position of the Spanish nation in Peru, both Spanish and creoles. Messia’s harshness towards Oliva’s manuscript was thus part of a personal and ideological clash. The author of the cautious Memorial of 1603 -defending the Indians but also the mining draft and the commercial agent of creole

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611 “El Padre Alonso Messia no me dio la historia de esa provincia del P. Anello Oliva, lo que me entrega fueran dos pliegos impresos del principio de ellos y en ello estampada la licencia que V.R. daba por comision mia para la impression, cosa que me extrano notablemente…” ARSI, Peru 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome 1634).

612 The life of Pablo Joseph de Arriaga according to Oliva’s narrative was inserted in one of Nieremberg’s work in 1644: “…escribio la vida deste siervo de Dios, el Padre Anelo de Oliva.” See Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Firmamento Religioso de luzidos astros en algunos claros varones de la Compañía de Jesús (Madrid: Maria de Quiñones, 1644). A year later, seven biographies from Oliva’s Menologium were reproduced in another very famous work of Nieremberg. See Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Honor del Gran Patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la Compañía de Jesús en la que se propone su vida y la de su discípulo El Apóstol de las Indias San Francisco Xavier con la milagrosa historia del admirable padre Marcello Mastrilli y las noticias de gran multitud de hijos del mismo San Ignacio (Madrid: Maria de Quiñones, 1645). This work is also known by the title Vidas de algunos Claros Varones de la Compañía de Jesús.
fortunes in Europe—had to oppose a vision of the Conquest in which the Spaniards were presented as utterly violent and greedy and Father Vicente de Valverde as an intolerant zealot who caused the death of a sovereign ruler.

5.2.1. Las Casas reinterpreted: Father Oliva’s Critique of the Spanish Conquest

“When the Jesuit General protested about the hagiographic content of the *Menologium* in Oliva’s chronicle, arguing that unofficial hagiographies contravened the papal bull on sainthood, it seems that in fact he knew more of the secular content of the first book than he acknowledged. Vitelleschi said in a letter to the Jesuit Peruvian Provincial dated 1634 that he would not allow the publication of Oliva’s chronicle because he had to oppose “anything that might offend the Prince.” Therefore, it was not the issue of the biographies that contributed to the plot against the publication of Oliva’s chronicle, but rather the author’s *lascasianismo*. The elaboration on the ideas of Bartolomé de las Casas to explain the need of a truly missionary Order in the Andes after 1568 questioned the Conquest and indirectly undermined the rights of Spanish settlers and their descendants. The revision of the Conquest and the role of Father Valverde in particular posed an additional problem, which had to do with the attack on the founding father of the Dominican Order in Peru. But most importantly, Oliva’s critique on how the


614 ARSI, Peru 2, II, Vitelleschi to Mastrilli (Rome 1634).
Illustration No. 6

Censured folio in Giovanni Anello Oliva’s 1630 Manuscript of the

*Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú*
requerimiento was deliverd to the Inca and how this very act questioned the authority of the King of Spain.\textsuperscript{615} All these topics were censored by the hand of Alonso Messía rather than by the other two Jesuits appointed for the task. Yet, Messía missed the implications of another contentious episode in Oliva’s history: the death of Atahualpa and the capitulación signed between the conquistadors and Inca Titu Atauchi, who succeeded Atahualpa.

Before analyzing Oliva’s use of Las Casas, it is worth pointing out that the chronicler read only the Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Yndias; thus its use did not mean a revival of sixteenth-century lascasianismo. Oliva quoted Las Casas in chapter six of his chronicle as a source on the moral situation prior to the arrival of the Jesuits to Peru, making a statement on the reform triggered by the Jesuit’s urban preaching and missionary work. Las Casas’ claim for a change regarding the situation of the indigenous population served Oliva to stress the message of the chronicle. For that purpose, Oliva chose very dramatic passages from the Brevísima, in which Las Casas

\textsuperscript{615} In seventeenth-century Madrid, within the political circle around the King, Las Casas and his restitution theory were highly unpopular. In a manuscript written by the Duke of Osuna, Las Casas’ ideas were presented as a threat not only to the Spanish possession of the Indies, but also to the foreign policy of the Spanish Crown. Osuna stated: “…un engano grande como fue darles a estos yngas el verdadero y legitimo senorio destos reynos…el verdadero y legítimo dominio destos reynos esta solo en Su Magestad…Avia hecho ya grandissimo dano a la reputacion de los christianos en la opinion de los turcos y moros…y ereges y enemigos de la fe y otros infieles y aun naciones christianas fuera de la espanola porque publicando este hombre aunque con buena intencion y enganada el dano del inca y de los casiques y curacas y el poco que el rey tenia y juntamente con esto los desfaueros que hizieron a esta parte al principio algunos soldados y otros que verdaderamente no hiciendo sino que a este padre se los havian referido y este publicar fue con tanta passion o cello indiscreto que no se contentava con decirlo por sus terminos propios en juntas particulares en sermones donde esto se podria santamente afear sino que hizo libros tratando de esto tan de lo rasgado y en terminus tan feos y encarecimientos tan grandes que verdaderamente mas indignava que aprovechava y mas eran injuries que reprehenciones….” BNM, Dominio de los Yngas en el Perú y del que SM tiene en esos reynos. Parecer del duque de Osuna, Conde de Oñate a pedido de un personaje de importancia en la corte, Mss. 9442 fols. 69-100.
followed the passionate narrative of Fray Marcos de Niza on killings, lootings and all sorts of abuses made by the conquistadors in Santa Marta, Nuevo Reino (Bogotá) and Quito.\footnote{Bartolomé de las Casas, \textit{Breuíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias} (Sevilla: Sebastián Trujillo, 1552), 80-88.} Father Messia censored every quote and reference from the \textit{Brevisima} throughout the ten folios (f. 153v. to f. 163r.). Yet, Oliva’s \textit{lascasianismo} did not come exclusively from Las Casas but also from the disgraced Jesuit Blas Valera and his \textit{Vocabulario Histórico}. In a long episode starting on f. 162v., Father Oliva departed from Valera’s vision of the Conquest while making use of European thinkers as well. The confrontation between Indians and Spaniards after Atahualpa’s death, the rebellion of Manco Inca in 1534 and the formation of the Inca enclave of Vilcabamba all could have been avoided with a political pact between both parts. This pact—known as \textit{capitulación} in the Spanish world—would have entailed the return of native rulers to power with the approval of the Spanish Crown, the conversion of the native population and the end of hostilities. As Teodoro Hampe has shown, no pact ever took place and even the existence of the people cited by Valera is questionable.\footnote{Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 182-192. Teodoro Hampe has made a careful analysis of the possible source of such a \textit{capitulación}. Discussing the veracity of a Relacion written by Chaves in 1533, supposedly found recently in an Italian archive, Hampe has concluded that most likely the source for this would have been Blas Valera and his \textit{Relación de las Costumbres Antiguas de los Naturales del Perú}, written in the late sixteenth-century. See Hampe, “Una polémica versión”, 343-359. In turn, Valera’s \textit{Vocabulario Histórico}, wound up being Oliva’s source for the same episode.} Oliva followed Valera wholeheartedly and concluded his own narration with a statement which might have been interpreted as full-fledge \textit{lascasianismo}: “arrogance did not allow the restitution of the kingdom to its owner…”\footnote{Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 191.}
The treaty between Inca Titu Atauchi and the conquistadors Francisco de Chaves and Hernando de Haro would have reoriented colonial history, with a government in the hands of the Church, resulting in a milder exploitation of the indigenous labor force. Oliva argued that the opportunity to build a different colonial model was missed by the Spaniards in 1533. After Atahualpa was executed -even though he had asked Pizarro to be sent to Spain- his half-brother, Inca Titu Atauchi organized the first resistance movement, killing eleven Spaniards and preparing a massive rebellion. Francisco Pizarro accepted Titu Atauchi’s leadership in the hope that he would be a puppet, but did nothing else to pacify the land. In this scenario of political inertia, Chaves and Haro, two minor Spanish conquistadors who were on the side of Atahualpa, emerged in Oliva’s narrative as representatives of the Spaniards who were willing to negotiate with the Indians and opposed to Pizarro. Six conditions were drafted by Chaves, Haro and Titu-Atauchi. First, the Inca granted a general pardon to the conquistadors. Second, the Spaniards would accept Manco Inca as legitimate ruler, since he was a full-brother of the late Inca Atahualpa. Third, the Indians and Spaniards would trade freely and friendly. Fourth, the Spaniards would set free all Indians kept against their will as part of their labor force. Fifth, the Inca laws -when not flagrantly opposed to Christian law- would remain active under Spanish dominion. Last but not least, Pizarro had to send the capitulación to Spain to have it approved by the Emperor. Since Pizarro never sent the document to Spain nor recognized it as legitimate, Manco Inca rebelled in 1534 putting siege to Cuzco and Lima.

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619 Oliva, Historia, 143-144.
The theological and legal implications of this pact between Incas and Spaniards that only took place in Oliva’s chronicle reveals the author’s mastery of Spanish American and European political literature. Oliva’s positive appreciation of the Inca Empire as a superior civilization, which deserved a better status under Spanish dominion certainly draws from Las Casas’s Apologética Historia Sumaria and also from José de Acosta’s Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias (1590) and Procuranda Indorum Salute (1588), constantly quoted in the text. The idea that the Inca Empire was evolving into a more elevated form of social organization, in which the reign of natural law had already made possible an early approach to Christianity, comes from Oliva’s reading of Garcilaso de la Vega. Garcilaso proposed an Inca notion of a “True God” -albeit still a blurry one- in his narration of Huayna Capac’s discussion with the high-priest on the existence of a major divine entity, superior to the God-Sun: the deo ignoto. Also related to Las Casas and Acosta is the idea that, being a superior civilization, the Inca Empire deserved not a military conquest but a negotiated protection from the King of Spain and the Pope. As Inca Titu Atauchi stated in the capitulación, the Indians wanted to become Christians and subjects of the King of Spain. Therefore, Atahualpa did not deserve to die because of a misunderstanding about the content of the requerimiento since the main conditions of the requerimiento had already been met by his successor. Titu Atauchi had accepted submission to the King of Spain along with conversion and freedom for the Spaniards to roam the land, exploit its resources, be involved in trade and settle down. The Incas

620 Oliva, Historia, 84-86.

621 Oliva, Historia, 144.
never opposed the *translatio imperii*, the full enforcement of the natural law and the right of foreign people to trade.\(^{622}\)

Oliva’s analysis of the consequences of the non-ratified treaty between Spaniards and Indians drew from Justus Lipsius, through the reading of Pierre Charron’s *De Sagesse*.\(^ {623}\) Titu Atauchi -named Atahualpa’s successor by the Spaniards- deserved a peace treaty and the recognition of his sovereignty in order to cede the insignia of power to the Habsburgs. In this way, the pacification of the land would have been reached and a subsequent peaceful evangelization would have been accomplished. The *translatio imperii* from the Inca royal dynasty to the Spanish Crown would have been a smoother one and, more importantly, a legitimate one.\(^ {624}\) The state of war turned the Indian subjects into rebels; once they had lost civility (*policía*) and became barbarians, the Spaniards were allowed to fight them and social unity would be broken by the affliction of rebellion.\(^ {625}\) Social unity -the *consortium* in Lipsius’s terms- was destroyed for

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\(^{622}\) In 1532, in his work *De Indis* Francisco de Vitoria stated that the empire of natural law included no restrictions on international trade, an important idea behind the political doctrines of the Spanish Conquest of America. For the economic implications of the *requerimiento* see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 69-99. Vitoria’s theory applied the *ius gentium*. Every foreigner should be allowed good treatment by natives. A very important issue was the granting of citizenship for the Spaniards willing to settle down. See Francisco de Vitoria, *Political Writings*, Anthony Pagden, ed. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 278-280. Both conditions were met in the “*acuerdos*” of Oliva’s narrative.


\(^{624}\) For Charron, sovereignty, in order to be “a perpetuall and absolute power without constraint” required a legal foundation. Charron, *Of Wisdom*, 199.

\(^{625}\) Rebellion was a terrible threat for a Catholic monarchy. According to Giovanni Botero, a prudent ruler was entitled to fight rebellion by any means. Oliva however, was dealing with a pre-stage of rebellion, when negotiation could bring peace, and in spite of some loss, the Prince could still have some political
Spaniards as well due to the Civil Wars between *Almagristas* and *Pizarristas*, another consequence of the non-ratified pact. Indians and Spaniards alike had become barbarians and rebels against the Spanish Crown because of such an ill-fated Conquest.\(^{626}\) Rebellions and violence had been caused by a lack of political virtue, or to use the words of Charron, “dissolution and general corruption of manners among men of no worth.”\(^{627}\)

Placing the responsibility of this ill outcome on the bad ruling of Pizarro and his fellow conquistadors, Oliva explained rebellion and civil war as a consequence of tyranny. Charron already had stated that tyranny was the premise of rebellion, and hence it was important for a virtuous ruler to avoid both.\(^{628}\) This idea was more elaborated in Lipsius’s *On Constancy* (1548), in which the Flemish author considered the sensible ruling of a Prince as the first antidote against war and political violence.\(^{629}\) Thus, in a context of war -Lipsius wrote from the war-torn Spanish Low Countries- Princes should look for internal balance, in order to achieve the *prudentia mixta*, the quintessential political virtue necessary for stable ruling and political peace. Oliva told a morality story gain, achieving peace and keeping his reputation intact. Faithfulness to political agreements was a part of prudence and a princely virtue. See Robert Bireley, *The Counter-reformation*, 58, 63. Clearly, Oliva either followed Botero or Charron on this matter. For Charron, civil war could be avoided with political negotiation. Charron, *Of Wisdom*, 443.


\(^{627}\) Charron, *Of Wisdom*, 443

\(^{628}\) Charron, *Of Wisdom*, 440

after Charron and Lipsius, in which the Incas embodied Lipsius’s notion of political prudence, absent when a ruler, in the words of Charron, traded political wisdom for “passions and turbulent affections.”¹⁶³⁰ Unlike the conquistadors who had pushed the kingdom into rebellion and civil war right after the Conquest, the Incas had even sought to prevent civil war through negotiation.⁶³¹ When Inca Titu Atauchí and his general Quizquiz negotiated over conditions with the conquistadors Chaves and Haro, Oliva presented the reader not only with an ideal vision not only of the Incas, but an ideal vision of the Spanish Empire, in which ruling came from consensus and peaceful negotiation and through the mastery of bad passions through the exercise of prudence.

In a well-ruled early modern Catholic monarchy, wisely administered power, exercised with moderation and with the empire of the law was the ideal to achieve, as the fictional capitulación intended. Even though the political necessities of the Spanish empire -like the Atlantic expansion- might have justified violent means (the Conquest), dignity, self-constraint and discipline that comprised Lipsius's prudentia mixta should have prevailed among those in charge of policy-making.⁶³² It is tempting to think that Oliva’s presentation of the last Incas as politically wise rulers intended to be read not only as a revision of the Conquest, but also vis à vis the political insurrection in the Netherlands, where tyrannical rule by the Spanish governors, undermined the sovereignty

¹⁶³⁰ Civil war could be avoided with negotiation and military victory. For Charron the second could be very dangerous since the victorious party could abuse its power. See Charron, Of Wisdom, 443.

⁶³¹ “Constantia, prudence, authority and discipline were of importance for personal morals, but were also transferable to society as a whole, and were important for the disciplining of the early absolutist state. Prudentia and discipline subordinated the ruled in relation to the ruler, but also curtailed the use of power, since disciplining of the individual and of society as a whole were parallel processes.” See Halvard Leira, Justus Lipsius, Political Humanism and the Disciplining of 17th Century Statecraft, Paper for the Sixth Pan-European International Conference (Turin, September 2007), 5, 12-13.

⁶³² Leira, Justus Lipsius, 14.
of the Spanish Crown. Oliva, as did Charron, condemned war and in particular tyranny, because the latter stemmed from the false sense of superiority that a military victory entailed. Tyranny created only injustice and the wrong conditions upon which to build effective Christian ruling. However, Father Oliva did not despair. If the war of Conquest had afflicted Peru for decades, the Church—and the Jesuit Order in particular—had finally arrived to build “constancy” as the remedy for public evils.633 Religion, in the words of Pierre Charron, was the “bond and cement of humane societie.”634

Finally, going against most historical Spanish narratives of the sixteenth century, Oliva’s historical revisionism dealt with the painful episode of Atahualpa’s capture. The Italian chronicler reflected on the nature of the requerimiento read by Valverde to Atahualpa, elaborating on Garcilaso’s idea—based on Blas Valera—that there was a “misunderstanding” during the interview between Valverde and the Inca. Oliva emphasized that the text read by Valverde was “dry and extremely harsh” and that the Indian who interpreted for Valverde did not know enough Spanish to make a good translation. Thus, Atahualpa was not offered a good translation of the important legal aspects and was offended by being approached by a servant. To make things worse, the native ruler was shocked when he saw the Spaniards rush to rob the silver and gold from the Inca retinue. As the chronicler put it, such was the “…ill-fated beginning of


634 Charron, Of Wisdom, 522.
Christianity in the Peruvian empire.\textsuperscript{635} Nothing of this was present in the \textit{Brevisima} and it is clear that Father Oliva’s \textit{lascasianismo} was more about the tone rather than the actual ideology, especially considering that the \textit{Brevisima} contains very little information on Peru. It could be argued that Oliva might have been inspired by Las Casas’s vision of Atahualpa as a victim of the Spaniards and of Pizarro as a tyrant. However, it is clear that the sympathetic view of the last Inca ruler came from Valera while the complex elaboration on the notion of tyranny and civil war, came certainly from Pierre Charron.\textsuperscript{636}

Oliva’s vision of colonial history is one of the most interesting in this period because of its utopian component. In the mind of an Italian Jesuit missionary, a Christian order could be built in the Andes for the good of Spanish and Andean people and for the sake of the expansion of the Catholic Church. Oliva’s idea of a “Catholic protectorate” - quite impossible in 1534 but certainly utopian in 1630- drew from the Jesuit missionary experience in the Far East as well as from the writings of Las Casas, Acosta, Botero, and Charron/Lipsius. This combination of Jesuit missionary ideology and political culture helped Father Oliva to create a utopian vision of history with which he overcame his own longing for a morally superior colonial society, his expectations as a Jesuit and his frustrations as a foreigner.\textsuperscript{637} As a member of the counterreformation clergy, Oliva’s utopian vision of early colonial times considered prophetical sources of late sixteenth-century Neapolitan tradition as well. Before quoting the \textit{Brevisima Relación} Father Oliva

\textsuperscript{635} Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 125-128.


\textsuperscript{637} Porras stated that Oliva had read the work of the native chronicler, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, because of the common “lascasianista” spirit in both works. Porras failed to detect the reading on Catholic statecraft that Oliva incorporated in his argumentation. Porras, \textit{Los cronistas}, 500.
presented the arrival of the Jesuits in Peru as the completion of a prophetical cycle which started in Italy with the revelations of the Virgin Mary to Saint Bridget of Sweden. The Swedish saint, who was very popular in Naples where she lived and had the revelations, had announced the triumph of the Catholic Church in both Europe and the world by means of a moral reform in the fourteenth century. Two hundred years, later the Jesuit Order arrived in Peru and undertook the mission of reform of Christianity; therefore in Oliva’s narrative a cycle had been completed.\textsuperscript{638} Oliva’s preference for prophetical episodes and prophetic voices was also evident in his re-elaboration of an episode already present in Garcilaso: that of the royal eagle falling before the Inca court of Huayna Capac to announce the end of the Inca Empire.\textsuperscript{639} What for Garcilaso was a prophetic omen could have had a different reading in the political context of the late 1620s. The royal eagle, symbol of the house of Austria, also represented Christ and the Archangel Michael in Christian symbolism. The falcons, traditionally symbols of Inca royalty, could have been interpreted as the forces of heresy and therefore as agents of the crisis of the body politic of the Spanish monarchy.\textsuperscript{640} Considering Father Oliva’s concern for the

\textsuperscript{638} Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 181-183. According to her biographical information, Saint Bridget of Sweden lived both in Rome and Naples, where she had visions of the Virgin Mary asking her to reform European Christendom in crisis. Oliva read and quoted the seventh book of Bridget’s Revelations, transmitted to the Archbishop of Naples. The mention of enslavement mistreatment of the underclass in Bridgett’s account fit Oliva’s critique of colonial violence. See Margaret Tjader Harris, ed., \textit{Brigitta of Sweden. Life and Selected Revelations} (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), 92-95, 211-213. Oliva’s preference for prophetical undertones could have been related to his use of Marco Varro, the Latin author whose work \textit{Rerum rusticarum libri III}, is full of references to sibylline prophecies. See Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 47.

\textsuperscript{639} Oliva. \textit{Historia}, 84.

\textsuperscript{640} Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, \textit{A Dictionary of Symbols} (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 323, 879. Alejandro Cañéque, studying the work of Eusebio Nieremberg, \textit{De la Devocion y Patrocinio de San Miguel, Príncipe de los Ángeles, Antiguo Tutelar de los Godos y Protector de España} (Mexico, 1643), has shown how colonial political symbolism used the figure of the Archangel Michael to reflect on the nature of political power in the viceroyalty of New Spain. See Alejandro Cañéque, \textit{The King’s Living Image. The Cuture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico} (New York and
consolidation of a Christian república in the Andes, the episode referred more to the crisis affecting the Church and Crown in the seventeenth century and the threat posed to the expansion of the Jesuit missionary frontier.

The reform of the body politic for a Counterreformation priest naturally started with the reform of Christian ruling. Father Oliva’s criticism did not focus exclusively on the Conquest, but above all on the future. I think his anti-Machiavellian background and goals were straightforwardly shown in the political virtues attributed to a few Inca rulers in the pages of his history. In order to do this, Oliva appropriated the ideas of Giovanni Botero, another pillar of Catholic statecraft, who was the author of Relazioni Universali (1591-1598) cited in the chronicle as a source for geographical and mineral topics. However, Botero’s political tenets, as defined in his most important treatises Delle cause della grandezza delle Cittá (1588), and La Ragione di Stato (1598), were used by the Italian Jesuit in his critique of the Spanish Crown. Manco Capac, the founder of the dynasty of Inca rulers “sought justice for the poor and rewarded the good subject, not the bad one,” because that kind of ruling was “…the basis of perfect justice and good government of the republic.”641 Capac Yupanqui, the fifth Inca ruler, befriended “wise men” from whom he took political advice.642 His successor, Quispi Yupanqui, on the contrary leaned towards “vice and sensuality,” which in turn led to bad rulings and new

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641 Oliva, Historia, 57.

642 Oliva, Historia, 66.
taxes on his subjects.\textsuperscript{643} Yawar Huaca, son of the latter, also favored the company of “wise men” and was known as “the prudent.” One of his accomplishments, after a careful consideration, was to enforce a policy that was very beneficial to the “reason of state,” which was to have all the nations living in his monarchy become mixed and co-exist with one another.\textsuperscript{644} Finally, Topa Inca Yupanqui, the tenth Inca ruler, being close to death, asked his son Huayna Capac to rule with “peace and justice, seeking the welfare of his subjects.”\textsuperscript{645} In particular, the dying Inca asked his heir to achieve the final conversion of all the subjects to the religion of the state, as Lipsius, Charron and Botero would have expected from a good Prince.\textsuperscript{646}

With his sole mention of the reason of state, Oliva has acknowledged his debt to Botero and the notion of a Christian prince proposed by the baroque science of statecraft. As Fernández Santamaría has pointed out, the causes and principles of the reason of state were naturally associated with the vision of a statesman.\textsuperscript{647} Reason of state was a science that drew from the internal wisdom present in Christian rulers. Thus, the Incas in Oliva’s narrative, aided by the light of natural law, had discovered the political virtues that the chronicler wanted for the European Catholic monarchs. Oliva’s native rulers practiced the political virtues of prudence, care for the poor, generosity towards subjects, took advice

\textsuperscript{643} Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 67.

\textsuperscript{644} Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 70

\textsuperscript{645} Charron also stressed the role of the Prince as giver of justice. See Charron, \textit{Of Wisdom}, 523

\textsuperscript{646} Oliva, \textit{Historia}, 76. “The piety which we require in a Prince is the care he ought to have…for the conservation of religion” said Pierre Charron. Charron, \textit{Of Wisdom}, 522.

from good and wise counselors and sought the expansion of the true faith, the one professed by the state, the one which accounted for the Prince’s reputation. Whenever the Inca rulers leaned towards vice and sensuality, their corrupted personalities also leaned towards the ill advice of bad ministers. At this point in Oliva’s narrative, the issue of fiscal pressure on the Church appears clearly. The first consequence of princely misgovernment, according to Oliva, was the imposition of new taxes. Botero had stressed that a good prince should not accumulate wealth unless it was necessary, even accept economic losses if there was a major reason of state to consider. Botero had even considered an example pertinent to the Spanish Empire, when stating that the Spanish Crown should not impose taxes on the Mexico-Manila trade. That revenue, a loss at first glance, would ultimately be invested in a superior cause that mattered for the glory of the Catholic monarchy: the conversion of the Indians.

In a smart move, Father Oliva’s narrative shifted from the virtues of the Prince to the issue of the fiscal pressure on the Orders. The esprit de corps of Oliva, as a member of the Peruvian Jesuit Province, was expressed in an historical account but the idea was shared by others as demonstrated by the letter that the Provincial, Father Juan Frías Herrán, sent to the Council of the Indies in 1621 in which he refused to pay tithes on property owned by the Order. Oliva’s unfair taxes have to be read vis à vis the taxation policies the religious corporations opposed on the viceroyalty of Peru. As Anti-Machiavellianism had taught, the Orders claimed that the money that was not collected

648 Bireley, The Counter-reformation Prince, 84.

by the state coffers through taxation was invested in missionary affairs, particularly in the case of the Society of Jesus. Even though close to the critique to the monarch in the work of his contemporary Fray Buenaventura de Salinas -whose 1630 Memorial Oliva certainly read- Father Oliva focused on the missionary work rather than on the claims of the colonial ruling elites. Oliva’s use of the European discourse on Catholic statecraft was applied to the benefit of his corporation’s claims, showing his stance as a foreigner and Jesuit who was concerned with the work of his Order among the indigenous population and the effect of the state’s actions on it. His reading of the colonial situation was that of an outsider. He claimed the Andes for himself and his Order, advocating for a Jesuit utopia in which to perform a Christian revolution rather than a political reform based on the rights and political leverage of local creole elites. Rolena Adorno has recently pointed out that the conflict of colonial historical revisionism centered on religion, trapped amidst the unresolved issue of colonialism. Father Oliva spent half of his life in this trap.650

5.2.2. Jesuit Martyrdoms

“Mártires del Rey católico”651

Among the treasures purchased by Father Alonso Messía in Italy during his mission as proctor between 1606 and 1608, one particular piece would have a deep

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650 Rolena Adorno has referred to this “claim” as the choice of “Polemics,” which for Spanish American colonial narratives was either based either on the author’s interest in war or in religion. As a distant follower of Las Casas, Oliva was still caught in the unresolved issue of colonialism, which neither La Casas nor Sepulveda could solve. Oliva contributed to the history and practice of questioning colonialism, expressing his questioning through historical interpretation. See Rolena Adorno, The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative (Yale and London: Yale University Press, 2007), VII, 124.

651 Joseph de Buendía, Oración Fúnebre que en honras del Inmortal valor de los Soldados Españoles difuntos celebradas del orden de Su Magestad en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana el 15 de noviembre de 1692 (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1693), f. 101v.
impact in the religious culture of the city of Los Reyes. That was the elaborately carved altarpiece with relics of the Ancient Roman martyrs which can still be seen on the right side of the main altar at the Jesuit church of Saint Peter in Lima.\(^{652}\) The cult of relics from Roman martyrs fit well within a trend of devotion that characterized the Baroque era but certainly reached a peak during the seventeenth-century. Even though the first Catholic martyrs of the early modern period would be the Franciscans killed in North Africa by the end of the fifteenth century, martyrs and relics did not become really popular until the excavation of early Christian catacombs in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The “witnesses of the Faith” of late Antiquity were seen as predecessors of those fallen defending Catholic orthodoxy during the Reformation era, in particular after the death of the Augustine friars in Brussels in 1523 was made public in Catholic Europe.\(^{653}\) Later on, Franciscan and Jesuit martyrs in Japan contributed to the development of a culture of martyrdom in the conversion frontier that became of particular interest to the Spanish regular clergy in Asia and Spanish America because, as Benassar has pointed out, it legitimated their missionary efforts in areas of new evangelization with a genealogical link to early Christendom. The Jesuits, in particular, promoted the worship of old martyrs in their churches while promoting internal devotion

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\(^{652}\) Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo (AHPT), *Relación de las fiestas de consagración de la Iglesia de San Pablo en Lima* (1636), E-2, 84, 13.

\(^{653}\) Between 1566 and 1640, more than fifty different publications were dedicated to the martyrdom of English Catholics. The Roman Martyrology was published in Latin nine times between 1584 and 1613 with translations in vernacular languages. The social impact of the English Catholic martyrdom was remarkable. Reports and at least two hundred editions of works on the English martyrs were published between 1580 and 1640 in Paris, Antwerp, Rome, Seville and Madrid. A very famous work was that of Richard Verstegan, *Theater of the Cruelties of the Heretics of Our Age* (1587), on the Catholic martyrs in England, France and the Netherlands. See Brad Gregory, *Martyrdom at Stake*, 285, 301-303
to those members of the Order who died among natives. Martyrdom then became a much-favored trope with political implications in hagiographies, *menologiums* and historical narratives.

Jesuit missionary work in Spanish America encountered enough problems in their expansion towards the fringes of colonial settlement as early as mid-sixteenth century. The fight between Jesuit missionaries and nomadic indigenous groups who refused to settle down or live according to Christian mores wound up in the killing of missionaries and set the conditions for the construction of a colonial culture of martyrs and martyrdom. The historical image of Jesuit contribution to the cause of the Catholic monarch stressed the wildness and barbarian uses of frontier Indians in the Peruvian south, northern Mexico, eastern Brazil, and Florida. The first documented case of a Jesuit martyrdom in Spanish America was that of Father Pedro Martínez in 1566, followed by another two Jesuit priests and six Jesuit brothers in Jacabán, Florida in 1568 who were killed with the same knives, axes and tools that they were about to distribute among the Indians. The letters between Jesuits in La Havana and Spain refer to a certain son of a local cacique, whom after having been raised as a Catholic in Spain for over six years returned to Florida and plotted the killings. The fact that these missionaries did not have clear Provincial jurisdiction—they were originally sent for the Peruvian province but


stayed in Florida—made their martyrdoms difficult to be claimed by either the Peruvian or the Mexican Provinces; thus they were acknowledged as Jesuit martyrs almost eighty years after their deaths.656

It was the killing of Father Gonzalo de Tapia by the Tepehuanes on the northwestern frontier of New Spain (Nueva Viscaya) in 1596 that was the first death of a missionary that received institutional attention, coverage and diffusion in the Spanish Empire. Before Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas published his monumental history of the missions of Nueva Viscaya in 1646 that described Tapia’s martyrdom, two memoriales written by Father Francisco de Figueroa on the matter were published in Barcelona in 1616 and 1617. These early sources of Spanish American Jesuit martyrdom were followed by a French translation in 1620 that informed the Catholic readership in Europe of the human cost of evangelization in the northwest of Mexico.657 Rather than being centered on individual martyrdoms, Figueroa’s memoriales were attempts to procure money from the royal coffers to colonize the area and sustain permanent Jesuit missionary towns. These narratives, but above all the masterwork of Pérez de Ribas, would make Father Gonzalo de Tapia an icon of the Catholic fight against infidels and its

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656 In 1647, the Order acknowledged Martínez’ death as a Jesuit martyrdom: “…el primer martir en las Indias Occidentales fue el P. Pedro Martínez, muerto a porrazos en la cabeza por los nativos de Florida…” Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Vidas Exemplares y Memorias de algunos claros varones de la Compañía de Jesús, Vol IV (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1647), 608-609.

657 Francisco de Figueroa, Memorial de Francisco de Figueroa SJ Procurador de las Provincias de las Indias ante el rey para aclarar lo tocante a las rebeliones de los Indios Tepehuanes, Zinaloas y otras Naciones ocurridas el año de 1616 (Barcelona, 1616); Francisco de Figueroa, Memorial Presentado a Su Magestad por el P. Francisco de Figueroa, Procurador de las Provincias de las Indias de la Compañía de Jesús, acerca del Martirio de nueve religiosos de la misma Compañía y de otros dos religiosos, uno del orden de Santo Domingo y otro de San Francisco (Barcelona: Lorenzo Deu, 1617) and Histoire du Massacre de Plusieurs Religieux De S. Dominique, de S. Francois et de la Compagnie de Jesus, et de autres Chrestiens, aduenu en la rebellion de quelques Indois de L’Occident contre les Espagnols. Le tout tire du Memorial presente au Roy de Espagne, iouxte la copie Imprimee a Barcelonne 1616 (Valencienne: Jan Vervliet, 1620).
repercussions secured the expansion of the northern frontier of the Mexican viceroyalty along with Jesuit missionary outposts.658

In his *Historia del Reino y Provincia del Perú*, Father Oliva contributed to the genre of Jesuit martyrdom with the heroic deaths of two missionaries in the Andes. The first case was that of Father Miguel de Urrea, killed by the Chunchos in 1596 and first reported in the *Crónica Anónima Jesuita* of 1601. Oliva was well acquainted with this early source but apparently also knew the *Memoriales* of Figueroa which set the format of Jesuit narratives of martyrdom after the killing of Father Tapia.659 The death of Father Tapia, killed by the blows of Indian clubs, resembles that of Father Miguel de Urrea in Oliva’s narrative. The Neapolitan chronicler did not know the work of Pérez de Ribas who published his chronicle in 1646, four years after Oliva’s death so both authors drew from Figueroa and followed its narrative pattern.660 The deaths of Fathers Tapia and Urrea took place in the colonial frontier and involved some sort of plot to get rid of the missionaries beforehand. The missionaries led a hard life, were killed by heathen and their limbs were severed. Eventually, the body parts involved miraculous events and were worshipped as relics. According to Oliva’s narrative, Father Miguel de Urrea asked for years to be sent to mission among the Chuncho Indians of southwestern Upper Peru.

