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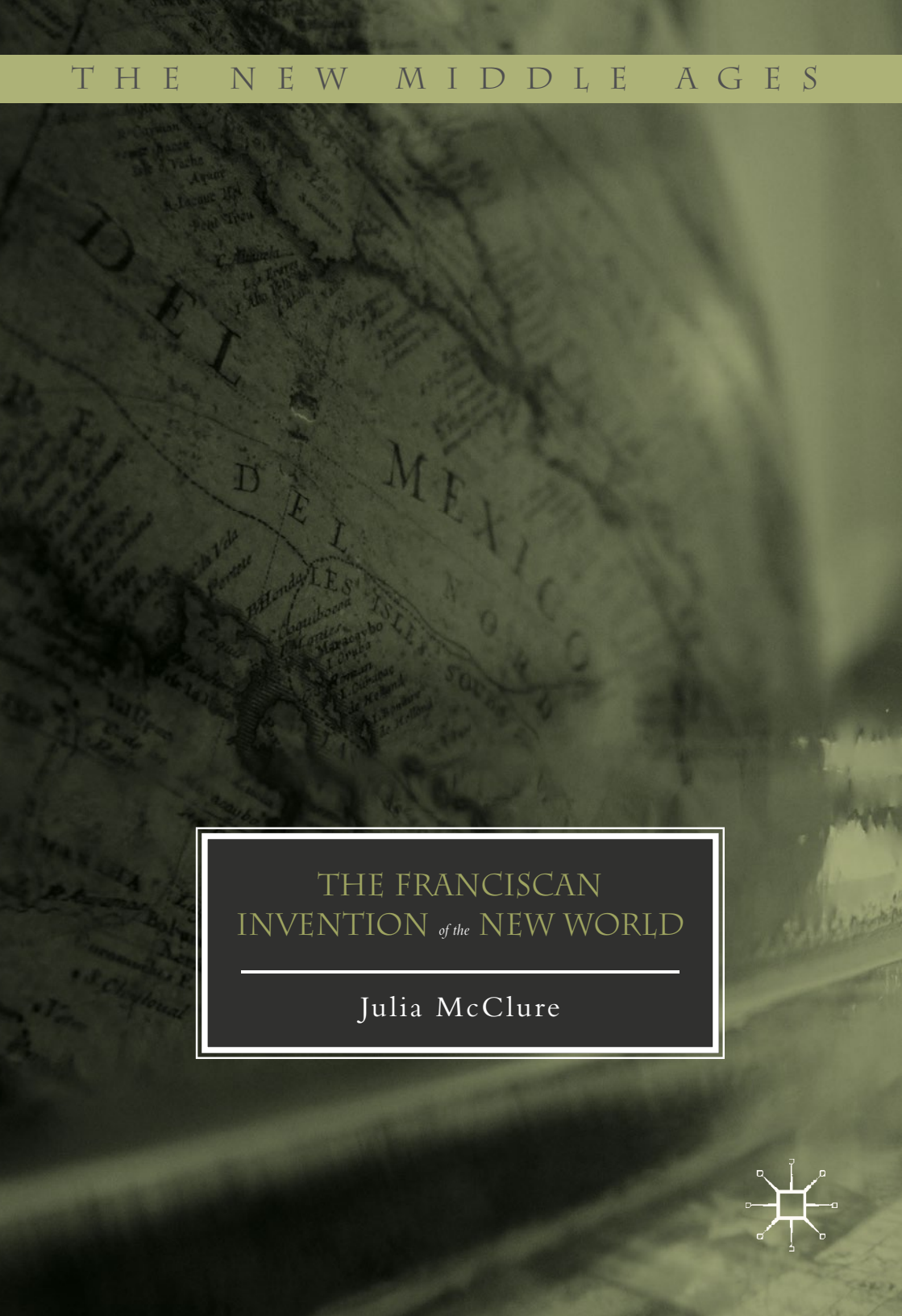

THE FRANCISCAN INVENTION *of the* NEW WORLD

Julia McClure

The New Middle Ages

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Prologue, *The story*

In 1492 a model of the world was invented: from the city of Nuremberg Martin Behaim produced the first terrestrial globe, which he named the *Erdapfel*, or Earth Apple. As Behaim's associate, George Glockendon, painted the Atlantic on the surface of this globe, the Genoese navigator Christopher Columbus and the Spanish pilot Martín Alonso Pinzón were sailing across this space. Columbus' interpretation of this world was influenced by the same medieval intellectual cultures driving the construction in Nuremberg: classical authorities such as Ptolemy and medieval travelogues from explorers such as Marco Polo. Yet Columbus was also influenced by another powerhouse of medieval ideas: the Franciscan Order.

The Franciscans were a mendicant religious movement based on a unique doctrine of evangelical poverty that spilled out of Italy in the early thirteenth century. According to the hagiographical Franciscan legends, Francis had initiated the Franciscan movement when he theatrically renounced his possessions – discarding his money and belongings and stripping himself of the clothes on his back.[1] Francis saw himself as re–inventing Christ's command to the Apostles that they should leave their possessions and follow him. The Franciscans became an official Order when their Rule was finally approved by the papacy in 1223. This Rule bound the brothers to a life of poverty and journeying. It ordered that the brothers go "as pilgrims and strangers in this world."[2] It stipulated that "the brothers should not make anything their own, neither house, nor place, nor anything at all."[3] And so the Franciscans, recognisable by their coarse habits, crept around the world unburdened by the constraints of possessions. In the thirteenth century Franciscans proliferated throughout

the near East, Northern Africa, Eastern Europe and into Scandinavia and Russia.[4] Years before Maffeo Polo reached China (1266) or the famed travels of Marco Polo (1271),[5] the Franciscan Giovanni da Plano Carpini travelled to the Far East (1245), to the vicinity of Karakorum, the capital of the Mongol Empire, and the Flemish Franciscan William of Rubruck spent time at the court of the Great Khan in Karakorum (1253–1254).[6] Later, in the early fourteenth century, the Franciscan Odorico da Pordenone (also known as Odorico Mattiuzzi) claimed to have travelled over fifty thousand kilometres throughout the Middle East, India, South East Asia, China, and Tibet. In the thirteenth century Franciscans became established in the Mediterranean world, and they joined the expedition of the Vivaldi brothers to the Canary Islands in 1291. There are many myths and legends surrounding the Franciscans' global knowledge, including the legend that Columbus knew about the Americas before his voyage thanks to Franciscans. Franciscans were well established on the Spanish Atlantic coast, and their convent[7] at La Rábida became a central coordinate in the story of the European 'discovery' of the New World. It was where Columbus found intellectual and practical support for his transatlantic endeavour. Columbus was influenced by the Franciscans and there is a legend that Columbus, who appeared dressed as a Franciscan on a number of occasions, may even have become a Franciscan tertiary. Columbus' ships carried Franciscans to the Americas on the second voyage and Franciscans became the first Christian group to establish their institution in the New World. These journeys do not represent neutral flows, but the invention of a Franciscan world; the Franciscans saw themselves as re-enacting the journey of Christ and the Apostles who were promised: "*Wherever the sole of your foot treads will be yours.*"[8]

The Franciscans were not just the first missionaries to travel to the Americas; they were the inventors of a 'New World'. During the course of the late Middle Ages the Franciscans had developed a rich intellectual tradition which was fed by their discourse of poverty, the circulation of travelogues mythologizing their global experiences, and their development of a unique paradigm of Franciscan history which was a mix of chronicles and histories with a distinct eschatological twist. The body of ideas which can be found in the diverse corpus of Franciscan sources contained a vision for a New World of Apostolic poverty, which the Franciscans sought to invent in the Americas.

This book endeavours to integrate intellectual, cultural, and political histories to provide fresh perspectives on the history of the transatlantic

world, colonialism and the Franciscan Order, and in so doing suggests an alternative approach to global history. It interprets global history as the latest phase of the spatial turn. Drawing upon the examples established by Foucault, it aims to explore the relationships between space, power, and knowledge. This approach is also guided by the work of the Latin American scholar Walter Mignolo, who has used the term the "geopolitics of knowledge" to describe the link between knowledge, space/place, and politics/colonial power.[9] Mignolo identified the need to begin the "excavation of the imperial/colonial foundation of the 'idea' of Latin America" as a way to "unravel the geo–politics of knowledge from the perspective of coloniality, the untold and unrecognized historical counterpoint of modernity."[10] Mignolo advocates what he calls a "Fanonian perspective on the 'discovery of America'", the importance of the perspective of non–Europeans, as he argues that different interpretations such as a Christian or Marxist analysis of the "discovery of America", ultimately only reproduce the perspective of modernity.[11] However, the idea that the history of Christianity can only reproduce the perspective of modernity is itself the product of the suppression of alternative narrative possibilities that were produced within Europe; I contend that uncovering the alternative narratives produced within Europe is as important as recovering lost narratives produced outside Europe.

The Middle Ages is a good place to start this endeavour. Medieval history offers ways of unthinking the 'Europeaness' of Europe. The practice of medieval history reveals the complexity and diversity of ideas of space and visions of the world available in the Middle Ages and this fragments the homogeneity and cohesiveness of the narrative that Europe spread around the world creating coloniality. Stephen Legg argued that "the colonisation of most of the free world between the sixteenth and twenty-first centuries has brought not just territorial but also epistemic and historiographical violence and domination"[12]; however all these strategies do not begin in the sixteenth century but in the Middle Ages. This book reflects on the dynamic processes of knowledge, space, and power at work in Franciscan history, and uses this to rethink the history of 'coloniality' as an unfolding of Franciscan history.

Notes

1. This story is enshrined in the Legends of St Francis (VP and VS) written by Thomas of Celano.

2. *Regula bullata*, in Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J. A. Wayne Hellman, O.F.M. Con., William J. Short, O.F.M., eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1, The Saint*, New York: New City Press, 1999, 99–106, 103.
3. *Regula bullata*, 103.
4. See H. Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden, Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998.
5. Marco Polo, *The travels of Marco Polo,* translated and introduced by Ronald Latham, London: Penguin, 1958.
6. Christopher Dawson ed., *The Mission to Asia: narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* London: Sheed and Ward, 1980.
7. The terms friary, monastery, and convent are used interchangeably throughout Franciscan sources and histories to describe the basic residential unit of the Franciscans. Unlike monastic orders the mendicant Franciscans were not bound to the enclosed space of the monastery and there is no consensus on which term is most suitable for describing these Franciscan spaces. For consistency I will use the term convent here, since it is used more commonly than friary and distinguishes the Franciscans from monastic institutions.
8. Ubertino da Casale, *The tree of the crucified Life of Jesus*, in Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J. A. Wayne Hellman, O.F.M. Con., William J. Short, O.F.M. eds, *Francis of Assisi: early documents, 2, The Prophet*, New York: New City Press, 2001, 141–206, 161.
9. The geopolitics of knowledge is a leitmotif throughout Mignolo's work.
10. Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, xi.
11. Ibidem.
12. Stephen Legg, "Beyond the European Province: Foucault and Postcolonialism", in Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden eds, *Space, Knowledge and Power, Foucault and Geography*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2007, 265–289, 265.

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Contents

Abbreviations

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
AF	Analecta Franciscana
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGOFM	Archivio Storico dei Francescani O.F.M
AHN	Archivo Nacional de España
AIA	Archivo Ibero-Americano
AM	Annales Minorum
BF	Bullarium Franciscanum
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
JCB	John Carter Brown
OND	Opus nonaginta dierum
VP	Vita Prima
VS	Vita Secunda

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book tells the story of the Franciscan Order's entanglement with the colonisation of the Americas and their invention of a New World. The Franciscan Order, a mendicant religious movement that emerged in the troubled heart of the Italian peninsula in the thirteenth century, has a unique history which unlocks an alternative narrative of the unfolding of the early transatlantic world. In particular, they point to the importance of the Middle Ages for understanding not just the early transatlantic history of the Americas, but the history of European colonialism more generally. It makes a departure from traditional scholarship on the history of colonialism by thinking instead about 'coloniality', a term devised by the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano to explain asymmetries of power produced beyond the visible processes of colonialism.[1] This is important since many of the structural inequalities that govern the world today have been the results of invisible processes. Exploring the history of the invention of the New World, a world which came to be characterised by asymmetries of power, from the perspective of the Franciscan Order, offers a way to reveal some of these invisible processes. The Franciscans played a prominent role in the history of the Americas, but the clue that their history gives us is to look to the Middle Ages.

The history of the Franciscan Order begins at the start of the thirteenth century when the cloth merchant Giovanni Bernardone was struck by moral anxiety about his wealthy material condition and the corruption of his economic context and decided to renounce his possessions to lead a life of voluntary poverty. This man would become St Francis, and his

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followers would become the Franciscan Order. They donned poor habits and moved about barefoot in order to perform their voluntary poverty. Barefootedness was the symbol of the theory and praxis of their poverty. Their rejection of property and performance of poverty subverted the familiar landscapes of identity and power. The travelogue of William of Rubruck, a Franciscan who journeyed through the Middle East across Central Asia in the thirteenth century, indicates that the Franciscans were conscious that their performance of poverty subverted these landscapes not only within Europe, but also globally. William Rubruck described how the people he encountered in distant lands gazed at him and his fellow Franciscans 'as if we were monsters, especially because we were barefoot'.[2] In this passage we catch a glimpse of the unique global perspective of the Franciscan Order, which was the product of the doctrine of poverty that they developed during the late Middle Ages.

Franciscans typically came from reasonably affluent backgrounds but voluntarily aligned themselves with the poor and marginalised. Referring to the Gospel, St Francis instructed the brothers that they must follow the example of the apostles, who 'must rejoice when they live among people considered of little value and looked down upon, among the poor and the powerless, the sick and the lepers, and the beggars by the wayside'.[3] This performed alliance made poverty, normally the condition of the silent majority, visible. The Franciscans occupied a deeply ambivalent position. Rather than wanting to eradicate poverty they valorised it. This ambivalence is at the heart of the Franciscan condition. In using Franciscan history to retell the story of the early transatlantic world, one could look at their importance in the history of Europe and of the Americas in the 'Middle Ages' and in 'modernity', and say that their perspective is unique because they had a [bare] foot in both worlds. Yet what Franciscan history offers is a way to historically represent an ambivalence which is also a mechanism for transcending a whole range of historicist binaries which have governed our conceptions of time, of space, and of power. Exploring the Franciscan invention of the New World is a way to narrate an alternative landscape, a landscape that is governed by powerful ambivalence.

The process of the 'invention' of the New World was first explored by the Mexican scholar Edmund O'Gorman, who, in the Mexico of the late 1950s, described a world 'forever in the making, always a new world'.[4] Decades later, in *The Burden of Modernity*, Carlos Alonso argued that concepts of futurity and novelty have led to the 'permanent exoticization of the New World', and that this constitutes an 'ideological façade sustaining old world

power'.[5] The history of the invention of the New World remains an important subject, and has been discussed in different ways by a range of scholars. It is a part of the history of colonialism; as Walter Mignolo observed, the invention of the New World was 'forged in the process of European colonial history and the consolidation and expansion of the Western world view and institutions'.[6] It can be seen as the product of European Renaissance; the term 'New World' (*Orbe Novo*) was first used by the Renaissance scholar Peter Martyr d'Anghiera in 1500 to describe the lands that Columbus had 'discovered'.[7] The 1492 'discovery' of the 'New World' has been seen as the 'birth of modernity',[8] and this connection was made because the 'discovery' was seen as a product of the European Renaissance. The link between the Renaissance, discovery, and modernity was theorised in particular in the nineteenth century by the Renaissance historian Jacob Burckhardt who wrote that the 'discovery' of the New World was the result of Renaissance culture and heralded the start of modernity.[9] Burckhardt wrote that discovery began with the Italians because they were 'freed from the countless bonds which elsewhere in Europe checked progresses' and were driven by a 'passionate desire to penetrate the future'.[10] Since the 'discovery' of the New World has been seen as a product of the Renaissance and tied to the invention of modernity,[11] the role of the Middle Ages in the invention of the New World has been underexplored—the exception perhaps being the Mexican historian Luis Weckmann, who claimed that 'the Middle Ages found their last expression on this [the American] side of the Atlantic'.[12]

The Franciscan Order, instrumental in the early history of the Americas, yet governed by the collective memories and discourses which had developed in the Middle Ages, could be seen to illustrate this continuity. Jacques Le Goff went further and described St Francis as the initiator of the Renaissance and the modern world.[13] Yet Franciscan history has its own sense of space and time that helps to question the categories that have governed the landscapes of history. The Franciscans were vehicles of their own historical and intellectual tradition,[14] and Franciscan history offers an alternative narrative of the invention of the New World, which facilitates a broader reflection on the history of space, projects of 'worldmaking' and the meaning of global history, and deepens our understanding of the history of colonialism.

The Franciscan invention of the New World can be seen as an example of 'worldmaking', symbolic construction, act of imagination, and attempt at universality.[15] Duncan Bell recently identified 'worldmaking' as a form of global history: '"global" is not a geographical designation of a synonym

for "non-Western" but instead denotes the perceptual scope of an argument or other act of imagination'.[16] It contributes to the kind of global history that sees the global turn as the latest phase of the spatial turn and aims to contribute to the deconstruction of pre-existing notions of space.[17] Bell defined 'worldmaking' as 'the way in which humans fabricated symbolic systems, how they constructed and reconstructed worlds, drawing on the existing resources available to them, worlds carved from the material of other worlds'.[18] 'Worldmaking' is a subject for intellectual history and the history of colonialism since it involves both a theorisation of how the world is, or should be, and an attempt to assert and control that vision of the world. As Bell summarised: 'speculative representations of the globe can be traced back to the dawn of Western intellectual history, and they have played a formative role in underpinning assorted spiritual, cosmological, and political projects, from ancient empire building to the contemporary environment'.[19] This parallels what Walter Mignolo identified as 'global designs': 'from the project of the *Orbis Universalis Christianum* [sic], through the standards of civilization at the turn of the twentieth century, to the current one of globalization (global market), global designs have been the hegemonic project for managing the planet'.[20] Mignolo argued that it was important to recognise 'global designs' as products of local histories in order to assist the postcolonial agenda identified by Dipesh Chakrabarty, who argued that Europe (and European epistemology in particular) must be provincialised 'so that the world may once again be imagined as radically heterogeneous'.[21] Exploring the 'worldmaking' enterprise of the Franciscans at work in their invention of the New World assists this agenda in two ways. It acts as a reminder that there was a plurality of global visions present in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, competing for the invention of the New World, and it offers insight into the complexity of the power dynamics at work in the 'worldmaking' projects that are part of the history of colonialism.

The Franciscans offer a unique history of the invention of the New World. Tentatively poised at the boundary between orthodoxy and heresy they offer a kind of double perspective. They emerged as a countercommunity which criticised the greed and corruption of the social context of their time but were absorbed into the Roman Church when the Franciscan Rule (*Regula bullata*) was finally approved in 1223, after years of debate.[22] Rejecting the positions both of the secular clergy and the monastic orders, they became a self-regulating order, outside the clerical church but directly answerable to the papacy. Patricia Nettel Díaz

described the Franciscans as 'revolutionaries' with regard to their relationship to the traditional structures of the Church.[23] The Franciscans had a radical interpretation of poverty and a strained relationship with the Church, particularly its secular clergy, and controversies about this raged throughout the Middle Ages. Such debates not only addressed questions of Church power, but also had a profound impact on important concepts such as 'property' and 'rights'.[24] Not confined to the space of the church or monastery, through their discourse of poverty the Franciscans imagined another kind of space, free from property and rights. The radical implications of the Franciscans' ideas about poverty led to the condemnation, even execution, of some. Other Franciscans were more restrained, reigning in extremists of the Order and occupying high positions within the institutional Church. The Franciscans had emerged with a radical message, critiquing wealth and advocating poverty, but some of that radicalness was attenuated as they were accommodated within the Church. Franciscans existed both within and outside the Church, an interplay that enabled the Franciscan Order to survive and contain a history that represents radical voices and ambiguities. The ambivalence of the Franciscan position enables Franciscan history to offer insight into the history of marginalised identities, complex power dynamics, and ambiguities that emanated from Europe which have often been concealed by narrations of Europe and its interaction with the world.

The ambivalent position of the Franciscans shaped their ambivalent relationship with the history of 'coloniality'. As the theorist of the term explained, 'in the beginning colonialism was a product of systematic repression, not only of the specific beliefs, ideas, images, symbols of knowledge that were not useful to global colonial domination', and that 'the repression fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification'.[25] This book will show that the Franciscans both experienced these forms of repression and themselves became perpetrators, and that both of these processes contributed to the ambivalences underpinning the Franciscan invention of the New World.

The early transatlantic history of the Franciscans offers an alternative to the history of 'the discovery of the New World', which was often depicted, not only as a story of European power, but as part of the natural unfolding of the history of capitalism; for example, the Atlantic historian Pierre Chaunu posited that the Algarve was the essential base for 'discovery' because of 'its primitive capitalist trade, which orientated it towards

discovery and adventure overseas'.[26] However, the Franciscans, who were also poised on the edge of the Atlantic world in the fifteenth century, were driven by anxiety for poverty and not capital.

The Franciscan movement found its roots in the worries about transformations in the economic context of late medieval Europe, particularly the trend towards increased monetarisation which was seen as a challenge to the fabric of society.[27] According to Lester Little 'the friars were born from a spiritual crisis brought on by the spread of the cash nexus'.[28] Little reminds us that 'the money economy was altering some of the individual's relationships with nature, with work, with time, with human society and with his own deepest values and religious beliefs'.[29] The discourse of Franciscan poverty articulated the questions that these changes raised. The story of Giovanni Bernardone's (St Francis) renunciation of his parents' money was the foundation for the Franciscans' obsessive desire to be free from money.[30] Concern over the handling of money was repeatedly discussed in the Franciscan discourse of poverty. The Franciscan *Regula bullata* obligated the rejection of all property; yet it was money that was specified time and again. A story from the *Assisi Compilation* regarding a friar who was reproached for touching money summarises the Franciscans' discomfort: 'the saint rebuked him and reprimanded him severely for touching coins. He ordered him to pick up the money from the windowsill with his own mouth, take it outside the fence of that place, and with his mouth to put it on the donkey's manure pile'.[31] The *Regula bullata* forbade the Franciscans from handling money either directly or through an intermediary. Concerns over money also appeared repeatedly in the debates over Franciscan poverty that raged from the time of the papal approval of the compromised *Regula bullata* in 1223 and continued throughout the late Middle Ages. The concern with money articulated a larger anxiety about the relationship between man and the world. It was part of the way in which Francis interrogated the reality of the world; according to Giacomo Todeschini, Francis had denied 'that money made out of coins could credibly represent the reality of the natural and social world'.[32] The Franciscans envisaged an alternative to a world structured by the flow of money, a world that was made more real by the honesty of poverty, unpolluted by the greed, corruption, and confusion wrought by money; a world that was instead structured by the flow of spiritual poverty. Throughout the late Middle Ages, the Franciscans engineered their vision of a world based on evangelical poverty and, for them, the 'New World' created a space where this could be realised.

Franciscans came in all shapes and sizes, and the history of the Order has been characterised by disputes and rifts, and even the emergence of factions; yet they did have a collective identity, underpinned by their particular anxiety regarding poverty, which was conditioned by their Rule and by the regulated corpus of texts that contained the Franciscans' collective memory and welded them as an Order. The process of sublimating the Franciscans' doctrine of poverty into a textual and performed tradition for the Order began as early as the thirteenth century; Joseph Ratzinger argues that poverty became intrinsic to Franciscan identity thanks to Bonaventure, who was 'untiring in his efforts to inculcate poverty as the essential characteristic of the concrete Order of Franciscans'.[33] While the Franciscans were not the only group practising voluntary poverty in the Middle Ages they were distinct from their counterparts. Unlike the Waldensians they avoided charges of heresy by seeking papal approval and accepting the validity of clerically administered sacraments. Unlike the Dominicans they rejected both individual *and common* property and had a rule of their own. David Knowles summarised: 'though twins at birth, and joined in a somewhat uneasy family relationship through the ages, the institutes of Francis and Dominic had neither a common origin nor a common design'.[34] The Franciscan commitment to poverty and wayfaring was also stronger than the other mendicants, such as the Dominicans, Carmelites and Augustinians, and the monk-hermit Order of St Jerome (Jeronymites).[35] Further, they consistently had members in high-profile positions and were engaged in dialogue with the secular and religious leaders of Europe. They were particularly influential amongst the Spanish monarchs. Unlike the Jesuits who emerged much later, the Franciscans continued to be defined by a central anxiety over poverty, despite many battles and compromises regarding their doctrine. Luke Clossey admits that, although Jesuits take a vow of poverty, 'in practice scholars rarely apply the adjective "mendicant" to them, nor did their contemporaries, as the Society had a reputation for avarice'.[36] The rest of this book lays out why the Franciscan invention of the New World deserves its own story. This is predicated upon their particular doctrine of poverty, which was a specific philosophy and politics of space that drove the Franciscans' world-making enterprise which can be seen in the Franciscan invention of the New World.

Poverty led the Franciscans to theorise their relationship with, and movement through, space in an alternative way; as Angelo Clareno, a leader of the Spiritual faction of the Order, had stated: 'we have no profit

in crossing the sea. For the kingdom of the heavens are established in any earthly place'.[37] Material or imagined, this anxiety for poverty consistently linked the members of the Order across the centuries and led them to theorise their place in the world in a particular way. Their history indicates the power of imagining in the construction of the meaning of space.

Franciscan history is a spatial history; it adds an important dimension to the history of the invention of the New World, which is itself a significant chapter in the history of space. Franciscan history is a spatial history since they rejected property, which is one model of man's relationship to the spaces and materiality of the world, and tried to realise poverty, which, for the Franciscans, was an alternative model of man's relationship with the spaces and materiality of the world. For the Franciscans, poverty was both a material and spiritual (or ideological) condition. The intellectuals of the Order theorised the meaning and property condition of the space of poverty, while the members tried to achieve it by conditioning their relationship with different levels of space. The spatial-theorist Yi-Fu Tuan explained that 'man and world denote complex ideas', and so we need to think about body as 'lived body' and space as humanly constructed space.[38] The Franciscans performed an embodied poverty, and Franciscan history is a spatial history since it encapsulated a reflection upon humanly constructed space and control of the 'lived body'. The body, the materiality of its flesh and the way in which it was clothed, was the first site for the Franciscan's invention of poverty. The *Regula bullata*, which formalised and routinised the Franciscans' doctrine of poverty, conditioned it by structuring their spatial relationships. It ordered that the brothers have a modest diet and limit their consumption of food, and stipulated the way in which the body could be covered: 'let all the brothers wear poor clothes and they may mend them with pieces of sackcloth or other material with the blessing of God'.[39] The *Regula bullata* shaped the Franciscans' relationship with objects, stipulating that they should not interfere with 'temporal goods'.[40] It shaped their relationship with the place, ordering that the brothers 'should not make anything their own, neither house, nor place, nor anything at all'.[41]

The conditions of poverty de-territorialised the Franciscans and delinked them from the systems and concepts of ownership that elsewhere bound people to their material world. The Franciscans' poverty disrupted normative spatial relationships and invented an alternative relationship with the world; the *Regula bullata* ordered that the brothers should travel through the world 'as pilgrims and strangers'.[42] This delinking from the bonds of

ownership necessitated that continuous movement through space was an essential component of the Franciscan condition and Franciscan experiences. The spatial epistemology of the Franciscans is depicted in Thomas of Celano's description of how St Francis and the brothers had to leave the Spoleto valley where they had been staying 'so the continuity of a longer stay would not tie them even by appearance to some kind of ownership'.[43] Celano's work illustrates the sense of space that was peculiar to the Franciscans wherever they were: 'greatly consoled in their lack of all *things of the world*, they resolved to adhere to the way they were in that place always and everywhere'.[44] Celano's memorialisation (or romanticisation) of these early Franciscans indicated that Franciscans were committed to permanent movement in order to maintain their poverty. In Celano's *Vita Prima* the Franciscan journey is intrinsically linked to a particular relationship with time; he wrote: 'though frequently on hazardous journeys, they were not anxious about where they might stay the next day'.[45] The Franciscan journey through space was intensely physical and intensely spiritual. Later, in the fourteenth century, the intellectual Franciscan William of Ockham would repeatedly cite Christ's declaration 'my kingdom is not of this world' while defending the meaning of Franciscan poverty against the incursions of the papacy.[46] For the Franciscans, space and their movement through it was invested with meaning. Franciscan history offers insight into the Foucauldian project of understanding the relationship between space, power, and knowledge. Foucault wrote that 'once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power'.[47] The Franciscans contribute to our historic understanding of the relationship between space, knowledge, and power as they broaden our understanding of the diversity of spatial concepts, encouraging us to see that spaces—worlds, objects, imagined landscapes, and bodies—can be theorised in different ways.

This book concerns the Franciscan idea of poverty and their performance and the implications of this idea. The Franciscans' understanding of poverty has not been static and uniform but continuously debated. Franciscan poverty is an example of a living discourse.[48] There are many examples of Franciscans deviating from their doctrine of poverty and questioning the boundaries or cohesiveness of Franciscan identity, yet the collective identity has been bound together by anxiety for poverty; dissent and deviation forms part of the Franciscans' discourse of poverty. The Rule

of Poverty has linked members of the Franciscan Order for eight centuries, but this coherent group has also accommodated a wide range of different Franciscans.[49] The burden of the frequently untenable ideal of poverty led to the appearance of stress fractures resulting in internal discord, factions and splinter groups; in 1517, the papacy issued *Ite vos*, and confirmed the split between the Conventual Franciscans, who were *sub ministris* (under the Minister-General) and the more rigorist Observant Franciscans, who were '*sub vicariis*' (under the Vicar-General). The Observant family was also divided between the Cismontane and Ultramontane branches (northwest and southeast of the Alps), while the French and Spanish Observants tried to maintain governmental independence. The more radical branch of the Franciscans, the Spirituals, were suppressed in the fourteenth century, but their ideas remained influential and lived on with the more eremitic Franciscans, who had more extreme interpretations of poverty and were committed to both spiritual contemplation and rigorous discipline. Eremetic Franciscanism took root in Spain where 'houses of recollection' proliferated from 1502, and these Franciscans of the Spiritual tradition had a prominent role in the Americas.[50] The various reform movements were always centred on the discussion of poverty, and showed a desire to emulate the simple life of poverty described in the hagiographies of Francis. Despite these factions and splits, Franciscans have been linked by a strong and coherent collective identity driven by anxiety regarding poverty and maintained through the construction of a strong textual community and the performance of a routinised and ritualised identity.

The debates over the meaning of the Franciscans' poverty and the boundaries of the Order did not end in the Middle Ages, but played a role in the early history of the Americas. Nettel Díaz argued that tensions between the mendicants and the secular clergy that had characterised the thirteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute—about founding a poor church, the legal framework of the church and troubled relations with the papacy—all characterised the Franciscan establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in the New World in the sixteenth century.[51]

The Franciscans were involved with the invention of the New World through the way in which they tried to spatialise their vision of the world in the Americas. John Phelan wrote that 'the friars were given a unique opportunity of creating, on the eve of the world, a terrestrial paradise where a whole race of men would be consecrated to evangelical poverty'.[52] However, this Franciscan vision of the New World did not begin in the Americas in the sixteenth century, but was the product of a long medieval

tradition of Franciscan thought and religious beliefs. Further, the few historians that have commented on the Franciscans' vision of the New World have described how the Franciscans were building a utopia,[53] and yet, as this book will show, the Franciscans also contributed to engineering the ultimate dystopia of coloniality.

Each chapter deals with the history of space in a different way to narrate the Franciscan invention of the New World, and to delve deeper into the mechanics of colonialism. It does not historicise the Franciscans chronologically or create a genealogical history of the Franciscan Order. Rather it seeks to apply a spatial hermeneutic to the Franciscans' narration of themselves.[54] Instead of representing a period of Franciscan history, each chapter explores a different genre and acts as a shard that refracts an image of the Franciscan invention of the New World.

Chapter 2, 'The Landscapes of Franciscan Poverty' introduces the way in which the Franciscans' doctrine of poverty was a particular spatial philosophy that imagined a world without property. It offers a brief retelling of the Franciscan poverty dispute which integrates the history of the New World and reflects upon the entanglement of their history with the history of property and rights, two concepts that have played an important role in the history of colonialism.

Chapter 3, 'Feeding the Imaginative Landscape of the Franciscan Order, The Franciscan Attempt to 'Know' the World', explores particular global knowledge of the Franciscan Order. It considers how the Franciscans' global knowledge was a complex genre, involving science, religion, mythology, and observations made by the pilgrims travelling throughout the world. It surveys the geometry of the Franciscans' global knowledge network and their entanglement with mythologies of pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas. This chapter in particular interrogates the relationship between space, knowledge, and power and reflects on the way in which knowing space and owning space are related.

Chapter 4, 'The Franciscan Atlantic: Planting the Cross in the Atlantic World', explores the geopolitics of the 'networked space' of the Franciscans. It uses Franciscan history to draw an alternative map of the Atlantic world. The chapter integrates case studies on the Spanish Atlantic coast, the Canary Islands, Hispaniola, and the early years of mainland America. Franciscan history reveals an earlier sustained European presence in the Canary Islands than is usually narrated, and the history of their early years in Hispaniola and the Yucatán peninsula is also often overlooked. The Franciscan Atlantic draws our attention to continuities across the transatlantic world.

Chapter 5, 'Franciscan Landscapes of Identity and Violence', goes beyond geographic spaces and thinks about how the corporal space of the body and the metaphysical space of the ideas and cultures can also be subject to coloniality. It explores the multi-directionality of this coloniality and the importance of the Middle Ages in the formation of complex colonial processes. This chapter also emphasises the specificity of the Franciscan position, highlighting their ambivalence towards violence and their participation in their own subjugation as well as others. The Franciscans experienced both sides of the Inquisition, as victims and perpetrators, and this chapter uses the example of the transatlantic Inquisition and its medieval foundations in order to illustrate the Franciscans' role in the complex power dynamics that spilled across the Atlantic.

Chapter 6, 'The New World at the End of the World', explores the geopolitics of imagined space. The European invention of the New World was an act of imagination. This chapter looks at the way that, during the late Middle Ages, Franciscans developed eschatologically structured histories of the world which emphasised the importance of the Franciscans in bringing about the final age and a new world order of spiritual poverty. It maps the migration and transformation of these ideas from hot-beds of Franciscan Spiritualism in Sicily, across the Atlantic to the Catalan region, elsewhere in Spain, and across the Atlantic to the Americas. It explores the way in which the Franciscans tried to forge in the Americas the New World that they had imagined throughout the Middle Ages.

There have been a number of books noting the importance of the Franciscans' special vision of the New World (by Georges Baudot, Patricia Nettel Díaz, and John Phelan), and their role in the violent conquest of the New World (by Inga Clendinnen, Patricia Lopes Don, and Richard Greenleaf), but these have predominantly focused on the history of the Franciscans in Mexico in the sixteenth century. They have also either focused upon the Franciscans' millenarian ideas or their role in the Inquisition. This book locates these studies within a broader framework of Franciscan history, integrating the histories of the Franciscans in the late Middle Ages with the sixteenth century. It considers the particularity of the historical and intellectual tradition which developed within a Franciscan network that incorporated northern Africa, the Middle and Far East, and Scandinavia. It focuses on the intellectual hubs of this network in Sicily (which sheltered many Spiritual Franciscans when they were forced to flee from Tuscany), the Balearics (home of the mystic, Ramon Llull), and the Catalan region (home of the visionary, Arnau de Vilanova).

This map illustrates that it was in no way surprising that the tentacles of the Franciscan network became wrapped around the Canary Islands in the fourteenth century and the Americas in the late fifteenth. The book aims to use the perspective of the different dimensions and complexities of the Franciscan Order to explicate their special role in the early history of the New World. It uses this position to stress continuities across the Mediterranean and early transatlantic world and explores the way in which the interpretation and colonisation of the New World, or invention of the New World, were part of an unfolding of medieval history.

The chapters stitch together a diverse range of Franciscan sources from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (as well as some non-Franciscan sources), since these Franciscan sources are a key site for the Franciscans' invention of the New World. The structure of Franciscan archives reveals much about the ways in which the Franciscans fashioned their beliefs, ideas, and historic identity. The catalogues of convent archives are a testament to the wide-ranging intellectual interests of the order, as well as its spiritual practices[55]; their libraries included diverse intellectual tracts as well as sermons, breviloquies, and other texts of religious instruction. Convent archives also indicate the way in which the Franciscans operated as an intellectual network, as Franciscans moved between convents and circulated texts. They also illustrate the decentred nature of the Franciscan network; for example, while the convent of Assisi, the home of the Franciscan movement, has an excellent library of published Franciscan sources, the archive of the convent does not claim any more importance than other Franciscan convent archives. The *Archivio Storico dei Francescani O.F.M (AGOFM)* in Rome is a kind of centre, but diverse material remains in regional convent archives and libraries. Working with the library and archive of the St Isidore convent at Barberino in Rome in the early seventeenth century, Lucas Wadding (1588–1657) had a big impact on the structure of Franciscan history, creating the monumental *Annales Minorum*. Wadding was also involved in an attempt to centralise the records relating to the Franciscan missions in the in Rome in the *AGOFM*; some sources were moved, but the programme to centralise the records of the Franciscans' global odyssey was by no means successful, and many sources such as letters remain in local archives. For example, the *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America* lists several local Franciscan archives across Italy as well as the *AGOFM*.[56] Compilations such as the *Annales Minorum*, the *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, and *Sinica Franciscana* contain extensive records of Franciscan actions as they spread around the world, but these source collections are

mere shadows of the Franciscans' global activities in the late Middle Ages. Finally, it should also be remembered that the convent records also now have national histories printed upon them; they are shaped, for example, by the history of the various suppressions of the convents in the early modern and modern periods, which caused the destruction of many of the early documents. Franciscans fought back, however, by editing and publishing collections of the sources relating to their historic activities. Franciscans have invented their historical significance through their carefully constructed and curated archives, including the *Analecta Franciscana*, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, *Codice franciscano* and *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (*AIA*). These compilations developed out of the medieval Franciscan tradition for chronicling which can be seen in texts such as *Chronica XXIV Generalium (Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals*).

Franciscan history can also be traced outside of the Franciscan collections, convent archives, and libraries. Civic archives and the writings of non-Franciscans can contribute to our understanding of Franciscan activities and provide a critical perspective on the Franciscans' self-conception. The *Archivo de Indias* contains many records of the Franciscans' Atlantic activities in the sixteenth century, and the *Archivo de Corona de Aragon* contains references to Franciscan activities in the Mediterranean. This book draws upon a variety of sources but focuses in particular on the Franciscans' own narrations in order to construct the history of the Franciscan invention of the New World.

Franciscan history provides an alternative reading of early transatlantic history. The Franciscans produced chronicles, histories, and archives recording their special role in the Americas. The production of these sources demonstrates the way the textual community of the Franciscans operated; writings were collected over time, developed, and shared by Franciscans, and often the 'original' has been lost altogether. Franciscan histories invent the legacy of the Franciscan story, and in the written and oral traditions of their history, the distinction between primary and secondary source often collapses. For example, the *Oroz Codex* is an assortment of documents (similar to the *Codice franciscano*) relating to the Franciscans in the Americas compiled by Fray Pedro Oroz (d.1597) and edited and published (probably) by Juan de Torquemada around 1612. The *Oroz Codex* is not just a record of Franciscan actions in the Americas, but also their spiritual role in the world; it was influenced by earlier Franciscan texts and developed by different Franciscans over several years. The first chronicle of the first Franciscan Province in the Americas,

the Province of the Holy Cross, was produced by Padre José Torrubia in the eighteenth century. Torrubia drew upon earlier Franciscan chronicles, including Wadding's *Annales Minorum*. Franciscans have created a textual archive of their special role in the Americas. The first Franciscan correspondences from the Americas appear in the *Analecta Franciscana*. Aspects of the proliferation and legal history of the Franciscans can be found in the *Bullarium Franciscanum*. At the start of the twentieth century the Franciscans began to construct a whole archive, the *AIA*, relating to their role in the Americas; the *AIA* prints reproductions of sources such as letters from sixteenth-century Franciscans besides essays by twentieth-century Franciscans. However, if one traces the history of the expansion of the Franciscans' network in Spain and the Atlantic, one becomes aware of the many omissions and confusions in these chronicles and compendiums. Franciscans are still active in curating and crafting their historic legacy; more recently, Franciscans have contributed to the history of their role in the invention of the New World in the *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo* (1985).

The Franciscans were inventors of their own historic tradition, which forged guides to quotidian spiritual life, hagiography, spiritual texts, chronicles, and histories. The boundaries between the sacred and the mundane, the past and the present, all blurred in the textual world of the Franciscans. The Franciscans' specific historical tradition, which is the subject of the last chapter, was developed by key protagonists such as Bonaventure in the thirteenth century. Franciscan histories could be commemorative, instructive, prophetic, or (more likely) all of these things at the same time. During the sixteenth century the Franciscans produced a number of prominent histories of the New World which were particular visions of the New World and part of the way in which the Franciscans invented the New World. This book looks in particular at Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's (1482–1568) *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (completed in 1541), Diego de Landa Calderón's (1524–1579) *Relación de Las Cosas de Yucatán* (probably written around 1566), and Gerónimo Mendieta's (1525–1604) *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (begun around 1573), as well as Bernardino de Sahagún's (1499–1590) *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain*), also known as the *Florentine Codex* (*Códice Florentino*) (c. 1575–1577), the *Florentine Codex*. These histories were influenced by the ideas and Franciscan historical traditions that developed in Europe in the late Middle Ages and played an essential role in shaping the European history of the Americas.

Franciscan history is a specific genre which incorporates spiritual and liturgical guides, intellectual tracts, histories, and chronicles; as Le Goff observed St Francis 'inspired a literature in which legal and history, reality and fiction, poverty and truth, were closely blended'.[57] Franciscan history therefore offers a unique historical perspective. The particularity of the Franciscan source genre is reflected in the writings of the Franciscans in the Middle Ages, and the Franciscan historical tradition is continued by contemporary Franciscan historians. Although the Order, which still exists today and has many centres devoted to producing Franciscan history, has gone through many transitions and transformations since its foundation at the start of the thirteenth century, the perspective of Franciscan history continues to be produced. It is held together by the Franciscan philosophy of poverty. The continuity of this Franciscan perspective is illustrated by the Franciscan historian Regis J. Armstrong O.F.M., who wrote: 'Francis teaches us through his writings that we should look at everything through the prism of poverty'.[58] According to the Franciscans' own history, the perspective of poverty has given the Franciscans a particular vision of the world.

Much of the historiography of the Franciscan Order has centred on the issue of 'reality', but has taken the form of the 'Franciscan Question', the quest to know the 'real' St Francis.[59] This book does not investigate the 'reality' of the Franciscans—whether their poverty was 'real', whether the early documents act as historical sources for the life of St Francis and the early Franciscans—but the reality that the Franciscans were devoted to building. This follows the 'worldmaking' model established by Goodman, who also wrote: 'For there is I maintain, no such thing as the real world, no unique, ready-made, absolute reality apart from and independent of all versions and visions. Rather, there are many right world-versions, some of them irreconcilable with others; and thus there are many worlds if any'.[60] This book uses Franciscan writings to access the understanding of the world produced by Franciscans.

This book touches upon the journeys of a wide range of Franciscans. The Order produced famous travellers, who had complex and varied roles as missionaries or papal envoys, such as William of Rubruck (c. 1220–c. 1293) and Oderico da Pordenone (1286–1331); scholars such as Roger Bacon (1214–1294) and William of Ockham (1287–1347); mystics such as Ramon Llull, a member of the tertiary branch of the Franciscans (c. 1232–1315)[61]; visionaries such as the Franciscan tertiary Arnau de Vilanova, also known as Arnaldus de Villa Nova (c. 1240–1311); poverty

theorists such as Peter Olivi (1248–1298); historical theorists such as Bonaventure da Bagnoregio (1221–1274); political radicals such as Angelo Clareno (1247–1337) and Ubertino da Casale (1259–1329); powerful politicians such as Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517); bishops and Inquisitors such as Juan Zumárraga (1468–1548), violent missionaries such as Diego de Landa (1524–1579); historians such as Toribio de Benavente Motolinía (1482–1568) and Gerónimo Mendieta (1525–1604); and proto-'ethnographers' such as Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590). As this book will show, these different Franciscans contributed in different ways to the Franciscan invention of the New World.[62] These many different Franciscans have trodden and created a multitude of paths during their invention of the New World. Deciding which Franciscan to follow and which to leave to his own journey has been a difficult one.

Notes

1. See Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality", *Cultural Studies*, 21, Nos 2–3 (2007): 168–178.
2. William of Rubruck, "The Journey of William of Rubruck", in Dawson ed., *The Mission to Asia,* 89–220, 150.
3. St Francis, in "Part One: Writings from the Early Period to 1223", in Regis J. Armstrong, *St Francis of Assisi, Writings for a Gospel Life,* Slough: St Paul's, 1994, 78.
4. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The invention of America an inquiry into the historical nature of the New World and the meaning of its history*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972, 69. Edmundo O'Gorman first published this book in Spanish in 1958.
5. Carlos Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity: The Rhetoric of Cultural Discourse in Spanish America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 8 and 10.
6. Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2005, 2.
7. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, translated from Latin with notes and introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, "First Decade", 85.
8. Enrique Dussel, 'Eurocentrism and Modernity', *Boundary 2*, 20, 3 (1993): 65–76, 66.

9. See Roberta Garner, "Jacob Burckhardt as a Theorist of Modernity: Reading The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy", *Sociological Theory*, 8, 1 (1990): 48–57.
10. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, London: Phaidon, 1944, 171 and 174.
11. See Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity.*
12. Luis Weckmann, "The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America", in Antony M. Stevens-Arroyo, in James Muldoon and Felipe Fernández-Armesto eds, *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom, expansion, contraction, continuity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, 233–242, 233.
13. Jacques Le Goff, *St Francis of Assisi*, London: Routledge, 2004, 53.
14. See Heiko Oberman, *The harvest of medieval theology: Gabriel Biel and late medieval nominalism*, 3rd edn, Durham: Labrynth Press, 1983, and Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, Boston: Brill, 2000.
15. See Duncan Bell, "Making and Taking Worlds", in Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori eds, *Global Intellectual History* New York: University of Columbia Press, 2013, 254–279.
16. Ibid.
17. See Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization", *Journal of Global History*, 5, 1 (2010); 149–170, 156.
18. Bell, "Making and Taking Worlds", 258.
19. Ibid, 268.
20. Walter Mignolo, *Local histories/global designs: coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000. 21. Note the Latin should read *Orbis Universalis Christianus.*
21. Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992), 23, in Mignolo, *Local Histories/ Global Designs*, 205.
22. The first primitive Rule of St Francis was written around 1209. The *Regula non-bullata*, or Rule without the papal seal was drafted around 1221; the Rule that was finally approved in 1223 after many attenuations.
23. Nettel Díaz explained that this was "because the apostolic life of the religious opposed the structures of the parishes and the diocese

whose revenues were assured by the tithe", Patricia Nettel Díaz, *La Utopia Franciscana en la Nueva España*, Mexico D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco, 1989, 27.

