



Inventing Lima:
Baroque Modernity in Peru's South
Sea Metropolis

Alejandra B. Osorio

THE AMERICAS IN THE EARLY MODERN ATLANTIC WORLD



INVENTING LIMA

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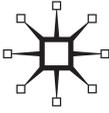
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SOUTH SEA METROPOLIS

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INVENTING LIMA

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For my two loves, Mark and Olga

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ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	American Historical Review
BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
CERABLC	Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas”
CLAR	Colonial Latin American Review
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
EEHA	Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos
FCE	Fondo de Cultura Económica
HAHR	Hispanic American Historical Review
IEP	Instituto de Estudios Peruanos
IFEA	Institut Français d’Etudes Andines
JLAS	Journal of Latin American Studies
LC	Libros de Cabildos (manuscript)
LCL	Libro de Cabildos de Lima (published)
PUPC	Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
UCH	Universidad de Chile
UNMSM	Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos
UNSMP	Universidad de San Martín de Porres

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

exp.	expediente (file)
f.	foja (page)
ff.	fojas (pages)
leg.	legajo (bundle)
lib.	libro (book)
n.d.p.p.	no date or place of publication
no.	número (number)
r.	page reverse

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The first time I saw Lima, Peru was from the air on January 25, 1975, as my New York-bound Lufthansa flight from Santiago, Chile approached Jorge Chávez International Airport. This was my first trip abroad (I was joining my parents who had fled the Augusto Pinochet regime), and I was struck by the sheer size of Lima's airport and by the vast sea of lights that spread across the plain. It would be ten years before I would return to Lima, only this time I was heading south from my new home in New York. I was now a graduate student at New York University, and I came to Lima to carry out Master's research and to define a dissertation project. I was now struck by Lima's palatial homes, wide avenues, palm trees, café culture, crazy and chaotic traffic patterns, haphazard mix of rich and poor, and striking array of faces. Lima was in some ways like New York, but it was also not far from Santiago. In any case, I was seduced. I would return to Lima again and again, living and researching for extended periods in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s. This book is the result of that long labor of love.

My intellectual sojourn into baroque Lima or in the parlance of the time, *The City of the Kings of Peru*, began as a series of nagging questions that arose while I was engaged in archival research for my Master's thesis. In the course of that research, which was based primarily on the records of Lima's Extirpation of Idolatry Campaign (an inquisitorial process aimed at relapsed Indians), I encountered detailed trial records that seemed to contradict the historiographical image of "colonial Lima" as a segregated, Spanish enclave "with her back turned to Peru." That image never agreed with my personal experience of Lima, although I knew that the city had changed dramatically as a result of twentieth-century rural-urban migration. The trial records suggested the existence in baroque Lima of heterogeneous plebes living in close quarters with the elites and both were given over to hybridized cultural practices of Andean, African, Asian, and European origins. I decided to make this apparent cultural hybridity a central concern of my dissertation research on the cultural history of baroque Lima. As research progressed, and in my effort to understand the complex negotiation of practices and identities in *The City of the Kings*, I became interested in the methods of religious interrogation and conversion and in the broader "civilizing" project of the Counter-Reformation Church in Peru (the Extirpation, the Inquisition, the evangelical work of monastic orders, campaigns to promote sainthood, hagiographies and religious chronicles, the formation of archives, etc.). My

research soon spilled over into civic or municipal, royal, and viceregal spheres and rituals of rule as they were staged in the city largely because it was impossible to separate “the secular” from “the religious” in early modern Lima. At the same time I began to investigate the economic history that made all of this possible in the hope that I might be able to generate a new holistic vision of Lima in the seventeenth century.

But many things stood in the way of that holistic vision. For one, my project was shaped not only by what the archive (and my experience) led me to question in the historiography but also by what that same archive failed to divulge despite years of labors. The archives have remained silent on many of the cultural aspects that I had hoped to document about Lima (and that I know once existed in one form or another). I had intended, for example, to include in the dissertation and in this book a detailed discussion of the rituals of Corpus Christi and Holy Week, since I knew from fragmentary accounts that these calendrical religious ceremonies were also sites of contestation among the monarchical and municipal powers (a theme I take up in relation to the Inquisition). In contrast to Cuzco, where the documentation is quite rich, Lima’s record on these rites is almost nonexistent. To do justice to the Holy Week processions, on the other hand, would have required that I first reconstruct the history of the many confraternities that participated in this ceremony. Since there are no significant studies dealing with these groups, it would have to be drawn from scratch, that is, from an array of documents, some of which were catalogued and housed at the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (Archbishopric Archive in Lima [AAL]) and most of which were not catalogued but instead stored, apparently, at the Archive of the *Beneficencia Pública*, to which I was not granted access. I had also hoped to provide a more detailed account of the financing of ceremonial life in Lima and to describe with exactitude the ephemeral structures built for the ceremonies and the costumes worn at them, but alas this was not possible.