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After an initial positive reception from the natives, Urrea was accused of killing the son of a local cacique, whose life he had desperately tried to save. The enraged cacique led a mob that killed the priest with several blows to the head. Soon after, a miraculous revenge of Heaven was reported to have taken place: wild animals came out of a lagoon and killed the murderers of the Jesuit priest. Years later, magical lights on Urrea’s burial place made possible the recovery of his bones, which were solemnly taken to the Jesuit church of Chuquiabo (La Paz). 661

In spite of Father Oliva’s poignant narrative, Father Urrea did not become the proto martyr of the Peruvian Jesuit Province. It seems that before the 1620s, the expansion of the Jesuit missionary frontier in Peru made good progress and did not need an active propaganda based on martyrdom. Just at the moment at which the missionary settlement was experiencing troubles, when the devotional and political importance of Jesuit martyrdom would have given a good support to Jesuit missions, the 1628 papal bull on sainthood stopped the production of literary martyrdom. Father Urrea became solely an emotional entry in Oliva’s Menologium not even deserving of a chapter in the 1630 Jesuit chronicle. Yet there was another story that impressed Oliva and also Mastrilli, who came from a family of Jesuit martyrs. The second Jesuit death was that of Brother Bernardo Reus in 1629, also on the land of the Chunchos; it too was rejected as we know by the letter of the Jesuit General referred above. There is, however, the possibility that martyrdom did not convince everybody in the seventeenth century. Judging on the documentation on possible Jesuit candidates to sainthood in the 1620s, Urrea was not mentioned even once and certainly Reus was not. When Father Messia was about to sail for Spain in 1631, he received a letter from Lima’s archbishop, Hernando de

661 Oliva, Historia, 280-281.
Villagómez, asking the King to promote the beatification of Father Juan Sebastián de la Parra and Father Diego Martínez, successful pioneers in the evangelization of Santa Cruz de la Sierra but also former confessors of the archbishop of Los Reyes. In 1634, the viceroy Count of Chinchón also sent a letter to the pope in support of Father Martínez’s beatification, thus perhaps the profile of missionary and political advisor was more popular after all. But it is true that the context at the time did not favor canonizations and even with peninsular support these two official candidates of the Jesuit Peruvian Province were rejected in Rome. The Jesuit General Vitelleschi, arguing the lack of permission and the new regulations, opposed in 1634 the circulation of biographies of Jesuits dead from martyrdom or not: “His Holiness has forbidden the printing of biographies of people who are not officially considered saints.”

Regardless of the success of colonial Jesuit sainthood, Oliva’s interest in the death of Brother Bernardo Reus allows us to know more about the reality of the conversion frontier in colonial Peru. When the chronicler was about to complete his

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662 CVU (Lima), *Carta al Rey de Hernando de Villagómez, arçobispo de Los Reyes* (May 1631).

663 “…por haver sido apostol de los infieles en muchas provincias de este reino, predicado en varias lenguas, convertido infinidad de indios…Suplico a Vuestra Santidad…” CVU (Lima), Letter from the Count of Chinchón to the Pope (Lima, May 16, 1634). Few years before his death, Father Diego Martínez, had already become a champion of missionary work, according to a contemporary French Jesuit. See Extrait d’une Lettre envoyée de Lima par le père Martin Descamps Lillois (5, Avril 1618) in *Histoire du Massacre de Plusieurs Religieux De S. Dominique, de S. Francois et de la Compagnie de Jesus, et de autres Chrestiens, aduenu en la rebellion de quelques Indois de L’Occident contre les Espagnols. Le tout tire du Memorial presente au Roy de Espagne, iouxte la copie Imprimee a Barcelonne 1616* (Valencienne: Jan Vervliet, 1620).

664 “…Las Vidas de los Padres Juan Sebastián, escrita por el Padre Francisco de Figueroa y Diego Martínez, escrita por el Padre Juan María Freylin se an leído en Sevilla y la corte y an admirado a todos y pedidose de Alcala para leer en el refectorio…” *Memorial of Alonso Messía*. ARSI, Congregationes Provinciarum (1630-1636). Vol. 63.

chronicle, the unexpected death of a young missionary made Oliva realize the importance of martyrdom in terms of what Maureen Ahern has defined as a “site of meaning.” The death of Reus was added to Oliva’s Menologium with the intention of making it a stronger and more appealing narrative in Rome while stressing the Order’s missionary before the eyes of colonial authorities and the Jesuit hierarchy. Oliva thought that Father Bernardo Reus’s death, killed along with two Augustinians by the Chuncho Indians in the area later known as Mojos in July 1629, was a powerful episode. However, Reus’ death was not mentioned at all in the correspondence between the General in Rome and the Peruvian Provincial. One reason for this institutional silence over Brother Reus’ death most likely had to do with the fact that his death evidenced the overlap of missionary jurisdictions between both Orders and maybe even a Jesuit intrusion in an area already granted to the Augustinians. Yet Father Oliva persevered; when his manuscript was about to leave Los Reyes in 1630, he added a compelling biography on Bernardo Reus also as an appendix to the littera annua, with instructions to put it at the end of the third book of the chronicle, if published.

This biography of seven pages is a detailed sketch of Reus’ life and completes the succinct biography contained in the Menologium. The untitled piece -not in Oliva’s handwriting but probably in that of a copyist- provides an interesting insight into the construction of a martyr for the purpose of positioning the Jesuit missionary work in the Andes in good standing before the Crown. In it, Father Oliva stressed the pious elements

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666 Ahern, “Visual and Verbal Sites.”


668 ARSI, Cartas Annuas, Peru Provincia Peruana, Historia IV (1576-1753), No. 21ª.
of a poor background and a late childhood under the tutelage of the Hyeronimites of El Escorial, where young Bernardo was taught to sing and excelled in sacred chant. It was there, when Reus—it is not clear whether he was already a candidate for profession in the Order of Saint Jerome—began preaching and was discovered by the royal family.\textsuperscript{669} It is very unlikely that Reus had already developed preaching skills considering that he might have been fifteen or sixteen years old when he left Spain.\textsuperscript{670} It was true that at court Reus met Father Joan Vásquez, who stopped there on his way back from Rome to Peru. This encounter may have triggered Reus’s eagerness to go to the New World and work in the conversion of infidels. Once in Peru, Reus excelled in learning Aymara and begged his superiors to be sent to a mission land, a request accepted after his profession around 1628. An emotional letter of Brother Bernardo to the Provincial dated March 1629 shows his gratefulness for what might have been a very hard decision made by the Provincial. So far, in all these regards Oliva’s narrative was accurate.\textsuperscript{671} Yet, a letter sent by Brother Reus to his uncle, a royal notary in Mallorca dated May 1624, reveals that the young Jesuit was happy with his life but most importantly that Reus’s family was far from being poor, contradicting Oliva’s emphasis on Reus’s upbringing by the Hyeronimites as a foundling. Besides the uncle who was a notary in Spain, another uncle of Reus was working in Potosí in trade affairs and was already a prosperous merchant who had saved enough money to return to Spain.\textsuperscript{672}

\textsuperscript{669} ARSI, Cartas Annuas, Peru Provincia Peruana, Historia IV (1576-1753), No. 21ª.

\textsuperscript{670} Oliva, Historia, 278.

\textsuperscript{671} ARSI, Cartas Annuas, Peru Provincia Peruana, Historia IV (1576-1753), No. 21ª.
Another document not known by Oliva tells the story from the angle of the conflict between the Orders. Father Reus did not have an active role in the missionary expedition of which he was part of in 1629. A testimony given by some of the Indian carriers (apiris) who accompanied Reus and his Augustine companions, Laureano Ibañez and Bartolomé Alvarez, taken by alférez Francisco de Villarreal, assistant of the corregidor of Larecaxa in August 1629, shows striking differences from the emotional narration offered by Father Oliva. Of the three Indians who declared in the testimony provided by Alonso Viculla, the interpreter confirms that Father Bernardo Reus was already sick when the Augustinian priests and the carriers, reached the lands of the Chunchos after eight days of travelling in the rainforest. Violence was not immediate, as narrated by the Augustinian chronicler Bernardo de Torres in 1651 or might have been deduced from Oliva’s narrative. Tension grew progressively over two days of reproaches by the Indians to the Augustinians for not providing them with sufficient goods for the local tribes and accusations about the plotting of the death of a local cacique. It might have been the case that the Indians feared the feverish symptoms of Reus as well, knowing of the consequences of Spanish diseases. Aware of the possible outcome, Reus - by then bedridden and a much passive actor in the saga- said goodbye to Alonso Viculla and encouraged him to flee during the night. At dawn, the interpreters and the carriers had fled and the missionaries were killed by the arrows of about twenty Indians under the leadership of Piata, the son of the cacique Chuquimarani. Most likely, the touching scene of Brother Reus on his knees while holding a crucifix, even after being pierced by

672 “…obligarme de que yo escriva desde tan remotas partes donde la voluntad de mi senor Dios ha sido servido traerme para que yo lo sirva mas a su gusto…y yo estoy tan contento de dejarme reir por tan lindo norte…Ojala fuessen muchos hijos y sobrinos para que estuviesse mas ennoblecido nuestro linaje pues la nobleza solo consiste en servir a Dios…” The letter mentions the merchant Francisco Sbert, the notary’s brother in law, who had saved more than 10,000 reales. AHPT, Missiones-Perú, 83, E-2 (3).
arrows, never took place. Yet Oliva was not the only one who stretched the truth for the sake of baroque imagery. According to the narrative of Bernardo de Torres of 1651 analyzed in chapter three, Father Reus was able to administer confession to the Augustinians before dying; moreover once he and the two Augustinians were killed, their bodies were open and their hearts taken out to be burnt, a very important detail not even mentioned by the Indian interpreters.673 It could be said that Oliva’s less dramatic version was due to the chronicler’s rush to make the story public, knowing that the master of Augustinian historiography, Antonio de la Calancha, already knew about the tragic event and was planning to write about it.674 The version given by the Indian interpreters, emphasizing the cultural conflict between Spaniards and local natives and none of the pious elements stressed by religious chroniclers, sheds light on the literary construction of colonial martyrdom.

In spite of the differences among the religious narratives, the death of missionaries became a site of meaning in Peruvian colonial historiography given that the missionary experience had become problematic in the colonial frontier during the late 1620s and also that compelling propaganda was needed to re-launch the whole mission frontier program as well as to secure extra funding from the Royal Treasury. In the particular case of the Peruvian Jesuit Province, Oliva’s version of the heroic life of Brother Reus has to be understood vis á vis the expansion of the recently created Jesuit province of Paraguay, in the process of its consolidation as a Jesuit missionary

673 AHPT, Missiones, Perú. 83, E-2 (2).

674 “…los otros dos religiosos tuvieron el mismo fin, mostrandose en la muerte tan fieles hijos de su religión como lo avian sido en vida, que mientras esto escrivo esta tambien escribiendo el Padre Maestro fray Antonio de la Calancha en la coronica que hace su ordern desta provincia que podra ver el devoto lector quando salga a luz que espero sera obra que pregonara con ventajas, las que tiene su author en letras, religion y virtud…..” ARSI, Cartas Annuas, Peru Provincia Peruana, Historia IV (1576-1753), No. 21ª.
emporium. In 1628, Paraguay was far from being the eighteenth-century Christian utopia. In this particular year, three Jesuits were violently killed by the Tupis; thus it was clear that without royal funding and political support, the expansion of evangelization in the southeastern frontier of Spanish America was at risk. The resistance of the Indians, the advance of the Portuguese population in the region and a weak colonial system that was not integrated into the regional economy demonstrated the need for more Jesuits. A compelling anonymous Jesuit account that circulated in Spain when Father Oliva completed his work described the death of Fathers Roque González, Alonso Rodríguez and Juan del Castillo in gruesome detail. Killed with Indian axes, the bodies of the missionaries were torn into pieces by a mob led by the local cacique. Father Rodríguez was cut in two and the two halves of his body were dragged around the mission church. Father del Castillo, beaten first was then wounded with a sword. Dragged around, the Jesuit was later pierced by arrows that went through his loins. When he finally died, the Indians heard a voice coming from the dead body that said: “You have killed the body of the one who loves you….not my soul.” Annoyed by the mysterious voice, the murderers cut the chest of the priest and took the heart out to be burnt. Miraculously, the heart of the missionary was not destroyed by the fire.675 The symbolism of the heart in the anonymous Jesuit narrative referred to the indestructibility of the Spanish American Church, both physically and theologically. As seen in the case of the Augustinian chronicle of Bernardo de Torres, in the anonymous Jesuit account for Paraguay the hearts of the missionaries also symbolized the union of Crown and Church. Due to this

675 BNM, Mss. 2360, Relación del martirio de los Padres Roque González de Santa Cruz, Alonso Rodríguez y Juan del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús en Paraguay, a 16 de noviembre de 1628 and Mss. 18569 (2), Fragmentos de una historia de las Misiones Jesuitas del Paraguay,
revelation of the fissures of colonial authority in the frontier, Jesuit martyrdom would call for a stronger alliance between Throne and Altar.  

The 1628 Jesuit account of the martyrs of Paraguay expressly asked Spanish authorities for the beatification of the three Jesuit martyrs. No evidence has been found that the Order ever supported this initiative or that Spanish ambassador in Rome was asked by the Council of the Indies to take action in this regard. Judging upon what happened to Father Oliva’s biography of Reus and to his *Menologium* published by Father Messía, most likely the Jesuit General in Rome blocked the circulation of the 1628 manuscript when he realized that once more his authority on the matter of sainthood had been ignored. It seems that at the beginning of the 1630s, martyrdom as the path to sainthood was under scrutiny in spite of the enthusiastic support of some religious scholars in Spanish America that took a few more decades to finally wane. However, the promotion of colonial martyrs was seen as an act of outrageous disobedience from the Paraguayan and Peruvian Jesuit Provinces, promoting their missionary cadres without the opinion of the Jesuit curia in Rome. As the mid seventeenth-century was approaching it was clear that the Spanish American corporate Church was demanding more leverage from their European headquarters. Oliva, Mastrilli, Messía and even the anonymous author of 1628, became in different ways quite independent figures within the trans-Atlantic Provinces of the Jesuit Order and somehow challenged the line of hierarchy that they were supposed to observe. Regardless of their identification with creole political claims, religious intellectuals shared a pattern for autonomy with their secular neighbors.

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676 The anonymous Jesuit author of the 1628 account stressed the fact that the Indian murderers were in turn killed by the troops of the Portuguese Governor, Manuel Cabral, who promptly arrived to help the Jesuits, a very astute way of asking for reinforcements of Spanish soldiers. *Relación del martirio*, f. 40r.
that affirmed their Spanish American identity: what Bauer and Mazzotti have defined as creolization.\textsuperscript{677}

The trope of the fallen soldiers of Christ was not easily forsaken in Father Oliva’s historical endeavors in a final effort to advocate for Jesuit missionary expansion and secure royal funding. In 1634, when he finished his second manuscript, the \textit{Relación de la entrada y fundación de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú en conformidad de la horden del Rey Don Phelipe II}, Oliva rewrote his original \textit{Menologium} around the martyrdoms of Father Urrea and Brother Reus.\textsuperscript{678} The biographies of the killed missionaries opened the second part of his new chronicle, even preceding the saintly life of the founder of the Peruvian Province, Father Ruiz del Portillo. The manuscript reached Rome but remained unpublished. Clearly, in the second half of the century, martyrdom as a path to sainthood became less appealing in Rome. Spiritual life and urban piety played a more important role in securing access to the altar as well as to royal funding. A last final echo of colonial Jesuit martyrdom can be found in a sermon delivered in Lima’s cathedral in 1693 by the creole Jesuit Joseph de Buendía. The sermon had been requested by the viceroy to honor the Spanish soldiers fallen in European battlefields. The preacher, instead of stressing the bravery of the Spanish soldiers in the difficult political scenario of the final years of the seventeenth century, compared them to

\textsuperscript{677} Ralph Bauer and Jose Antonio Mazzotti, eds., \textit{Creole Subjects in the Americas, Empires, Texts, Identities} (Chapel Hill and Williamsburg, University of North Carolina and Omohundro Institute of Early American History, 2009), 7.

\textsuperscript{678} Giovanni Anello Oliva, \textit{Relación de la entrada y fundación de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú en conformidad de la horden del Rey Don Phelipe II}. Rome, Biblioteca Cassantense, Mss. 1815.
those other soldiers, “martyrs of the Catholic King,” whose lives were lost in a different battlefield while fighting infidels but serving the Spanish Crown at the same time.679

5.2.3. The Final Years of a Jesuit Chronicler

In spite of the scandal surrounding his first work, the relentless Father Oliva finished a second manuscript on the history of his Order by 1634. His *Relación de la entrada y fundación de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú* was a more institutional history of the Jesuit Order, compared to that sent to Rome in 1631. This piece departed from the *Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú*, but left aside all historical revisionism to focus exclusively on the achievements of the Jesuits in the Andes. The work is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the arrival of the Order in 1568, complying with royal decrees issued by Philip II to carry out a moral reform in Spanish cities and a significant makeover in the Christian upbringing of the indigenous population. Part two of the *Relación* explains how from the different colleges and residences established throughout the Andean landscape, the Jesuit Order carried on its pastoral work from 1568 to 1633 when the manuscript was completed. Part three follows the format of a *Menologium*, while emphasizing the expansion of the mission frontier through the martyrdom of the above-mentioned Jesuits. It is clear that in 1634, Oliva went back to the format of the *Crónica Anónima Jesuita* of 1601, complying with the orthodox guidelines of the *General History of the Society of Jesus*. He probably wanted

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to make amends with Vitelleschi while also experiencing the personal satisfaction of having his work finally approved by the Jesuit curia.680

In his new work, Father Oliva tried a much more traditional approach to having his voice heard in the debate between his Order and the Crown. He did use the martyrdoms of Urrea and Reus to make a stronger case regarding the sacrifice of the Jesuits, but also emphasized the fact that the Jesuits had been sent to Peru by the express mandate of Philip II. Using the royal decree of May 3, 1566 that authorized the passage of Jesuits to found the Peruvian Province -in the same way that medieval institutions would use royal charters to legitimize their actions- Oliva organized the narrative in a way in which it started with a royal decree and ended with another, the one dated July 30, 1633. This last document authorized officials of the Royal Treasury in Portobelo and Panama to pay for the expenses, such as transportation, food and beds of the new Jesuit missionaries that accompanied Alonso Messia on his way back to Peru in 1633, destined to Santa Cruz and Chile.681 Thus, the new institutional history made clear that the Order had arrived in Peru by royal request and stayed and expanded because of royal support. The arrival of new missionaries in 1634 also confirmed that the control of the Jesuit Order in the colonial frontier of the Upper Peru and Chile had been blessed by the Crown. It is hard to understand why such a propagandistic account for the Order

680 The General History of the Jesuits -Historia Societate Jesu- by Fathers Nicolo Orlandini, Francesco Sacchini and Juvencio (Jouvency?) was published in Antwerp in 1615 and Rome in 1616. It was written by order of General Acquaviva, relying on information coming from histories of the different provinces sent from all over the world. The anonymous 1601 Peruvian chronicle was one of those. See Mateos, Historia General de la Compañia, 7.

681 The decree authorized to spend up to 323,879 maravedis, which was a considerable sum. Oliva, Relación de la entrada y fundación, 84. Considering that a maravedi equaled 1/3 of a silver real, that sum might have equaled about one thousand pesos.
remained unpublished, but it seems that this time the Jesuit General did not trust the chronicler not the chronicle. Somehow, Vitelleschi had found out that Father Oliva was working on a second manuscript and thus he alerted the Peruvian Provincial in 1637 to proceed in a very cautious way and have it read by censors unknown to the author to by all means avoid such incidents as those of 1631-1632. Vitelleschi also warned the Provincial about rumors that Father Oliva was seeking to be elected Proctor and thereby be allowed to return to Europe. The Jesuit asked the Provincial to do everything in his power to prevent this return from happening.\textsuperscript{682}

Oliva’s second Jesuit history left Lima and reached Rome around 1639 and then circulated, ending up in the library of one of the Jesuit seminaries there.\textsuperscript{683} Before sending the second manuscript to Europe, Father Oliva took it to the notary Manuel de Figueroa in Lima to have it verified as his own work and then three other notaries signed to validate Figueroa’s signature.\textsuperscript{684} Father Oliva’s legal precaution shows a clear concern of not being plagiarized a second time. Yet, taking his new manuscript to the notary without permission of his superiors also reflected a personality, which found difficult to

\textsuperscript{682} “...el P. Anello Oliva desea que su historia se estampe. V.R. se la pida y con gran secreto la entregue a tres personas de toda satisfacción en prudencia, letras y buen juicio, de manera que no entienda el quienes son y encarguemos le vean con atención, advirtiéndoles no pasen cosa que se oponga a la historia universal de la Compañía y V. R. me remita sus censuras para que vea si conviene darla licencia que pide y antes por ninguno caso se impriman...escríben que el Padre Oliva a solicitado voto para ser elegido por Procurador a Roma...” ARSI, Peru 2, II (Vitelleschi to Vásquez, Rome 1637).

\textsuperscript{683} The manuscript has an annotation on the right upper side of the first page that says: “Domus prof.” or house for those who professed in the Order. After the suppression of the Order in the eighteenth century, that library was likely sent to the Cassanatense collection.

\textsuperscript{684} “Concuerda este traslado con su original de verbo ad verbum y por verdadero lo firmo en Lima, 16 de junio de 1639”. The notary annotated the following: “P. Anello Oliva de la Compañía de Jesús al cual doy fe que conozco y el ha escrito en ciento y sesenta y siete fojas según parece y por la numeración y en fee dello firmo ante mi el escribano en testimonio de verdad. Manuel de Figueroa” Oliva, Relación de la fundación, f. 169r.
reconcile with the vow of religious obedience. Giovanni Oliva was a victim of a system in which intellectual achievements were considered as such only if they worked as propaganda for the religious corporation, not as a demonstration of the author’s talent. That was the tragedy of early modern religious scholars who had to cope with institutional restraints. However, Father Oliva was not the only one in the Jesuit Peruvian province whose work was denied permission for publication. Two other important scholars of these years were also victims of Muzio Vitelleschi’s fear of heterodoxy and individualism. The first case was Father Juan María Perlín, who wrote extensively on scholastics during the 1610s while teaching at the Jesuit seminary in Los Reyes. In 1613, he asked permission to go to Europe to publish some of his works there. The General ordered the Provincial in 1614 to provide Father Perlín with a copyist with a reminder that the priority of the Order was his teaching of Thomist philosophy, not his intellectual work. The other case was that of Father Alonso de Peñafiel who, having completed a Philosophy Handbook, wrote to Rome asking for the General’s permission to publish it. In 1636, the Jesuit curia found out that Peñafiel had also sent four-thousand pesos with a merchant to pay for the publication in Spain, as soon as he got notice of the

685 In the case of seventeenth-century New Spain, Magdalena Chocano finds a similar problematic among religious scholars. In particular, she analyzes the room for heterodoxy in the different versions of the hagiography of Father Gregorio López. See Chocano, La Fortaleza Docta, 331-344.

686 ARSI, Peru 1a (Vitelleschi to Diego Alvarez de Paz, Rome, 1614). In a letter to Perlín, informing of his permanent stay in Peru, the General also said: “…la licencia que Ud. Pide para poder imprimir todo lo que no fuera tocante a la Materia De Auxiliis y Gracia, es muy amplia y por consiguiente difícil de de ser concedida, principalmente porque hay otras materias como Del Jurisdictio en que no se pide menos tiento…” ARSI, Peru 1a (Vitelleschi to Juan María Perlín, Rome 1617).
in scriptis from Vitelleschi. Penafiel’s work, acknowledged as a landmark of philosophical speculation, remained unpublished.\footnote{ARSI, Peru 2, II (Vitelleschi to Peñafiel, Rome 1637).}

Such a hostile context for religious scholarship convinced Father Oliva that the only priestly virtue which was really difficult to practice was patience.\footnote{La cruz viva de la paciencia.” See Oliva, Historia, LIII.} A life full of passion and ideas was turning into disappointment and frustration. Even though during his last years he occupied ruling positions and was praised once by the General for his good performance, in particular as rector of the Jesuit college of Callao, Oliva behaved independently and progressively more defiantly towards the rules of his Order. His second attempt to become a published author would suffice as example of this behavior. However, Oliva’s defiance of the Jesuit rules went even further. In 1637, a concerned Vitelleschi wrote again to the Peruvian Provincial, Father Antonio Vásquez, to complain about Father Oliva’s public behavior. The Neapolitan was described this time as “angry, explosive, conflictive” and even worse, “he had been seen paying long calls to a certain lady, who also gets presents and has Mass said in her private oratory…Your Reverence would have had my approval if you had removed Father Oliva from his present position for good.”\footnote{ARSI, Peru 2, II (Vitelleschi to Vásquez, Rome 1637).} Discredited and embittered, Giovanni Anello Oliva died in Lima in 1642.

The anonymous Jesuit who wrote his eulogy for the Carta Annua of that year reported:

\footnote{“a la estimacion y amor que tengo a V.R. permiten le calle lo que e sentido que en alcanzar licencia para la estampa del curso de Philosophia aya hecho diligencias tan extraordinarias…solicitando cartas y calificaciones de personages…” ARSI, Peru 2, II (Vitelleschi to Peñafiel, Rome 1637). Peñafiel asked for permission to publish for the first time in 1631. Vitelleschi wanted the manuscript to be sent to Seville for censorship and forbid Penafiel from asking for local donations to publish. ARSI, Congregationes Provinciarum, Vol. 63. On eminent Jesuit Theologians in the Peruvian Province see Santos, Los Jesuítas en América, 327.}
“he changed his fatherland for the Indies.”690 Far was the eulogist from knowing how much the experience of exile had shaped Father Oliva’s intellectual work and life.

5.3. Bernabé Cobo and a landscape for political virtue

“que dexe la historia que ha començado y se aplique con veras ayudar a la salvacion de los proximos.”691

Unlike his fellow Jesuit historians of the seventeenth century, Fathers Oliva and Barrasa, Bernabé Cobo’s received scholarly recognition since the discovery of his work in the 1890s due to his various scholarly interests and engaging narrative. Cobo’s work reflected his vast experience as traveler and explorer even before he became a Jesuit. In many ways he was more a scholar than a missionary; still his years as a missionary contributed significantly to the scope and quality of his work and explain why his writings too remained unpublished. The Historia del Nuevo Mundo took forty years (1613-1653) of Cobo’s life while the author gathered documents, interviewed witnesses of historical episodes, visited ruins and reflected on history and nature. The results were three massive volumes of which only parts of the first one, Historia de la Fundación de Lima, and the second, a natural history of Mexico and Peru have been preserved. The first volume of the work comprised fourteen books that deal with the Spanish American landscape and its flora and fauna and conclude with the history of Amerindian polities, in particular the Inca civilization. The second volume, comprising fifteen books, relates the history of the viceroyalty of Peru since the Conquest and focuses on the history of Lima and its government. The last part, with fourteen books, deals with the history of the

690 ARSI Peru, Cartas Annuas (Peru 1641-1643)

691 ARSI, Peru, 1a (Vitelleschi a Gonzalo de Lira, Rome 1628).
viceroyalty of New Spain, with an emphasis on the history of the city of Mexico, concluding with a treatise on navigation and the history of the Spanish possessions in Asia. From such an ambitious book, only the Historia de la Fundación de Lima and the natural history of Mexico and Peru have survived.

Judging upon the original plan, Father Cobo’s interests leaned more on the side of social and political history than natural history. Yet, Cobo’s fellow Jesuit and twentieth-century editor, Francisco Mateos, labeled Cobo’s work as the landmark of colonial natural science, even surpassing José de Acosta in the Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias. Had Cobo’s chronicle been found complete, the natural historian would have not prevailed over the social and political historian and maybe now we would have a different understanding of his work. A recent study by Luis Millones-Figueroa emphasizes Cobo’s departure from Pliny and his dialogue with classic sources and the Scripture, predating modern science. Despite the usefulness of delving into notions of early modern science, we can also think of Cobo as an early modern scholar who reflected on Spanish American nature vis à vis the political history of Pre-Columbian and colonial Spanish America in order to reorient colonial administration. Cobo’s interest in the landscape of Spanish America fits well with the search for geographical and natural knowledge of the period, related to the commercial and imperial expansion of early

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692 Francisco Mateos, “Introducción,” in Bernabé Cobo, Obras, XXXVI-XXXVII.

693 The first editor of the complete works of Cobo was Marcos Jiménez de la Espada between 1890 and 1893. Here I use both Cobo’s edition by Francisco Mateos and the manuscript of the Royal Palace in Madrid. Bernabé Cobo, Obras, Francisco Mateos, ed. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 91, 1956) and BPRM, Bernabé Cobo, Historia de la Fundación de Lima, II/204.

colonial times, as Susan Deans-Smith has pointed out. Moreover, the interest in nature played a key role in the elaboration of political projects of the early modern period. Therefore, the relationship between Cobo and European Catholic statecraft, Giovanni Botero in particular, needs more consideration. It should be noted that the natural landscape was the setting for Cobo’s interest in Christian rule.

Father Cobo’s Historia de la Fundación de Lima (1639) should be read as part of the religious colonial discourse on the reform of the body politic. Cobo’s idea of the Spanish civitas -as materialized in the city of Los Reyes- stemmed from his positive appreciation of the Spanish Conquest which made possible the recreation of Spanish society in the Indies and the foundation of its most important contribution: the city. Thus, Cobo’s natural history aimed at presenting the success of the expansion of the Catholic monarchy in a non-European natural and human landscape, not described in the Scriptures and unknown among the scholars of Antiquity. The political and spiritual conquest of the Indies was part of a larger goal, the consolidation of a Catholic world order as mandated by Providence. Cobo’s history of the Spanish civitas in the New World acquired full meaning when contrasted with the natural -though tamed by the Spanish- creation that surrounded it. Nature in Cobo’s work was just the stage for the creation of political virtue, somehow present in the two most important indigenous polities of Mesoamerica and the Andes but perfected by the action of Spain. The absence of political topics like Indian labor or the figure of the Christian ruler in the work of this

exceptional Jesuit poses the question of how interested was Cobo in contributing to the reform of the body politic. I think two elements have to be considered, the first being the constant censorship of Spanish American Jesuit scholarship by the General of the Order and the second, the start of the eclipse of the Anti-Machiavellian doctrine in religious scholarship, which would be quite clear by the time of the end of the Thirty Years’ War.\textsuperscript{696} Therefore, Cobo’s Christian and political interpretation of the colonial city was one of the last expressions of colonial Catholic statecraft after Botero’s principles. To rule his subjects with justice -particularly among the seaborne empires- required a Christian prince to have information to build a functional system of representation and domination; therefore the best a religious scholar could offer his monarch was the key to understanding his subjects and dominions.\textsuperscript{697} Yet, Cobo’s emphasis on the Christian \textit{civitas} and the ruling of vecinos added a layer of meaning which fit the creole claims.

Father Bernabé Cobo’s life (1580-1657) has been extensively analyzed by Francisco Mateos and Guillermo Lohmann. The son of well-to-do farmers of Jaén, Bernabé Cobo left Spain being barely fifteen years old to join the expedition of Domingo de Vera to conquer the mythic El Dorado in 1596. The failed expedition resulted in Cobo’s travelling through Panama on his way to Peru to seek his fortune. In Panama in 1597, he met Father Esteban Páez who, impressed by young Bernabé’s intelligence, offered him a scholarship at the college of San Martin in Lima. Two years of Latin

\textsuperscript{696} Bireley, \textit{The Counter-reformation Prince}, 218.

\textsuperscript{697} Glacken, \textit{Traces on the Rhodian Shore}, 368. Burke has stated that “the selection, organization and presentation of knowledge” was not a neutral value-free process. On the contrary, it was the expression of a world-view supported by an economic as well as a social and political system. See Peter Burke, \textit{A Social History of Knowledge}, 125, 176.
studies at San Martin led Cobo to the Jesuit seminary, which he entered in 1601. In 1613, he was ordained priest and in 1622, finally professed as a Jesuit. During all these years, he lived in various residences and colleges of the southern Andes, using his spare time for excursions to ruins, collection of samples and interviews with people. By 1610, when the grandiose spectacle of the beatification of Saint Ignatius was celebrated in Cuzco, Fathers Cobo and Oliva were living in the former Inca capital. No reference in the work of one or the other shows acquaintance, which is unfortunate since the two major Jesuit historians of vice-regal Peru coincided until Cobo’s departure to Mexico in 1630. This might have had to do with the attempts of the Jesuit General to block discussion and writing of history in the Peruvian Jesuit province and with Oliva’s enmity towards Spaniards and creoles. In 1620, an impatient Father General asked the Peruvian Provincial about the convenience of giving permission to Cobo to write a chronicle, which reveals a request from the latter in this regard. In 1629, Vitelleschi finally gave permission for Father Cobo to move to New Spain, but scolded the Mexican Provincial for allowing Father Bernabé to engage further in intellectual rather than pastoral endeavors.

On his way to Mexico, Father Cobo travelled through Central America and was particularly struck by the natural landscape of Nicaragua and Guatemala and the wealth

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698 Mateos, “Introducción” and Guillermo Lohmann, Bernabé Cobo (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1966). When Cobo was admitted in the Jesuit Order, a file on the “cleanliness of his blood” was open. See BNL Mss. B1664.

699 In 1620, Vitelleschi was somewhat tolerant for yet another Jesuit writing history in the Peruvian province: “Vea V. R. si ay inconveniente para dar licencia al Padre Cobo para continuar la historia que tiene comenzada y no aviendo lo se la de...” ARSI, Peru 2, I (Vitelleschi to Diego Álvarez de Paz, Rome September 1620). However, in 1628, the General lost his temper: “Holgareme que el padre Cobo se quietase y no tratase de mudarse a Mexico, pero si el instare y no hallare V.R. en ello inconveniente de consideración, conciertese con el Padre provincial..y despues envieselo..y digale al dicho Padre Cobo, que dexe la historia que a comenzado y que se aplique con veras a ayudar a la salvacion de los proximos” ARSI, Peru 1ª (Vitelleschi to Gonzalo de Lira, October 1628).
of New Spain, making insightful and interesting remarks on the indigenous populations and natural resources. From Puebla de los Angeles, on his way to Mexico City, Cobo sent a letter dated March 7, 1630 to Father Alonso de Peñafiel, a theologian in Lima. The description contained is rich in detail and even obsessive with measurements, distances and heights, revealing the mind of an early modern scientist, fascinated by quantification. Three years later, a letter addressed to Don Juan Zamorano in Upper Peru was sent via Father Hernando de León, the Jesuit proctor in Lima. This extensive document informed the reader about the flood of Mexico and the need to work on another drain for the lakes. The letters from New Spain shed light on Cobo’s method of work for his natural history. After observing a natural phenomenon, Cobo studied its natural causes and carefully evaluated the Spanish knowledge on the issue, its possible use or correction as happened with his proposal on the drain of the lakes of Mexico. I want to point out here that these letters reveal the existence of discussants inside and outside the Jesuit Order for Cobo’s ideas. For instance, the letter sent from Mexico to Zamorano was a report on how to build efficient drains for lakes and divert waters in mountainous areas. Living in Upper Peru, Zamorano might have been involved in the management of waters for obrajes or for mining industry. The exchange clearly shows that Cobo’s expertise was much valued among laymen and probably that this discussion was a source of feedback for Cobo himself. Susan Deans-Smith has stressed the importance of institutions related to scientific research in colonial Spanish America, such as the networks and bureaucracies involved in gathering information and funding projects. Cobo used the Jesuit Order in addition to his own personal network in his struggle to stretch the limits of a religious institution for research purposes and reconcile it with the secular world.700

After three years in New Spain, with enough information to write his *Historia*, Father Cobo asked Rome to be transferred back to Los Reyes. General Vitelleschi thought it was a whimsical request and denied permission, but because of this letter we know that the manuscript was still in process in 1633. The letter from the General to the Mexican Provincial reveals Vitelleschi’s concern over Cobo’s return to Lima and his increasing acquaintance with *particulares* in Peru who were laymen with whom Cobo shared intellectual pursuits. In 1641, Vitelleschi finally approved Cobo’s request and a year later he was on his way to Lima where he would finish his manuscript in 1653 at the age of seventy-three. Around 1655, the still strong Father Cobo was appointed rector of the college of Callao, a position formerly occupied by Father Oliva. Father Bernabé Cobo died in Lima in October 1657.