24. See Chap. 2.
25. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality", 169.
26. Pierre Chaunu, *European Expansion in the Middle Ages,* Oxford: North-Holland, 1979, 155. See also Giovanni Arrighi *The Long Twentieth Century, Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times*, London: Verso, 1994, 34–35.
27. See Robert Sabatino Lopez, *The commercial revolution of the Middle Ages 950 – 1350*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
28. Barbara Rosenwein, and Lester Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities", *Past & Present*, 63 (May 1, 1974): 4–32, 24.
29. Lester Little, "Evangelical Poverty, the New Money Economy and Violence", in David Flood ed., *Poverty in the Middle Ages*, Werl/Westf: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1975, 11–26, 15.
30. See Thomas of Celano, *The Life of St Francis by Thomas of Celano* (*Vita Prima*), in Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J. A. Wayne Hellman, O.F.M. Con., William J. Short, O.F.M., eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1, The Saint*, New York: New City Press, 1999, 180–308, 189.
31. *The Assisi Compilation*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1*, 118–230, 137.
32. Giacomo Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth, From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society*, trans. Donatella Melucci, eds, Michael F. Cusato O.F.M, Jean François Godet-Calogeras, Daria Mitchell, O.S.F., New York: Franciscan Institute, 2009, 63.
33. Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971, 52. Joseph Ratzinger later became Pope Benedict XVI.
34. David Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius, A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, 49. Knowles also provides illustrates the ways in which the Franciscans can be differentiated from other mendicant groups such as the Carmlites, Augestinians and Austin friars.

35. As a material example, Regina Grafe's economic study of Galician convents and monasteries in the eighteenth century suggested that Franciscan institutions really were poorer in their consumption patterns than their counterparts; see Regina Grafe, *Distant Tyranny, Markets, Power, and Backwardness in Spain, 1650–1800*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
36. Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, 22.
37. Angelo Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations of the Order of Brothers Minor*, trans D. Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, New York: Franciscan Institute, 2005, 96.
38. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place, The Perspective of Experience*, London: Edward Arnold, 1977, 35.
39. *Regula bullata*, 101.
40. Ibid, 100.
41. Ibid, 103.
42. Ibid, 103.
43. Thomas of Celano, VP, 214.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. For example, see *William of Ockham, A Translation of William of Ockham's Work of Ninety Days, 2 volumes, trans. John Kilcullen and John Scott,* Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000, 583 and 642. *OND* hereafter.
47. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977,* ed. C. Gordon, trans. C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham, K. Soper, New York: Random House, 1988, 69.
48. For more on discourse see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Pantheon Books, 1995.
49. The Order has three main branches: the Friars Minor, the Poor Clares, and the Tertiaries. Only the Friars Minor were bound to the Franciscan Rule. The Poor Clares had their own Rule, and the tertiaries were lay associates to the Order.
50. Steven E. Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524–1599, Conflict Beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1–10)*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014.
51. Nettel Díaz, *La Utopia Franciscana en la Nueva España*, 27.

52. John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970, 58.
53. For example, Nettel Díaz, *La Utopia Franciscana en la Nueva España*.
54. Edward W. Soja, advocates a spatial hermeneutic in *Postmodern Geographies, The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London: Verso, 1989, 1–2.
55. For example, see Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscript ad Sacrum conventum minorum*, Assisi: Sacro convento di S. Francesco, 1981; and L. Alessandri e G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti della biblioteca del Convento di S. Francesco di Assisi*, Forli: Luigi Bordandini, 1894.
56. Lajos Pásztor, *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America Latina, negli archivi della Santa Sede e neli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia*, Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1970.
57. Jacques Le Goff, *St Francis of Assisi*, London: Routledge, 2004, 22.
58. Armstrong, *St Francis of Assisi, Writings for a Gospel Life*, 15.
59. This is characterised by the renewed interest in the 'Franciscan question' following Paul Sabatier's 1894 publication of the *Life of St Francis of Assisi*. In this, Sabatier controversially interpreted St Francis as "a forerunner of the Protestant Reformation, a dissenter made to conform to the plans of the Roman Church", and he consequentially precipitated the 'Franciscan Question'; see Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short, "General Introduction", in *Francis of Assisi, early documents, The Saint*, 22. Lambert characterised the two questions posed by Sabatier as "What was the nature or St Francis' ideal?" and "What was the relation between the ideal of St Francis and the will of the Church?"; see Malcolm Lambert, *Franciscan poverty: the doctrine of absolute poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323*, New York: Franciscan Institute, 1998, 5. However, the 'Franciscan Question' is broader than this explanation. The first Franciscan to respond was Faloci Pulignani, followed by a group of friars who produced the *Analecta Francisca*, and later Kajetan Esser, David Flood, Arnaldo Fortini and Raoul Manselli. A concise history of this issue has been provided by Jacques Dalarun in his *The misadventures of St Francis: toward a historical use of the Franciscan* New York: Franciscan Institute, 2002. Volume 68 of *Franciscan*

Studies responded to Dalarun's approach to the Franciscan question. The latest entry to the debates see André Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi, The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint*, trans. Michael F. Cusato, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

60. Nelson Goodman, "Realism, Relativism, and Reality", New Literary History, 14, 2 (1983), 269, cited in Bell, "Making and Taking Worlds", 259.
61. While it sometimes debated if Ramon Llull was a *merecio* and not a Franciscan tertiary, most scholars agree that his historic entanglement with the Order make his Franciscan affiliation likely. See Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde, Misioneros mallorquines y catalanes en el Atlántico,* Madrid: Patronato de la 'Casa de Colon', 1960, 44.
62. A different study on the different Franciscans that existed in the New World was produced by Martin Austin Nesvig, *Forgotten Franciscans, Works from an Inquisitorial Theorist, a Heretic, and an Inquisitional Deputy*, University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.

CHAPTER 2

The Landscapes of Franciscan Poverty

The Franciscan Attempt to Disown the World

The Colonial Need for the Concept of Property

The concept of property has played an important role in the history of European colonialism, which has been narrated as the taking possession of certain lands. It may therefore seem paradoxical that the Franciscan Order, a religious movement based upon the rejection of not only individual but also common property, played such an important role in the history of colonialism. However, looking at the history of the Franciscans in the Middle Ages we realise that it is precisely as a consequence of the Franciscans' discussions about poverty that Europeans developed a concept of property in the way that they did. The aim of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the very specific history of the Franciscans' discourse of poverty, and the way in which this has been entangled with the history of the concepts of property and rights, concepts which shaped the European invention of the New World. Franciscan history points towards the dispossession behind the history of possession.

The concept of property was essential to the European invention of the space of the Americas as a colonial space. The 1493 papal bull *Inter caetera* granted property rights of lands across the Atlantic to Spain.[1] The concessions of this bull were confirmed by the bull *Dudum siquidem*, issued on September 26, 1493.[2] Both bulls were issued in 1493 before the topographical reality of the Americas had been realised. The Americas were not represented cartographically as a separate continent until 1507 when Martin Waldseemüller produced the *Universalis Cosmographia* map

J. McClure, *The Franciscan Invention of the New World*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-43023-2_2

to accompany his *Cosmographiae Introductio*. And yet the papal bulls show that the New World had been conceptualised as European property before the end of the fifteenth century. The way in which Europeans could claim property in the Americas, and the question of whether the Amerindians were the owners of the lands and resources of the Americas, was the subject of fierce debate in the sixteenth century,[3] but these debates where the products of the trends in legal and philosophical thinking that had developed in Europe during the Middle Ages. Luis Weckmann showed that Alexander VI's bull *Inter caetera*, which invented the Americas as a Spanish possession, was the epilogue of a longer medieval juridical custom and part of a long medieval tradition of papal claims to island sovereignty known as the *doctrina omni-insular*, and had origins in Roman imperial law.[4] Similarly, David Wallace observed that Alexander VI 'was not giving Spain custody of the New World (nobody in 1493 realized that a new continent had been sighted), but rather applying the framework established by the two bulls of 1091 (*cum universae insulae, cum omnes insulae*), that had awarded Ireland to Henry II of England in 1155 and the Canaries to Don Luis de la Cerda of Castile in 1344'.[5] Despite these legal traditions the meaning of property was continuously debated in the Middle Ages and developed in particular by the Franciscans as they negotiated the intellectual and theological territory of their concept of poverty, debates that had a number of implications for the history of property.

Intellectual historians have located the Franciscan poverty dispute within genealogical histories of property and rights and recognised the Franciscans' role in shaping these concepts, which were important in the discussions over the legitimacy and limitations of the Spanish conquest of the New World in the sixteenth century. Brian Tierney pointed to the similarities between William of Ockham and Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria, two sixteenth-century thinkers associated with the 'School of Salamanca' who have been recognised by historians for their defence of Amerindians, their contributions to the history of rights,[6] and their [connected] contribution to the history of European colonialism.[7] Annabel Brett used the Franciscans to form a new teleology of rights from the Franciscans to Hobbes, which integrated the role of the Franciscan poverty dispute and displaced the dominance of the School of Salamanca in the emergence of the Western history of rights.[8] Brett observed that 'the origin of subjective right is attributed to Thomism's traditional opponents, the voluntarists and nominalists of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who are widely portrayed as the destroyers of the Thomist synthesis, initiators of a philosophy of individualism and *esprit*

laïque'.[9] This analysis recognised the importance of the Franciscans and claimed that the origin of subjective right can be found within the voluntarist position that the Franciscans adopted in the fourteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute. Tierney played down the role of nominalism and voluntarism[10] and, instead, stressed longer continuities between the fourteenth-century development of natural rights theories and twelfth-century humanistic jurisprudence.[11] Brett and Tierney both fitted the Franciscan influence on the history of rights within the existing framework of rights history. However, the influence of the Franciscans on the history of property and rights looks different from the perspective of Franciscan history. Although the fourteenth-century Franciscan poverty dispute may have had several unintended consequences for the history of property and rights, the Franciscans were in fact trying to theorise a space of poverty outside the legal constraints of those very concepts. Consequently, Franciscan history had a number of ambivalent implications for the spatial concepts that fed the invention of the New World. This chapter will indicate that the perspective of Franciscan history does not simply relocate the origin of the history of rights, but can provide a critical perspective of that history since the Franciscans valorised poverty and rejected property and rights. The Franciscans doctrine of poverty was not only important for its influence on the histories of property and rights, but for the alternative world it imagined.

Freedom from Property?

The Franciscans claimed to exist in a space that was free from property since they wanted to avoid the corruptions of material wealth and the devouring entanglements of legal systems. This was more a theoretical, or ideological, space than a reality. Their imagination of a world without property was a utopian vision. However, the position did not create a utopia for the Franciscans. As Jussi Varkema summarises: 'the status of simple users without any rights or dominion in this world was an essential part of the self-understanding of the Friars Minor, but at the same time it was a juridically peculiar position, one that was prone to provoking opposition'.[12] The disputations over the boundaries and meanings of Franciscan poverty can be seen as battles to control the identity of space; opposition was driven by the desire to normalise property and prioritise legal structures.

The Franciscans' doctrine of poverty can be interpreted as a peculiar philosophy of space; like property, its antithesis, Franciscan poverty was a theory about the proper relationship between man and the spaces and

objects of the world. The Franciscan doctrine of poverty was formed during centuries of disputes which shaped and defined the history of the Order. Arguments over the meaning of Franciscan poverty and how it was to be achieved, maintained, and communicated began in the lifetime of St Francis. Franciscan poverty was born and maintained in the urban context of Europe, but St Francis had also wanted to flee all of the vestiges of wealth and property and had established a retreat in the caves in the hills of Assisi. Towards the end of his lifetime Francis regretted the compromises that had been made in the process of gaining papal approval for the Franciscan Rule of poverty. He wrote his *Testament* which reasserted the need for poverty and rigour amongst his followers.[13] The *Testament* initiated the formation of the first Franciscan factions: the rigorists and the moderates. Debates about the meaning of Franciscan poverty characterised Franciscan history and formed the discourse of the Franciscan poverty dispute. David Flood identified five ages of Franciscan poverty: The Age of Jesus' Poverty (St Francis' time); Poverty as Asceticism (1230 *Quo elongati* until David of Augsburg's commentary on the Rule in the 1260s); Polemics and Poverty (the attack of the seculars against the mendicants in the 1250s until *Exiit* 1279); Poverty in Practice (concerning Olivi's *usus pauper* until the Council of Vienne (1311–1312), and the repression of the Provencal Spirituals); and The Age of Theory (or spite) (1322–1329).[14] Each stage made its contribution to the discourse and identity of Franciscan Poverty, but the showcase battles between Pope John XXII and his Dominican advisor Hervaeus Natalis and prominent Franciscan intellectuals such as William of Ockham and other 'Michelists', including Michael of Cesena and Bonagratio of Bergamo, was particularly important. The fourteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute was important to Franciscans' doctrine of poverty, and the meaning of property and rights, but the debates did not end in the Middle Ages. Traces of the debates over the boundaries and meanings of Franciscan poverty can be found in the Americas in the sixteenth century.

As the Order expanded, so did its problems. As Gedeon Gál observed, that St Francis' *altissima paupertas*, or highest poverty, 'could, perhaps, be practised by a few dozen wandering preachers in Italy', but 'for a religious Order numbering in the thousands, educating the young and caring for the old and sick, it was practically impossible'.[15] While the Franciscans were meant to practice mendicancy, begging daily for their means of subsistence and following Christ's demand 'be not solicitous for the morrow',[16] on a practical level this was virtually impossible. The Order

was inclined to accept donations from benefactors who wished to invest in this new form of spirituality in the same way that earlier generations had wished to invest in monastic institutions. Further, the formation of the Poor Clares, the female branch of the Order, and the restrictions around their mendicant activities encumbered the Order with additional responsibilities.[17] David Flood explained how the Franciscans' persistent need to defend their idea of poverty as they gained the social wealth of respect (which the factual poor do not have) led to the development of the juridical language of *dominium* and usage,[18] and this stockpiled problems for the Franciscan poverty dispute. The pro-Franciscan popes tried to free the Franciscans from the traps in which they were ensnared, but this increased their entanglement in legal frameworks. Gregory IX issued *Quo elongati* in 1230 which initiated papal ownership of the Franciscans' immoveable goods. Flood explained that *Quo elongati* 'replaced economic independence with juridical distinctions' by providing 'juridical devices to shore up the Order's way of dealing with money and ownership' through the designation of *nuntii* (intermediaries).[19] This system was further developed by Innocent IV's *Ordinem vestrum*, who extended papal ownership to the Franciscans' moveable goods.[20] These legal entanglements fed the Franciscans need to theorise their space of poverty.

The possibility for contradictions within the Franciscans' position intensified their theorisation of their propertyless state of poverty. Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio, Minister-General of the Franciscan Order between 1257 and 1274, delineated four categories of temporal goods: 'ownership, possession, usufruct, and simple use (*simplex usus*)'.[21] Bonaventure's work initiated the distinction between *dominium* (ownership/ruling) and *usus* (use):

> There are two aspects to the possession of temporal goods: ownership and use. Since the use of temporal goods is a necessary condition of the present life, evangelical poverty consists in renouncing the ownership and property of earthly things, but not their use, which must be limited, however, in the spirit of the Apostle's advice to Timothy: having food and sufficient clothing, with these let us be content.[22]

This statement was essential to the logistics of Franciscan poverty. Bonaventure explained the different forms of ownership:

> the first form of common ownership is that which flows from the RIGHT OF THE NECESSITY OF NATURE, through which anything required for the sustainment of natural life becomes the share of the man who is in

> extreme need of it, even though it may have been appropriated by someone else; secondly the 'RIGHT OF FRATERNAL CHARITY' (which is held in common); thirdly the 'civil law of the world, through which an empire, kingdom, or city is made to be one community of association'; fourthly the 'right of ecclesiastical donation'.[23]

He further explained that perfect poverty occurs 'by way of divinely instituted right', the vow of chastity and renouncement of one's own will.[24] Bonaventure added that simple use is required by *all* mortals.[25]

In 1279 Nicholas III issued *Exiit qui seminat*, the so-called *Magna Carta* of the Order, which made the arrangement that the papacy would own the things that the Franciscans used, although this provision also surfaced in *Ordinem vestrum*.[26] It was based on the category *simplex usus,* as devised by Bonaventure; Nicholas developed this as *simplex usus facti*, to distinguish it from *usus iuris.* Nicholas III approved the ideology of the Order, saying: '"we say that the abdication of this kind of property over all things not only individually but also in common is in the sight of God meritorious and holy'.[27] By the terms of *Exiit qui seminat*, the Franciscans claimed to live in poverty free from all forms of property while the papacy owned things on behalf of the Franciscans. As Roberto Lambertini observes, '*Exiit* placed the very existence of Franciscan friars beyond the limits of positive law'.[28] The Franciscan idea that use and ownership could be separated and that it was not only possible but also desirable to live in a world without property had a long and controversial history. It shaped the horizon of possibility of the relationship between man and the world.

Pope John XXII was critical of the Franciscan position, and especially the Spiritual Franciscans who were reinvigorating the radical Franciscan doctrine of poverty and harbouring threatening eschatological ideas. In 1312 Clement V had partially accepted the Spiritual view of poverty, the *usus pauper*, in *Exivi de paradiso* which confirmed that the brothers should be following the Rule of St Francis, which was based on the 'greatest poverty', in its 'purity and rigor'.[29] However, this did not stabilise the Spiritual position, which existed within a politically charged context.

The geopolitical context shaped the unfolding of the Franciscan poverty dispute, and consequently the history of property and rights. There were strong historic links between the Catalan region, the kingdom of Majorca, and the kingdom of Sicily, and the Spiritual Franciscans had particular support and influence in these regions. Franciscans such as Berengar Taló of Perpignan, Jeremy of Catalonia, and Poncio Carbonello

participated in the dispute.[30] The migration of ideas amongst Franciscans was facilitated by political connections. For example, Poncio Carbonello had been an advisor to Benedict XII and was in the service of James II of Aragon, acting as a royal legate in James II's struggles with both King Robert of Naples and King Frederick of Sicily (who sheltered the Spiritual Franciscans).[31] The main debates over Franciscan poverty took place at the papal court in Avignon, and later at the court of Louis of Bavaria, from where the group of Franciscans known as the 'Michelists' wrote in exile. The spaces of regional locations and transregional networks play an important role in intellectual history.

Regional politics shaped the Franciscan poverty dispute. Many Spiritual Franciscans were being sheltered by Frederick III of Sicily, with whom John XXII was in contest regarding the ownership of the kingdom of Sicily.[32] John XXII looked to James II of Aragon for support against Frederick III, but support for the Franciscans and sympathy for the Spirituals stretched across the Mediterranean, linking the kingdoms of Sicily and Catalonia, and James II did not support John XXII against the Spirituals. In 1317 John XXII sided with the Dominican Inquisitor John of Belna as he investigated Spiritual Franciscans in the region of Provence. In 1317 John XXII issued *Quorundam exigit* which condemned the teachings of the Spiritual Franciscans.[33] Four such Spiritual Franciscans were condemned by the Inquisition and burnt in 1318. This sparked the fourteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute.

For John XXII, suppression of the Spirituals did not go far enough to eradicate the threat of Franciscan poverty. In 1322 John XXII issued *Quia nonnunquam*, suspending the prohibitions of Nicholas III against debating and commenting on *Exiit* and clearing the legislative way for his amendment of earlier papal bulls. This was essential as he set about withdrawing papal approval for Franciscanism.[34] John XXII's anti-Franciscans legislation draws upon the theoretical writings of the Dominican Hervaeus Natalis. In *Quia nonnunquam*, John XXII explicitly referred to Nicholas III's *Exiit* as an example of a papal bull that may need revoking. Later that same year he issued *Ad conditorem canonum* indicating which of the provisions of *Exiit qui seminat* the papacy was revoking.[35] In 1324 John XXII issued *Quia quorundam*, a detailed defence of *Ad conditorem canonum* and *Cum inter nonnullos*, was essentially the document at the heart of the dispute.[36] Finally in 1329 *Quia vir reprobus* was nailed to the church doors of Avignon in response to Michael of Cesena's short appeal.[37] It condemned Michael of Cesena, the Minister-General of the Franciscan Order at the time of papal opposition, and defended the constitutions: *Ad*

conditorem canonum, *Cum inter*, and *Quia quorundam*. In 1328 leaders of the Franciscan Order, including Michael of Cesena and Bonagratia of Bergamo, who had previously opposed the Spiritual Franciscans, broke with John XXII in opposition to his bull *Cum inter nonnullos*, which denied the poverty of Christ.

Ad conditorem canonum, first published in 1322, was revised and republished in 1323, and was the main source of condemnation against the Franciscan position. It specifically revoked clauses relating to the Franciscans' attempt to be free from property, opposing the statement that the members of St Francis' Order 'should not make anything their own, neither house, nor place, nor any other thing';[38] this cleared the juridical pathway for the Franciscans to become owners and challenge their poverty. *Ad conditorem canonum* revoked that 'this [not making anything their own] should be observed "both individually and in common"',[39] which challenged the special premise of the Franciscan Order that they should reject common as well as individual ownership. It also rejected that the brothers only had simple use of fact of the things that they used and that the papacy owned such goods.[40] It also denied the arrangement of procurators by which the Franciscans managed their affairs, forcing the Franciscans to be the owners of their goods and preventing their freedom from property.[41]

This had implications for the legal discourse in the New World. Like the Franciscans in the fourteenth century, in the sixteenth century the Amerindians were also invented as property owners in the Western legal sense, but this did not improve their condition. Paul III's 1537 bull *Sublimis deus* claimed that 'they [the Indians] should enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property'.[42] This followed on from the Laws of Burgos, an important document in the history of the colonisation of the New World, which justified the forced migration and labour of the Amerindians whilst also guaranteeing that 'as soon as the Indians are brought to the estates they shall be given all the aforesaid as their own property'.[43] Like the Franciscans, the Amerindians could not be free from property, but they could not be saved by it either. As the Franciscans had argued in the fourteenth century, two centuries later property was not a source of liberty for the Amerindians but a form of incarceration in a prison of disadvantaging legal structures.

The Franciscans had tried to conceptualise the possibility of being free from the legal entanglement of property, to exist in a space unbound by law. In the thirteenth century Peter Olivi had developed the distinction between the realm of rights and the realm of fact. As Varkema summarises,

the main question for Olivi was whether words such as right (*ius*), jurisdictional power (*potestas*), authority (*auctoritas*), debt (*debitum*), and obligation (*obligatio*) had any real existence.[44] The debates over Franciscan poverty questioned what was real in the world.

During the fourteenth-century Franciscan poverty dispute, Hervaeus Natalis attacked the permissibility of the realm of fact which the Franciscans claimed to act in. Natalis wrote:

> it should be known that there are two kinds of power by which someone can act out something with respect to a thing, namely, the power of fact or of execution, as man de facto can eat something edible or drink something drinkable, be that his thing or not with respect to use and dominium. Another power that pertains to man is that by which he can not only de facto use this thing or alienate it, but also by which he can alienate and use it licitly and as if it were his, and this power we call the power of right.[45]

As Varkema summarises, 'Hervaeus' main point, implicit in this quotation, is that if the power of fact is not joined with the power of right, then the use of the thing cannot be licit'.[46] Hervaeus does not deny that it is possible factually for someone to use something without owning it, but he denies that they could ever do this legitimately.

The suppression of the Franciscan idea of a licit space of action outside law had implications in the colonial context of the New World which was primarily constructed through laws, for example in the New Laws and the Laws of Burgos.[47] Luis Weckmann argued that 'the laws and decrees that ruled colonization and the administration of justice in New Spain, and the methods employed in applying them, derive in a direct line from the medieval Spanish system of law, still in force in the Peninsula early in the sixteenth Century', noting that these were inherited from Visigothic, Roman, and canon law.[48] However, the intellectual history of law and ideas such as property and rights do not form a linear teleological history, and the 'success' of one idea or legal convention comes at the suppression or loss of others.

From Property to Rights

Jonathan Robinson notes that while the earlier phases of the Franciscan poverty dispute discussed the distinction between *dominium* and *usus*, by the 1320s '*ius* had displaced *dominium* as the counterpoint of *usus*;

and, in the process, *dominium* becomes explicitly subordinate to ius'.[49] Further, in the fourteenth century, in the writings of William of Ockham, the debates moved away from more narrow discussions on the property and rights of consumables to a more general discussion. The implications of this shift from property to rights have been theorised in different ways by different scholars as the Franciscan poverty dispute may have had a number of unintended consequences as it contributed to the history of property and rights. Annabel Brett has argued that the origin of property as the paradigmatic right lay in the equivalence of *dominium* and *ius* in Franciscan writing.[50] It is an interesting paradox that the Franciscan attempt to live in poverty, free from property and rights, led to the emergence of property as the paradigmatic right. Property as the paradigmatic right, a system from which no one can be free, is the consequence of the defeat of the Franciscan position.

In opposition to Natalis, Ockham tried to explain how Franciscan poverty was a freedom from the legal entanglements of property and law. Ockham shifted the defence of Franciscan poverty to focus on rights rather than property. He stated that there were two forms of right: positive (legal) and natural (divine),[51] also, for Ockham, as for other legal thinkers in the Middle Ages, natural and divine rights were not the same thing. Ockham claimed that the Franciscans were free from positive forms of right, and that *ius naturale* may be restrained by positive law, as in the case of private property relations; he contended that the Franciscans simply used things since the permission of the owner enabled to use things licitly without any rights.[52] Ockham maintained that there was a difference between things that were just and things that were licit. The Franciscans claimed to exist outside positive law. This possibility was opposed when John XXII ruled that the Franciscans had to be owners of the things that they consumed through use, and that they had to have a right for this to be licit.[53] John XXII's legislation opposed the notion that there could be a realm of simple use or action, between the just and the unjust.[54]

Ockham set out to explain how the Franciscans were free from rights as well as property. In Chap. 7 of *OND* Ockham invoked Nicholas III's *Exiit* to demonstrate the important distinction between right and permission, arguing that the Franciscans had the use of fact by permission of the granter (the papacy).[55] Ockham stated that 'a permission, which by the law of the forum can be revoked by the granter at will, should not be regarded as being among the rights of the forum'.[56] While permission could be a right, the Franciscans' was not as it granted no power to act in

court.[57] The power to litigate in court was fundamental to the Franciscan understanding of right.[58] The Franciscans had 'just use' which did not 'imply the power to alienate' or litigate.[59] For Ockham, permission unties natural right.[60] Most significantly Ockham stated:

> But when someone is prevented from using some determinate temporal thing only by the fact that it is another's (for except in case of extreme necessity one ought not to use another's thing in which one has no right, apart from natural right, against the owner's will), the mere permission of the owner, expressed through a licence is enough for him to use that thing by right of heaven. The permission, and consequently the licence, merely removes the impediment preventing one who has a natural right of using from going on to an act of using, and does not give him any new right. Therefore, one who has such a permission or licence can by right of heaven use the thing which is another's. That no new right is conferred on someone given a licence is proved by the following argument. Every right is either divine or human, and, if human, is a right either natural and of heaven or positive and of the forum. But it is certain that such a permission or licence does not confer any divine right or a right of heaven or natural right.[61]

Paradoxically, Ockham's discourse seems to contribute to the legal complex of Franciscan poverty. Ockham's attempt at clarification actually complicated a medieval mode of existence that had been explained by Isidore of Seville and cited by Gratian: 'All laws are either human or divine. Divine laws stand by nature, human by usage. *Fas* is divine law, *ius* is human law. To pass through another's field is *fas*, it is not *ius*.'[62] John XXII removed this realm of *fas*. Hervaeus Natalis was responsible for redefining right as a licit power; as the Franciscans could not deny they had a licit power, they could not be free from the legal system of rights. All action had to have a right and to be licit in order to be just. This manipulation of the terms of right contributed to the codification of the boundaries of property which Franciscan poverty challenged. John XXII's legislation refuted the grey zone of the grey friars; this had implications for the colonial context since there could be no legitimate ambiguity with regards to property and use. John XXII had decreed that it was not possible for use to occur without ownership in things that were consumed through the act of using them.[63] However this case was extended beyond the case of consumables to all acts of using. John XXII concluded that one must have a right to use something justly.

The result of John XXII's ruling against the simple use of fact as a space of licit action outside law, created a kind of expansion of legal territory,

since in the eyes of the papacy all use was either licit and corresponded with a property right or illicit. The papacy was arguing that the Franciscans must have collective ownership of their community of goods, but it also forced the conceptual debate into legal territory. The concept of right was juridified. Ockham argued that the Order does not have right because according to Clement V they cannot litigate in court.[64] His attempts to oppose John XXII by claiming that acts were the consequence of will only succeeded in making will the subject of the law. The juridification of right and will are amongst the silent but significant outcomes of the Franciscan poverty dispute. The Franciscans had claimed to have factual use of things, an arrangement originally codified by *simplex usus facti* (simple use of fact). This situation had existed outside of the realm of *ius*; it was essentially a space of freedom because it existed outside the law. The denial of this extra-legal space could be seen as having implications for the colonial context. Tierney and Brett agree that the Franciscan poverty dispute has been important to the history of rights, but there could be an alternative interpretation of this link. Given the defeat of the Franciscan position, the alternative which they suggested is difficult to conceptualise, yet this defeat is still significant. No one was outside the law, as, following the papal ruling everyone must have a property right to the things that they used, or, logically, they would fall into the opposite category of the illicit. If one applies this outcome to the colonial context, one could see a way in which the outcome of the Franciscan poverty dispute created a conceptual precondition for colonial justification. If the indigenous people encountered were not holding their property justly by exercising their right to property, then this responsibility of legal and just ownership must fall to someone else. In the sixteenth century Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda set out to explain why the Spanish monarchs must own property in the Americas since the indigenous people were not capable of property ownership.[65]

The Franciscan poverty dispute provides a framework for understanding some of the significances and legal ramifications of observations of the New World. While the 1537 bull *Sublimis deus* had ruled that the Amerindians did have property, this had been debated before this date. For example, Peter Martyr described the propertyless state of the Amerindians: 'nor did they concern themselves about *meum* and *tuum*, or as to who gave and who received'.[66] Martyr made clear that the Amerindians were not exercising their own property rights. Later in the same text he described how the Castilians could possess the New World according to an idea of First Acquisition: 'the Castilians asserted that everything existing on earth since God created the world is the common property of mankind, and

it is therefore permissible to take possession of any country not already inhabited by Christians'.[67] This comment also raises the question of the link between identity and rights but there is not enough space to represent the full complexities of those debates here.[68] As James Muldoon discussed, there were debates throughout the Middle Ages regarding the rights of non-Christians,[69] in the sixteenth-century debates over the rights of the Amerindians the debates were not concerned with whether they were Christians, but whether they had the reason, the mental agility, to become proper Christians. It is more than a coincidence that the Franciscans compared the Amerindians to children; the very category that they had employed during the poverty dispute to explain how it was possible that they had no property rights. This was also observed by Burkhart, who wrote that 'the utopia they sought to create was a paradise as they defined it, with the Indians cast in the role of perpetual children—docile, obedient, powerless reflections of the friars' own images of themselves'.[70]

Significantly, as a consequence of the conjunction of *dominium* and *ius* that took place in the course of the Franciscan poverty dispute, European notions that the Amerindians lacked property related to implications that they had no rights. The case for Amerindian property was ambiguous since the papacy had dispensed *dominium* of the encountered lands to Ferdinand and Isabella, and so the indigenous were using someone else's property and could therefore be interpreted as unjust. *Inter caetera* had decreed that these lands were the *dominium* of the Catholic monarchs. *El requerimiento*, issued by Ferdinand in 1513, was an emphatic reminder of the papal donation of the islands and mainlands to the Spanish monarchs made in *Inter caetera*.[71] In 1519 Charles V reinvoked the terms of *Inter caetera* and announced the incorporation of the New World into the territory of Castile, stating that 'by donation of the Holy Apostolic See and other just, legitimate titles we are lord of the West Indies, the islands and mainland of the ocean sea already discovered and to be discovered'.[72] These documents reaffirmed that the Americas were the property of Castile. These assertions of legal ownership coincided with the rise of the *encomienda* system and a decline in the rights of the indigenous.[73]

Necessity and Use

In opposition to John XXII the Franciscans had re-emphasised their use of things by the right of necessity during the fourteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute. Michael of Cesena delineated a 'fourfold community of goods' (similar to Bonaventure): from the necessity of nature,

from divine right, from civil right, and ecclesiastical, where goods are held collegially.[74] Ockham made valuable contributions to the fourteenth-century phase of the poverty dispute.[75] He interpreted the Franciscan condition based on this schema, and emphasised that all things were common in the case of necessity.[76]

The Franciscans wrote these explanations to defend Franciscan poverty against the condemnations of John XXII and the anti-Franciscan theories of Hervaues Natalis. Despite John XXII's condemnation of the Franciscan position, these ideas remained important. The implications of these ideas in the colonial context of the New World are complex. Despite the repression of the Franciscan position that it is possible to use things licitly without property or rights in the case of necessity, this argument is reinvented by Franciscans in the Americas. Franciscans used these arguments about use without ownership in the case of necessity to justify their colonial acts in the New World in the sixteenth century. Juan Focher used the Franciscan poverty doctrine to justify the colonial appropriation of indigenous property in the Americas.[77] Focher explained: 'in the case of extreme necessity, it is said, when the things of necessity can be acquired in no other way, all things are common…in this case there is no sin in taking from the goods of the pagans the things that are necessary for life'.[78] He added that 'those who sustain the friars must also provide for those who, by mandate of the prince, accompany or protect the evangelic messengers'.[79] Focher used the idea developed by the Franciscans during the poverty disputes, that in the case of necessity all things were common, to justify the appropriation of indigenous goods by the Franciscans and their conquistador companions.

Juan Focher's *Itinerario del Misionero en America* articulated the Franciscans' ambivalent relationship with coloniality and the anxiety that the Franciscans felt regarding their transformation in the Americas. Focher died in 1572 and Fray Diego Valadés produced the book in 1574 in Seville. It was a guide to Franciscan missionary strategy and a study of the methods for evangelising. It dealt with the Franciscan problem of needing to carry money for sustenance, which undermined their poverty.[80] Focher outlined the Franciscan position was based on Mathew 10: 'don't carry gold or silver, nor copper in your belt, nor a saddlebag for the road, nor two tunics or sandals, nor a walking stick'.[81] He wrote that the Apostles observed this type of life on all their travels in times of peace, as the towns where they preached provided them with food and the other things necessary for life.[82] He added 'but there is a second form,

told to them in Lc 22: but now you may have a purse, take it and equally the saddle bag and that which may not have (sword understood), sell your cloak and buy a sword'.[83] He continued 'this other norm of life, on the other hand, which is almost opposed to the first, was licitly practiced by the Apostles in times of persecution, this is when it is the same as on the journey in those towns where they were preaching and did not find those who could supply the things necessary for life'.[84] Focher explained that in order to evangelise effectively, they conceded to carry on their journeys, not only the food that was necessary for their existence, but also the things necessary to defend themselves for the situations where it was not possible to travel and preach peacefully.[85] Focher also explained that it was permissible to adapt to the 'diversity of the times' ('*la diversidad de los tiempos*', '*temporis diversitate*').[86] Focher explained that because the Franciscans were travelling in the New World, and not through Christian towns, they could not expect to exist peacefully through mendicancy, and he tries to locate the necessary transformation of the Franciscan condition within the known framework of Franciscan poverty. This text illustrates the Franciscan grappling with their colonial condition. The colonial context also transformed Franciscan identity. Franciscans had developed in an urban context, where socially and theologically conditioned charity networks enabled them to live lives of voluntary poverty. While the Franciscan commitment to poverty undoubtedly varied and fluctuated in Europe, on the Island of Hispaniola, and in mainland America, Franciscans could live lives of poverty, but it was impossible to maintain the full conditions of their poverty. P. Angel Ortega collated lists of the items that the Franciscans took with them on their missionary expedition as they accompanied Ovando in 1502[87]; these lists include items which deviate from the Franciscan regulations of poverty, including rich materials and ornaments for churches, and illustrate how establishing churches and convents in the Americas compromised the Franciscan image of poverty which had been possible to be maintained in the urban landscape of Europe.

Not all Franciscans used the explanation of the mechanics of Franciscan poverty to justify appropriation in the New World. Other Franciscans criticised the conquistadores' appropriation of Amerindian property. For example, Bernardino de Sahagún denounced how the conquistadores who disposed Moctezuma of his 'own property'; he denounced how they entered the storehouse and 'appropriated all to themselves…as if they were lustful, greedy'.[88]

Property in Paradise?

The Franciscans had related to the sacred-imaginative landscape of the Garden of Eden as an example of their propertyless paradise. There had been disputes over the question of property in paradise throughout the Middle Ages, but these disputes intensified in the fourteenth century as the Franciscan position, which had been enshrined in canon law from the 1290s, was challenged. The condemnation of the Franciscan position impacted upon the conceptual contours of more utopian landscapes than the propertyless world of the Franciscans. When John XXII denied the Franciscan position, he denied that it was desirable or spiritually superior to be poor. In 1323 John XXII issued *Quum inter nonnullos* decreed that it was heretical to claim that Christ and his Apostles owned nothing or in common.[89] This denied both the legitimacy and the religious memory of the Franciscan position. This attack on the collective religious memory of the Franciscan Order had implications for the legal framework which structured colonialism. John XXII's *Quia vir reprobus* had argued that there was property before the Fall, as Adam had been given *dominium* by God and held this in community with Eve.[90] As a consequence of John XXII's ruling, this paradise was not a place free from property, but the place where property originated. Hervaeus Natalis contributed to John XXII's argument that there was property in the state of innocence.[91] He reasoned that 'if the time of innocence had endured to the present day, a person would have a right to take the necessities for his life, use them, and exercise dominion over them'.[92] Natalis' opposition to the Franciscan position invented paradise as the site of First Acquisition. John XXII and Natalis went against the trend in the decretum and canon law which maintained that private property only existed because of original sin.[93] John XXII's ruling colonised the collective religious memory of paradise so that it was not a state free from property, but somewhere where lordship could exist, and where 'First Acquisition' was legitimate.

The quest for terrestrial paradise formed part of the geographic imagination shaping the New World, but the meaning of this landscape had been transformed during the course of the fourteenth-century Franciscan poverty dispute. In the account of his voyages, Columbus wrote that he was approaching the paradise of the Garden of Eden,[94] and he also wrote to the pope to inform him of this.[95] The early Church fathers had explained that private property was the consequence of Adam's fall and expulsion from the Garden of Eden and there was no property in paradise. This had been assimilated into the work of canon law and restated in the thirteenth century

by the Franciscan friar Alexander of Hales.[96] During the fourteenth-century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute, the Franciscans had defended their position by reminding John XXII that poverty was perfect because there was no property in the state of innocence. Michael of Cesena argued that Christ and the Apostles lived innocently as in paradise, where there was free use of things without property.[97] John XXII's Franciscan cardinal, Bertrand de la Tour, argued that 'Christ's life restored the world as far as possible to the state of innocence and natural law in which all things are common to all'.[98] However, in 1323 John XXII ruled that it was heretical to claim that there was no property in paradise, or that Christ had not had property.[99] This fourteenth-century papal legislation which opposed the Franciscan position enabled the European imagining of the Garden of Eden to be a place of property.[100] The dispute over property in paradise reveals the European competition to assert an imaginative landscape and concept of property which unfolded at the end of the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Franciscan history was shaped by their struggle to create, define, and protect an imaginative landscape of poverty in the Middle Ages. Franciscan poverty was a particular philosophy of space, which opposed the invention of places and objects as property. The Franciscans' utopia was a place where one could move around and live, free from the constraints of property. The battles over the Franciscans' space of poverty scarred the conceptual landscape and contributed to the legal frameworks and intellectual histories of property and rights, the two concepts that came to dominate man's relationship with the spaces and objects of the world. The Franciscans have often been fitted into the history of the development of property and rights, yet the Franciscans' story is one of loss. During the period of repression in the fourteenth century, the Franciscans lost the possibility of imagining themselves as existing in an extra-legal space, free from property and rights. Franciscan poverty was not totally repressed, but its boundaries were squeezed and its imaginative scope was limited. The centuries of sieges and defences of the conceptual territory of Franciscan poverty intensified its ambivalence. After the fourteenth century, the Franciscans continued their discourse of poverty in their texts and through the physical performances of their dress and the minimalist ritual of their lives, but the Franciscans' symbols of poverty had an ambivalent meaning. Their poverty, which had always been interpreted by the Franciscans as a

mechanism for achieving a kind of anti-material state, came to symbolise another kind of loss: the loss of an imaginative landscape of human freedom from property and law.

Finally, it is possible to glimpse the number of ways in which the Franciscan poverty dispute and its implications were not confined to the Middle Ages but continued to shape European debates over man's relationship with space across the Atlantic in the sixteenth century. The utopian Franciscan imagining of a space free from property, rights, and the constraints of human law had been under a heavy siege in the fourteenth century, but these ideas did not disappear altogether. Franciscans continued to criticise wealth and represent an alternative narrative of the Atlantic world. For example, Bernardino de Sahagún criticised the wealth and greed of the conquistadores in the New World:

> And when they had given them these [riches], they appeared to smile; and they were greatly contented, gladdened. As if they were monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was in there their hearts were satisfied, brightened, calmed. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it; they starved for it; they lusted for it like pigs.[101]

This passage indicates how the Franciscans' rhetoric of poverty and criticism of wealth acquisition continued into the sixteenth century and offers a counter-narrative to depictions of European motivations in the Americas.

The aim of this chapter has been to provide an outline of the development of the Franciscans' ideas about poverty and the ways in which this history was entangled in the legal and intellectual histories of the concepts of property and rights. While the case presented here concerning Juan Focher in the Americas illustrated how Franciscan poverty could justify colonial appropriation, the implications of the Franciscans' doctrine of poverty in the New World is more complex than this, as the following chapters will show.

Notes

1. Alexander VI, *Inter caetera*, Papal Bull of May 4, 1493, *Nuevas Consideraciones sobre la historia, sentido y valor de las bulas Alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias*, ed. M. Gimenez Fernández, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1944, 165–194 (two versions), translation from Frances Gardiner Davenport ed., *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its*

Dependencies to 1648, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917, 77. The concessions of this bull were echoed in another bull of the same date, *Eximiae Devotionis*, in Davenport ed. *European* Treaties, 64–67.

2. Alexander VI, *Dudum siquidem*, Papal Bull of September 26, 1493, *Nuevas Consideraciones,* 205–212.
3. It was the subject of Vitoria's lecture "*de indiis*", delivered in 1537.
4. Luis Weckmann, *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del Papado medieval: estudio de la supremacía papal sobre islas, 1091–1493,* México D.F.: Univ. Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, 1949, 33.
5. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra,* MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, 227.
6. Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150–1625* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 276 and 265.
7. See Daniel Castro, *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé De Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism* Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
8. See Annabel Brett, *Liberty, Right and Nature: Individual Rights in Later Scholastic Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 8.
9. Brett, *Liberty, right and nature*, 3–4. Brett noted that Tierney is the exception to this since he questions that the idea of subjective right is a late medieval development and denies the dualistic picture of 'subjective' and 'objective' rights (footnote 10, 4).
10. Tierney challenged the link between Ockham's politics and his moral philosophy, suggesting that he did not continuously subscribe to a voluntarist or nominalist system of ideas.
11. Tierney, *Natural Rights*, 43.
12. Jussi Varkema, *Conrad Summenhart's Theory of Individual Rights*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, 15.
13. St. Francis, *The Testament* (1226), in Armstrong *et al.*, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1, The Saint*, 124–127.
14. David Flood, "Introduction, Franciscan Poverty (a brief survey)", in G. Gál and David Flood eds, Nicolaus Minorita, *Chronica: documentation on Pope John XXII, Michael of Cesena and the Poverty of Christ with summaries in English: a source book*, New York: Franciscan Institute, 1996, 1–53, 3.

15. G. Gal, "Prolegomena", in G. Gal and David Flood eds, *Nicolaus Minorita Chronica*, 7–30, 7.
16. Matthew 6:34, *The Holy Bible*: authorised King James Version, London: Collins, 1957.
17. In 1227 Gregory IX issued *Quoties cordis* which entrusted the friars minor with the care of the Poor Clares.
18. Flood, "Introduction, Franciscan Poverty", 13.
19. Ibid, 13–14.
20. Innocent IV, *Ordinem Vestrum*, in Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., J. A. Wayne Hellman, O.F.M. Con., William J. Short, O.F.M., eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 2., The Founder*, New York: New City Press, 1999, 775–779.
21. Bonaventure, *Defense of the Mendicants (Apologia pauperum)*, trans. Jose de Vinck, Paterson N.J.: Franciscan Institute, 1966, 241.
22. Ibid, 127. Bonaventure cites 1 tm 6:8.
23. Ibid, 232–234.
24. Ibid, 235.
25. Ibid, 241 (my italics).
26. Nicholas III, *Exiit qui seminat*, in *Liber Sixtus*, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 (Leipzig, 1879), (2nd edn, 1959, Graz), col. 1109–1121.
27. "dicimus, quod abdicatio proprietatis huismodi omnium rerum non tam in speciali, quam etiam in communi propter Deum meritoria est et sancta"; Nicholas III, *Exiit qui seminat*, col. 112.
28. Roberto Lambertini, "Poverty and Power: Franciscans in Later Medieval Political Thought", in Jill Kraye and Risto Saarinen eds, *Moral Philosophy on the Threshold of Modernity*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2005, 141–164, 143.
29. Clement V, *Exivi de paradiso*, in L. Wadding, *AM*, 6. 202–211, in Armstrong *et al.*, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1, The Saint*, 769–783, 772 and 774.
30. José M. Pou y Marti O.F.M., *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)*, Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1991, especially Chapters Six and Seven, 207–258. Carbonell has been confused by historians by another man with a similar name.
31. Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets, the Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St Francis to the Black Death* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993, 215. Webster suggests that Pons Carbonell was himself sympathetic to the Spiritual cause and may have had a connection to Arnau de Vilanova.

32. See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After St Francis*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Press, 2001, 163.
33. John XXII, *Quorundam exigit*, in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 5, 89 (1898), 128–131.
34. "*non debet reprehensibile iudicari, si canonum conditor canones a se vel suis praedecessoribus editos, vel aliqua in eisdem contenta canonibus revocare, modificare vel suspendere studeat, si ea obese potius viderit quam prodesse*"; *Quia nonnunquam*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 (Leipzig, 1879), (2nd edn, 1959, Graz), constitutiones XX. Ioannis Papae XXII, col. 1224; translation by John Kilcullen, Accessed April 15 2011 http://www.mq.edu.au/about_us/faculties_and_departments/faculty_of_arts/mhpir/politics_and_international_relations/staff/john_kilcullen/quia_nonnunquam/.
35. John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*, col. 1225, ff.
36. John XXII, *Quia quorundam*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 (Leipzig, 1879), (2nd edn, 1959, Graz), constitutiones XX. Ioannis Papae XXII, col. 1230–1236; trans. by John Kilcullen and John Scott, Accessed April 15 2011 http://www.mq.edu.au/about_us/faculties_and_departments/faculty_of_arts/mhpir/politics_and_international_relations/staff/john_kilcullen/john_xxii_quia_quorundam/.
37. John XXII, *Quia vir reprobus*, in C. Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum* 5 (1898). The whole text of *Quia vir reprobus* is included in Ockham's *OND*, which has become the standard source for this bull. Using H.S. Offler's edition of Ockham's *Opus nonaginta dierum* in *Guillelmi de Ockham, Opera Politica*, Vols 1 and 2 (Manchester University Press), John Kilcullen and John Scott have compiled the relevant paragraphs to create an online translation. http://www.mq.edu.au/about_us/faculties_and_departments/faculty_of_arts/mhpir/politics_and_international_relations/staff/john_kilcullen/john_xxii_quia_vir_reprobus/.
38. "*quod nihil sibi approprient, necque domum, neque locum, neque rem aliquam aliam*"; John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*, col. 1225.
39. "*hoc debere servari tam in speciali quam in communi*"; John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*, col. 1225.
40. "the ownership and lordship of all equipment, books, movable things, both present and future, and also of all churches, chapels and cemeteries, both present and future, and also of other purchased things, and of things offered in divine alms or granted to the

said brothers (in which, however, the offerers or granters decide not to reserve anything to themselves), belongs fully and freely to himself and to the Roman Church, Accepting those things to himself and that Church, reserving to the Brothers only simple use of fact in such things and goods"; John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*.