I conducted dissertation research in the Archivo General de la Nación (National Archive of Peru [AGN]) between 1995 and 1997. It was a period of crisis (somewhat less so than in previous years), although one could say (and without laying blame) that Peru has known almost nothing but crisis when it comes to the state of public archives and libraries. During most of my time in the archive, for example, there was no electricity in the reading room; the more severe problem, however, was fear of an electrical fire in the damp and bare-wired basement where many of the documents that interested me were kept. Because of this hazardous situation, I was allowed access to only one bundle “from below” each day. In addition, the very poor condition of many of these bundles meant that after they were retrieved it was decided that they could not be consulted without causing further damage. If it were not for the invaluable assistance of archivist Yolanda Auqui, who went well beyond the call of duty, I would have accomplished very little there. The shortage of electricity and funds extended to a shortage of developer, film, paper, setting materials, toner, and operating time for microfilm and photocopy services

both at the National Archive and the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (National Library of Peru [BNP]). Thankfully, I was able to obtain microfilm and photocopy supplies from the professional photographer Mary McCarthy, since they could not be obtained in Lima at the time, and these I provided to the archive and library so that they could make the reproductions I needed. In all cases I left one copy.

I also came to learn, largely after the fact, that Lima's archives are comparatively thin when it comes to documenting civic, viceregal, and royal ceremonies. Recently I began working in the archives and libraries of Mexico City, and I have become painfully aware of how much is "missing" or simply not accessible in Peru. Many paintings and images, some of which are reproduced in art books published in Lima, are held in private collections that I was not granted access to. *Relaciones* or accounts and treatises about ceremonies are also relatively rare for Lima when compared to Mexico. Thanks to then-director Luis Eduardo Wuffarden I was able to work for a time in Lima's Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (Municipal Archive of Lima [AHML]). However, the archive was often closed by the strikes of municipal workers, and because of riots in the streets around the municipal building where the archive was then located in a windowless basement, I was never able to see the unpublished volumes of Cabildo proceedings, except for two bundles dealing with the canonization of Santa Rosa de Lima. In short, this book is itself a reflection of the fragmentary nature of the archive and of the moment of crisis in which it was researched.

What I am able to achieve in this book, however, is thanks to the labors and support of many wonderful and dedicated people in Lima and elsewhere. My research in Lima benefited enormously from the guidance and support of the late Franklin Pease. I met Franklin in 1986 while he was director of the BNP, and from that point forward he generously opened many doors for me, for which I am truly indebted to him. He also shared his magnificent personal library and with his spouse Mariana Mould opened up the Pease home to my family and me. I am also indebted in similar scholarly and personal ways to Luis Millones and Renate Mayer. I owe gratitude to Christine Hünefeldt for her warm friendship and strong belief in my scholarly vocation. I also contracted many debts at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), my host research institution in Lima. I am most grateful to Maria Rostworowski for her keen generosity over all these years. I also extend heartfelt thanks to the *Sección de Historia*, which then included Carlos Contreras, Luis Miguel Glave, Rafael Varón, and Marcos Cueto. I also wish to thank Francisco Velarde and Aida Nagata of IEP, who shared excellent coffee, a love of New York City, an interest in soap operas, and a warm friendship. I owe special thanks to the librarians at IEP for their help in locating difficult materials and for tolerating my bad habit of checking out too many books!

I was also affiliated in Lima with CENDOC-Mujer, an NGO dedicated to women's issues and gender research. I wish to thank the staff and especially

then-director Margarita Zegarra for her friendship and for the invitation to participate in the weekly *seminario de historia* (history seminar). Those meetings provided an intellectual space to converse with other historians working on gender issues. I also owe thanks to the History Program at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [PUCP] where I was a Fulbright Scholar in 1996–97. In addition to Franklin Pease, dean of Humanities and chair of History at the time, I wish to thank Professor Jeffrey Klaiber for his support.