5.3.1. The Glory of the Spanish república

Cobo’s goal in the *Historia de la Fundación de Lima* -completed in Mexico by 1639- was to pay tribute to the development of the south-sea metropolis to which he had arrived forty years before and considered home. It is notable that Father Cobo said in his dedication to the famous Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereyra -whose influence at court the chronicler sought- that he had written motivated by the “events and circumstances that shaped the great Spanish republic in the Indies, so the deeds of the

701 “Alegrome que V.R. emplee tan bien el tiempo, y que tenga tan adelante su Historia, como me escribe en la de 23 de febrero del ano pasado; que tanto es de mayor estima esta ocupación cuando menos, como dice V.R. hace falta a los ministerios. Ruego a V.R. no trate de mudarse a la provincia del Peru, que en esa estimaran su persona y prendas como es justo, y cuando vino de aquella, fue para no tratar mas de mudanzas; y V.R. se conforme con estar en consolación, por lo mucho que se interesa de la gloria de Dios nuestro senor, bien de esas provincias y quietud de los particulares, cerrar la puerta a semejantes trasiegos…” ARSI, Mexico, 2 (Vitelleschi to Cobo, Rome 1634).

Spaniards will not be forgotten.” It was not mere awe before the wealth of Lima or his own patriotic feeling that the Jesuit wanted to stress in his letter to the political thinker. Rather, it was the successful adaptation of the political institution of the Spanish city, the one that had made of Lima an urban república where hundred years before there were just a few indigenous settlements. Lima was not only an urban improvement over indigenous patterns of urbanization, but also living proof that the Spanish nation had transplanted the best of its political heritage and created a new Spanish political geography which perfected the ruling of the Indies. Moreover, the city had contributed decisively to the consolidation of a Catholic world order. In his epistolary exchange with Solorzano, Cobo suggested that his interest in the Spanish city had predated other aspects of his Historia. It might have been the case that in the original manuscript, his political histories of Lima and Mexico introduced the reader to the history of Indian polities and the description of the natural environment, which would confirm Cobo’s interest in political history. For sure, the three books for the Historia de la Fundación de Lima were completed by 1626.

Cobo’s interest in the institutional achievements of the Spanish república in the New World constitutes a turning point among religious historical narratives of the period.

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703 “no poco me alienta la confianza que en el favor de Vuesa Merced tengo puesta de que agradandole este humilde don…me ha de abrir camino, por la mucha reputacion i autoridad que tiene en ese supremo senado…” Bernabé Cobo, Fundación de Lima, Francisco Mateos, ed. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1956, Vol. XCI), 280-281.

704 In 1639, when Cobo sent the History of Lima to Solórzano, he said that after twenty-eight years of work, he had finally completed his work. However, references in the book first lead one to conclude that the research was close to completion by 1626, prior to his move to Mexico but apparently there was no favorable context for attempting a publication. Once in Mexico, Cobo undertook the writing of the Mexican version and once again tried to publish the history of Los Reyes. This second frustrated attempt might have made him consider instead the writing of the Natural History project, which occupied him until 1653. Bernabé Cobo, Fundación de Lima, 280-281.
and a radical novelty within his Order. In celebrating the foundation of Lima, Cobo openly praised the deeds of founders and conquistadors and consequently the Conquest itself. Unlike other’s writings - Oliva’s harsh critique, Calancha’s mild defense of the first generations of Spanish vecinos and even Salinas’ cautious praise of Pizarro- Cobo’s emphasis was on the civilizing consequence of the Conquest and his actors, as agents of a successful recreation of Spanish civilization in the Indies. Moreover, Cobo wanted to tell a story in which the voice of the benémerito class played the main role in proudly defending its origins. It is in this sense that Cobo’s reliance on historical sources and on accounts kept by descendants of the Spanish conquistadors in cities like Arequipa, Cuzco and Mexico needs to be understood.705 Making use of his personal connections, Cobo sought Spanish sources which stressed the sacrifices and achievements of the first Spanish settlers. In the case of Lima, Father Cobo rescued the figure of the founder Francisco Pizarro and offered a positive vision of the Marquis-Conquistador, even more so than that offered by Buenaventura de Salinas, who shared with the Jesuit a similar focus on the city as the center of political virtue. Father Cobo’s history of Los Reyes reconciled not only the Conquest with the lofty ideals of the Catholic statecraft discourse, but also the colonial creoles with the “father and founder of the república.”706 Rather than focusing on the moral implications of murders and civil wars as the passionate Father Oliva did, Cobo stressed the role of Lima as a political and religious landmark of the

705 The manuscript of Pedro Pizarro was shared by his descendants in Arequipa. In Mexico, Cobo had access to an account written by Bernardino Vásquez de Tapia. Both were first-hand accounts of the Conquest. In Cuzco, Cobo was acquainted with Captain Juan Alvarez Maldonado who conquered the Moxos region. There, the chronicler also met descendants from Inca royalty and Spanish gentry. See Cobo, Obras, 4 and Mateos, “Introducción”, XVIII-XIX.

706 Cobo, Obras, 288.
Catholic monarchy and followed the path suggested by Diego de Córdova, stating that Providence had manifested through the contradictions of the conquistadors.  

Lima was founded by “brave soldiers who knew it would be the center of the cult of the true God, from which the people would be taught…”

*Historia de la Fundación de Lima* is divided into three books. The first is the history of the foundation of the city, the physical description of the city and the definition of the institutions that served the vice-regal court. The second book deals with the history of the archbishopric of Lima and the institutions that administered the sacred, such as the Cathedral Chapter with a long description of the cathedral, the parishes of the city, the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade, the Inquisition and the University. The third book is an account of all the religious corporations in the city, their churches, monasteries and places of worship, representing “the piety and religion of the republic.”

Cobo put emphasis on the history of the sacred in Los Reyes after describing its political functions. The city embodied the ideal of Spanish ruling and as vice-regal capital was the center where the representation of the Crown resided. However, the political identity of the vice-regal court required -in order to complete its civilizing nature- the articulation with the institutional aspects of the Catholic *civitas*, the first religious see of South America, a sacred landmark in the Catholic geography of the New World. Thus, there was a need to describe religious institutions, chapels, rites, relics and sacred liturgy performed in Los


708 BPRM, Mss. II/204, Cobo, *Fundación de Lima*, f. 6v.

Reyes. It was a format already set by the pillar of Anti-Machiavellianism, Giovanni
Botero who, in his *Greatness of Cities*, would describe Rome in this way: “Is not Rome
then a debtresse, for her exaltation to the blood of martyrs, to the reliques of Saints, to the
sanctitie of places and to the Supreme Authoritie, in matters holy and spirituall?” As
Rome was a political and religious see, Los Reyes had perfected the political values of a
Spanish city through its becoming a Christian *civitas*, politically founded by and for
religion. Lima embodied the union of Church and Crown.

The core of Castilian political culture was the city *cabildo*, the assembly of the
citizens, the main topic in book one of *Fundación de Lima*. Right after the foundation of
Los Reyes, said Cobo, Pizarro established the local government, the *cabildo*, because “a
people without justice, government, good and just laws does not deserve the name of
republic and body politic.” Therefore the political history of the city was the history of
how the first ruling institution was organized and implemented. Four days after founding
the city, in the presence of a notary, Pizarro gave the first two mayors the staffs of local
power and in the coming months the rest of the members, all coming from the ranks of
the local *encomenderos*, were incorporated. In January 1536, the first formal election

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711 “Such is the force of Religion, to increase cities and enlarge dominions. And it is so attractive virtue…” Botero, *Greatnesse of Cities*, 66. For Cobo, “[Lima]…puede gloriar de una escelencia que lo fuera mui grande en las mas calificadas y nobles republicas de Europa; es haver tenido por fundadores y primeros pobladores hombres cristianos, profesores de la verdadera ensenanza y lei evangelica la qual desde que tuvo ser ha ella conservado tan entero; puro como por beneficio divino acostumbra guardarla y defenderla nuestra nacion castellana i a esta causa nunca en esta republica ha tenido el demonio altar ni templo donde se le haya dado la honra i vasallaje que suelen darle en las que algun tempo andan desviadas del verdadero Dios.…” Cobo, *Fundación de Lima*, f. 105v.

712 Cobo, *Obras*, 294
completed the process of establishing the see of local power, retaining for the Governor the right granted by the Crown to appoint three of the twelve regidores. In 1623, by the time Cobo was about to finish his history of Lima, the number of regidores had grown to fifteen and the city gentry had total control of the cabildo.\footnote{Cobo, Obras, 294-297, 323.} An important place in the history of the city was given to the administration of justice because the cabildo was the Spanish institution that represented the faculty of the monarch to administer justice and, in the case of Lima, this faculty was delegated to the Spanish gentry of citizens. This was a key element in Cobo’s argumentation, because in the case of Lima the Crown had granted the unusual honor - unparalleled in the Indies- of not having a corregidor but administering justice directly.\footnote{In Mexico City, where there was an acting corregidor, the cabildo was also a stronghold of the creole oligarchy, as Cañeque has recently stated. See Cañeque, The King’s Living Image, 66.} This particular entitlement of the city’s regidores guaranteed specific privileges in terms of protocol, courtly and religious ceremonial.\footnote{In royal processions, a representation of the regidores followed the Royal Audiencia and in the procession during Corpus Christi festivities, the canopy over the Sacred Sacrament could be held only by regidores. Cobo, Obras, 323.} Lima was indeed a privileged city and, as seen in chapter one, this privilege determined the entitlement that shaped both the tone of the discourse that was produced by its religious elites and the agency of its religious proctors at court.

That initial chapter of citizen’s self-ruling ended after Pizarro’s death in 1541 and the subsequent civil wars among conquistadors. At this point the Crown deemed necessary the establishment of a more central form of government and both the audiencia and the post of viceroy were created as institutions to rule in the name of the Spanish...
monarch. Cobo stated that the viceroyalty, as form of government, was born out of the expansion and maturity of the Spanish settlement in Peru; this observation was partially true since the administration of resources required an increasing bureaucracy; yet the presence of the viceroy also meant a more centralized vision of colonial ruling.716 Nonetheless, Cobo placed both audiencia and viceroy after the cabildo, granting seniority for the oldest ruling Spanish institution, the core of the rights of the citizens. The audiencia and the Viceroy were connected, since the Viceroy presided over the audiencia, as the King would preside over his Council -known in Spanish America as Real Acuerdo- but the audiencia could rule in absence of the Viceroy and even administrate justice if any decision of the viceroy was questioned.717 However, the executive branch of power negotiated jurisdiction with the powerful cabildo, the true seat of the city’s rights (fueros). To make this graphically to his readers, Cobo described the reception of the royal seal and the entry of the first viceroy in Lima in 1543. The ultimate expression of royal power was the royal seal, which was first received by the city’s representatives and symbolized both the acceptance of the King by the city and the monarch’s recognition of the city’s rights. Then the seal was entrusted to the audiencia, which in this way became invested with royal authority.718 As Curzio-Nagy has pointed

716 “…pero como el estado desta nueva republica con el grande aumento que havia tenido en tan buen tiempo se tomase ya en Espana en diferente figura que antes y se mirase como una gran cosa y que pedia mayor poder y autoridad en los que fuesen proveidos para su gobierno y administracion de la justicia acordo el rey de poner en esta ciudad de Lima una audiencia y chancilleria real i nombrar por presidente della una persona mui calificada….a quien diese el honroso titulo de virrey….” Cobo, Fundación de Lima, f. 63v.

717 Royal Decrees of March 19th, 1550 and February 15th, 1567. Cobo, Obras, 339-340. Alejandro Cañéque has pointed out this apparent contradiction in colonial government, but also stated that the Audiencia was always subordinated to the power of the viceroy, even though this one had not power over the administration of justice per se. See Cañéque, The King’s Living Image, 59.
out, these symbolisms aimed at strengthening the vision that the vecinos had of good colonial governance and their negotiated position as vassals. The acceptance of the royal seal, before entrusting it to the audiencia, ratified the citizens’ rights and their expectations of a vice-sovereign that acknowledged their condition of beneméritos as well.  

Cobo’s emphasis on the symbolic and functional importance of dialogue between cabildo and audiencia, before the ratification of the viceroy as such, did not discuss the authority of the vice-ruler at all. On the contrary, the viceroy’s dignity and authority were reaffirmed in his narrative as well as in those lavish receptions in the city of Lima, which in the second half of the seventeenth-century became mythical. Yet these ceremonies traced their political genealogy back to Cobo’s narration of this first time. History thus served to legitimize the unique political relationship between Spanish American vassals and their sovereign. That relationship—which entailed some neglect by the Crown through which local elites enjoyed a substantial measure of self-government—was understood as the definition of the Spanish composite monarchy. Yet, for Cobo, the ruling of the Indies had perfected the notion since the Indies were not an inherited territory of the Spanish Crown but rather what Elliott has defined as an “accessory union” acquired through Conquest.  

That type of union with the Catholic monarchy had extended benefits of

718 Cobo, Fundación de Lima, f. 79r., Cobo, Obras, 237.

719 In colonial Mexico, the descriptions of civic festivals under the Habsburg rule stressed a “language of governing built around ritual” that served the colonial state but at the same time created a means by which local citizens interpreted “good governance” and their role as vassals. Cobo certainly followed this pattern in his narrative. See Linda Curzio-Nagy, The great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City. Performing Power and Identity (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 65
vecindad not to the native indigenous elites but to elites which were originally alien to Spanish America and won those rights through charters and military conquest, and who in moments of crisis -like the civil wars among conquistadors- decided to stay loyal to the Spanish Crown. Royal power, evident in the authority of audiencia and viceroy, still required the recognition of the cabildo, as happened in the transitional moment of the reception of the royal seal. Thus Father Cobo sided with the creole benemérito elite when analyzing the nature of royal power in the Spanish American tradition that connected well with the expectations on distributive justice that this segment held. The Spanish composite monarchy was essentially destined to seek justice for its subjects. But justice was not mere judicial administration, a faculty the King had delegated to the hands of the cancillería or audiencia. Royal justice was the acknowledgement of the fueros of every kingdom and the decisions taken by its elite of citizens, which was not exclusive from the colonial Peruvian elite since on that very principle rested the perpetuation of the system of the composite monarchy, as Elliott has pointed out.\textsuperscript{721}

Cobo’s creole agenda responds to the process of creolization that applies to the unruly Father Alonso Messía or even to the also peninsular, Bernardo de Torres. A life spent in Spanish America not only fostered in these religious scholars a sense of national pride of being part of the Spanish nation and república across the Atlantic, but also a patriotic identity with the cities where they grew up, matured and became respected members of a creole republic of letters. However, it is worth pointing out that Father

\textsuperscript{720} It was known as “union aequae principaliter” and required the respect of previous fueros or laws of the newly incorporated kingdom. See John H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” in Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 7-11.

\textsuperscript{721} Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” 11.
Cobo’s creole pride was not divorced from a strong idea that the political and religious model implemented in Spanish America was the response to the longevity of the Spanish monarchy and ultimately to the success of the global mission of Spain. For Cobo, the Spanish empire in its process of expansion had perfected the religious values and political institutions of the Castilian nation. In this sense, Cobo subscribed to the vision of the Anti-Machivellianists; a Catholic-Spanish república under one Crown, unified and yet diverse. This was Botero’s vision of empire too: “the colonies with their mother make (as it were) one body.”722 Only religion would not be negotiable because it guaranteed order and cohesion, as Lipsius had taught.723 Cobo’s Fundación de Lima should be read as part of the colonial discourse on Catholic statecraft and also as a defense of creole leverage in the political system of the Spanish composite monarchy.

5.4. Jesuit Coda: The Chronicle of Jacinto Barrasa

By the time of Cobo’s death in 1657, historical revisionism and Catholic statecraft were losing momentum among Jesuit scholars. The last history written in the Peruvian Province in the seventeenth century was that of Father Jacinto Barrasa, probably completed by 1678 and never published.724 It is a clear example of institutional history, with little trace of politics and resembling the anonymous history of Jesuit missions and

722 Botero, The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities, 61. The model of the body politic as proposed by Antimachiavellianism fit well Jesuit theory on statecraft as proposed by Father Suárez. See Antonio Rivera García, La Política del cielo. Clericalismo jesuita y estado moderno (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999), 70-71.


724 Father Barrasa was appointed official chronicler of the Jesuit Peruvian province in 1674. The official history by Rubén Vargas Ugarte does not offer a reason why it was not published. See Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, 289-290.
colleges of 1601 and part of Oliva’s chronicles of 1630 and 1634. Barrasa used all these Jesuit sources to arrange what could be seen as the last historical endeavor of the Order. The chronicle is divided in two books, the first one dealing with the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Peru and the second one with the history of Jesuit foundations, the so-called schools. In this second part, Barrasa took on Oliva’s biographical format to praise important individuals throughout the history of the Peruvian Province.

Interestingly enough, he stressed the lives of administrators and preachers. Yet, in chapter eighteen of the second book, the chronicle shifted from the history of the Jesuit college in Cuzco and the life of Father Alonso de Barzana to a very interesting dialogue with the Corónica Moralizada of Father Antonio de la Calancha on the defeat of the last rebel Inca Tupac Amaru and the Vilcabamba Inca enclave. In 1572, the Jesuits—and not only the Augustinians—cooperated with viceroy Toledo in the final pacification of the Andes and the submission of the natives who were still rebellious against the “civil government.”

Barrasa’s history can be considered a last attempt at historical revision of the Conquest of the Inca Empire, even though it was still intertwined with institutional claims. The Jesuits were not present at the Conquest in the 1530s and could not claim a martyr in Vilcabamba as the Augustinians did, but they certainly could claim that the Jesuit model of conversion had played a role in the difficult decisions taken by viceroy

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725 AHPT, Jacinto Barrasa, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú (1678?), Mss C-277. This manuscript is a nineteenth-century copy dated April 1880, after the original supposedly kept in Lima’s National Library and now lost. The work is divided in three books.

726 “A lo que eficazmente y con mucho fruto cooperaron los nuestros con el virrey fue a la reduccion de los indios a pueblos que esparcidos los mas….estaban menos sugetos al gobierno civil.” Barrasa, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, f. 124.
Toledo in 1572. Moreover, Barrasa linked this claim with the fact that the forces that attacked the Inca enclave were led by Captain Íñigo García de Loyola, Saint Ignatius’s nephew and Captain Martín Hurtado de Arbielo, vecino and encomendero of Cuzco and nephew of Father Ignacio de Arbieto, a prominent creole Jesuit.\textsuperscript{727} Besides Jesuit genealogies, Barrasa’s narrative proposed a new reading of the defeat of the Incas of Vilcabamba, repositioning the role of the Jesuit Order in early colonial history as responsible for advising the viceroy and converting Inca Tupac Amaru. Tupac Amaru, who in most accounts died a pagan without acknowledging the authority of the pope or the King of Spain, would, according to Barrasa, have converted to Catholicism after his capture by viceroy Toledo in Vilcabamba due to the pastoral efforts of Father Barzana. In stressing the political role of his Order, Barrasa put the martyrdom of Ortiz in a second level of importance, since the peace, rendition and conversion of the Inca elite was far more appealing to the interests of the state than the violent death of a missionary.

Through the pages of Barrasa, we thus can appreciate that martyrdom as a political topic had gone out of fashion by the 1670s.

As other religious chroniclers had defended the legacy of Pizarro and the Spanish conquistadors, Barrasa defended the historical figure of the viceroy who would be remembered as the organizer of the viceroyalty of Peru. Stressing Toledo’s interest in the pacific rendition and later conversion of the rebel Inca by the Jesuits, Barrasa offered a positive image of the founder of the colonial system and reconciled the interests of the state with those of the Church, closing a cycle which began with the early \textit{memoriales} on the mita and taking a cautious distance from any historical critique of the creator of the

\textsuperscript{727} Barrasa, \textit{Historia de la Compañía de Jesús}, f. 129.
mining draft system. In a clear Anti-Machiavellian interpretation of history and power, Barrasa’s narrative stressed religious conversion over conflict and vindicated Toledo’s memory stating that the vice-ruler not only sought the salvation of the deposed Inca but his survival as well. However, Toledo’s military actions against the Inca enclave of Vilcabamba and the subsequent death of the rebel Tupac Amaru appeared justified by the fact that the viceroy looked for a political understanding, a pacific acceptance of the rule of the Spanish monarch over the Andes and the consolidation of Catholicism, actions of state which Botero and Lipsius would have endorsed. A more compassionate version of Toledo was in fact offered in the 1650s by Father Cobo in his Inca history.

Barrasa’s chronicle presented the rights of the Crown of Spain to the former Inca Empire as unquestionable and the Society of Jesus as a major actor in the accomplishment of such an important achievement for the expansion of the true faith, as the Spanish Conquest was perceived. Barrasa’s late revisionism surmounted the anti-Conquest narrative of Father Oliva in 1630 and offered a more tolerant Jesuit vision of early colonial times. Yet, it is true that in Oliva the critique to Pizarro was balanced by a positive appraisal of the founder of the Peruvian colonial system, Francisco de Toledo,

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728 “por mas de un ano se procuro la reduccion de este Inca y sus aliados ofreciendoles sobre la amistad con los espanoles rentas cuantiosas en nombre de Su Magestad nada admitia porque no creia nada de cuanto se le proponia de parte del virrey, interpretando asechanzas los mismos medios de paz y lazo que se le armaba en las ofensas para prenderle y quitarle la vida por las que el alevosa e inicuamente habia quitado y por su orden y sentencia sus ministros con cruelisimos tormentos al venerable fray Diego Ortiz del orden de nuestro Padre San Agustin…cuya vida y muerte deben lineas muy sutiles y perfiles de oro a la pluma del muy doctor y erudito P. Fray Antonio de la Calancha…” Barrasa, Historia de la Compañía, f. 128.

729 Cobo, History of the Inca Empire, Chapter 21. To oppose the legend of an angered Philip II scolding Toledo on the execution of the last Inca, Barrasa wrote: “Bien se ve cuan a vulgo suenan estas voces y cuan disonantes serian en la boca de tan gran rey, pues si el quitar la vida a aquel Inca ya degradado de su reino y rey solo en el nombre conducia al gobierno pacifico y obediencia total del Peru al monarca espanol, respuesta pudo ser de D. Francisco de Toledo que para conseguir este fin a que le enviaron le habian dado mano y potestad para quitar vidas, como luego se tuvo la reprension y prosiguo tantos anos gobernando en paz el Peru con credito y estimacion del mismo rey y sus consejos? Barrasa, Historia de la Compañía, ff. 126-137.
which speaks of changes that started in the 1620s when the mining draft became a *fait accompli*. During the 1630s and 1640s, the historical reconciliation became clearer and stronger in other religious chronicles and Orders because of the creole take over of institutions and scholarship. In 1678, Father Barrasa certainly promoted the role of his Order, rather than putting it aside and making the Jesuits an uncomfortable and isolated jury. Yet, the creole agenda of this Peruvian Jesuit manifested very clearly in his ardent defense of the rights of Spain to its American possessions, the validation of the actions of one of the most questioned viceroys, and even in the Jesuit endorsement of the actions of a member of the Cuzco *encomendero* class.

Father Barrasa’s revision of history closed a century of questions within the Peruvian Jesuit Province. Not only Peruvian creoles and the corporate colonial Church had come to terms with early colonial history, but they also realized that in a political confrontation with the Crown not much had been won. By the end of the reign of Philip IV, the corporate colonial Church had been subdued by the state in fiscal matters (since 1653) and the introduction of the alternative, if sympathetic with the feelings of creoles and the children of the Province, had also affirmed the decision of the Crown to maintain control of the Orders in Spanish America open for peninsular members. The ideological journey of colonial Peruvian Jesuit scholarship had been a long and bumpy one. From the influence of *Lascasianismo*, as evidenced in the early writings of the Jesuit theologians, to the Anti-Spanish and also from the Anti-Machiavellian discourse of Father Oliva to the arrival of less confrontational visions and more creole-oriented narratives, like that of Fathers Cobo and Barrasa. It cannot be said that the phases were clearly defined: for example, in the first moment the *Memoriales* penned by Diego de Torres Bollo and
Alonso Messía, announced an early Jesuit departure from Las Casas, and in the late 1620s Oliva’s chronicle was rejected because of its Anti-Spanish/creole feelings. This contradictory search for answers in history shows how the Jesuits grappled with their philosophical and anthropological understanding of the New World, as Anthony Grafton has pointed out. They struggled with their political stance toward the colonial situation as well.

The Jesuits excelled like no other Order in their use of Anti-Machiavellianism as a political doctrine to shape the dialogue between the Crown and the colonial corporate Church. The peak of such shaping of history can be found in Oliva (1620s) and Cobo (1640s) and even a last echo can be found in Barrasa’s revision of the role of a strong Spanish Monarchy in the building of a Catholic empire. However, political critiques coming from the colonial Church and propaganda based on missionary accomplishments (or defeats like the martyrdoms) were never that appealing to the state-builders in the Council of the Indies. The appropriation of European discourse of Catholic statecraft connected late and poorly with the creole sector of colonial Church and intelligentsia who were more active in the development of a local version of Anti-Machiavellianism. Internal contradictions in the Peruvian Province were responsible for this appropriation as well as the censorship of the Jesuit curia in Rome. The repression of Muzio Vitelleschi was responsible for an aborted colonial Peruvian Jesuit historiography. As Grafton has noted, the Jesuits confronted the early modern monarchy but were victims of their own organization that resembled the centralized, vertically ruled Renaissance princely state.

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At least, due to Vitelleschi’s paranoia, the evolution of colonial Jesuit historiography now can be reconstructed and explained.

The Jesuits in colonial Peru did not connect with the political doctrines of religious creoles scholars like Ortiz de Cervantes, Contreras y Valverde, Villarol and Betancurt, but Cobo and Barrasa did represent a clear approach to creole historical identity. However, the Jesuits in Peru were close to producing a creole representative of Anti-Machiavellianism and a patriotic advocate of colonial claims, and this person was the Limenian theologian Gregorio López de Aguilar. In 1644 López de Aguilar delivered a sermon on the recognition of the Virgin Mary as protector of the Spanish Monarchy in Lima’s cathedral, in which the doctrine of Justus Lipsius on the need of a strong national religion was invoked as the justification for the political role of the colonial Church next to the Crown and an empowered creole clergy. On this occasion, López de Aguilar explained the legitimacy of the possession of Peru by the Spanish Crown not because of the Conquest or the *translatio imperii* from the Incas to the Habsburgs, but because Christ and the Virgin had demanded the expansion of the Castilian Church to the west. God was on the side of the House of Austria, as Lipsius had already stated.\(^{732}\) The sermon published in Los Reyes as an *arbitrio* the same year showed how doctrines of Catholic

\(^{731}\) Grafton, *Worlds made by Words*, 165.

\(^{732}\) “Christo…y Maria…defendieron al espanol y lo pusieron en la posesion del Peru…es evidente la justificada possession que goca nuestra nacion y Catholico Monarca deste Nuevo mundo. Que es el argumento del erudito Justo Lipsio en sus libros de la Virgen Hallense…el fin y los titulos por los quales nos fue dado y poseemos este Nuevo mundo…ni por clausula del testamento de Adam ni por derecho natural hereditario, ni por voluntaria eleccion de los Americaos, es nuestro catholico monarca emperador de las Indias. Pero por autoridad mayor que es eleccion divina…” Gregorio López de Aguilar, *Discurso del mejor arbitrio de Philipo III el grande rey de las Españas y emperador de las Indias. Elección de María Santísima Señora Nuestra por patrona de su Española monarchía y protectora de sus cathólicas armas*. Predicado en el solemnísimo novenario que por orden de Su Magestad se celebró en la cathedral metropolitanana desta corte de Lima, por el P. Gregorio López de Aguilar theólogo y catedrático de *Philosophía de la Compañía. de Jesús. Escrito por mando de Su Excelencia, el señor marqués de Mancera* (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1644), ff. 21v.-22v.
statecraft in the Peruvian viceroyalty had been fully appropriated by the 1640s in order to justify the power of the corporate colonial Church. For López de Aguilar, both the Spanish Empire and its political needs made sense only through the confessional mission of the Catholic monarchy: to build a world order using Andean silver. Ironically, in the second half of the seventeenth-century, Peruvian colonial Anti-Machiavellianism came of age in a global scenario that hardly needed such a political doctrine.
Chapter 6

Dominican Journey: From Las Casas to Saint Rose of Lima.

In 1681, a Limenian Dominican arrived in Rome with a lengthy manuscript on the history of his Order in Peru. Fray Juan Meléndez was convinced that his chronicle would be the final word on the historical achievements of the Peruvian Dominican Province and thus should be published at the papal court to make a stronger case on two particularly sensitive issues. After years of working on creole hagiographies and coming from the city that had given Spanish America its first patron saint, Fray Juan firmly believed that Peruvian creole Catholicism had perfected its original religious Spanish source and his intellectual work must demonstrate this perfection. The second issue was more a domestic Dominican one, but also related to the international appreciation of colonial Peru. Because creole Catholicism was the result of the imperial expansion of Spain, Meléndez -more than a century after Las Casas- also deemed necessary to silence those critics of the Spanish Empire who, using Fray Bartolomé de las Casas’s ideas, had accused the Spanish nation of destroying the New World.\(^{733}\)

The woes of Father Meléndez regarding the most illustrious Dominican in Spanish America were not unusual. By the end of the seventeenth century, with the colonial world firmly established, Peruvian religious discourse and Dominican scholarship in particular found the legacy of Las Casas problematic because it undermined the ideas that Spanish

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America was a legitimate part of the Spanish monarchy and that colonial society was meant to flourish as a fine example of political and religious virtue. On the one hand, Las Casas’s pastoral concern for the indigenous population appealed to a sector of Spanish American Church, but on the other hand Las Casas’s critique of the use of Indian labor by Spanish settlers undermined the glorious past that benemérito elites and creole religious scholars had built for their ancestors. Even though colonial reality had defeated lascasianismo on the grounds that in the beginning of the seventeenth century at the discursive level Las Casas was still considered a threat to the creole construct that a sound Spanish Empire needed the work of those considered the “feet” of the colonial body politic. Thus, the rejection of Las Casas’ legacy took place in Peru by the middle of the seventeenth century, predating what Daniel Castro claims occurred by the end of the next century, when a declining Spanish colonial power became intolerant towards any form of criticism of the Spanish conquest. Opposing Las Casas and the political impact of the Brevisima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias, Dominican religious scholarship created its own defense of the Spanish Conquest, at least one century before the birth of the Golden/White Legend in Spanish historiography.\

In this chapter, I will show how Peruvian Dominican scholarship used their own version of the Golden/White Spanish Legend to create a version of early colonial history that fitted the demands of creole elites. The thought of Las Casas, whose influence around the 1600s was still present in colonial religious scholarship, was progressively

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Hanke and Keen referred to the defense of the Spanish Conquest in historiography as the “White Legend.” Daniel Castro uses “Golden Legend.” For Castro, Las Casas was not, as the supporters of the “Golden Legend” stated, anti-Spanish or anti-colonial. Las Casas was solely an advocate of a non-violent form of imperialism (political, economic and ecclesiastical) that needed to be regulated by the Spanish Crown. For this author, Las Casas departed from his contemporaries in form but not in content. See Hanke, “Daniel Castro, Another Face of the Empire. Bartolomé de las Casas, Indigenous Rights and Ecclesiastical Imperialism (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 3, 179.
rejected as the Peruvian Dominican Province grew as a creole stronghold between 1620s and 1630s and moved from social to urban issues that linked creole sainthood and nationhood. The legacy of Fray Bartolomé was seen as a liability by creole Dominicans since it questioned the Spanish right to the Indies and condemned the actions of the first generations of *beneméritos*. By the late 1670s, the Dominican Peruvian Province had completely distanced itself from Las Casas and consolidated its identity and institutional pride not through a history of missionary efforts or care for the native population but through creole urban sainthood. This focus did not mean that colonial Dominican scholarship was apolitical, let alone not affected by the tension between Church and Crown in the first half of seventeenth century. On the contrary, the stress on urban creole sainthood aimed at claiming a privileged position of the Order in colonial society, based on the success of Dominican spirituality to perfect Spanish American urban religious life.

The ideological journey within the Peruvian Dominican Order has three phases between 1604 and 1659 until it reached its final moment with the work of Father Juan Meléndez in 1681. The first moment was reflected in the initial displacement of *lascasianismo* by the Anti-Machiavellianism of Miguel de Monsalve’s *Memorial* of 1604. A second moment came with the take-over of the Dominican Order by the city elite around the 1620s, represented by the influential figure of Fray Cipriano de Medina and other members of his family lineage. The third moment demonstrated the maturity of creole claims for political reform, evidenced in the work of Fray Antonio González de Acuña published in 1659. After the 1660s, new topics and new social actors would take control of Dominican scholarship. The last moment, represented by Father Meléndez, evidenced the upfront rejection of Las Casas and a shift from a discourse centered on social issues, revision of
colonial history and Christian kingship to one focused on creole sainthood and urban religiosity, a model that better matched the political expectations of creole elites and their emerging mercantile allies.