41. "si vendi contingeret res mobiles ante–dictas pretio aestimato, quod huismodi pretium per procuratorem deberet recipi, a praefata sede, vel cardinali gubernatore eiusdem ordinis deputandum, per procuratorem eundem in rem licitam, cuius usus esset permissus eiusdem ordinis fratribus", ("if the movable things referred to come to be sold for an estimated price, this price should be received through a procurator by the before mentioned See or by the Cardinal Governor [protector] of the same Order, to be allocated by the same procurator for spending on a licit thing the use of which would be permitted to the Brothers of the same Order"); John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*, col. 1225.
42. Pope Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*, 1537, reproduced in Lewis Hanke *All Mankind Is One: a Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé De Las Casas and Juan Ginés De Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois Press 1994, 21.
43. *The Laws of Burgos of 1513–1513, Royal Ordinance for the good government and treatment of the Indians*, translated, with an introduction and notes by Lesley Byrd Simpson, San Francisco: John Powell Books, 1960, 15.
44. Varkema, *Conrad Summenhart's Theory of Individual Rights*, 21.
45. Herveus Natalis, *de paupertate Christi et apostolorum*, 236, cited in Varkema, *Conrad Summenhart's Theory of Individual Rights*, 29.
46. Varkema, *Conrad Summenhart's Theory of Individual Rights*, 29.
47. *The New Laws of the Indies, for the good treatment and preservation of the Indians*, New York: AMS Press 1971, and *The Laws of Burgos of 1513–1513.*
48. Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, trans. F. M. Lopez–Morillas, New York: Fordham University Press, 1992, 442.
49. Jonathan Robinson, *William of Ockham's Early Theory of Property Rights in Context*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, xliii.
50. Brett, *Liberty, right and nature*, 5.
51. *OND*, 445.
52. *OND*, 433.
53. John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*.

54. This was Ockham's argument, *OND*, 450.
55. *OND*, 141.
56. *OND*, 437.
57. *OND*, 142.
58. *OND*, 142–4, and especially 146.
59. *OND*, 537.
60. *OND*, 442.
61. *OND*, 443–4.
62. Dist. 1 c.1, "*Omnes leges aut divinae sunt, aut humanae. Divinae natura, humanae moribus constant ... Fas lex divina est, ius lex humana. Transire per agrum alienum fas est, ius non est*", cited in Tierney, *The idea of natural rights,* 59.
63. John XXII, *Ad conditorem canonum*. For example, the act of eating caused the destruction of the item, and this act could only be conducted licitly by an owner.
64. *OND*, 428.
65. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Demócrates Segunda, de las justas causas de la guerra contra los Indios,* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951.
66. Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, ed. and trans. Francis MacNutt, New York: G.P. Putnam's Son's, 1912, 216.
67. Ibid, 257.
68. See Anthony Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology, The American Indian* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, as a starting point.
69. James Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels: the church and the non-Christian world, 1250–1550* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.
70. Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth, Nahua–Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth–Century Mexico*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989, 17.
71. "así que Sus Alezas son reyes y señores destas islas y tierra firme, por virtud de la dicha donación"; Juan López Palacios Rubios, *El requerimiento*, in Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de Las Indias, Libro III*, Mexico D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951, 26–27.
72. Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949, 147, quoted from Ricardo Levene, *Introducción a la historia del derecho indiano*, Buenos Aires: Valerio Abeledo, 1924, 56–57.

73. The encomienda was a system for forcibly extracting tribute and labour from the Amerindians. The encomienda system started to function in the Americas in 1503 and was formally established by the Laws of Burgos in 1512.
74. Flood, "The Long Appeal", in G. Gál and David Flood eds, *Nicolaus Minorita, Chronica*, 213–226, 220. See also the more recent study in Appendix A of Robinson, *William of Ockham's Early Theory of Property in Context*, 321–325.
75. *OND*, 438. He also wrote *A Letter to the Friars Minor*, in *A Letter to the Friars Minor and Other Writings,* ed. A. McGrade and J. Kilcillen, Trans. J. Kilcullen, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 3–15. For a biographical background of Ockham and an introduction to his philosophical and political works beyond the Poverty Dispute see: Gordon Leff*, William of Ockham, the metamorphosis of scholastic discourse*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975; Arthur Stephen. MacGrade, *The political thought of William of Ockham Personal and institutional principles,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976, Takashi Shōgimen, *Ockham and Political Discourse in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
76. *OND*, 443–4.
77. It is woth noting that the Franciscans used the doctrine of necessity, but the doctrine of necessity itself had precedents in Roman and Canon law.
78. Juan Focher, *Itinerario del misionero en america colección de libros y documentos referentes a la Historia de América*, XXII, Madrid: Librería General V. Suárez, 1960, 87.
79. Ibid, 89.
80. Antonio Eguiluz, O.F.M., "Introduction", in *Itinerario del misionero en america*, 7–68, 42.
81. Juan Focher, *Itinerario del misionero en america*, Part 1, Chapter IV, 31.
82. "observaron este género de vida en tiempo de paz, es decir, cuando tanto en los viajes como en los pueblos donde tenían que predicar las proveían de la comida y de las demás y cosas necesarias para la vida", Ibidem.
83. "Pero fíjales una segunda forma, al decirles en Lc. 22: pues ahora el que tenga bolsa, tómela e igualmente la alforja y el que no tenga (entiéndase espada), venda su manto y compre una espada". Ibidem.

84. "Esta otra norma de vida, en cambio, casi contraria a la anterior, fue lícitamente practicada por los Apósoles en tiempo de persecución; esto es, cuando lo mismo en el viaje, que en los [ueblos donde iban a predicar no habían de encontrar probablemente quien les suminstrara lo necesario para la vida". Ibid, 31–32.
85. Ibid, 32.
86. Ibid, 33.
87. Ángel Ortega, *La Rabida, Historia Documental Critica*, II, Sevilla: Impr. y Editorial de San Antonio, 1925, 313–317.
88. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 12, The Conquest of Mexico*, Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble eds, Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1950–1982, 49.
89. "Dominum Iesum Christum eiusque Apostolos in speciali non habuisse aliqua, nec in communi etiam, haereticum sit censendum"; John XXII, *Quum inter nonnullos*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 (Leipzig, 1879), (2nd edn, 1959, Graz), constitutiones XX. Ioannis Papae XXII, col. 1229–1230.
90. "videtur enim, quod Adam in statu innocentiae antequam Eva formaretur, solus habuerit dominium rerum temporalium; commune enim dominium, cum solus esset, pro illo tempore habere non potuit, cum communio plures requirere dignoscatur." *Qui vir reprobus*, (BF V, 415), cited in John Oakley, "John XXII and Franciscan Innocence", *Franciscan Studies*, 46 (1986): 217–226, 224.
91. Hervaeus Natalis' *Liber de paupertate Christi et apostolorum*, trans. John D. Jones, *The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1999, 84.
92. Ibid.
93. See Roberto Lambertini, "Poverty and Power: Franciscans in Later Medieval Political Thought", 143.
94. For example, Christopher Columbus, "Narrative of the Third Voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Indies, in which He Discovered the Mainland, Dispatched to the Sovereigns from the Island of Hispaniola", in *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, being his own log book, letters and dispatches with connecting narratives drawn from the Life of the Admiral by his son Hernando Colon and other contemporary historians*, ed. and trans., J. M. Cohen, London: Penguin, 1969, 206–226, 218.

95. "que allí en la comarca es el Paraíso Terrenal"; Christopher Columbus "Carta al Papa Alejandro VI", in Consuelo Vareal ed. *Textos y documentos completos, relaciones de viajes, cartas y memorials,* 2nd edn, Madrid: Alianza, 1984, 310–313, 311.
96. Janet Coleman, "Property and poverty", in J. H. Burns ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 607–648, 614–16. The Fall was not the only theory of the origin of private property and Augustine had argued that it was a creation of imperial law, and that it had certainly never occurred in the Garden of Eden; in the *Decretum* Gratian cited Augustine on this point (see Coleman, "Property and poverty", 617).
97. Flood, "The Long Appeal", 213.
98. Bertrand de la Tour, "A Brief Summary of the Remarks of Cardinal Bertrand De La Tour", in Jones ed. *The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles,* Appendix, 130–140, 137.
99. John XXII, *Quum inter nonnullos,* in *Corpus iuris canonici,* ed. E. Friedberg, 2 (Leipzig, 1879), (2nd edn, 1959, Graz), constitutiones XX. Ioannis Papae XXII, col. 1229–1230.
100. Later theorists of property such as John Locke also argued that there was property in paradise. J. W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy* 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, 80.
101. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 12, The Conquest of Mexico*, Anderson and Dibble eds., 31.

CHAPTER 3

Feeding the Imaginative Landscape of the Franciscan Order

The Franciscan Attempt to 'Know' the World

The 'New World' was born on the fringe of medieval knowledge, or imagination, of the world. The nomenclature etched on to the surface of contemporary maps of the Americas would not be unfamiliar to a trained medieval eye. The name 'Brazil', which had been the name of a mythical island floating off the coast of Ireland from the fourteenth century, is now firmly fixed to the land mass monopolising the South American Atlantic coast. The islands of Antillia, which had often been cast in the Atlantic space of medieval world maps,[1] and were the legendary refuge of Christians who had established the *SieteCiudades de Cíbola (SetteCittà)*, siete ciudades, or Land of the Seven Cities, during the Islamic conquest of the Iberian peninsula in the eighth century, are now permanently fixed as the Caribbean Islands. Europeans searched for their legends in the Americas, and the Franciscans played a role in this. In 1539 the Franciscan Fra Marcoz de Nizza (born in Nice when it was part of the Italian House of Savoy) was entrusted to lead an expedition to find the *SieteCiudades de Cíbola (SetteCittà), and he described his journey in his Descubrimiento de las siete ciudades.*[2] In 1506, when Contarini depicted the space of the New World, he identified the region as the province of Tangut, as described by Marco Polo.[3] The Franciscans played a role in the discovery of medieval imaginings in the New World; Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's history referred to the griffins that could be found in the mountains by Tehuacán.[4] More famously, Peter Martyr described the New World in the *Decades* of the *De Orbe Novo*, composed between 1494 and 1526;

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drawing on medieval ideas about the monstrous races that were thought to inhabit the fringes of the world, he referred to the giants that can be found in the Americas.[5] When Ferdinand Magellan rounded the coast of South America in 1520 he reported that the land was filled with giants,[6] and this observation led the place to be called Patagonia after these fabled giants.[7] Some of the early descriptions of the Americas worked like premonitions, for example, Martyr claimed that the New World was home to black slaves, demonstrating an imagining of transatlantic slavery before it had occurred.[8] We see from these examples that medieval imaginings of the world shaped the landscape of the 'New World'. The Franciscan Order, whose members travelled widely throughout the Middle Ages, had a particular imagining of the world.

This book is entitled the 'invention' of the New World as it follows Edmundo O'Gorman's Heideggerian argument that 'only that which has been conceived can be seen; but that which has been conceived is that which has been invented'.[9] However, it goes further, to consider conceptualisations of the world as part of the process of 'worldmaking'. Possessing an image of how the world is (or should be) is linked to controlling how the world is (or should be). We can see this in the way that European monarchs with imperial ambitions have tried to control knowledge of the world. For example, in 1504 King Manuel of Portugal issued a decree suppressing all information, including latitudes, about the African coast beyond the Rio do Padram, showing that the Portuguese monarchy legislated to control information exchange in order to retain its monopoly over the African coast.[10] At the end of the fifteenth and start of the sixteenth century, there were many different forms of global knowledge and models of the world. As Europeans located the Americas, or the New World, within pre-existing spatial schemas medieval ideas were projected onto the space of the Americas. The diverse knowledge systems constructed in the Middle Ages shaped how the 'New World' was understood.

Franciscan Global Knowledge

The Franciscans contributed to the construction of global knowledge in the Middle Ages in a number of ways. Firstly, their commitment to poverty and journeying unlocked their global odyssey which fed the global imagination of medieval Europe. They produced travelogues and chronicles recording their interpretations of the world that they journeyed through. These accounts circulated around Franciscan institutions, producing a

Franciscan global knowledge network, and they were used by Franciscan intellectuals who were building knowledge of the world in other ways. Strategies and methods of 'knowing' have changed over time,[11] and a glance at the diverse nature of Franciscan attempts to 'know' the world illustrates the complexity of spatial knowledge.

St Francis established a tradition for dangerous journeying, which set a precedent that guided the agenda of later Franciscans. St Francis travelled widely in his lifetime. He reached Spain by 1213, where he sought permission from Alfonso, the king of Castile, for his missionaries to go to Morocco and preach to the Muslims, and friars were sent in 1220.[12] In 1219 Francis travelled to the Holy Lands, journeying to Syria and later, famously, meeting the sultan of Egypt. Francis set an example for risk-taking travel; the hagiographies indicate that Francis undertook these long-range journeys in pursuit of martyrdom.[13] Journeying was institutionalised within the Order, through the early texts that were designed to create a framework for Franciscan collective identity, and through the stipulations of the Rule. At the General Chapter of the Portiuncula in May 1219 it was agreed that there should be more commitment to send Franciscans throughout the whole world.[14] The Franciscan Order quickly spread their network to the near East, established a visible presence in northern Africa, reached East Asia, and proliferated in the Atlantic world. Brother Giles, one of the earliest Franciscans, travelled to Palestine in 1215 and to Tunis in 1219. In 1217 the Franciscan Province of the Holy Land was founded, and by 1235 the Franciscans had established a Province in North Africa called Barbary. The global dimensions of the Franciscans often pre-date the journeys and 'discoveries' that European histories traditionally focus upon. For example, Giovanni da Plano Carpini travelled to the Far East in 1245,[15] years before Maffeo Polo reached China (1266) or the famed travels of Marco Polo (1271).[16] Jose Sánchez Herrero has described these journeys to the East as the 'Franciscan precedent of the discovery of America'.[17] These experiences equipped the Franciscan Order with the skills and experiences for the westward voyages, but these experiences also conditioned the Franciscan imagination and contributed to the European spatial imagination, which in turn impacted upon the way in which the New World was invented. The accounts written by these Franciscans, who travelled across Asia and reached the Far East, influenced the spatial imagination of Europeans in the Middle Ages. European imagination, or knowledge, of the world affected how the Americas were perceived and this is part of the process of invention. The Franciscans have played an important role in the history of European spatial imagination.

The writings of Odorico da Pordenone, a Franciscan who, in the fourteenth century, had travelled extensively throughout the Middle East, India, South-East Asia, China, and Tibet, following a range of land and maritime routes, were used by Sir John Mandeville.[18]

The global knowledge displayed in the Franciscan travelogues appears to contemporary eyes as a fusion of 'empirical' observation, mythology, and theology, but such distinctions had not carved up and bound the Franciscans' world and vision of reality, and the blend of knowledge that the Franciscans developed in the late Middle Ages influenced early perceptions of the Americas. Giovanni da Plano Carpini and Brother Benedict the Pole referred to monstrous races (especially the dog-headed race),[19] and Odorico da Pordenone recorded passing the mountain where Noah's Ark can be found.[20] These commonplace ideas also influenced how the Americas were interpreted. In his first logbook Columbus described learning about dog-headed men who terrorised the islanders; 'furthermore, he understood that far from there were men with a single eye and others with dogs' muzzles who ate men: as soon as they captured one they decapitated him, drank his blood and cut off his genitals'.[21] Columbus tried to reconcile this with his belief that they were approaching the coast of China: 'they kept saying that the Cannibals had but a single eye and the face of a dog. The admiral felt that they were lying and thought that their captors must have been subjects of the Great Khan'.[22] Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* (1410) was particularly important to Columbus, who made 898 notes in its margins,[23] and this text was influenced by the Franciscan intellectual, Roger Bacon. Columbus used Bacon's calculations of the ocean's size.[24] Francis Borgia Steck also highlighted the importance of the Franciscan Order to the discovery of the New World when he wrote, 'constant tradition among scientists in the Franciscan Order, ever since the days of Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon, accorded with Columbus' theories in the realm of astronomy, cosmography, and hydrography'.[25] Columbus was influenced by the full spectrum of Franciscan knowledge, from their scientific ideas to their mysticism; reference to the Franciscan mystic Nicholas of Lyra can be found in Columbus' narrative of his third voyage.[26]

The Franciscans in particular contributed to global knowledge systems and shaped the global imaginations which influenced the European perception of the Americas. They developed a global network which facilitated the efficient circulation of the knowledge compiled by Franciscans on their global odysseys. The Franciscan network was capable of disseminating 'global' knowledge quickly. There was a well-established culture

of knowledge circulation amongst Franciscans in the Middle Ages, a flow of people, ideas, and texts. We have evidence that the Franciscans travelled extensively and produced writings which circulated between Franciscan convents. This flow was ingrained in the Franciscan tradition, since Franciscans were required to move between convents. Their global knowledge network can be traced in Franciscan texts; for example, the first reference to William of Rubruck's global journey appeared in Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*. Known for his work on optics and mirrors, Bacon was also interested in geography and located Prester John in 'Black Cathay' a region nearer than Cathay.[27] Evelyn Edson observes that Giovanni da Plano Carpini 'lectured at various monasteries on his way back to Rome' and that histories dispersed and influenced texts such as the *Tartar Relation* and the writings of Mathew of Paris; he adds that Odorico's work 'circulated through the network of Franciscans'.[28] When the Americas were 'discovered' by Europeans in 1492, knowledge of this finding flowed quickly through the Franciscan network. Livarius Oliger observed 'it appears from the narrative of [Nicholas] Glassberger, that the news of the great discovery achieved by Columbus was generally spread amongst the Franciscans of the Observance at their Chapter held in 1493'.[29] This glimpse of Franciscan history reveals a buzzing global knowledge network fuelling their global imagination.

Franciscans were particularly concerned not just with the space of the world but with its peoples. Franciscans were the first group to systematically design strategies for engaging with non-Christians. These strategies included the first systematic attempts to compile and collect descriptions of the worlds of non-Christians, leading to sources such as the *Historia Mongolorum* which have been described as 'proto-ethnographies'.[30] This tradition, which was established during the Franciscan journeys in the late Middle Ages, set a precedent for the Franciscan construction of similar proto-ethnographies in the Americas. The most famous example of these was, perhaps, Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, also known as the *Florentine Codex* (*Códice Florentino*) (c. 1575–1577), since the volumes are held in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.[31] The chronicles produced by Franciscans in the Americas demonstrate that Franciscans continued to be interested in the peoples, geographies, and climates of the world.[32]

It was not just Franciscan travellers that contributed to the Franciscan project to know the world but also Franciscan scientists. David Woodward observes that 'the Franciscan order nurtured many distinguished

experimental scientists and travellers whose interests frequently turned to cosmography and geography, including the compilation of the *mappa mundi*, in a way that was mirrored several centuries later by the Jesuits'.[33] Franciscans made an important contribution to the science and philosophy of 'knowing' and representing the world. This is envisaged by the world map and chronicle produced in the early fourteenth century by the Franciscan Fra Paolino Minorita, which is held in the Vatican library.[34] The Order continued to produce cosmographers and cartographers, and later, in the seventeenth century some of the grandest and most famous globes, which appeared in palaces and libraries across Europe, were produced by the Franciscan Vincenzo Coronelli.

Roger Bacon was an innovator of European spatial knowledge in the thirteenth century. He made important contributions to natural sciences,[35] and mathematics and optics,[36] and has been described as the 'father of modern geography'.[37] Bacon made particularly important contributions to the history of cartography, especially the project of mapping the curvature of the earth on a flat plane,[38] and to developing the coordinate system for fixing locations by means of latitude and longitude (which paved the way for the graticule). His *Opus Majus* not only contributed to geography and cartography, but also cosmology. In the Middle Ages, understandings of the spatial identity of the earth were often contextualised amid understandings of space. Descriptions of the space of the earth appeared alongside descriptions of the construction of the heavens.

Bacon epitomises the role of the Franciscans in the European construction of global knowledge. The *Opus Majus* (requested by Pope Clement IV in 1266) included a comprehensive description of the world. The Bible informed Bacon's descriptions of the world. He referred to the mountains of Armenia where Noah's Ark rested.[39] This was also referred to by Franciscans who travelled through the region,[40] and in the *Book of Knowledge*. Bacon used the global knowledge network of the Franciscan Order, drawing upon the descriptions of the world made by Franciscan travellers. William of Rubruck was a particularly important source for Bacon,[41] but he also referred to the writings of Giovanni da Plano Carpini.[42] The 'known regions' of the world listed by Bacon roughly correspond to the places that Franciscans are known to have visited or founded friaries in the thirteenth century. The places Bacon lists, such as Scandinavia, Saxony, Poland, and Prussia, were regions where Franciscans had focused their missions, and Bacon referred to the island of Gotland, where Franciscans had established a friary in 1233.[43]

The *Opus Majus* illustrates that the Franciscans had developed a global knowledge network which was used in their invention of an image of the world.

Bacon's work reminds us of the complexity and multiple typologies of 'knowledge', particularly knowledge of the world. Bacon's *Opus Majus* is a tapestry of the world, weaving references to classical scholars and legends with biblical geography, contemporary political landscapes such as the expansion of the Tartars, the works of Islamic scholars such as Averroes, and the descriptions of recent missionaries or envoys around the world. It is indicative of the complexity of the image of the world in Europe in the Middle Ages.

Bacon was also interested in understanding the peoples of the world, and his descriptions belay his wide-ranging influences and anxieties. Jones notes that Bacon contributed to the discourse of the identity of barbarians and rational men in the thirteenth century.[44] His descriptions of the earth expressed anxiety about the Tartars, and he repeatedly referred to regions invaded and destroyed by the Tartars.[45] He paid special attention to the Gate of Alexander in the Caucuses, by which Alexander 'restrained and the northern nations from breaking through and laying waste the lands of the south'.[46] Bacon argued that these lands must be given special attention 'for Gog and Magog, of whom Ezekiel prophesied and also the Apocalypse have been shut up in these places, as Jerome states in the second book on Ezekiel. The Scythian race of Gog stretches across the Caucasus and Maeotic and Caspian seas as far as Indian…Alexander, as Ethicus states, shut up twenty-two kingdoms of the stock of Gog and Magog, destined to come forth in the days of Antichrist. These nations will first devastate the world and then will meet Antichrist, and will call him God of Gods, as also the blessed Jerome attests. Oh, how necessary it is for the Church of God that prelates and Catholic men should consider these regions, not only for the conversion of the races there, and consolation of Christian captives in the same, but because of the persecution of Antichrist, so that we may know whence he is to come and when, by studying this matter and many others'.[47] Aspects of the medieval imagination, which were illustrated in the work of Roger Bacon, influenced interpretations of the New World. Referring to the ideas of Pliny and Ethicus, Bacon described the Amazons of ancient times, which he located in a region east of the Corasimini, recently destroyed by Tartars, just beyond a house of preaching friars.[48] He described how the famous ancient warrior-women of the Amazons 'nourished at their own breasts minotaurs and centaurs,

most savage monsters', and so the creatures preceded the Amazons in battle, and 'the Amazons overwhelmed every army more by means of monsters than by arms'.[49] The legend of the Amazons was in the mind of the Spanish conquistador Francisco de Orellana (1511–1546) who, after seeing women fight alongside men, gave this name to the South American region which is still known today as the Amazon.

Roger Bacon described the 'known' places of the world in a way that suggests awareness of, or left space for, unknown regions of the world. This notion was found within an intellectual spatial schema that suggested that, along with the rational soul, the heavens impacted on the things of the earth, and so there was a way to understand the world. Bacon summarised:

> for just as a child born and exposed to a strange atmosphere, as it were to a new world, received the impression of the celestial forces, from which he has a radical complexion[50] which he can never lose, because what the new jar received it retains the savour of when world; so is this true in regard to everything newly made, since it receives the force of the heavens at the beginning of its existence, and that force which it received at the beginning it never loses until it is deprived of its natural being and is corrupted.[51]

This observation was part of Bacon's astrology. It suggests a way in which the world could be known, but its suggestion of material determinism placed it at the riskier, potentially heretical, end of his work. This passage nonetheless indicates the complexity of Franciscan knowledge of the world.

Spiritual Knowledge

The Franciscans had a strained relationship with the pursuit of knowledge since this was seen to compromise their poverty; Francis had reminded the brothers that the first sin of man had come from the pursuit of knowledge and that those who pursue it deserve punishment.[52] Nevertheless the Franciscans developed their own genre of knowledge. The notion of a unique Franciscan typology of knowledge is derived from the romantic canon of early Franciscan documents, especially Francis' *Canticle of the Creatures*.[53] Jay M. Hammond argues that this source 'encapsulates his deeply sacramental vision of reality' and that 'the prayer's eschatological dimension has profound ecological implications'.[54] The notion

of a Franciscan typology of knowledge blends the physical and spiritual dispositions of the Franciscans, which can also be linked to the strong Franciscan subculture of mysticism. It is also driven by the mythologised connection between St Francis and Nature. For example, writing about the importance of the Franciscans in the history of cartography, Cortesão commented that 'the love of St Francis for nature inspired the numerous friars who followed him with a new conception of science'.[55] Cortesão continued, connecting this Franciscan science with their poverty: 'the Franciscans, with their humility and their love for mankind, their contact with and consolation of the poor and those suffering from social injustice, made not only a strong contrast with the aristocratic and authoritarian Dominicans, but also with the old monks secluded in their convents… the Franciscans, on the contrary, went out into the world, loved it, and confronted its realities, its joys, and its miseries'.[56] The Franciscans had a particular relationship with the world that shaped their knowledge of it. One example of this can be found in the tertiary Franciscan Ramon Llull, who is known for his contributions to the Franciscan technologies of mission, mysticism, and global knowledge.

According to the *History of Cartography*, Ramon Llull made an important contribution to practical navigation; he drew upon his direct experience at sea, and was the first to describe the nautical chart.[57] Armando Cortesão observes that 'the Franciscan Ramon Llull was the first author to refer, in 1295–6, to the new sailing chart and its utilization on board ship'.[58] Cortesão claims that Llull 'has foremost importance in the history of nautical science of navigation…and nautical chart'.[59] Like other Franciscans, Llull's knowledge of the world was influenced by his missionary travels. Llull's *Vita coaetanea* provides insight into Llull's life thought. Llull records how he was inspired by the example of St Francis to leave his possessions and embark upon a permanent pilgrimage.[60] He travelled widely throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, through the Mediterranean, North Africa, and Near East, though legends that he travelled as far as Ethiopia are no longer believed.[61] Most scholars do, however, agree that he probably died in 1313, on board a Genoese ship, returning from Tunis.[62]

Llull is perhaps most famed for producing a certain type of knowledge which transcended the empirical world, that of mysticism. This itself may have been influenced by his travelling since it has been claimed that the mysticism he developed was influenced by Islamic Sufism. Mysticism came to play an important role in the intellectual culture of the Franciscan Order,

especially amongst Spanish Franciscans in the sixteenth century such as the Franciscan Francisco de Osuna. Miriam Therese Olabarrieta explained that Llull was important in establishing the symbol of a journey with a mystical goal: 'Ramon Llull's asceticism is orientated towards mysticism. His *Amic* traverses lands and crosses seas and climbs lofty mountains to see his *Amat*. Whether he rides, swims, sails, flied, or climbs a mountain, his perilous journey is the outward demonstration of an inner reality'.[63] Llull's impact on the Franciscan Order is unquestionable; Cardinal Jiminez de Cisneros proclaimed the importance of Ramon Llull,[64] and Cisneros also introduced Llull's doctrine into the University of Alcala which he founded in 1508. Ramon Llull is important for understanding the depth of the Franciscan interpretation of space and the importance of their journeys. Within the paradigm of mysticism established by Llull, journeying was not only a way to traverse space but also to transcend it. This culture of mysticism placed the Franciscans at the border of the known world and may have facilitated the linking of the Franciscan Order with mythologies of global knowledge.

Llull's writing indicates that, even though he had not travelled through the whole world, he had knowledge of how the world was. In his *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*,[65] a work designed to convince non-Christians to convert to Christianity, he used an understanding of the world to explain the veracity of Christian belief:

> Thus, since eternity is in disaccord with beginning and end (for if it had a beginning and an end it would not be eternity), therefore it is demonstrated that eternity is much more in accord with greatness, which is infinite, than the world, which is of finite and limited size. Hence, just as the size of the world is in accord with limitedness, so it is in accord with beginning; and it would accord with end, that is to say with nonbeing, if it were not sustained by the eternal, infinite greatness which gave it beginning.[66]

Llull provides an example of how the Franciscans understood the world as a whole, and reminds us that there are different ways of knowing the world than physically seeing it.

There is a legend that Ramon Llull's knowledge of the world extended to the Americas. It reports that as Llull lay dying on board a ship returning him from his mission in Africa, he revealed to the crew that: 'Beyond the curve of the sea which girds England, France, and Spain, opposite the continent which we see and know, there is another continent which we

neither see nor know. It is a world which is ignorant of Jesus Christ'.[67] The Franciscan chronicler Lucas Wadding reported that a 'Stefano Colombo', assumed to be a relative of Christopher Columbus, was amongst the crew who received this knowledge from Ramon Llull.[68] This legend has been evoked by Franciscans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and used to illustrate the importance of the Franciscans to Christopher Columbus' voyage to the New World.[69] The nineteenth-century Romantic author and Franciscan tertiary Emilia Pardo Bazán described how Llull realised that the earth was round,[70] and conceived of a continent to the west of Europe, although she added that 'this was not known as "America", of course'.[71] Pardo Bazán speculated whether America was in the minds of the Franciscans while it was not in Columbus'.[72] This is just one of the many mythologies of the Franciscans' pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas.

Pardo Bazán's romantic writing encapsulates the idea that the Franciscans had a particular knowledge of the world which predisposed them to knowing America. She wrote 'for the Friars, the invention of lands was the continuation of the idea of spiritual expansion of the seraphic founder'.[73] She continued, writing that 'the positive character of Franciscan philosophy renewed the totality of the concept of the world, and its habits of expansion and translation prepared the knowledge of all the lands'.[74] While it might seem strange to include the musings of a nineteenth-century author here, her words articulate the sense that there was something particular about the Franciscan Order and the way in which they knew the world. This notion seems to be implicit behind the variety of mythologies and conspiracies regarding the Franciscans' role in pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas.

Like St Francis and other Franciscans, Llull was thought to be a prophet. Prophecy was a genre of knowledge that was particularly potent in the Middle Ages, and with which the Franciscans were entangled. This different genre of knowledge related to a different genre of time and both of these were developed by the Franciscan Order. These ideas influenced Columbus, who tried to explain to Queen Isabella: 'the prophets wrote about the future as if it were past and about the past as if it were yet to happen and similarly about the present'.[75] In this sense the Franciscans did have a kind of foreknowledge of the New World.

The Franciscan 'Discovery' of the New World

As the New World was invented and not discovered it is therefore not surprising to find notions that the New World was known in Europe before Columbus' 'discovery' in 1492. Beyond Nordic settlement in the North Americas,[76] there are many more narratives of medieval knowledge of the Americas.[77] It has been argued that Zuane Pizzigano's 1424 Portolan chart depicts the Antillia islands. It has also been argued that the extended Asian peninsula on Henricus Martellus' c.1489 world map, also known as the 'Dragon's Tail', represents a pre-Columbian map of the Americas.[78] The Columbian historian Gustavo Vargas Martínez claimed that 'America was well known on the shores of the Atlantic by the European sailors at the end of the fourteenth century'.[79] Elsewhere Cortesão suggests that the Americas can be seen on a portolan chart from 1424.[80] What is, perhaps, more surprising is the quantity and variety of ways in which the Franciscan Order that have been connected with pre-Columbian knowledge of the New World.

Franciscans often figured in the notion that the Americas were known before they were 'discovered' by Columbus. Mendieta began his *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* by explaining that Columbus knew of the Americas before setting out.[81] He wrote that years earlier a Spanish caravel was blown westerly while sailing in the Atlantic and eventually returned back at the island of Madeira where Columbus was living at that time. Further, Mendieta reported that Columbus took in the pilot who was starving after the voyage and died in Columbus' house, and this gave Columbus the idea of searching for the New World.

The legend of the Franciscans' of La Rábida's role in the discovery of the New World is invented in Franciscan sources. The first volume of the *AIA* begins with the significance of La Rábida; 'La Rábida, gateway of the modern age, in history will forever symbolise the link between two worlds and will be the perpetual proclaimer of apostolic and social action of the Order, deeply rooted, since the start of the thirteenth century, in the Spanish dream, to have, there in America, its purest glories and most fruitful heroisms'.[82] The link was also stressed in the first Latin American Franciscan chronicle.[83] The Franciscan Father Antonio Enríquez wrote that 'it is with the arrival of Columbus at the Franciscan convent of La Rábida when he [Columbus] entered the history of the discovery of America by the front door'.[84] It is thought that Columbus visited the convent of La Rábida in 1485 and 1491. La Rábida, on the Spanish

Atlantic coast in the important maritime town of Palos de la Frontera in the Huelvan Province of the Andalucían region, was an important node in a much larger Franciscan network. The reasons for Columbus' visit to La Rábida, and its importance in the European 'discovery' of America, have generated debate. Some scholars suggest that Columbus was just looking for somewhere to leave his son. In some narratives the Franciscans simply encouraged Columbus' plans and using their Franciscan network to help him reach the ear of the Castilian Queen by contacting her Franciscan confessor, Fr Hernando de Talavera, and helping him gain financial backing for his enterprise.[85] While we cannot know what knowledge was exchanged at La Rábida, this Franciscan outpost in the vibrant medieval maritime hub of Palos was certainly an important forum for the creation of Columbus' case for the westward voyage. It hosted the 'La Rábida talks' which drew together Columbus, Franciscans, and local seamen to gather evidence of the efficacy of the westerly voyage to present to Queen Isabella. Others have suggested that Columbus did not just go to the Franciscans for practical help but because the Franciscans were known to the gatekeepers of global knowledge.[86] At La Rábida Columbus met with the Franciscans Juan Perez, a former confessor of Queen Isabella, and Antonio de Marchena, a notable intellectual, famed astronomer, and cosmographer.[87] Gustavo Vargas Martínez, who argued that Martellus' 1489 map evidences pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas in Europe, indicated that Marchena may have known about America. Vargas Martínez shrouded this implication in mystery, adding that 'no one knows what secrets Marchena may have shared'.[88]

The Franciscan historian Gerónimo Mendieta presented this event as a typically Franciscan story. He reported that the La Rábida friar, Juan Pérez de Marchena, whom he described as a humanist and cosmographer who knew more than Ptolemy, showed great bravery in taking the 'lost man' Columbus to the monarchs and backing the plan that had been seen as madness by others.[89] Mendieta described Columbus as poor, making the Franciscans more disposed to help him, and share their knowledge of the world with him.[90] Mendieta described the way in which the Franciscan had a special knowledge of the world; he wrote that 'this poor and penitent friar [Marchena] was a spiritual and devout man, more than a cosmographer, and he reached knowledge of these new lands and people, as yet unknown, not by human science but by divine revelation'.[91]

La Rábida nurtures the mythology of its role in the discovery of the New World and the possibility of its pre-Columbian knowledge of the

Americas. Within the convent hangs a contemporary painting of the local fifteenth-century sailor, Pedro de Velasco, who is reported to have sailed to the Far Atlantic and given advice to Columbus at La Rábida. Franciscan history blurs the edges between myth and history, yet produces an important perspective. La Rábida houses an eclectic archive of memorabilia of discovery and the voyages of Columbus in particular, which was documented in *The Relics of Columbus*.[92] Interestingly, *The Relics of Columbus* begins with a section on the 'geographical knowledge and science of navigation at the time of Columbus'.[93] It lists a range of items indicating medieval knowledge of the Americas, including references to Norse contacts with the Americas, a facsimile of the Toscanelli map and letter, and Columbus' annotations of the classical and fifteenth-century sources that generated medieval knowledge of the New World. The collection included a portrait of Kublai Khan, with the description that 'the emperor of the Mongols is said to have visited America in the thirteenth century' and references volumes arguing that there was a pre-Columbian Chinese and Mongol occupation of Peru and Mexico.[94] The inclusion of this Eastern dimension is interesting since it is known that Franciscans were in the East from the thirteenth century. The collection is a consciously constructed monument to the legendary role of the Franciscans in the discovery of the New World, and portrays a fractured image of their complex entanglement with the New World. The collection invents the Franciscans as the custodians of the intellectual medieval network that facilitated the discovery of the New World. It also suggests that the Franciscan intellectual network embodied a worldview that was not exclusively Eurocentred, but included knowledge from distant missions. The collection suggests that pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas would not have seemed strange in the context of the Franciscans medieval knowledge network.

The Franciscans have been entangled with other mythologies of pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas in Europe. Where there are debates and conspiracies about knowledge of the Americas in medieval Europe, there are Franciscans. For example, the Vinland map emerged in the 1960s; it depicted regions of North America and was reportedly produced around 1440 by a Franciscan.[95] The words '*fratres nostri ordinis*' can be found on the map, which was found with a copy of Giovanni da Plano Carpini's *Tartar Relation*; this was assumed to indicate a Franciscan. The thesis of Franciscan authorship was expounded by George Painter, who added that the 'map shows interest in missionary journeys and Christian communities in outlaying parts of the world—Central Asia, Greenland

and Vinland, the Nestorians of China, the realm of Prester John; and the Franciscans, ever since their foundation, had engaged in missionary exploration more energetically than other orders, even the Dominicans'.[96] Its authenticity was much debated,[97] and even as a fraud it is connected with the Franciscan Order. Kirsten A. Seaver explains that early in the post-1965 Vinland map debate, Luka Jelic was suspected of creating the map. Seaver adds that 'Jelic's Franciscan affiliation was a major reason for suspecting him of having authored or co-authored the Vinland map because the map emphasises the early reach of Rome's missionaries as much as Jelic's writings about the Norse had done, and because his religious order seemed to connect with a long legend just below *Thule ultima* on the map'.[98] Seaver disagrees that Jelic was the forger and looked for other candidates. Whether the Vinland map is authentic as P.D.A. Harvey suggests,[99] or is a modern forgery, it is intriguing that Franciscans have been entangled in all the twists of the history of this document. Genuine or forgery, its association with the Franciscan Order, known for their global networks, contributes to its mystique.

The extent of knowledge of western lands in Europe in the Middle Ages is debated. The Norse are long known to have settled western Greenland, and the 1950s discovery of a Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland by Jørgen Meldgaard and Helge Ingstad confirmed that Vikings had reached America in the tenth century.[100] Harvey writes 'that these settlements took place is not in question, and the [Vinland] map adds nothing to our knowledge of them; its interest lies in showing that people in central Europe, where this map was seemingly drawn, were aware of them in the mid-fifteenth century'.[101] James Robert Enterline devotes his book to showing evidence that residents of the Norse colonies on Greenland transmitted knowledge of the Americas to Europe in the centuries preceding Columbus, via maps and traveller descriptions.[102] Enterline argued that 'vague bits of information about the lands to the west…might have gotten to Europe by various unofficial, unrecorded channels, both before and after 1400. A similar thing happened with information from unrecorded New World explorations after 1500'.[103] Whether such knowledge was transmitted into Franciscan knowledge networks is a matter of more speculation. The Franciscan network did encompass Scandinavia early on in the thirteenth century. Franciscans proliferated through eastern Europe and into Scandinavia and Russia.[104] The first friars were sent to Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and Norway between 1232 and 1239.[105] The first friary was founded in Visby on Gotland in 1233.[106]

Gunnar Thompson, an author who has embraced a range of mythologies concerning pre-Columbian voyages, argued that a map produced by the Venetian Cartographer Albertin DeVirga in 1414 shows North America as a continent northwest of Norway, and, more surprisingly, South America, as a continent southeast of Asia.[107] Thompson argued:

> the Northern regions on the Venetian map were probably based on North Atlantic expeditions and geographical surveys undertaken by the English friar, Nicholas of Lynn, between 1330 and 1360 AD. The friar's expeditions, commissioned by King Edward III of England, sought to fulfil the dream of Roger Bacon who proposed the creation of a scientific map of the world. Bacon believed that such a map would be an invaluable aid to Christian merchants and travellers. The mapping effort of the Franciscan brotherhood resulted in an accurate map—the long lost 'Friar's Map'. Thus began a tradition of cartography that eventually involved Prince Henry the Navigator, Claudius Clavus, Andrea Bianco, Paolo Toscanelli, Fra Mauro, Henricus Martellus, and Martin Behaim. The friar's 1360 manuscript, *Inventio Fortunatae*, convinced the Portuguese to commit their maritime resources to a trans-South African approach to the Orient; even Columbus fell under the spell of the Franciscan cosmography.[108]

This illustrates the importance of the Franciscans to mythologies of pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas. It has been suggested that Nicholas of Lynn, visited the Arctic Circle and produced a travelogue in 1360 called the *Inventio Fortunatae* which showed North America. Franciscans were based in Northern regions, were prominent proponents of global knowledge, and had a veil of mystique derived from their subculture of mysticism. Thompson was taken in by the mystique and framework for connections offered by the Franciscan Order. He assumed Nicholas of Lynn was a Franciscan and linked the generation of the *Inventio Fortunatae* to a Franciscan knowledge culture. He argued that Bacon's scientific cartography inspired the Franciscans, and Nicholas of Lynn's 'skill with the astrolabe resulted in the first scientific map of North America in 1360', years before John Cabot's 'official discovery' in 1497.[109] Enticing as these connections are, the idea that Nicholas of Lynn was a Franciscan derived from Richard Hakluyt's *Principal navigations voyages traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*,[110] and it is more probable that Nicholas of Lynn was a member of the Carmelite Order. Nevertheless, this tale demonstrates another dimension of the complex entanglement between the Franciscans and mythologies of pre-Columbian

knowledge of the Atlantic world. Further, the *Inventio Fortunatae* itself is a problematic document, which only exists now in references made to it in other sources. Johann Ruysch's 1507–1508 map depicted islands around the North Pole and referred in the margins to the *Inventio Fortunatae* as a source of knowledge. While the *Inventio Fortunatae* is now lost, Enterline argues that it influenced the geographic imagination of Clavus, Behaim, Ruysch, and Mercator.[111] Enterline summarises that Jacob Cnoyen of the Bosch's *Itinerary of all Asia, Africa, and the North* (also lost) contained the knowledge of the *Inventio Fortunatae*, and was quoted by Gerard of Mercator in a letter to John Dee (died 1609).[112] John Dee produced a chart of the known world, including a timeline of discovery and conquests, which referred to the *Inventio Fortunatae* and its Franciscan production; he wrote that in 1360 'a fryer of Oxford, being a good astronomer went in company with others to the most northern lands of the world: and there leaving his company he travelled alone, and purposely described all the northern lands' in the *Inventio Fortunata*.[113] Despite problems surrounding the document of the *Inventio Fortunatae* questioned about the identity of Nicholas of Lynn, the way in which its history can be traced offers insight into the construction and circulation of knowledge of the world in the Middle Ages, and, once again, the Franciscans have played an important role in this.

Losing the Canary Islands, a Study in Agnotolgy

Franciscans were not only entangled in global knowledge stories in the North Atlantic but also the Near Atlantic. It is known that Tedisio Dorio and the Vivaldi brothers undertook an expedition to the Canary Islands in 1291, an expedition which is thought to have included Franciscans. The Vivaldi expedition had left from Majorca where, prompted in particular by Ramon Llull, the Franciscans had become quite influential. This connection was noted by Felipe Fernández-Armesto, who wrote that Majorca, the Atlantic world staging post with an historic connection to the Canaries, 'was the home of a school of missionaries, chiefly Franciscans, inspired by Ramon Llull's (1232–1316) methods of evangelisation' and that 'Llullian missionaries were to be among the most frequent early travelers to the Canaries'.[114] In 1341 there was an expedition to the Canary Islands which had a Genoese pilot named Nicoloso de Recco and a ship manned by Genoese, Castilians, Portuguese, and 'other Spaniards'. A narrative of this voyage survives from Boccaccio, who used letters, written

by Florentine merchants established in Seville, which arrived in Florence in 1341.[115] Despite these voyages Jean de Bethencourt's conquest of the Canary Islands in 1402 has been described as the moment of their 'discovery' or 'rediscovery'.

The status of knowledge of the Canary Islands in medieval Europe is ambiguous, but the narrative of their 'discovery' or 'rediscovery' in the fourteenth century is an important chapter not just in the history of the Canary Islands and European knowledge of them, but constituted a new chapter in the relationship between knowledge, space, and power.[116] The Canary Islands were known in the classical world as 'Elysian Fields' or 'Fortunate Isles', and were described in the works of Strabo and Pomponius Mela. Pliny was aware of the Fortunate Isles through the geographical survey commissioned by King Juba of Mauritania. Sertorius gave an account of the Fortunate Isles after the Punic Wars, which was recorded by Plutarch. R.H. Major, a nineteenth-century writer for the Hakluyt series, observed: 'in the poems of Homer the ocean is treated like a river beyond which at the earth's confines were the Elysian fields which Hesiod and Pindar made to be surrounded by water, so that the habitations of the blest were transformed into islands, and hence, probably, originated the name of the Insulæ Fortunatæ or Fortunate Islands'.[117] Legends of the travels of St Brendan (c. 578) speculate that he may have reached some Atlantic Islands. 'Brendan Island' appears on the 1270 Ebstorf map, and the Hereford mappa mundi (c.1300) depicted a group of islands, labelled the '*fortunate insulae sct brandani*' which were situated in the approximate location of the Canaries. Evelyn Edson writes that 'it is puzzling that they [Atlantic Islands] appear on sea charts during the fourteenth century and in the *Libro de Conoscimiento*, before their discovery is otherwise reported'.[118] It is difficult to determine when this classical knowledge of the Canary Islands became 'unknown'. David Wallace begins his chapter on the Canary Islands by writing about 'the discovery or rather rediscovery of the Canary Islands in the fourteenth century'.[119] However, this neglects knowledge of the 1291 expedition to the Canary Islands. Petrarch described the Canary Islands in his *Life of Solitude*, written in 1346, Petrarch wrote: 'I pass over the Fortunate Isles which, being situated at the extreme west are near and better known to us but are as remote as possible from India and the North, a land famed through the writings of Horace', and added that the Genoese penetrated the islands 'in the memory of our fathers'—probably referring to the expedition of the Vivaldi.[120] The fourteenth century was not so much a new chapter in

'empirical' global knowledge in Europe, but a new chapter in the genre of global knowledge in Europe. Fourteenth-century Europe witnessed the advance of the importance of the narrative of 'discovery', which formed an essential dimension of the Renaissance culture. Wallace argued that the 'rediscovery' of the Canary Islands formed 'a perfect physical complement for the recuperative labours of humanist philology'.[121] Wallace suggested the darker side of this fourteenth-century Renaissance connection, observing that 'the humanist classicism inaugurated by Boccaccio and Petrarch sustains the core classical practices of enslavement'.[122]

The Renaissance genre of 'discovery' was extended to the Americas as encounters had to be cast as discoveries as this was part of the way in which Europeans claimed ownership of 'new' spaces. The Florentine poet Guiliano Dati was swift to cast Columbus' discovery in poetry[123] in a literary model that mimicked that established by Petrarch and Boccaccio for depicting the 'rediscovery' of the Canary Islands.[124] The literary genre of the 'discovery' of space played a role in the construction of space as property. Andrew Fitzmaurice has traced how the concept of *nullius* was developed in Roman law to justify occupation and was used in the sixteenth century by Francesco de Vitoria, one of the so-called fathers of international law, as he built the legal framework for justifying European expansion.[125] Vitoria argued that one of the possible justifications for the European conquest of America was 'by right of discovery (*in iure inventionis*)'.[126] Significant from the fourteenth century, 'discovery' was invented in literature and law as a way of owning rather than knowing space. 'Discovery' has played an important role in the discourse of modernity as well as colonialism. In the twentieth century one historian wrote that 'the supreme romance of human achievement is how man discovered his earth'.[127]

There is evidence that knowledge of the Canary Islands existed in the Islamic world which, it should be remembered, was not exterior to 'Europe' in the Middle Ages. The islands were known in the Muslim world as the Islands Khaledat. David Wallace reports that in the tenth century, Ben Farrouk, the Arab captain guarding the Portuguese coast against marauding Normans, visited Gran Canaria and was welcomed by Guanarteme, the chieftain.[128] Wallace also notes that 'the Nubian geographer Sharif-al-Idrisi writes of further Arab expeditions setting off from Lisbon in the eleventh century', and in the fourteenth century the islands were discussed by Ibn Khaldun.[129] This suggests that there was knowledge of the Canary Islands in the Middle Ages, and raises the question again,

who did not know about the Canary Islands? Evidence of Arabic knowledge of the Canary Islands in the tenth century illustrates the cultural relativism and imperial dimension of European 'discovery' narratives.