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in Lima, particularly former director Marcia Koth de Paredes. During my stay in Lima as a Fulbright scholar, I fell ill for an extended period, and during this trying time Marcia made sure that I received the best care available in Lima. I am deeply grateful for everything she did so that I could complete my research under such strenuous circumstances. In this regard, I also owe thanks to Teresa Vergara. At The John Carter Brown Library [JCBL], I would like to thank Norman Fiering, then director of the library, for his support and for the stimulating intellectual atmosphere that made my residency there so productive. I also wish to thank Susan Danforth and all of the library's wonderful staff. At Wellesley College I wish to recognize the steadfast support and encouragement of my colleagues in the history department, in particular Lidwien Kapteijns and Tak Matsusaka, and Ray Starr in the classics department for his generous help with Latin transcriptions. I have also taken encouragement and many lessons from my engaging Wellesley students.

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I wish also to thank Amy Bushnell and Jack Green for including my book in their series, the former editor at Palgrave Gabriella Georgiades, her successor Luba Ostashevsky, her assistant Joanna Mericle, Jennie Young for her careful preparation of the manuscript for publication, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions and recommendations.

This project would not have been possible without the support of my family. In Santiago, Chile, I wish to thank both sides of my extended family: my many *tías, tíos, y primos* de la Jara Coûlon and Osorio Pérez. Likewise, I wish to thank my Chilean friends, Tío Pito, Juan Beltrán and Mónica Franzani, Cecilia and Beatriz Bustamante, Sammi Benmayor, Susana Manzilla, and Beatriz Munizaga. In the United States, I wish to thank my sisters Flaca and Claudia for taking care of my things while I was away on research trips. My parents provided both moral and financial support throughout my graduate career and beyond. My mother died while I was doing research in Peru. Although she did not see the end of this research project, I owe to her the personal determination that has seen this project through to fruition. My father imparted in me a love for history, music, and reading and an insatiable quest to understand the nature of things. I am forever grateful to my father’s friends, the late Madelyn and Fred Merwarth, for revealing to me the magnificence of New York City. I am grateful to Evelyne Meynard in New York for always being there.

Finally, I wish to thank Mark Thurner, my dearest partner in life, for the many readings and endless conversations that have so benefited this study and for everything else that we have shared in and beyond Lima. For most of her life my daughter Olga Osorio-Thurner has had to live with the making of this book and my career as a commuting historian, which has often meant that I could not be with her at important moments in her young life. She has nevertheless become a wonderfully delightful young woman. This book is for both of you!