6. 1. The Memorial of Fray Miguel de Monsalve (1604)

A forgotten character of colonial Peru, the Dominican Fray Miguel de Monsalve is the first member of his Order who published on political issues and the true originator of the colonial Dominican tradition of Catholic statecraft in Peru. Monsalve published in 1604 a short treatise in which the struggle of the Order with lascasnianismo can be clearly noticed. At the same time, it was one of the first expressions of colonial Anti-Machiavellianism in religious scholarship in the early seventeenth century. \textit{Reducción Universal de todo el Pirú y demás Indias con otros muchos Avisos para el bien de los Naturales dellas y en Aumento de las Reales Rentas} was both a proposal on the betterment of labor conditions for the indigenous population and on the increase of royal revenue through a better administration of Indian labor.\footnote{In addition to the copy in the National Library in Lima, there are copies of this work in the British Library (London), the Library of Congress (Washington DC) and the National Library of Spain (Madrid). Miguel de Monsalve, \textit{Reducción Universal de todo el Pirú y demás Indias con otros muchos Avisos para el bien de los Naturales dellas y en Aumento de las Reales Rentas...Dirigido a la Católica Magestad del Rey Don Felipe Tercero deste nombre Nuestro Señor} (Lima, 1604).} But, before analyzing this piece, I want to comment briefly on two other works of Monsalve in order to convey his life and varied interests and thus better explain his departure from Las Casas’s ideas.

In 1617, Monsalve wrote \textit{Tratado y discursos echos por el padre frai Miguel de Monsalve, predicador general de la Orden de predicadores aserca de la generación del azogue, y cómo procede del asufre, y de cómo el azogue es la quincta essensia del azufre, dirigidos al mui illustre señor el doctor Juan de Solórsano Pereira del consejo de Su}
Magestad y su oidor en la Real Audiencia de los Reyes, y gobernador de Guancabelica, an original work on the early modern notions of metallurgy and alchemy, focusing on the geological formation of mercury. This original treatise reveals not only an early scientific mind but also above all the mind of a former colonial bureaucrat concerned with the production of silver and the increase of royal revenue. Royal revenue and the increase of taxation were key aspects of Monsalve’s proposals on colonial administration that explain his divorce from Las Casas. In Tratado y Discursos, the concern for the right supply of mercury for the colonial mining industry came before any concern for the social consequences of mercury mining. In this work, Fray Miguel’s ideas on the mining draft which was affecting the lives of thousands of natives placed him on the side of those religious scholars who addressed social reform but also were concerned with the need to keep the silver production going; this position reveals at the same time a nascent colonial doctrine which reconciled the reason of state with the colonial situation, as witnessed in the work of Fray Miguel de Agia and Alonso Messía that has been examined in previous chapters. It is important to also notice that Monsalve wrote two other works on mineralogy.

A much later work that has been dated to 1645 reveals a side of Father Monsalve that was interested in how taxation policies affected religious corporations. Monsalve’s

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737 In a letter to the viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros, dated August 1607, Philip III acknowledged the expertise of Fray Miguel de Monsalve in all matters related to colonial mining. The King recommended the viceroy to listen to Monsalve’s arbitrios. Angulo mentioned two other manuscripts on technical aspects of mining. See Domingo Angulo, La orden de Santo Domingo en el Perú. Estudio Bibliográfico (Lima, 1908), 176.
Memorial defending colonial religious corporations in the tithe suit between the Spanish Crown and the Orders in the first half of the seventeenth century is titled Por las religiones de Santo Domingo, San Agustín, la Compañía de Jesús, Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Even though there is no certainty that this text was actually written by Father Monsalve, the content does effectively reflect the conflicts of the period and the religious scholarship concerned about fiscal reforms, revealing its author as someone knowledgeable in fiscal matters. Por las religiones is a staunch defense on the spiritual nature of the tithes collected by the cathedral chapters in Spanish America since they had been originally donated to the King by the Pope. Given that tithes in Spanish America were originally a Church income, Monsalve discussed the right of the Crown to collect a tax that should pay for spiritual and pastoral needs. In any case, Por las religiones portrays Monsalve as an advocate for his own Order and completes an intellectual evolution which started when he was a soldier, explorer and maybe a lesser Crown official in Central America before he professed as a Dominican in Peru, perhaps in the first years of the seventeenth century, a path similar to that of the Jesuit Cobo.

However, the most important work of Miguel de Monsalve was Reducción Universal of 1604, in which the agenda of his Order, his vision as a former colonial official and most importantly, his Anti-Machiavellianism were revealed. In this work, Fray Miguel expressed concern for the welfare of the native population as elements that mattered for the soundness of colonial society and the state of the Royal Treasury. As Fray Miguel

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738 Miguel de Monsalve, Por las religiones de Santo Domingo, San Agustín, la Compañía de Jesús, Nuestra Señora de la Merced y otras de los reynos del Pirú y México, (Lima, 1645?). A copy of this imprint exists in the New York Public Library and another one in the Historical Society of America of New York.

739 Angulo, La orden de Santo Domingo, 176.
proposed in the dedicatory to the monarch, protection of the native subjects actually meant protection of the royal revenue, money that instead of being squandered by irresponsible secular administrations should be securely invested in missionary affairs. Asking the Spanish Crown to use colonial revenue for the expansion of the missionary endeavors of the Orders linked Monsalve’s reason of state with the political claims of the corporate Church. *Reducción Universal* demanded a radical reform of colonial administration and explained inefficient fiscal collection with the existence of *corregidores* and their corruption. Because *corregidores* overwhelmed native households with extra financial burdens and forced the indigenous population to participate in labor drafts (*repartimientos*), towns had become desolated and evangelization was in peril. However, even more affected were the financial interests of the Crown. Runaway Indians meant that the whole colonial system would be afflicted by scarce native labor and decreasing tributes. For Monsalve the solution lay in the abolition of *corregimientos* and the establishment of a different type of tax-collection official who would not be able to appropriate the money from the *Cajas de Comunidad*. The money saved by the natives would instead be sent to Spain. Approximately six thousand pesos a year for an

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740 “…cesando los vassallos de Vuestra Magestad en los danos de la real Hazienda sacalles de tan grandes peligros. El Segundo para considerando los aprovechamiento los bienes las riquezas que desto y desotros e podian aumentar a la corona real diese noticia a Vuestra Magestad como hombre quasi destinado para aqueste ministerio pues sin duda que Dios a querido guardar estos tiempos y aun estos secretos para que Vuestra Magestad los supiesse como para aquel de quien tiene certidumbre ser defensor de su iglesia propagador de su fe y cuchillo de los enemigos della…” Monsalve, *Reducción Universal*, 1.


742 On the operational aspects of the *Caja de Comunidad*, a communal fund administrated by the curaca but often times by the Corregidor, from which tributes, priest and the pension of the encomendero were paid, see Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, *Comunidades Indígenas y la Economía Colonial Peruana* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 1997).
average Indian town of four hundred inhabitants could be well invested in the peninsula and generate in interest, about one million pesos. In case of a rebellion or the eventual loss of the colonies, this money would make a sizeable economic compensation for the Crown.743

Father Monsalve’s original proposal advocated for a particularly efficient model of colonialism, but a greedy one nonetheless. His ideas on the welfare of mitayos going to Potosi were quite similar to those of the Jesuit Alonso Messía. Indian miners should grow their own food to both secure the existence of the mining draft and lower the costs of the mining industry. In this manner, the distribution of land should grant the self-maintenance of Indian miners so that the mita never fell short of labor. Yet, Monsalve thought the mita draft should be applied every six years and not every three so that the native population could recover from the strenuous work and the social fracture of the Indian household minimized. Labor drafts in general should be tolerated -in opposition to what the Royal Decree of 1601 mandated- if the Spanish beneficiary of native labor paid a tax for the use of that extra labor force. Such a tax was a measure that Monsalve believed could produce fiscal revenue in the range of thirty thousand pesos a year. Ultimately, these ideas could be put in practice only if the indigenous settlement was fully enforced. The increase of Indian towns would turn into the increase of native population and labor available for the expanding colonial economy. If the Crown were able to keep the indigenous population concentrated in well-ruled towns, taxation would

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743 Monsalve, Reducción, 34-36
prosper, in particular the alcabala, since Indians would buy and sell more and thus produce an extra of two hundred thousand pesos every year.\textsuperscript{744}

As said before, the proximity of Monsalve’s work to the ideas on native labor of the Franciscan Fray Miguel de Agia and the Jesuit Alonso Messía is notorious and reflects a trend of thought within the colonial Peruvian Church that had departed from Las Casas already during the first years of the seventeenth century. These three authors coincided in their expression of need to protect native labor, yet more for the sake of the colonial system than for the protection of the natives themselves. They all cared about the improvement of conditions rather than for profound reforms of labor exploitation. Moreover, scholars like Monsalve in fact ratified the conditions imposed by colonial society on the so-called feet of the colonial body politic. Thus Monsalve started an Anti-Machiavellian trend in Peruvian Dominican scholarship, calling for a reform of the colonial situation to make it more efficient and profitable for the sake of both the Crown and the Church; even more importantly, they were unapologetic about colonial domination. For Father Monsalve, corruption and abuses equaled sin and these were even graver offenses than the Conquest and its violent contradictions. It was the Crown’s Christian mission to rule the Peruvian viceroyalty through legal and appropriate means, forcing curacas, corregidores and even encomenderos to seek the good of the república.\textsuperscript{745} The right of the Crown to look for an increase in the Crown’s revenue did not mean that the Spanish monarchy could forsake its moral obligations towards colonial

\textsuperscript{744} Monsalve, \textit{Reducción}, 2-3, 7, 37, 42.

\textsuperscript{745} Monsalve, \textit{Reducción}, 31.
dominions. Colonial fiscal revenue had to be put towards the service of the Spanish nation and God in order to fight their enemies.\textsuperscript{746} In this sense, Monsalve is an early example of creole Catholic statecraft, promoting Spanish imperialism for the sake of a Catholic world order.

6. 2. Limenian Nepote: Fray Cipriano de Medina y Vega.

The work of Miguel de Monsalve was actually the only one in colonial Dominican scholarship that dealt with rural colonial Peru. Two significant changes seemed to have occurred in the Dominican Peruvian Province starting in the late 1610s. First, there was the consolidation of the Order as a creole stronghold that changed the \textit{locus} of religious scholars as well as their interests from rural to more urban and creole-oriented. This consolidation coincided with the growing influence of the Order in the University and the city, as seen in chapter two. It was actually an exchange of members of the city creole elite, thereby extending their lineage networks in and out of the Dominican convent. The second change had to do with the genres and tropes favored by Dominican scholars. Between Monsalve’s \textit{Memorial} of 1604 and the early 1650s, when González de Acuña published his first historical account of the Order, Dominican scholarship perfected the genre of the political sermon. This Dominican preaching praised the glory of the Spanish monarchy and pushed for the recognition of the militant Spanish American corporate Church as the most effective arm of the Crown. This favoring can be seen in the sermon that Fray Cipriano de Medina wrote to celebrate the safe arrival of the silver fleet to

\textsuperscript{746} Monsalve, \textit{Reducció\'n}, 4.
Spain in 1625. However, the ideas of Father Las Casas, as seen in chapter five, were alive among some Jesuit scholars and even among members of the Dominican Order in minor cities of the colonial world. As Bernard Lavallé has pointed out, Las Casas made a successful comeback in the Dominican province of Quito in the early decades of the seventeenth century where the anti-colonial tones of Fray Bartolomé were used in the work of Fray Raimundo Hurtado as a way of advocating for the control of the province by creole friars. But what might have been an effective strategy in Quito had no repercussion in Los Reyes, where a less conflictive take over of the province by powerful creole lineages determined the ideological orientation of Dominican scholarship.

The life of Cipriano de Medina y Vega effectively illustrates this process due to his family connections. Born in 1594, Fray Cipriano was the son of Doctor Cipriano de Medina -lawyer at the Real Audiencia of Lima and at some point even president of San Marcos University- and of Doña Sebastiana de Vega y Padilla. Even though Doctor Medina was a prominent and well-respected colonial official, it would be the maternal lineage that was the one which fostered the future career of Fray Cipriano. Doña Sebastiana was the half sister of Bishop Feliciano de Vega y Padilla, owner of one of the biggest fortunes of colonial Lima but above all one of the most influential cultural and political figures of his time. It was during the late 1610s and 1620s that Bishop Vega and his family progressively took control of the Peruvian Dominican Province. Two of his half siblings -uncles of Fray Cipriano- professed in the Dominican Order: Fray Francisco

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and Fray Agustín de Vega. The latter eventually became bishop of Paraguay. Such a well-connected and rich milieu (University, Audiencia, Cathedral Chapter and real estate wealth) made young Cipriano a natural nepote in the Dominican convent in Lima. After completing his education at the exclusive Jesuit school of San Martin, he followed his uncles into the Dominican convent sometime in the late 1610s. By 1633-34 Fray Cipriano was already a well-known preacher; then from 1635 he was a theology professor at San Marcos where he excelled in the chairs of Scholastics and Moral Theology.

The turning point in Fray Cipriano’s career would be the passing of his powerful uncle Feliciano, archbishop of Mexico since 1639. From 1641 until the middle of the 1650s, the intellectual legacy and the money pouring from Bishop Vega’s estate made Fray Cipriano the powerful administrator of a fortune that sustained an important part of Lima’s religious and cultural life and a very powerful friar inside his Order as well. However, the process of becoming the sole administrator of Bishop Vega’s estate was not smooth. According to Vega’s last will, the administration of the estate -valued at roughly a million pesos- and the many bequests contained in it should be shared by his last personal secretary, Doctor Pedro de Molina; Doctor Diego de Córdova, canon at Lima’s cathedral; his nephew Fray Cipriano de Medina; his cousin Hernando de Santa-Cruz y Padilla and other members of the family. Doctor Córdova, with the aid of Diego de León

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750 These occasions were the Easter sermon in January 1633 in Lima cathedral before the viceregal court and the celebration of the festivity of Our Lady of the Snow, patron saint of the University faculty, preached in Lima cathedral in October 1634. See Suárez, Diario de Lima, Vol. II, 42. Medina’s contemporaries appreciated his teaching at San Marcos and described it as: “con ostentación luzimiento y aprovechamiento de las escuela.” See Eguiguren, Diccionario, III, 401-402.
Pinelo - professor at Lima’s university and son of Vega’s former secretary, the *converso* Doctor Diego López de Lisboa- wrote a *Memorial* opposing Medina’s sole administration since Pedro de Molina was still alive and so were other Vega’s relatives. Córdova’s main concern was the concentration of power in the hands of one person; yet Fray Cipriano’s brother, Agustín de Medina, prosecutor at the *Real Audiencia*, put the tribunal on the side of Fray Cipriano who then was ratified as sole administrator.\(^{751}\)

As sole executor of the estate of Bishop Vega, Father Medina used the prestige as well as the money of the position to consolidate his career at San Marcos and also at the Dominican Order and the vice-regal court. In 1641, Medina was invested proctor of the Dominican Order at the Spanish court to secure the control of his corporation over two Moral Theology chairs at San Marcos, one established by Bishop Vega ten years before that was now in Fray Cipriano’s hands for life and one newly created. By then, Medina had also been appointed *calificador* of the Holy Tribunal, thus adding prestige to his academic rank. In 1645, he was elected prior of his convent in Lima, a position which entailed considerable power.\(^{752}\) His political influence also reached momentum in the

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\(^{751}\) Feliciano de Vega left his vast fortune to “his soul,” with money going directly to the masses for the rest of his soul and indirectly to beneficiaries chosen by the administrator, through alms, bequests, dowries and chaplaincies. At the moment of his death in Mazatlán (New Spain) in 1641, Bishop Vega had with him the sum of about 100,000 pesos, sum transferred by Bishop Juan de Palafox to the Royal Treasury. In Lima, the estate was calculated in approximately 800,000 pesos. See AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 612, Year 1652, ff. 2396-2404v. Diego de León Pinelo, *Por el licenciado Don Diego de Córdova, canónigo desta santa iglesia catedral de Lima, albacea y administrador que ha sido de los bienes del señor arzobispo de México de buena memoria Don Feliciano de Vega en el artículo con el P. M. Fray Cipriano de Medina sobre el Patronazgo de Obras Pías que el dicho arzobispo dexó fundadas* (Lima, 1651).

\(^{752}\) Prior to his trip to Spain in May 1641, Medina was given power of attorney by the heirs of Alonso de San Juan in Lima to see over the family financial affairs in the metropolis. AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 586, year 1641-A, fol. 698. As prior, he was in charge of the financial management of the Order, collecting money owed to the convent. See AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Year 1645, Prot. 594, fol. 471.
early 1640s with the publication of his sermon to celebrate the safe arrival of the Silver fleet in Spain in 1625.\footnote{Medina, \textit{Sermón a la Fiesta Real del Santo Sacramento}.} Therefore, from being a friar in the shadow of wealthy relatives, Medina emerged as a royal preacher, a prestigious scholar and a financier, using the money in his hands as a source of credit operations for wealthy members of colonial society like the \textit{encomendera} of Paita and Huancabamba.\footnote{As executor of his uncle’s estate, Medina speculated with the money coming from the trust funds established in the will, offering to wealthy members of colonial society the chance to make money upgrading the original capital, as happened with the \textit{encomendera} of Huancabamba, Doña Luisa María de Herrera. See AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, year 1650c, Prot. 606, fol. 2337.} Medina used his mission as proctor to become agent of wealthy Limenians, a position which usually involved an important fee. We are able to have an idea of his personal wealth with the donation he made in 1654 of more than four thousand pesos -equaling two years of his salary as theology professor at San Marcos- to the abbess of the monastery of Saint Catherine.\footnote{AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, year 1654-A, Prot. 616, fol. 1131r.}

Medina’s stay in Spain bore intellectual fruits as well. In Madrid, he met important Dominicans, like the confessor of the Queen Isabel de Borbón, and negotiated with the Council the creation of a chair of Moral Theology at San Marcos University to be taught exclusively by a member of his Order.\footnote{Angulo, \textit{La orden de Santo Domingo}, 154.} Back from court, Fray Cipriano accepted the request of Viceroy Marquis of Mancera to write a sermon commemorating the passing of the Queen, published in Lima in 1645.\footnote{Cipriano de Medina, \textit{Oración en memoria de las cenizas de Da. Isabel de Borbón señora nuestra reyna de las Españas y emperatriz de las Indias, embarazo ya de un breve sepulcro, antes ocupación grande a todo un orbe díola el Maestro Fray Cipriano de Medina, calificador del Santo Oficio, doctor y catedrático perpetuo de prima de teología moral en la Real Universidad, prior del convento de}
viceroy wanted to get on good terms with the monarch and Medina used the viceroy’s political support to remain as sole executor of Vega’s will. In this sermon, Medina started to explore political topics that were of particular interest to creole religious scholars. One such topic was loyalty to the monarch. The loyalty of the Queen to her King was an effective way to delve into notions of loyalty to the monarch and allegiance to the House of Austria. The Queen, “true Moon that completed the Sun King,” had stood on the King’s side when Philip traveled to the Kingdom of Aragon to defend his possession of Catalonia from the French army, which had occupied the region of Rosellón. In the context of political disruption, the virtue of loyalty -as the one always shown by the Spanish American kingdoms- was emphasized. If the King, “the sun in which our Philip is reflected,” had to remain during his life the center of the republic and give “light” to his subjects, the república could not forsake loyalty toward their “sun” as happened in Catalonia in 1640. As a kingdom, as Father Medina wrote, Catalonia not only had betrayed the original pact with its legitimate sovereign, but in doing so also had offended religion since the power of Kings was sanctioned by God. The monstrous attempt to secede from the Catholic monarchy explained the atrocities committed against the local Church. But with this reflection on the rebellious Catalonians, Medina advanced the idea that the most loyal subjects were by default the Spanish Americans since they did

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758 “En el lugar de su habitacion, esto es en su palacio se previno el sol y la luna esta para la jornada del cielo, aquel para Cataluña donde rebelde la nacion con pretexto de apoyar sus fueros negaba la obediencia a su conde y nuestro rey. E reparado que quando Philipo el grande…se hizo grande del peso de las armas saliendo a campana personalmente para reducir por fuerca o con agrad o los basallos que obstinados se le apartaban, libertandolos de la opresion francesa. Diligencia que tambien tocaba a la iglesia pues en aquella parte ya padecia atrevidos hereges…..Dios en cuyo servicio jugaba la espada nuestro monarcha privo de vida a Isabel, asumpto digno de su amor” Medina, *Oración en Memoria*, ff. 5v, 6r.
not question the rule of the house of Austria nor the alliance between the Habsburgs and
the Catholic Church. Honoring Crown and Faith, Spanish Americans were the
embodiment of the loyal and virtuous “wife” whom Philip IV would never lose.

In his sermon celebrating the second Spanish Corpus -the festivity celebrating the
arrival of the Silver fleet of 1625- Father Medina had equated the enemies of the faith to
the enemies of the Crown, but in 1645 he advanced a more interesting idea, already seen
in the work of Buenaventura de Salinas: the Spanish American vassals of the Spanish
Crown were the true embodiment of the Spanish nation. Some European kingdoms under
the Austrian rule did not understand the importance of the mystic body conformed by the
King, the Church and the subjects. Therefore, they were unfit appendages of a body
defined by a staunchly loyal Castile. The idea that Castilianism was the true essence of
the Spanish nation, both inside and outside of the peninsula, was not exclusive to Fathers
Medina and Salinas. Many other creole preachers would support the idea of a proto-
national and yet trans-Atlantic notion of Castilianism that conveniently positioned the
distant colonies at a new center of the empire. It is very significant that this nationalism
arose in the context of European secessions, like Catalonia and Portugal.759 This notion of
the best subject opposed the good but neglected Peruvian against the disloyal, rebellious
and money-consuming European subjects of the Spanish Crown. In 1645, Canon Vasco

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759 The emphasis on the disloyalty of strangers (non-Castilians) was also present in a Franciscan sermon of
the same period: “Lastimosa España…cuando con mayores dolores, que quando te niegan tus hijos, se te
revelan los primogenitos y queridos, el catalan te niega, el portugues se te va, el olandes se revela y adoptas
por hijos de tus entranas los estrangers que se entran hasta el alma de tus riquezas hasta las mas
escondidas venas de tus tesoros…solo el rosario de Maria es nuestro consuelo, el sepulcro del olandes….”
Baltasar Bustamante, *Sermón Predicado en la cathedral de Lima el tercer día del insigne novenario que
por cédula de Su Magestad Philipo III el grande celebró su excelentísimo virrey del Pirú marqués de
Mancera por la protección de las armas de España a la gloriosíssima imagen del Rosario* (Lima: Luis de
Lyra, 1644), f. 4v.
de Contreras y Valverde also delivered a sermon on the loss of the Spanish Queen at Cuzco’s cathedral.\textsuperscript{760} There he numbered the calamities that undermined the power of the Spanish monarchy: heretics in Germany, war with the French and finally the taking of the life of a faithful royal wife. Why, Contreras asked, was all this happening to the most Catholic monarch? No matter how powerful a sovereign was or how much gold and silver he possessed -a reference to the Spanish American wealth- he would be afflicted with human and material losses if he did not rule with justice and near to Christ. The Prince would solely become “a giant with feet made of mud.”\textsuperscript{761}

Medina’s discussion of imperial affairs, Christian ruling and Castilian identity was shared by several other preachers among the secular and regular clergy between the 1620s and the 1640s. Yet, it is very interesting that among Dominican scholars residing in Lima in that period, the above-mentioned issues led to an exploration of nationhood that reinforced their creole identity. It is also very interesting that such a still blurry notion of nationhood was defined -not in opposition to the native population- but in opposition to European nations, that were sharing the same legal status of subjects with creole Peruvians. In part, the answer may lie with the co-option of the Order by powerful creole lineages, the Vega/Medina being only one case, whose manipulation of the colonial system by looking for benefits and rights, turned the Order into a network for creole business-making and a platform for obtaining prelacies and offices as well as for

\textsuperscript{760} Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, \textit{Sermón a la muerte de la reyna Isabel de Borbón, predicado en el Cuzco} (Lima, 1646).

\textsuperscript{761} “…todos los gigantes de la tierra, cargados de plata y oro, tienen los pies de barro…En todas las repúblicas del mundo ay sus peligros ninguna se govierna sin quejas como dijo Seneca pero si en alguna ay menos es donde la justicia no es rígida….y la razón es clara porque el camino real de todos los monarcas de todos los jueces del mundo el metedos de la justicia fue Christo nuestro bien…” Contreras, \textit{Sermón}, ff. 12v., 16r,v.
keeping these positions among peers. Since these benefits were obtained upon a history of merit, any theory or ideology that undermined the rights of conquistadors and their descendants should be discarded and replaced by an inquiry on merits and the quality of creole political loyalty and vassalage. The sermon of Medina on the death of Queen Isabella is an example of how members of the benemérito class demanded reassurance of their condition as deserving Spanish subjects.

The economic and ideological legacy of Doctor Vega would be noticeable until the 1660s; yet the peak of the power of his nepote, Fray Cipriano de Medina, can be dated at 1651 when he was ratified as legitimate and sole executor of his uncle’s will by decision of the Royal Audiencia. In this year, Father Medina also obtained permission from the Dominican Provincial to go to court in Spain and demand from the Royal Treasury the money left by Bishop Vega in Mexico at the moment of his death. This was the first confrontation of Father Medina with the royal authority and a clear statement on the defense of the economic interests of creole Peruvian elite affected by an aggressive Royal Treasury. By 1652, Medina’s mission of procuring the money of his uncle back to the estate was almost a success. In Madrid, Medina had hired various agents and gave them power of attorney to get the money back. These were the influential Antonio de León Pinelo, a member of the Council of the Indies, the Peruvian Dominican proctor in Madrid, Fray Diego de Vera and a hired business agent at court who demanded more than ninety-thousand pesos (an amount that Bishop Juan de Palafox entered in the Cajas

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762 AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 609, Year 1651-e, fol. 2669.
Reales after Vega’s death according to the old practice of the espolio).\textsuperscript{763} After his return from Spain, Father Medina kept the administration of his uncle’s estate until 1658, making it a truly continental operation with Dominican collectors in Mexico sending money to Lima, and more importantly, with the approval of royal officials and Dominican authorities as well.\textsuperscript{764} Medina’s power in Lima thus could not be contested.

In 1660, Fray Cipriano reached the culmination of his religious career and empowerment when he was appointed Bishop of Huamanga. He left the administration of Bishop Vega’s estate in hands of his sister, Doña Sebastiana de Medina y Vega, the wife of Don Alonso de Santillana, who was encomendero of Patallara in the province of Abancay. She retained the profitable and powerful position of executor of her uncle’s will until her death in 1671.\textsuperscript{765} Soon after Doña Sebastiana took control of the money pouring out from Doctor Feliciano’s buenas memorias the finances became entangled in litigations and family conflicts. However, the appointment of Doña Sebastiana as executor demonstrated two points. First, Fray Cipriano wanted to benefit his sister, a member of the benemérito and encomendero class by marriage. This connection raises the question of whether the money coming from mortgages and loans that were produced

\textsuperscript{763} Medina argued that the money was badly needed to pay bequests and alms contained in Vega’s will in Lima, and more importantly, that Palafox’s use of the money found in Vega’s luggage by the time of his death could not be considered an espolio - the right of the Royal Patronage of seizing money left by a high-ranked member of the clergy when dying ab intestate- because Bishop Vega had a will. AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 611, year 652-B, fol. 1778.

\textsuperscript{764} The creole Dominicans in Mexico were Fray Tomás de Salas and Fray Gregorio de Palomares. The administration of Vega’s estate managed the rent of different properties (residential and commercial) and the rent coming from mortgages. This income paid for masses and stipends for Vega’s relatives belonging to religious institutions. See AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 609, 611, 612, 613, 616, 618, 621, 624 and 627, years 1651c-1658, fol. 2664, 2669 and AAL, Censos IX, 10, year 1661.

\textsuperscript{765} AAL, Last will of Sebastiana de Medina y Vega, Leg. 82, Exp. 9, 1671.
by Vega’s estate had been connected for a long time to commercial operations in the
hands of this particular lineage of encomenderos or of others. It also could have been the
case that Doña Sebastiana de Medina in fact needed an extra income since the
encomienda was a decaying source of wealth in the second half of the seventeenth
century, especially considering the increasing power of corregidores. Her appointment
confirmed once more the unlimited power of Fray Cipriano who did so without the
approval of other male relatives. But this was probably the last time Father Medina
challenged colonial authorities without consequences.

Presented to the bishopric of Huamanga in 1659, the news confirming Fray
Cipriano de Medina’s appointment reached Lima the following year. Upon knowing of
his new position, Medina visited the viceroy, the Count of Alba de Liste (1655-1661), to
formally request permission to be invested as prelate once the royal decree of
confirmation arrived in Lima. The viceroy was already in possession of the royal decree
and the papal bull, but pretended to be unaware of Medina’s election as bishop and thus
denied permission for the investment. It was a spiteful reaction of the viceroy because of
Medina’s stance in regards to the Dominican Provincial election of 1659, in which the
election of the new provincial, Father Martín Meléndez, who was the viceroy’s candidate,
took place amid tension and conflict. Fray Cipriano, who supported another candidate,

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766 In her will, she declared that the corregidor of Conchucos had retained the money of the encomienda
that she was entitled to as widow of Don Alonso de Santillana y Oyos. See AAL, Leg. 82, Exp. 9, year.
1671. We can establish a parallel between Doña Sebastiana de Medina and Doña Mencía de Silva and
Doña Isabel de Córdova, sisters of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, lesser members of the encomendero class
as well.

767 Letter from the King to Don Luis de Guzmán y Ponce de León, Spanish Ambassador in Rome,
presenting Fray Cipriano de Medina for the diocese of Huamanga (Madrid, November 25th, 1659. MAEC,
Leg. 115. ff. 223-225).
had accused the Count of Alba de Liste of manipulating the Dominican provincial chapter and going beyond his faculties as Royal Patron. Moreover, once elected Provincial, Meléndez took revenge by forcing Father Medina to leave the convent of Our Lady of Rosary and move to a minor convent. A furious Fray Cipriano sent a detailed account of the events to the confessor of Philip IV, a Dominican priest who let the royal ears know of Alba de Liste’s misruling. Fearing more humiliations from the fuming viceroy, Father Medina took the copies of the investiture documents sent to him, had the copies validated by a notary and asked archbishop Villagómez and the General Vicar of his Order to consecrate him as bishop inside the Franciscan convent. In the ceremony, Fray Cipriano swore allegiance to the Royal Patronage, but his act had clearly insulted its representative, the viceroy, and undermined his authority. Alba de Liste protested in

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768 In 1657, the Dominican Order had decided to celebrate the 1661 General Chapter in the main convent in Lima. However, when the Provincial, Father Juan López was dying, the prior of the convent of La Magdalena -Father Juan Moreno- tried to move the chapter to his own convent out of the city and therefore manipulate the election to be elected provincial. The viceroy and the Real Audiencia intervened against Moreno to reinstate the right of Father Martín Meléndez, prior of the main convent in April 1660, acknowledged as new Provincial. Father Medina was against Meléndez and was expelled from Lima’s convent. See Por el Padre Maestro Fray Martín Meléndez, calificador del Sancto Oficio, Prior del Convento de Predicadores de Sancta María del Rosario, Vicario General en la Provincia de San Juan Bautista del Perú, por muerte del Padre Provincial Maestro Fray Juan López contra el padre Juan Moreno, Prior del Convento de la Magdalena que pretende aver sucedido dicho cargo (Lima, 1660). See also Guillermo Lohmann, Inquisidores, Virreyes y disidentes. El Santo Oficio y la sátira política (Lima: Congreso Nacional del Perú, 1999), 197-198 and Joseph de Mugaburu, Diario de Lima, 1640-1694, Horacio Urteaga y Carlos A. Romero, eds. (Lima: San Marti, 1917), 66-67.


770 “…como se refiere en el dicho trasunto y bulas la qual se dize estar en poder del excmo senor conde de Alba de Liste virrey destos reynos y los demas recados citados por orden del senor virrey y en virtud de recado que en su nombre le dio el dicho senor otorgante a el senor doctor don Nicolas Polanco de Santillana, fiscal desta Real Audiencia tiene exibidas en el Real Acuerdo de Justicia ante don Pedro de Quesada escribano de camaral desta Real Audiencia sobre que a instado a su excelencia y Real Acuerdo no le impidan consagrarse para irse luego a su obispado que necesita de su prelado y por no habersele entregado dichos despachos y denegado la licencia no lo a puesto en execucion y luego que tenga estos lo hará porque no a avido de parte suya omission en ello antes si muy pronta voluntad para poner en
Spain and the Council of the Indies fined Medina, the Archbishop and others, even though the fine was later dismissed.\textsuperscript{771} Besides Alba de Liste’s antipathy for Medina, his government was characterized by a deteriorated relationship between Church and Crown. The Count of Alba de Liste proved to be a hard-liner in matters related to the Royal Patronage, clashing constantly with archbishop Villagómez over the appointment of parish priests and the election of a professor of theology at San Marcos.\textsuperscript{772}

Fray Cipriano wanted to ridicule the viceroy before the whole city but later in his defense before the Council, he argued that the reason to rush his consecration was the pastoral need of his diocese and also somehow he was telling the truth. The conflicts between the secular authorities and the local Church were escalating in these years. Medina’s training as executor of one of the legendary estates of colonial Spanish America had made him a skilled administrator. Before arriving in Huamanga in 1662, Medina had focused on tithe collection as one of the pillars on which to build a good administration of his bishopric. Fray Cipriano appointed a proctor in charge of collecting tithes, claiming more than seven-thousand pesos already deposited in the cajas reales of Huancavelica and put that money to work in order to pay for the construction of the

\textsuperscript{771} “he extranado mucho ayais hecho semejante novedad y introducción entrando a consagrar obispo sin haver presentado los executoriales y bulas originales como devia faltando a mi real patronazgo y a lo dispuesto por diferentes cedulas y ordenes mias…” The archbishop was fined with two-thousand pesos and the new bishop of Huamanga, with one-thousand five-hundred. BNL, Mss. B572, 1663. CVU, Letter from the Archbishop of Lima to the King asking for the dismissal of the fine arguing the good reasons to proceed with the consecration without the viceroy’s consent (October 27th, 1664).

\textsuperscript{772} Bradley, Society, Economy and Defence, 94-104.
Once in Huamanga, Bishop Medina carried out a thorough pastoral visit where he confronted abuses and corruption on the part of the secular authorities, in particular of the corregidores. In August 1663, Fray Cipriano wrote a lengthy letter to Philip IV on the abuses against the indigenous population carried out by the corregidor of Andahuaylas, Núñez de Cuero, who forced the Indians to work for him in local sweatshops and attacked and blocked the work of the parish priests who dared to oppose him. This issue had a long story attached to it and would reach the height of its conflict in the eighteenth century; Bishop Medina’s report on the situation of his diocese, finally produced a Royal Decree in April 1665 that set boundaries between parish priests and corregidores. However, it is clear that Fray Cipriano was more concerned with the welfare of the priests, the bishopric’s rent and his authority than with the indigenous population.