There were competitions for the ownership of the Canary Islands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1344 Clement VI issued the bull *Sicut exhibitae* (or *tue devotis sinceritas*), granting the Canary Islands to Luis de la Cerda (a Castilian prince living in the kingdom of France), who became the 'Prince of Fortune', charged with spreading Christianity to the isles.[130] Despite the 1344 grant to Luis de la Cerda, the Jewish Majorcan, Abraham Cresques, placed the Genoese shield in the Canaries in his 1375 Catalan Atlas.[131] This is probably the consequence of the suspected visit to the islands by Genoa's Lancelote Malocello, which occurred 'probably prior to 1339'.[132] There is evidence for this expedition in Jean de Béthencourt's narrative of the Canaries, which refers to 'an old castle which was said to have been built by Lancelot Maloisel'.[133] In the fifteenth century, disputes over the 'discovery' of the Canary Islands mutated into disputes of the ownership of the Canary Islands. The issue of who 'rediscovered' the island was important as it related to the question of who had rights to that land. In 1406 Jean de Béthencourt left his nephew, Maciot de Béthencourt, as governor-general of the Canaries.[134] Major reported that 'in 1414, the exactions and tyranny of Maciot de Béthencourt had caused Queen Catherine of Castile to send out three war caravels under the command of Pedro Barba de Campos, Lord of Castro Forte, to control him'.[135] Despite the fact that Jean de Béthencourt was alive and Maciot was only the regent, Maciot ceded the islands to Barba, then sold them to Prince Henry the Navigator, and also granted them to the Spanish Count of Niebla. Major reported that 'Pedro Barba de Campos sold them to Fernando Perez of Seville, and the latter again to the aforesaid Count of Niebla, who disposed of them to Guillem de Las Casas, and the latter to his son-in-law Fernam Peraza'.[136] Despite these numerous propriety transfers, Jean de Béthencourt had left the islands in his will to his brother Reynaud. The Portuguese appealed to the new pope Eugenius IV concerning their right to the Canaries. Eugenius granted the Canaries to Portugal, but the Castilians reacted by sending an embassy to the council of Basel. Juan II's jurists drew up an argument to convince Eugenius that he had acted improperly regarding Castile. Consequently Eugenius IV wrote privately to Duarte asking him not to trespass on the rights of Castile. In 1454 Nicholas V awarded the Canary Islands to Portugal. After the Treaty of Alcaçova in 1479 between Afonso V of

Portugal and Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, it was decided that the Canaries belonged to the Castilians.[137] The papacy's involvement in competition between the Spanish kingdoms and Portugal contributed to the expansion of European control of the medieval Atlantic world, but the control of spatial knowledge and narratives of discovery and conquest played an essential role in colonial pretensions to this Atlantic space.

There is evidence that knowledge of the Canary Islands, and perhaps even the Azores was part of the Franciscans' global knowledge network from as early as the fourteenth century. However, this Franciscan knowledge does not conform to the genre of discovery and conquest. Long associated with the Franciscan Order, the *Libro del conoscimiento de todos los reynos tierras señoríos que son por e mundo de las señales armas que han cad tierra señorío por sy de los reyes señores que los prouee* (*Book of the Knowledge of all the kingdoms, lands, and lordships that are in the world, and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them*) is a text which disrupts familiar maps of European global knowledge. The *Libro Conoscimiento*, attributed to an unknown Spanish Franciscan of the fourteenth century and contained within the *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*,[138] reshapes conceptions of European global knowledge in the Middle Ages, especially of the Atlantic world. The Franciscan's descriptions of Africa and the Atlantic islands in the book of knowledge concur with things that were supposedly 'discovered' at later dates, under the auspices of Henry the Navigator's maritime project. According to the editor, Jiménez De La Espada, this Franciscan was the first to mention and give the names of most of the Canary Islands, the Madeiras and the Azores.[139] In the course of the book, the Franciscan named 25 Atlantic islands.[140] The *Book of Knowledge* includes references to the Canary Islands and places in sub-Saharan Africa which conventional narratives of the Portuguese empire claimed were discovered much later.[141] Edson argues that *Libro*'s description of the Atlantic is particularly important, since the Azores 'are certainly here in the *Libro* several decades earlier' than their appearance on the Catalan Atlas (c. 1380), or their colonisation by the Portuguese in 1439.[142] The *Libro Conoscimiento* also describes Africa as far south as the Gambia. The author talks of travelling 'the Sahara with some Moors that were taking gold on camels to the King of Guinea'.[143] He describes travelling to Rio del Oro, and arriving at Gropis,[144] which Markham glosses as the Bissagots,[145] which would be the Gallinas, south of the Gambia. After Africa, the author records his journeys through the Near and Middle East, India, the Far East, and Russia.

While it is debatable whether the Franciscan had travelled to the places that he described or if the work was a compilation of traditions, this text nonetheless demonstrates that there was awareness of the Atlantic islands amongst Franciscans in the early fourteenth century. This text illustrates the extent of [European] medieval knowledge of the wider world, but more importantly it firmly links the Franciscans to global knowledge.

Nancy F. Marino, who produced a recent edition of the *Libro Conoscimiento*, speculated that the author was not a Franciscan, and reminded readers that while 'most historians, geographers, and literary critics who have commented on the *Conoscimiento* have not made an issue of its authorship, reiterating without question that the person was a Franciscan', this cannot be verified.[146] However, some of Marino's arguments suggested a lack of awareness of Franciscan sources; for example, she argues the content is more secular and less concerned with the missionary agenda that you would expect from a Franciscan.[147] Yet the content of Franciscan travelogues varied, and often focused on more 'secular' issues such as describing mercantile networks and the economic situations encountered. Odorico da Pordenone's travelogue, which self-consciously follows the model of Franciscan source, does not focus on conversion, and describes gold, wealth and mercantile products.[148] Further, an early reference to the *Libro Conoscimiento* appears in *The Canarian*,[149] which was co-written by a Franciscan, Pierre Bontier, and Jean le Verrier. These authors were writing at the start of the fifteenth century and describe the author of the *Libro Conoscimiento* as a Franciscan, and even the sceptical Marino is intrigued by this.[150] The Franciscans have catalogued it as a Franciscan source,[151] and it is also mentioned in the Franciscan chronicle of Castile.[152]

The *Libro Conoscimiento* offers insight into the complexity of global knowledge in the Middle Ages. It is unlikely that the author travelled to all the places mentioned in the book, and, while Franciscan authorship cannot be verified, the global knowledge network of the Franciscans would have been an excellent source for this compilation of knowledge. Bonnet thought that the author was a Franciscan missionary in Africa and that this explains his knowledge of the region, but Marino observes that there is no hard evidence for this.[153] Yet there were Franciscan missionaries in, and accounts of Franciscan travel through, many of the regions mentioned in the *Libro Conoscimiento*. The author also referred to Ethiopian Christians,[154] with whom the Franciscans had significant

contact in the fourteenth century.[155] Furthermore, alongside 'secular' knowledge (which Marino terms the economic and heraldic descriptions), and 'empirical' accuracy of geographic descriptions of the regions of Africa and the Near Atlantic, the author is also influenced by a political-theological landscape. He referred to earthly paradise and the kingdom of Prester John.[156] Giovanni da Plano Carpini referred to the armies of Prester John and William of Rubruck also referred to the lands of Prester John.[157] This is a reminder of the complexity of the Franciscans' global knowledge, which did not distinguish between mythology, legends, and religious cosmology.

In summary, this chapter has explored the particular Franciscan project of 'knowing' the world. For the Franciscans, this included travelling the world and circulating their findings, and using these descriptions, and their scientific and religious ideas to form an image of the world. Within the Franciscan endeavour to know the world, the boundaries between science, religion, and 'empirical observation' were artificial. Investigating the observations of Franciscans who did travel and the writings of the Franciscan scientist Roger Bacon and the Franciscan mystic Ramon Llull have illustrated the particularity of the Franciscan genre of global knowledge. Writing in the Americas in the sixteenth century, the Franciscan historian Mendieta indicated that the Franciscans had a special knowledge of the world. Describing Antonio de Marchena of La Rábida, he wrote that 'this poor and penitent friar was a spiritual and devout man, more than a cosmographer, and he reached knowledge of these new lands and people, as yet unknown, not by human science but by divine revelation'.[158] This encapsulates the particularity of the Franciscans' knowledge of the world, which incorporated knowledge of the Atlantic world in a number of interesting ways. During the fourteenth century, the paradigm of 'discovery' was advanced, and this started a new chapter in the history of the relationship between space, knowledge, and power. 'Discovery' was a mechanism for possessing space. The Franciscans who, as Chap. 2 observed, were focused on dispossessing space, and were not involved in conventional discovery narratives, but we see from the various sources explored in this chapter, including the *Inventio Fortunatae* and the *Libro del conoscimiento*, that the Franciscans can be used to draw an alternative map of global knowledge, which was part of their own worldmaking project.

Notes

1. In 1502 the Spanish named the Western Indian archipelago the Antilles.
2. See Ernst and Johanna Lehner, *How They Saw the World*, ed. Gerald L. Alexander, New York: Tufor Publishing, 1966, 11.
3. James Robert Enterline, *Erikson, Eskimos & Columbus, Medieval European Knowledge of America*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002, 236.
4. Fray Toribio de Benavente o Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, Mexico D.F.: Chávez Hayhoe, 1941, 210.
5. Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, *The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, translated from Latin with notes and introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt, New York: G.P. Putnam's Son's, 1912, 161, and 179.
6. Antonio Pigafetta, *First Voyage Round the World of Magellan*, with notes and introduction by Lord Stanley of Alderley, London: Hakluyt, 1874, 49–55.
7. Walter Mignolo has observed that this process of populating the Americas with medieval ideas had political implications; for example, he charted the way in which the monstrous races that appeared on the fringes of a map reproduced in the Nuremberg Chronicle become first the 'barbarians' who were feared in medieval Europe, and then, during the Enlightenment, the 'primitives' of America. See Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, decolonial options,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011, 149–180. Mignolo's work has been useful, but many of the historical narratives that he represents have been rejected by historians inside and outside Europe for many decades.
8. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo,* 286; the editor provides a footnote indicating this may have been possible.
9. Edmundo O'Gorman, *The invention of America an inquiry into the historical nature of the New World and the meaning of its history*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972, 72.
10. George H.T. Kimble, "Introduction", in Duarte Pacheco Pareira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, ed. and trans. by George H.T. Kimble, London: Hakluyt, 1937, xi–xxxv, xxviii.

11. See Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World, Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.
12. Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets, the Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St Francis to the Black Death,* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993, 19–20.
13. For example, VP, 229.
14. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, 48.
15. John recorded his descriptions of his travels to Mongolia in the *Historia Tartarorum*.
16. Marco Polo, *The travels of Marco Polo,* translated and introduced by Ronald Latham, London: Penguin, 1958.
17. Jose Sánchez Herrero "Precedentes franciscanos del descubrimiento de America. Los viajes de los franciscanos a extremo oriente y China durante los siglos XII y XIV", in *Actas del I congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid: Deimos, 1987, 15–76.
18. See Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492, The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation,* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007, 103.
19. Plano Carpini, 31. "Narrative of Brother Benedict the Pole", in Dawson ed., *The Mongol Mission*, 79–84, and 80.
20. Odoric of Pordenone, *The Travels of Odoric*, ed. Paolo Chiesa, trans. Sir Henry Yule, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002, 67.
21. Christopher Columbus, *The Journal*, Introduction and Notes by Paolo Emilio Taviani and Consuelo Varela, trans. Marc A. Beckwith and Luciano F. Farina, Nuova Raccolta Colombiana, Rome: Istituto poligráfico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992; Transcription made from Las Casas' original abstract, preserved in National Library in Madrid, 93.
22. Christopher Columbus, *The Journal*, 127.
23. J.B. Harley and Golda Meir Library, *Maps and the Columbian encounter: an interpretive guide to the travelling exhibition, American Geographical Society Collection, Milwaukee* … [et al.], Milwaukee: Golda Meir Library, 1990, 41.
24. Roger A. Johnson, "To Conquer and Convert: The Theological Tasks of the Voyages of Columbus", *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 76, 1 (1993): 12–28, 18. Roger Bacon

devoted many pages to calculating the diameter of the earth and other planets, using Ptolemy and his own mathematical theories. See Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, 1, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928, 253–258.

25. Francis Borgia Steck, "Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans", *The Americas* 3, 3 (1947); 319–341, 326.
26. "Narrative of the Third Voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Indies, in which He Discovered the Mainland, Dispatched to the Sovereigns from the Island of Hispaniola", in J. M. Cohen ed., *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus,* 206–226, 223.
27. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 384.
28. Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492*, 94 and 103.
29. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M., "The Earliest Record on the Franciscans in America", *Catholic Historical Review,* 6, (1920/1921): 59–65, 60.
30. Maurizio Peleggi, "Shifting alterity: the Mongol in the visual and literary culture of the late middle ages", in James Muldoon ed., *Travellers and Intellectuals, and the world beyond medieval Europe*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010, 311–329, 313.
31. Bernardino de Sahagún, Códice Florentino, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms Mediceo Palatino 218, 219, 220. See also, *Florentine Codex, General History of the Things of New Spain*, trans. Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 12 volumes, Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1950–1982.
32. *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan*, in AGOFM, M/98, 135–147.
33. David Woodward, "Medieval Mappamundi", in J.B. Harley and David Woodward eds, *The History of Cartography, Vol 1, Cartography in prehistoric, ancient, and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987, 286–370, 304.
34. Cod. Vat. Lat. 160, Fol. 264 v. See Roberto Almagia ed., *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana*, *Vol 1, Planisferi, Carta Nautiche e Affini, dal secolo XIV al XVII*, Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944.
35. His reputation as an important scholar has recently been restored by Amanda Power, see "A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon", *English Historical Review*, 492 (2006): 657–692.

36. Theresa Flanigan notes that Paolo Toscanelli was teaching Baconian optics in the fifteenth century. Theresa Flanigan, "Ocular Chastity: The Church of San Marco", in Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychkov eds, *Beyond the Text, Franciscan Art and the Construction of Religion*, New York: Franciscan Institute, 2013, 40–60, 51.
37. E.G.R. Taylor, "Compendium Cosmographiae: A Text-Book of Columbus", *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 47 (1931): 214–19, 214. This was re-stated more recently in David Woodward with Herbert M. Howe, "Roger Bacon and Cartography", in Jeremiah Hackett ed., *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, New York: Brill, 1997, 199–221, 221.
38. Woodward, "Medieval Mappamundi", 340.
39. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 379.
40. Odoric of Pordenone, *The Travels of Odoric*, 67.
41. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 374, and 380–386.
42. Ibid, 386.
43. Henrik Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden, Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998, 9.
44. W. R. Jones, "Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13, 4 (1971): 376–407, 398.
45. For example, Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 377.
46. Ibid, 381.
47. Ibid, 382.
48. Ibid, 378.
49. Ibid, 379.
50. Glossed as "the combination in a certain proportion of the qualities, hot, cold, moist, dry", Ibid, 156.
51. Ibid, 412.
52. *The Admonitions*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1,* 128–137, 129.
53. St Francis, *Canticle of the Creatures,* in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1,* 113–4.
54. Jay M. Hammond, in *The Writings of Francis of Assisi, Letters and Prayers*, Michale W. Blastic, O.F.M., Jay M. Hammond, Ph.D., J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv. Eds, New York: Franciscan Institute, 2011, 227–228.

55. Amando Cortesão, *The nautical chart of 1424 and the early discovery and cartographic representation of America* Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1954, 190.
56. Ibid.
57. David Woodward, "Medieval Mappamundi", 305.
58. Armando Cortesão, *History of Portuguese Cartography*, 191.
59. Ibid, 204.
60. Excerpt from Vita Coaetana, in Anthony Bonner ed., "Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull", in *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1984, 3–52, 16.
61. Anthony Bonner, "Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull", 24–25.
62. Ibid, 51.
63. Miriam Therese Olabarrieta, *The Influence of Ramon Lull on the Style of the Early Spanish Mystics and Santa Teresa,* Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963, 21.
64. Ibid, 14–15.
65. Anthony Bonner, "Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull", 105–304.
66. Ramon Llull, *The Book of The Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, in *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, 105–304, 120.
67. Borgia Steck, "Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans", 320.
68. Ibid, 320.
69. For example, Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Los Franciscanos y Cólon,* Madrid: Librería católica de Gregorio del Amo, 1892, and, more recently, Borgia Steck.
70. Of course, all scholars in the Middle Ages knew that the world was round and the flat earth myth is a nineteenth century invention.
71. Pardo Bazán, *Los Franciscanos y Cólon*, 22.
72. Ibid, 19.
73. Ibid, 26.
74. Ibid, 28.
75. "Letter from the admiral to the king and queen", *The Book of Prophecies edited by Christopher Columbus*, historical and textual editor Roberto Rusconi, trans. Blair Sullivan, *Repertorium Columbianum*, V. III, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 67–77, passage 35, 73.

76. See Kirsten A. Seaver, *The frozen echo: Greenland and the exploration of North America, c. A.D. 1000–1500*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
77. See Brian Fagan, *Fish on Friday: feasting, fasting, and the discovery of the new world*, New York: Basic Books, 2006.
78. See William A. R. Richardson, "South America on Maps Before Columbus? Martellus' "Dragon's Tail" Peninsula", *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 25–37; and Gustavo Vargas Martínez, *América en un mapa de 1489* México D.F.: Taller Abierto, 1996.
79. Gustavo Vargas Martínez, *América en un mapa de 1489*, 23.
80. Cortesão, *The nautical chart of 1424.*
81. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, ed. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Mexico D.F.: Antigua librería, 1870, Book 1, Chapter 1, 13–14.
82. *AIA*, 1, 79–99, 79.
83. Padre Jose Torrubia, O.F.M., *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de santa cruz de la Española y Caracas, libro de la novena parte de la Novena Parte de la Crónica General de la Orden Franciscana*, ed. Odilo Gomez Parente, O.F.M., Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1972, 237–264.
84. Fray Antonio Enríquez O.F.M., "Introducción", in Monasterio de Santa María de la Rábida ed., *Los Franciscanos y el nuevo mundo*, Sevilla: Quadalquivir, 1992, xv.
85. The Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas was amongst those who wrote that Columbus went to La Rábida for practical reasons. The terms of the monarchs' support for Columbus were agreed in the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe*. This document is now held in the Patronato section of *AGI*. ES.41091.AGI/28.2.13.1// PATRONATO,8,R.8.
86. For example, see José Coll, *Colón y la Rábida; con un estudio acerca de los Franciscanos en el Nuevo mundo*, 2nd edn, Madrid: Librería católica de Gregorio del Amo, 1892.
87. For some time Perez and Marchena were confused as one person, Juan Pérez de Marchena, for example, in Torrubia, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de santa cruz de la Españols y Caracas*. This confusion was discussed in José Coll, *Colón y la Rábida*, 98–112. This clarification of the identity of these two important characters

was discussed in English much later, see Borgia Steck, "Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans", 325.

88. Gustavo Vargas Martínez, *América en un mapa de 1489*, 83.
89. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, book 1, chapter 1, 15.
90. Ibidem.
91. Ibid, 15.
92. See William Eleroy Curtis, *The Relics of Columbus: An illustrated Description of the Historical Collection in the Monastery of La Rabida*, Washington D.C.: W. H. Lowdermilk Co., 1893. This book was produced in the context of the 'World's Columbian Exposition', a large fair held in America in 1893.
93. Ibid, 7.
94. Ibid, 9.
95. The map was bought by Yale University and is insured for around $20 million. See R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, George D. Painter *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
96. George D. Painter, "The Tartar Relation and the Vinland Map, An Interpretation" in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, 241–262, 244.
97. For example, Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men, The Story of the Vinland Map*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
98. Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men*, 262. See also Michael Livingston, "Vinland maps and texts. Discovering the New World in Higden's Polychronicon", *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004): 25–44.
99. P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, 60.
100. Thomas H. McGovern, "The Archaeology of the Norse North Atlantic", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19 (1990): 331–351, 343.
101. P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 61.
102. James Robert Enterline, *Erikson, Eskimos & Columbus, Medieval European Knowledge of America*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.
103. Ibid, 16–17.
104. Henrik Roelvink writes about the proliferation and influence of Franciscan monasteries in Scandinavia in the late Middle Ages, an

area he believes has been neglected by many mainstream Franciscan historians. See Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden*.

105. Ibid, 9.
106. Ibid, 9.
107. Gunnar Thompson, *The Friar's map of ancient America*, Seattle: Misty Isles Press, 1996.
108. Ibid, v.
109. Ibid, 282.
110. Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages and Discoveries, The Principal Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, edited, abridged and introduced by J. Beeching, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
111. Enterline, *Erikson, Eskimos & Columbus,* 53.
112. Ibid, 49–50.
113. Cotton MS Augustus I i 1: 1580.
114. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: exploration and colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987, 157.
115. Giovanni Boccaccio, "Narrative of the 1341 Voyage", in *The Canarian,* trans. R.H. Major, London: Hakluyt, 1872, xiii–xix.
116. Mignolo has explored the 'Darker Side of the Renaissance', but he focused on the sixteenth century rather than the fourteenth. See Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
117. Richard Henry Major, "Introduction", *The Canarian or, Book of the conquest and conversion of the Canarians in the year 1402, by Jean de Bethencourt,* composed by Pierre Bontier, and Jean Le Verrier, ed. and trans. R.H. Major, London: Hakluyt, 1872, ii–lv, iii.
118. Edson, *The World Map 1300–1492,* 160.
119. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn*, Malden MA: Blackwell, 2004, 203.
120. Francesco Petrarca, *Life of Solitude*, trans. and introduced Jacob Zeitlin, Westport Conn: Hyperion Press, 1978, 267.
121. Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 208.
122. Ibid, 8.
123. Guilano Dati, "This is the history of the discovery of the Canary Islands of the Indies, extracted from a letter of Christopher

Columbus, and translated into Latin from the common language of Guilano Dati for the praise and glory of the celestial court, and for the consolation of the Christian religion, and at the request of the magnificent chevalier John Philip Delignaruine, private secretary of the most sacred and Christian King of Spain, October 25, 1493". There is a copy of this letter in the British museum, and other copy was included obtained for the 1892 World's Columbian Expedition, and printed in Eleroy Curtis, *The Relics of Columbus*, 145. Also available in Archivo Hispalanse ed. *Curiosidades bibliográficas y documentos inéditos, homenaje del archive hispalense al cuarto centenario del descubrimiento del Nuevo mundo*, Seville: Sociedad del Archivo Hispalense, 1892, 1–15.

124. Giovanni Boccaccio, "Narrative of 1341 the Voyage", in *The Canarian*, xiii–xix. Francesco Petrarca, *Life of Solitude*.
125. Andrew Fitzmaurice in "Discovery, Conquest, and Occupation of Territory", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law*, Bardo Fassbender and Anne Peters eds, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 7.
126. Ibid.
127. V. Stefansson, "Man Discovers His Earth", in *Beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the classical world seen through the eyes of its discoverers*, Rhys Carpenter, London: Tandem, 1966, v. ii–xiv, viii.
128. Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 203.
129. Ibidem.
130. Sermón de Clemente VI papa acerca de la otorgación del Reino de Canarias a Luis de España, 1344, transcription by Marcos G. Martínez, ed. E. Serra, in *Revista de historia canaria* 29 (1963–64): 89–107.
131. Abraham Cresques, *Catalan World Atlas* (1374–6), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, reproduced in David Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 204.
132. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: exploration and colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987, 154.
133. *The Canarian,* 55.
134. R. H. Major, "Introduction", *The Canarian*, ii–lv, xxx–xxxi.
135. Ibid, xxxvi.
136. Ibid, xxxvii.

137. "For whatever has been found or shall be found, acquired by conquest, or discovered within the said limits, beyond what has already been found, occupied or discovered, belongs to the said King and Prince of Portugal and to their kingdoms, excepting only the Canary Islands, to wit: Lançarote, Palma, Forteventura, Gomera, Ferro, Graciosa, Grand Canary, Teneriffe, and all other Canary Islands, acquired or to be acquired, which belong to the kingdom of Castile"; "Treaty between Spain and Portugal, concluded at Alcáçovas, September 4, 1479. Ratification by Spain, March 5, 1480. [Ratification by Portugal, September 8, 1479.]", in Francis Gardiner Davenport ed. *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648,* Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917–1937, 36–41, 38, translation at 42–48, 44.
138. *Sinica Franciscana*, Vol 1, *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius Van Den Wyngaert O.F.M., Florence: Quaracchi, 1929. A recent edition by Marino debates the Franciscan authorship of this source, but while the author is unknown it has been firmly associated with the Franciscans since the early fifteenth century. See Nancy F. Marino, *El Libro del conscimiento de todos los reinos (The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms)*, Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. The first publication of this book *was Libro del conoscimiento de todos los reynos tierras señoríos que son por e mundo de las señales armas que han cad tierra señorío por sy de los reyes señores que los proueen, escrito por un fransicano español á mediados del siglo XIV*, ed. Márcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1877). This was followed by: An Unknown Friar of the XIV Century, *Book of the Knowledge of all the kingdoms, lands, and lordships that are in the world, and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them*, published for the first time with notes by Marcos Jiménez De La Espada in 1877, trans. and ed. Clement Markham, London: Hakluyt, 1912. Clement Markham reported that there are three (or four) codices in manuscript of this text, two of which are in the National Library in Madrid, and the third in the Royal Library; Clement Markham, "Introduction", vii–xiii, vii. The first reference to this book is made by the Franciscan author of *The Canarian*.

139. Jiménez De La Espada Marcos, and Clement Markham, "Introduction", *Book of the Knowledge of all the kingdoms, lands, and lordships that are in the world, and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them*, ed. Jiménez De La Espada Marcos, and Clements R. Markham, London: Hakluyt, 1912, xi.
140. An Unknown Friar of the XIV Century, *Book of Knowledge*, Markham ed., 28.
141. Ibid.
142. Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492*, 111.
143. *El Libro del conoscimiento*, Marino ed., 51, Markham ed., 29.
144. *El Libro del conoscimiento*, Marino ed., 57.
145. *El Libro del conoscimiento*, Markham ed., 33.
146. Nancy F. Marino, "Introduction" in *El Libro del conscimiento*, x–lviii, xxxix.
147. Ibid, xl.
148. Odoric of Pordenone, *The Travels of Odoric*, 101.
149. *The Canarian*, 97–109. The *Book of Knowledge* is not actually cited, but the unnamed Spanish Franciscan and the knowledge referred to indicate this must be the source to which he is referring.
150. Marino ed., *El Libro del conoscimiento*, xli.
151. *Sinica Franciscana*, Vol 1,
152. Pedro de Salazar, *Crónica de la Provincia de Castilla*, prólogo e índice del padre Antolín Abad Pérez, dirige, Odilo Gómez Parente, Madrid: Cisneros, 1977.
153. Marino ed., *El Libro del conoscimiento*, xxxix.
154. Ibid, 61.
155. Correspondences between the Franciscan Order and Ethiopia in the fourteenth century are recorded in Lucas Wadding, *AM*, Vol VI, 1301–1322, 675, and Vol VII, 1323–1346, in the year 1329.
156. Marino ed., *El Libro del conoscimiento*, 61.
157. John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols", in Dawson ed., *The Mongol Mission*, 1–72, 22.; William of Rubruck, "The Journey of William of Rubruck", in Dawson ed., *The Mongol Mission*, 89–220, 141.
158. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana*, book 1, chapter 1, 15.

CHAPTER 4

The Franciscan Atlantic

Planting the Cross in the Atlantic World

Another way to see the importance of the Franciscans in the medieval process of the invention of the New World is to see their importance to the history of the Atlantic in the Middle Ages. As Chap. 3 indicated, following their emergence in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans rapidly developed a global network. Significantly, they became entangled in maritime networks and developed bases in strategic maritime locations. The Franciscans have played a special role in the history of the Atlantic and provide an alternative cartography of the history of the region. This chapter sets out to show the precocious development of the Franciscans' Atlantic presence.

Patricia Seed has argued that:

> colonial rule over the New World was initiated through largely ceremonial practices—planting crosses, standards, banners, and coats of arms—marching in processions, picking up dirt, measuring the stars, drawing maps, speaking certain words, or remaining silent.[1]

In Chap. 3, we noted the Franciscans' role in drawing maps, measuring stars, and constructing knowledge of the world, but they were also physically involved in planting crosses in the Atlantic world. The colonial act of taking possession by symbolically planting the cross was generally undertaken by the leaders of expeditions, such as Columbus in the Americas.[2] The Franciscans contributed to the broader phenomenon of 'planting of the cross' in different ways. Motolinía reports how, after the

J. McClure, *The Franciscan Invention of the New World*,
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Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Franciscans spread the sign of the cross, and taught it to the local population who began to paint it themselves across the New World.[3] The Franciscan began to spread the cross across the Atlantic before their work in the Americas began. This brief survey of the Franciscans' engagement with the Atlantic world indicates how their passage to the New World was the logical continuation of their Atlantic endeavours and did not mark any kind of rupture in Franciscan history.

As the battles of the '*Reconquista*' challenged the geographical frontiers of Christianity and Islam in the Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean world, including, of course, North Africa, Franciscans could be found across these territories challenging the spiritual boundaries. In 1219 Francis had travelled to Egypt and managed to gain an audience with the Sultan, Melek-al-Kamil to engage in theological debate. The Franciscan provinces of Castile and Aragon-Catalonia were established in 1232. From their stronghold in Barcelona, the Franciscans became established in the Balearic Islands in the thirteenth century. The Franciscan convents of Majorca and Menorca were in the custody of the convent of Barcelona in the thirteenth century.[4] This early foothold in Majorca was important to the Franciscans' global network and early entanglement with the Atlantic. In the thirteenth century, Majorca had become the centre of an island kingdom, which included Ibiza and Formentera, a node in Mediterranean trading networks, and a staging post for the connection between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; remember that the Vivaldi brothers had sailed into the Atlantic from Majorca in 1291. The Franciscans were a part of the fabric of the maritime world that connected the Mediterranean and flowed into the Atlantic. The *Archivo del Museu de Maratím* in Barcelona contains a record indicating that the Franciscans had a system of alms dedicated to poor maritime communities as they collected alms especially for the *macips de ribera*, an underclass of ships' porters.[5]

The Franciscans tapped into the nautical channels flowing from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and the missionary technologies and ideas that they developed in the Middle Ages in the Mediterranean flowed with them. Ramon Llull obtained permission to found a convent where 13 friars could learn Arabic to prepare for further missions amongst Muslims, and a Franciscan college was founded at the Miramar convent in Majorca by Llull in 1276.[6] The presence of a fifteenth-century manuscript of Llull's *Declaratio Raymundi per modum dialogi* illustrates the spread of Llull's linguistic technique from the Mediterranean world to the Near Atlantic in

the late Middle Ages.[7] The Franciscans' position in the Mediterranean certainly facilitated and conditioned their early proliferation in the Atlantic.

The Canary Islands

It is difficult to trace the late medieval history of the Franciscans in the Canary Islands; much of the fog around this subject is in fact smoke, caused by the burning of Franciscan archives in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, we sometimes have to rely on secondary literature produced at the start of the twentieth century, since many of the bishops of the sources referred to by these books were burnt in the Spanish Civil War. Civic records are no less patchy for medieval history of the Canary Islands. Despite the connections between the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, the earliest document relating to the history of the Canary Islands in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon is a papal breve from 1510 requesting the cooperation of Palencia, Majorca, and the Canary Islands in the campaign against Ferdinand II.[8] What little records there are of the Canary Islands in the Middle Ages are scattered across various archives. Nevertheless, it is important to try to see through this smoke and understand the Franciscans' early engagement with the Atlantic world.

Franciscans are thought to have been among the 13 Catalan missionaries that arrived in the Canaries in 1386 and remained there until they were killed in 1393.[9] They were established in the Canary Islands long before the official 'conquest' (1402), but due to the state of the source record we can only capture fragments of this history.[10] The early history of the Canary Islands is often overlooked, and even one of the few histories of the Franciscans in the Canary Islands begins by mentioning the 1488 and 1522 establishment of Franciscan custodies in the Canary Islands and then focuses on the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, making no reference to the early history of the Franciscans in the Canaries.[11] In the first years, the friaries of the Canary Islands were part of the custody of Seville and the Franciscan Province of the Canary Islands was not established until 1553. There are some records in the *Archivo de Indias* relating to the Canaries.[12] The earliest of these is a complaint by the Franciscan Fray García de Iracheta against heretical pirates from La Rochelle in the south of France who had destroyed and robbed the religious buildings in Gomara in 1558.[13] This document indicates the problems that the Franciscans had in maintaining their Atlantic outposts in these early years.

The Canary Islands are a natural focal point to the Atlantic world and played a vital role in the invention of the 'New World'. They were important to the psychology of discovery and to the development of the mode of coloniality that came to dominate the identity of the New World. José Antonio and Pérez Carrión write that many important people, such as Alonso Ojeda (who played an important role in the conquest of the Americas), Juan de la Cosa (who made maps during the second Columbus voyage) and Amerigo Vespucci (who gave his name to America), all passed through the Canary Islands and that all ships on their way to America passed through the Canaries.[14] But the Canary Islands should not be reduced to this transitory status; they were more than a passing point. The history of the Church in the Canary Islands provides a way for us to look beyond the Canary Islands as an ephemeral space and to think about the model of life and interactions occupying this space. Antonio Rumeu de Armas wrote that 'the church could not live far from the reality of a new world that was forged in the Atlantic'.[15] The Church had a theological commitment to inventing the identity of the 'New World' as a Christian world. The experience in the Canary Islands was an important stage in the process of this invention. Missions to the Americas were a logical extension of the Canarian enterprise.

One way to trace the history of the Franciscans in the Atlantic world is through their role as a religious institution in 'missionary' locations. In these locations they often assumed roles which overlapped the secular clergy's and interacted with papal politics. The history of the Church in the Canaries mirrors the obscured history of the Islands. For a long time it was believed, as the first volume of *AIA* reported, that on July 7, 1404, the antipope Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna) issued the bull *Apostolatus officium* and created the first papal see in the Canaries in Rubicón on the island of Lanzarote, with the election of the Franciscan, Alfonso de Sanlúcar de Barrameda, as the first bishop of the Canaries.[16] A note in Benedict XIII's bull *Sincerae devotionis*, indicated that by 1416 Benedict XIII had suspended Alfonso Sanlúcar de Barrameda,[17] but the reasons for this are not known. The See of Rubicón was then occupied by the Franciscan, Mendo de Viedma. In 1430 Don Fray Fernando Calvetos was elected bishop of Rubicón by Eugenius IV.[18] However, it is now known that the bishop elected in 1404 was not the first. Julio Sánchez Rodríguez, a bishop in Gran Canaria, a specialist in the history of the Canaries, and a partner of the *Sociedad Científica El Museo Canario*, produced a history of the Canary Islands for the sixth centenary of the Canarianse-Rubicense

diocese which explored the history in the Canary Islands from the involvement of Clement VI in 1344 to the present.[19] He reports that the first Canarian bishopric, La Fortuna, was created by Clement VI with the bull *Caelestis rex regum*, and that the first bishop was the Carmelite friar Bernardo Font.[20] This first bishopric later became known as the known as the bishopric of Telde; reference to it was discovered in Clement VI's bulls by Antonio Rumeu de Armas.[21] Rumeu de Armas' evidence challenges the history of the Canary Islands presented by Franciscans in the *AIA* (1914), and shows that the Church was in the Canary Islands before the election of a Franciscan to the bishopric of Rubicón in 1404. Beyond the first bishop in the Canary Islands, the Carmelite fray Bernardo, there is still confusion regarding the chronology of the early bishops. According to Sánchez Rodríguez the first Franciscan bishop of the Canary Islands (Fray Bonnanato Tarí, 1369–1390) was the third bishop of Telde,[22] but according to Rumeu de Armas, who has emphasised the significance of the Franciscans to the mission to the Canaries, the second bishop of Telde was a Franciscan.[23] The better known Canarian bishopric of Rubicon was established in 1404 and lasted until 1959, and its first three bishops were Franciscan.

As this overview shows, it is difficult to construct a complete picture of the Church in the Canary Islands in the fourteenth century. Rumeu de Armas observes that the See of Telde must have been vacant between 1354 and 1360 and between 1362 and 1369.[24] In 1386 there was a further expedition to the Canary Islands organised by the Aragonese, for which Urban VI granted a papal indulgence.[25] In 1392 Clement VII decreed that the diocese of Telde could not remain vacant for long periods of time, and the Dominican friar (who was to be the final bishop of Telde) was dispatched.[26] An expedition of 1393 was mentioned in the *Crónica del rey don Enrique III*.[27] The history of Telde fades away as the area was attacked by pirates in 1393 and the indigenous people turned against the missionaries and destroyed the mission. The testimony of the 13 friars martyred on this occasion was discovered in the region of Telde in 1403 and is reported in the Béthencourt narrative.[28] This event challenges the unidirectional colonised/coloniser narrative as these early Franciscans were themselves first conquered in the Atlantic. Rumeu de Armas described the end of the bishopric of Telde as 'closing one of the most curious chapters of the history of Christianity'.[29]

Rumeu de Armas' work provides a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of Christian involvement in the Canaries in

the late Middle Ages. Yet although appearing in the footnotes of contemporary works on the Atlantic world it remains in the shadows while the mythology of the Canaries dominates our imagination.[30] More attention should be paid to Rumeu de Armas' work as he argues that 'the bishop of Telde and his attached missions were the first serious intent at peaceful penetration in infidel countries, tested by the church and undertaken by the Hispanic people at the same dawn of great discoveries'.[31] While Rumeu de Armas suggests that the discourse of peace was important in the history of Spanish engagement in the Canaries, the connection between conquest history and nationalism lurks in the shadows of Rumeu de Armas' analysis. Rumeu de Armas contributed to the mythology of Atlantic history when he described the mainly peaceful missionary engagement through the fourteenth century as an ideal, which he called 'the spirit of Telde', in contrast to the militancy of the later conquests.[32] Of course, there are no indigenous accounts to verify this.

Rumeu de Armas' marvelled the 'mystery and surprise' of the diocese of Telde.[33] He explained that although the diocese was mentioned by Lucas Wadding, and later the Quaracchi fathers, its location was not realised.[34] Rumeu de Armas traced references to Telde and his work provides an insight into the fourteenth-century religious administration of the Canaries. Rumeu de Armas has illustrated the important role of Majorca in the Canary Islands at this time and stressed the influence of Ramon Llull. The historic connection between Majorca (which was in close contact with the Catalan region) and the Canaries is one flow of influence in the Atlantic world and it makes the influence of Ramon Llull on missions to the Canaries likely. Franciscans can be found within this flow of influence. These flows of Atlantic world influence were shaped by the tides of continental politics and particularly affected Majorca.[35] The papacy also played an important role in Canarian history as they legislated mission and constructed the structures of the Church in the Canaries. The Franciscans at once transcended and were entangled by the influence of all these agents. The dominance of the Franciscans in the Atlantic may have been facilitated by European politics; Rumeu de Armas has suggested that it was due to Peter of Aragon that Franciscans were favoured for mission to the Canaries in 1370.[36] Indeed, we know that Peter of Aragon supported the Franciscans as the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragon* contains records of his substantial donations to the Franciscans in the fourteenth century.[37]

The involvement of the Roman Church meant that continental politics affected the religious composition of the Canary Islands. As the

Franciscans took on church roles in the Canaries they were tied to the political situation of the Church. For example, it is not surprising that Benedict XIII selected a Spanish Franciscan to be bishop in the Canary Islands in 1404 since he had been Clement VII's legate in the Iberian peninsula (1378–1389), and had support in that region.[38] As an antipope, Benedict XIII was embroiled in a world of politics and strategy. When he issued *Sincerae devotionis* (1416) regarding the Canary Islands, his political position had weakened and he was residing in the fortified castle of Peñiscola. It is interesting that the management of the Franciscans in the Canary Islands featured in his politics at this time. Further, although the papal schism technically ended in 1417 with the election of Martin V, the antipope Benedict XIII retained influence in Spain and continued to influence the ecclesiastic make-up of the Canaries. For example, despite the election of Martin V, the second bishop of Rubicon, Mendo de Viedma (mentioned above), remained faithful to his benefactor, Benedict XIII, and so the bishopric of Rubicon remained subject to antipope Benedict XIII. Martin V, perhaps in an attempt to delink the Canaries from its schismatic past, issued the bull *Ilius caelestis agricolae* in 1423 and created the bishopric of Fuerteventura.[39] The jurisdiction of the new bishopric in Fuerteventura covered all the islands, and it was subject to the Franciscan bishop, Fray Martín de las Casas (1424–1431). With the death of Benedict XIII in 1424, the Franciscan bishop of Rubicon, Fray Mendo, went to Rome to defend his jurisdictional rights as archbishop over the archipelago before Martin V. Father Mendo considered the creation of the bishop of Fuerteventura to be a conspiracy.[40] Mendo eventually reconciled with the pope in Rome, and in 1431 the pope annulled the bishop of Fuerteventura.[41] From this history we can see that the Canary Islands and the Franciscans were affected by continental politics, particularly during the occidental schism.

In addition to their involvement in the Church structures in the Canary Islands, the Franciscans developed their own structures. The first Franciscan convent was established in the Canaries 1413 or 1417 as part of the Province of Castile.[42] Rumeu de Armas describes the Franciscan Alfonso Bolaños as the 'soul of the [missionary] enterprise'.[43] Juan de Baeza was at the front of the mission between 1423 and 1434.[44] He visited the pope and helped to establish a mission in the Canaries that would use his language skills to ensure efficient communication between the missionaries and the Canarians. This mission was led by the Franciscan Alonso de Idubaren. When the *Vicaría General de Misiones* was established to

organise the missionaries the first person to assume this role was a Franciscan.[45] Franciscans were not just establishing the structures of the Roman Church in the Canary Islands, but building their own missions, and putting pressure on the papacy to support their missionary practices.[46]

The flows of the Canarian Atlantic world were complex, and not limited to European arrival in the Canaries. The Canarians are thought to have arrived from 'diverse areas of the African continent, with different grades of cultural evolution and in different historical moments', from around the fifth century BCE.[47] Linguistic commonalities suggest a connection with the Berbers of northern Africa; it is not clear when these connections declined. Europeans recommenced connections in the fourteenth century, and by the sixteenth century the Canary Islands were attracting pirates and privateers from Europe and the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman admiral Kemal Reis arrived in 1501. It is likely that Canary Islanders travelled to Europe; Rumeu de Armas suggests that 12 Canarians were captured during the 1342 expedition, and then participated in the 1352 Majorcan expedition to the Canary Islands.[48] By the fifteenth century the Canary Islands had certainly impacted on the European imagination; the Valencian romance *Tirant lo Blanc,* published in 1490, depicted a Moorish invasion of England led by the king of Canary, and interestingly Franciscans play an important role in this tale; they educate the knights, attend to them and give them alms, and one knight becomes a Franciscan.[49] It is not known how many Canary Islanders travelled to Europe in the late Middle Ages; but later, as connections increased across the Atlantic from the sixteenth century, many Canarians migrated to America.[50]

The history of experiences and religious identities in the early Atlantic world is yet more shadowy, as most of the surviving representations of indigenous peoples of the Atlantic world are from chronicles written by Europeans. The experience of colonialism creates a broken history; colonial systems often assert the hegemony of text and the subaltern are seldom represented in this record. It is difficult to know the extent of the conversion of Canary Islanders at the end of the Middle Ages. However, we know that Christians had been in contact with the Canarians for at least 50 years before Pope Eugene IV issued a crusade bull against the infidels, with a concession in the Canaries in 1436.[51] In 1504 the Dominican General Inquisitor of Andalusia and Archbishop of Seville sent his deputy to establish the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, although there are records indicating Inquisitorial practices in the Canary Islands as early as 1499.[52] The Inquisition in the Canary Islands was predominantly interested

in finding Jewish converts who had fled the Iberian peninsula, but the level of concern for religious identity in the Canaries demonstrates the Church's desire to control religious identity in the Atlantic.

The Franciscans were not just agents in broader imperial or ecclesiastical colonial programmes. The Franciscans also actively pursued their own agenda in the Atlantic. In 1425, at the same time as the creation of the bishopric of Fuerteventura, the Franciscans tried to gain possession of their own ship to evangelise the western islands.[53] The idea was supported by Juan de Baeza, the Vicar of the Franciscans in the Canaries and approved by Martin V.[54] The project of the ship was restarted by Bishop Calvetos in 1434, who gained the support of Pope Eugenius IV. The Franciscans were able to propose the ship project since, as the intellectual history of the Franciscans shows us, some Franciscans had knowledge of the art of navigation.[55] This story recasts the Franciscans as active agents, capable of arranging their own alliances and expeditions, and not just passive tools of European politics. While, as Chap. 5 will show, evangelisation was a part of colonial enterprises in the Spanish Atlantic, the Franciscans relationship with coloniality was often ambivalent. The Franciscans were also affected by their Atlantic missions. While the first Franciscans in the Canary Islands lost their lives this is nothing in comparison to the population decline of the indigenous Canarians. Yet the Canarian context also challenged Franciscan identity, as it was difficult for them to maintain their commitment to mendicancy outside the urban context. Sánchez Rodríguez provides evidence of the way in which the Franciscans were compromised by the context of mission as they tried to gain possession of a ship, procure livestock, and conduct other terrestrial arrangements that were in contravention of their bond of poverty.[56]

The Franciscans' experiences and location in the Canary Islands equipped them for mission in the New World and paved the way for their early presence in the Americas. It was a testing ground for their use of language training in remote missions, and provided the order with experience for adaptation to the contexts of Atlantic mission, and negotiating their own position with the papacy and monarchs.

The Spanish Atlantic Coast

The structure of the Franciscans' network firmly linked the Canary Islands with the Spanish Atlantic coast. The Franciscans were established in all of the most strategic maritime locations along the Spanish Atlantic

coast: Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Jerez de la Frontera, Santa Maria de las Veredas de Utrea, and, of course, La Rábida. Hipolito Sanch de Sopranis noted that it is well established that the evangelisation of the Canary Islands was dominated by the Franciscans, especially the Franciscans of the Province of Castile,[57] and when Franciscan institutions were established in the Canaries they were part of the Franciscan Province of Castile. The importance of the convent of La Rábida was mentioned in Chap. 3. The exact date of the foundation of La Rábida is not known. There are no references to the convent in the *Bullarium Franciscanum* or *Annales Minorum* until the early fifteenth century, but there are legends that there were Franciscans at La Rábida before this, and even a legend that St Francis himself visited this site.[58] Huelva was captured from Muslims by Alfonso the Wise (1257–1258) and, as the site was formerly a Muslim fortress, it seems unlikely that Franciscans were established in the region before this. Ángel Ortega evidences the popularity of La Rábida in the fifteenth century, illustrating that it was operating at maximum capacity and received papal grants to take more friars.[59] La Rábida was a part of the Franciscan custody of Seville which was also a part of the Province of Castile until the Province was broken down at the start of the sixteenth century. The Franciscan Province of Andalucía was founded in 1499 as the region's importance boomed. Columbus lived in Seville between 1492 and 1505; years which saw Seville emerge as the European capital of transatlantic exchange.[60] In 1583 the Spanish Franciscan Provinces were broken down further and Seville became a part of the newly formed Province of Granada.