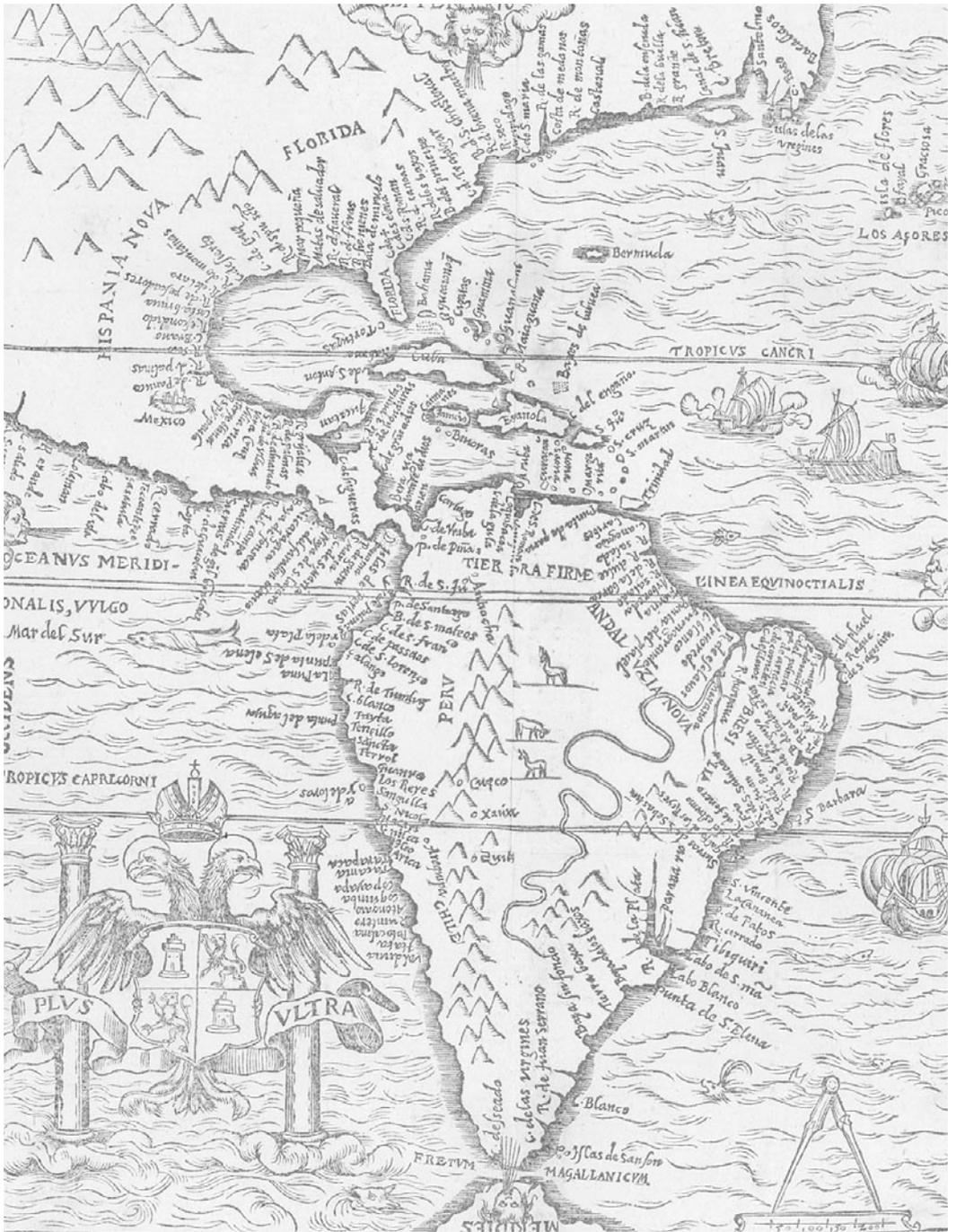


Figure I.1. Map of America. Pedro Cieza de León, *Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru* (Antwerp 1555). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

INTRODUCTION



INVENTING LIMA

Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answers it provides to a question of yours.

—Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*¹

Viceroyal Lima in the baroque seventeenth century was a theatrical and literary work of the early modern imagination. It was also an inhabitable space built of mud and brick, filled with a multitude of people performing all kinds of tasks and rites. Founded at the Pacific edge of the Andes on earthquake prone sand, The City of the Kings of Peru (*La Ciudad de los Reyes del Peru*) was a most modern city. Without a past and poised between the Andes and the South Sea (*Mar del Sur*), Lima was destined to become a new kind of city: both emporium and court. Notably, many of the once wondrous structures of Lima have led utterly modern and ephemeral lives, yielding to the sands of time; at the same time, the illustrious words that announced those wonders to the world have survived, if in fragmented form. These fragments reveal that what once held up—or, when fallen, rebuilt—her walls of adobe and paper was a great new wealth and heterogeneity, concentrated by Lima's merchants and expressed in elaborate baroque rituals and a teaming plebe. By the means of ritual and congregation, Lima came to be the *cabeça* or head of that imaginary political body called the *imperio peruano* (Peruvian Empire) or *reinos y provincias del Perú* (kingdoms and provinces of Peru). As a new invention that became the head of a vast new political realm, Lima provides certain clues to abiding questions about early modernity and empire. This study is an attempt to read those clues in new ways.

This introduction outlines the main readings and arguments of the study. These may be summarized as follows: First, baroque Lima or “The City of Kings of Peru” was not—as nationalist, dependency, and Marxian historians

have often claimed—a “colonial enclave” divorced from “deep Peru” (interior Peru) but instead the cultural, political, and commercial head and crown that both held Peru together and, at key moments, was the financial and symbolic hub of the Empire of the Indies. Second, baroque Lima was for a time the most modern and powerful of “imperial cities” in the New World. Third, that Lima became so central and powerful in a truly modern way was not an inevitable consequence of geography (as is often claimed) but was a product of baroque political history and global commerce. Founded rather precariously on real and metaphorical sands at a key moment in the history of imperial modernity, Lima would be sustained not by history or religious tradition, but by commerce, the literary imagination, baroque political ritual, and a teaming and diverse population that was in many ways unprecedented in the history of the world. Finally, the baroque-making of Lima suggests that, in contemporary terms, The City of the Kings was quite representative of the viceroyalty Peru.