In order to assess Fray Cipriano’s ideas on the limits of the Royal Patronage, we have to consider Medina’s legal precautions at the time he was invested bishop in Lima in 1660. Then, in a carefully detailed document prepared by the notary Juan Bautista de Herrera, Fray Cipriano solemnly swore to defend and enforce the Royal Patronage, and in particular, to enforce the collection of the one-ninth of the tithes in his diocese, understood as exclusive revenue of the Crown. Medina’s oath was notarized before he

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773 The proctor was the Lima vecino, captain José Bernardo de León. AGN, Notary Marcelo Antonio de Figueroa, Prot. 640, year 1662-A

774 “…porque les hacen trabajar día y noche….y particularmente dice que Don Francisco Núñez de Cuero, corregidor de la provincia de Andaguaylas continuaba la obstinacion con que perseguia a sacerdotes y capaces y gente virtuosa, porque defendian los indios de sus beneficios….“ Richard Konetzke, Documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, Vol. II (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), 527-528.
accepted the investiture as bishop. In this way, Father Medina accepted royal jurisdiction over a rent considered to be exclusive of the Crown (one-ninth of the tithe collection), yet with the implication that he would fiercely defend the other eight-ninths of the tithe collection as well as fight any royal intrusion as corroborated by his fight against the local corregidores who prevented the collection. Medina’s consecration as bishop inside the Franciscan convent has been understood as an act of lineage pride and the entitlement of a creole bishop, which in part it was.775 But that ceremony had other meanings and implications: Fray Cipriano made clear that, as member of the King’s council, he would defend the interests of the monarchy in the economic conflicts between the Crown and religious corporations but he would even oppose the Crown if the Royal Patronage affected the income of the bishopric by setting strict boundaries between the fiscal realms of both Crown and Church.776

After becoming bishop of Huamanga, Fray Cipriano de Medina became a reformer who advocated for restrictions to the Royal Patronage and in this regard, his actions could be considered a creole case of Anti-Machiavellianism. As many of his fellow religious scholars, Medina thought that the colonial corporate Church was the only institution on which the Crown could rely for a complete re-launch of the colonial

775 Lohmann, Inquisidores, Virreyes y disidentes.

776 “…en conformidad de lo que Su Magestad ordena y manda por sus reales cedulas y leyes reales en razon del juramento que deben hazer los arzobispos y obispos destos reynos antes que les sean entregados las cartas de presentacion y executoriales reales juraba y juro…que guardara y cumplira precisa e inbiolablemente lo que…sus reales cedulas y leyes se dispone, ordena y manda y que no yra ni contrabendra en tiempo alguno ni por ninguna manera contra el Patronazgo Real sino que le guardara y cumplira en todo como en el se contiene llanamente… y no impedira y estorvara el usso de la jurisdiccion de Su Magestad por los ministros a quien tocare la cobranza derechos y rentas reales ni la de los novenas que estan reservados en los diezmos de las iglesias destos reynos sino que antes los dejara pedir y coger a las personas a cuyo cargo fuera su cobranza llanamente y sin contradiccion alguna…” AGN, Notary Juan Bautista de Herrera, Prot. 916, Year 1661, fol. 573.
administration, but this did not imply a total submission of the Church to the Crown. After completing the first pastoral visit to his diocese, in a letter to Philip IV dated August 1663, Fray Cipriano proposed an original solution for the corruption among secular officials. Corregidores and others should be put under the jurisdiction of the local bishop, who after a careful consideration of their performance could eventually dismiss them. It was a daring interpretation of the jurisdiction of bishops over colonial authorities, the genesis of which was already present in Gaspar de Villarroel’s handbook on colonial ruling, the Gobierno Eclesiástico y Pacífico. Bishop Medina’s thoughts reflect the distance taken by the Dominican Order from lascasianismo around 1660 and the ways in which, since Monsalve’s Reducción, Dominican scholarship had progressively grown apart from social concerns in order to focus on issues related to colonial ruling. Moreover, the conflicts surrounding the appointment of Medina as bishop confirmed once more the conflicts with the Crown on the application of the Royal Patronage. When Bishop Medina promised to defend the fiscal interests of the Crown - and at the same time defied Royal Patronage as represented by the viceroy and fought royal officials- he made a clear statement about the power of colonial prelates. Spanish American creole bishops envisioned their power as equal to that of the Prince, an ambitious adaptation of Anti-Machiavellianism that fit their expectations of a colonial world in which the relationship between Crown and Church was defined by a partnership rather than by submission. But this was one of many creole expectations that did not come to fruition. The maneuvering of Fray Cipriano de Medina throughout his life shows how politics-savvy were Limenian religious scholars where in their claiming of loyalty to

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777 Gaspar de Villarroel, Gobierno Eclesiástico, Pacífico y Unión de los Dos Cuchillos, Pontificio y Regio (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1651), 9. CVU, Letter from Cipriano de Medina to the King (Huamanga, August 25, 1663).
the Crown while still negotiating the terms on which that loyalty was established. In
1666, while preparing for a second pastoral visit to his diocese, Fray Cipriano fell ill and
died. His portrait in the gallery of faculty members of San Marcos University shows his
jeweled hand resting on a volume of Aquinas’s work, a symbol of the scholastic-
aristocratic order in which creole scholars so deeply believed.

6.3. The Memorial of Fray Antonio González de Acuña and the Dominican creole
agenda (1659)

One of Cipriano de Medina’s contemporaries in the Dominican Peruvian province
was Fray Antonio González de Acuña. According to Domingo Angulo, author of the only
existing modern history of the Peruvian Dominican Order, González de Acuña was born
in 1620 to an aristocratic family in Los Reyes and professed in the Order shortly before
1640. A rather obscure figure for the next nineteen years, Fray Antonio would not be
publicly known until probably 1657 when he was elected proctor of his Order for the
General Dominican Election of 1658 in Rome. Once in Europe, Fray Antonio completed
and published Informe a Nuestro Padre General de la Orden de Predicadores, Fray
Joan Baptista de Marinis, le ofrece el presentado Fray Antonio González de Acuña,
catedrático de Prima de Moral, Procurador de la Real Universidad de los Reyes,
definidor de la Provincia de San Joan Baptista del Perú in Madrid in 1659. In addition to
this half memorial, half historical chronicle, González de Acuña wrote and published in
Europe six hagiographic works on the life of Rose of Lima whose canonization cause he
was in charge of promoting. According to Domingo Angulo, Fray Antonio also penned
three works related to Dominican ordinances, most likely prepared and published under
the direction of the General of the Dominicans, Giovanni Battista Marini, who honored
and protected the Limenian Dominican. González de Acuña supposedly also completed a manuscript of the general history of the Dominican Order, even though the work was never mentioned by his contemporary Meléndez. After a successful stay in Europe, as Proctor of his Order in the initiation of the beatification process of the mulatto Fray Martin de Porres, Fray Antonio returned to Lima where in 1670, he received the news of his appointment to the bishopric of Caracas. Fray Antonio was ruling the first see of Venezuela, when in 1674 the Crown proposed him as President of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, but he died before assuming his new position that would have made him a very powerful bishop and governor.

Informe a Nuestro Padre General of 1659 is an important landmark in Peruvian Dominican scholarship for the understanding of both the state of the Order and the creole agenda by mid-seventeenth century. Judging upon the introduction of the work, it would seem that González de Acuña wrote to promote the canonization of the Dominican candidates, Rose of Lima and Father Juan Masías. Creole and Dominican-sponsored sainthood could be seen as part of the Limenian creole agenda, whose first attempt to have a patron saint -the case of Francis Solano presented earlier- had so far been unsuccessful. Creole sainthood was also related to the quest for creole identity since this group reclaimed sainthood as a social and political achievement for the Spanish nation.

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778 The Council of the Indies, through Fray Antonio González de Acuña, formally requested from the Pope the opening of the process of beatification for Martin of Porres, who died in 1639. (Madrid, December 17th, 1659). MAEC, Leg. 115. ff. 226r., v.


780 Fray Antonio de González de Acuña, Informe a Nuestro Padre General de la Orden de Predicadores, Fray Joan Baptista de Marinis, le ofrece el presentado Fray Antonio González de Acuña, catedrático de Prima de Moral, Procurador de la Real Universidad de los Reyes, definidor de la Provincia de San Joan Baptista del Perú (Madrid, 1659).
and built their identity on it.\(^{781}\) In truth, González de Acuña’s *Informe* was a *mélange* of different agendas, but three can be clearly distinguished. The first one dealt with the Peruvian Dominican Province’s affairs (internal government, canonizations, jurisdiction over Indian parishes and the University), presented as part of the report submitted to the General Father Marini but also as specific demands before the Council of the Indies. The second agenda comprised the claims of the Order over issues related to the appropriation of tithes by the Royal Patronage and the discussion of the financial obligations of the Crown towards the colonial Church. The *Informe* was written a few years after the Crown won the tithe lawsuit (1653). The third agenda discussed the nature of kingship and good ruling, revealing González de Acuña and the *benemérito* class’ expectations on the matter. The last two agendas, by far the most original aspects of this treatise, built upon the ideas of canon Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, revealing Fray Antonio’s own version of Anti-Machiavellianism.\(^{782}\)

Meant to be read by the General of the Dominicans, the *Informe* was on the surface a report on the state of the Peruvian Dominican Province. This part of the treatise would

\(^{781}\) González de Acuña, *Informe*, f. 211v.

\(^{782}\) González de Acuña mentioned as theoretical sources for his *Informe* the work of canon Contreras y Valverde. See Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, *Discurso que propone en justicia el derecho que tienen los cabildos y capítulares del Perú a la reformación de la cédula, que les prohíbe visitas...por el doctor Don Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, consultor del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición y Chantre de la Iglesia Catedral de Quito*, (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1638) and *Memorial y discurso legal del doctor Vasco Arias de Contreras y Valverde, clerigo presbítero natural de la ciudad del Cuzco en los reinos del Perú* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1638). Fray Antonio also cited, a *memorial* sent from Peru to the Council of the Indies in 1631. González de Acuña, *Informe*, ff. 5v., 33v. Was this the work of canon Betancurt [Luis de Betancourt y Figueroa, *Derecho de las Iglesias Metropolitana y Catedrales de las Indias, para la prelación de los capitulares y naturales dellas en la previsión de sus prelacias*] or the treatise of León Pinelo published in 1630 [Antonio de León Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas, Oficios i Casos, en que se requieren para las Indias Occidentales*, A Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado del Consejo del Rey Nuestro Señor en el Supremo de las Indias y Junta de Guerra dellas i en el de la Cruzada i Junta de Competencias. Por el licenciado Antonio de León Relator del mismo Consejo de las Indias*, (Madrid: Juan González, 1630)]? Most probably Fray Antonio read both.
Fray Antonio de González de Acuña, *Informe a Nuestro Padre General de la Orden de Predicadores, Fray Joan Baptista de Marinis, le ofrece el presentado Fray Antonio González de Acuña, catedrático de Prima de Moral, Procurador de la Real Universidad de los Reyes, definidor de la Provincia de San Joan Baptista del Perú,. Madrid, 1659*
seem at first glance as the last evidence of lascasianismo in Dominican scholarship with an emphasis on the commitment of the Order to the welfare of the indigenous population through the enforcement of the royal decrees of 1601 (on indigenous labor) and of 1607 and 1608 (on the need to protect the newly converted Indians from a violent assimilation into colonial economy). A closer look at Fray Antonio’s argumentation, however, shows that his intention was to present the seventy-two Dominican missions in the viceroyalty of Peru as examples of pastoral accomplishment of the good care provided by the Dominican friars, in spite of their high operational cost of more than twenty-thousand ducats per year, entirely paid by the Peruvian Dominican Province. Thus, the mention of the investment made by the Order to run expensive mission towns for the sake of the indigenous population was an indirect claim for financial support from the Crown, intended to be noticed at the time that the Council of the Indies approved the Informe before being sent to the Dominican General in Rome. In the context of the consolidation of the missionary areas in mid seventeenth century Peru, it was clear that the Dominican Order was far behind the Jesuit stronghold in the Andes in spite of more than seventy indigenous parishes. Moreover, this was the moment in which the Crown openly favored the secular clergy in regards to the appointments of priests in rural parishes much to the chagrin of Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans. How, Fray Antonio inquired,

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783 The Dominican mission towns in the central Peruvian highlands were: Aucallama, Guailas, Yungai, Huari, Pariacoto, Carhuas, Caras, Atunguialas, Moro, Macate and Chavin. On the coast: Cao, Santiago, Chócope and Facalá. In the southern highlands: Parinacochas, Cotaguasi, Chimba and Pomata. To the east of Lima: Yauyos and Jauja. In the Upper-Peru region: Charcas. See González de Acuña, Informe, f. 117v-118r.

784 Since the 1620s, the Crown had considered to remove all regular clergy from the administration of Indian parishes. In a letter to the King the Archbishop of Lima said: “a mi parescer unos dellos [remedios]
could the Dominicans not be in charge of parishes with such a long history of conquering souls and even more, considering that the main Dominican temple in Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva was a parish itself?785

This claim for keeping and expanding the Dominican presence in rural areas among the indigenous population allowed Father González de Acuña to open a new level of discussion related to the Royal Patronage and the relationship between the Crown and the religious corporations. Had the Spanish Crown not received from the Pope the benefits of the Patronage in the Indies, then there would not be any moral obligation of conversion of the natives and certainly no further obligation of financial support of those who won the souls of the new Christian subjects. But the Crown had observed its duties generously: funding cathedrals, religious offices, and missionary endeavors as well as covering the expenses of clergy throughout Spanish America since the sixteenth century. Moreover, the Spanish Kings did so even before claiming the one-ninth of the tithe collection of every bishopric and they did it because the Indies were not inherited possessions like those of Europe, but a patrimony given by God.786 Such a gift -not bestowed upon any

785 González de Acuña, Informe, f. 118v. Similar idea was developed by Antonio de la Calancha in his Corónica Moralizada.

786 González de Acuña, Informe, ff. 172v., 173r., 174v. The particular circumstance of the acquisition of the Indies by the Spanish Crown was first elaborated by the Jesuit López de Aguilar in 1644 as seen in chapter V.
other Christian ruler on earth- supposed the magnanimity of the Spanish sovereigns towards their Spanish American subjects.\textsuperscript{787}

Among manifestations of royal generosity towards the colonial Church, Fray Antonio pointed out that the Crown had been particularly munificent with the children of Saint Dominic of Guzmán. What could be considered royal gifts to other religious corporations, claimed Fray Antonio, were in the case of the Peruvian Dominican Order retributions to the Order that had the most important political role as ally to the Crown during the Conquest of Peru. González de Acuña would carefully enumerate the many services to the Crown since Fray Tomás de Berlanga, bishop of Panama, arrived in Peru as overseer of the Royal Treasury in 1535, followed by a long list of Dominican preachers, linguists, bishops, University faculty and Inquisitors who were crucial in building up the Spanish rule. Interestingly enough for a Dominican historian, no mention of the contentious role of Fray Vicente de Valverde in the fall of the Inca Empire was made, thus revealing the shift in creole Dominican scholarship that was moving into creole sainthood as the pillar of the identity for both Order and class.\textsuperscript{788} For Fray Antonio, the role of his Order in the conquest and evangelization of Peru responded to the Catholic patriotism of the Spanish Dominicans that was summoned by the emperor Charles V through the Royal Decree of May 1543. Then, according to the principle of distributive justice, Fray Antonio stated that in exchange for this help, the King should have granted the Order more control of Indian parishes because the Dominican friars

\textsuperscript{787} González de Acuña, \textit{Informe}, ff. 175r.,v.

\textsuperscript{788} González de Acuña, \textit{Informe} f. 162r.
deserved it even more than did the other corporations. Even though the Crown had supported the Dominican chairs at the University and authorized the payment of *limosna* for Dominican temples, the Order had not been rewarded according to its sacrifices and services in early colonial history.\(^{789}\) Fray Antonio concluded with a strong complaint: the King gave to “others what was converted by His friars and conquered by His soldiers.” In González de Acuña’s narrative, the revision of the financial duties of the state towards the colonial Church had connected the claims of the *beneméritos* with those of the creole clergy.\(^{790}\)

Thus the third part of the *Informe* was a natural consequence of the first two, yet actually the most important for its elaboration on Christian ruling and its political linkage of the Spanish Crown with its Spanish American subjects. The premise of Fray Antonio’s theoretical elaboration was that the Indies were part of the composite Spanish monarchy, not by mere greed of possessing new dominions but by the will of God that was sanctioned by the Holy See. This idea in itself was not a novelty, since it was lurking in the work of canon Betancurt y Figueroa and in the 1644 sermon of the Jesuit López de Aguilar that was previously discussed. However, Fray Antonio would make a very original use of this theory, proposing in his *Informe* that when Pizarro met Atahualpa’s ambassadors for the first time in 1532, Pizarro demanded the Inca submission upon these

\(^{789}\) Only in salaries, festivities, ceremonies and election of authorities, San Marcos required twenty-five thousand pesos per year. A sum invested in the “benefit of the Indies and the Spanish subjects born there”. Other pieces of legislation in favor of the Order were the Royal Decrees of 1536, 1564 and 1588, authorizing the Royal Treasury to pay for wine, oil, ornaments and bells for Dominican temples in Peru. González de Acuña, *Informe*, ff. 59r., 148r-150r.

\(^{790}\) González de Acuña, *Informe*, ff. 119v., 126r.,v.
Therefore, the Conquest of Peru happened not because the last Inca ruler had accepted the dominion of the Spanish King, but rather because of the loss of Atahualpa’s sovereignty; that is, the effective *translatio imperii* had operated even before the arrival of the Spaniards when the Pope took possession of the *Tawantinsuyu* to give it to the Catholic Monarchy. This assumption was related to the idea that the Spanish empire was destined to take over the globe and consolidate a Catholic world order, and in the process reuniting Christendom under the Crown of Spain. However, the fact that the Indies were in the possession of the King of Spain by Papal donation implied that the monarch was obliged in a particular way to the colonial corporate Church, more than to any other. It was only by acknowledging this donation that the rule of justice could be effective over the Spanish American vassals and obedience demanded. Grateful and obedient subjects made Kings powerful, Fray Antonio noted. History was full of examples of rulers who fell in disgrace because of rebellion, like Pizarro in 1541. Yet, sometimes, bad ruling was not necessarily the responsibility of the sovereign. The bad counselor or the wrong minister could use the power of the King and rule as a tyrant, angering God and estranging far-distant subjects from his ruler. In González de Acuña’s Anti-Machiavellian interpretation of Christian ruling, good political advice to the Prince could lead only to a privileged role of colonial Church next to the Crown.

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791 González de Acuña, *Informe*, ff. 10r., 20r.

792 González de Acuña, *Informe*, f. 120r.

793 “…la ejecucion peligra del ministro, a quien toca: no es culpable la majestad en lo involuntario, para unir lo distante: es forzoso el medio y siendolo el que govierna, si estravia la voluntad del principe…usando del poder para la tirania, a Dios irrita, enoja al rey….qualquiera gemido indiano altera la quietud de nuestro rey…” González de Acuña, *Informe*, f. 20r., v. Similar vision can be found in the *Memorial de las Historias Nuevo Mundo Pirú* (1630) of Fray Buenaventura de Salinas.
The doctrine of distributive justice used to explain the particular origin of the colonial Church naturally applied to the relationship between the Crown and secular subjects. Spanish American vassals had obligations with their King in exchange for the *fueros* granted to corporations and kingdoms. Tributes, taxes and donations were the counterpart of natural vassalage and loyalty because wealth was certainly one of the conditions of kingship. The love of the Spanish American subjects expressed in conquests and donations should be reciprocated by the Spanish Crown with “fineries and services” or as Fray Antonio nicely put it: “the loyalty of the vassal is nurtured by the King’s breath.” The balanced exchange of *fueros* and privileges versus tribute and donations would guarantee loyal subjects and corporations and thereby cement the Spanish political tradition of the Indies, as the Jesuit Father Cobo also suggested. The strength of this tradition was at the core of the expansion of the Spanish Empire over the world, aided by its Church. González de Acuña was not far from the prophetical vision of a confessional empire elaborated by his contemporary Salinas y Córdova in his *Memorial* of 1639. The *Informe* would be the last Dominican example of Catholic statecraft, but prepared the way for the final word on creole pride, through the works of Fray Juan Meléndez.

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6.4. Limenian Upstart: Fray Juan Meléndez

The last religious historian of seventeenth-century Peru, the Limenian Fray Juan Meléndez was in many regards one of the most interesting figures of the period. His massive chronicle, *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* (Rome 1681-1682), stands out as one of the most organic and complete institutional histories of the period but also as the masterwork of Dominican scholarship. Meléndez’s *opus magna* closed a cycle for Dominican scholarship and a trend of revision and discussion that the Orders kept alive for over eighty years. *Tesoros Verdaderos* was the last stop in a long road of search for institutional and creole identity within the Dominican Order, of which Meléndez’s impressive production of hagiographies and sermons along with other authors’ works were landmarks. However, three events make the case of Father Meléndez a quite extraordinary one. First, the chronicler was sent by the Order to publish its institutional history in Europe and succeeded in having a three-volume chronicle published at the Papal court. The second aspect is Meléndez’ personal commitment to the canonization of Vicente Vernedo, used as a campaign for creole identity that proved to be quite effective at least at the level of fundraising as well as personal goals. The canonization of Vernedo, allowed Fray Juan to promote his own career and family. Unlike Calancha, Salinas and Córdova, Meléndez came from affluent but a humble manufacturing background and his success in social promotion is a novelty that announced the more dynamic society of the next century. Finally, Fray Juan’s freedom as author was totally unprecedented compared to the considerable room for maneuvering enjoyed by the Augustinian Calancha along
with the Franciscans Salinas and Córdova. Meléndez’s freedom as scholar contrasts even more with the restrictions imposed on the Jesuits Cobo and Oliva. His scholarly career was determined by the history of his Order, yet also grew independent from institutional sponsorship.

The son of an illiterate saddle-maker and hide merchant who at some point was close to being sent to jail by his creditors, Juan was born in Lima in 1632, one of seven children of the marriage of Rodrigo Meléndez and Catalina Ramírez de Guzmán, recent Spanish immigrants to the Peruvian viceroyalty. The supposedly precarious finances of Rodrigo, stressed by Riva-Agüero following Bernardo de Medina, are contradicted with the reality of notary records showing that Rodrigo Meléndez was a very wealthy artisan. By the time Juan was born, the illiterate saddle-maker was already the owner of a booming business of saddles, boots and accoutrements for riding horses in three stores in Los Reyes. In 1633, Rodrigo Meléndez was even able to buy in cash all the hides produced that year in the port of Callao and sometime by the mid-1640s he eventually became a moneylender. The capital amassed by Rodrigo made possible his admission into the brotherhood of Saint Lawrence and during the 1650s the profession of his three sons -Diego, Juan and Rodrigo- in the prestigious Order of Saint Dominic. A fourth son, Andrés, became a secular priest. The three daughters remained single.

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797 Riva-Agüero stated that Rodrigo Meléndez, while escaping from his creditors, looked for asylum inside the Dominican convent. See José de la Riva-Agüero, La Historia en el Perú (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1965), 256. As a matter of fact Fray Juan himself suggested this event when talking about his father. By the time Rodrigo was given protection of the convent (1660), his sons were already members of the Order. See Juan Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias, Vol. III (Roma: Angel Tinasio, 1681), 276.

799 AGN, Notary Bartolomé de Cívico, Year 1628, Prot. 322, fol. 1067 and Prot. 323, fol. 443; year 1630, Prot 628, fol. 87v.; year 1633, Prot. 334, fol. 416v. and year 1643-A, Prot. 358, fol. 499. Diego Meléndez,
the early 1650s, Juan was already living in the convent of Our Lady of the Rosary in Lima as a professed Dominican. In 1657, he was appointed theology professor, a position ratified in 1662. In that year, Father Meléndez moved to Cuzco as rector of the Dominican Seminary. Between 1663 and 1669, he was prior of the convent of Trujillo and later Provincial Vicar in Arequipa, Huamanga, Cuzco and Panama. In 1669, Fray Juan returned to Los Reyes as rector of the school of Saint Thomas; in such an intellectual environment, he started working on his hagiographic writings.

The first publication of Father Meléndez on Dominican sainthood was the celebration of the beatification of Rose of Lima by Pope Clemens VII in 1669. Proud as any Limenian for the honor bestowed on a daughter of Lima, Fray Juan would not, however, dedicate his best efforts to celebrate the life of the future first saint of the Americas. Fray Juan’s vision of the ideal model of Dominican sainthood would be evident in 1675, when he published the life of his fellow Dominican Fray Juan Vernedo, who was born in 1630, entered the Order before Juan. Andrés, born in 1627 was the eldest sibling. Rodrigo might have been the third of the four brothers. The three sisters of Fray Juan were María, Catalina and Teodora Meléndez. See Guillermo Lohmann, “Informaciones genealógicas de peruanos seguidos ante el Santo Oficio,” Revista del Instituto Peruano de Investigaciones Genealógicas, No. 9, (1956): 115-226 and Guillermo Alvarez Perca, “P. Juan Meléndez Ramírez. Cronista Dominico (1633-1710),” Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica, 2 (1992): 233-245.

800 Angulo, La Orden de Santo Domingo, 170.

801 In 1663, the Dominican convent went to court over money owed to the Order. In the list of friars who gave power of attorney does not appear Fray Juan. He may have been living in Cuzco already. AGN, Real Audiencia, Causas Civiles, Year 1663, Leg. 196, Cuad. 659. See also, Alvarez, “P. Juan Meléndez,” 235.

802 Juan Meléndez, Festiva Pompa, Culto Religioso, Veneración Reverente, Fiesta, Aclamación y Aplauso a la feliz beatificación de la bienaventurada virgen Rosa de Santa María....Segunda Catalina Senense, Primera fragante flor y fruto optimo desta Plaga Meridional. Tesoro Escondido en el campo fértil desta muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Lima....patrona tutelar y universal de su dichosa patria y dilatados reynos del Perú (Lima: 1671).
supposed to be the first Peruvian Dominican saint.\textsuperscript{803} In order to understand Fray Juan’s personal commitment to the cause of Father Vernedo we have to consider his election as vice prior of the Dominican Province in 1677. This promotion made Meléndez the official supporter of the figure of Vernedo within and out of the Dominican cloister. There was a powerful reason to excel in this particular task. It had been Fray Juan de los Ríos, the Dominican prior, the one who requested the hagiography; besides being Meléndez’s superior, De los Ríos was also nephew of the famous bishop Vega and cousin of Fray Cipriano de Medina. When Meléndez was chosen to go to Europe as proctor of the Order and pursue the canonization of Father Vernedo, he had been given a different social status, becoming part of the circle of Dominican nobility. Invested with power, money and social recognition, Fray Juan arrived in Spain in 1679 and then went on to Rome.\textsuperscript{804} Upon his arrival at the papal court, Fray Juan’s career reached a new level with his appointment as rector of the Dominican seminary of La Minerva, a position held until 1684. In that year, he returned to Lima to occupy for the second time the direction of the school of Saint Thomas. In 1689, being fifty-seven years old, Meléndez was elected \textit{definidor} of his Order in the provincial chapter and made \textit{calificador} of the Holy Inquisition. Fray Juan spent his last years in the convent of Our Lady of Rosary in the

\footnote{Juan Meléndez, \textit{Vida virtudes y muerte del venerable padre y penitente siervo de Dios Fray Vicente Vernedo} (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1675).}

\footnote{Tauro provides accurate dates for Meléndez journey to Europe. Fray Juan embarked to Spain on November 2, 1677 and arrived the following year after a perilous sailing. On August 26, 1679 he entered Cadiz. See Alberto Tauro del Pino, \textit{Diccionario Enciclopédico Ilustrado del Perú} (Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1975, Vol. IV), 1312.
enjoyment of all the accomplishments that he had achieved. He died in his native Lima in 1710, at the age of sixty-eight.  

6.4.1. Dominican Hagiographies

In the prologue of *Festiva Pompa, Culto Religioso, Veneración Reverente, Fiesta, Aclamación y Aplauso a la feliz beatificación de la bienaventurada virgen Rosa de Santa María* (1671), Fray Juan Meléndez offered the reader an apology for the two-year delay that the work took to be printed. Meléndez said that the high cost of printing in Lima required a thorough process of censorship, since no Provincial would accept the waste of money that an imprint would cost if were to be confiscated by official authorities. The reflection was actually a subtle complaint of a novice author who had waited for two years to have his first intellectual work approved and published. In this work, Fray Juan certainly expressed the joy and pride of Lima’s religious cohort with the admission of Rose to the realm of sainthood, officially beatified in 1669 and canonized in 1671; moreover, he shared in the political expectations that the members of the Spanish nation had in such an achievement. For the scholars who created the historical version of Rose’s sainthood, the not always smooth process of her spiritual and social life was living proof that Spanish colonization had reached maturity and had been consolidated on the other side of the Atlantic. Meléndez and his fellow religious scholars in and out the Dominican

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806 “…sale esta descripción despues de otras no porque se escrivio despues, sino que se necesito para darla a la prensa de la presencencia del prelado superior de la provincia, ocupado en su general visita dilatada por mas de ochocientas leguas…y quiso que como como dueno de la sumptuosidad del original que corriese tambien por su cuydado sacar a luz el disenio y es testimonio autentico de verdad la censura…” Meléndez, *Festiva Pompa*, Prologue.
Order believed that in perfecting the values of Castilian Spain, through Rose, Lima had reached the status of confessional and political landmark in both the Catholic monarchy and the Catholic world. A similar approach to creole sainthood can be found in colonial Mexico, where the news of the beatification of the Franciscan Philip of Jesus who had been martyred in Japan was received in the capital of New Spain in 1628. Thus, Meléndez’s pride responds to what Cornelius Conover has defined as the celebration of imperial Catholicism at the municipal level.

In his Festiva Pompa, Meléndez interpreted Rose of Lima’s ascension into sainthood, using the biblical episode of Ezekiel’s chariot as a metaphor to advance a political message. The prophecy of Ezekiel already had been used by Buenaventura de Salinas in 1639 as a prophetic interpretation of evolution of the Spanish Empire. For Father Meléndez in Festiva Pompa (1671), Saint Rose would be the center of a quite different interpretation of Ezekiel’s heavenly chariot pulled by four angels. In the Franciscan’s interpretation, the fourth angel with human traits symbolized the Christian rule of Philip IV, announcing the consolidation of a new age for the Peruvian kingdom after previous stages of ruling that were represented by the three angels/monarchs of the House of Austria. Thirty-two years later in Meléndez’s version, Saint Rose became the

807 On the political symbolism related to the canonization of Saint Rose of Lima, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, Rosa Limensis: Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001). Another example of religious creole narrative is the work of Fray Domingo de Cifuentes, Oración Panegírica en la festividad de la beatificación de la Virgen Rosa de Santa María, natural de la ciudad de Lima del Perú de la Tercera Orden del Gran Patriarca y Padre Santo Domingo de Guzmán que con solemnísima octava celebró, patente el Santísimo Sacramento la muy noble y generosa nación española de los criollos naturales del mismo reyno díxola en el relixiosísimo monasterio de Santo Domingo el real de Madrid...el Muy Reverendo Padre Maestro Fray Domingo de Cifuentes, hijo de la Provincia de San Agustín del Perú, su defínidor y Procurador General, natural de la ciudad de Ica (Madrid: Mateo de Espinosa, 1669).

angel with the face of an eagle, the driving force of the chariot, because as the author wrote, the saint was a “royal eagle, whose fly was powerful since she was born, crowned queen of the citizens of Lima.” In this new interpretation of the prophecy of Ezekiel, there was no need for a King to pull the chariot of the new age. Rose, as royal eagle, was powerful enough to lead the Peruvian kingdom because she simultaneously embodied the House of Austria, Christ and Saint Michael.

In Meléndez’s version of Ezekiel’s prophecy, the Limenian saint did more than reunite the Crown and the creole Church. She announced the arrival of a new political momentum for the colonial elites as well. This new political momentum was based on the fact that official sainthood had been acknowledged for a creole daughter of the city of Los Reyes, elevating the city to a superior rank among the cities of the Catholic monarchy, but also elevating the creole elites in a political sense as agents of Castilian values in the world. For Meléndez, it was probably personally satisfying to see creoles from not so distinguished background, whose only effective capital was piety, being elevated to the ultimate level of perfection. Regardless of social boundaries, Lima had finally become a city that could boast of the Old Christianity of its inhabitants, so important in the peninsula to define full citizenship. Colonial boundaries had been erased to make the Peruvian kingdom a full-fledge member of the composite monarchy. A careful reading of the ceremony that took place in Lima reveals Meléndez and the creole elite’s interest in pointing out the role of the cabildo of vecinos and the place of Spanish

809 Meléndez, Festiva Pompa, ff. 48r., v.

American citizenship in the new colonial order after the canonization of Rose, “Queen of creole citizens.” As Conover has proposed, the affirmation of the municipal power consolidated the imperial structure. Thus, on March 26th, 1671, the cabildo, presided over by the senior city’s Mayor, entered the convent of Saint Dominic in Lima to deliver the Royal Decree confirming her beatification. A few days later, during the first public procession of the image of Rose, the Royal Decree confirming Rose’s beatification was paraded under a canopy held by four senior members of the city cabildo who were each wearing a diamond-jeweled insignia in the shape of a rose. To complete the layers of meaning in the ceremony, the banner made for the occasion by the cabildo provided a new arrangement of the symbols of the monarchy and the city that confirmed Meléndez’s narrative. Instead of the double-headed Royal Eagle of the House of Austria over the three crowns symbolizing the Three Wise Kings -the coat of arms of the city since its foundation in 1535- the banner produced for the parade, whose edge was held by the viceroy, presented an image of the new creole saint standing over the three crowns.811

The image of Rose of Lima instead of the Habsburg coat of arms in the banner did not mean the rejection of the figure of the monarch or its authority over the city. It simply reinforced the notion that Rose as representative of Lima’s citizens had become -in a sacramental manner- one with the Habsburg ruler, perfecting the alliance between the Spanish monarchy and its Limenian subjects, an old expectation of the creole Church. In this new order announced by Rose’s arrival to the altar, the city was also in a new position within the composite monarchy; somehow the participation of the viceroy Count of Lemos (1667-1672) in the ceremony and his approval to the banner ratified this assumption. However, the view that the viceroy and the Crown had of these ceremonies

811 Meléndez, Festiva Pompa, ff. 12r., 16v., 19r., v.,
and their political iconography might not have coincided with that of the creole elite of Los Reyes. As discussed before in the case of the support given by Los Reyes’ cabildo to the beatification of Francis Solano –that comprised the first hope that the creoles had of a patron saint for Lima- the political agenda of the benemérito-controlled cabildo joined the pious expectations of Catholic citizens, an event of which the Crown might not have been aware. Alejandra Osorio has recently proposed that it was the Crown who was the one who actually promoted new saints in Spanish America.812 The Crown supported these initiatives for two reasons: the historical identity between the monarchy and the Catholic faith as well as the Crown’s interest in promoting a model of Spanish sainthood that enforced the pride of the Spanish nation. These reasons were clear during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, because Spanish saints ultimately meant universal propaganda for the Spanish Empire while specific religious corporations also pushed for religious celebrations related to the Crown, such as the recognition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.813 Since the local agenda was very important, however, it was pushed by local elites, even more so than by the Crown. One was the cabildo, as Conover mentioned in the case of Mexico and seen in the cases of Francis Solano and Rose. Yet, William Christian has pinpointed the important role of wealthy cathedral cities with their own saints and relics, in the spiritual economy of a Catholic kingdom. City cathedrals were also important contributors to the royal coffers and that circumstance gave them


leverage in negotiating and demanding jubilees, festivities, indulgences and saints.