In addition to the role that La Rábida has played in the mythology of the connection between the Franciscans and the New World, it was also a site of strategic maritime importance. The convent is based on the site of a Muslim fort. It occupies a strategic location on a hill on the estuary of the Río Tinto, near both the Río Odio and the Atlantic. Palos de la Frontera was home to a maritime community. It was the point of departure for Columbus' first voyage and the home of prominent navigators including Martín Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Yañez Pinzon. La Rábida was well situated to be tapped into the nautical networks radiating into the Atlantic at the end of the Middle Ages and is an important coordinate in the history of the Franciscans and the Atlantic. La Rábida houses a chapel known as the baptismal font and gateway of the Americas, which was blessed by Pope John Paul II for its role in the evangelisation of the Americas. In the seventeenth century, a sailor returning from the Americas made a donation

to La Rábida for the redemption of the captives.[61] In the sixteenth century, donations to other Franciscan convents for prayers even appeared to be a part of the budget for an expedition to the Americas.[62] The case of La Rábida indicates the importance of strategic location and the entanglement of spiritual and practical logistics in the nodes of the Franciscan networks.

When, as previously mentioned, Columbus visited La Rábida in 1485 and 1491, in addition to the 'knowledge' that Columbus supposedly acquired during these visits, the Franciscans gave Columbus practical and logistical assistance for the expedition to the New World. Bartolomé de Las Casas reported that once Columbus had gained support for his venture, he returned to the town of Palos 'where he could find experienced sailors, and where, too, he had friends and acquaintances, among whom was his good friend Juan Pérez, guardian of the convent of La Rábida'.[63] Columbus' journal of this event recorded that [Columbus] came to the town of Palos, which is a port of the sea, where I made ready three ships, very suited for such an undertaking, and I set out from that port, well furnished with very many supplies and with many seamen', stressing the logistical importance of Palos rather than the importance of the Franciscans.[64] We can't know which the more important reason was, but Las Casas added: 'Palos was also a town obliged to the King, for what reason I do not know, to supply him with two caravels for a period of three months'.[65] Francis Borgia Steck (*OFM*) indicated that the Franciscans played a role in this process as Juan Pérez 'used his influence with the people of the town, enlisting the cooperation of wealthy merchants and experienced mariners and dispelling what fears such mariners might have as, in payment for a debt they owed the government, were commanded by the sovereigns to man Columbus' vessels and steer into the dreadful Sea of Darkness'.[66] This description firmly entangles the Franciscans with the logistics of Columbus' venture. Steck adds that Pérez received the letter from the sovereign to commence the voyage and said mass for Columbus and his crew before they departed.[67] A depiction of Pérez blessing the crew was painted by Antonio Gisbert in the nineteenth century and appeared in the 1893 collection of La Rábida.[68] In Steck's narrative, the Franciscans channelled the authority and logistic capacity for the mission, and this is captured by Gisbert's painting. Steck was a Franciscan and was contributing to the historic memory of the Order, but his contribution is still important.

After leaving Palos Columbus is known to have reached Las Palmas, on the northeast coast of Gran Canary, but records of Columbus' stay in the Canaries are fragmentary. Steck has lamented this 'because the Franciscan

Custody in Seville, to which La Rábida belonged, had a friary at Las Palmas ever since 1477 and one would like to know whether Columbus met any of the friars during that week on the island'.[69] The fragmentary record casts shadows over the significance of the Franciscans' precocious Atlantic network.

The region around La Rábida is important to Atlantic history and entangled with the early history of colonialism and slavery. The Franciscans of La Rábida were not separate from this aspect of the region's history. The region was a gateway for Atlantic slavery. According to Thomas, in 1496 the Duke of Medina Sidonia had 52 Canary slaves and owned three Canary Islands for a time.[70] The Dukes of Medina Sidonia and the Counts of Niebla were powerhouses of the Huelva region and Thomas records that the 1514–1522 baptismal books from Sanlúcar de Barrameda show that 420 slaves were baptised at the parochial church.[71] The *AIA* contains evidence that the Franciscans of La Rábida received the island of Saltes as a donation from the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1449.[72] A further document *Escritura de arrendamiento de la isla de Saltes* demonstrates that the Franciscans of La Rábida were involved in the administration of this island, which included renting it, with all its tributes and rights, to a third party.[73] The 1454 *Escritura de traspaso en subarriendo de la isla de Saltes* shows the Franciscans engaged in further subletting agreements.[74] This suggests how far the Franciscans of La Rábida had deviated from the ideals of poverty established by the early Franciscans, and implicates them in the medieval development of colonial practices, such as the ownership of islands.

The Franciscan struggle between poverty, wealth, and colonialism did not begin in an Atlantic context exterior to Europe, but on the Atlantic shores of Europe. As will be mentioned again in Chap. 7, the Franciscans embraced reform and reinvigorated poverty in the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century. Cardinal Cisneros played a prominent role in these reforms, and during this time the *Isla de Saltes* was returned to its former owners so that La Rábida could return to poverty.[75] The Franciscan editor who provided these documents for this *AIA* volume concluded that La Rábida was reformed and indicated that its age of excellence was the time of Juan Pérez and its involvement in the discovery of the New World. This episode is cast as just another chapter in the mythology of La Rábida; its virtue is intensified by its struggle. Eugenius IV's bull called La Rábida observant in 1437 (before Cisneros' reforms) and added that the friars lived solely on alms.[76] However, La Rábida's relationship with poverty was strained at the end of the Middle Ages, as their ownership of the *Isla de Saltes* indicates.

Mendieta began his history with the importance of La Rábida to the story of Columbus' discovery of the New World.[77] Mendieta indicated the close relationship that the Franciscans had with the dukedom of Medina Sidonia which had an important role in Atlantic history. Hugh Thomas reported: 'the King of Castile had in 1449 given a license to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the lord of the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, where the River Guadalquivir reaches the Atlantic, to exploit the land facing the Canary Islands as far south as Cape Bojador'.[78] Mendieta wrote that Columbus had sought support from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who owned the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, and the Duke of Medinaceli, who owned the port of Santa María, which were both shipbuilding centres.[79] The port of San Lúcar de Barrameda was the point of departure for transatlantic shipping in the early sixteenth century. Mendieta wrote that the Franciscan of La Rábida, 'Fr. Juan Perez de Marchena', guided Columbus to the dukes of the region as well as Isabella's Franciscan confessor to bolster his campaign for support.[80]

The Franciscans developed a prominent place in the Iberian peninsula which helps explain the extent of their early involvement with the Americas in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Franciscans had travelled to Islamic Spain as missionaries and joined the '*Reconquista*', which reduced Islamic power to the emirate of Granada in the thirteenth century. Their influence in the region was established early on. Throughout the late Middle Ages, the Franciscans found supporters amongst the Spanish monarchy. Franciscans were frequently selected as royal confessors, a position of considerable influence. The paragon of Franciscan power during the crucial years of Spanish history when transatlantic relations between Spain and America were first established was Cardinal Cisneros.

Cisneros was the confessor of Isabella from 1492, the Archbishop of Toledo from 1494, Grand Inquisitor from 1507, and eventually became the regent of Spain in 1516. He is also famed for establishing the Complutense University and publishing the *Complutense Polygot Bible*. While producing the polyglot *Bible*, Cisneros commissioned the help of Antonio de Nebrija, the author of the first Castilian grammar, and the colonial strategist who had described language as 'the ideal companion of Empire'.[81] Cisneros influenced who was sent to the Americas and exerted much control over the identity of this space. The letters collated in the *AIA* illustrate the extent to which he was embroiled in a web of correspondences between Spain and the New World.[82] It was Cardinal Cisneros who bestowed upon Las Casas the title of 'universal protector of all the

Indians of America', cementing his legend in the European history of the Americas. Cisneros offers a glimpse of the tendrils of Franciscan power in Spain, and he symbolised the way in which Franciscan influence crossed the Atlantic.

The Caribbean

The Franciscans of La Rábida were among the earliest religious personae to travel to the Americas, on Columbus' second expedition, in 1493. The Franciscans played an important role in the late medieval history of the Americas as their translocal network, which already encompassed so much of the Atlantic world, spread into the archipelago of the Antilles. No Franciscan went with Columbus on the first voyage. This absence is striking as friars had been common place on other Atlantic voyages. Again, we can only speculate about this absence. One suggestion is that Ferdinand and Isabella wanted to limit the potential influence of the papacy in any newly discovered regions. Their absence is notable given the papacy had dispensed conquest rights to Ferdinand and Isabella, for the purpose of evangelisation.[83] In 1494 Alexander issued a further bull conceding the western lands to Ferdinand and Isabella for the propagation of the faith, restating the religious motivation behind the enterprise.[84] The Franciscans had prominent control over the religious dimension of early European engagements with the Americas. For example, the bull *Piis fidelium* of June 25, 1493, Alexander VI authorised Fray Bernardo Boil to choose the missionaries that would accompany him from the religious that the royals designated, without the need for a licence from the respective superiors.[85]

There is much debate about the precise religious make-up of the crew of the second voyage. In a European historical tradition emerging in the sixteenth century, histories of Columbus' voyages to the Americas have often been characterised by confidence and emphasised the expansion of knowledge; yet a closer look at the details reveals how much ambiguity there is within this history. Although at times different historians and religious orders, including the Franciscans, claimed that there were religious personnel on Columbus' first expedition, the first Christian missions to travel to the Americas were members of Columbus' second voyage to the Americas (1493–1496). Given the importance of this event it is perhaps surprising how much confusion remains regarding certain details, in particular the ambiguity of the precise identities of the religious component of the crew. We know from a papal letter that Bernard

Boil was charged with leading the first mission to the Americas,[86] but are less sure about precisely who he led. Abulafia estimates that as Boil set up a base at La Isabela, Columbus' centre of government in Hispaniola, in January 1494, 'about a dozen priests and friars worked with him'.[87] Lists of these names vary. Antolín Abad Pérez provides the following list, which is the best estimate of the religious members of the voyage: 'Bernard Boil, head of the expedition [whom Abad Pérez describes as a Benedictine monk], Juan Pérez, friar of La Rábida; Rodrigo Pérez, of the same community; Juan de la Duele, a Burgundian Franciscan; Juan Tisin, a French Franciscan; Juan Solórzano, a Mercedario (Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy); Juan de Sevilla, a Mercedario; Juan Infante, a Mercedario; and Ramón Pané, a hermit of St Jerome (Jeronymite friar)'.[88] The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* observes that there has also been confusion surrounding Bernardo Boil (Boyl, or Buyl), who was thought to be one person with different spellings of his name and who converted from a Franciscan into a Benedictine.[89] However it claims that Bernardo Boil the Franciscan, and Bernardo Boyl the Benedictine, were actually two different people.[90] It explains that the Franciscan Bernardo Boil was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the New World in 1493, but that Ferdinand exploited the similarity of the names to elect the Benedictine Bernardo Boyl.[91] José Coll has also written about the confusion of the two Boils.[92] There is evidence of Boil's journey to Hispaniola contained within letters he sent to Cardinal Cisneros, but there is no reason to think he was a Franciscan, since Cisneros was important enough to receive letters from many different interest groups.[93] The only biographer of Bernard Boil claims that he was a Benedictine monk.[94] Mendieta described the man in charge of the first mission, Father Buil, as a Benedictine and a failure who did not protect the natives.[95] José Gabriel Navarro begins his book *Los Franciscanos en la conquista y colonización de América* by outlining the dispute between the Benedictines and the Franciscans regarding the character of Father Boil or Buil.[96] The Franciscan historian Mariano Errasti (*OFM*) neglects to mention Father Boil, and focuses instead on the two Franciscans Juan de la Duele and Juan Cosin, or Tisin.[97] The figure of Bernard Boil reflects the confusions, ambiguities, and competitions that are also part of early Atlantic history, as identities of missionaries, like the 'first discoverers', have been confused or manipulated by different narrators.

The first Franciscan chronicle account of the Franciscans in the Americas can shed new light on the early years of European engagement in the Americas. It was written by Nicholas Glassberger, 'a moderate

Observantine',[98] between 1506 and 1509. It was based on a letter sent by missionaries in Hispaniola in 1500, and has been neglected by most Franciscan scholars.[99] Glassberger reported that two Franciscans of the Province of France, John de la Duele and John Cosin,[100] obtained permission to go to the Americas from their Vicar-General Oliver Maillard, who petitioned Ferdinand and Isabella on their behalf for their place on the second voyage.[101] Glassberger indicated that the mission to Americas was in a way a continuation of the process of mission in Islamic Spain, as the French brothers had been heading to that region. Viewing the early history of the Americas through the prism of Franciscan sources emphasises continuities and fragments historicist notions of rupture. These Franciscan journeys to the Americas were the logical continuation not just of their global proliferation which had begun in the thirteenth century, but also of their Atlantic presence, which already encompassed the Canary Islands.

The Franciscan narrative differs from conventional European 'discovery' and conquest narratives as it emphasised poverty. Glassberger's chronicle also emphasised the poverty of the first Franciscans in Hispaniola. He describes how their habits rotted in the climate of Hispaniola and so they had to spin thread to make new tunics so that they would not go about naked.[102] This description of the Franciscans barely escaping nakedness at once mythologises their poverty and taps into the biblical imagery of nakedness in the Garden of Eden. Glassberger also describes that previously these same Franciscans had been amongst the Muslims and had been 'compelled by hunger and lack of resources to eat snakes'.[103] The snake is another Edenic symbol; through poverty, their nakedness and hunger, the Franciscan journeys are connected to biblical time and became closer to the age of innocence. This Franciscan narrative demonstrates the continuation of a medieval search for terrestrial paradise.

Following the precedence they had set in the Balearics and the Near Atlantic, the Franciscans quickly and precociously became established in the Caribbean Islands. In 1505 Franciscans established the first religious administrative unit in Hispaniola, this was called the Province of the Holy Cross,[104] establishing both the Franciscans and the importance of the cross. The number of Franciscans travelling to the Americas had steadily increased since 1493, but the Province itself was established when the General Chapter of the Observant Franciscans met in Laval. This reminds us that the administrative powers of the Franciscan network did not lie with the Franciscans travelling in the Atlantic, or with papacy or secular monarchs, but with the General Chapter of the order, which met triennially

in different locations. The Province included Hispaniola, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, Guadalupe and other islands in the region.[105] Five convents emerged on Hispaniola: Santo Domingo, Concepción de la Vega, Vera Paz de Jaguá, Villa de Buenaventura, and Mejorada in Cotuy. The provincial headquarters were based in Santo Domingo on Hispaniola.

Despite the prominence of the Franciscans in Hispaniola during these early years, much of this history remains in the shadows, and again the fragility of the source record presents a problem for these early years. Errasti describes how earthquakes, hurricanes, demolition, and looting reduced much of the history of the first Franciscan convent in the Americas to dust and silence.[106] The climate and environment of the Caribbean may have taken its toll on the historical record, but we still have some sense of the movement of Franciscans in the region, and of the ideas that they carried with them.

Approaching the history of the unfolding of the Atlantic world through the prism of Franciscan sources offers a reframing of the story, integrating the more ambivalent stories of the Canaries and Hispaniola, and a less confident narrative of 'discovery'. While Hispaniola had captured the imagination of Europeans in the final years of the fifteenth century, its significance was quickly eclipsed by the 'discovery' of mainland America during Columbus' third expedition to the Americas, which departed from the Andalusian coast in 1498. Hispaniola was soon enveloped in a web of connections which at once tied it to the agendas of European political powers to its west, and the fate of the Americas which unfolded to its East. The ambivalence of the Hispaniola as a node in this network can be seen from the perspective of Franciscan history. Increasingly Franciscans did not remain in Hispaniola but travelled on to the mainland.[107] Errasti romantically argued that the Province of the Holy Cross on Hispaniola became the 'launch ramp' for the spiritual conquest of the mainland.[108] There were constant calls for more Franciscans to travel to the Americas, as convents struggled to maintain their numbers amidst the migratory flows. Tibesar observes that the Franciscan superiors on Hispaniola were aggravated 'by the fact that as the work on the mainland developed, the crown and the Franciscan authorities in Europe tended to favour those areas'.[109] Spanish monarchs were pushing for the conquistadores to extend their expeditions further, and this necessarily extended the journeys of the Franciscans. According to Tibesar, 'the Crown also helped to disperse the friars and to cause them to found new residences because it desired that they should go along with the discoverers and conquistadores'.[110] In 1508,

Ferdinand ordered delegates at the General Chapter at Barcelona to send as many friars as possible to convert the natives of *Tierra Firme*: Fray Antonio de Jaén left in 1509 with eight Franciscan companions. In 1516, superiors, led by Mexia, requested more friars for Hispaniola, and claimed that there were only twelve priests, four clerics, and one lay broth on the island.[111] In 1528, the Crown was informed that only one or two friars were left in Concepción de la Vega, which had been the largest Franciscan friary on the island, while the population of Buenaventura had disappeared altogether. Errasti romanticised the 'exodus' of the religious of the young Province between 1508 and 1518 as a 'true dispersion',[112] but these flows are representative of the ambivalence of the Roman Church and the Spanish monarchs towards Hispaniola. Franciscan convents in Hispaniola ebbed and flowed like the tides of the Atlantic, but the Franciscans fought to maintain a presence there, and their network ensured that Hispaniola remained linked both to Europe and to mainland America.

The early history of the Franciscans in the Americas was entangled in the web of European politics. During the time of Columbus' third voyage, Columbus was accused of acting tyrannically in his role as Viceroy and Governor of the Indies. Francisco de Bobadilla was appointed by the Cortes General of Castile to become the New Governor of the Indies and curb the excesses of Columbus' power. As Governor Bobadilla sailed for the Indies he was accompanied by two Franciscans, Francisco Ruiz, *major domo* of Cardinal Cisneros, and the priests Juan de Trasierra and Juan de Robles.[113] The 12 friars arriving on the 1502 expedition were accompanying Governor Nicholas Ovando. Travel to the Americas necessitated engagement with religious and secular authorities. Errasti reports that, between 1502 and 1508, no new missionaries were sent due to tensions between Ferdinand and the Pope, suggesting that it was the Spanish Crown that controlled the missionaries going to America.

Mainland America

The Franciscans were the first to establish religious institutions in the Caribbean Islands, and their importance soon spilled across the mainland. Mainland America was reached during Columbus' third voyage as he sailed the coast of Venezuela, and during Columbus' fourth voyage which traversed the coast of Central America. After becoming established on Hispaniola, the Franciscans developed mainland strongholds in Santa María la Antigua del Darién and Mexico City and spread out to build

missions elsewhere in Mexico in the early sixteenth century. In 1525 they built a monastery in Huejoztingo and moved the local population to live around the monastery. They built a monastery in Huaquechula in 1531 and a church in Tlalmanalco in 1532. Franciscans joined the first missions south to Peru, becoming permanently established there in 1553. Later in the sixteenth century they established themselves in Ecuador and Argentina, as well as Florida. Franciscans did not develop their infamous missions in Alta California until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1510 the colony of Santa María la Antigue del Darién, on the Central American Isthmus, was founded and the Franciscans were part of this enterprise. The Spanish Franciscan, Juan de Quevedo, was appointed Bishop of Darién in 1513, becoming the first bishop on the mainland. The Franciscan Gerónimo de Aguilar (1489–1531) was involved in the early administration of this colony. Gerónimo de Aguilar was shipwrecked near Yucatán as he left Darién in 1511, setting sail for Santo Domingo to inform the governor of the trouble between Diego Nicueza and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.[114] Aguilar survived the shipwreck and four of his companions were reportedly sacrificed and eaten,[115] but Aguilar was himself enslaved by the local Mayans. Aguilar's fortunes changed in 1518 with the arrival of Cortés. Crucially, during his time amongst the Mayans Aguilar had time to learn some of the local language. This Franciscan went on to assist Hernán Cortés during the Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire in Mexico.[116]

Franciscans play an important role in Cortés' narrative. The letters written by Cortés about the conquest of the Americas repeatedly refer to the assistance he received from the Franciscans.[117] Cortés' fifth letter reports that he was joined by his Franciscan cousin, Fray de Altamirano, who informed him of the abuses being conducted by other conquistadores elsewhere.[118]

J. H. Elliott has argued that the Franciscans had a significant influence on the thought of Hernán Cortés.[119] Elliott writes: 'the Franciscans provided Cortés with an enlarged vision, not only of the new church and the new society to be built in Mexico, but also of his own special role in the providential order'.[120] The special Franciscan vision for the New World, and the way in which it was pursued in the Americas, is the subject of Chap. 7.

The history of the Franciscans in the New World often begins with the arrival of the 'Twelve Apostles' in Mexico in 1524, yet the vibrant and significant early years of the Franciscans in the Americas, and elsewhere in

the Atlantic world, should not be overshadowed. The 'Twelve Apostles' who set out from the harbour of San Lúcar de Barrameda in 1524 were not the first to arrive in New Spain. Fray Pedro Melgarejo and Fray Diego Altamirano arrived shortly before the completion of the conquest of Tenochtotlán.[121] In 1521 Pope Leo X issued *Alias felicis* which authorised two Franciscan missionaries, Juan Clapión and Francisco de los Angeles, to travel to Mexico. Three Flemish Franciscans, Johann van den Auwera, Johann Dekkers, and Pedro de Gante arrived in 1523; these friars were under royal authority, but did not have a papal commission.

Despite these earlier Franciscans in New Spain, sixteenth-century historians, such as Mendieta, focused upon the arrival of the 'Twelve Apostles' partly because of the drama of the event, and partly because the 'Twelve Apostles' had a papal commission. The event is given much significance as it shaped the way in which history unfolded in the Americas. Motolinía wrote that the arrival of the 12 Franciscans is recorded as the first arrival of Franciscans, noting that the indigenous were probably too involved with fighting to notice the Franciscans before this.[122] Mendieta described how Cortés knelt before the 'Twelve Apostles' as they arrived and kissed their hands, and the indigenous people copied.[123] Mendieta reported that this celebrated act was reported across many parts of New Spain, for memorable acts remain in the eternal memory, and Cortés' deed was more angelic than human as he was moved by the Holy Spirit.[124] Phelan argues that this act was more than a gesture for Mendieta, 'it was Cortés' great conquest of himself'.[125] From this moment Cortés favoured the mendicants, and in his fourth letter to Charles V (1524) he expressed that only friars should be sent to convert the Americas.[126] The *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan* reported that Cortés sent out Franciscans to different regions after the conquest of Tenochtitlan and that they acted both as explorers and as diplomats between Cortés and the Amerindians of Michoacán as Cortés sought to forge commercial treaties in the early years of conquest.[127] The Franciscans had a symbiotic relationship with Cortés in these early years; Cortés protected the Franciscans and obtained alms from Charles V which were used to bring members of the female branch of the Order, the Poor Clares, to the Americas.[128]

Franciscans proliferated throughout the Viceroyalty of New Spain as it was established following the conquest of the Aztec empire in 1521. In 1522 Pope Adrian VI issued *Omnimoda*, or *Exponi nobis fecisti*, and sent it to Charles V[129]; this bull delegated the mendicants and in particular the Franciscans to evangelise the Indies.[130] The arrival of the 'Twelve

Apostles' in conjunction with this bull is heralded as the beginning of the spiritual conquest of Mexico. Franciscan evangelisation in Mexico really took off with the arrival of Pedro de Gante (1523). The period from 1523–1572 has been termed the 'primitive' period of the Mexican Church[131]; it ends with the arrival of the Jesuits in New Spain in 1572, but the severe epidemic of 1576 which wiped out nearly two-thirds of the indigenous population of Central Mexico was a demographic devastation which also engendered a new kind of situation by the end of the sixteenth century. Robert Ricard reports that 'during this period the conversion of Mexico was almost exclusively entrusted to the three so-called Mendicant Orders: the Franciscans (1523–1524), the Dominicans (from 1526), and the Augustinians (from 1533)'.[132] The early arrival of the Franciscans secured their lasting influence. The Flemish Franciscans arrived in Central Mexico in 1524 and the 'Twelve Apostles' arrived at the Port of Veracruz in 1524; David Tavárez argues that 'by dividing the Basin of Mexico and Tlaxcala among them, these Franciscans secured their regions of influence before the 1526 arrival of the Dominicans and the 1533 entrance of the Augustinians in New Spain'.[133] While Ricard's periodisation is very neat, the importance of the mendicants was spatially differentiated as well as temporally, as it varied across different regions of the Americas. Further, complex issues of 'influence' cannot be contained within neat period boundaries. As Chap. 5 will indicate, Franciscans remained prominent in the Americas in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The Minister-General of the Order, Fray Quiñones, selected Martín de Valencia to lead the 'Twelve Apostles'. Another important member of the 'Twelve Apostles' was Father Toribio de Benavente, who took the name Motolinía on learning that it was the Amerindian word for poor. The others were Fray Francisco de Soto, Fray Martín de Jesús, Fray Juan Suárez, Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, Fray García de Cisneros, Fray Luis de Fuensalida, Fray Juan de Ribas, Fray Francisco Jiménez, Fray Andrés de Cordoba, and Fray Juan de Palos. The lives of these first Franciscans are recorded in the *Oroz Codex*.

The Franciscans were given special privileges in the Americas in the first half of the sixteenth century. As previously mentioned, *Omnimoda* encouraged all the mendicant orders, and especially the Franciscans, to travel to the Americas to convert the natives. It gave them special privileges to exercise almost all episcopal powers except ordination in areas where there were no resident bishops or where he was two days distant. The special role that the Franciscans had in America contributed to the

transformation of the Order. Mendieta reported that prior to this, in 1521, Pope Leo X had issued a bull granting two Franciscans, Francisco de los Aŕgeles and Juan Clapión, the right to exercise the privileges of the secular clergy, including the sacraments of baptism and confession, in the Americas.[134] Franciscans played a role in the early ecclesiastic government of the Americas. They were prominent members of the first *junta eclesiástica*, or first Mexican synod, which met in 1524. Franciscans acquired special privileges and authority in the Americas.

In 1535 the Franciscans established the first Province on mainland America, the Province of Santo Evangelio. The second half of the sixteenth century led to the rapid expansion of the number of Franciscan Provinces founded in Mexico and elsewhere in mainland America; a Province was founded in Lima in 1553, in Yucatán in 1559, Michoacán in 1565, Guatemala, Ecuador, Columbia and Chile in 1565, and Nicaragua (1575). Franciscans also joined Cortés as he explored the Pacific. These Provinces were often established many years of Franciscan missions in the region; for example, although the Province of Michoacán was established in 1565, the first missionary, Fray Martin de la Coruna, had arrived there shortly after the conquest of Tenochtitlan.[135]

As the conquest of the Americas unfolded in the sixteenth century, different mendicant orders developed dominance in different regions; the Franciscans had established their dominance early on in the Caribbean, and in Mexico they were dominant in the metropol, establishing a provisional headquarters in Texcoco when they first arrived, and they became established in Michoacán, the central highlands, and in the Yucatán. The headquarters at Texcoco, which Joaquín Meade described as the 'cornerstone laid by the Franciscans in the American Continent',[136] had jurisdiction over the provinces of Ortumba, Tepeapulco, Tulancingo, and the region of the Gulf of Mexico, including the Huasteca region. The Franciscan experience of mission in the Americas varied with the different places, times, and peoples. Many of the examples in Chap. 5 refer to the Franciscans' activities in the Yucatán, a phase that Craig Hanson described as the 'Yucatán model of Franciscan missionisation'.[137] Most of the Franciscans' chapels and mission spaces in the Yucatán were built in the 1542–1579 period, sometimes called the 'primitive' period of the Christian church in the Americas. This was before the collapse of pre-Columbian Mayan society, and the Franciscans built their missions working with pre-existing socio-religious structures. Often they built churches over pre-existing religious sites, and drew in surrounding

populations; Hanson argues that 'the rapid creation of large indigenous congregations resulted in an unprecedented manipulation of physical and symbolic space by the friars'.[138] Archaeological evidence shows that they built open chapels with large atria, to accommodate their needs, and that the built environment of the mission, composed of the chapel, atrium, friary, and associated village, was a 'vehicle for the conversion process'.[139]

The atria built by the Franciscans in Mexico often contained crosses, the symbol of their Christian mission, and when the Franciscans built the chapel of San José de los Naturales in the early 1520s in Mexico City, where the first college for the education of Amerindians was established in 1523, they erected a huge cross made from an ancient tree from the woods of Chapultepec. The meaning of the crosses that sprang up in these early missions varied, as the symbol was important in Christianity but also resonated with pre-Columbian Mesoamerican iconography. The cultural significance of the cross varied across different Mesoamerican groups; William B. Taylor notes that natural crosses were prized in Yucatán (a Franciscan province) and Chiapas,[140] and Benjamin Smith has contended that it was so important for the people of the Mixteca Baja that they 'probably conceived of themselves as the "people of the cross"'.[141] The presence of the cross in pre-Columbian Mexico also struck the early seventeenth-century Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada.[142] The art historian Samuel T. Edgerton has traced the cultural hybridity of the crosses that proliferated in Mexican missions in the sixteenth century, noting the similarities between the 'world-trees', a symbol which he argues appear in the arts and legends of nearly all indigenous cultures of pre-conquest Mesoamerica, and can be found in codices such as the *Maya Codex Dresden*, *Mixtec Codex Vindobonensis*, and the *Nahua Codex Borgia*, and the crosses produced in the Christian missions, often by indigenous craftsmen,[143] such as the cross fixed to the church façade in the Franciscan convent of Tepeapulco in Hidalgo State. Taylor has also researched the significance of the cross in the construction of Mexican missions, writing that 'the sixteenth-century crosses planted at the urging of the early missionaries marked a protected landscape and the cruciform symbol described a local vision of the architecture of the cosmos, with "the people" and their settlement at the navel of a universe that spreads out in the cardinal directions, each with a great tree of life supporting it'.[144] The cross, which had different meanings in Europe and pre-Columbian America, symbolises the hybridity of the early missions in Mexico.

Franciscan missions proliferated across the Americas in the early and mid-sixteenth century, but the process of the transfer of authority from the mendicants to the secular church began in the 1550s and was largely completed by the 1570s and 1580s, as Amerindian populations declined. The Crown's introduction of secular church structure based on priests and bishops undercuts the unique privilege that the Franciscans had enjoyed in the early years. By this time the native population was ravaged by abuses, disease, and alcoholism, and the enthusiasm and optimism of the first missionaries had waned. At this time, at the end of the sixteenth century, Mendieta produced his *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, which romanticised the first half of the sixteenth century as a golden age. The expansion of the authority of the secular church did not signify the end of the significance of the Franciscan Order, but redrew the boundaries of its authorities. Franciscans also played a significant role in the history of the secular church in the Americas. As previously mentioned, in 1513 Fray Juan de Quevedo was appointed first bishop on the mainland. The first bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga was a Franciscan. Zumárraga also acquired the title 'Protector of the Indians'; this controversial figure will appear again in Chap. 5. Franciscans played an important role in the history of colonial Latin America from positions both within and outside that of the secular clergy, but it is the first part of the sixteenth century that can be thought of, as Mendieta did, as a golden age of the Franciscan vision.

The Franciscans proliferated throughout the early Atlantic world and offer new coordinates for mapping the history of that space. Their history reveals both early Atlantic engagement and charts continuities with existing networks. Franciscans 'planted the cross' in the Atlantic by evangelising and establishing the institutions of their Order and the Roman Church. They also impacted the landscape by physically planting the cross. According to Motolinía, Fray Zumárraga played an active role in planting the cross in the Americas. Motolinía reported Zumárraga had transplanted devotion of the cross to the Americas, and the Amerindians painted it across their lands, and 'as they had high mountains, so they made high crosses, which they worshiped, and they looked at these to cure their idolatry'.[145]

This chapter has explored the Atlantic through the prism of Franciscan sources, including contemporary histories written by Franciscans. This record of the Franciscan Atlantic has been created and curated to demonstrate the importance of the Franciscans. Franciscan histories focus

on their own order, seldom documenting the deeds of other mendicants. Although the first Franciscans arrived in the Americas with Jeronymite monks, and were later joined by Augustinians and Dominicans, as this chapter has outlined, the Franciscans played a significant role in the early history of the Americas that warrants focusing upon. Histories covering the early Americas have often focused on the Dominicans, especially the arrival of Antonio de Montesinos and the conversion of Las Casas. These characters are often focused upon because they are seen as inaugurating the modern discourse of rights that developed in America.[146] Yet Franciscans weave a more complex narrative and their history depicts a more continuous flow from the Mediterranean to the Canary Islands and across the Atlantic, and sometimes suggesting earlier engagement than is otherwise considered. Chapter 5 will draw out more of the complexities of their narrative and explore the Franciscan contribution to coloniality in the Americas.

Notes

1. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492–1640,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 2.
2. See Arthur S. Skeller, Oliver J. Lissitzyn, and Frederick J. Mann, *Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts 1400–1800*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
3. Toribio de Benavente o Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Mexico D.F.: Chávez Hayhoe, 1941, 23.
4. P. Pedro Sanahuja, *Historia de la Serafica Provincia de Cataluña*, Barcelona: Editorial Serafica, 1959.
5. "Venda atorgada per Jeroni Poli i altres frars del convento de framenores de Barcelona a favor de Joan Malla, donzell domiciliat a Barcelona", *Archivo del Museu de Maratím*, 2772.
6. Sabastián Garcías Palou, *El Miramar de Ramon Llull* (Palma de Mallorca, 1977), 40, cited by Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets, the Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St Francis to the Black Death* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993, 125.
7. See Enriquez-Manuel Pareja Fernández, *El Manuscrito Luliano Torcaz I, del seminario de Canarias*, La Laguna de Tenerife: Universidad de la Laguna, 1949.

8. "Breve de Julio II a los obispos de Palencia, Mallorca y Canarias exhortando a la concordia y la cooperación entre las coronas aragonesa y castellana durante el desarrollo de la campaña africana del rey Ferran II", *ACA*, Generalitat, Pergaminos, Carpeta, Perg.836.
9. For more on this see Juan de Abreu de Galindo, *The History. Of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands: Translated from a Spanish Manuscript, Lately Found in the Island of Palma. With an Enquiry into the Origin of the Ancient Inhabitants. To Which Is Added, a Description of the Canary Islands, Including the Modern History of the Inhabitants*, ed. G. Glas, London: Hakluyt 1764.
10. For a detailed account of the early history of the canaries see Olmedo Bernal's *El dominio del Atlántico en la baja Edad Media,* which includes a description of Malocello's voyage, and provides context to the possession by Luis de Cerda; and the chronicle: Juan de Abreu de Galindo, *The History Of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands.*
11. Diego de Inchuarbre, O.F.M., *Noticias sobre los Provinciales Franciscanos de Canarias, Laguna*, Tenerife: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1966.
12. See Francisco Morales Padron, *Inventario de Fondos Existentes en el Archivo de Indias sobre las Canarias*, Madrid-Las Palmas: Anuario de estudios atlánticos, 1979.
13. "Fray García de Iracheta: pirates de La Rochela en Gomera", *AGI*, Patronato 265, R.2.
14. José Antonio, Pérez Carrión, *Los canarios en América, Tomo 1: Su influencia en el descubrimiento del nuevo mundo*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Caja de Ahorros de Canarias, 2004, 113.
15. "la iglesia no podía vivir ajena a la realidad de un mundo nuevo que se estaba forjando en el Atlántico"; Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde, Misioneros mallorquines y catalanes en el Atlántico,* Madrid: Patronato de la 'Casa de Colon', 1960, 39.
16. Fr Atanasio López, "Fr Alfonso de Sanlúcar de Barrameda, primer Obispo de Canarias", Miscelánea, in *AIA*, 1914, 1, 564–566, 654. the following reference is provided: Bull. Franc., t. VII, n. 966., note (1). A Spanish translation is available in Julio Sánchez Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, http://www.dioce-

sisdecanarias.es/downloads/iglcanarias.pdf (23.08.11), 18. As we shall see shortly, this was not actually the first election of a bishop in the Canaries.

17. This bull was published in fragments and included a testimony by Alonso II of Exea, who had executed the bull. This testimony was found in the monastery of Guadalupe (a town in the province of Cáceres) and was published in the first *AIA* volume, Fr Atanasio López, "Miscelánea", *AIA*, Madrid, 1914, 1, p 564. It is also known that Alfonso Sanlúcar de Barrameda moved to Libariense following his suspension from Rubicón.
18. Eugenius IV, *Ex regesto bullarum de curia Eugenii Papae IV*, tomo XII, fol. 214, in José Viera y Clavijo, *Descripción de la Gomera*, 2, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2007, 405–407.
19. Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias.*
20. Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 4.
21. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde.*
22. Julio Sánchez Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 6.
23. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 49 and 61, and 74. This is supported by E. Serra, "Nota acerca de los Sermones Canarios del Papa Clemente VI", *Revista de historia canaria* 29 (1963–64): 107–111, 109.
24. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 61.
25. Ibid, 93.
26. Ibid, 95.
27. *Crónica del rey don Enrique III*, Chapter XX, 214, cited by Rumeu de Armas, Antonio, *El Obispado de Telde*, 95.
28. *The Canarian*, Chapter XXXVI, 192–3. See also Buenaventura Bonnet y Reverón, "El Testamento de los trece hermanos", *Revista de historia*, 7, 55 (1941): 288–305.
29. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 106.
30. David Abulafia referenced Rumeu de Armas in his recent *Discovery of Mankind.*
31. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 107.
32. Ibidem.
33. Ibid, 5.
34. Ibidem.
35. 1342 Jaime III was dethroned by Pedro IV of Aragon, and thus the Aragonese became dominant in the Mediterranean, an influence that soon extended to the Atlantic, later the Castilians

became dominant. Power and influence shifted between Catalonia, Aragon, and Castile, and had an effect on the Mediterranean and Atlantic Island.

36. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 77.
37. "De Pedro El Ceremonioso a Bernardo de Olzinelles, tesorero real. Orden de pago de 1.000 sueldos l Convento de franciscanos de Barbastro", *ACA*, Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pedro III [IV], 1403; "De Pedro El Cermonioso a Ramón de Boil, tesorero real. Orden de Pago de mil sueldos concedidos como limosna al guardián del Convento de Franciscanos de Barbastro", *ACA*, Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pedro III [IV], 1019.
38. Benedict XIII had also spent time reforming the University of Salamanca.
39. Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 22.
40. Ibid, 23.
41. The bishop of Fuerterventura, fray Martín de las Casas, became bishop of Malaga.
42. The convent of San Buenaventura was established in 1413 according to Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 129, or 1471 according to Julio Sánchez Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 20.
43. Rumeu de Armas, *El Obispado de Telde*, 128.
44. Rumeu de Armas, "Misiones y Transculturación en las Islas Canarias Durante los Siglos XIV y XV", *Annuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 44 (1998): 583–610, 588.
45. Some sources say the first Vicar was Juan de Baeza, others say it was the Franciscan Francisco de Moya.
46. Rumeu de Armas, "Misiones y Transculturación en las Islas Canarias Durante los Siglos XIV y XV".
47. José Manuel Castellano Gil, Francisco J. Macías Martín, *History of the Canary Island*, trans. Ma. del Pino Minguez Espino, Tenerife: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1993, 21.
48. Rumeu de Armas, Antonio, *El Obispado de Telde*, 34.
49. Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, Barcelona: Seix Barral 1969.
50. José Antonio, Pérez Carrión, *Los canarios en América, Tomo 1: Su influencia en el descubrimiento del nuevo mundo*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Caja de Ahorros de Canarias, 2004.

51. This bull is held in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, cod. Chigi, e. VII. 208, fl. 451 y 453, and is published in *monument henricina*, v, nos. 131 and 132, 261–269; this was quoted by Santiago Olmedo Bernal, *El dominio del Atlántico en la baja Edad Media*, 41.
52. See Walter de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of a collection of original manuscripts formerly belonging to the holy office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands: now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute, with a notice of some unpublished records of the same series in the British museum*, London: Blackwood, 1908.
53. Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 31.
54. Arxiu Capitular de la catedral de Barcelona: pergamino 594. – Baucells i Reig, Josep: *El fons "Cisma d´occident" de l´arxiu capitular de la catedral de Barcelona,* Barcelona 1985, n° 594, 592, cited by Rodríguez, *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 32.
55. Rodríguez wrote that it was certain that the "missionaries were prepared in the 'art of navigation'", *La iglesia en Las Islas Canarias*, 32.
56. Ibid, 31.
57. Hipolito Sancho de Sopranis, "Los Conventos de Canarias 1443-1487", in *Anuario de Estudios Atlanticos*, 5, Madrid, 1959, 375–397.
58. Concrete evidence first appears in the 1412 Bull of Benedict XIII, *Etsi cunctorum*, in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, VII 1.108, which conceded that Fr Juan Rodriguez could live at the hermitage of La Rábida.
59. See Ángel Ortega. "El Convento de la Rábida", 85.
60. For insight into the life of this region during these first years of transatlantic history see *Cólon desde Andaluía, 1492–1505*, Sevilla: AGI, 2006.
61. "Donación para redención de cautivos y para lampara a nuestro senora de La Rabida", *AGI*, Contratación, 348A, N.1.R.8.
62. "El monasterio de San Francisco de coruna con Alonso Salamanca", *AGI*, Justicia, 1162, No.1.
63. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *History of the Indies*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, 33.
64. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. Cecil Jane, revised and annotated by L. A. Vigneras, London: Hakluyt, 1960. As

explained previously, this original of this journal disappeared and this copy is based on Las Casas' abstract.

65. Las Casas, *History of the Indies*, 1971, 33.
66. Francis Borgia Steck, "Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans", *The Americas* 3, 3 (1947): 319–341, 329.
67. Ibid, 329–330. This event is also described in Coll, *Colón y la Rábida*, 54.
68. William Eleroy Curtis, *The relics of Columbus: an illustrated description of the historical collection in the monastery of La Rabida (1893)*, Washington D.C.: W. H. Lowdermilk Co., 1893, 48.
69. Borgia Steck, "Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans", 330.
70. Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870*, Oxford: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998, 112.
71. Ibidem.
72. "Carta del Duque de Medina Sidonia confirmando la donación de la isla de Saltes al convento de la Rábida", ed. P. Ángel Ortega, O.F.M., in "El Convento de la Rábida. Su origen y primeros progresos, desde la fundación hasta el ano 1455", in *AIA*, 1 (Madrid, 1914), 79–99, 90–92 The Duke of Medina Sidonia was the most powerful noble in the region, and the littoral Island of Saltes is in the proximity of La Rábida.
73. Fr Alfonso Quixada guardian del monasterio de Sancta Maria de la Rábida, Fr Fernando Uicario del dico monasterio, Fr Rodrigo de Ortega, Fr Gonzalo de Santander, Fr Johna de Sancta Maria, Fr Bonifacio, Fr Rodrigo, Fr Fernando Palomeque, Fr Johan de Cordoba, witnessed by: Johan Fernández de Bolaños Crispo de Sevilla and Sebastian Garcia Galdin Seruidor, and Cristobel Gutierrez, "*Escritura de arrendamiento de la isla de Saltes"* ed. Fr Ángel Ortega, O.F.M, *AIA*, 1, 1914, 92–96.
74. *"Escritura de traspaso en subarriendo de la isla de Saltes*", ed. Fr Ángel Ortega, O.F.M, *AIA*, 1, 1914, 96–99.
75. Ángel Ortega, footnote 1, in "El Convento de la Rábida", 92.
76. Ángel Ortega. "El Convento de la Rábida", cited on 86.
77. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, ed. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Mexico D.F.: Antigua librería, 1870, Book 1, chapter 1, 14.
78. Hugh Thomas, *The slave Trade*, 66.
79. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Book 1, chapter 1, 14.
80. Ibidem.

81. "que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio"; Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua Castellana*, ed. Antonio Quilis, Madrid: Sociedad General Español de Libería, 1992, 74.
82. For example, Two letters from Fr Bernardo Boil to Cisneros, held in the AHN, Madrid, and published in *AIA*, 2, 1916, XVIII, 436–443, ed. P. Lucio M. Núñez.
83. Alexander VI, *Inter caetera*, Papal Bull of May 4, 1493.
84. Alexander VI, "se conceden a Fernando é Ysabel las regiones de occidente para propagar la fé", in Francisco Javier Hernáez ed., *Colección de Bulas, Breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas* , Brussels: Impr. de A. Vromant, 1879, 17–18.
85. Pedro Borges Moran, *El Envio de misioneros a america durante la época española* (Salamanca, 1977), 63; he cited the "texto y comentario de la bula" in M. Giménez Fernández, *Nuevas Consideraciones Sobre la Historia y Sentido de las Letras Alejandrinas de 1493 Referentes a las Indias*, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1944.
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126. Hernán Cortés, "Cuarta carta-relación", in *Cartas de relación*, 287–334, 331.
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CHAPTER 5

Franciscan Landscapes of Identity and Violence

The Franciscan Invention of Coloniality

The history of colonialism is often depicted by violent acts of conquest. The bloody deeds of Hernán Cortes, Francisco Pizarro and other conquistadores appear in many histories, in a historic tradition beginning with the conquistadores themselves.[1] The history of colonialism has often conformed to a normative spatial structure; especially within European history, colonialism has been seen as an exterior act, the conquest of other. One disruption to this appeared in Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism*, which contended that atrocities in twentieth-century Europe were the logical consequence of a European colonial system turning in on itself.[2] Yet the coloniality that unfolded in the transatlantic world in the sixteenth century can be seen as a development of the invention of coloniality in medieval Europe. This was not limited to the invention of lands as property, but also the invention of colonial subjectivity. This involved the control of identity, knowledge and memory, the disciplination of the body and the routinisation of violence. While there are some pre-existing studies into the medieval construction of mechanisms of physical violence, and more subtle control strategies such as Inquisition, dress codes, segregation, and legal discrimination, this chapter explores ambivalences within Franciscan history which contributed to the construction of coloniality. Thus, the perspective of Franciscan history does not simply call for the extension of the chronology of coloniality but also deepens our understanding of its complexity. The Franciscans historically had an ambivalence towards power and repression, and their history disrupts familiar landscapes of

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power and prompts a reflection upon the invention of colonial subjectivity. Their ambivalence towards power was a consequence of their continuous attempt to realise the spiritual and material condition of poverty. The chapter focuses in particular on the material space of the body, which, for the Franciscans, was a mechanism for realising their poverty and communicating it to the world through the performances of dress, discipline, and movements.[3] The approach of this chapter follows Walter Mignolo, who has explained that colonial situations 'are largely shaped by semiotic interactions and by their cultural productions',[4] and has used the term 'colonial semiosis' to 'suggest processes instead of places in which people interact'.[5] Franciscan history facilitates an investigation into the complexities of colonial semiosis as the Franciscan Order sought to control the identity, memory, culture, knowledge, rituals, and language, firstly of themselves, to invent a coherent Franciscan Order, and then of others, particularly Amerindians and non-Franciscan Europeans in the Americas in the sixteenth century.