A hermeneutic coming to terms with baroque Lima requires that we avoid those teleological and enlightenment narratives that conjure up a dark colonial past in the service of liberal, national, or Marxian futures. Thus, this book does not attempt to explain the woes of Peru by means of a denunciatory and “upstreamed” reading of an imaginary colonialism. Instead, it attempts to read in Lima’s baroque folds the traces of an earlier, pre-national age when Spanish Empire and its Catholic culture roamed across the globe in ways that are scarcely familiar today but not without relevance, perhaps, for a tomorrow that is in part already among us. The rereading of baroque Lima proposed here may also have implications for the reinterpretation of what is often thought of as the foundationally “modern” or “national” phase of Peruvian history, that is, the “contemporary” or postcolonial period.

This introduction begins with a review of the modern baroque notion of “great city” that, for reasons that we shall soon see, came to characterize Lima and which informed the literary or mythological founding of the city in the works of its more notable chroniclers. I also provide a brief sketch of the building of the physical city and the economic history that sustained it. Finally, I outline the main arguments of each of the ensuing chapters, beginning with the revealing political dispute between Lima and Cuzco before the Spanish Crown and continuing with the key rituals and practices staged in the city’s Plaza Mayor and environs for the viceroy, the king, the Inquisition, and the Extirpation of Idolatry. I will contend that these rituals, practices, and their representation in writing permit a new reading of Lima.

GREAT CITIES, *CIVITAS*, AND KINGDOMS

The early modern ideal of a “great city” wedded materiality or entity (*urbs*) with the animated idea or living image of that entity as *civitas* or republic. This idea of the perfect city may be traced to the works of the Roman

architect Vitruvius. His *Ten Books on Architecture* influenced such Renaissance works as *De Rei Aedificatoria*, written circa 1450 by the Florentine humanist Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72). The works of Alberti, Filarete (1400–69), Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554), and Andrea Palladio (1508–80), among others, served as the basis for the idea that the grandeur and nobility of a city depended on the quality of the design and “magnificence” of its buildings, the strength of its walls, and the layout of the squares and streets.² In political terms, these notions were condensed in a revised formulation of the classical idea of *civitas*. Central to the early modern notion of *civitas* was courtly government and justice at the service of a civilizing and christianizing mission that could be projected across the realm or “body” of the republic by cities and whose royal figurehead was the king or prince of that realm. The notion of *civitas* among the ancient Romans distinguished the “civilized” of urban centers from the “barbarians” who dwelled beyond. As Anthony Pagden has argued, in the early modern Spanish Empire “civilized” came to mean not only urban but also Catholic.³ The early modern Christian idea of *civitas* implicated the notion of a civilized political animal uplifted by God, and the city became the privileged site for that uplifting.⁴ The organizing principle of this notion of *civitas* was the rule of law. Spanish cities became the privileged spaces “where virtue could be practiced” and where communities came to be “governed by the rule of law, which demanded adherence to a particular kind of life, that of the ‘civil society.’”⁵ For the Spanish Empire urbanization became an integral element of a civilizing project that would require the Christianization of the body politic. This project was carried forth first in the peninsula (against Moors and Jews) and then in the Indies. Early modern Castile and Leon, for example, was a “conglomerate of urban republics” (the *cortes*) made into a coherent political body by the figure of the Castilian king.⁶ As an urban cultural movement supported by royal power, the European baroque was a modernizing conquest and civilizing seduction of the “pagan countryside.”⁷ In the viceroyalty of Peru, Lima assumed this baroque civilizing mission vis-à-vis the provincial cities and villages. The implementation of the *reducción* system by viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s relocated native populations in new urban pueblos designed to facilitate Christianization, tribute collection, protection, and most notably *buena policía* or civility among the population.⁸ In America, the Indians were to be incorporated into the Christian political body as “civilized” members with rights and obligations.⁹ The establishment of the viceregal court and archbishopric in Lima circa 1542, followed later by the Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry, made Lima into the new baroque center of this civilizing and Christianizing mission.