Eventually the new saint became the city’s advocate -abogado nuestro- for local claims such as natural disasters, exemption from taxes and other issues. In the case of Lima, the cathedral chapter would lobby in Madrid and Rome until the beatification of Archbishop Mogrovejo was achieved later in the century. Thus, Rose was seen not only as “Queen” of Lima’s citizens, but also as their advocate for future demands.

Analyzing the theological and political implications of the iconography produced to celebrate the acceptance of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, Jaime Quadriello contends that any new cult in the Spanish empire required not only the development of iconography invested with propaganda and apologia, but also even more importantly, links with the Crown in order to make it a state-supported doctrine. Iconography played a major role in conveying the political message of both clergy and cabildo in the case of the public festivity on Rose’s beatification and its historical narrative of 1669-1671. The image of the creole saint turned one with the royal coat of arms announced the elevation of Lima among those cities with royal sponsored cults. At a deeper level of interpretation, which Quadriello has defined as the metahistoric role of Spanish America as refuge of Christianity, Meléndez, along with other mendicant chroniclers before him stressed the translatio fidei from the Old to the New World, evident in the local production of a Catholic creole saint. The Spanish colonization of

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815 Quadriello, “Theopolitical Vizualization,” 128.
the New World was finally justified before the Church and the world. Creole sainthood had shown that the Black Legend created to denigrate the legacy of the Spanish nation in the Indies had no justification in reality. Through the pages of the first work of Father Meléndez, the Dominican Peruvian Province had drawn a definite line between their pride on Dominican sainthood and the uncomfortable legacy of Las Casas.817

Meléndez’s enthusiasm for the beatification of Rose, with whom he shared humble origins, did not hide his commitment to the canonization cause of his fellow Dominican Fray Vicente Vernedo. In the cause of Father Vernedo, the personal and institutional agendas of Meléndez intersected harmoniously, as shown in his 1675 first official hagiography of the Dominican who died in Potosí in 1615: Vida, virtudes y muerte del siervo de Dios y penitente Fray Vicente Vernedo, natural de la villa de la Puente de la Reyna en el reyno de Navarra.818 Fray Juan was not the first one to work on the life of this obscure Dominican; he even used a manuscript penned by the former proctor of the canonization cause, Father Hernando de Valdés. Still, Meléndez’s Vida, virtudes y muerte can be considered the only hagiography of Vernedo.819 The emphasis

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816 Quadriello mentions the case of Mendieta for Mexico and Calancha for Peru. See Quadriello, “Theopolitical Visualization,” 128.

817 In future important moments of Peruvian history, Las Casas was not claimed as a foundational father of the Peruvian nation nor as a protector of the indigenous population either. Whenever patriotism has been invoked, Saint Rose of Lima is unquestionably present. For the use of Las Casas in Mexico and other Latin American nations, see Castro, Another Face of Empire, 180.

818 Fray Juan Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte del siervo de Dios y penitente Fray Vicente Vernedo, natural de la villa de la Puente de la Reyna en el reyno de Navarra (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1676), f. 106.

819 This might be the origin of the first process to promote Vernedo’s canonization. The second attempt to promote the canonization cause was that of 1663, being Father Valdés the proctor. See Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte, f. 122v.
put on this cause by Father Meléndez has to do mostly with his personal agenda. As stated previously, it was the Prior of the convent of Our Lady of Rosary, a member of the lineage of Bishop Vega, who was interested in the promotion of Vernedo. Fray Juan Meléndez knew that his performance as proctor of the canonization would secure his position as the right arm of the Prior and consolidate his ascension in Lima’s aristocratic society. As Salinas and Córdova did with Francis Solano in the 1630s to push their own agenda, Vicente Vernedo’s life enabled Fray Juan to strongly promote his career and lineage.

Of Vernedo, a Navarre born Dominican who died in Potosi, not much was known until his body was found in perfect condition a few years after being interred in the Church of his Order.²²⁰ It was the random discovery of his uncorrupted body, rather than the memory of his virtuous life, that generated an initial enthusiasm among his fellow Dominicans and the local potosino elite who were eager for myths upon which to built the history of the city. However, Vernedo’s public cult was promptly blocked by his own Order once it was known in Peru that Pope Urban VIII had issued in 1625 a bull against veneration of the dead without the official sanction of Rome.²²¹ This first moment in the history of Father Vernedo’s cult came to an end with the interment of his body for a second time, even though as his chronicler noted, it was “still flexible.” However, the cult was not fully stopped; before being buried for a second time, Vernedo’s body suffered

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²²⁰ “hallaronle tan flexible y tan tratable en todas sus partes, como si estuviera vivo, levantandole los brazos, moviendo la cabeza, sentandole y ponriendole en pie y volviendole a acostar en el ataud…” Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte, f. 120r.

²²¹ “…hasta que teniendo noticia en este Peru de los decretos Santissimo del papa Urbano VIII (que no llego aca tan presto, respeto de la distancia, que ay destas tierras a Roma, donde llega solo aquello con brevedad en que ay parte interesada y agentes que lo remitan si no se hace el consejo que lo demas suele passar a vezes tan tarde que se passan muchos anos sin que alla noticia dello con que no queda por parte de la obediencia…” Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte, ff. 119r., v., 121r.
several mutilations to satisfy the popular claim for relics. At least three fingers were cut, “causing the hand to bleed miraculously” after more than a decade of the Dominican’s death. Interestingly enough—as a challenge to the papal bull— one finger was sent to Father Marini, General of the Order in Rome, in order to secure the sponsorship of the higher hierarchy of the Order for the new saint. 822 Years later, two of these relics were taken to Lima, where one was presented to the Count and Countess of Santisteban, who enthusiastically supported the popular but yet unofficial devotion. The other finger remained in the hands of the first proctor of the cause, Father Valdés. 823 It is interesting to note that before the regulations on sainthood of 1624-1625, the spread of relics accounted for the making of a saint; moreover even after the papal bull was issued and made public, that part of Vernedo’s cult persisted.

The making of Father Vernedo’s sainthood by creole followers in Lima and Potosí gained momentum with a new attempt to promote his canonization that was led by the dynamic Bishop of Charcas, Fray Gaspar de Villaroel in 1663. Villaroel was well aware of the benefits for Peruvian Catholicism and the Spanish nation in particular that would come from the promotion of the humble Dominican. The interest of the famous

822 “una persona llego a cortarle un dedo de la mano para tenerlo por reliquia del qual virtio sangre fresca como si estuviese vivo...” See Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte, f. 14r., f. 116r. The case of the arm of Francis Xavier cut from his body in Goa and sent to be given public worship in Rome would be the first example of a relic promoting public worship.

823 One finger ended up in the hands of the Corregidor of Potosí Don Francisco Sarmiento and his widow passed it onto the Countess of Santisteban, the vice-queen. Apparently a third finger ended up in the hands of the Dominican Fray Gerónimo de Andrade and was offered to the viceroy as well. See AAL, Información sumaria hecha a pedimento del procurador de la orden de Predicadores en orden a los milagros que la divina magestad de Dios nuestro señor obró por la intercesión de las reliquias de su venerable siervo de Dios el padre maestro Fray Vicente Vernedo. Juez, el señor don Agustín Negrón de Luna, canónigo desta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, por comisión del Ilmo. Senor arçobispo Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, Lima, April-May, 1678, f. 66r.
Bishop of La Paz on Vernedo, launched a new Dominican campaign in Lima as well.\textsuperscript{824} It is in this second moment of the construction of Vernedo’s sainthood that Meléndez came to the scene being appointed second proctor of the cause. Villaroel -an ardent defendant of the canonization of Francis Solano during the 1640s- was the first high-ranked Church official who linked Vernedo’s cult, creole identity and politics in the Upper Peru.\textsuperscript{825} In his \textit{Gobierno Eclesiastico y Pacifico} (1651), Villarroel had written to the Pope to request the prompt canonization of Francis Solano since it was an affirmation of the right of creoles to promote local sainthood; he also stressed the benefits that would come from worshipping a local \textit{exempla}; such as the enforcement of local morals, an idea also proposed by Buenaventura de Salinas in his second \textit{Memorial} of 1639.\textsuperscript{826} Villarroel’s letter to Urban VIII emphasized how counterproductive was the papal bull on canonizations, introducing the requirement of a fifty-year period for any process to be opened. This measure, Villarroel claimed, went against the enforcement of popular piety, which the Church had to promote in particular in Spanish America where the Castilian Catholicism was still recent. However, Villarroel perfectly knew of the advantages of creole sainthood for elites at the political level. In the early 1660s, Villarroel saw again a great opportunity to promote the cult of a mendicant friar, whose frugal life so dramatically contrasted with the luxurious and rather decadent lifestyle of a city in which

\textsuperscript{824} Meléndez, \textit{Vida, virtudes y muerte}, f.122v.

\textsuperscript{825} Villarroel’s predecessor in the diocese, Fray Gerónimo Méndez de Tiedra had gathered some information on Vernedo’s life, unfortunately lost by the time Melendez did his own research. It might have been the case that Villarroel had the chance to know about Vernedo through that last source. Meléndez, \textit{Vida, virtudes y muerte}, f. 91r.

\textsuperscript{826} Gaspar de Villarroel, \textit{Gobierno Eclesiástico, Pacifico y Unión de los Dos Cuchillos, Pontificio y Regio} (Madrid: Domingo García Morras, 1651), 25-26 and Buenaventura de Salinas, \textit{Memorial del Padre}. 
everyone had a price and every abuse usually overlooked. Father Vernedo would shine like new silver ore among the corruption and greed of Potosi and his cult could possibly channel important donations. Villaroel’s pastoral views for his rich Potosino flock met the political expectation of colonial miners as well. Because of the influence of the bishop, the cabildo of the villa imperial appropriated the cult of the humble Dominican. As a matter of fact, Fray Juan Meléndez dedicated Vida, virtudes y muerte to the corregidor of Potosi, the Count of La Granja. It seems to be the case that the Potosí cabildo contributed generously to Meléndez’s efforts related to the promotion of Vernedo’s canonization, in particular to the edition of the voluminous Dominican chronicle.

It is interesting that in the process of making a saint, hagiographers emphasized different aspects of the saint’s life according to public demand. In a few passages of Vernedo’s hagiography, Meléndez praised Fray Vicente as the spearhead of Dominican missionary affairs among the fierce Chiriguanos in the southeastern frontier of the

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827 In 1675 Meléndez supported the idea that Potosí needed its own saint to complete its ‘wealth’; “A la villa imperial de Potosí…no solo ha querido liberal de sus bienes temporales mejorarla en tercio y quinto, haziendola senora entre todas las villas y ciudades del orbe, del cerro mas poderoso….sino que por su bondad ha dispuesto ennoblecerla y enriquecerla mas haciendola relicario del venerable cadaver del siervo de Dios…que aunque no este canonizado ni beatificado por la Iglesia Catolica…”. Meléndez, Vida, virtudes y muerte, Prologue.

828 In the mid 1670s, the Potosí cabildo was led by the Spanish noble, José de Oviedo y Herrera, Count de la Granja, Corregidor and Justicia Mayor. This character was an enthusiastic supporter of Saint Rose of Lima. However, his support for creole saints might have been related to a personal attempt to get rid of the terrible accusations of corruption once he left the position of Corregidor. Bartolomé Arzans accused Oviedo of leaving the post with a fortune of around half a million pesos, while the salary would have allowed him to save 70,000 at most. Bartolomé Arzans Orsúa y Vela, Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí, Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, eds. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965, Vol. II), 297. Oviedo supported the demands of the Potosí miners for tougher labor conditions for the indigenous mitayos, up to the point of provoking the anger of the viceroy Count of Lemos, who asked Oviedo to resign the post. See Guillermo Lohmann, El Conde de Lemos. Virrey del Perú (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1946), 266-269.

Peruvian viceroyalty. However, the lack of information on which to build a narrative of heroic deeds in the mission frontier and possibly the interest of the Potosí cabildo dissuaded Meléndez to go that route. Instead, the chronicler built on the weak physical condition that made Vernedo unsuitable for missionary work in spite of his desire. In the last part of the 1675 biography and later in his Dominican chronicle of 1681-1682, Meléndez focused on Vernedo’s virtues of poverty and renunciation of intellectual recognition instead of on a life that gravitated around the vice-regal court, where his miracles operated as mechanisms of reconciliation between castes and classes. The change in the locus of Vernedo’s religious life occurred for two reasons. First, Meléndez wanted to secure the interest of the gentry of Potosí, for whom urban-based miracles appealed more than did good deeds among infidels. Yet, the second and most important reason to make Vernedo an urban saint was the possibility of incorporating the chronicler’s family in the narrative as beneficiary of miracles and linking the humble lineage of the saddle-maker to the would-be first Dominican saint.

In 1678, shortly before embarking for Spain, Fray Juan had completed the first official collection of miracles performed by the new saint and presented it to the archbishop of Los Reyes. As opposed to the variety of witnesses who appeared in the Información put together for Francis Solano during the 1620s and 1630s (clergy, laymen and people of different social backgrounds), the one prepared for Fray Vicente Vernedo

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830 Meléndez, *Vida, virtudes y muerte*, ff. 48v., 49r.

831 AAL, Información sumaria hecha a pedimento del procurador de la orden de Predicadores en orden a los milagros que la divina magestad de Dios nuestro señor obró por la intercesión de las reliquias de su venerable siervo de Dios el padre maestro Fray Vicente Vernedo. Juez, el señor don Agustín Negrón de Luna, canónigo desta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, por comisión del Ilmo. Señor arçobispo Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, Lima, April-May, 1678.
in 1678 contained almost exclusively the declarations of members of the Meléndez household. The reduced sample of witnesses and the quality of the miracles seems to indicate a rush to comply with the formality of the Información, prior to the departure of the proctor Meléndez to Madrid and Rome. Besides the bias of the testimonies, considering the proctor’s ties with the witnesses, the document sheds light on the lives of four black slaves in the Meléndez household and on the life of domestic slaves in Lima in general. On the one hand these testimonies were manipulated to make the case of Vernedo’s miracles a stronger one; yet on the other hand the voices of Mariana de la Cruz, her infant daughter Rosa, Victoria de la Cruz and Juan Popo tell us about the process of acculturation of black slaves in their interaction with the legal and religious culture of seventeenth-century Peru. There is another aspect that we have to consider in the Información of 1678: Meléndez’s intentionality in making the testimonies of the slaves the center of a legal document while his siblings and Fray Hernando de Valdés - the latter being the first appointed proctor of the cause- somehow ended up with minor testimonies tin order to highlight the experience of the black slaves. Only Doña Teodora Meléndez declared being the beneficiary of a miracle, having been cured of a stomach infection after placing a letter written by Father Vernedo at the side of her body. The other members of the family -Doña Catalina, Doña María, Fray Rodrigo and Fray Juan Meléndez- were but witnesses to the miracles experienced by the slaves, their testimonies validated by their literate Spanish masters.832

The miracle narrated by Doña Catalina Meléndez introduced the experience of the slaves and shifted the center of the Información from the account of the Spanish witnesses to that of the black servants. Doña Catalina declared that her little slave Rosa,

832 Información sumaria, f. 7r.
the two and a half years old child of Mariana de la Cruz, was severely ill and could not swallow any food. The women of the house prayed to Father Vernedo for a cure while the child slept. In the middle of the night, the girl woke up extremely excited, relating that she had dreamed of a priest who tenderly touched her head. The women remembered being told how fond of children Father Vernedo was and showed his picture to the little Rosa, who indeed confirmed that the priest in the portrait was the one in her dreams.\(^{833}\)

Another miraculous episode involved the mother of the child, the cook Mariana de la Cruz and a *negro bozal* (born in Africa and not fluent in Spanish) named Juan Popo. Juan, the water-carrier of the house, happened to pet a chicken destined for cockfighting. One morning, Mariana found the chicken drowned inside a barrel of water and, fearing the violent reaction of Juan, called Doña Catalina for help. The spinster and the cook prayed together to Vernedo, fearing the presumably violent reaction of the African slave. Miraculously, the chicken came back to life at the very moment that the slave discovered the body of the bird.\(^{834}\)

In a recent study on the relationship between literacy and black population in seventeenth-century Lima, José Ramón Jouvé contends that in a city that was

\(^{833}\) “se quedo la dicha Rosita dormida y…repararon en que no era con tantas fatigas como antes y jugaban que ya era falta de aliento por la gravedad del mal que la tenia rendida: asta que por ultimo buelta en si como quando se despierta de aver tenido algun sueno o pesadilla dijo la dicha enfermita: ‘el padre, el padre’!…La niña declaro que el padre [Vernedo] habia entrado a la habitacion donde dormia por una ventana y habia permitido que la nina le cogiera la barba y acariciara el rostro y quando se le llevo un retrato del padre Bernedo [sic] dos dias despues, la niña se abalanzo abrazar al padre…y le llama *taita*” *Información sumaria*, ff. 8r., v.

\(^{834}\) “y fue el asombro que causso este suceso en el negro, tan grande que segun lo que dio a entender llego a persuadirse que se avia obrado aquel prodigio por medio no licitos y que podia aver sido alguna brujeria y fue necesario que esta testigo y sus hermanas que avian concurrido luego que corrio la voz del pollo resucitado, le dijesen al dicho Negro como Dios lo habia resucitado por los ruegos de un santo…que se llama fray Vicente Vernedo…y el dicho Juan Popo ha mudado la fiera condicion indomita y soberbia que antes tenia pues quando le mandaban hacer alguna cosa sino era de su agrad corresponder tan furioso y descomedido que por evitar la contingencia de castigarle sus insolencias y repostadas le dejaban de mandar en muchas ocaciones....” *Información sumaria*, f. 19r.
predominantly black, slaves had integrated in different degrees into Spanish literacy and Spanish urban culture. Even those blacks who lacked the skills of reading and writing were deeply involved with different kinds of urban discourses and practices that were mainly religious or legal. In the case of these illiterate slaves -or even bozales like Juan Popo- their testimony still had legal value, even though needed corroboration by literate Spaniards. In the eventual case of being summoned to court -as it was the case of the religious tribunal that gathered to approve a beatification cause- slaves’ production of a testimony was carefully considered by interpreters, scribes and officials. The narration of the child Rosa and even that of the bozal slave Juan were transcribed in detail according to the testimonies of their masters that were needed to validate their slaves’ testimony. The testimonies were ordered in terms of the slaves’ degree of

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835 José Ramón Jouvé Martín, *Esclavos de la Ciudad Letrada. Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 70-74. “Y por ser bocal y rudo y recien bautizado el dicho sehor juez canonigo…lo fue disponiendo y dando a entender para lo que lo traian allí y como avia de dezir verdad en todo sin decir lo que no sabia, sino no mas de lo que avia visto, y no otra cosa alguna y como avia de dezir lo que sabia no mas porque si decia otra cosa y mentira, se enojaria Dios mucho con el y que quizas luego le quitaria la vida y lo enbiaria a el infierno porque decir mentira con juramento era peccado mortal y con esto se hacia enemigo de Dios…” *Informacion sumaria*, f. 45r.

836 See Jouvé Martín, *Esclavos de la Ciudad Letrada*, 104-105. In 1685, in the process of beatification of Los Reyes’ archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo, the declaration of a wet nurse was included among those of the members of a family belonging to the city’s gentry. Nicolasa Bullones -a free black- declared on the miraculous cure of the children Bernardo de la Soledad de Iturrizarra and José Vallejo e Iturrizara, grandchildren of the President of the *Audiencia* of Lima. MAEC, Leg. 159, *Testimonios en el proceso de canonización de Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo* (Lima, 1685), f. 155v.

837 Juan Popo declared: “Señora Catalina mui triste. Yo conosce mi pollo enoja mucho pensa señora Catalina mata mi pollo, señora Catalina dice a mi ‘no Juan aora lavare tu pollo y quitate esto que tiene y decia Padre Vernoedo este pollo de Juan Popo, dale su pollo’. Yo ya mira mi pollo salta de mano de señora Catalina, corre pollo toda la casa. Salí a la calle…trac mi pollo ya deci pollo resucita ya deci milagro Padre Vernoedo…yo mira pollo vivo correr…ya deci a mi Padre Vernoedo fraile como Padre Fray Juan, Padre Frai Diego, y Padre Fray Rodrigo, abito de Santo Domingo, ya murio mucho tiempo ya resucita mi pollo porque Dios quere yo quere mucho mi pollo…..no bende no mata pollo que Dios quere vivir…yo cria para gallo no mata nunca”. *Informacion sumaria*, f. 46r. To that declaration the Judge added: “fuele buelto a leer este su dicho y dijo si asi esta bueno y repreguntado sobre lo mismo varias y diversas veces siempre repitio la misma forma de palabras y el dicho sehor canonigo y juez comissario desta causa para que se admire la fuerca de la verdad en la rudeca de un negro bocal y barbaro mando que la declaracion se ponga en la
incorporation into urban culture and determined in turn by the position that they occupied by them within the hierarchy of the Meléndez household. Mariana de la Cruz and her daughter Rosa served and slept close to their mistresses. They shared the same practices, language and religiosity. Even though Mariana was the illegitimate child of a mulatto and a black slave, her background and incorporation into urban Spanish culture was emphasized to consider her declaration more reliable than that of Juan Popo, whose bozal condition was feared by all the women in the house, regardless of their race and status.  

Thus, in the 1678 Información, Fray Juan Meléndez made for Vicente Vernedo a devotion of black slaves, whose incorporation into Spanish urban life appeared as the first and most important of his miracles. However, Fray Juan was actually part of a larger trend of Dominican appreciation of black Catholicism, showing how intertwined the Spanish and African-free and enslaved-population of Los Reyes were already.

During the 1660s, the Order sought the beatification cause of the mulatto Martín de Porres, whose first biography published by the Limenian Dominican Bernardo de Medina in

forma que queda dicho y en ella se afirma y ratifica las veses que se la leyeron para ver si tenia que decir alguna cosa mas….y no supo decir su edad, parescio en el aspecto de veinte y seis anos a veinte y ocho anos y no firmo porque dijo no saber y se le pregunto quien le avia ensenado lo que avia dicho y dijo: 'a mi no ensena nadie, yo mira, yo deci, nadie deci a mi nada y esto es la verdad’” Información sumaria, f. 46r.

838 “…el negro era un leon de condicion y fieresa, soberbio, renegado, incapaz y sin discurso, ni racon y que no seria muy facil sujetarlo y reducirlo…” Información sumaria, f. 32v. “Popo” was one of several ethnic identities (casta nomenclature) imposed on bozal slaves in colonial Peru. See Jouvé Martín, Esclavos de la Ciudad Letrada, 45.

839 The women of the Meléndez household prayed to Vernedo: “pidiendo que amaynase la condicion del Negro [Juan Popo]”. Información sumaria, f. 32v.

840 In 1681, when Meléndez published his chronicle the population of African descent in Lima outnumbered the Spanish population in a ratio of 5 to 1. Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, II, 218.
1663, was summarized by Meléndez in his chronicle almost twenty years later.\textsuperscript{841} Porres, who died in 1639, was in life already a legend in Los Reyes because of the healing powers attributed to his hands, which gained for the humble mulatto the favor and affection of important religious authorities in the city like Bishop Feliciano de Vega - supposedly healed from an acute “pain on his side”- and Archbishop Hernando Arias de Ugarte.\textsuperscript{842} Rodrigo Meléndez, father of Fray Juan, also experienced the miraculous healing of a swollen limb. The Información of 1678 reveals how institutional religiosity that was enforced by the colonial Church acknowledged and promoted the assimilation of blacks into urban colonial life through religious practices, as the Dominican Order did with Porres. If Meléndez followed the trend of promoting the assimilation of Christian blacks into Spanish urban culture, he also put his family at the center of the beatification process of Vernedo. Even though the testimonies of his siblings appeared as certifications of those of the slaves, Father Meléndez presented his family as the embodiment of Catholic virtues and as good masters, responsible for transmitting their newly acquired devotion to their slaves.

The never-achieved missionary work of Vicente Vernedo in the Upper Peruvian colonial frontier was conveniently forgotten by the biographer and instead Vernedo was progressively invested with power over urban popular piety, an aspect of his life that proved to be socially more useful in a new conversion frontier, that of the domestic slaves.

\textsuperscript{841} Bernardo de Medina, Vida Prodigiosa del Venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Martín de Porres (Lima: Juan Quevedo y Zárate, 1663).

\textsuperscript{842} José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, San Martín de Porras (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú 1992), 200-201, 254.
inside the capital of colonial Catholicism in South America. To make him a popular saint, Vernedo’s intellectual achievements were put aside by his chronicler. It seems that Father Vernedo could have had a career as theologian, as was briefly mentioned in the 1675 hagiography and the 1678 Información. By the time he died, he was about to move back to Lima and publish two theological treatises on the work of Aquinas. Instead of elaborating on Vernedo’s theological skills, Fray Juan Meléndez emphasized the miraculous power of the handwriting, placing the material evidence of his life—the relic aspect of it—over his thoughts or scholarly legacy. Apparently, neither Vernedo’s Scholastic ideas nor his spirituality were thought to be as appealing in Lima as the power attributed to his physicality, as was evident in the miraculous doing of his handwriting, once put in contact with the ailing body of Doña Teodora Meléndez, sister of the chronicler. In a profoundly baroque culture, it was the sensorial aspects of the relics side of sainthood that was first venerated. Even the viceroy Count of Santisteban and his wife showed interest when the fingers cut from Vernedo’s body were placed in their vice-regal hands.

843 In a memorial presented to the Council of the Indies in 1680, Fray Juan Meléndez, explicitly deprived Vernedo from missionary achievements among the native heathen to privilege his “pious doings” in Catholic cities: “...montanas asperas y parages incultos, que estavan llenos de infieles, que eran peores que fieras, y en los pueblos Catholicos, fundava las cofradias del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús y del Rosario de su Purísima Madre...” Fray Juan Meléndez, Memorial al Rey (Madrid, 1680), f. 1v.

844 “siendo este testigo regente de los estudios del colegio de Santo Tomas de esta ciudad y aviendo mandado la obediencia de escribir la vida del dicho venerable siervo de Dios el padre maestro fray Vicente Vernedo solicito aver a las manos quantos papeles se pudieron hallar para dicho efecto entre los quales tubo una carta de letra y firma de dicho siervo de Dios la qual conocio ser suya por averla cotejado especialmente con dos libros que dejo escritos y compuestos de su misma letra el uno sobre la primera parte del angelico doctor Santo Tomas y otro sobre la secunda secunde del mismo santo doctor que paran en poder deste testigo y llebando consigo la dicha carta....” Información sumaria, f. 49r.

845 Fray Gerónimo de Andrade declared in 1678: “...que con occion de aver ido a visitar al dicho senor virrey conde de Santisteban como prelado que era este testigo de la casa de Santa Maria Magdalena....y tratado dicho senor virrey del dicho siervo de Dios con afectos y debocion grande....solicito al padre
In a later hagiographic work published in Rome in 1682, the *Vida del venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Juan Masias, religioso lego del Orden de Predicadores, hijo de la gran provincia de San Juan Bautista del Perú* on the life of his fellow Dominican Fray Juan Masías, Meléndez again emphasized the simplicity of religious life and various aspects of piety which enforced the idea that a Christian republic was first and foremost a community in which spiritual values at the core of a humble monastic life should be practiced. Masías, another exemplary friar within the Dominican convent in seventeenth-century Lima, was presented to the European readership of the 1680s as a candidate for sainthood whose merits resided more with his daily fasting and acts of mortification than with his theological prowess or conversion achievements among the indigenous population. However, it is worth pointing out that the emphasis on spiritual life was not new among Dominicans. Meléndez followed a hagiographic model already established since the fifteenth century to stress spirituality when promoting Dominican saints. This aspect, as Coakley contends, even prevailed over other components of the *vitae* related to the supernatural. This emphasis has to be considered as well in the context of the Counter-Reformation, when according to the Aristotelian-Thomist concept of “heroic degree of virtue” good and exemplary deeds were demanded from candidates to

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846 Fray Juan Meléndez, *Vida del venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Juan Masias, religioso lego del Orden de Predicadores, hijo de la gran provincia de San Juan Bautista del Perú* (Roma: Nicolás Angel Tinasio, 1682).

sainthood. Once the chronicler complied with that demand, he inserted supernatural episodes in his hagiographies in order to emphasize the relationship between the saint and the local issues, black religiosity and the quality of his lineage’s Catholicism. Even the control of social turmoil was attributed to Father Vernedo’s prophetic powers, after colonial authorities were able to contain a rebellion afflicting the mining area of Potosí in the early 1620s, three years after his death but certainly Meléndez did not elaborate upon any version of Anti-Machiavellianism after it.

By the time *Vida del venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Juan Masías* was published (1682), creole religiosity and sainthood had become the main concerns of Peruvian religious scholarship; if at all, political expectations of creole scholars were expressed through these concerns. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the main argument for Fray Juan Masías’s beatification was built upon the idea of Lima being a city already with one saint (Saint Rose of Lima, 1671) and one beatified candidate to sainthood (Francis Solano, 1675). The importance of urban piety in the sacred city would be stressed in the miracles attributed to Masías, all involving members of the aristocracy of the city.

The first was the healing of leper in the hands of Doña Ventura Malo de Molina y Aliaga,

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848 Burke has established five criteria leading to a successful canonization and the supernatural aspects are just one among them. See Peter Burke, “How to be a Counter-reformation Saint,” in Kaspar von Greyerz, ed. *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (London: George Allen and Unwin/The German Historical Institute, 1984), 47, 50-51.

849 “No fue menos temerosa para la villa de Potosí la peste de los Vicuñas...hombres levantados que pusieron a pique de perderse toda la tierra de arriba con sus insultos, y libertades y años antes que viniese la dixo el siervo de Dios [Vernedo], assegurando que no avían de quietarsse, por diligencias, que para ello le hiziesen hasta pasados tres años y todo se vio cumplido como el profetizó.” Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos*, t. I, 605-606. On the rebelión of the “vicuñas y vascongados” see Bernd Hausberger, “Paisanos, soldados y bandidos: la guerra entre los vicuñas y los vascongados en Potosí (1622-1625),” in Nikolaus Bottcher, Isabel Galaor and Bernd Hausberger, eds., *Los buenos, los malos y los feos. Poder y resistencia en América Latina* (Frankfurt/Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2005), 283-308.

850 Meléndez, *Vida del venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Juan Masías*, 3.
who saw her skin growing healthy while praying before the portrait of Fray Juan Masías. A less impressive miracle -but one that connected many familiar characters and agendas in the city- was that of the vision which Father Masías had that Fray Buenaventura de Salinas would be appointed Franciscan Commissary of New Spain and not Bishop in Peru, as revealed to his devout sister Doña Isabel de Córdova, whose donations and prayers aimed at bringing her brother back to Lima as prelate.\footnote{851 “Don Josef de Cázeres y Doña Isabel de Córdova su muger fueron muy aficionados y bienhechores del siervo de Dios Fray Juan…Rogavanle al siervo de Dios que le pidisse a nuestro senor que le hiciessen Obispo en aquel reyno y el respondio: ‘Obispo no sera otra cosa le daran’. Instole ella en una occasion, que le suplicasse a Dios que bolvissese por Obispo y quedando suspenso por un rato….dijo…”vaya su merced que sera comissario de México”’. Meléndez, \textit{Vida del venerable Siervo de Dios Fray Juan Masías}, 218, 429.}

As the age of \textit{memoriales}, religious chronicles and hagiographies was coming to an end and the modern era advanced over the remains of the Renaissance, notions of the sacred were changing within the Spanish Empire, a phenomenon that has been defined as the “acknowledgement of the authenticity of the secular.”\footnote{852 Exemplified for instance in the work and personality of Galileo. For Rabb, this new attitude of affirmation of the secular also led to the control of the emotions and the emphasis in stable, impersonal structures. See Theodore K. Rabb, \textit{The Last Days of the Renaissance and the March to Modernity} (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 86, 115-116.} Fray Juan Meléndez would soon find that a Peruvian colonial Catholicism, based on the identity between colonial corporations and creole elites, along with the myth of the sacramental union between the Spanish Crown and its trans-Atlantic possessions were neither celebrated nor understood out of the realm of \textit{Mysterium Hispania}.\footnote{853 The concept comes from a seventeenth-century Limenian sermon in which the author explained how the union of the dynasty and the Church made Spain a particularly solid nation. See Francisco de Palma Fajardo, \textit{Cristo Sacramentado figurado en la bendición que dio Iacob al Patriarca Aser}, (Sevilla: Francisco Ignacio, 1654). For a good explanation on how the Habsburg dynasty identified with the Holy Sacrament and therefore with its other mystical body, the Church, see Paul Kleber-Monod, \textit{The Power of Kings, Monarchy and Religion in Europe 1589-1715} (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 54.}
or the link between friars and local lineages was less pronounced, such an approach to religion and sainthood was found odd and more often than not ridiculed. In Madrid in 1680, Fray Juan obtained the approval of the pious Charles II and the Council of the Indies to introduce the process of beatification of Fray Vicente Vernedo in the Roman Rota.\textsuperscript{854} However, once in Rome Meléndez found an incredulous atmosphere for his baroque accounts of miracles. One of his acquaintances at the papal court was the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador before the Holy See, Don Juan Vélez de León. After an initial friendly rapport between both individuals, Vélez de León felt offended by Meléndez’s manners at a luncheon and decided to make the creole Dominican the center of a set of burlesque poems that circulated in Rome and Naples, making fun of the content of Meléndez’s chronicle.