Prominent medievalists have already noted how aspects of the physical landscapes of colonialism were invented in the Middle Ages. Charles Verlinden and Felipe Fernández-Armesto observed the transfer of economic colonial techniques from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. They depicted how the landscapes of colonialism, such as the spread of cash crops such as sugar, which came to be sustained by the institution of slavery, were designed in the Canary Islands.[6] Verlinden wrote that sugarcane production is a 'striking example of the passage from the medieval economy of the Mediterranean to the economy of modern times in the Atlantic area'.[7] Lesley Simpson argued that the *encomienda* which characterised the colonial landscape of the New World was established in Granada in the late fifteenth century as Muslim communities came under Spanish rule.[8] Similarly, Luis Weckmann observed that the rights and duties of *encomenderos* or *comendatarios* in the Indies reminds us of the Latin verb *commendo*, and shows the similarity between the *encomiendas* and the *commendatio* of Roman law, which became the basis for the feudal contract engineered by the Goths in the fifth century.[9] Gradually *encomiendas* were replaced by a system of *repartimiento*, and *haciendas* (estates) were established and had a lasting legacy in the Spanish Americas. Weckmann argued that 'the term *hacienda* (or in its archaic form, *facienda*) was in late medieval Andalusia synonymous with *cortijo*, and described a farm property cultivated with methods inherited from the Arab occupation'.[10] The asymmetrical system of property and

exploitative labour regimes that typified Atlantic colonialism were not radically new, but had many similarities with medieval spatialisations of power.

The spatialisation of colonial imagination began in the Middle Ages; during this time islands were invented as colonial spaces. Fernández-Armesto has explored the medieval invention of colonialism in islands such as Sicily and Sardinia, noting the construction of exploitative labour regimes in these contexts.[11] Islands fed the imperial ambitions of European monarchs, for example, the House of Barcelona began to create a network of island dominions in the thirteenth century. [12] The papacy played an important part in imagining a landscape colonised by Christianity. Pope Innocent III authorised the creation of a see in Majorca in 1204, 25 years before it was conquered by James I, and Pope Gregory IX offered indulgences to settlers. Chapter 2 of this book began by noting that *Inter caetera*, which invented the Americas as a Spanish possession, was part of a long medieval tradition of papal claims to island sovereignty known as the *doctrina omni-insular*. Weckmann argues that this papal tradition of *doctrina omni-insular* originated with Urban II in 1091 who claimed that all islands pertain to St. Peter. Ernst Kantorowicz observes that the 'Americas' were treated as an 'island' and this was very important for the papal claim to fit the legal tradition.[13] The framework of medieval legal history illustrates that descriptions of physical space were pregnant with colonial implications. Writing in the late sixteenth century, the Franciscan author of the *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* was keen to stress that 'Yucatán is not an island, or a point of land projecting into the sea as some people thought, but a mainland'.[14] Such a statement was not simply describing the geography of the landscape of the New World but had legal implications, making a statement about the possible identity of that space.

The world imagined by the Franciscans, which they aimed to invent in the New World, was not characterised by the legal structures of ownership or the commercial production of sugar, but it was nonetheless characterised by a complex form of coloniality. The romanticised legends of St. Francis, a man committed to poverty and humility, who took his name from his love of French song and the troubadour tradition, and who became the patron saint of animals, seem in conflict with the history of the Franciscan Order which became entangled with violence, the repressive processes of Inquisition, and the history of colonialism. Yet this is not a true paradox. The history of the Franciscan Order and the history

of colonialism are interrelated in important ways that are hidden by the illusion of paradox. Peace and humility *and* discipline and violence all contributed to the Franciscan condition.

The Franciscans and the Landscapes of Power

In colonial and postcolonial discourses the category of 'other' has often been constructed as extra-European or non-Western, yet late medieval Europe was concerned with the enemy within. As R. I. Moore pointed out in his *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, the enemy within might be the leper, the Jew, or the heretic.[15] Through their poverty the Franciscans, who voluntarily aligned themselves with the most marginalised groups of society, disrupted familiar landscapes of identity and power. Further, for the Franciscans, the first enemy could be the self. As Francis wrote, 'each one has the enemy in his power, that is his body through which he sins'.[16]

Franciscan poverty began with the self-disciplination of the material space of the body. The Franciscan body should be ritually denied food, scourged and subjugated, and poorly dressed in coarse fabrics. The Franciscans were to reject the materiality of the body and to replace it with something sacred: 'let them not seek to have anything under heaven, except holy poverty, by which, in this world, they are nourished by the Lord with bodily food and virtues, and, in the next, will attain a heavenly inheritance'.[17] The Franciscan body was the site of invention for their ideas about poverty; they conditioned the materiality of the body to realise an alternative reality. The body was also the site of the Franciscans' ambivalent relationship with power; they used the body to achieve poverty, but this body was also a threat that needed to be subjugated.

The Franciscans had a historically ambivalent relationship with power and authority. The Franciscan position was supposed to be a total rejection of power and authority[18]; Franciscans not only rejected property, which would have emancipated them from the authoritative legal structures that governed property, but they also rejected personal authority.[19] In his *Later Admonition* St. Francis wrote: 'we must deny ourselves and place our bodies under the yoke of servitude and holy obedience as each one has promised to the Lord'.[20] Later the *Chronicle of the XXIV Generals* reported that Brother Giles, one of the early Franciscans, 'assiduously kept his body under the yoke of penance in order to keep it in rule under the servitude of the spirit'.[21] Franciscan poverty was meant to be void of power and authority. According to David Burr, Francis saw poverty

'as one aspect of a self emptying which involved the surrender not only of possessions but of prestige and power'.[22] Inga Clendinnen has written that, apart from the Minister-General, authority was not permanently assigned and 'lesser offices rotated by election, ensuring that the authority experience was transitory, and always followed by the antidote (and preferred) experience of powerlessness'.[23] The Minister-Generals were also expected to maintain their poverty and subservience; for example, Angelo Clareno reported that Giovanni da Parma 'never rode an ass, a horse or in a car' and walked 'humbly with his head bent down'.[24] For the Franciscans, journeying to the New World also brought hardships and was a pathway to achieving poverty. The *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan* reported that Franciscans suffered a lot, barely having the necessities to survive, and this was so extreme that it could lead to death; such was the case for Giovanni Tecto O.F.M., who died of starvation in the Michoacán in 1527.[25]

Paradoxically, this subjugation of the self was also a source of power for the Franciscans. This was explained in the instructions for the Franciscans, for example, on St. Francis' 'exhortations about avoiding soft clothing and enduring lack of necessities' the *Assisi Compilation* explained that 'clothed with power this man was warmed more by divine fire on the inside than by what covered his body on the outside'.[26] For the Franciscans, their poverty became an alternative form of power.

The Franciscans' valorisation of poverty generated deep ambivalences that questioned familiar landscapes of identity and power in the Middle Ages. This ambivalence led them to subvert familiar landscapes of identity and power in the Americas. Mendieta wrote that it was not the Amerindians but the conquistadores who were slaves, as they were 'enslaved in the vile interests of the world'.[27]

The Franciscans were also entangled in one of the most important debates about the proper channels of spiritual power both in Europe in the Middle Ages and in the Americas in the sixteenth century: the question of who had the power to administer sacraments. The Roman Church imagined that it channelled spiritual power and authority through the papal curiae and the ecclesiastic institutions that spanned medieval Europe. The Waldensians, who, like the Franciscans, practised voluntary poverty, were condemned as heretics as they, unlike the Franciscans, denied the sanctity of clerically administered sacraments. The Franciscans respected clerically administered sacraments, but nevertheless clashed with the secular clergy in the thirteenth century over the question of who had the rights to collect

tithes and administer sacraments. Nettel Díaz used Mendieta to articulate this link: 'for Mendieta the foundation of the church was poverty, the central commandment of the Franciscan order and the source of conflict between secular clergy and the mendicant order in the context of the conversion of the Indians'.[28] Diego de Landa articulated this old Franciscan dispute between the secular and the mendicants when he reported that 'secretly, it was the secular clergy who gave the most trouble to the Friars' due to 'lost positions and profits'.[29] The Franciscans were given special privileges in the Americas in the first half of the sixteenth century. As mentioned in Chap. 4, Mendieta reported that in 1521, Pope Leo X had issued a bull granting two Franciscans the right to exercise the privileges of the secular clergy, including the sacraments of baptism and confession, in the Americas,[30] and in 1522 Adrian VI issued an *Omnimoda* which encouraged all the mendicant orders, and especially the Franciscans, to travel to the Americas to convert the natives. *Omnimoda* disrupted the order of sacred space. It contributed to the reconfiguration of landscapes of sacred space in the Americas, giving the mendicants special privileges to exercise almost all episcopal powers except ordination in areas where there were no resident bishops or where he was two days distant. The special role that the Franciscans had in America contributed to the transformation of the Order. The Franciscans challenged the locations of the channels of spiritual power in medieval Europe and in the New World.

Further, despite descriptions of the Franciscans' performances of subservience, they did not always escape power and authority as they not only idealised but often came to embody it. As Clendinnen observed, 'ambivalence towards authority had marked the Order from its earliest days'.[31] Maintaining and organising the freedom from authority that the Franciscans idealised was difficult. In Europe in the Middle Ages, the idealised 'powerlessness' of the Franciscan position was compromised by papal privileges and an expansion of duties as Franciscans became embroiled in a system of family and lay generosity and entangled in legal apparatus as they were asked to witness wills.[32] The idealised Franciscan condition was compromised further in the colonial context of the Americas. Landa suggested that Franciscans were displacing the authority of the Spanish in the Yucatán.[33] Francis had said that he wanted Franciscan poverty to be, like his tunic, a "thing that the world would never covet".[34] And yet powerlessness empowered the Franciscans. They were given important roles within the Church, made Inquisitors, and placed in positions of power by European monarchs. The ambivalent power dynamics of the Franciscan

Order developed further implications in the context of the Franciscans' interaction with the Inquisition.

The Transatlantic Inquisition

While, unlike the Waldensians and other groups practising voluntary poverty in the late Middle Ages, the Franciscan Order had avoided being condemned as heretics, they flirted with the boundaries of subversion. The Chronica *XXIV Generalium*, written in the mid-fourteenth century, reported how the Franciscans were feared to be heretics because of their strange habits and foreign language.[35] Franciscans not only flirted with the boundaries of heresy but also crossed them. As mentioned in Chap. 2, in 1318 four Spiritual Franciscans were condemned as heretics by the Inquisition and burnt, and in 1323 *Quum inter nonnullos* had decreed that it was heretical to claim that Christ and his apostles owned nothing of their own or in common. Angelo Clareno graphically described the Franciscans' experience of Inquisition in the fourteenth century:

> Driven out of his mind by anger, the Inquisitor ordered that, dressed in a short tunic, the prisoner be put first in a bath of hot water, then of cold. Then, with a stone tied to his feet, he was raised up again, kept there for a while, and dropped again, and his shins were poked with reeds as sharp as swords. Again and again he was hauled up until, on the thirteenth elevation, the rope broke and he fell from a great height with the stone still tied to his feet. As that destroyer of the faithful stood looking at him, he lay there only half alive, with his body shattered. The treacherous man's servants took the body and disposed of it in a cesspool.[36]

The Franciscans' relationship with Inquisition is emblematic of their ambivalent relationship with authority. The Franciscans experienced both sides of Inquisition, as victims and as perpetrators. The Inquisition was one of the most famous and complex systems of persecution that was designed in Europe in the Middle Ages. It catalysed the radical politicisation of identity and landscape of social deviance. In the context of Inquisition, the dangerous 'other' was not easily recognisable by marginal dress or behaviour, but could be a neighbour, or even oneself. This generated a society of informers and confessing subjects.[37] Despite being subjected to Inquisition, Franciscans were also complicit in this process from the start. In the early thirteenth century, Gregory IX called on the friars to assist with his Episcopal Inquisition, but it was Innocent IV who involved the

Franciscans more intensively. Significantly Franciscans were appointed to investigate other Franciscans; for example, in 1426 James of the March and Giovanni da Capistrano were appointed to investigate the Fraticelli. This involvement in Inquisition made the Franciscans unpopular and caused friction within the Order. In 1242 the first Franciscan Inquisitor had been assassinated. The Franciscans' experience of violence as a result of Inquisition did not take a binary structure.

Franciscans helped build the machinery of Inquisition; in 1361 Angelo de Assisi produced a manual for Inquisitors which advocated particular severity. This included the destruction of any house in which a heretic was found.[38] This legislation indicates how Inquisition was an attempt to shape the identity of space and order the locations of power. Franciscans continued to shape the processes of Inquisition in the sixteenth century. Andrés de Olmos, a Franciscan sent to assist Fray Juan de Zumárrga as he became the first bishop of New Spain, played a prominent role.[39] In 1533 Andrés de Olmos drew upon his experiences as an Inquisitor in the Basque region in 1527 and wrote *Tratado de hechicerías y sortilegios* in Nahuatl.[40] This was a guide for the Inquisitorial process in the New World, and was designed to stamp out the Amerindians' pre-Hispanic beliefs. Olmos' work demonstrates the way in which Franciscans linked repression across the Atlantic, from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World.

Inquisitorial roles were traditionally dominated by Dominicans but the Franciscans made a unique contribution. Part of this may have developed from the order's historic location on both sides of Inquisition, but it was also the result of the complex relationship with violence which was at the heart of their identity and ideology. The Franciscans routinised violence against themselves, and invested this violence with salvic properties. They engineered complex methodologies for disciplining and subjugating their minds and bodies. Franciscan chronicles depict the Franciscans as engaging in severe poverty which left them hanging between life and death. This position strained the Franciscans' relationship with the Roman Church since their doctrine of poverty was based on the criticism of the corrupt material world.[41] For the Franciscans, the process of Inquisition provided a mechanism for extending this ritualised and salvic violence to others. This context may explain the severity of the Franciscans' Inquisitorial conduct.

The peculiar relationship between the Franciscans and Inquisition continued when the Medieval Inquisition was reinvigorated (some say replaced) by the Spanish Inquisition which was formalised when the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was established[42] in 1478.[43] Franciscans

played an important role in this. King Ferdinand made Cardinal Cisneros Inquisitor-General in 1507.[44] Cisneros had had a particular interest in the Spanish Inquisition. Even before he was made Inquisitor-General, he accompanied the Inquisition to Granada where he advanced the renewed attack on Spanish Muslims. In 1500 he oversaw the gathering and burning of copies of the Qur'an in Granada's central square.

The reinvigoration of Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula acted as a dress rehearsal for the Spanish expansion of Inquisition in the Atlantic world. Although Inquisition was not formally established in the Americas until 1571 when Philip II authorised a Mexican Holy Office,[45] official Inquisition Tribunals which formalised channels of violence began in the Canary Islands as early as 1510.[46] The structure of bishop Inquisitors, which spread Inquisition to the Americas before its official establishment,[47] was in place from 1517.[48] Franciscans were the key group for transmitting Inquisition to the New World before its formal establishment. The Franciscan Martín de Valencia was the first friar to be given Inquisitorial powers in the Americas, inaugurating the period known as the 'early monastic Inquisition in New Spain (1522–1562)'. The Franciscan Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, initiated the 'Indian Inquisition' between 1536 and 1543.[49] Zumárraga held the title 'apostolic Inquisitor' between 1535 and 1543. The editor of the records relating to Zumárraga's Inquisition in the Indies described him as a 'fanatic'.[50] In the mid-1530s, Zumárraga ensured that all the remnants of the royal archives of Texcoco were burnt.[51] In the 1560s, the Franciscan Diego de Landa oversaw the burning of scores of Mayan codices and images. These acts of destruction in the Americas were remarkably reminiscent of Cisneros' burning of Islamic literature in Granada decades earlier.

In the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas the Franciscans sought to destroy alternative theologies and religious memories through the destruction of textual culture. Yet the first Franciscan act of violence against alternative forms of religious memory was not against heretics, Muslims or Mayans, but against themselves. The Council of Narbonne had ordered that all the different writings about St. Francis be gathered and that 'one good legend of blessed Francis be compiled from all those already in existence'.[52] In 1266 the leaders of the Order had ordered the destruction of all earlier accounts of St. Francis that had been gathered. The Franciscans developed the strategy of the destruction of texts to discipline their own collective identity first. They later used Inquisition to channel this violence and control non-Franciscans on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Franciscans not only enacted violence upon the textual cultures of the Amerindians but also their bodies, extending to execution. Zumárraga was known for his extreme violence against the Amerindians. In 1539 he ordered the public execution of a Nahua noble (Don Carlos).[53] Zumárraga was reproached for his violence against the Amerindians, and he was not the only Franciscan. The violence of Diego de Landa towards the Amerindians in 1562 which resulted in the deaths of approximately 157 indigenous[54] people has become known as the 'Franciscan terror', and is emblematic of the Franciscans' violence in the New World. The cruelty of Landa sets the Franciscans' role apart from their Dominican and Augustinian counterparts. It can be seen as a continuation of the extreme violence that had become part of the Franciscans' discourse in the fourteenth century. For example, Clareno had vividly described the sadistic violence experienced by the Franciscans during their 'persecutions' for poverty; for example, he described how one Franciscan had his jaw broken and his teeth shattered in his mouth, and how Franciscans experienced other new and unheard of tortures.[55]

Landa left a record of the Franciscans' complex relationship with violence in his *Relación de Las Cosas de Yucatán*, written around 1566. Landa notes how Inquisition entangled the Franciscans with the secular authorities as they were aided by the *alcade mayor*, and that Inquisition became a community event as *auto de fé* was 'celebrated'.[56] Landa wrote that the Franciscans used the process of Inquisition because the Indians were being influenced by indigenous priests and returning to practices such as sacrificial ritual.[57] It is an interesting contradiction that the Franciscans used the ritualised violence of the Inquisition to punish the ritualised violence of the Amerindians. Landa reported that those being punished were placed on a scaffold, an '*encorozados*', a symbolic punishment of the Inquisition, and were scourged and shorn, or dressed in the *sanbenito*, the ritualistic outfit of the Inquisition.[58]

To unpack the complexity of Franciscan violence in the Americas it is necessary to unpack the meaning and function of violence developed by the Franciscans throughout the Middle Ages. Violence against the self was part of the ideological package of the Franciscans. It was a mechanism for achieving their vows of poverty and obedience, and a way to realise ideas about salvation, mysticism, and eschatology at the local level.

Martín de Valencia, one of the first Franciscans in the Americas—the so–called 'Twelve Apostles'—illustrated the way in which the Franciscan Order was a transatlantic conduit for all the complexities of violence.

Born in Oviedo in 1474, Valencia was influenced by the Guadalupe reform movement (which will be discussed in Chap. 6), radicalised violence against himself and was notable for his particular violence against the Amerindians.[59] The sixteenth-century Franciscan historian Motolinía praised the way in which Valencia subjugated himself through ritualised violence: 'he began to mortify the flesh and bring it into subjection with fastings and scourgings'.[60] The *Oroz Codex* reported Valencia's violence against himself in his Spanish hometown:

> He took of his habit before entering the village and, naked in the flesh except for underclothing and with a cord around his neck, he ordered his companion to lead him behind him like a malefactor through the streets of Valencia up to the church, and to lead him through a street where most of his relations lived. After this was done, and without visiting anyone, they returned by the way they had come, whereby the relatives and inhabitants of the village scorned and despised him—which is what he wanted; for he did to his nature what was told above for this purpose—with all the violence he did to his nature and sensuality in performing such an act—for the love of Jesus and to conquer himself.[61]

The expression "to conquer himself", first explored by Inga Clendinnen,[62] captures some of the complexities of the Franciscans' relationships with violence and coloniality. Valencia went on to enact violence against Amerindians in the Americas. He transmitted the processes of violence and subjugation through Inquisition, acting as an Inquisitorial commissioner between 1524 and 1526. Yet, for the Franciscans, the first stage in the process of violence and subjugation was against the self. Only after this first important conquest could violence legitimately be transferred to others.

The ritualised and routinised subjugation of the body was essential to the Franciscans' achievement and performance of poverty. It was a mechanism for realising their ideological identification with poverty. As Michele Foucault explained, discipline is achieved through 'an increase of the mastery of each individual over his own body'.[63] Foucault thought that the eighteenth century was a particularly important chapter in the history of discipline, but only observed monastic asceticism for the medieval period and one wonders if he would have changed his mind had he looked more closely at the Franciscan Order. The Franciscans were ascetic but transcended the confines of the monastery and developed a highly specialised space-power relationship.

Violence was a tool for discipline and subjugation, but within the Franciscan tradition it also had salvic and mystic properties. The deep spiritual significance of this extreme violence against the self is depicted in the *Oroz Codex*, which described Valencia as 'already so gaunt from so much abstinence and penitence, and from the affliction of his spirit, that he had nothing more than bones stuck to the skin and the flesh wasted away like another Job'.[64] This depicted Valencia as performing poverty with such violence that he was moving between two worlds, between the physical world and the world of the spirit. This journeying between two worlds was informed by the framework of mysticism, and the comparison to Job connected this movement to prophecy.[65] Violence was a mechanism for a kind of spiritual and eschatological progress, which was of heightened significance in the context of the New World.[66]

The process of Inquisition nested well within Franciscan ideology since it was not a monologic process of condemnation and punishment. Inquisition was dialogic and the perpetrator had to participate in their own condemnation. John Arnold has described how the process of the medieval Inquisition led to the construction of the confessing subject.[67] He argues that the complexity of the discursive dialogic process of Inquisition formed the confessing subject who *participated* in their own condemnation. The Franciscan Inquisition was also characterised by the complex participation of both perpetrator and victim. Franciscan chronicles report how the Franciscans voluntarily participated in the penance and ritual punishments often associated with Inquisition. In the Americas, Franciscans were also keen to report on the ways in which Amerindians participated in their own control and repression. In medieval Europe, local communities had been encouraged to denounce heretical members of their community to the Inquisition. Diego de Landa reported that this process was simulated in the Americas, where Amerindians were encouraged to become spies and informants for the Franciscans. Describing the community built by the Franciscans and the Amerindians in the Americas, Landa observed that the Franciscans gathered the children of the principal lords and established them around the convent, where they lived in houses built by the local community. Landa reported that these children were indoctrinated into the faith and 'asked for baptism'. Crucially, Landa noted that after their indoctrination these children became informers on their own relatives.[68] They notified the priests of acts of idolatry or

drunkenness, and they 'broke the idols although they belonged to their own fathers'.[69]

The process of embedding auto-control within the community, a strategy which had been engineered in the context of Medieval Inquisition, was particularly intense in the Americas since the Franciscan Order had special powers over local communities. The *Laws of Burgos* and the *Ordinances for the Treatment of the Indians* (1512) had given the Franciscans the exclusive right to educate the sons of the native nobility:

> We order and command that now and in the future all the sons of chiefs of the said island, of the age of thirteen or under, shall be given to the friars of the Order of St Francis who may reside on the said Island, as the King my Lord has commanded in one of his decrees, so that the said friars may teach them to read and write, and all the other things of our Holy Catholic Faith; and they shall keep them for four years and then return them to the persons who have them in *encomienda*, so that these sons of chiefs may teach the said Indians, for the Indians will accept it more readily from them; and if the said chiefs should have two sons they shall give one to the said friars and the other we command shall be the one who is to be taught by the person who has him in *encomienda*.[70]

The Laws of Burgos gave the Franciscans a mandate to educate the sons of caciques, who were not only social elites, but had a religious role as intermediaries between spiritual and temporal worlds,[71] and this gave the Franciscans a mechanism for penetrating the Amerindian social order. In the Laws of Burgos, we see that Franciscans were inscribed in the colonial structures of the New World and had particular power over Amerindian communities, and that the unique position of was codified within the early legal framework of the Spanish-American empire.

The Franciscan position went further than constructing the auto-control of a community. For the Franciscans violence against the self was at the core of the Franciscans' understanding of the virtue of violence. We find the commendation of Amerindians' violence against themselves in Landa's *Relacion*. He reported on Amerindian participation in punishment. He recalled that the violence of the Franciscans' Inquisition, including the execution of Amerindians, caused some of the Amerindians to hang themselves in grief.[72] This indicated that the Amerindians were enacting violence against themselves. Of course, Landa was forced to condemn this sin of suicide, and argued that these people had been deceived by the devil.

Yet enacting violence against the self was a key part of the Franciscan position and elsewhere Landa was more ambivalent, and even commended the 'bravery' of an Amerindian who committed suicide. He wrote, 'because the Indian did not want it to be said that he had been killed by a Spaniard, cut a length of *bejuca* (a vine), and hanged himself in the sight of all'.[73] Landa finished describing this scene with the statement: 'of this courage there are many examples'.[74]

Inquisition was one mechanism for the Franciscans to transmit their complex ideology of violence to the Americas. The Franciscans used Inquisition to control the identity of the New World. It has been argued, for example, that Zumárraga had requested Inquisitorial powers in order to protect Franciscan dominance in the Americas.[75]

The history of the Franciscan Inquisition can contribute to our reconfiguration of historic landscapes of power and violence in the early transatlantic world. Violence against the self was the first form of Franciscan violence. Franciscans, who had historically experienced both sides of Inquisition in Europe in the Middle Ages transplanted the process to the Americas before its official inauguration. The frontiers of the Franciscan Inquisition were not those of colonised and colonisers. Franciscans used Inquisition to denounce the corruption and greed of conquistadores. While some Franciscans defended Amerindians against the violence of the conquistadores, some Franciscan Inquisitors were denounced for their excessive violence. The council of the Indies and the Supreme Council of the Holy Inquisition (*Suprema*) both accused Zumárraga of being too violent and in 1543 the *Suprema* took away Zumárraga's Inquisitorial powers. Later, the violence of Landa was also condemned and halted. In a plot twist which acts as a reminder of the Franciscans' ambivalence towards violence it happened that it was another Franciscan, Francisco Toral, who came and put a stop to this violence. Paradoxically, the Franciscan violence against the Amerindians may have offered them some protection in the long term since it has been argued that the extremity of Landa's violence against the Amerindians led to their exemption from Inquisition when it was formally established in 1571.[76] When Inquisition was formally established in the 1570s, Franciscans clashed with this. They opposed Inquisitors from the secular clergy since they were engaged in Hispanisation which challenged the monopoly of the Franciscans, who were determined to invent their vision for the New World in the Americas.

Franciscan Violences and the Forging of a New World

The Franciscan ambivalence towards violence in the process of their invention of their New World in the Americas is depicted in one of the first Franciscan chronicles of their activities in the Americas. Commenting on the crimes of the conquistadores described by the contemporary chronicler Oviedo, Torrubia explained that the violence of the conquistadores was part of the natural way in which good and bad things are mixed: 'there is gold in the earth, straw with the wheat and in the flowers, honey with venom. We should not despise the earth, not everything is gold, in the crops, not everything is grain, and even the flowers that have sweetest smells have thorns' ('*hay oro en la tierra, paja con el trigo y en las flores, miel con veneno. Ni despreciar la tierra, que toda no es oro, la cosecha que toda no es grano, ni la flor que acompaña con la espina las suavidades de su olor*').[77]

Ambivalence towards violence was part of the Franciscan condition, which they developed throughout the Middle Ages. As Clareno wrote, 'we should rejoice whenever we incur poverty of things, weakness and death while living justly in a holy way on account of the observance of obedience, poverty, and chastity'.[78] Clareno continued, explaining how violence was a way to achieve the freedom imagined by the Franciscans: 'he frees himself from earthly desires from the bottom up who wants to be free from the body, and wants by means and punishments and torture to cross over to Christ, who bore the suffering and the death of the cross for us, when we were enemies of God and servants of sin, mostly meriting eternal death'.[79] The Franciscans saw suffering as a mechanism for achieving the ideal state of poverty and something that should be celebrated.

Colonialism is also more complex than the process of the violent subjugation of the physical spaces of 'territories' and bodies. It is not just the appropriation of places and people but the appropriation and transformation of identities. The Franciscans played important roles in these complex dimensions of coloniality.

The aim of the Franciscans' Inquisition in the Americas was not only to subjugate the bodies of the Amerindians, but to repress their religious ideas, symbols, and memories. Klor de Alva summarises that, for the Indians who remained unacculturated in the 1540s, the aims of the Inquisition were 'to deprive the accused of his or her traditions, the guiding memory of the ancestors, personal liberty and dignity, corporeal wellbeing and

temporal property and life (or so it must have seemed after the execution of the cacique don Carlos)'.[80] The violence of the Franciscans in the New World was not just against Amerindian bodies, but also culture, language, and history. Through this multidimensional programme the Franciscans worked to forge the New World.

History/Memory

As previously mentioned, the Franciscans tried to destroy the collective memory of the Amerindians through violence against their material culture. They then constructed the history of the New World according to their own vision. Through these texts the Franciscans had a big impact on the European imagination of the New World. Diego de Landa is famed in equal measure for his cruelty and his scholarship. In 1566, after the 'Franciscan terror', Landa went on to produce his *Relación de Las Cosas de Yucatán* which provided a detailed description of the landscape and climate of the Americas. Landa wrote this description while in Spain, and it influenced the European imagination of the New World, and was used in later histories of the Americas, including the Herrera chronicle.[81] Geronimo de Mendieta and Toribio Motolinía invented historic descriptions of the New World and the Amerindians. Andréa de Olmos, Martín de la Coruña, and Francisco de las Navas produced the first ethnographic chronicles describing the Amerindians. Georges Baudot observes that these Franciscans 'sought to make a meticulous inventory of the Mexicans beliefs, their rites and their customs'.[82] At the end of the sixteenth century Bernardino de Sahagún produced the aforementioned *Florentine Codex*, which is a monument to the Franciscan efforts to depict the people and places of the New World. The Franciscan role in colonialism went beyond physical violence. Franciscans also shaped the way in which the New World and its inhabitants were perceived in Europe. Franciscans contributed to the textual invention of the New World, describing this space and its peoples through a Franciscan lens. This textual construction contributed to the way in which the identity of the New World was colonised.

These Franciscan texts were, of course, not 'neutral' descriptions, if anyone believes in the myth of neutrality. As Baudot explains, the Franciscan monopoly on this process of describing the New World 'can be explained by historical reasons and by the millenarian views that motivated the ethnographic chroniclers',[83] as well as the Order's belief that the Franciscans were 'destined to affect human destiny through actions on a large scale'.[84]

The Franciscans constructed these texts according to their interpretation of the New World. The Franciscans were devoted to studying the Indian past and to learning Indian languages. They wanted to translate Christian texts into local languages and disseminate the faith through local language and not in Spanish in order to preserve the uniqueness of the Indians and to create a special community of the faithful. According to Baudot, the Franciscans' study of Indian history, culture, and language, and the Indian education system that the Franciscans designed, were all part of their 'well-constructed program of millenarian action'.[85]

Landa cast the indigenous population according to the Franciscan vision of the New World. Landa described the Amerindians as having haircuts like tonsures[86]; here Landa depicts a similarity between the local population and the Franciscans. Franciscans also observe the poverty of the Indians; Motolinía described the New World as 'lands inhabited by poor people who go about naked'.[87] Landa also uses more familiar descriptive tropes. He described the beards of the natives as 'like horses hair',[88] which was the metaphor used by Columbus to describe the hair of the Taino.[89] A century earlier, Boccaccio had described the natives of the Canary Islands as 'naked men and women, who were more like savages in their appearance and demeanour'.[90] European interpretations of the New World in the sixteenth century showed similarities to descriptions of far-flung places in the Middle Ages. The descriptions of the New World that Franciscans produced in the sixteenth century came out of a long medieval tradition of the Franciscan of travelogues, some of which were discussed in Chap. **3**.

Culture/Knowledge

The *Codice Franciscano Siglo XVI* illustrates the systematic programme that the Franciscans designed to educate the Amerindians and control conversion and identity in the New World.[91] It contains catechisms for the Indians of New Spain which were translated in the Mexican language by Fr. Alonso de Molina, and many other documents to teach the Indians Christian doctrines and policies. These policies cover broad aspects of society relating to children, holidays, schools, and the sacraments. In short, it is a monument to the way in which the Franciscans tried to discipline the lives of the Amerindians and construct a perfect community of the faithful in the New World. The first bishop of New Spain, Fray Zumárraga, wrote the *Regla Cristiana Breve*, a guide for reconstructing the Amerindians as Christian subjects.[92]

The way in which Franciscans systematically tried to colonise the cultural identity of the Amerindians is illustrated by their Indian education system. The Franciscans played a special role in the 'education' of the indigenous Americans. As previously mentioned, this had been established in the *Laws of Burgos*, which gave the Franciscans the exclusive right to educate the sons of the native nobility. From these origins, the Franciscans extended their education system in the Americas. In 1533 Fray Luis de Fuensalida and Fray Jacobo de Testera both pushed for a school to be founded to educate the Amerindians, amid debates with the Dominican Domingo de Betanzos regarding the rationality of the Indians. The famed Franciscan educator Pedro de Gante founded the first college of the New World, San Jose de Belén de los Naturales, in 1523, next to the convent of St. Francis, where he began to educate the sons of Nahua nobles. In 1536 Juan de Zumárraga established the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco,[93] which was designed to educate indigenous Amerindians in theology and the liberal arts, following the model of a Franciscan seminary. In 1530 nuns arrived in Mexico City to extend the education programme to girls. Tlatelolco was an important coordinate in the Franciscans' Amerindian education programme. The Franciscans' schools mapped on to the pre-Hispanic Aztec schools, the *calmecac*, creating a hybrid situation which facilitated the Franciscan agenda.

Importantly, the school of San Jose de Belén de los Naturales founded by Pedro de Gante not only taught the catechism, but was a trade school, where Nahua adults were trained in painting, sculpture, carpentry, music, embroidery, jewellery-making, and crafting feather mosaics.[94] The school produced indigenous artisans who inscribed the fusion of the indigenous and Franciscan worlds into their surrounding landscapes. Franciscans also learnt the arts of indigenous Mexicans in this environment, particularly feather art, which they incorporated into their cultural lexicon.[95] Indigenous artisans, trained in Franciscan schools, were involved in the construction and decoration of new churches and crosses. Gauvin Alexander Bailey contends that 'many of the San José graduates returned to their villages to teach painting in mission schools far from the capital, and they are probably responsible for the explosion of mural painting in the countryside of New Spain from about 1535 to about 1585'.[96]

Feather art represented an important dimension of cultural hybridity between the Franciscans and different Amerindian groups, for whom birds had cultural and devotional significance, although, of course, the implications and iconography of birds was complex both within the history of the

Franciscan Order, and across Amerindian cultures. Franciscans appreciated the cultural and devotional significance of birds for Amerindians, and the craftsmanship of the feather artists (*amantecas*).[97] Sahagún"s *Florentine Codex* documents the practices of the *amantecas* and the significance of feathers for the Nahua.[98] Birds were important to the devotional iconography and collective memory of the Franciscans. St. Francis became known as the saint who preached to the birds, thanks, in part, to Giotto's inclusion of this scene in his fresco cycle in the Upper Church of Assisi in the fourteenth century, although the significance of this scene in the history of the Order has been the subject of much debate.[99] Reminding us that in another Franciscan legend, the descent of birds over Mount Averna (where Francis was thought to have received the stigmata) was a sign of 'the divine selection of this spot and of the Franciscan perception of nature as an expression of God's glory', Berenice Alcántara Rojas demonstrates the way that the Franciscans used the cultural significance of birds for the Nahua to translate the psalm 'On the Day of the Stigmatization of the Blessed Francis', from the *Psalmodia christiana* by Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators.[100] Alcántara Rojas shows how the shared cultural significance of birds and the practice of feather arts helped the Franciscans and the Nahua create a hybrid form of Christianity, and includes an example of a feather mosaic of an image of St. Francis from the seventeenth century from the Convent of Guadalupe Zacatecas.[101]

As the Franciscans sought to educate the Amerindians in their own culture, they also took it upon themselves to produce a record, through their Franciscan gaze, of the Amerindians culture as they were destroying it. Louise Burkhart acknowledges that, of the three orders most active in the Americas in the early sixteenth century, 'the Franciscans were by far the most prolific in both ethnographic and doctrinal writings'.[102] Sahagún's *Florentine Codex*, a twelve-volume encyclopaedia charting the ethnographic landscape of Aztec society, is still used by scholars today to understand pre-Columbian culture. Significantly, the *Florentine Codex* was produced not just by Sahagún, but by indigenous Nahua who had been educated by Franciscans at the Colegio de Santa Cruz. The knowledge captured in the manuscript was used by Franciscans to facilitate their translations of Christianity into American society. However, a more recent study by Diana Magaloni Kerpel has sought to reinstate the agency of the indigenous painters (*tlacuilos*) who engaged in dialogue with Europeans and participated in the creation of a new language.[103] Sahagún made clear in his prologue that he intended the *Florentine Codex* to be used to

facilitate the conversion of the Amerindians, but Magaloni Kerpel observes the ambivalence of this text, which indicates that 'the intent of the indigenous people and the Franciscan friar coalesced'.[104]

Language

The Franciscans impacted upon the linguistic landscapes of the Americas. It can be argued that the specific Franciscan approach to mission developed out of their humanistic interests and commitment to languages, which formed an important component of their conversion project.[105] As previously mentioned, the Franciscans had been uniquely committed to learning languages and translating religious ideas in the Middle Ages. Ramon Llull had founded the college of Miramar in Majorca so that Franciscans could learn Arabic, and this inspired a tradition known as the Lullian approach to mission which had language at its core. The *Codex Cumanicus*, a complex compilation of manuscripts from merchants and missionaries concerning language and translation across the medieval world, illustrates how influential were Lull's ideas about language.[106] The writing of the Jeronymite friar Ramón Pané is often cited as the earliest intensive description of the New World.[107] Yet Pané did not produce his text on his own but had help from the Franciscans. Abulafia notes that Pané 'seems to have had the help of a French Franciscan friar who spoke the language rather better'.[108] At first Franciscans used local translators, but they soon learnt local languages; one of the first Franciscan missionaries and teachers in the Michoacán was Arnaldo Bassaccio, who was very knowledgeable in Mexican languages.[109] Franciscan letters and chronicles from the Americas often contained descriptions of local languages, for example the people encountered by Marcoz de Nizza's exploration of north-west Mexico were described as having a language similar to *Cunacan*.[110] Franciscans were not only describing indigenous languages, but comparing the different languages in the regions they explored. Franciscans engaged with Amerindian languages, and offered descriptions of their language and culture for Europeans.[111] Franciscan writings contain some of the only fragments of lost languages. Fray Andrés de Olmos who produced the first Nahuatl grammar in 1547, and Fray Alonso de Molina produced one of the first dictionaries of the Nahuatl language in 1571. Landa described how Fray Luis de Villalpando, who learnt the language by signs and small stones, deduced a sort of grammar and wrote out the tenets of the Christian doctrine.[112] These knowledge constructions

were not neutral, but contributed to the ways in which Amerindian identity was colonised by Europeans.

Franciscans were pioneers in learning Amerindian languages; they also developed systems of cultural hybridity to translate Christian ideas into Amerindian languages and transform indigenous imaginative landscapes. It was the Franciscan priest Fray Jacobo de Testera who designed a system of hieroglyphics using Nahua glyphs to teach the catechisms.[113] This form of catechism using indigenous symbols to pictorially depict Christian stories and messages became known as 'Testarian Catechisms', and preceded similar strategies of the Jesuits in Asia in the seventeenth century. The system was developed by Fray Pedro de Gante, who produced a Testerian Catechism around 1525 which used formed words either symbolically, or used symbols to form words phonetically according to the syllables of the Nahuatl language.[114] The cultural hybridity at work in the Testerian catechisms intensified the Franciscan penetration of the Amerindians' symbolic world. Bailey notes that 'the symbols they use are of European, not Aztec, derivation'.[115] However, the *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan* reported that the Franciscans translated Christianity for the *Tarascan* (Purépecha) people by taking the symbols that the Tarasco had used on commercial contracts, and then used these to write the commandments, and put these on the wall of the church and pointed to them as they prayed.[116]

The school of San Jose de Belén de los Naturales produced the *mestizo* Franciscan Diego Valadés, a skilled Latinist who also taught in the Colegio de Santa Cruz. In 1579 Valadés wrote the first book published in Europe by an Amerindian, the *Rhetorica christiana*; this fused an apologia of the Franciscans work with the Amerindians with a Latin treatise on rhetoric and is a monument to the cultural hybridity bred in the Franciscan schools in Mexico in the sixteenth century. Diego's *Rhetorica christiana* contains an image of the ideal Franciscan mission, with an atrio, church patio, and in the centre is an image of the Franciscans, led by St. Francis, carrying religion into the New World.[117]

The Franciscans' commitment to local language intensified the colonial experience of the Amerindians. Landa began his history of Yucatán with a shipwrecked Franciscan who learnt some of the language and went on to assist Cortés, and described the lengths that Franciscans went to penetrate local languages in order to penetrate local culture with their broadcasts of Christian doctrine.[118] By translating sermons into Amerindian languages the Franciscans tried to influence the intellectual and religious world of

the Amerindians. As Louise M. Burkhart explains, they focused on dialogue and this dialogue was designed to 'transform the Indians into a model Christian society'.[119] Burkhart continues, 'their ultimate goal was to silence indigenous voices, to resolve dialogue into monologue, to replace cultural diversity with conformity'.[120] Burkhart observes that the Franciscans failed in these aims, not least due to Amerindian resistance, and the way in which the Franciscans were themselves suppressed in the Americas by the Spanish.

The Franciscans used their knowledge of Amerindian languages to try to retain a monopoly on shaping the Amerindian communities into Christian communities. They did not want their vision of the New World corrupted by the conquistadores or the secular clergy. They did not want the sins, heresies, and confusions that had bubbled up in Europe in the Reformation at the start of the sixteenth century to pollute the consciences of the neophytes of the New World. Language learning was used as a weapon against the Hispanicisation of the Indians.[121] The Franciscans' attempt to retain a monopoly over conversion in the New World led to frictions between the Franciscans and the conquistadores and the secular clergy.

The Multidirectionality of Coloniality

Franciscan history indicates the multidirectionality of colonialism, since the Franciscan position was compromised by the colonial context. The colonial context also transformed Franciscan identity. Franciscans had developed in an urban context, where socially and theologically conditioned charity networks enabled them to live lives of voluntary poverty. While the Franciscan commitment to poverty undoubtedly varied and fluctuated in Europe, on the Island of Hispaniola, and in mainland America, Franciscans could live lives of poverty, but it was impossible to maintain the full conditions of their poverty. P. Angel Ortega collated lists of the items that the Franciscans took with them on their missionary expedition as they accompanied Ovando in 1502[122]; these lists include items which deviate from the Franciscan regulations of poverty, including rich materials and ornaments for churches, and illustrate how establishing churches and convents in the Americas compromised the Franciscan image of poverty which had been possible to be maintained in the urban landscape of Europe.

Firmly entangled with the colonial enterprise, Franciscan missions became more lavish in the Americas, and this compromised the Franciscan

commitment to poverty. Glassberger reported that the king and queen of Spain responded to the Franciscan request for priests to be sent to the islands by equipping a ship with rich conversion apparatus, 'putting on board very many treasures for divine worship, namely crosses, golden and silver reliquaries, chalices, cloaks and ornaments placed on board with various tablets and pictures of the stories and deeds of the saviour by which a race so wild might be led to piety'.[123] The doctrine of Franciscan poverty forbad the handling of such goods.[124] This rich conversion apparatus hauled ashore on Hispaniola also marks a transition from earlier Franciscan missions to the East which were characterised by poverty. For example, William of Rubruck, the Franciscan who journeyed to the Far East in the mid-thirteenth century, had written that he asked the Tartars to 'condescend to accept a small gift at our hands, on the grounds that I was a monk and it was not the custom of our Order to possess gold or silver or precious garments, which accounted for my not having any such things to offer him, but would he accept our food for a blessing'.[125] Interestingly, Glassberger's chronicle of the Franciscans in Hispaniola indicated that it was the sailors who handled these goods as they leave the ship rather than the Franciscans.[126] The Franciscan narrative of the handling of this rich conversion apparatus creates a sense of separation, suggesting awareness of the way in which the colonial context was problematising Franciscan identity.

It is important to note that the process of adaptation did not begin in the Americas, but had been experienced in Eurasia before the fifteenth century, and particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. It is thought that the Franciscans began to build grander churches in the Americas to impress the Amerindians and encourage them to convert, and that the focus on outdoor ceremonies was an adaptation to Amerindian traditions. However, Bailey observes that the 'original open chapel at San José de los Naturales in Mexico City was based on the mosque of Córdoba, with a forest of columns holding up a vaulted rood, a design that survives today in the Capilla Real in Cholula', and that the Capilla Real 'was built on the site of a temple to Quetxalcóatl, and it is thought that the friar architects chose the mosque form as a model in part because it possessed sufficient grandeur to rival the memory of the many temples that once graced this important Nahua religious centre'.[127] This use of Mudéja architecture reminds us of the importance of the legacy of experiences in the Iberian Peninsula. Bailey also notes that the Franciscans did tend towards plainer churches in accordance with their vow of poverty.[128]

The European colonial enterprise in the Americas intensified the Franciscan entanglement with power. The logistics of travelling to the Americas necessitated engagement with the secular and spiritual powers of Europe. Through the early missions to Hispaniola, Franciscans were entangled further in the politics of Europe. Franciscans travelled to the Americas by joining expeditions, which had political functions. Franciscans accompanied the Governors of the Indies as they travelled to Hispaniola. In 1500 the Franciscans Juan de Robles, Juan de Trasierra, and Francisco Ruiz accompanied Governor Bobadilla who was charged with curtailing the power and abuses of Columbus; following this expedition, the disgraced Columbus was returned to Spain in chains. In 1502, ten Franciscans led by Fray Alonso de Espinal accompanied Governor Ovando to Hispaniola. Torrubia wrote that these Franciscans were sent with Ovando by Cisneros, who was driven by zeal and 'love of the salvation of those islanders'.[129] Franciscans were increasingly attached with political powers in the colonial context. This problematised Franciscan identity since their poverty was meant to symbolise a rejection of power.[130] This aspect of Franciscan identity was further compromised by the colonial context.

While the Franciscans may have intensified coloniality in the New World, the colonial context also intensified the transformation of Franciscan poverty. Franciscans were important to the colonial strategies of Church and State in the New World. The Alexandrine bulls obliged the monarchs to provide missionaries, and this indicates that the Franciscans were necessary components of conquest, used by the papacy and the monarchs. John Phelan explicitly linked the Franciscans to colonial process in the New World, stating that 'the friars' conquest of the souls of the Indians was the necessary complement to his conquest of their bodies'. However, 'new mission history' has highlighted the complexity of reading the history of mission in terms of colonisation as a unidirectional transformation of identity. New mission history uses interdisciplinary techniques and tries to consider Indian perspectives of missions.[131] Susan Deeds has highlighted the need to take issue with 'those historians who see missions as fundamental instruments of conquest'.[132] Understanding the complexity of poverty in the Atlantic context could be another way to contribute to the more nuanced picture of new mission history. This is not to deny the role of missionaries in colonial processes. As Deeds observed, 'missionaries were not infrequently the advance agents of the crown in these areas, and their presence not only provided moral justification but also lent itself to forcing indigenous peoples into alien or different systems of

capital exchange in trade, production, and labour'.[133] The perspectives of new mission history remind historians of the importance of indigenous interpretations and uses of missionaries and that the influences and impact of these engagements were not unidirectional. Franciscan history can contribute to our understanding of the complexity of coloniality.

While the Franciscans were often violent, their practices also created transcultural spaces, both physically and intellectually. Amara Solari commented, 'rather than deem all native urban spaces as monte [mountain or "the bush"], and thus as entities fraught with danger, the Franciscans approached the colonization effort with hundreds of years of experience under their belts, decades of it in the Americas'.[134] In the Yucatán region Franciscans concentrated on transforming Mayan towns into Christian towns. Landa took care in describing the topography of Mayan towns in detail.[135] Landa also provides evidence for the way in which Franciscans used Mayan towns and buildings, and built Franciscan structures out of the edifices of the Mayan.[136] Like the Nahuatl-Christian dialogues described by Burkhart, these spaces facilitated transcultural interactions.