Not surprisingly, the story of the black slave and the resuscitated chicken was at the center of a particularly aggressive sonnet composed by Vélez de León, in which the Spanish diplomat made fun of Fray Juan’s proctorship, writing skills and intellectual background.\textsuperscript{855} It is not clear to what extent this satirical poetry damaged the credibility

\textsuperscript{854} Fray Juan Meléndez, \textit{Memorial al Rey} (Madrid, 1680), 2 folios. See also Alvarez Perca, “P. Juan Meléndez Ramírez,” 239-240. The simplistic image of Vernedo as presented by Meléndez appealed to madrileño courtiers too. The King enthusiastically approved the request of the creole Dominican proctor: “…por parte de fray Juan Meléndez de la orden de Predicadores Procurador general de…y especialmente diputado para las causas de beatificacion y canonizacion del siervo de Dios fray Vicente Vernedo de la misma orden, natural del reyno…me a suplicado sea servido de recivirla devajo de mi proteccion ynterponiendome con Su Santidad para que conceda sus letras remisoriales…” MAEC, Leg. 128, Letter of the King to the Marquis of Carpio (Madrid, April 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1680).

\textsuperscript{855} Vélez de León originally praised Meléndez’ work and one of his sonnets actually opened the second volume of the chronicle printed in 1682. The poems -about ten- attacking Meléndez are part of an anonymous collection of satiric poetry kept at the National Library in Madrid. The published poem of 1682 -also existing as manuscript at the BNM- allowed me to identify the author as Vélez de León. BNM, Mss. 2100, f. 97v. The following is the piece specifically making fun of Meléndez’s chronicle:

“Al mismo. Soneto M.

Una bestia de las Indias, en casi un día
of Father Meléndez in Rome and the beatification of Vernedo, but in spite of having been accepted at the *Rota*, the canonization process of the humble Dominican never succeeded. Not even the generous funding of the Potosí *cabildo* sufficed to convince Roman authorities of the importance of his beatification; consequentially, Vernedo remained a completely forgotten character of colonial days.\textsuperscript{856} Other Dominican saints did not reach the altar during that period either. The canonizations of the mulatto Martín de Porres and Fray Juan Masías -also one of Meléndez’s candidates- took place in the second half of the twentieth century, in a context in which the Catholic Church was particularly interested in approaching popular religion in Latin America.

Father Meléndez must have left Rome with mixed feelings. He had succeeded at a personal level as a scholar but failed as a proctor, a situation particularly painful for him,

\begin{quote}
Tres monstruos nos pario, con mil a gatas
Sonetos monos, llenos bien de patas
Juanetes, callos y pedantería.

Esta, eres tu, fray Juan; que quien podias
Darnos las nezedades tan baratas?
Pobre de la regencia, si la tratas
Como sueles la historia, y la poesia!

Tienes talentos, pero en los talegos:
Tienes caveza, pero sin meollos:
Pluma tambien, pero de grajos finos.

Deja pues ia de hazer versos tan legos,
Y escrive solo historias de los pollos,
Que te alaben, y compren los pollinos.

Adviertese, que este penultimo verso, es alu
Sivo a un quento ridiculo de cierto mi
Lagro de pollos, que introduce en lo mas serio de su historia.”
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{856} In a later sonnet Vélez de León, secretary to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, was very harsh on the Dominican chronicler, making emphasis on the poor quality of Meléndez’s history, printed solely because of the silver of Spanish American donors: “Meléndez soy, que naci en Lima, y muy mal limada tengo una historia, comprada con plata del Potosi.” BNM, Mss 2100, f. 99r.
considering that three years before his arrival in Rome in 1679 another Limenian saint had reached the altars. When Fray Juan met Francisco de Montalvo, a Spanish cleric hired by the Archdiocese of Lima as proctor for the canonization cause of the late archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo, successfully beatified in 1676, Meléndez was convinced that it was a propitious moment for Spanish sainthood. However, Fray Juan was pushing for a weaker candidate; the fact that religious milieus in Rome made fun of the shortcomings of Vernedo’s profile did not help. Miracles in the domestic realm were not as appealing as the trajectory of a noble archbishop who died with an impressive record of sacraments administered all over the viceroyalty and the significant achievement of having baptized Rose of Lima. In 1682, when Father Meléndez was working on his hagiography for Masias and his chronicle of the Dominican Order, Montalvo was finishing his biography of the famous Archbishop Mogrovejo, published also in Rome the following year. See Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, *El Sol del Nuevo Mundo: ideado y compuesto en las esclarecidas operaciones del bienaventurado Toribio arzobispo de Lima...y ofrecido al excellentissimo...Duque de la Palata* (Roma: Imprenta de Ángel Bernavó, 1683). According to Riva-Agüero, Montalvo and Meléndez shared information and the latter might have borrowed Montalvo’s description of Lima in his *El Sol del Nuevo Mundo*. See Riva-Agüero, *La Historia en el Peru*, 256.

Mogrovejo’s canonization, pushed by the powerful cathedral chapter of Lima, certainly stressed the tradition of sainthood and Castilian Catholicism that Mogrovejo helped to enforce and consolidate in Peru right after the end of the civil wars among conquistadors. That solid Catholicism shaped after the most Old Christian tradition bloomed in the first generation of Spanish Peruvians to which Rose belonged, as shown in the engraving in the hagiography written by Montalvo (Illustration No. 8). The beatifications of Solano and Mogrovejo, the canonization of Rose and the defeat of Vicente Vernedo in the Roman *Rota* tell a story of the trends in the conception of Counter-Reformation sainthood both in Lima and Rome. As Peter Burke has pointed out, taken as part of a social history of perception, sainthood helps one to
Illustration No. 8

Archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo baptizes the future Saint Rose of Lima

understand society during the lifetime of the saint or, like in these cases, the saint helps understand the time in which the canonization took place, or not.  

6.4.2 Las Casas Disowned: Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias (1681-1682)

“...de la familia dominicana saliese mas a vencer que a competir la siempre laureada mano del autor, con que podran alegar no sus religiones, si sus historias mas antiguas.”

Before leaving the papal court in 1684, Fray Juan Meléndez supervised the remittance to Lima of several boxes containing the three volumes of his history of the Dominican Order in Peru printed in Rome with the blessing of the General of his Order, the Mexican creole, Fray Antonio de Monrroy. Despite the fact that he had failed as proctor for the beatification cause of Father Vicente Vernedo and his Dominican chronicle had been despised, at a personal level Father Meléndez had achieved what no other colonial religious chronicler had previously. He had published in Rome his own

858 Burke, “How to be a Counter-reformation saint,” 49.

859 Fray Antonio de Monrroy, Father General of the Dominican Order in Juan Fray Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias. Historia de la Provincia de San Juan Baptista del Perú del Orden de Predicadores por el padre maestro Fray Juan Meléndez, natural de Lima, hijo de la misma Provincia y su Coronista (Roma: Imprenta de Nicolás Angel Tinasio, 1681, Vol. I), Introduction.

860 The satire of Vélez de León gives notice of the number of books sent to Lima from Rome in 1684:

“Pero seiscientos cavales cuerpos, a las Indias van;  
Y al menos los comprarán  
Algunos indios bozales.  
Mas si fueren tan fatales,  
Que de ellos no saco un real,  
Los dare a mi provincial para que se limpie el ravo.  
Yo me soy ingenio bravo  
Yo me lo escrivo y yo me lo alavo.”  
BMN, Mss. 2100, f. 100r.
work in Rome with the financial support and institutional endorsement of his Order, and even secured for the endeavor important private funding. Most importantly, as a creole from a rather humble social background, he had through his intellectual work promoted his lineage as the embodiment of a perfect Catholicism, possible only in the Spanish colonial dominions. Finally, as a Dominican, he had stressed the importance of religious corporations as safeguards of colonial Catholicism, which had produced crisp examples of heroic sainthood for the glory of the Spanish Crown. Meléndez thought he had not only offered real treasures (Tesoros Verdaderos) for the coffers of the Crown, but also silenced the enemies of Spain with a final word on the controversial message of Bartolomé de las Casas.

Meléndez’s Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias is a full-fledged institutional religious chronicle, with books and chapters organized according to the succession of Provincials of the Peruvian Dominican Province since its creation in the sixteenth century. Historical episodes that are unrelated to the Order’s history are very few; thus and the author only allowed himself to revise colonial history only when dealing with episodes in which the role of his Order as aide to the Crown was not that clear. Selected

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861 Meléndez stated in the introduction to the first volume of his chronicle that his interest in institutional aspects aimed at responding to other religious chroniclers who had challenged Dominican seniority in the Andean area. Yet, it seems the Order had lost interest in an institutional history already by the mid-seventeenth century, since Fray Juan mentioned the failed effort of three chroniclers before him: Fray Juan de Vargas Machuca, officially appointed but died before completing a manuscript. Two other candidates tried to succeed Vargas Machuca: Fray Fernando de Herrera and Fray Francisco Galindo. Meléndez used and quoted several Dominican authors, some of them published and others that we only know about because of his chronicle. Riva-Agüero argued that Fray Juan could have known the late sixteenth-century chronicle of Fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga, Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile and two seventeenth-century Dominican chroniclers mentioned in the Informe y Memorial of Fray Antonio González de Acuña: the manuscripts of Fray Pedro de Loaysa y Fray Antonio de Luque. See Riva-Agüero, La Historia en el Perú, 256. Meléndez also used part of Fray Bernardo de Medina’s hagiography on Martín de Porres (1663). It is very unlikely that Meléndez read Lizárraga, whose manuscript was discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century. See Franklin Pease G.Y., Las Crónicas y los Andes (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú-Instituto Riva-Agüero/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995), 48.
episodes of Inca history deserved the chronicler’s attention as long as they led to a cautious assessment of the political role of Father Vicente de Valverde in the capture of Inca Atahualpa. By the same token, the Dutch threat in the Pacific waters and a miner’s rebellion in the Potosí region during the 1620s mattered to the chronicler as far as these events allowed him to delve into Dominican urban sainthood and its supernatural manifestations; yet interestingly enough, it is in this topic that Meléndez’s debt to the discourse on Catholic statecraft is evident. My analysis of the chronicle of Father Meléndez will focus on the political message of episodes of Dominican sainthood that constituted turning points in his historical narrative. However, I will start by analyzing the theoretical premise of Meléndez’s history in order to read it as a defense of creole urban religiosity. This premise was his radical disownment of Las Casas’s legacy. Elimination of Las Casas and his critique of Spanish colonialism allowed Father Meléndez to present the Dominican Order as a religious corporation that -instead of building a missionary emporium for the sake of the indigenous Andean population- chose to nurture Spanish sainthood, an axis of the historical identity of the Spanish community in America and a true pillar in the consolidation of the global power of the Spanish monarchy.

In his prologue to the first volume of *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias*, Fray Antonio de Monrroy, Father General of the Dominican Order, pointed out that Meléndez’s work aimed at unveiling the historical truth, which had been damaged by old and new errors. The most notorious error for Father Monrroy was the injury done to the honor of the Spanish nation by the publication of the *Brevisima Destrucción de las Indias* (Seville, 1552), a *memorial* falsely attributed to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. For
Monrroy the work of Meléndez had restored the honor of the Spanish nation and confirmed what he already had known for years; that the *Brevísima* had been written by enemies of Spain using Las Casas’s name and published in Lyon, France, not Seville.\(^{862}\)

Monrroy used Meléndez’s cautious position before Las Casas to draw a definite line between the Order and the bishop of Chiapas, telling how in Zaragoza he had met a French gentleman by the name of Francisco de Luceu who was serving in the Spanish army as a French *emigré*.\(^{863}\) On their way to Italy as members of the retinue of a Spanish general, Luceu, the young Antonio de Monrroy and several other Spaniards were hosted by the Dominican convent of Zaragoza, where one night in the middle of a discussion on history and the destiny of the Spanish Empire Luceu told the audience that he was aware of the damage done to the reputation of the Spanish nation by a *memorial* falsely attributed to Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Monsieur Luceu recalled seeing the manuscript of the *Brevísima Relación* written by a Frenchman in his father’s library. He

\(^{862}\) “Llegamos a Zaragoça y aposentandonos en el convento de Predicadores, concurrieron los religiosos mas doctos y graves a cortejar a los huéspedes y después de la cena se introdujo una Academia Historica en la qual dijo monsiur [sic] de Luceu que no se admiraba tanto de la omision de nuestros historiadores en referir las hazanas heroicas de los varones grandes que hicieron de una montana una monarchia, quanto a que no impugnasen a los que se valian de sus mismo nombres para acreditar sus novelas, en el descredito comun de la nacion. ‘Siendo yo estudiante (prosiguió) vi en casa de mi padre el original manuscripto del Memorial, que con nombre del obispo de Chiapas, corre impresso en todas lenguas, para que en todas ellas le maldigan los espanoles, que tan execrandas maldades, como las que en el se inventan, y se les atribuyen, cometieron en las conquistas del nuevo mundo. Este libro (dixo) lo compuso un francés y traduciendole en espanol se imprimio la primero vez en León de Francia con título de impresso en Sevilla…para que todo fuese falso, el nombre del autor, la sustancia de la obra, y la impression de la ciudad’…” Fray Antonio de Monrroy in Meléndez, *Introducción*.

\(^{863}\) Even though Meléndez discussed various aspects of Las Casas’s life, he accepted that Las Casas was the author of the *Brevísima*. Yet, Fray Juan emphasized that the book did not deal with Peru or the Dominican Order at all—as Antonio de la Calancha had stated in his *Coronica Moralizada* (1638)—and therefore could not be considered a valid source: “…las querellas que presento al señor emperador en su memorial nuestro venerable obispo Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas que intitulo *Destrución de las Indias* y que para probar su intento tantas veces repite el padre maestro [Calancha] en su *Historia Moralizada*. …fuera de que el Santo Obispo no hablo en aquel memorial tanto de las provincias y partes de nuestro Peru donde estuvo solo al principio y por brevisimo tiempo como de la Isla Española…” Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos*, Vol. I, 248.
would realize years later, when he was already in the service of the Spanish Crown, that the _Brevísima Relación_ attributed to Las Casas was a forgery, produced to hurt the image of the Spanish monarchy.  

What was the genesis of this story as told by the General of the Dominicans? And what was its purpose? In order to answer these questions, we need to look at the European context during the seventeenth century and the role of Spain in it. The European propaganda against the Spanish monarchy -what will later in time be known as the Black Legend- made privileged use of the _Brevísima Relación_ to warn the European readership of the tyranny of Spain over non-Spanish peoples and even the doctrinal errors of Catholicism. The first foreign editions of Las Casas, associated with political opposition to Spain appeared in the late sixteenth century (Antwerp, 1578; Paris, 1582; Amsterdam 1596 and London, 1583 and 1598); yet it would be the seventeenth century that witnessed the era of massive European editions of the _Brevísima_. Two moments and countries can be distinguished in the production of continental editions of the _Brevísima_, coinciding with peaks of European conflict in which Spain was seen as the enemy: the Netherlands at the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War (the early 1620s) and Italy during the moment of conflict with France, coinciding also with the pontificate of Urban VIII. In this Italian conjuncture (mid-1630s to mid-1640s), Venice -allied with the Valois dynasty- joined in with the anti-Spanish propaganda. Amsterdam had six editions of

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864 By mid-seventeenth century, Las Casas’s _Brevísima Relación_ had been included in the first Spanish Edition of the complete Works of Fray Bartolomé that coincided with the time in which Monroy met the French captain in Zaragoza during the years of the Catalanon revolt. See Bartolomé de Las Casas, _Las obras del obispo D. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas o Casaus, obispo que fue de la ciudad real de Chiapas, en las Indias, de la Orden de Santo Domingo_ (Barcelona: Antonio Lacavalleria, 1646).

865 During the mid 1620s -the context of the Dutch editions- the Spanish troops in Flanders and the Low Countries were successful. The peak would be the rendition of Brede in 1625. Starting in 1627, with the
the *Brevísima Relación* (1610, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623 and 1638) and Venice, five (1626, 1630, 1636, 1640 and 1643). In seventeenth-century France, there were three editions (1630, 1642 and 1697) and four in England (London 1625, 1656, 1689 and 1699).\(^{866}\) So, Father Monrroy’s emphasis on the forgery of the most popular source of the Spanish conquest has to be read *vis à vis* the proliferation of seventeenth-century foreign *lascasianismo* which progressively became unpopular among Spaniards but especially abhorred by creoles.

Considering that the first Spanish edition of Fray Bartolomé’s complete works (Barcelona, 1646) included the *Brevísima* as part of the canon, it seems that the existence of the famous treatise and its ideological appropriation by non-Spaniards in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world was more painful and mattered more to Spanish American creoles than it actually did to *peninsulares*. That version of *lascasianismo* - Las Casas read through the lens of seventeenth-century political opposition to Spain-undermined the national pride and identity of creoles, making them the bastards of the Spanish Crown and the direct descendants of the looters and murderers of the times of the Conquest; yet more importantly, the questioning of Spanish legitimate rule over the Indies undermined creole political entitlement. Rolena Adorno has recently pointed out that the writings of Las Casas should be understood more as the history of the questioning of colonialism than as the last word in the debates on this issue. The anti-

Spanish propaganda, based on the seventeenth-century revival of the *Brevísima*, read Las

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\(^{866}\) Account based on the editions of the *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* which is kept at the John Carter Brown Library, the Biblioteque Nationale de France; the English translations can be found on Early English Books Online (EEBO).
Casas as the ultimate word on colonialism and tyranny. This was an assumption fiercely fought by creole religious scholars for whom the issue of colonialism simply did not exist since the Spanish kingdoms on the other side of the Atlantic were legitimate and constitutive parts of the composite monarchy and their subjects embodied the cultural and political virtues of the Spanish nation.\textsuperscript{867} In Rome in 1681, Fathers Monroy and Meléndez, both creoles and Dominicans, responded to the seventeenth-century version of the Black Legend and disowned a \textit{lascasianismo} that the members of the urban colonial elites and the colonial Church did not see as part of their intellectual tradition but rather as a threat to their notion of a global Spanish nation and their position within the Spanish Empire.\textsuperscript{868} Roughly two hundred years before the Black Legend appeared in Europe, colonial Spanish American Dominican scholars opposed Las Casas for more powerful reasons than only the sense of patriotic pride that characterized the Spanish reaction at the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{869} Creole rejection of Las Casas in the seventeenth century

\textsuperscript{867} Adorno contends that the questioning of colonialism continued throughout the Colonial period with somewhat veiled intensity in writings intended to influence royal policies and in works of historical interpretation. See Rolena Adorno, \textit{The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative} (Yale and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 124. Creole religious discourse of the period discussed and opposed the notion that Spain was a colonial empire and chose to privilege the political space that a composite monarchy offered to trans-Atlantic kingdoms.

\textsuperscript{868} Meléndez stated in the fifth chapter of his chronicle that Las Casas never took possession of the bishopric of Chiapas and ultimately resigned. Fray Juan also discussed Garcilaso’s statement that he had met Fray Bartolomé in Spain. Regarding that, Meléndez concluded that if the meeting ever took place Las Casas could have not said anything of importance about Peru since he never visited the Andean area. He left opened the possibility of Las Casas visiting other parts of South America, generally understood then as “Peru”. Meléndez, \textit{Tesoros Verdaderos}, I, 33. An early creole reaction against Las Casas in Spanish America was the attack on the work of the Dominican Antonio de Remesal by both creole elites and Spanish officials in early seventeenth-century Guatemala. Even in the peripheral colonial territory of the \textit{Audiencia} of Guatemala, Las Casas’s legacy -in spite of being mostly Remesal’s advocacy for lascasianismo- was considered problematic. See Castro, \textit{Another Face of Empire}, 158-160. Needless to say, the Peruvian Dominicans were never much attracted to their fellow friar either.

\textsuperscript{869} The Golden Legend would have been a reaction to the Spanish American War of 1898. See Castro, \textit{Another Face of Empire}, 171.
was not a matter of cultural pride in the form of a reaction to the nineteenth-century
Black Legend, but a matter of national identity and political legitimacy.

Once the line between creole Dominican scholarship and Las Casas was drawn, Father Meléndez proceeded to revisit the historical image of the founder of the Peruvian Dominican province and first bishop of Cuzco, Fray Vicente de Valverde, the main victim of lascasianista criticism. As a member of a different generation, Fray Juan did not know of the Historia de los Reinos y Provincia del Perú by Father Giovanni Oliva (1630) nor of the Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana by Fray Diego de Córdova (1650), earlier versions of colonial history that revisited the role of Valverde in the Conquest of Peru; both had circulated as manuscripts in Lima and debated Valverde’s role in 1532. Instead, Meléndez became engaged in a discussion with Garcilaso de las Vega’s Comentarios Reales de los Incas (1609). The latter, in his stance on Valverde, followed Blas Valera yet used this source in a milder way than did Oliva. 870 Meléndez’s version of the encounter of Cajamarca described a much civilized dialogue between Valverde and Inca Atahualpa, one in which the former delivered a message of peace and theological depth that not only was welcomed but piqued the native ruler’s curiosity. Atahualpa, after listening with interest to Valverde’s reasoning, replied that he had never heard of any other God than the Sun God and of any other monarch than himself; still, he admitted being intrigued. Then, the Inca demanded from the Dominican priest an explanation on how was it that a religious truth, and above all the donation of his empire to the Spanish Crown, could rest on the sole authority of the Pope? When Father Valverde was about to explain the legal and theological foundations of the Pope’s

870 “Pero el inca Garcilazo en sus Comentarios Reales, segunda parte, libro primero, capítulo veinte y dos hasta el veinte y seis lo quenta…y dice que lo saco de los fragmentos del Padre Blas de Valera de la inclita religión de la Compania de Jesus que vinieron a sus manos…” Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. I, 40.
authority, the dialogue was abruptly interrupted by a clash between Spanish soldiers and Indians over the looting of an idol’s altar.\textsuperscript{871}  

Such a sugar-coated account of Valverde’s role in Cajamarca left open two possible interpretations on what would have been Atahualpa’s reaction to Valverde’s response. Either Atahualpa accepted the terms of the requerimiento or opposed it; however, instead of elaborating on any of these possibilities, Father Meléndez steered away from attributing any personal responsibility to the founder of his Order in Peru and instead stressed the cooperation and good reception of Inca Atahualpa. The implied possibility of Atahualpa’s acceptance of the requerimiento redeemed both characters from accusations of intolerance or violence, a position which radically opposed the version of the events provided by earlier soldier-chroniclers.\textsuperscript{872} A moral condemnation of the greed of the soldiers who acting against the Church’s mandate was clearly part of the message for the reader. Later in the chronicle, Fray Juan would complete the redemption of Father Valverde, emphasizing his fondness of the captive Inca and his efforts to send him to Spain after Atahualpa was accused of treason, the death of his brother Inca Huascar and even a plot to kill the Spaniards. Again, as in his narration of the Cajamarca events, Meléndez found a culprit in the ill-natured Indian interpreter Felipillo, who convinced Pizarro of the crimes committed by the native ruler. Thus, Pizarro was exonerated while the tragic Inca appeared as the victim not of the Spaniards but of his

\textsuperscript{871} Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. I, 38.

\textsuperscript{872} Patricia Seed has analyzed the political and cultural implications of the interview at Cajamarca, where language was used as a justification for imperialism. In turn, religion was the text and pretext. Even though a very interesting piece, the dialogue between sixteenth-century historical sources with Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, as the sole representatives of the many versions created during the seventeenth century, limits our understanding of the colonial discussion of 1532. See Patricia Seed, “Failing to Marvel, Atahualpa’s Encounter with the Word,” Latin American Research Review, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1991): 7-32.
own internal Andean rivalries.\textsuperscript{873} Both Garcilaso and Meléndez concurred in their condemnation of Felipillo as a bad interpreter.

Once the trauma of the Conquest and its problematic sources were left behind, the chronicler built an Anti-Machiavellian argumentation in praise of his Order that fit the agenda of the Orders and creole elites. Contrary to what the “heretic enemies of Spain” argued, the Conquest of America thus was not a result of the greed of the Catholic monarchs but of the expansion of the Catholic frontier.\textsuperscript{874} In order to achieve this repositioning, the Crown needed the effort and sacrifice of the religious corporations, which served the Crown like “armed squadrons of a Christian Republic that guaranteed the purity of faith and the welfare of the souls.”\textsuperscript{875} The reward for this important service would be the economic and political support of the Crown, evidenced in part in the creation of theology chairs at San Marcos University, mainly controlled by the Dominicans and the expenses related to a Marian cult sponsored by the Order. Also, the alms given by the Crown to the cult of Our Lady of the Rosary translated into the intercession of a miraculous image that had defended the viceroyalty twice from the attack of the Dutch fleet to Callao (1615) and Valdivia (1643). Considering the striking similarities, one might argue that Meléndez modeled this argument after Justus Lipsius’ \textit{Miracles of Our Lady of Halle}. The intercession of the Virgin and the subsequent Royal sponsorship of the Marian cult well served the political endeavors of Lima’s creole elite

\textsuperscript{873} \textit{Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos}, Vol. I, 39.

\textsuperscript{874} \textit{Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos}, Vol. I, 150.

\textsuperscript{875} \textit{Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos}, Vol. II, 66.
who were seeking royal funding for religious corporations, being the Dominican Order in this case.\footnote{The miracles attributed to the Virgin of the Rosary, the most important Dominican cult in colonial Lima, occurred after the Crown sponsored specific devotions related to the image and therefore acknowledged the patronage of the image by the Crown. During the reign of Phillip IV, the Dominican Order was granted two chairs of theology at San Marcos. One chair (Prima de Teologia) was established in April 1643 and was funded by the Royal Patronage. The second chair (Segunda de Víperas) was established in March 1658 and was endowed with a stipend of 937 pesos. Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. I, 70-74, 189-190.}

The link between Meléndez and Lipsius’s reflections on Christian ruling and political stability will come to the surface in the main episodes of the Dominican’s history, when the chronicler opposed creole Dominican sainthood to Dutch heresy. The main figures of the Order, Rose of Lima and Martín de Porres, served to support the idea that Spanish American Catholicism would be the ultimate fortress against the Dutch. In 1615, after attacking colonial ports along the Peruvian coast, the armada of Jan Spielberghen appeared before Callao. The archbishop ordered the adoration of the Holy Sacrament in every church of the city; Rose of Lima, in mystical rapture, knelt before the holy host and offered her life in martyrdom for the sake of peace and the redemption of heretics. The Dutch thereby were defeated and the chronicler explained the victory of the Spanish arms as a consequence of the purity and strength of creole faith.\footnote{Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. I, 360.} But the real peril was beyond enemy fleets; thus more than processions, prayers and conversions were needed to fight heresy. The most feared threat to the vice-regal court was ideological contagion, fortunately blocked by creole Dominican sainthood. The Dominican Order therefore would take charge of this social and theological affliction and defend the Christian republic.
It is in that sense that an episode first related by Martín de Porres’s biographer Bernardo de Medina in 1660 but developed later in the pages of Meléndez’s work must be understood.878 Living as a crypto-Lutheran in Los Reyes, a terminally-ill Dutch man was taken to the Hospital of Saint Andrew. In spite of his grave condition, the Lutheran refused to receive sacraments and participate in religious services to the horror and protest of the other patients. On the third day of his physical suffering, suddenly in the middle of the night, the blessed mulatto Martín de Porres appeared miraculously next to the dying Dutchman’s bed. After a peaceful conversation with the Dominican mulatto, the Lutheran received baptism and died reconciled with the Catholic Church.879 In Meléndez’s narrative, the micro-cosmos of the hospital replicated the Catholic civitas of the city. The crypto-Lutheran was received as a Catholic in a hospital for the Spanish population, but once his identity as a heretic was discovered his presence altered the order of ceremonies and ministration of sacraments within the institution, threatening the cosmos of a Catholic community which was preparing for its passage to eternal life and salvation. Only a miraculous intervention could reinstate the order of the hospital in the same way that the conversion of heretics could restore social order and heal the Catholic world. Meléndez’s narration of this episode in the life of the blessed Martín de Porres conveyed a clear message: religious dissention could be fought with conversion in order

878 Medina, San Martín de Porres, 203-204.

879 “Tomo el siervo de Dios a su cargo el convertirlo y tantas cosas le supo decir con tanto espíritu y fervor que cooperando la divina gracia moviendo eficazmente al enfermo se reduxo en aquel último trance de la vida a la verdadera Fe de la Santa Yglesia Católica Romana y reciviendo con devoción el bautismo, renació a la vida espiritual dexando la temporal para vivir en la eternal.” Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. I, 315.
to achieve social and political stability -the Lipsian consortium- as the doctrines of Catholic statecraft had taught.880

Yet, the political role of the Spanish American Church in relation to the Spanish throne was an edifice in the process of being built. Cadres of intellectuals were needed to occupy the place of advisors and arbitristas. Following the sound doctrine of Bishop Gaspar de Villarroel, Meléndez would emphasize the important role of bishops and religious authorities, in particular those belonging to the creole gentry of Lima who were true builders and enforcers of the alliance between the colonial Church and the Crown. Thus the lineage and patronage of Bishop Feliciano de Vega and the work of his brothers Fray Francisco and Fray Agustín de Vega, who ruled the Dominican convent and Province between 1606 and 1625, took several chapters of the second volume of the chronicle. In addition to his intellectual achievements and his control of the university, Don Feliciano ruled over the cathedral chapter for decades before his election as bishop. At the same time, his half-brothers consolidated their power over the Dominican Province as Priors and Father Provincials, turning the convent of the Rosary into a real center of culture and art in Los Reyes.881 The next generation of the influential Vega

880 Social cohesion of the Christian republic was a divine mandate as Justus Lipsius had pointed out in On Constancy: “God joins together those things which we through frailty and ignorance do separate and put asunder, and that he beholds families, towns and kingdoms not as things confused or distinguished but as one body and entire nature…” Lipsius, On Constancy, 108-109. And religion was the natural cement of the social body as Botero had said: “Religion and the honour of God is a matter so necessarie, and of such importance, that undoubtedlly it invitheth the greater number of men and negotiation, and the cities in which this kinde have had super-eminence, and reputation above the rest, does also excel in greatnesse.” Botero, The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities, 63-64.

881 Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. II, 76, 78, 86-87. As provincial (1606-1617) Fray Francisco de Vega initiated the compilation of historical documentation of the Order and requested the lives of various saintly creole Dominicans to be written. He completed the construction of the main cloister of the convent and its lavish decoration with a whole series of paintings on the life of Saint Dominic. Fray Agustín de Vega ruled the Order right after his brother (1617-1625) and was elected bishop of Paraguay, dying before taking possession of that diocese.
lineage, would be present in the chapters on the life of Fray Cipriano de Medina, nephew of the former three and also a member of the Order. Medina’s academic and pastoral achievements as Theologian at San Marcos and Bishop of Huamanga were stressed by the chronicler in order to point out the excellence of a religious career in the service of the Catholic Majesty. 882

In the biographies of Bishops Vega and Medina, we can find an extra layer of meaning which nicely served the personal agenda of Father Meléndez. Both Don Feliciano de Vega and Fray Cipriano de Medina were remembered as protectors of the mulatto Dominican brother, Martín de Porres. The emphasis on the connection between creole gentry and Limenian black Catholicism allowed the chronicler to pinpoint the importance of his own lineage through a vague mention of the devotion to Vicente Vernedo by the black slaves of the Meléndez family. It is worth saying that three years after the Información of 1678 was put together, Fray Juan Meléndez omitted all the miraculous facts attributed to Fray Vicente Vernedo regarding slaves in the pages of his Dominican chronicle. 883 Thus, the link between Dominican sainthood and the black population of Lima would shift from Father Vernedo and the devotion of black slaves to a less controversial topic: the life of the mulatto Martín de Porres. In spite of being black, Porres was a brother inside the Dominican convent and therefore a full-fledged member of the Order; thus his miraculous deeds would not cause mock and scorn as happened with those attributed to Father Vernedo. Furthermore, Porres’s biography in the chronicle would not inform the readers about the mulatto friar’s pastoral work among Lima’s


underclass; rather the biography related his connection to the gentry of creole citizens and his conversion of a foreign heretic.

Meléndez’s stress on institutional and political rather than popular and ethnic Catholicism in his Dominican chronicle might have been related to the censorship process of the original text. However, I think the shift aimed more at focusing the discussion on the politics of Dominican sainthood and the importance of the figure of Saint Rose of Lima for the Order and the city’s gentry, after the defeat of Fray Vicente Vernedo’s candidacy. In this context, we can understand why Meléndez shaved from his work the account of the miracle and dream of the little black child Rosa who was healed by the intercession of Vicente Vernedo so that he could stress the much orthodox mystical vision of the recently canonized Dominican tertiary. In the original plan of the chronicle, Rosita’s dream might have worked as a counterpart for the most elaborated mystical dream of Rose of Lima, linking prophetical episodes and creole sainthood but also blurring social gaps, thereby showing how the colonial Church had shaped a Catholic urban culture at the service of the Spanish Crown. In Rosita’s dream, a gentle friar heals a black child, conveying that the Dominican Order would take care of the religious formation and woes of the colonial plebe.

In Saint Rose’s dream, disguised as a mason, Jesus himself proposes to the creole saint and once Rose has fallen in love with her handsome suitor, she is given a few pieces of marble to be polished in order to be used in the construction. Rose fails to accomplish such an undertaking and Jesus appears to the Saint a second time, revealing his true identity. Rose apologizes for neglecting her work, only to be shown the vision of a great hall in which many women are polishing marble with tools wet from their own tears.
Christ tells the creole saint that she is not the only one chosen to be his wife nor is he asking for an easy task, rather one that involves hard labor and many woes. Rose notices the luxurious outfits worn by the other women and how, eventually, her own black and white Dominican habit turns into a costly gown made of gold fabric embroidered with precious gems. Then, Christ asks Rose to be his loyal wife forever and disappears in her dreams.\textsuperscript{884}

The interpretation given by Father Meléndez to this episode was that Rose, like her predecessor and also canonized Dominican tertiary Catherine of Siena, through a series of mystical visions and dreams, had married Christ and therefore perfected the union of the Dominican Order with God. Without doubt, the topic of the mystical marriage in Rose’s dream comes from the \textit{vita} of Saint Catherine; yet various elements in this episode could be traced back to others sources as well. In the work of the Franciscan brothers Salinas and Córdova, analyzed in chapter four we found prophetical episodes in which the future of the Spanish American Church was foreseen. In Córdova’s chronicle, in particular, a prophetical vision involving a Franciscan friar linked the Order with the political affairs of the Spanish Crown. These two sources could have been read by Meléndez. Nonetheless, the prophetical aspects in Rose’s dream could have had a non-canonical inspiration; therefore these elements needed to be handled with care since their orthodoxy might have been questioned, considering that she was not a professed nun but only a tertiary, albeit a canonized, one. Meléndez targeted this issue, pointing out that Rose had the gift of prophecy. Before introducing the reader to the version of the dream in 1681, Meléndez guaranteed the orthodoxy of Rose’s visions in general, stating that she

had shown in life the perfect blend of “prophecy and charity.” Since visions in religious narratives usually announced political changes and could be inspired by sources that were not very orthodox there was always the need to reshape their format or content.

Inspiration for the first version of Rose of Lima’s dream might have come from the context in which the saint lived, where heavenly visions and supernatural experiences were strongly encouraged. The wife of Rose’s protector -Doña María de Uzátegui, the owner of the house in which the saint lived and died- had a Jesuit confessor who had seen the Archangel Saint Michael several times and had been even shown his own death. The acquaintance of Rose and Father Diego Samaniego might have had an influence on the first version of the dream as told by Rose to her confessors, but we know only the final heterodoxy-free version of the Dominican chronicler. Apocryphal sources also seemed to have had an influence on the narration of the dream. Analyzing the theological implications of Saint Rose’s dream, Ramón Mujica has stated that the symbolism of the Christ/Mason’s delivering of stones to his bride was based on the concept of the Church as a celestial quarry, an elaboration of an early medieval source known as the Shepherd of Hermas. According to this early apocryphal text, the monk Hermas had several visions in which women and angels had revealed the process of building of the Early Christian Church. Mujica seems to indicate that Rose could have known about the

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885 Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. II, 396, 399. Rose predicted the passing of Doña María de Uzátegui’s confesor in Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1626. Father Diego de Samaniego was one of the flag-bearers of Jesuit’s missionary work among the indigenous population. When alive, Father Samaniego had “seen” several times the archangel Saint Michael, who foretold the Jesuit of his success among the heathen. See Oliva, Historia de los Reinos, 271-272.

886 On the life and visions of Father Diego de Samaniego, who died in Santa Cruz in 1626, see Oliva, Historia del Reino y Provincias, 271-272.

887 For the history of this early Christian source see Carolyn Osiek, Shepherd of Hermas: a Commentary, Helmut Koester ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999).
Shepherd of Hermas; still the possibility of Meléndez being more acquainted with such a source actually seems more feasible and makes more sense given his proposal of redemption, conversion and creole sainthood.\footnote{Ramón Mujica, Rosa Limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América, (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Banco Central de Reserva/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 227-229.} It is true that in Hermas, there is a character known as the “woman-church.” Even though this character transmitted messages from Heaven, she was not engaged in a mystical marriage with Christ.\footnote{Osiek, Shepherd, 16.} The notion of such a mystical marriage comes instead from the \textit{vita} of Saint Catherine, was not used by Meléndez to point out the importance of building the whole creole Church, but rather to emphasize the importance of the new “wife:” the Dominican Order.\footnote{On the loan of the mystical marriage of Saint Catherine as described in Bernardo de Capua’s Life of Saint Catherine of Siena, see See Ronald J. Morgan, \textit{Saints, Biographers and Creole Identity Formation in Colonial Spanish America} (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1998), PhD Dissertation, 149. Morgan thinks there is tremendous difference in the life of both Dominican nuns. While Rose’s participation on worldly affairs was almost non-existent, Catherine was involved in the war between Guelphs and Gibellins and the moving of the Papal See back to Rome. Morgan, \textit{Saints}, 152. The political use of Rose’s life by Meléndez is undeniable.} It is interesting to see that in Rose’s dream, even though the wife submits to the husband, the “woman-church” who takes a privileged position in the union.

Let us not forget that both Bishops Vega and Medina, who very close to Meléndez, had advocated for a creole Church that would be under the authority of the royal patronage but clearly the religious corporations still would have major leverage; moreover, the chronicler made clear through his whole work that the Dominican Order should be given the important political role as aide to the Crown. An analysis of the elements of Rose’s dream confirms this. The mystical marriage of Rose to Christ symbolized the subjection of the female principle of the subconscious -the self- to the...
principle male of the Spirit, like the creole saint to Christ and the Order to the Crown. Thus, if the general message of the dream was the completion of the edifice of the colonial Church, it also advanced the idea that creole Dominican sainthood was working on the construction of the Catholic república through redemption and conversion. The stones would symbolize the members of the Church, a still imperfect Spanish American Christendom in the process of becoming full-fledge Castilian Catholicism. Yet, the stones would obtain their final shape through holy water, already present in Hermas but muted into tears in Meléndez’s chronicle.891 Stones associated with water also relate to wisdom, the true knowledge that only the new Church had and was willing to offer to the Spanish state.892 Here, we can clearly see the link with the other statements on sainthood and conversion -as in the baptism of the Dutch heretic- that already was drawn in the work of Father Meléndez.

The political message of the dream of Saint Rose was that, through her mystical marriage to Christ, the new creole saint ratified the primacy of the Dominican Order in Peru. By becoming the cornerstone of the colonial Church, the Order was a leader into a new age of Spanish religiosity. Moreover, this religiosity was the perfection of urban religiosity and Castilian religious values in the civitas of Los Reyes, an issue of the utmost importance to creole Dominican scholars. Ramón Mujica has pinpointed a possible connection of the cult of Saint Rose with Andean culture and indigenous population, present in the episode of her mystical dream as narrated by Meléndez. For Mujica, the association of Christ and masonry relates to Rose’s childhood in the Andean

891 Osiek, Shepherd, 36, 238.

892 Chevalier, Dictionary of Symbols, 933, 939.
highlands east of Lima where her father was the manager of a sweatshop in the Andean town of Quives. Such a hypothesis is based on the fact that one of the witnesses of Rose’s canonization process, Fray Antonio González de Acuña, declared that Rose had visited the obraje quite frequently.  893

Considering the declaration of González de Acuña and a contemporary source, the Sermón a la Beatificación de Santa Rosa de Santa María, Indiana, de la Tercera Orden de nuestro Padre y Patriarca, Santo Domingo, written by the Franciscan Gonzalo Tenorio, Mujica concludes that Rose’s dream announced the final conversion of Peruvian native population. Mujica claims that the hardness of the stones in the quarry symbolized the refusal of the indigenous population to be converted, a challenge that Saint Rose would easily overcome. Moreover, he claims that Rose was aware of the 1609-1619 campaigns of extirpation of idolatry in the Archbishopric of Lima. If there was any relationship between Rose of Lima and missionary endeavors and conversion of the Indians, the link was her acquaintance with the Jesuits who were visiting the home of her protectors rather than her supposed concerns for Indian labor after her reading of a medieval source like Hermas, let alone her knowledge of Fray Gonzalo Tenorio’s personal interpretation of a source not even mentioned by Meléndez. 894 The long history of Dominican discourse advocated for the excellence of an urban-centered Catholicism;

893 Mujica, Rosa Limensis, 226-227.

894 Gonzalo Tenorio, Sermón a la Beatificación de Santa Rosa de Santa María, Indiana, de la Tercera Orden de nuestro Padre y Patriarca, Santo Domingo, cited in Mujica, Rosa Limensis, 405, 418. It is also Worth noticing that in the 1680s, Meléndez’s notion of miscenogation was a very negative one. The union of Spaniards and Indians or Blacks was primarily found, according to the chronicler, not among Castilians or at least not among low-class Castilians. It was non-Spanish Europeans who were the ones who favored such unions, Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Vol. II, 351.
thus its departure from indigenous issues through a denial of Las Casas’s legacy strongly contradicts the assertion that Rose’s dream was an elaboration on Indian conversion.

Scholars belonging to the Dominican Order had a different agenda on what the political use of creole sainthood should be; furthermore, they certainly did not hold a contemporary inclusive notion of nationhood.  

A vision of colonial society in which religious corporations and their members were closely connected with their original classes and milieus - even the incorporation of domestic servants in and out of cloistered residences - made Lima a fortress of faith, a landmark of the new Spanish Catholicism, the one that embodied a renovated Castile through the perfection of urban conversion and religious practice. This vision, expressed by Father Meléndez in his description of the public festivities to celebrate Saint Rose and in the literature to promote and celebrate creole canonizations, formed the basis of such a political project of a renewed expansion of Spanish Catholicism. Such a project was one that the city and its elites invented - not necessarily to strengthen a national project as Alejandra Osorio has stated - but rather to reposition the political leverage of the capital of the viceroyalty inside the composite monarchy, a creole political expression that fit seventeenth-century ideals of greatness as taught by Botero. At least since the 1630s,

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895 In his doctoral dissertation on Spanish American sainthood, Ronald Morgan has stated that seventeenth-century hagiographers created the legend that Rose’s sainthood was useful to complete native evangelization. Followers of the legend, such as Mujica, based this assumption on young Rose’s visits to the obraje in Quives. On the “national” character of Rose’s sainthood, Morgan, based on the work of Brading, argues that Rose’s religious life does not reflect a specific form of Peruvian sainthood. Ronald concludes that both the Dominican order and Limenian hagiographers of the saint in particular sought to emphasize the European character of Los Reyes and its first canonized saint. They certainly wanted this emphasis since the viceroyalty of Peru was part of an empire rather than an independent political entity as yet. See Morgan, Saints, 128-129 and 165-166.

896 I think the assertion that Lima was invented as a political project for the Peruvian nation, deserves clarification. Osorio is correct when saying that for creoles Lima possessed all the aspects of seventeenth-century “greatness.” However, since religious historians were following the Anti-Machiavellianism of
Limenian religious historians linked the courtly and saintly identity of Lima/Los Reyes with their own national way of being Castilians, defined in the seventeenth century by an urban-centered baroque Catholicism which was culturally Castilian. *Peruvian Castilians* who were born in a *civitas* of faith were the agents of a symbolic and political alliance between Church and Crown, a vision clearly expressed by Meléndez after the canonization of Rose of Lima. The promotion of an urban-based model of religiosity meant the growth of urban religious institutions and the search for religious excellence within cloisters rather than the development of mission frontiers and the expansion of the colonial settlement. Here we can see a substantial difference between the Dominicans and the other Orders that may help to clarify differences in the evangelization policies of the next century.

At the end of the third volume of his Dominican chronicle, published also in Rome in 1682, Father Meléndez presented the reader with a detailed layout of the convent of Our Lady of Rosary in Lima. It was not a randomly chosen illustration, but a detailed graphic explanation on how the Dominican cloister was the perfect city within the Spanish Catholic *civitas*. The author of this architectural design was none other than Father Rodrigo Meléndez, brother of the chronicler, making the third volume again an indirect statement on the power of a humble yet proud man of Castilian lineage. The idea of Lima as being the center of Spanish American Catholicism, already advanced by the passionate quill of Buenaventura de Salinas in 1630, reached graphic accuracy in the frontispiece designed by a Flemish artist for the 1688 hagiography of Bishop Mogrovejo Botero, it was the power of being a religious center that secured political gains for Lima. The vice-regal court as Christian *república* was a political project for the Spanish creole nation, local and yet transatlantic, incorporating Castilians on both sides of the Atlantic. See Ossorio, *Inventing Lima*, 146-147.
Illustration No. 9

Lima as Catholic Civitas

that was written by Francisco de Echave y Assú (see Illustration No. 9). In this frontispiece the three creole saints of Los Reyes (Rose, Francis Solano and Archbishop Mogrovejo) stand in mystical glory. The saints are flanked by the arms of the house of Austria and the papal arms, thereby expressing the ideal alliance of Church and Crown, the latter being the star of the city’s coat of arms turned into a brighter one: the sun. Both Solano and Mogrovejo embodied the benefits of Spanish Catholicism bestowed on the native population which kneels humbly before them. The new saints are depicted as virtuous members of the Christian república appearing triumphant in contrast to the probably never tamed colonial frontier.

By the end of the seventeenth century, a new model of colonial conquest had gained momentum, that of the internal frontier, where the religious corporations — or at least the Dominicans — had had such a successful performance. In the preface of his chronicle dedicated to the reader/King, Fray Juan Meléndez phrased well what had been the Dominican journey throughout the century. Father Meléndez wrote that he had crossed the Atlantic neither to seek office nor to offer silver from Potosí. Instead, he had arrived to offer treasures from purer ores, that if well received, would make the Spanish Crown richer and powerful: creole intellectual achievements and Spanish American Catholicism. Meléndez’s statement clearly reflected the intellectual journey within the Peruvian Dominican Province in its exploration of the Province’s contribution to Catholic

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897 Echave, La estrella de Lima.

898 “…de los que vienen de Indias, oro y plata, de que arrian cargados en galeones a Europa mercantes y pretendientes. Ninguno de estos oficios me saco de mi pais (que ya se ha hecho en algunos oficio la pretencion, como la mercancia aunque con mucha diferencia…” Meléndez, Tesoros Verdaderos, Prologue.
statecraft that spanned the days of the *Memorial* of Miguel de Monsalve in 1604 to the publication of *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* in 1681-1682.

In the period between 1604 and 1681, the Dominican Order in Peru constructed an institutional identity, which can be traced to the historiographical production. This identity progressively shifted from evangelization and missionary accomplishments to urban Catholicism. This ideological and political evolution of the Peruvian Dominican Province became noticeable around the 1620s, when the Limenian creole elite took over the control of the Order and made the religious corporation a stronghold of lineages and groups of power based in the vice-regal capital. In this regard, it can be said that the Dominican Order followed the same path of other religious corporations, yet did show particularities as well. Creole and urban-centered Dominican historiography gained maturity by the 1650s, coinciding also with the increasing expectations of the Order with regard to the canonization of Dominican-sponsored or Dominican individuals. The interest of the Order in making Lima a Catholic *civitas* connected with the political demands of its creole scholars regarding the jurisdiction of the Royal Patronage, participation of creole bishops in colonial administration, state funding for the Orders and rapid canonization of creole saints. The works of Fray Cipriano de Medina and Fray Antonio González de Acuña are clear examples of this trend. Dominican scholarship reflects social changes which did not occur in other Orders like the rise of middle sectors within the corporations and the development of popular urban religiosity. Through intellectual achievements, emerging classes mingled with religious nobility, as shown by the personal case of Fray Juan Meléndez. Dominican concern for the religious life of black Lima was also a radical novelty.
In the journey referred above, Dominican historiography grew apart from the legacy of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, because it questioned Spanish legitimacy in the Indies and therefore undermined creole views on the religious and political evolution of Spanish America. Mostly ignored in colonial times, the teaching of Las Casas experienced a revival in seventeenth-century Peru but not in the Peruvian Dominican Province, where a first rejection of lascasianismo can be detected in the work of Monsalve until the final disownment by the Order in the chronicle of Meléndez. It is interesting that the last work of religious historiography of the seventeenth century was particularly concerned with the problem of the legitimacy of the Spanish Empire and the position of Spanish American elites within it. In part, this concern arose because religious scholars were also exploring issues of nationality and affirming a national identity that required the revision of painful chapters of colonial history in which the opinion of Las Casas was not welcome. The Dominican effort to build a Peruvian version of Catholic statecraft failed -as did the other versions encouraged by peer religious corporations- not because their proposals were unfeasible but because the world had changed. A reform of the Catholic Monarchy that was based on an alliance of Crown and colonial corporate Church made little sense for the imperial administration of the end of the seventeenth-century. Yet, creole Dominican historiography succeeded on another front, that of the national pride of Peruvian Castilians. If benemérito elites and their intellectual advocates, the class of religious scholars, had failed to prove to the Crown that the body politic of empire could be healed with the empowerment of Peruvian creole elites within the composite monarchy, they at least had demonstrated that they were the keepers of the best of Castilian culture and values. They had made of Lima a second Rome, a new axis
of global Catholicism, and furthermore they had silenced the critics of the Catholic Monarchy.
Conclusions: The Waning of the Age of Chronicles and *Memoriales*

In his book on seventeenth-century French historiography, Orest Ranum stated that studies of the genealogy of historians should include what is middling or failing along with the triumphs; after all, these aspects of historians’ trajectories are part of the larger national tradition of writing history. Ranum also notes that these sometimes overlooked components were also landmarks in the search for social position and historical identity among early modern intellectuals. In the previous chapters, we have examined Peruvian colonial historiography that was produced by religious scholars throughout the seventeenth century and, as shown, we have found that this historical discourse was certainly not mediocre and not necessarily a failure, albeit it had its limitations. Colonial religious historiography fostered one of the richest moments of historical discussion in Peru at a level only comparable only to that reached by Peruvian historiography after the 1850s. It was at the same time a cultural and social revolution. Never before in colonial history, and arguably never after, had a historiographical boom stimulated such political discussion, massive historical production and the development of a new class, that of the religious scholar. In conclusion let us briefly summarize the advantages and limitations of this religious historical discourse.

Peruvian religious historiography of the seventeenth century waned at the moment of history that saw its rise, and therefore had little impact on the historical discourse of coming centuries. Such a vast historiographical corpus which -as shown in the previous chapters- crossed genres, revised creole colonial history and became truly Trans-Atlantic,

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but failed to connect with late colonial and early republican historiography. The active and driven class of religious historians would almost disappear during the first decades of the eighteenth century and the connection of their legacy to the Bourbon intellectual scene would be weak. However, contrary to what nineteenth and twentieth-century Peruvian historiography wrote of colonial religious historiography, this missed connection had nothing to do with the fact that this discourse was produced by religious scholars nor to exclusively pious or religious message; rather this link appears to have been connected with the political and epistemological changes produced at the very same moment that seventeenth-century religious historiography was being written. A clue to understanding this connection was already present in the changes that religious historical discourse experienced during the last third of the seventeenth century. The work of the Jesuit Jacinto Barrasa (1674) and even the great last chronicle of the century, that of the Dominican Juan Meléndez (1681), show a decrease in historical revisionism and elaboration of Anti-Machiavellian doctrine, fewer links with the political agenda of the creole benemérito elite and no connection whatsoever with the creole ideologues of the theory of distributive justice who were so popular among religious historians in the first half of the century.

During the eighteenth century, only two works, without the texture of any of the religious histories of the previous century were written in the viceroyalty of Peru: the Crónica Continuada de esta Provincia de Nuestro Padre San Agustín del Perú by the Augustinian Fray Juan Teodoro Vásquez (c. 1721), and the Introducción al Aparato de la Crónica de la Santa Provincia de los Doce Gloriosos Apóstoles de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Francisco by the Franciscan Fray Fernando Rodriguez Tena (1776). These
two chronicles are institutional histories, somewhat connected to the great tradition of the past century, but without its luster and depth. In Bourbon Peru, there is no evidence of a new peak of historical discussion as that experienced in New Spain, as demonstrated in the work of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra. Similar histories to those works that appeared in Mexico in the eighteenth century would be written at the periphery of the viceroyalty of Peru by exiled former Jesuits around the 1780s. These were the *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional* (1788) by Juan de Velasco and the *Historia Natural del Reino de Chile* by José Ignacio de Molina (1782-1789). Both works were in response to the cultural development of the periphery by the old Peruvian viceroyalty as well as to the personal contribution of exiled South American scholars to the Enlightenment; these writers, however, were more connected to the Bourbon historiography that flourished in Mexico, as Cañizares-Eguerra has shown. This debate between Spanish American and European historians on Spanish American nature and history took place in a different political and epistemological context. None of the works mentioned above -those distantly related to the former historiographical tradition or those related to the new one-shared much with the age of Peruvian colonial religious historiography. A profound change had occurred.

This change has been defined by Heinz Schilling as the end of the alliance between Confessionalization and early modern state building. After the end of the Thirty Years’ War and the peace between Protestants and Catholics in Europe (1648), the use of religion as a driving force with political implications waned worldwide,

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900 See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World.*

particularly within the Spanish Empire, where the princely state took grew apart from the Church. With the end of the last confessional international conflict, the Dutch Provinces grew in autonomy from the Spanish Crown, peace in Europe was secured and the Pacific ceased to be a battlefront. Neither the need to defend the most Catholic throne, the opposition between the Spanish Catholic nation and Protestant Europe nor the fear of a Dutch invasion to Spanish America continued to nurture historical narratives of empire building in Peru. On the internal front, as a consequence of its growing fiscal pressure and centralizing tendencies, the Spanish Crown prevailed in the conflicts which defined its relationship with the colonial corporate Church during the first half of the century (1653). The Royal Treasury kept some funding trickling into missionary endeavors, but the Orders had to rely more on their own finances and their push for the colonial expansion out into the fringes, as was the case with the Society of Jesus in Paraguay. The alternativa - a mechanism created to regulate the internal life of the Orders so as to prevent its co-optation by Peruvian creoles - was introduced in the early 1680s. The long discursive battle for the enforcement of the rights of local citizens that was applied to defend the interests of the corporate Church became pointless after that. Even though creoles remained a substantial majority in the regular clergy, their voice and entitlement were somehow curtailed when they were forced to share the privileges and wealth of the corporate Church with peninsular newcomers. In general, the second half of the seventeenth century coincided with the strengthening of the Royal Patronage and the progressive submission of the colonial corporate Church to the power of the Crown. The claims of the Orders for state funding and support grew weaker while the vision of a Spanish Catholicism destined to rule the world, as presented in creole religious histories
before 1660, declined. Consequently, historical narratives of the last third of the century privileged creole sainthood as an urban and internal achievement over martyrdom as well as over the history of sanctuaries that were associated with a militant global Church as seen in the work of the Augustinians Fray Alonso Ramos, Fray Antonio de la Calancha and Fray Bernardo de Torres.

The chronicle-memorial -a new genre that blended the medieval religious chronicle, the Renaissance *ars historica*, the Spanish *memorial* or *arbitrio* and the baroque sermon- could not survive the Age of Confessionalization. The religious tropes associated with the tension between Throne and Altar lost importance and the political function of the *Memorial* lost force as well. The end of the system of representation known as the *Cortes* (1698) put an end to the Spanish tradition of cities and corporations submitting proposals to the Crown and negotiating rights through the drafting of political projects and vice-versa. The function of religious proctors, as diplomatic and political agents of cities and corporations, became useless as well. By the end of the century, the political claims of creole urban elites had lost important ways and formats through which they could be channeled, but most importantly the theoretical frame that shaped their claims went out of fashion. The European discourse of Catholic statecraft, so avidly appropriated by religious scholars to frame the claims of the corporate Church and creole elites, was not convincing rhetoric anymore. Christian kingship and the virtues of the Christian Prince -conveniently used to nurture the Spanish American doctrine of distributive justice, the expansion of a Catholic order, and the political role of the colonial Church in relation to the Crown- were replaced by doctrines related to a centralized and more secular version of the modern state. After the Peace of Westphalia, colonial empires
were defined by the control of the sea and trade routes, rather than by extensive continental territories, as Botero foresaw and the creole corporate Church would have preferred. The identity of the princely state and religion, as defined by Justus Lipsius and Pierre Charron, waned in Europe while the decaying Catholic Monarchy had to secure political arrangements with nations of different religious confession and re-accommodate its ideological foundations. 902

The local political tradition that creole religious scholars created to push the agenda of creole elites did not survive the end of Anti-Machiavellianism either. However, two aspects are associated with the vanishing of this political discourse in Peru. First, men like licenciados Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, Luis de Betancurt, Vasco López de Contreras and Bishop Feliciano de Vega belonged to a generation of creole elites who was somehow successful in their claims for offices and benefits. These creole elites certainly obtained religious prelacies from the Crown and so did their children. This was the case for Fray Gaspar de Villarroel, Fray Diego de Córdova, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas, Fray Antonio González de Acuña, and Fray Cipriano de Medina, whose careers were promoted by the doctrines crafted by the creole ideologues of the previous generation. The second aspect behind the waning of the theory of distributive justice and the rights of citizenship was the re-composition of the Limenian gentry in the second half of the seventeenth century. New waves of Spanish immigrants, the arrival of foreigners, and the rise of lower classes contributed to a change in the composition of the creole intellectual class, to whom the ideas that supported the claims of the beneméritos were not that appealing. Fray Juan Meléndez would be a clear example of social mobility.

Foreigners never identified with the claims of creole elites, as seen in the case of the Jesuit Giovanni Anello Oliva. Yet, social issues also stopped being a matter of debate as colonial rule matured and concerns for indigenous labor ceased. After Cipriano de Medina in the early 1660s, the situation of the indigenous population no longer was not discussed in the religious scholarship, not even tangentially. The blurry presence of Las Casas in Peruvian religious historiography, still noticeable in the late 1620s in the pages of its only follower -the Jesuit Oliva- was formally disowned in the work of Meléndez in 1681. Ironically, creole debates on the revival of the encomienda died with the century as well. Every social and political claim was replaced by a renewed interest in creole sainthood and local religiosity, which became a new channel for the expression of creole national pride and identity.

Now that we know that the context and the content changed from one century to the other, I think it is pertinent to return to Ranum’s idea on the legacy of historiographical schools in the history of a nation in order that we understand why at the moment of Independence, of all Peruvian colonial authors, it was Garcilaso de la Vega and not Antonio de la Calancha, Bernabé Cobo, Buenaventura de Salinas nor Antonio González de Acuña, the name that was linked to the search for historical identity. First, we have to consider the extraordinarily difficult circumstances that seventeenth-century colonial religious scholars faced with the restrictions and censorship imposed by their own corporations. The double identity of chronicler of the Order and early modern intellectual, more often than not, was difficult to reconcile. Religious scholars saw their works censored, postponed, banned, or published under a different name or even plagiarized. To the frustration stemming from such a vulnerable position, we have to add
a second aspect that explains their disconnection with later cultural and political developments in Peru. In some of the cases studied here, writing history was a way to cope with exile or exile-like circumstances, to which these authors were forced into by the Empire -or the Order- that they so ardently defended. Salinas, Campuzano, and Villarroel wrote their most important works outside of Peru. A third aspect is the fact that some of these scholars spent their final years in Venezuela (González de Acuña), Mexico (Salinas), Italy (Campuzano) or Spain (Aguirre), losing connection with their original class and milieus. Father Oliva was probably the most dramatic case of an exiled religious scholar in Peru and in part this circumstance explains his disconnection from the debates on Catholic Statecraft in Lima in the 1620s and 1630s. Religious rules plotted against the intellectual legacy of religious scholars as well. Some of these chroniclers died in complete anonymity like Fathers Ramos, Torres, Monsalve, Cobo, and Meléndez. Only Fathers Calancha, Villarroel, Córdova and Medina enjoyed public recognition and died occupying a privileged position within their Orders and colonial society.

Although most of the authors studied here were already forgotten when the Enlightenment reached colonial Lima after the 1750s, their contributions to colonial Peruvian culture and identity were substantial. It would be unfair to think that such a rich moment of historical discussion that seventeenth-century religious scholars fostered with their revisionism was second-hand historiography or the expressed frustration of a social group. Through the revision of crucial episodes of colonial history, aimed primarily at exonerating the conquistadors and early figures of the colonial Church from misdeeds in the convoluted times of the Conquest, religious scholars provided the first but decisive

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903 These are labels that were imposed by Riva-Agüero and Porras in the first half of the twentieth century, and more recently by David Brading. See Riva-Agüero, *La Historia en el Perú*; Porras, *Los Cronistas* and Brading, *First America*. 
push to build a national history. They revised versions, criticized sources and came up with the first interpretations that incorporated colonial history into a national history. Along this process, creole religious scholars started exploring notions of nationhood that were certainly more patriotic than they were national and inclusive, within the context of contemporary notions of nationhood. It was a notion of nationhood –that of Peruvian Castilianism- that made sense within the Spanish composite monarchy. This was not a flaw or a limitation per se. It would not have been possible in the seventeenth century to think of such an inclusive vision of national history or nationhood in a society modeled after the parts of the body, different yet united. In a composite monarchy, national identity was -first and foremost- an identification with the ruler rather than with the parts. In their attempt to define Peruvian loyalty to the Crown as well as the process by which the translatio imperii from the Incas to the Habsburgs took place, religious scholars approached a notion of nationhood that started thinking of itself as Peruvian within the frame of a global empire. As Adrian Hastings has pointed out in his study on nationalism, early forms of nationhood were defined by the practice of religion; I have shown here how that definition of being a Peruvian subject in the seventeenth century had to be exclusive and defined in terms of the opposition to the other, the foreigner, the heretic and the ethnically different. However, it is worth pointing out that in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Indian question seriously preoccupied creole scholars; and their efforts to revamp the encomienda was their way of expressing concern for those to

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whom - in words of Father Calancha - creoles owed their “patria.” In the 1650s, creole religious scholars were far from imagining an ethnically mixed Peru; such an ethnic diversity was still to come in the casta world of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, by the early 1680s creoles had at least incorporated urbanized Catholic blacks into their notion of “being creole.”

Another important contribution of seventeenth-century chronicler-memorialistas was their appropriation of Anti-Machiavellianism and the creation of a colonial discourse of Catholic statecraft that was adapted to the needs of the viceroyalty and their cultural and political elites. Important aspects of this doctrine appealed to creole religious scholars, like the identity between religious confession and the princely state, an Scholastic conception of society and a militant conception of a Catholic Empire. In this vision of the world, creole elites saw themselves at the top of a new global order and Spanish-America as the spearhead of a renewed Catholic monarchy; because of this vision creoles felt even more entitled to further their claims for representation and benefits both in Madrid and Rome. This creole discourse of Catholic statecraft was original because - in its process of explaining the uniqueness of Spanish America within the composite monarchy - it combined the Spanish legal tradition of citizenship with the theory of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions contained in Canon Law and in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Catholic political thought. In this sense, creole religious historians were original and established a dialogue on diffused rule with European peers, claiming a share of universal history at the same time. Contrary to what Walter Mignolo has proposed for colonial historiography, there was nothing marginal or “border-thinking” about seventeenth-century religious historiography written in the viceroyalty of

905 Calancha, Corónica Moralizada, 109.
Peru, precisely because such religious narratives inserted in a global circulation of knowledge that made use of the networks of the Catholic Church and the Spanish Empire. The challenging discussion on history and reform of colonial rule that these colonial histories initiated was unparalleled in its time, equaled only by Mexican historiography in the eighteenth century.

When the chronicler-memorialistas of seventeenth-century Peru mastered the historical narrative and the political thought that explained their origin and role in the Spanish empire, the political and epistemological paradigms of historical discourse they had used changed. But their discussion on historical formation remained valid and solid and could have enriched Peruvian historiographical tradition and future debates on nationhood. Unfortunately, most of these creole religious histories ended up scattered in libraries and archives throughout the world; it would not be until the late nineteenth century or even the twentieth century that they were rediscovered. This dissertation has shown that creole religious histories of the seventeenth century connected with debates on Catholic statecraft going on in the larger Atlantic world while adapting that political discussion to the needs of colonial Peruvian elites. Creole religious historians were part of a Spanish republic of letters whose major centers of ideological production were Madrid, Rome, Lima and Mexico. In this regard, religious scholars in Lima were not only imperial ideologues, but also the first generation of Peruvian historians and political thinkers. They produced the Peruvian version of Catholic statecraft that failed as a political program of reform, not because its proposals were not feasible but because the world to be reformed with these proposals had changed at the same time. A political

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reform of the Catholic monarchy based on the alliance of Crown and the colonial corporate Church made little sense for the imperial administration by the end of the seventeenth century.

There were some pyrrhic victories, though. The Augustinian and Franciscan histories helped to secure missionary outposts and the economic and cultural power of these corporations in colonial cities. The Augustinians made of the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana a pan-Andean Marian cult and the proliferation of shrines continued in the eighteenth century. The Franciscans failed to promote Francis Solano as the first saint coming from the regular clergy, but his beatification in 1675 and canonization in 1726 constituted a significant push for Franciscan urban and missionary endeavors. The Order was by the end of the eighteenth century, the largest in Peru and the first missionary power in the central Amazon region. In spite of the intervention of the Council of the Indies through the introduction of the alternativa to secure a peninsular presence in their ruling cadres, both Augustinians and Franciscans remained creole strongholds of the hijos de la provincia but lost their political edge. The unfortunate fate of Jesuit historiography was compensated by the prestige of Jesuit preaching, particularly noticeable in the first half of the eighteenth century. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Order probably benefitted from the regency of the Queen Regent Mariana of Austria and his Prime Minister the Jesuit Nithard, yet none of the Jesuit martyrs of the Peruvian missionary frontier reached the Altar and became symbols of the religious zeal and Spanish values the Order wanted to be known for. However, the prestige of the Society of Jesus in governmental circles must have helped to consolidate the pastoral and economic Jesuit presence in Paraguay until the clash with the Bourbons made it impossible to continue
growing. Dominican historiography could claim two important victories: the end of the creole sense of guilt for the Conquest and the victory of urban creole sainthood with the canonization of Saint Rose of Lima in 1671.

As noted above, these were pyrrhic creole victories compared to the original ambitious goals of Peruvian *beneméritos* and their religious advocates to become a class of imperial political advisors. They visualized the Spanish American kingdoms being ruled by the creole aristocracies through occupation of the bishoprics, archbishoprics and probably the presidencies of the *audiencias*, governorships and even the palaces of the viceroy. They dared to conceive a colonial world in which they could challenge Madrid and Rome with their interpretation of legislation and norms, push for their own candidates to sainthood and propose reforms to colonial ruling. Instead, creole elites rather reluctantly shared their political preeminence with newly appointed peninsular officials and waited for symbolic recognition from the centers of metropolitan power.

Seventeenth-century religious scholars did succeed, however, on the nascent front of the discussion of national identity by generating the first trans-atlantic discussion on the national pride of Peruvian Castilians and the elements that defined it. If *benemérito* elites and their intellectual advocates -the class of religious scholars- failed to prove to the Crown that the body politic of the empire could be healed with the empowerment of Peruvian creole elites within the composite monarchy, they at least had demonstrated that they were the keepers of the best of Castilian political culture and religious values, perfected within the Peruvian landscape and history. They had made of Lima a second Rome, a new axis of global Catholicism and culture; therefore some political gains came with this glory until the Bourbon Reforms made clear that the entitlement of creole elites
was a thing of the past. Creole religious historians ended the seventeenth century with a strong belief that through their intellectual work they had silenced the critics of the Spanish nation, and thereby strengthened their sense of belonging to the Catholic Monarchy and the loyalty of the kingdom of Peru. The notion of being Peruvians within the Spanish Empire was their major accomplishment, but never again could they replicate the conditions that made possible accomplishments such as the election of Feliciano de Vega as archbishop of Mexico; the printing of the works of Antonio de la Calancha, Gaspar de Villarroel and Juan Meléndez in Barcelona, Madrid and Rome; and the political influence of Baltasar de Campuzano and Buenaventura de Salinas within the papal court. Never again, Peruvian religious chroniclers were truly imperial agents of reform.
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Oración Fúnebre a las Honras y Pompa Funeral Augusta que hizo la Nobilíssima Ciudad de México; su virrey y Capitán General de la Nueva España, conde de Salvatierra al Sereníssimo Señor Don Baltasar Carlos de Austria, nuestro príncipe jurado por Rey de las Españas y Emperador de las Indias. Orola el Padre Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, Lector Jubilado, Calificador del Consejo Real de la Santa Inquisición, Padre de la Provincia de los Doze Apóstoles de Lima en el Perú y Comissario General de todas las de la Nueva España de la Orden de San Francisco en su Iglesia Catedral a 17 de mayo de 1647. México, 1647.


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