Further, the Franciscans did not just seek to control the identity of the Amerindians in the New World but also the conquistadores. Much of their Inquisitorial activity, for example, was directed against the blasphemies and poor behaviour of the Spanish.[137] Zumárraga's letter to the *licenciado* Francisco de Sandoval indicates the Franciscan belief that problems were more with the Spanish than the Amerindians.[138] Franciscans also wrote to the Spanish monarch requesting that he give more orders to regulate the behaviour of the conquistadores in America.[139] Franciscan history disrupts the binaries that have been associated with the history of colonialism.

Ambivalence and multidirectional influence is inscribed in the *Florentine Codex*. As previously mentioned, Magaloni Kerpel interprets the text as a dialogue between indigenous Mexicans and the Franciscans. The text was seen to be dangerous as it saved too much Amerindian culture, and in 1577 Philip II ordered the seizure of the manuscript for investigation by the Council of the Indies.[140] However, Sahagún continued to work on the manuscript; Lia Markey suggests that another Franciscan, Fray Rodrigo de Sequera, who supported Sahagún's project, brought the *Codex* to Spain some time between 1578 and 1584.[141] Markey traces the circulation of the *Codex* and its copies around Europe in the sixteenth century and how, despite its ban, it influenced artists in the heart of Renaissance Italy, she demonstrates that this influence can be seen in Ludovico Buti's painted images of the New World in the ceiling of the Uffizi's Armeria in

1588.[142] This brief history of the Codex encapsulates the complex role of the Franciscans in the invention of a New World: that they sought to convert the Amerindians, engaged in dialogue and forged a new language, raised suspicion, and were investigated by the imperial authorities, and that the product of these Franciscan dialogues not only affected the landscapes of the Americas, but was inscribed in the artistic landscapes of Renaissance Italy.

Symbolic Worldmaking (1)

The Franciscans believed that they were building a shared new world with the Amerindians. Landa claimed that the Franciscans' role in education set them apart from the Spaniards. He described how the Franciscans had to fight against the conquistadores to fulfil this agenda; for example, when Fray Jacobo de Testara went to the Yucatán to teach the sons of the Indians, the Spanish soldiers demanded the services of the young boys so much that there was no time left to learn the doctrine of religion. Landa depicted the Franciscans as fighting against the greed of the Spaniards, and the idolatry and drunkenness of the natives in order to teach Christianity.[143] Mendieta also contributed to the notion that the Franciscans occupied a unique position in the New World since they were close to the Amerindians as they learnt their languages, preached, taught, baptised, confessed, married, saved souls, and were themselves subject to persecution.[144] The *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan* reported that in 1536 Cortés tried to send a cleric to the Tuchpan people, but that he was rejected because the local people loved the Franciscans more.[145] Franciscans conceptualised themselves as occupying a unique space in the New World, set apart from the conquistadores and the secular clergy, bravely trying to forge the New World on their own.

Franciscans sought to remould the culture and symbolic world of the Amerindians in the New World. As previously noted, they destroyed many of the texts, buildings, and cultural artefacts of the Amerindians. Motolinía's history records this Franciscan destruction of Amerindian culture as part of their fight against idolatry and as a battle against the devil.[146] They sought to replace this world with their own vision for the New World. This cultural repression had a specific role in the Franciscan narrative of the New World. A passage in Motolinía's writing, cited at the end of Chap. 4, illustrates the way in which Franciscans engaged with

this symbolic colonisation. Motolinía described how Fray Zumárraga had aroused reverence for the cross amidst the local population, who went on to paint it across their lands, and 'as they had high mountains, so they made high crosses, which they worshiped, and they looked at these to cure their idolatry'.[147] This passage illustrates not just the way in which the Franciscans colonised the symbolic world of the Amerindians, but the way in which they encouraged the Amerindians to be complicit in this process. The Franciscans saw themselves building the 'New World' together with the Amerindians in a shared state of poverty.

Various Franciscans wrote about how the Amerindians had a similar inverted value system to them, that they were poor and did not value wealth. One letter in the AGOFM from 1539 described how Marcoz de Nizza, the Italian Franciscan mentioned in Chap. 3 who was entrusted to find the mythological *SieteCiudades de Cíbola (SetteCittà)*, encountered a group of Amerindians in hiding, and that they had 'houses full of gold, but it is as if it is lost, since they don't use it'.[148] In a plotline similar to Thomas More's *Utopia*, this letter reported that these Amerindians living in the mountains have lots of emeralds and other jewels of value, but they adore other things, such as herbs and birds.[149] It also reported that the Amerindians of nearby Jalisco were naked, had houses made of straw, and 'do not look for other richness'.[150]

Poverty, realised particularly through bodily performances of dress, consumption, and movement, played an important role in the Franciscans' imagination of their place and importance in the New World. In the Franciscan imagination, poverty enabled the Franciscans to forge the New World. The Franciscans interpreted the Amerindians to be poor like the Franciscans; Diego de Landa, for example, described the cheap clothes, hemp sandals, and maize diet of the Amerindians.[151] For the Franciscans, poverty separated them from the conquistadores and enabled them to transcend the distance to the Amerindians. The remnants of this image can be glimpsed in a number of places. Writing in the 1950s about the Franciscans in colonial Peru the Franciscan historian Antoinine Tibesar wrote that 'of all the orders, none was closer to the popular classes than the Franciscans'.[152] Tibesar has argued that the Franciscans' philosophy of poverty made them better able to relate to and interact with the indigenous populations in the Americas. The *Regula bullata* legislated for the exterior enactment of this poverty and specified the 'inexpensive clothing' that they should wear, which should be of poor material, and mended only by sackcloth.[153] Their performance of poverty and the scarcity of

their attire enabled them to transcend the distance between the European colonists (elaborately dressed conquistadores) and the indigenous people. This narrative is expressed in Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*. According to Motolonía, 'when the president of the audiencia [Don Sebastián de Fuenleal] asked the Indians why they knew and loved [the Franciscans] and were beloved by them' they answered, 'because they go about poor and barefoot like us, eat what we eat, live amongst us, and their talk among us is gentle'.[154]

This image that the Franciscan performance of poverty enabled the Franciscans to transcend colonial distance and become the Amerindians is presented in sixteenth century Franciscan chronicles. For example, the Oroz Codex reported that the Franciscans travelling throughout the New World

> went about barefoot and with old and parched habits. They slept on the floor, with a piece of wood or stone for a headrest. They themselves carried small bags in which they took along the breviary and some sermon book. Their food was tortillas, which is the bread of the Indians and is made from maize—and chile, which they call axi by another name—and capulies, which are the cherries of the land, and tunas—and their drink was water.[155]

In this description the way in which the Franciscans transcended the distance between Amerindian is even clearer. The description of their poverty is tied with eating the food of the indigenous culture. The types of food people consume has been linked to identity, and this acquires additional significance in the colonial context. The Franciscans' consumption of Amerindian food set them apart from other missionary groups.[156] Sharing the food of the Amerindians contributed to the way in which the Franciscans could access, and, perhaps, influence local culture.

Within Franciscan history Franciscan poverty was highly spiritual and facilitated and influenced their conversion of the people of the New World; yet this process can also be situated within the framework of coloniality. If it is true that Franciscan poverty made the Amerindians be more at ease with the Franciscans and more receptive to their influence (the nature of the source record cannot verify this), then Franciscan poverty intensified the colonial role of the Franciscans. Franciscan chronicles which stress a similarity between the performed poverty identities of the Franciscans and the cultural identities of the Franciscans, such as the *Oroz Codex*, simultaneously chronicle the ways in which the Franciscans were

impacting upon the socio-cultural and religious world of the Amerindians by preaching, saying mass, baptising, hearing confessions, and burying the dead. Franciscan poverty was a tool for their programme to transform the physical, cultural, and emotional typography of Amerindian communities. Franciscan poverty was a tool for forging the ideal communities of the New World.

Landa also located the Franciscans in the Americas in a unique position, at odds with the conquistadores and clergy and pushed towards the Amerindians.[157] Landa described how the Spaniards were displeased about the Indians building their monasteries and tried to drive the Indians away and burnt the Franciscan buildings. According to Landa, the Franciscans were forced by the violence of the Spanish to go and live among the Indians. This narrative created a sense that the Franciscans and the Indians shared a common space and were both the victims of Spanish persecution. Of course, this Franciscan narrative neglects to report on the persecutory role of the Franciscans. The narrative develops an even more complex picture of the Franciscans and colonialism in New Spain. According to Landa, when Indians rose in rebellion, the Spanish wrote to the Viceroy (Don Antonio) that they had revolted 'for love of the friars', but when the Viceroy investigated he found out that the friars had not yet arrived in that province at the time of the revolt.[158] Landa continued that the Spaniards kept watch on the Franciscans to the scandal of the Indians, and took their alms, so the friars denounced the Spaniards to the *Audiencia* of Guatemala for collecting too much tribute and working the Indians too hard.[159] Through this story Landa crafts an image of an intriguing idealised Franciscan position, one where they are in conflict with the violent conquistadores, yet not undermining the authority of the crown: putting themselves in the position of the Amerindians, not physically allying themselves with the Amerindian cause, but perhaps being an idea or example that could inspire revolt against Spanish repression. Landa romanticised the special position of the Franciscans to be a consequence of their poverty. According to Landa, the Indians became attached to the Franciscans, giving them information and taking their advice, because the Franciscans laboured without self-interest, and their work resulted in greater freedom.[160] Landa refracts an idealised impression of the meaning of Franciscan poverty through his construction of the history of the Mayans.

The colonial space that Franciscans created was one of hybridity. Franciscans described themselves as victims like the Amerindians as well as describing Amerindian complicity in violence and other dimensions of the

colonial process. Franciscans described this physical construction of this hybridity. Motolinía described how the Amerindians dragged the stone from the destroyed temples to construct the new Christian churches.[161] Franciscans saw themselves as sharing in the poverty of the indigenous people and building their New World together with them: 'and the other monasteries that have been built in this kingdom are just as poor and humble, as our estate and habit require, and as the love and compassion for these poor natives who help us build them, demand'.[162]

In summary, the Franciscans saw themselves as building a New World of shared poverty with the Amerindians. Without knowing anything about Amerindian society or material culture, the Franciscans invented Amerindian poverty as something comparable to the Franciscans. Motolinía's narrative suggests that the Franciscans' poverty mirrors that of the indigenous people: 'and if you look at the Indians, you see that they are very poorly dressed and barefoot, their beds and dwellings exceedingly poor, their food more scarce than the strictest penitent'.[163] Motolinía described how Franciscans coming from Spain 'are like a river flowing into the sea', because the Franciscans in the New World live in poverty and keep every rule, since they look upon the indigenous who live without conceits.[164]

The Franciscans destroyed the memory, ideas, and material culture of the Amerindians and rebuilt the history, language and cosmos of the New World according to their own image of that space. This contributed to the invention of coloniality in the Americas as Aníbal Quijano writes that the relationship between Europeans and others 'continues to be one of colonial domination' and that 'this relationship consists, in the first place, of a colonization of the imagination of the dominated'.[165] Franciscans played a significant role in this colonisation of the imagination, and were the first to systematically try to 'educate' the Amerindians. Franciscans studied Amerindian languages intensively in order to ensure the transfer of their message. They also textually constructed an impression of Amerindian identity and an Amerindian past which contributed to this colonisation of imagination.

Franciscan history helps us to reconfigure the historical cartography of colonialism. Their history indicates that mechanisms of repression, violence, and identity control are not born in the extra-European colonies associated with the modern and early modern worlds, but within medieval Europe. The Franciscan relationship with violence had been forged in medieval Europe, where they had routinised violence against themselves

and had been both victims and perpetrators of processes of violence and persecution. Their history indicates that subjugation does not begin with the 'other' but with the self. The disciplination of the self is an important part of the history of coloniality. The Franciscans helped forge the coloniality of the New World by transmitting their technologies for self-discipline to the Amerindians. This process is more complex than a history of the Franciscans' role in Inquisition. As Klor de Alva summarises, 'in effect, the domestication and normalization of millions of unacculturated Indians by dozens of friars needed far more than an Inquisition. It called for a new regime of control that acted upon the soul to create self-disciplined colonial subjects'.[166] The complexity of the coloniality of the Franciscans has resulted in an ambivalent legacy in the Americas, but this would be the subject of another book.[167]

Notes

1. For example, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva Espaňa*, ed. Miguel Leon–Pórtilla, Madrid: Historia 16, 1984.
2. Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on colonialism*, trans. J. Pinkham, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.
3. On the importance of the materiality of the body, performance, and power, see Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter, On the discursive limits of "sex"*, London: Routledge, 1993.
4. Walter Mignolo, "On the Colonization of Amerindian Languages and Memories: Renaissance Theories of Writing and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34, 2 (1992): 301–330, 329.
5. Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, xvi.
6. Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970, 3. Felipe Fernández–Armesto, *The Canary Islands after Conquest, The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 198, 245.
7. Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, 26.
8. This was observed by Lesley Byrd Simpson as the origin of the idea of encomienda for the Indies, as Isabella issued a Cédula in 1503 for the Governor of the Indies, Nicolás Ovando, to transfer

the system to the Indies; Lesley Byrd Simpson, "Introduction", in *The Laws of Burgos of 1513-1513, Royal Ordinance for the good government and treatment of the Indians*, translated, with an introduction and notes by Lesley Byrd Simpson, San Francisco: John Powell Books, 1960, 4.

9. Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, trans. F. M. Lopez–Morillas, New York: Fordham University Press, 1992, 351–2.
10. Ibid, 356.
11. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: exploration and colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1987, 169.
12. See Felipe Fernández–Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 12.
13. Ernst Kantorowicz, "Introduction", in Luis Weckmann, *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del Papado medieval: estudio de la supremacía papal sobre islas, 1091–1493*, México D.F.: Univ. Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, 1949, 7–17, 8.
14. "Que Yucatán no es isla ni punta que entra en la mar como algunos pensaron, sino tierra firme", Diego de Landa, *Relación de Las Cosas de Yucatán*, Miguel Rivera ed. Madrid: Historia 16, 1985, 39.
15. R. I. Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
16. St Francis, "Admonitions", Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* 1, 128–137, 132.
17. *The Assisi Compilation*, Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1, The Saint*, 99–106, 123.
18. The rejection of authority is one of the many meanings of St. Francis' theatrical renunciation of his possessions, which is a story at the heart of the Franciscan movement and the first act of conversion that was needed to be emulated by his followers. According to the legends, as he rejected the wealth of his family, he stripped himself bare of his clothes which were a symbol of patriarchal property and authority. Richard Trexler argued that Francis' renunciation may not have been so unique but may have corresponded to the exercise of a rite of emancipation which was a reasonably common legal practice in thirteenth-century Italy.

R. Trexler, *Naked Before the Father*, New York: P. Lang, 1989, 37.

19. Their rejection of personal authority took the form of obedience. The *Regula bullata* (the Later Rule approved in 1223) asked the brothers 'to observe the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience without anything of our own, and in chastity'. *Regula bullata*, in Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1,* 100.
20. St Francis, "Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (Second Version of the Letter to the Faithful) (1220?)", in Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, 1,* 45–51, 48.
21. Arnald of Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty–Four Generals of the Order of the Friars Minor*, trans. Noel Muscat O.F.M., Malta, 2010, 115.
22. David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty, the origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989, 6; Burr provided the following footnote to accompany his comment: "see especially *Regula non bullata*, c. 9. See also comments by Thomas of Celano in I Celano, n. 38, in AF, 10:30; and Jacques de Vitry in *Historia orientalis*, c. 32, in *Testimonia minora saeculi XIII de S. Francisco Assisiensi*, Florence: Quaracchi, 1926, 81."
23. Inga Clendinnen, "Disciplining the Indians: Franciscan Ideology and Missionary Violence in Sixteenth-Century Yucatán", *Past & Present*, 94 (1982): 27–48, 38.
24. Angelo Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations of the Order of Brothers Minor*, trans. D. Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, New York: Franciscan Institute, 2005, 101.
25. *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan.*
26. *Assisi Compilation*, in Armstron et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* 1, 118–230, 137.
27. Cited by John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1970, 85.
28. Patricia Nettel Díaz, *La Utopia Franciscana en la Nueva España,* Mexico D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco, 1989, 29–30.
29. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 67.

30. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Book 3, Chapter 5, 188.
31. Ibidem.
32. Bonaventura is noted to have appeared in four wills (1272–82) witnessing three and receiving money in two; see David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty,* 12.
33. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 69.
34. Thomas of Celano, VP, 202.
35. "qui, cum ad regnum Portugalliae devenissent, videntes eos populi habitu singularis formae indutos, lingua extraneos, timentes, ne essent haeretici, eos male receperunt et habitare inter se nullatenus permiserunt"; *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, ed. Fr. Bernardi A Bessa, in *Analecta Franciscana, sive Chronica Aliaque Varia Documenta ad Historiam Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, ed. a partibus collegii S. Bonaventurae, III, Florence: Quaracchi, 1897, 10.
36. Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations,* 172.
37. See J. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the confessing subject in medieval Languedoc*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, and J. B. Given, "The inquisitors of Languedoc and the medieval technology of power", *American Historical Review* 94, 2 (1989): 336–359.
38. L. Oliger, "'Summa Inquisitionis', auctore Fr. Angelo de Assisio, O.M. (1361)", in *Antonianum, v* (1930): 475–86, in John Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 404.
39. See *Franciscans in New World: Sloane MS 1470*, 12.
40. Andrés de Olmos, *Tratado de Hechicerías y Sortilegios, paleografía del texto náhuatl, versión española introducción y notas de Georges Baudot*, Mexico D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto Investigaciones Históricas de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 1990.
41. This position had perilous similarities with the Cathar heresy, the original target of Inquisition.
42. Established when Pope Sixtus IV issued *Exigit sincerae devotionis affectus.*
43. While it would be ahistorical not to acknowledge that the Spanish Inquisition dealt with a different historical context in the sixteenth century, there were nonetheless many methodological and ideological continuations with the medieval Inquisitions. Francisco Béthencourt described the difference between the

Medieval Inquisition and the Spanish Inquisition as a 'major break' because 'for the first time there was a formal link between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, since the involvement of the princes in the appointment of the inquisitors changed these agents' ties of loyalty, but he also accepts that there were methodological continuities. Francisco Béthencourt, *The Inquisition, A Global History*, 1478–1834, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 35. The Catholic king could appoint inquisitors, a role normally reserved for the pope.

44. A role he fulfilled until his death in 1517.
45. "Royal Order Issued by King Philip II Establishing the Foundation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Indies (Madrid, January 25, 1569)", in John F. Chuchiak IV ed., *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536-1620, A Documentary History*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012, 81–82.
46. Official Inquisition Tribunals took place in the Canary Islands 1510–1574, and began in the Americas 1569–70.
47. Richard Greenleaf reported Inquisition was present in the Americas before this 1571 Tribunal as 'bishops re–assumed the inquisitorial process in their dioceses under the portfolio of Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary'. Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain: A study in Jurisdictional Confusion", *The Americas*, 22, 2 (1965): 138–166, 138.
48. See Béthencourt, *The Inquisition, A Global History*, 70.
49. See Richard E. Greenleaf, *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536–1543*, Washington D.C.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961. And Patricia Lopes Don, *Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and the Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524–1540*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.
50. Rafael Lopez et al., *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nacion*, Mexico D.F.: Archivo General de la Nación, 1932, 88.
51. See García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*: *primer obispo y arzobispo de Mèxico*, ed. Rafael Aguayo Spencer y Antonio Castro Leal, Mexico D.F.: Antigua Librería de Andrade y Morales, 1881.
52. Promulgation of the Council of Narbonne, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 3, 74, 1910, in Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi, early documents,* vol 1, 11–27, 17.

53. For a transcription of the trial see Archivo General de la Nación, *Proceso Inquisitorial del Cacique de Texcoco*, 1 of the *Publicaciones del Archivo de la Nación*, Mexico D.F.: Publicaciones del Archivo de la Nación, 1910. David Tavárez notes that this was the last punishmnet of a native for crimes against Chritstianty in the public spaces of Mexico City until 1714. David Tavárez, *The Invisible War, Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico*, Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 2011, 26.
54. Tavárez notes that this figure is derived from Landa's opponents. Tavárez cites 'Scoles and Adams 1938; Chuchiak 2005. Landa's native alllies defended him in 1567 (AHN–DocInd 200), while his native enemies denounced him (AHN–DocInd 202). He successfully argued that his actions were justified by the Omnímoda, and canonical experts decreed his use of force was not excessive'; Ibid, 54.
55. Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations*, 175 and 176.
56. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 71.
57. Ibidem.
58. Ibidem.
59. Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain: A study in Jurisdictional Confusion", *The Americas*, 22, 2 (1965): 138–166.
60. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 172.
61. *Oroz Codex*, ed. and trans. Angelico Chavez O.F.M., Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1972, 180.
62. Inga Clendinnen, "Disicipling the Indians: Franciscan Ideology and Missionary Violence in Sixteenth-Century Yucatán", *Past & Present*, 94 (1982): 27–48, 38.
63. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*, Trans. Alan Sheridan, New York: Pantheon Books, 1995, 137.
64. *Oroz Codex*, 172.
65. St Francis had also been compared to Job in a sermon which identified Francis as the Angel of the Sixth Seal, explaining his apocalyptic role. "Sermon on St Francis, 1266", in Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi, Early Documents*, 1, 731–736, 733.
66. This topic will be pursued in the final chapter.
67. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*.

68. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 70.
69. Ibidem.
70. *The Laws of Burgos*, 26–27.
71. See Benjamin T. Smith, *The Roots of Conservativism in Mexico, Catholicism, Society, and Politics in the Mixteca Baja, 1750-1962,* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012, 30.
72. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 71.
73. Ibid, 67.
74. Ibidem.
75. Patricia Lopes Don, *Bonfires of Culture*, 10.
76. Philip II exempted the indigenous from the Inquisition when it was instituted in 1571, although Roberto Moreno de los Arcos notes that this did not exempt Indians from punishment. See Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "New Spain's Inquisition for Indians from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century", in Perry and Cruz eds, *Cultural Encounters, The Impact of the Inquistion in Spain and in the New World*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 23–36.
77. Torrubia, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de santa cruz de la Española y Caracas*, 342.
78. Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations*, 20.
79. Ibid.
80. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquistion and the Rise of the Penitential Discipline", in *Cultural Encounters, The Impact of the Inquistion in Spain and in the New World*, 3–22, 16.
81. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia de los hechos de los castellanos, en las islas, y tierra firme de el mar océano*, Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1934.
82. Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico, the first chroniclers of Mexican civilization (1520-1569)*, trans. Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano, Niwot, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1995, 72.
83. Ibidem.
84. Ibid, 73.
85. Ibid, 104.
86. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 74.
87. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 197.

88. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 74.
89. Columbus, "Digest of Columbus' Log–book", *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus, being his own log book, letters and dispatches with connecting narratives drawn from the Life of the Admiral by his son Hernando Colon and other contemporary historians,* ed. and trans., J. M. Cohen, London: Penguin, 1969, 37–76, 55.
90. Giovanni Boccaccio, "Narrative of the 1341 Voyage", in *The Canarian*, trans. Richard Henry Major, London: Hakluyt, 1872, xiii–xix, xiv.
91. *Codice Franciscano Siglo XVI*, Mexico D.F.: Editorial S. Chávez Hayhoe, 1941.
92. Juan de Zumárraga, *Regla Cristiana Breve*, ed. Jose Almoina, ed. Jose Almoina, Mexico, 1951.
93. For a study focusing on this see F. B. Steck, *El Primer colegio de América, Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, Mexico D.F.: Centro de estudios franciscanos, 1944.
94. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, London: Phaidon, 2005, 214.
95. See Gerhard Wolf, Alessandra Russo, and Diana Fane, *Images take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe (1400-1700),* Munich, Hirmir, 2015.
96. Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 214–215.
97. For example, AGOFM, M/102, 111–113.
98. Bernardinode Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, book 9.
99. Thomas of Celano wrote about Francis preaching to the birds in VP and VS, but the significance of this has been open to much interpretation. Le Goff postulates that these birds represented Francis' anger at Rome for denying his first request for a rule for the Franciscan Order, invoking an anecdote from Revelation 19: 17–18; he argues it 'shows that the extremist Franciscan party may have wanted to have the Order's founder assimilate Rome and the Church with accursed Babylon'; Jacques Le Goff, *St Francis of Assisi*, London: Routledge, 2004, 34. Le Goff argued that this scene was only pacified by the paintings of Giotto di Bondone (1266/7-1337). For more interpretations of the significance of these birds see F.D. Klingender, St Francis and the Birds of the Apocalypse, *Journal of the Warburg and Coutauld Institutes*, 16, 1/2 (1953): 13–23.

100. Berenice Alcántara Rojas, "Of Feathers and Songs: Birds of Rich Plumage in Nahua Cantares", in Wolf, Russo and Fane eds, *Images Take Flight*, 145–155.
101. Ibid, 154.
102. Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 16.
103. Diana Magaloni Kerpel, *The Colors of the New World, Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex,* Los Angeles: Getty Institute Publications, 2014.
104. Ibid, 13.
105. See also Martin Austin Nesvig, *Forgotten Franciscans, Works from an Inquisitorial Theorist, a Heretic, and an Inquisitional Deputy*, University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011, 1.
106. Felicitas Schmieder, "The world of the *Codex Cumanicus*, the *Codex Cumanicus* in its world", in *Il codice cumanico e il suo mondo: atti del colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 6-7 Dicembre, 2002*, *Edizioni di Storia e letteratura*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 2005, xiii–xxx, xxvii.
107. Ramón, Pané, *Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los Indios*, edited by J.J. Arrom, 8th edn, Mexico and Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 1988.
108. David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind, Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 133.
109. *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan.*
110. "Sommario delle lettere di capitano Francesco Vasquez di Coronado" 1539, copia ms, AGOFM, M/102, 111–113.
111. For example, Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* 3 vols, Mexico, 1975.
112. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 68.
113. Jacobo de Testera, *Catecismo Testerino*, JCB, Codex Ind 24.
114. Pedro de Gante, *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana*, BNE, MS. 1572.
115. Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 212.
116. *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan.*
117. Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579), Images available at: Manuel Aguilar Collection, University of Oregon http://vma.uoregon.edu/inst_doprofile.lasso?&DoWhat=d&Document=4003&lang=
118. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 68.
119. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*, 5.

120. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth,* 9.
121. Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico,* 92.
122. P. Ángel Ortega, *La Rabida, Historia Documental Critica*, II, Sevilla: Impr. y Editorial de San Antonio, 1925, 313–317.
123. Glassberger, *Chronica*, 63.
124. *Regula bullata.*
125. William of Rubruck, "The Journey of William of Rubruck", in Dawson ed., *The Mongol Mission,* 89–220, 109.
126. Glassberger, *Chronica*, 64.
127. Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 219.
128. Ibid, 226.
129. Torrubia, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de santa cruz de la Españols y Caracas*, 287.
130. As previously noted, rejection of authority was part of the narrative of the conversion of St. Francis in his renunciation.
131. For examples see Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson eds, *The New Latin American Mission History*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Although these examples are all for the later period, they are still useful.
132. Susan Deeds, "Review: Pushing the Borders of Latin American Mission History", 212; footnote explains that James S. Saeger's article, "The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience", engages with the arguments in David Sweet, "The Ibero–American Frontier Mission in Native American History", in, Langer and Jackson, eds, *The New Latin American Mission History*, 1–48.
133. Deeds, "Review: Pushing the Borders of Latin American Mission History", 217.
134. Amara Solari, *Maya ideologies of the sacred: the transfiguration of space in colonial Yucatán*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013, 3.
135. For example, Diego de Landa, *Relacion.*
136. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 152 (San Antonio, 1549, in Izamal).
137. See Rafael Lopez et al., *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nacion.*
138. "Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Obispo México: asuntos eclesiasticos", *AGI*, ES.41091.AGI/28.5.15// Patronato, 184, R.40.
139. "Letter from Five Franciscans (1552)", in Jon Cowans ed., *Early Modern Spain, A Documentary History*, Philadelphia: University of Pennyslvania Press, 2003, 69–73.

140. AGI, Patronato, 275, R. 79, reproduced in Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico*, 493–504.
141. Lia Markey, "'Historia della terra chiamata la nuova spagna': The History and Reception of Sahagún's Codex at the Medici Court", in G. Wolf and J. Conors eds, *Colours Between Two Worlds, The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, Florence, Kuntshistoriches Institut, 199–220, 199–220.
142. Ibid.
143. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 68.
144. Medieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Book 3, Chapter 50, 311.
145. *Crónaca de la Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mechoacan.*
146. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 28.
147. Ibid, 27.
148. AGOFM, M/102, 111–113.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Diego de Landa, *Relación de Las Cosas de Yucatán*, Miguel Rivera ed. (Madrid, 1985), 79.
152. Antoinine Tibesar, *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru*, Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953, ix.
153. *Regula bullata*, 101.
154. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 189.
155. *Oroz Codex*, 93.
156. Rebecca Earle has explained, other missionaries were focused upon replacing maize with wheat and Christianising the diet of the Amerindians. See Rebecca Earle's *The Body of the Conquistador, Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
157. Landa notes that, secretly, it was the secular clergy who gave the most trouble to the Friars, Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 67.
158. Ibid, 69.
159. Ibidem.
160. Ibidem.
161. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 29.
162. "Letter from Five Franciscans (1552)", 71.
163. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 29.
164. Ibidem.

165. See Aníbal Quijano, Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality, *Cultural Studies*, 21 2–3 (2007), 168–178, 169.
166. Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls", 18.
167. For an introduction to Franciscan influences on Hispanic culture see P. Samuel Eján O.F.M., *Franciscanismo Ibero–Americano en la historia, la literatura y el arte*, Madrid and Barcelona: Vilamala, 1927. For a broader introduction to the history of the legacies of 'conquest', and the resistance and survival of Amerindians see William B. Taylor and Franklin Pease G.Y., *Violence, Resistance and Survival in the Americas, Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest*, Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994.

CHAPTER 6

The New World at the End of the World

The Tale of the Dragon's Tail in the Dragon's Tail

The New World that shimmered in the European gaze at the start of the fifteenth century already had a place in the Franciscans' imagination. As Columbus sailed along the coast of Cuba he thought he was sailing along the extended Asiatic peninsula known as the 'dragon's tail',[1] but geographical imaginations were not the only ideas feeding the imaginative landscape of the New World. For the Franciscans the New World was also a place in time and the forum for building the new age. In the thirteenth century the Franciscans had been influenced by the eschatological framework of the 'inspired visionary, dangerous heretic, social revolutionary'[2] and Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Fiore (Gioacchino da Fiore, c. 1135–1202).[3] Joachim had theorised that man's time on earth was broken up into three ages, the age of the Father (from Adam to Christ), the Son (from Christ until approximately Joachim's time), and the future age of the Holy Spirit, an age that would be characterised by evangelical poverty on earth. The transition between these ages was governed by the opening of seven seals. Most significantly this third age, the Age of the Spirit, would arrive after the opening of the sixth seal and there would be an age of peace on earth before the Last Judgement. As Salimbene of Adam (or Parma) summarised at the end of the thirteenth century: 'in these days shall be the opening of the sixth seal and the Babylonian persecution. After this will come the Holy Sabbath to the people of God, who "shall delight in abundance of peace" [Psalms 36.11], until the final Antichrist who is signified by the tail of the dragon.'[4] In the fourteenth and fifteenth

J. McClure, *The Franciscan Invention of the New World*,
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centuries, Franciscans had developed their understanding of eschatology and the role of the Franciscans in world history and in the sixteenth century they sought to create this new age in the New World, before the 'final flick of the dragon's tail'.[5]

The discovery 'New World' has been associated with the end of the world in a number of ways. Descriptions of the conquest of the Americas, such as that written in the sixteenth century by Bartolomé de Las Casas,[6] and that written by the contemporary historian Livi-Bacci,[7] depict a holocaust in keeping with apocalyptic narratives of the end of the world that were characterised by pestilence, famine, and violence. Indeed, despite histories of survival and resistance,[8] this was the end of the world for many Amerindians. Those that survived and adapted needed to navigate, negotiate, and create a very New World, one all too often characterised by poverty. The Franciscans had their own narrative for the end of the world, preceded by an age of evangelical poverty, which they sought to invent in the New World.

In the sixteenth century, Franciscans invented the New World as a space of eschatological significance. Gerónimo de Mendieta and Toribio de Benavente Motolinía wrote histories of the Americas which cast the territory as a space of significance within the Franciscans' eschatological schema. John Phelan outlined the Millennial Kingdom that the Franciscans envisaged in the New World. Phelan observed that, in the sixteenth century, friars with strong mystical learnings 'viewed the prospect of Christianity implementing its universal claims on a world-wide basis as a fulfilment of the prophecies of the Apocalypse'.[9] Patricia Nettel Díaz and Phelan both explored how Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana* was influenced by Joachim's millenarian vision and typified the Franciscans' vision of the New World. Phelan argued that for Mendieta 'the inner meaning of New World history was eschatological'.[10] Phelan's study indicates the politics of the Franciscan global vision and its influence on the history of the Americas, writing that Mendieta's 'imagination was stirred by the universal and global idea that had dazzled Columbus'.[11] He observed that Mendieta formulated a 'mystical interpretation of the conquest',[12] and that Mendieta thought that the Franciscans and the Indians could create a terrestrial paradise in the Americas.[13] Phelan's work is important, but he focused solely on the writings of Mendieta and the way in which he was influenced by Joachim of Fiore. Edwin Sylvest argued that Motolinía wrote almost 50 years before Mendieta and 'deserves the basic credit for certain motifs Phelan attributes only to Mendieta'.[14] However, the story of the Franciscans' vision of the New World does not begin with Motolinía

or Mendieta, but has a much longer history within the Order, beginning in the thirteenth century, and it can be found in a wider range of sources from the sixteenth century than Mendieta's explicitly millenarian writing, in chronicles such as the *Oroz Codex*, and compilations such as the *Floreto*. These sources do not reveal the history of the application of Joachim's apocalyptic ideas to the New World, but rather the unfolding of spatio-temporal schema developed by Franciscans throughout the Middle Ages. This chapter expands the contexts of analysis to explore what a deeper understanding of the Franciscans and the Middle Ages can tell us about the Franciscan invention of the New World.

Joachim of Fiore is a fragment of a larger story, but is key to understanding the eschatological structure that shaped the Franciscans' historical vision which they sought to invent in the New World. Joachim's ideas were absorbed and digested into the history and identity of the Franciscan Order. For example, Reeves observed that 'in some instinctive way Wadding [the prolific Franciscan chronicler] felt that the Abbot Joachim was necessary to the true spirituality of the Franciscans'.[15]

The crucial element of Joachim's eschatological model of time was that the future age of the spirit was located within earthly time and so could be spatialised in the New World. According to Joachim, these three ages were subdivided into seven stages and that the transition from the sixth age to the seventh would be brought about by the angel of the sixth seal. Joachim had prophesised that the new world of the third status would be ushered by a new kind of spiritual men, *viri spitiruales*. For Mendieta, the Franciscans had ushered the third age which was now to be realised in the 'New World'. The conceptual foundations for this idea did not come from Mendieta, however, but from the ideas developed by Franciscans in the Middle Ages. Joachim of Fiore was important to the Franciscans' understanding of the world, but Joachimism was infused with a distinct Franciscan flavour as it became translated into the body of Franciscan thought.

The Construction of the Franciscan Historical Worldview

Joachim engineered a 'theological historicism' which used Scripture, history, and revelation to construct a temporal framework in which the future was known by the way in which world history was known to unfold.[16] For Joachim the apocalypse was 'the key of things past, the knowledge of

things to come; the opening of what is sealed, the uncoverer of what is hidden'.[17] Franciscans found Joachim's eschatological model to be a malleable framework which could be twisted to fit Franciscan history. Joachim's idea that history moved by divinely preordained and revealed stages provided the eschatological structure for Franciscan histories, as can be seen in the writings of Peter Olivi, Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino (d. 1276/7), and Salimbene da Parma in the thirteenth century and Ubertino da Casale and Angelo Clareno in the fourteenth century, Francesc Eiximensis (d. 1409), Cardinal Cisneros in the fifteenth century, and Motolinía and Mendieta in the sixteenth century. Within the Franciscan Order, interest in the eschatological structure of world history grew alongside interest in the reinvigoration of a more radical doctrine of poverty. The conjunction between radical ideas about poverty and the apocalypse was most visible in the writings of the Spiritual Franciscans but this history should not be simplified. As David Burr warned, 'contemporary scholars agree that the apocalyptic element was strong within the rigorist wing of the Franciscan Order, but they have tended to oversimplify Spiritual Franciscan apocalypticism by labelling it "Joachite" and taking Peter Olivi as the authoritative voice for all the rigorists'.[18] Burr also observed the way in which the emergence of Franciscan world history was not a straightforward reception of Joachim; he stated that it is 'arguable that Angelo's apocalyptic views have much more to do with thirteenth-century pseudo-Joachite prophecy than they have to do with Joachim himself or Olivi'.[19]

Like their doctrine of poverty, the Franciscans' historical vision and apocalyptic theories were controversial, the history of these ideas was driven by disputation, and there were many attempts to suppress and eradicate the Franciscans' historical vision. As with the Franciscan poverty dispute, condemnation not only came from outside the Order but there were attempts to control ideas within it as well. For example, Salimbene assisted in the condemnation of the writings of Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino, who was embroiled in the secular mendicant controversy of the thirteenth century and was particularly controversial as he turned Francis into a predominantly messianic figure and criticised the Roman Church; in 1255 Pope Alexander IV ordered that all copies of Gerardo's work be burnt. Jean de Roquetaillade was imprisoned by his own Order. The Franciscan Bertrand de la Tour assisted in the condemnation of the 60 propositions extracted from Olivi's *Postilla super apocalipsim* (the Council of Vienne 1311–1312 had already condemned three). Olivi's propositions were condemned in 1326 by John XXII, the same year he condemned Joachim's

Commentary on the Apocalypse. According to Burr, John XXII connected the apocalyptic ideas of Olivi to Franciscan dissidence.[20] These attempts at suppression did not diminish the Franciscans' development of their historical vision of the world. Indeed Gordon Leff argued that the Franciscan receptivity to Joachimism was in fact intensified by persecution.[21]

Franciscans from the centre of the Order, as well as its fringes, used Joachim's ideas to create a Franciscan historical worldview in which Franciscans played a central role. The importance of apocalyptic ideas became more central to the Franciscan Order during the leadership of Giovanni da Parma (1247–1257). The Franciscan historical writers of the fourteenth century, Angelo Clareno and Ubertino da Casale, refer to the importance of Giovanni da Parma. During John's leadership, the Franciscan Order did not simply adopt Joachim of Fiore's eschatological ideas, but translated them into Franciscan history. This can be seen in Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino's *Liber Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum* (1254). Reeves stated that Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino 'appropriated the Joachimist future for the Franciscan Order'.[22] Gerardo identified the new kind of spiritual men, *viri spitiruales*, who would usher in the third age, as the Franciscans. In effect, it was not Mendieta or Motolinía but Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino who theorised the notion of the millennial kingdom, or Franciscan-led New World of the Spirit, which became spatialised in the Americas. Poverty was central to the Franciscans' theorisation of their role in the apocalypse because they had to be poor to be the *viri spirituali*, who had been described by Joachim as the barefooted order. Reeves argued that 'the Franciscans possessed a mystical quality which made them apt for Joachim's description of spiritual men midway between the contemplative and active life'.[23] Yet, for the Franciscans, it was their evangelical poverty, symbolised by their barefootedness, that gave them a special role in the negotiation of the future and be the new spiritual men ushering the new age.

Similarly, Salimbene da Parma (1221–1290) also explicitly connected the Franciscans with Joachim's prophecies in his *Chronica* (1283). Salimbene cited Joachim:

> 'thus the Lord said, Matthew 11 [.25]: 'I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them to the little ones', that is, to the little ones about whom it is written, Zachariah 13 [.7–8]: 'And I will turn my hand to the little ones. And they shall be in all the earth, saith the Lord.'[24]

Salimbene declared: 'These little ones are the Friars Minor, as Joachim explains'.[25] Salimbene argued that 'the friars minor and the preachers were given to the world to aid in its salvation'.[26] This illustrates how the Franciscans did not just adopt Joachim's ideas but used them to explain the special role of the Franciscans in the history of the world. Salimbene illustrates how the Franciscans did not just adopt Joachim but translated him into the Franciscan world. Brett Whalen observed how Salimbene was inspired not just by the ideas of Joachim of Fiore, but also by the stories of Giovanni da Plano Carpini as he returned from the Far East.[27] Joachim's ideas were translated into a Franciscan imagination which was fed by a wide variety of sources.

Bonaventure da Bagnoregio (1221–1274), Minister-General of the Franciscan Order after Giovanni da Parma, is known for his impact on the shape of the Franciscan Order and his role in creating a Franciscan theology of history in his *Collationes in hexaemeron*, which he delivered at the University of Paris in 1273.[28] As Minister-General, Bonaventure addressed questions of Joachimism and Spiritualism and managed to bring certain radical ideas about the importance of the Franciscans in world history into the fold of the Franciscan Order. Bonaventure made the idea that St. Francis and the Franciscans had a special eschatological purpose more central to the Order.[29] He also had sympathies for Joachitic eschatology and located the Franciscans within this framework. Joseph Ratzinger summarised: 'as a Franciscan, Bonaventure—like the entire Order of Franciscans—saw Francis not simply as another Saint, but as a sign of the final age, as one sent by God'.[30] Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* presented St. Francis as the apocalyptic angel of the sixth seal identified by Joachim:

> He [St. Francis] is considered not without reason to be like the angel ascending from the rising of the sun bearing the seal of the living God. For "*at the opening of the sixth seal*," John says in the Apocalypse, "*I saw another angel ascending from the rising sun having the sign of the living God*".[31]

Bonaventure's theology of history integrated the Franciscans within Joachim's eschatological framework and he identified Francis with the angel of the Apocalypse (the angel of the sixth seal). St. Francis, who had re-enacted the poverty of Christ wished peace from heaven to the whole world,[32] was invented as angel of the sixth seal who would bring forth the millennial kingdom of peace and evangelical poverty on earth. Bonaventure linked this image even more precisely to Francis receiving the

stigmata: 'it confirms with the irrefutable testimony of truth that the seal of the likeness of the living God, that is of *Christ crucified*, was imprinted on his body.'[33] The images of Francis receiving the stigmata are invested with this symbolic meaning. This connection to the sixth seal invented St. Francis as the signifier of the transition to the new age of the spirit. Franciscans saw themselves as 'midwives to the millennium',[34] as important agents for the negotiation of the future.

Just as Franciscans saw Francis as a new Christ, they saw themselves as new apostles. This identification was significant to their doctrine of poverty and their apocalyptic beliefs. The comparison between the Franciscans and the apostles had been important in defending their poverty during the fourteenth century phase of the Franciscan poverty dispute. This comparison was frequently invoked by William of Ockham in his *OND*. Ockham took great pains to explain how the Franciscans were re-enacting apostolic time.[35] Ockham argued that 'the Apostles were imitators of Christ in respect of the counsel of poverty',[36] and that Christ and his sub-community, the apostles, had abandoned property.[37] Further, Ockham reminded his readers that the apostles were forbidden to trouble for tomorrow, since they were forbidden estates.[38] Ockham's work had reinforced the comparison between the Franciscans and the apostles in the fourteenth century to connect the Franciscans to the ideal state of poverty. As explained in Chap. 2, this idealised landscape of poverty was a space free from property and rights, but it also had a temporal dimension.

The Spirituals developed the connection between the Franciscans' poverty and their role in the apocalypse. Although, as Burr and this brief introduction have reminded us, this is not the whole story, Olivi's poverty theories outlined in *usus pauper* and his interpretations of Joachim outlined in *Postilla super apocalypsim* directly influenced the main texts of the Spiritual movement written by Angelo Clareno and Ubertino da Casale.[39] Olivi had opposed the dilution of the Rule's gospel poverty. For Olivi, poverty was a mechanism for realising the millennial kingdom of evangelical poverty. According to Flood, Olivi 'used poverty to maintain a critical distance between social reality and a fully achieved world'.[40] Olivi helped theorise the landscape of the Franciscans' vision of the millennial kingdom and how it could be realised by the Franciscans. As Whalen summarises 'for Olivi, for the Franciscan commitment to poverty and spiritual renewal of the Western Church under the rule of their founder shaped the order's universal sense of mission'.[41] Olivi wrote *Quaestio de perfectione evangelica* (*Questions on Evangelical Perfection*), which discussed the issue of papal

authority, and traced the New Testament roots of evangelical poverty. This connection was important for fitting Franciscan poverty into Joachim's eschatological schema.

Joachim's *Book of Concordance* created a parallel between the history of the *Old Testament* and the history of the time since Christ. These histories consisted of two parallel sets of seven persecutions. Angelo created a history of the Franciscan Order's maintenance of the doctrine of poverty using Joachim's framework in his *Historia septem tribulationum* (c. 1320). Angelo's use of Joachim's eschatological schema for the history of the Franciscan Order presented Franciscan history as the unfolding of world history. Angelo went further than Bonaventure in inventing Francis as the new Christ: 'Christ, by means of Francis, performed signs and innumerable miracles daily in order to confirm the brothers' lives and preaching'.[42] Angelo also connects the Franciscans to the apostles; he tells the story of the Franciscans who were requested to visit Armenia and how 'those in Armenia felt that they encountered and welcomed in this group not common men but true disciples of Christ and the Apostles'.[43] Like Salimbene's text, the history does not just reproduce a Joachitic schema but is fed by the Franciscans' global experience. Angelo illustrated how the Franciscans were important to world history because they were the guardians of the space of poverty, maintaining the model established by Christ. He wrote: 'the places where, like foreigners and pilgrims, the brothers will dwell in order to worship and praise me should be vile, impoverished, built of sticks and mud, segregated from the tumults and vanities of the world, and free from any right of ownership'.[44] Angelo used Joachim's eschatological schema to connect world history to the seven stages of the challenges to and defence of Franciscan poverty. Angelo's Franciscan historicism invented Franciscan poverty as a vector of world history.

Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu Christi* created a Franciscan-centred model of world history using the ideas of Joachim and their Franciscan reception. Ubertino also saw Francis as the 'new Christ' who had a mission to save the world. Ubertino wrote that:

> The man who thoroughly ruled out temporal possessions for himself and his status may be regarded as the principal reformer of that age. And since in him the Church's sixth status begins, and the "life of Christ" was to take shape anew in him, we may say he is prefigured by that first man God created by His own deliberate counsel after the work of the five days in the image of his own likeness, that he might be master of all times.[45]

Ubertino also wrote that Francis was the angel of the sixth seal and that this was indicated by his stigmata. Ubertino described the third age of world history, the Age of the Spirit, which would begin with the opening of the sixth seal:

> When the Holy Spirit is manifested in a special manner, the time of the opening of the sixth seal, the sixth age of the Church, when she is to be presented with the life of Christ. Then is the life of Jesus returned to, as to the principle of perfection; it is as if a new circular journey were begun, a fresh beginning for the Church, as she returns to her first days.[46]

Here, Ubertino contributed to the imaginative landscape of the millennial kingdom which was part of the Franciscan invention of the New World. Ubertino used the concordance between Francis and Christ to explain Francis' role in world history, writing 'now Christ first revealed Himself to the Jews, His brothers according to the flesh; by your [Francis'] reformed *Rule* He leads the whole Church of the people of Israel to the evangelical life and the full news of Christ'.[47] Ubertino indicated how Francis would save the world through poverty, writing that Francis 'wanted to promote the salvation of souls; but only through the virtue of humility, not with pompous power'.[48] He reminded his readers that 'evangelical perfection consists in poverty'.[49] The Franciscans were historically destined to control the world through poverty, Ubertino argued, citing St. Francis: 'Christ sent me to overcome the world by being really subject to everyone, so that I may draw souls to Him through the example of humility'.[50]

Ubertino emphasised how Franciscan poverty was central to their role in history, again citing Francis directly: 'my brothers, humble yourselves before others, and you will convert them all'.[51] Ubertino wrote that 'their [Franciscans] duty to the future requires that they should keep the holy rule and testament.'[52] He articulated the Franciscans' obligation to condition the identity of the future which was enacted in the New World. The Franciscans had to reach perfection through practising poverty to fulfil their temporal duties; they needed to maintain their poverty in order to be the *viri spirituali*. It is for this reason that Ubertino and Angelo criticised the Franciscans who had strayed from poverty; this was a betrayal not just of the struggle to realise the ideal landscape of poverty, but also of the struggle to realise the ideal time of the third age, the millennial kingdom of peace and evangelical poverty on earth. In the south of France, Jean de Roquetaillade also contributed to the Franciscan idea of the millennial

kingdom in the fourteenth century.[53] He believed there would be a thousand years of peace before the end of the world, and that this would involve the fulfilment of evangelical poverty.[54]

We know from mapping the flows of Franciscan texts that the Franciscans' ideas about poverty and the apocalypse were particularly influential in the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century, and that, from here, these ideas were transmitted to the New World. Joachimism had managed to avoid being branded heretical in the Iberian peninsula. Reeves described the region as the 'refuge of the earlier Joachites'.[55] The Iberian peninsula had been receptive to millenarianist thought.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Catalan region was an important sight for the development of the Franciscans' eschatological ideas. Pou y Marti noted that references to the ideas of Joachim and Olivi can be found amongst intellectuals of the region.[56] The apocalyptic ideas of Catalan Franciscans were the product of the fusion of ideas from across Europe and their ideas regarding prophecy, apocalypticism, and mysticism. The region was a historic hub, not only for merchant but also intellectual networks; the political networks of the Crown of Aragon enhanced the connections between Catalonia, Majorca, and Sicily. As previously mentioned, the Spiritual Franciscans were particularly influential in the kingdom of Sicily, and their ideas had a reception in the Catalan region. The mystic and visionary Catalan intellectual Arnau de Vilanova (1238–1311) did much to transmit apocalyptic thought throughout the Iberian peninsula. Arnau de Vilanova, who may have had contact with the Spiritual Franciscans, was concerned with the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world. His *Expositio super Apocalypsim* explained the Joachitic model of three statuses with their three orders and expressed the need for attaining the highest poverty.[57] Reeves noted that 'the Joachimist ferment in Aragon and Catalonia produced several examples of genuine Joachites, that is, those who expounded the future of history within the framework of the status.'[58] The Catalan Franciscan scholar Poncius Carbonell (d. 1320) made an important contribution to apocalyptic exegesis of his time, and asserted that the future had been revealed in apocalyptic visions. Jean de Roquetaillade, a theorist of the millennial kingdom, was also Catalan. He also stressed the importance of reform and the renovation of the Church through poverty.[59] The prolific Franciscan Catalan intellectual Francesc Eiximenis produced work which demonstrated the importance of the apocalyptic ideas developed by the Spiritual Franciscans, especially Ubertino da Casale, to Franciscans who were reforming and reinvigorating poverty in

the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century.[60] Eiximenis had a keen sense that the world was on the edge of transition and that the millennial kingdom would soon appear, 'when peace and material goods would abound, Jews and infidels would be converted, and Jerusalem would be glorified'.[61]

Indeed, the importance of the Franciscans was not confined to the Catalan region, and Franciscan thought permeated Spanish society on the eve of 'discovery'. The extent of the influence of the Franciscans and their millenarian ideas in the Iberian peninsula is evidenced by the positions they held; Eiximenis influenced Peter of Aragon and was the confessor to Queen Maria de Luna, and the monarchs of Castile, especially Queen Isabella, were also sympathetic to the Franciscans.

In the Iberian peninsula in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, amidst the intellectual climate of interest in apocalyptic ideas, a culture of reform and the reinvigoration of poverty developed. Apocalyptic theories and the reinvigoration of poverty were entangled since the Franciscans had to ensure their poverty in order to ensure their eschatological role. The ideas of poverty and the apocalypse developed by the Spanish Franciscans impacted upon the way in which the Franciscans shaped the New World in the sixteenth century. The reforms that took place in the Spain in the fifteenth century and spread to the New World in the sixteenth expose a Franciscan world that was already pregnant with a sense of urgency before 1492. Mario Cayota notes that the Franciscan reforms of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries 'grew in an atmosphere of eschatological Joachimistic expectation'.[62] The climate of reform amongst the Spanish Franciscans began with Pedro de Villacreces (c. 1350–1422), who established observance in the Spanish convents of Aguilera and Abrojo, in what became known as *la reforma villacreciana*.[63] These convents were involved in the later *desclazos* (barefoot) reform movement and provided missionaries to the New World, most famously Fray Juan de Zumárraga. Arcelus Ulibarrena adds that this spirit of reform passed to the New World and especially Mexico.[64] After the Villacrencian movement, Spanish Franciscan reform was reinvigorated in the fifteenth century by Juan de Guadalupe (these reforms were additional to those of Cardinal Cisneros). Juan de Guadalupe and the Guadalupe reform movement were important to the Spanish revival of the millenarianist thought that influenced the 'Twelve Apostles' in the New World, especially Martin de Valencia. In 1496 Juan de Guadalupe secured papal permission to observe the Rule of St. Francis literally; this resulted in the *Guadalupano* movement, which emphasised a restoration of poverty. Juan also obtained authorisation to found the

Institute of Franciscan Reform in Granada; Francesc Eiximenis' *Vita Christi* was published in Granada the same year, indicating the link between reform and apocalyptic ideas. Sylvest argues that 'followers of Guadalupe represented a revival of Spiritual influence among the Observants'.[65] The *Guadalupenses* lived relatively independently from any superior of the order; they altered their habits and discarded their sandals and became known as the *discalceati*, or the *descalzos*, indicating these Franciscans truly wanted to become the barefooted order—true to Franciscan poverty and Joachim's prophecy.[66] The *descalzos* (barefoot) Franciscans were 'an exclusively Hispanic phenomenon'.[67] These barefooted Franciscans represented the culmination of late medieval Franciscan ideas regarding their need to reinvigorate their poverty and become the barefooted spiritual men of Joachim's prophecies in order to usher in the new age. The reform movement and expansion of ideas that took place in the Franciscan Order in the fifteenth century produced Franciscans who became vectors for transmitting these ideas to the New World and who used the space of the Americas to continue the Franciscan struggle to bring about the millennial kingdom.

The need for reform and its apocalyptic significance was also emphasised in the late fifteenth century by Cardinal Cisneros, whose role in forging early transatlantic history has appeared throughout this book. The figure of Cisneros reminds us that Franciscan reform was not simply about improving the Order, but reforming the world. As Reeves observed, Cisneros dreamed of the renewal of the world (*renovatio mundi*), 'in which, after the final crusade led by Spain, there would be "*unum ovile et unus pastor*" and he himself would celebrate Mass before the Holy Sepulchre'.[68] The desire to create a universal Christendom was kept alive in the Iberian peninsula by Cisneros by his role in reform as well as his role in the '*Reconquista*' in the Iberian peninsula and his attempt to extend it to Africa,[69] and by his attempt to control the identity of the New World through mission and Inquisition.

Cisneros was one of the series of Franciscan confessors that had influenced Queen Isabella; Cisneros became regent of Spain upon her death. Queen Isabella was receptive to the ideas of the Franciscan Order and supported their endeavours. She made a substantial donation ('*mil ducados de oro*') to the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion in Jerusalem in 1489.[70] Isabella was influenced by Franciscan ideas and assisted their circulation. Arcelus Ulibarrena suggests that aspects of Franciscan spirituality (apocalypticism in particular) became important to royal education.[71] She had a

copy of the revelations of Angela de Foligno, a female tertiary and mystic of the thirteenth century.[72] Isabella ordered Francesco Eiximenis' *Libro de las Donas* to be translated into Castilian. Further, it is thought that Isabella had a copy of a particularly important book, the *Floreto de Sant Francisco*.[73]

In 1492, 21 days after Columbus set sail to the Indies, the Franciscan manuscript *Floreto de Sant Francisco* was published in Seville.[74] This compilation of Franciscan sources, based on select Castilian translations of the *Fontes franciscani* that had been circulating between convents in the Franciscan Provinces of Castile, Santiago, and Aragon, was an important statement of Franciscan identity in the Iberian peninsula. The *Floreto* was the handbook for Hispanic Franciscan identity. It is also a blueprint of Hispanic Franciscan intellectual networks at the end of the Middle Ages. The *Floreto* demonstrates the influence of the Spiritual Franciscans and the importance of mysticism and millenarian ideas to the Iberian Franciscans.[75] These influences were the product of the geometry of Hispanic Franciscan networks, networks which spanned the Spanish kingdoms and island territories. The *Floreto* illustrates the importance of poverty and the influence of Joachim in Spain. It included some writings of Joachim and of Angelo Clareno, a controversial Spiritual Franciscan who had fought for a more extreme practice and interpretation of poverty, and was also influenced by the prophecies of Joachim.

Arcelus Ulibarrena argues that the texts of St. Francis circulating in the Iberian peninsula that were eventually compiled in the *Floreto* inspired the Iberian Franciscan reformers Pedro de Villacreces and other members of the Villacrencian movement: Pedro Regaldo (1390–1456), Lope de Salazar y Salinas (1393–1463), Juan de Guadalupe (1450–1505), and Juan de la Puebla (1453–1495).[76] The *Floreto* influenced the reform movement which, we have already mentioned, influenced the Franciscans in the Americas in the sixteenth century. Arcelus Ulibarrena linked the *Fontes franciscani*, the sources that influenced the *Floreto*, to *la reforma villacreciana*, but these sources are shrouded in mystery.[77] Arcelus Ulibarrena adds that the spirit of Juan de Guadalupe, and the *descalzos* movement he inspired, can be found in the *Floreto*, which was taken to the Americas.

Arcelus Ulibarrena hypothesises that Cisneros was involved in the creation and promotion of the *Floreto*.[78] In 1515 Cardinal Cisneros ordered the friars to take copies of this book to the New World. This text has been enigmatic,[79] but can provide new perspectives on the kind of ideas that were transmitted to the Americas in the early sixteenth century.

The *Floreto* influenced the form of Franciscanism that unfolded in the Americas, and the emphasis on mysticism and millenarian texts provides a historical intellectual context for later studies on the role of mystical and millenarian beliefs in the Americas.[80]

The *Floreto* was not the only text transmitting Franciscan ideas across the Atlantic. Morales notes that a copy of the *Floreto* 'bears on one of its pages important evidence of its use in the early friaries of Mexico'.[81] 'It was not just the first and only hagiographical text to be printed in Mexico during the sixteenth century', Morales notes, 'but it was also addressed to the Nahua Christian people since it was published in Nahuatle'.[82] Morales' research states that 'we have documentation on the circulation of two other important books which played a significant part of the spiritual formation of the sixteenth-century Franciscans of Mexico: the *De conformitate vitae b. Francisci ad vitam Domini Ihesu* by Bartholomaeus of Pisa and the *Arbor vitae crucifiae Iesu* by Ubertino de Casale'.[83] This confirms the significance of apocalyptic spirituality in the New World, and in turn the relevance of the New World to apocalyptic spirituality. Morales has argued that 'the topic of a "poor church" in the New World ruled by bishops of the religious orders, the idea of an Indian Church with a different organization from that of Spain, and notable devotions to the Holy Cross (as well as to the passion of Christ and its dramatization) have strong links with Ubertino da Casale's thinking.'[84] The implication of this statement is that the Franciscans were enacting their inherited culture of apocalyptic mysticism in the New World. The mysticism and millennial thinking nurtured by the Iberian Franciscans influenced perceptions of the 'New World' and its identity. Cayota argues that many of the friars who went to the New World were influenced by Joachimism and utopian ideals,[85] yet the relationship was more than one of influence, since, as a closer look at the fourteenth and fifteenth century shows, the Franciscan Order had used Joachim to develop their own eschatological vision.

The Franciscan Historical Invention of the New World

As previously stated, Joachim's *Book of Concordance* created a parallel between the history of the *Old Testament* and the history of the time since Christ which became a model for Franciscan history and the way Franciscans controlled the unfolding of world history. This model was used for the Franciscans' historical invention of the New World. The Franciscan

histories of the New World written by Motolinía and Mendieta also created a model of the Amerindian past and the conquest which mirrored the Old Testament. Motolinía's history began with the ten plagues that God had struck the New World with in the sixteenth century.[86] Motolinía called the division and factions between the Spaniards in Mexico the tenth plague.[87] Joachim's model of concordance created the framework for an historical narrative into which 'new' things could be fitted since they must be determined by the meta-narrative. This meta-narrative, or eschatological framework, shaped the Franciscans' histories of the New World. The *Book of Concordance* hinted that there would be a new leader of a 'New Jerusalem'.[88] In an intellectual tradition starting in the thirteenth century,[89] the Franciscans took on this role of creating this new age.

In many apocalyptic narratives, all the people of the world needed to be converted at the end of time. Joachim had emphasised that this included the lost tribes of Israel, which gives significance to Diego de Landa's identification of the Amerindians as the lost tribes of Israel.[90] Mendieta also speculated that the Amerindians were descendants of the dispersed tribes of the Kingdom of Israel. In the thirteenth century Bonaventure had even compared the Franciscans to the ancient Israelites, and the notion that Native Americans were the lost tribes of Israel remained important to millenarian movements and their political contexts in the seventeenth century,[91] thus demonstrating that this correlation was part of an even longer historical tradition.[92]

As previously stated, the Franciscans had used Joachim's eschatological schema to depict Francis as the new Christ, and the Franciscans were the new apostles. St. Francis' stigmata symbolised the transcendence between the space of Christ's body and Francis' and between the age of Christ and the age of Francis. As the new apostles, the Franciscans were constructing the space and time of the new age, the Age of the Spirit which was to be characterised by evangelical poverty like the first years of the Church. These ideas were the products of the intellectual cultures developed by Franciscans throughout the Middle Ages and they acquired new significances in the context of the New World.

This historical framework of concordance and the events that signified the transition between the ages of world history provide further insight into the significance of the arrival of the 'Twelve Franciscan Apostles' in Mexico. It links the arrival of the Franciscans in Mexico with a transition in eschatological time. The possibility of this link was the product of medieval Franciscan intellectual cultures. Building on the ideas of Joachim, Fra

Salimbene had described the *novus ordo* of the Third Age as twelve holy men.[93] The significance of this certainly did not escape Mendieta, who wrote that 'the Indians only notice the coming of the twelve Franciscans, despite the earlier arrival of Franciscans, because the event was more significant and they held that time as if it was the coming or advent of god, and commonly say "*el ano que vino nuestro senor; el ano que vino la fe*"'.[94] This event was significant for the Franciscan narrative of their invention of the new age of the spirit in the new world.

Mendieta included a letter from the Minister-General to the 'Twelve Apostles' in his *Historia* which illustrated the apocalyptic significance of the mission to the New World for Franciscans on both sides of the Atlantic. The Minister-General reminded the Twelve of their commitment to 'liberate redeemed souls from the head of the infernal dragon with the precious holy blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ'.[95] This reference to the head of the dragon, an image used by Joachim and other apocalyptic theorists, illustrated the Franciscans' apocalyptic interpretation of their role in the New World and the meaning of the space of the New World.

The Franciscans cast the history of the New World, its discovery, and its future within the eschatological framework that had been developed by members of the Order throughout the Middle Ages. Guided by Joachim's model of concordance, Mendieta interpreted the history of the New World and the conquest according to his specific Franciscan vision of the New World. His description of indigenous slavery contributed to the Joachimic construction of a historic parallel.[96] Diego de Landa's narrative repeatedly described how local leaders had enslaved their population,[97] how the Mayans sacrificed slaves at Chichen Itza to pacify their gods,[98] as well as how the conquistadores reduced the Mayans, who offered little resistance, to slavery.[99] Motolinía also made sure to describe how the people of Mexico had enslaved each other, and used slaves in sacrifices, before the arrival of the Spanish.[100] Motolinía described how the condition of the Amerindians was like that of slaves, even if legally most were not, and the enslavement of people for the mines as the eighth plague.[101] Mendieta described Cortés as a 'new Moses' who had been sent by God to liberate the natives from their servitude.[102] The Franciscans also cast themselves as the people leading the Amerindians out of their slavery, and this narrative had eschatological significance. Reeves summarised 'as Moses and Aaron, and after them Joshua and Caleb, led the Israelites, so two new orders of spiritual men must lead the Church of the second *status* into the third'.[103] According to a Franciscan historical tradition starting in the

thirteenth century, the Franciscans saw themselves as these spiritual men bringing about the new age. This schema, which had been revealed in the prophecies of Joachim and developed by later Franciscans, structured the Franciscan conception of the New World. The histories of Landa, Motolinía, and Mendieta articulated the historiographical model developed by Franciscans throughout the Middle Ages.

The Franciscans' model of history also influenced Columbus' interpretation of the New World. Columbus compared himself, on his first voyage, to Moses, who moved the narrative of the Old Testament from one stage to the next: 'I was in great need of these high seas because nothing like this had occurred since the time of the Jews when the Egyptians came out against Moses who was leading them out of captivity'.[104] Columbus specifically referred to Joachim: 'Jerusalem and Mount Sion shall be rebuilt by Christian hands; whose they are to is said by David in Psalm 14. Abbot Joachim said that this builder would come from Spain'.[105] However, Joachim's prophecy did not refer to Spain but is thought to have been introduced by the aforementioned Arnau de Vilanova.[106] It was the Franciscans who had developed the idea of building the New Age, and this was enacted by Franciscans in the New World.

Symbolic Worldmaking (2)

The New World was a stage for symbolic worldmaking. Silvio Zavala observed the need to understand the discovery of America as a chapter in European intellectual history. He wrote:

> Let us not forget that the discovery of America coincided with this intense agitation of European thought. An accident of geography offered them the opportunity to try to fulfil their longings, not entirely satisfied either with the chimerical past of the Golden Age or with the opportunity to adapt the conventions of humanism to the spent and sophisticated atmosphere of Europe.[107]

The start of the sixteenth century in Europe witnessed an intensification in imaginings of ideal political and religious communities. This phenomenon was particularly visible in Thomas More's *Utopia* which influenced the secular bishop Vasco de Quiroga's attempt to build an ideal community in Mexico. His attempt to build a world of common ownership of property in the Santa Fe hospitals is well known to historians. Interestingly, it seems

that the Franciscans, whose knowledge network was a conduit for ideas to and from the Americas, probably assisted Quiroga's endeavours. Zavala observed that Zumárraga and Quiroga were friends and that Quiroga's copy of More's *Utopia* was borrowed from Zumárraga's library.[108] The Franciscans were influential in other ways and Fernandez Gomez argues that the 'the Franciscan ideal of the *poverello* is no doubt also operating' in Quiroga's *Ordenanzas*'.[109] However, the Franciscan endeavour was more distinct, as Quiroga's hospitals considered dismantling poverty in the New World, while the Franciscans wanted to build a world that shared in evangelical poverty.

The Franciscans' own worldmaking project is a little less well known, perhaps because it was more abstract. The millenarian vision of the Franciscans is less immediately recognisable than Quiroga's attempt create a utopia. The Franciscan vision of a more perfect terrestrial form of society was not based on the eradication of poverty as you might expect, but on the triumph of evangelical poverty. Franciscan poverty had less of a materially visible impact than Quiroga's hospitals. It was a meticulous performance realised through the gestures of their bodies and their dress. It is visible in the Franciscan histories and chronicles that describe their poverty in the Americas—their restrained consumption, poor habits, and barefootedness. The full significance of these symbolic gestures is can be seen by integrating the writings of the Franciscans in the Americas in the sixteenth century with the broader history of the Franciscans as their ideas on poverty and eschatology developed in Europe in the late Middle Ages. In the Americas the Franciscans saw themselves as sharing their poverty with the Amerindians so that they could forge a New World together, the millennial kingdom of evangelical poverty.

As previously stated, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, around the time of the Franciscan poverty dispute, the Franciscans used the ideas of Joachim to theorise the millennial kingdom—the third and last chapter of world history which would be realised in the form of a world based on evangelical poverty and peace before the Last Judgement and apocalypse. This world had been imagined in particular by Peter Olivi, Ubertino da Casale, and Jean de Roquetaillade. As explained, following the Franciscans' translation of Joachim's ideas into their own history, they saw themselves as the *viri spirituali*, the barefooted order inventing the final age of evangelical poverty on earth a world they had developed in their texts. Poverty made the Franciscans the agents of the renewal or renovation of apostolic living that would characterise the millennial

kingdom; the New World gave them the space to realise this through symbolic gestures.

The Franciscans became the barefooted order that invented the New World, which was to be the new age of the spirit that had been imagined throughout the Middle Ages. This barefooted movement was a performance through which the Franciscans enacted their vision of the New World. The *Oroz Codex* repeatedly described how the Franciscans moved through the Americas on foot and barefoot.[110] The physical suffering of the process of moving barefooted was seen as a mechanism for achieving and maintaining poverty in the New World. This suffering is reflected through an outsider's perspective on a Franciscan traveller, 'now I see what I have never seen in my life, how an old man like this one travels barefoot over such rocky country with only a habit and no hat or staff'.[111]

The imagery of barefooted travel was repeatedly employed in the Franciscan descriptions of their roles in the Americas. Within Franciscan historiography barefootedness was a symbol of their historic role. It invoked not just the martyrdom of the physicality of their journey, but also their role in negotiating the future world of the spirit, the third age, which could be realised in this 'new world'. Motolinía stressed that Valencia, one of the 'Twelve Apostles' whom we discussed in Chap. 4 who played an important role in the sixteenth-century stage of the Franciscan invention of the New World, always moved about barefoot.[112] The Sloane manuscript also reported that Valencia walked 300 leagues barefoot.[113] Baudot summarises that Valencia 'symbolised…the close relations that existed between evangelical preaching in America and a millenarian hope that had never been abandoned by the Franciscan Order'.[114] The emphasis on the barefootedness of Valencia in the Franciscan chronicles visualised this link.

The Franciscans saw themselves as sharing poverty with the Amerindians, so that together they could build the new world, the third age of evangelical poverty. Angelo Clareno had described the special historical role of the Franciscans as he observed that the Franciscans were 'joined to the poor of Christ by heart and by habit'.[115] For this reason the Franciscans described the symmetry between their poverty and that of the Amerindians, as part of their invention of their New World. Mendieta's description of Toribio de Benavente's acquisition of the name Motolinía also creates symmetry between Amerindian and Franciscan poverty. 'They kept mentioning the word Motolinea' wrote Mendieta, and, as Toribio de Benavente learnt that this word meant poverty or poor in Nahuatl, Toribio declared 'this will be my name for the rest of my life'.[116] This passage indicated

that the Amerindians had a concept of poverty with which they could engage. These descriptions of Amerindian poverty and enthusiastic conversion are part of the Franciscan imagining of their utopia in the New World. Motolinía described the poverty and penance of the Amerindians as well as the Franciscans; how the Amerindians religion according to a Franciscan model. Motolinía described how the Amerindians enacted violence against themselves and how the indigenous undertook privation and penance.[117] Mendieta stressed the poverty and abstinence of the friars.[118] He also explored the ways in which Amerindian and Franciscan poverty were shared, through signifiers such as food, dress, and habitat. Mendieta described the way Amerindian poverty assisted Franciscan poverty. The Franciscans followed the diet of the Amerindians, which did not include dinner 'for it was not the local custom to eat at night'.[119] According to this narrative, the Franciscans were joining the Amerindians in their poverty to invent their new world of evangelical poverty. For the Franciscans, sharing poverty with the Amerindians was part of the way in which they saw themselves as forging the new age of the spirit in the new world.

Franciscans in the Americas emphasised Amerindian poverty and their receptivity to the faith. Mendieta described the devotion of the Amerindians to ceremonies and things of the church.[120] These themes of enthusiastic conversion and Amerindian love for the friars can also be found in Motolinía and Landa. Mendieta described the Indians as nation of people 'most disposed and ready for the salvation of their souls'.[121] For the Franciscans this conversion was something preordained, it was predicted by the Franciscans' sense of the unfolding of history.

The idea of poverty was important to the Franciscans' imagining of the New World. As mentioned in Chap. 5, Diego Landa also created symmetry between the poverty of the Amerindians and the poverty of the friars and described how they lived and formed communities together. For the Franciscans, the 'poverty' of indigenous people, their scarcity of dress, simple food, and simple housing, was a mirror for Franciscan poverty. This perceived similarity was a recurring feature of Franciscan histories. Poverty, with all its apocalyptic significance, was essential to the Franciscan imagining of the New World.

The *Oroz Codex* also used this symmetry between the poverty of the Amerindians and the poverty of the Franciscans as a foundation for the Franciscan building of the New World. It records how Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, once 'had nothing to give a poor Indian, and so he gave him the kerchief with which he wiped the sweat from his face'.[122]

The *Oroz Codex* continued, reporting that Zumárraga built the religious infrastructure in Mexico, such as the infirmary of the convent of San Francisco, following the model of poverty. It carefully noted that although Zumárraga was bishop of Mexico, he had tried to reject this position to maintain his position of poverty and humility, and tore down the drapes in the decorated bishop-house.[123] These details illustrate the way in which the Franciscans saw themselves forging their model of the New World.

Mendieta described the poverty of his New World mission in a letter to the Minister-General: 'we abandon all other human urges and desires and any worldly interests, and trust that this will help us to annihilate and totally root out in us all of these aberrations'.[124] From this passage we can see that Franciscan poverty was a way of pushing the Franciscans into a territory beyond the corrupt, material old world, and this was part of the way in which, through poverty, the Franciscans were bringing about the millennial kingdom of the new age of the spirit in the New World.

The Franciscans attempt to build their New World of evangelical poverty shared with the Amerindians must have been visible and represented a threat to the conquistadores. The Franciscans fought with the conquistadores in the first *Audiencia* in 1529. Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán accused the Franciscans of wishing to rise up with the natives in a joint independence movement. Landa had described the ways in which the Franciscans were persecuted along with the natives and formed communities with them separate from the Spanish. The charges of this *Audiencia* illustrated that there was a real fear that the Franciscans were seeking to join with the indigenous people to create the millennial kingdom and control the New World.

Throughout the late Middle Ages the Franciscans engineered a vision of a Franciscan-led New World of the Spirit, a millennial kingdom characterised by peace and poverty. The eschatological model that was imagined by the Franciscans was influenced by Joachim of Fiore and had been translated into Franciscan history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Franciscans developed the idea that they must reinvigorate their poverty in order to become the *viri spirituali*, the barefooted order, prophesised by Joachim and to fulfil their eschatological role in the unfolding of world history. These ideas had become important to Franciscans in the Iberian peninsula during the reforms of the fifteenth century. Rusconi has argued that 'several decades would pass after the discovery of the new world before the religious orders, and in particular the Franciscan missionaries in America would view the process of evangelisation of the new peoples in

the light of an eschatological and apocalyptic interpretation that is undeniably Joachimitic'.[125] However, this brief history of the development of Franciscan historicism, consideration for its importance across the Order and not just its radical fringe, and consideration of its prevalence in the Iberian peninsula in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries calls this into question and suggests that Franciscans had a sense of the eschatological significance of their poverty, pilgrimage, and conversions before the sixteenth century. In this sense the worldmaking process of the Franciscans was not something that began in the Americas in the sixteenth century but in the Kingdoms of Sicily and Catalonia, and elsewhere in Europe in the late Middle Ages.

Notes

1. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, translated from Latin with notes and introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 191, 293. This is inferred by Martyr and emphasised in a footnote by the editor. Chet Van Duzer explains that Henricus Martellus' world map, which represented this 'dragon's tail', was "the best contemporary representation of Columbus's geographical ideas". See "Waldseemüller's World Map of 1507 and 1516: Sources and Development of his Cartographical Thought", *The Portolan* (2012): 8–20.
2. Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God*, *Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, 100.
3. Joachim's best known writings are: *The Book of Concordance of the New and Old Testament*, *The Exposition on the Apocalypse*, *The Psaltery of Ten Chords*, and his *Exhortation to the Jews*. He was working on the *Tract on the Four Gospels* when he died.
4. Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Josephe L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi and John Robert Kane eds, Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986, 420.
5. Marjorie Reeves described Joachim's belief that Gog and Magog must precede the Sabbath Age of the third *status* as "the final flick [*sic*] of the dragon's tail". See Reeves and Hirsch–Reich, *The Seven Seals*, in *Rech. De théol.* Anc. etméd. 21 (1954) 220,

222–3, cited in David L. d'Avray, "A Franciscan and History", 466.

6. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* ed. Consuelo Varela, Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1999.
7. See Massimo Livi–Bacci, "Return to Hispaniola: Reassessing a Demographic Catastrophe", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 83.1 (2003): 3–51, and *Conquest, The Destruction of the American Indios*, trans. Carl Ipsen, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
8. Resistance and adaptation is discussed by Burkhart. Other important works include Caroline A. Williams, *Between Resistance and Adaptation, Indigenous People and the Colonisation of the Chocó, 1510–1753*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005.
9. John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1970, 28.
10. Ibid, 41.
11. Ibid, 23.
12. Ibid, 6.
13. Ibid, 42.
14. Edwin Edward Sylvest, Jr., *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain Province of the Holy Gospel*, Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975, ix.
15. Marjorie Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages: a study in Joachimism*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993, 241.
16. See Delno C. West, *The Education of Fra Salimbene of Parma*, in Ann Williams ed., *Prophecy and Millenarianism, Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, Harlow, 1980, 193–215, 209.
17. *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527, reprint Frankfurt on the Main 164) fol 3r; cited in Bernard McGinn, "Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality", in Richard K. Emmerson Robert Lernerand Bernard McGinn eds, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992, 3–19, 19.
18. David Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, "Introduction", in Angelo Clareno, A *Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of Brothers Minor*, trans D. Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, New York: Franciscan Institute, 2005, i–xxx, xxii.

19. Ibid, xxvi.
20. David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom, A reading of the Apocalypse Commentary*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Press, 1993, 203.
21. Gordon Leff, "The Franciscan Concept of Man", in Ann Williams ed., *Prophecy and Millenarianism, Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, Harlow, 1980, 219–237, 219.
22. Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Age*, 187.
23. Ibid, 146.
24. *The Chronicle of Salimbene*, 420.
25. Ibid, 420.
26. Ibid, 449.
27. Reported in Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 170.
28. Bonaventure, *Collations on the Six days*, Works, V. 5, trans. J. de Vinck, New York: St Anthony Guild Press, 1970. For more on Bonaventure's eschatology, see Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure*. The influence of Dionysius can also be found in this document.
29. See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom,* 43.
30. Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure,* Chicago: Chicago University Press 1971, 31.
31. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *The major legend of Saint Francis*, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* Volume II, 525–717, 527.
32. St Francis, "Letter to all the faithful", in *The Writings of St Francis*, trans. P. Robinson 2013.
33. Ibid.
34. Leonard I. Sweet, "Christopher Columbus and the Millennial Vision of the New World", *The Catholic Historical Review*, 72, 3 (1986): 369–382, 378.
35. *OND*, 107.
36. *OND*, 124.
37. *OND*, 125.
38. *OND*, 128.
39. Olivi died before completing his commentaries on the Apocalypse.
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41. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 208.

42. Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations,* 20.
43. Ibid, 153.
44. Ibid, 7.
45. Ubertino da Casale, *The tree of the crucified life of Jesus*, in Armstrong et al. eds, *Francis of Assisi: early documents, II, The Prophet*, New York: New City Press, 2001, 141–206, 148.
46. Ibid, 149.
47. Ibid, 158–159.
48. Ibid, 154.
49. Ibid, 159.
50. Ibid, 155.
51. Ibid, 155.
52. Cited by Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages*, 209.
53. His name also appears as Juan de Rocatallada, or John of Rupiscessa.
54. See Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 222.
55. Marjorie Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages*, 446.
56. For an example see the anonymous *De Statibus Exxlesiae secundum Apocalypsim* (1318), cited by Marjorie Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages,* 221.
57. José M. Pou y Marti O.F.M., *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)*, Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1991, 46.
58. Ibidem.
59. See Pou y Marti, *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes*, 289–307.
60. Many of the manuscripts of his writings, mainly written in Catalan, are in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona.
61. Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages*, 222.
62. Mario Cayota, *Siembra entre brumas: utopiá franciscana y humanismo renacentista*, Montevideo: Instituto S. Bernardino de Montevideo, C.I.P.F.E, 1992, 311.
63. The doctrine of Pedro Villacreces is contained within the *Memoriale Religionis o breve Memorial de los oficios actios y contemplativos de la religión de los frayles Menores*, traces of which can be found in *Floreto* 3, IX, 1–13, *Floreto* 2, X, 7–19, and *Floreto* 3, XI. See Juana María Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", in

Floreto de Sant Francisco, edited by Juana María Arcelus Ulibarrena, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Español, 1998, 51–218, 88–89.

64. Ibid.
65. Ibid, 32.
66. Edwin Edward Sylvest, Jr., *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory*, 31. A *descalzos* faction of the Carmelite Order also emerged at this time.
67. "un fenomeno exclusivamente hispanic"; Mario Cayota, *Siembra entre brumas*, 328.
68. Marjorie Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages*, 446. She cites Marcel Bataillon *Erasmo y españa, estudios sobre la historia spiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico D.F., 1950).
69. "Concierto con Cisneros para la Guerra de áfrica", Archivo General de Simancas, ES.47161.GGS/2.1.5.11.238// CCA,CED,7255,1.
70. "Donativo de Isabel la Católica al convento de Franciscanos de Monte Sión, de Jerusalém. [Samuel Eijan, El Real Patronato de los Santos Lugares, I, 230]", in María Loudes Díaz–Trechuelo Spínola ed., *América en la Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España*, VII, Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952, 276–278.
71. See Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", 114.
72. In 1505 Cisneros published the *liber qui dictur angela de fulgino* in Latin in 1505, and *the Liber o Libro de las Revelaciones* of Angela of Foligno in Castilian in 1510. See Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", 111.
73. It is thought to have been a copy of the 1492 Seville edition, Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", 101 and 111.
74. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*.
75. See Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", 112.
76. Ibid, 97
77. Ibid, 85. This precise copy has not been found.
78. Arcelus Ulibarrena, "Estudio Critico", 19.
79. There are only four known copies of the incunabula of the 1492 Seville edition.
80. See Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*.

81. Morales, "New World Colonial Franciscan Mystical Practice", 94. He cited Sofronius Classen, "El Floreto de San Francisco", *Collecteana Franciscana*, 35 (1965): 248–66.
82. Morales, "New World Colonial Franciscan Mystical Practice", 95. Morales cited *Nican moteneua yn nemilitzen sant Francisco* (Mexico, 1577).
83. Ibid, 95.
84. Ibid, 96.
85. Mario Cayota, *Siembra entre brumas*, 353.
86. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España,* 15.
87. Ibid, 21.
88. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 119.
89. Depicted by Whalen, *Dominion of God*, chapter 6,
90. This topic is explored in: Mark Evans, ""The evangelical prophecies over Jerusalem have been fulfilled": Joachim of Fiore, the Jews, Fray Diego de Landa and the Maya", *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 5, 1, 86–103.
91. Richard Popkin, "Seventeenth–Century Millenarianism", in Malcom Bull ed., *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995, 112–134.
92. See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom,* 43.
93. West, "The Education of Fra Salimbene of Parma", 206.
94. "the year our lord came the year the faith came", Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios*, 162.
95. "librar de la cabeza del dragon infernal las ánimas redemidas con la preciosísima sangre de Nuestro Señor Jesuscristo", Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 203.
96. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Book 2, 162.
97. Diego de Landa, *Relacion*, 54.
98. Ibid, 68.
99. Ibid, 63.
100. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 44.
101. Ibid, 20.
102. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Book 3, chapter 1, 175.
103. Marjories Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore & The Prophetic Future, A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999, 29.
104. "Digest of Columbus' Log–Book on his first voyage made by Bartolomé de Las Casas", J. M. Cohen ed., *The Four Voyages of*

Christopher Columbus: being his own log–book, letters and dispatches with connecting narrative drawn from the Life of the Admiral by his son Hernando Colon and other contemporary, London: Penguin, 1969, 37–76, 45.

105. "letter written by Christopher Columbus, viceroy and admiral of the Indies, to the most Christian and Mighty king and queen of Spain, our sovereigns, notifying them of the events of his voyage and the cities, provinces, rivers and other marvels, also the situation of the many goldfields and other objects of great riches and value", *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, 283–304, 300.
106. See Pauline Moffitt Watts, "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus' 'Enterprise of the Indies'", *The American Historical Review* 90, 1 (February 1985): 73–102, 94–95.
107. Silvio Zavala, *Sir Thomas More in New Spain, A Utopian Adventure of the Renaissance,* London: Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1955, 6
108. Ibidem.
109. Fernandez Gomez, *Good Places and Non–Places in Colonial Mexico: The Figure of Vasco De Quiroga (1470–1565)*, Oxford: University Press of America, 2001, 98.
110. *Oroz Codex*, examples of the Franciscans travelling on foot and barefoot can be found throughout the *Oroz Codex*, e.g., 86, 88, 93, 95, 113, 114, 125, 150, 176, 208, 232, 305.
111. *Oroz Codex*, 115.
112. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 176.
113. "Franciscans in New World", *Sloane MS 1470*, 10.
114. Georges Baudot, *La Pugna por México*, Mexico D.F.: Alianza, 1990, 13.
115. Clareno, *A chronicle or history of the seven tribulations,* 21.
116. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 211.
117. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, 57–59.
118. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, pp. 253–256.
119. Ibid, 253.
120. Ibid, 426–429.
121. Ibid, 437.
122. *Oroz Codex*, 73–4.
123. Ibid, 74.

124. Mendieta, "Appendix to a letter (undated), addressed to Don Fray Francisco Gonzaga, General of the Order of Friars Minor", in *Historia Eclesiastica Indiana, A Franciscan's View of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico*, Fray Geronimo de Mendieta, critically reviewed, with selected passages translated from the original by Felix Jay, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1997, 16.
125. Roberto Rusconi, "Introduction", *The Book of Prophecies edited by Christopher Columbus*, historical and textual editor Roberto Rusconi, trans. Blair Sullivan, *Repertorium Columbianum*, V. III, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 33.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This book has explored the role of the Middle Ages, and especially the Franciscans, in the invention of the 'New World'. This invention had a darker side, since it was a process characterised by coloniality. The aim of this book has been to bring the Franciscans out of the shadows and interrogate the multiple ways in which the Franciscans influenced the medieval invention of the New World as well as the ways in which they tried to control the identity and meaning of that space. It has pulled the Franciscans out of the footnotes of Atlantic history and given them their own story. It covered the Franciscans' role in the construction of European global knowledge and spatial theory and their entanglement with mythologies of pre-Columbian knowledge of the Americas, the depth of their precocious engagement with the Atlantic world, the complexity of their relationship with violence, discipline, rights, and freedom, and their subcultures of mysticism and millenarianism which influenced their vision of the New World. All of these strands shaped the Franciscan invention of the New World. The book has used Franciscan history to depict the uniqueness of the Franciscans in the invention of the New World and coloniality.

The Franciscans' uniqueness is derived from their unique relationship with the history of space. As a mendicant order, the Franciscans were one of the first groups to escape the confines of the monastery and be recognised as a legitimate religious movement by the papacy. The Franciscans

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disrupted the medieval space of emplacement described by Foucault. As Foucault explained:

> Space itself has a history in Western experience and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space. One could say, by way of retracing this history of space very roughly, that in the Middle Ages there was a hierarchic ensemble of places: sacred places and profane places: protected places and open, exposed places: urban places and rural places (all these concern the real life of men). In cosmological theory, there were the supercelestial places as opposed to the celestial, and the celestial place was in its turn opposed to the terrestrial place. There were places where things had been put because they had been violently displaced, and then on the contrary places where things found their natural ground and stability. It was this complete hierarchy, this opposition, this intersection of places that constituted what could very roughly be called medieval space: the space of emplacement.[1]

But the Franciscans disrupted the structure of this medieval world: they transcended the boundary separating the sacred and the profane, they translated celestial space to terrestrial, and they re-located spaces of violence.

Instead, Franciscan history maps the negotiation of a 'heterotopia'. Foucault wrote:

> There are also, probably in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. Places like this are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.[2]

Foucault linked this notion of heterotopia with the colonies established in Paraguay by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, but the Franciscans offer a different perspective which reveals the importance of the Middle Ages. The Franciscan creation, or experience, of a heterotopia begins in medieval Europe but is fulfilled in the New World. The Franciscan invention of the New World was the invention of a heterotopia: a 'simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live'.[3]

The Franciscans' renunciation of the world, part of their philosophy of poverty, shaped their invention of the New World. This renunciation was a physical, spiritual, and political process. It was negotiated by their ritualised performance of poverty which was symbolised by barefootedness and routine self-denial. The Franciscans romanticised this poverty in literature, history, and art. This has enshrined Franciscan poverty with a rich mystique and obscured the subversive politics at its historic core.

The uniqueness of the Franciscan position is summarised by Gordon Leff who wrote that:

> The import of the [Franciscan] rule—of renunciation and self-abnegation in the service of God—thus came from a profound sense of man's insufficiency and his powerlessness to do good. It expressed a mystic's distrust of his natural powers and contempt of all human agency and artefact…the logic of St Francis's conception was the loss of any specifically human identity both in submission to God and withdrawal from man's world.[4]

This book has tried to indicate the ways in which the Franciscans contributed to the construction of coloniality and its articulation in the New World. It observes that this had important stages in the European Middle Ages. Franciscans created the blueprint of a colonial identity. The Franciscans' doctrine of poverty led them towards an ambivalent relationship with power. Poverty simultaneously symbolised a total freedom and a total subservience. Further, they engineered technologies of self-discipline and routinised violence against themselves. Historically they were both victims (real and imagined) and perpetrators of persecution. This historic experience gave the Franciscans a fractured identity. Their ambivalence and complex relationship with violence was intensified in the New World where many Franciscans acted violently but saw themselves as sharing in this violence, which, for them, had a salvic function.

Franciscan poverty, which was a rejection of property and rights, was also a model for an ideal society. This propertyless society was the Franciscans' vision for the New World. This was not to be a utopia of equally dispersed power. As Leff summarised, for St Francis, man 'can only achieve virtue as the victim of the world's injustices'.[5] Yet Franciscan poverty did not represent an easily recognisable notion of victimhood, but embodied a position of power which it simultaneously constructed and denied.

The full implications and legacies of the Franciscans in the New World could not be explored in this book. Needless to say, the Franciscans had a big impact on religious identity, architecture, art, culture, and language

in the Americas. They were powerful agents of acculturation. It was one of the Franciscan 'Twelve Apostles' who arrived in Mexico in 1524 that baptised Juan Diego, who became the first indigenous American Catholic saint. Juan Diego claimed to have had a vision of the virgin Mary outside Mexico City and this started the cult of our lady of Guadalupe, one of the most prominent Catholic cults of the Americas.

Ambivalent power dynamics have also been part of the Franciscan legacy. This can be seen in the way in which the legacy of St Francis was used during the Theology of Liberation movement that developed in the Americas in the 1960s. In Medellin in 1968, a group of bishops met to discuss a 'radical aspiration for integral liberation', in response to what they saw as a 'new phase' in Latin American history.[6] This inspired the Dominican Gustavo Gutierrez to write *Teologia de la liberación*, a call for a new movement based on solidarity with the poor. This tract became the start of a movement and intellectual discourse in Latin America known as Liberation Theology; it demonstrated the continuation of the entanglement between politics, the Catholic Church, and the question of freedom in Latin America.[7] It was part of a broader response to what was seen as the failures of Vatican II (1962–1965) to address the needs of the Church and the poor in Latin America. This movement represents the ambiguous legacies of the Franciscans in the Americas. The prominent Liberation Theology protagonist Leonardo Boff harnessed this complexity. Boff argued that St Francis contributed to the liberation of the poor through his physical solidarity with the poor, which humanised their poverty.[8] Boff drew upon the influence of St Francis[9] to articulate liberation theology, which some Catholic poor of Latin America saw 'as the articulated voice of their poverty'.[10] The appearance of the Franciscans in this way, and the political significance of the solidarity with poverty which they have historically represented, is a legacy of the ambiguity of the role of the Franciscans in the New World. The Theology of Liberation movement had a problematic relationship with the Church in Rome, which it criticised, and Boff's publications were censored.[11] Joseph Ratzinger, the author of one of the authoritative histories of the Franciscan Minister-General Bonaventure, who later became Pope Benedict XVI, conducted the investigation. It was Ratzinger that had summarised the Franciscan position on poverty and the apocalypse:

> in the final age, God has sent men who freely chose to be beggars and to be poor in earthly possessions. These men have been sent against the spirit of covetousness which was to achieve its greatest force at the end of the world.[12]

The role of the Franciscans in the Theology of Liberation movement is a reminder of the ambiguous relationships which Franciscans, proponents of a unique doctrine of poverty and the apocalypse, have historically had not just with secular authorities, but also the hierarchy of the Church and papal government in Rome.

Franciscans remain important in the New World today. A strong example of this appeared in 2013, when the first Latin American pope, the Argentine cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, became the first pope to select the name Francis. He invoked the authority of Francis even though he himself came from the Jesuit Order.

The Franciscans' New World legacy is fractured, not least because the Franciscans were eclipsed by the rise of the Jesuit Order in the early modern period. Even before the rise of the Jesuits, the secular authorities had sought to limit the authority and control of the Franciscans in the New World. In 1550 the Crown had ordered that teaching should be in Spanish not in native languages. Hispanicisation was a way to challenge the Franciscan monopoly on the control of the Amerindian identity.[13] It is not clear how successful the Crown's attempt to limit the influence of the Franciscans was.

While the question of the 'discovery', invention, and conquest of the New World has already been discussed by historians, it is nonetheless a question of continued importance. As Sverker Arnoldsson noted: 'the economic, social, and racial problems which were created by the conquest of the New World still exist. The conquest, thus, is in the highest possible degree a living past'.[14] The Franciscans, who are still present in Latin America today, are part of this living past.

Notes

1. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Utopias and Heterotopias", trans. Jay Miskowiec, from *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* 1984, 1.
2. Ibid, 3–4.
3. Ibid, 4.
4. Gordon Leff, "The Franciscan Concept of Man", in Ann Williams ed., *Prophecy and Millenarianism, Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, Harlow, 1980, 219–237, 222.
5. Ibid, 224.
6. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A theology of liberation history, politics, and salvation*, London: SCM Press, 2001, 5. This was first published in 1971.

7. Liberation Theology was not the only movement arising at this time in Latin America, see I. Linden, *Global Catholicism: diversity and change since Vatican II*, London: Hurst, 2009.
8. Leonardo Boff, *Saint Francis: a model for human liberation*, New York: Harper & Row, 1986, 89 and 95.
9. Boff was himself a Franciscan until 1992.
10. Boff, *Saint Francis: a model for human liberation*, 83.
11. Boff was prevented from publishing anything for a year after his publication of *Church, charism and power: liberation theology and the institutional church*, London: Crossroad, 1985.
12. Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St Bonaventure*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1971, 113.
13. Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico*, 96–7.
14. Sverker Arnoldsson *La conquista española de America según el juicio de la posteridad. Vestigios de la Leyenda Negra*, Madrid, 1960, 9–10, cited by Lewis Hanke in "More Heat and Some Light on the Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America", *The Hispanic America Historical Review*, Vol. 44, 3 (1964): 293–340, 293.

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"De Pedro El Ceremonioso a Bernardo de Olzinelles, tesorero real. Orden de pago de 1.000 sueldos l Convento de franciscanos de Barbastro", Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pedro III [IV], 1403

"De Pedro El Cermonioso a Ramón de Boil, tesorero real. Orden de Pago de mil sueldos concedidos como limosna al guardián del Convento de Franciscanos de Barbastro", Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pedro III [IV], 1019.

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