The city as utopian space was undoubtedly a powerful notion in medieval Europe. However, from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries cities assumed an unprecedented centrality in the political projects of new European empires. The early modern period saw dramatic demographic change as European populations recovered from the Great Plague. Population

increase was produced in part by medical advances, such as new understandings of the body and the role of disease. The translation of Arabic medical texts by the Spanish and Italians aided the development of new techniques in hygiene and medicine.¹⁰ New agricultural technologies and the introduction of New World and Asian staples, such as corn, potatoes, and rice, into the European diet were also influential.¹¹ Political changes produced and were produced by these changes. The consolidation of principalities and kingdoms into larger political units (such as Castile and Leon) combined with Europe's encounters with new continents, and sources of wealth gave birth to modern overseas empires, and these in turn made new use of "capital cities" as centers of imperial rule.¹²

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of notable utopian works on cities were published in Europe, including Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Tommaso Campanella's *Città dei sole* (1623), and Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627). Although these works register the utopian dimensions of many urban projects in the colonies, the more important works on cities during this period were not of a strictly utopian nature. The search for new models produced works that rationalized existing cities into typologies organized according to scientific criteria, such as geographic location, topography, climate, and population size. These more scientific views were reflected in Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni Universali* (1596).¹³ In the New World, writings about cities founded by the Spaniards frequently invoked Greco-Roman traditions.¹⁴ Renaissance principles were also central to the designs and urbanization of the new cities whence they developed more permanent populations and structures in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ By the early seventeenth century, however, new (early modern) forms of defining and conceptualizing the city began to emerge. Botero's *Le cause della grandezza e magnificenza della città* (1588), or *The Greatness of Cities*, as his work is titled in English, was the key text in this new, early modern vision of the city. Indeed, I will argue here that Botero's most modern text provides the best framework for understanding the imagining and making of Lima as a "great city" of a new kind.

In his work, Botero outlined a complex set of variables that must come together for a city to develop its "magnificence and greatness." In particular, Botero underscores the importance of population, location, and economy. In Botero's great city all these factors—size and quality of the population, location, and economy—were manipulable by the actions of men, given that certain basic conditions were met. For example, a city did not need to be "naturally populous" since people could be brought (and eventually lured) to it from adjacent villages and towns, as Rome and Constantinople had once done.¹⁶ In Botero's view men were naturally drawn to good air, beauty, and all the wonderful things that delighted and fed "the eyes of the people with admiration and wonder."¹⁷ The most frequented European cities for "pleasures and delights" were Rome and Venice. Venice, for its location by the sea, its arsenal, ships, traffic, and passage, as well as its tall towers, opulent

churches, magnificent palaces, beautiful streets, variety of arts, order of government, and beauty of its sexes, all which dazzled and amazed the eyes of the beholder.¹⁸

For Botero, a populous city possessed a large and diverse economy, as men were kept in place by “profit and commodity.”¹⁹ For a large and diverse economy to develop, the site of the city was of great importance, as not all cities were commodious. According to Botero, most cities simply served as passages for goods and peoples. Transient cities could never become great. Cities like Genoa and Venice in Italy were great not only because of the passage of goods and people but also because they were sites “for store-houses, cellarage and warehouses of merchandise, most plentifully brought unto them.”²⁰ The great city, however, also must be commodious for “other countries that are borderers, or near unto it.”²¹ The great city should enjoy “fruitfulness of the soil,” by which Botero did not mean that a city needs to be located in fertile and productive lands but rather that even when built upon poor soil, as in the case of Paris, the great city should be surrounded by extensive areas that provided it with all that was necessary to satisfy the material needs of its inhabitants, and so preventing them from seeking it elsewhere.²² Finally, a great city needed “conduct,” in the Latin sense of bringing together.²³ This condition was partly dependent upon the land and partly upon the proximity to water. The ideal terrain for a great city was flat so as to facilitate the movement of all sorts of merchandise and goods via carts, horses, mules, and other animals, as well as men. Proximity to water was also important and, if by the sea, a large and safe port “to ride into,” was necessary.²⁴ Beyond economic incentives and secured resources, laws and freedoms were also necessary, as was the development of an elaborate and busy public ceremonial life, which would draw people to the city, as it had in Rome, making it “perpetually full of strangers and foreign people.”²⁵ Religion and the worship of God were essential, as these not only drew great numbers of people together but also caused commerce to grow among them; in short, the cities that excelled in this flourished “in authority and reputation above all others,” as well as in power and glory.²⁶ A great city should also have a “royal audience, senators, parliaments or other sorts and kinds of courts of justice,” as these would draw all those seeking justice but also all those in charge of processing and executing the law.²⁷ This presence of a court would also bring gold, thereby increasing the city’s greatness because this commodity would allow men to acquire more goods and property.²⁸ Great cities were exempt from taxes and levies favored by people, and they should also always have “some good store of vendible merchandise” that came from the land or the sea near them.²⁹ In short, the greatest city was one that possessed supreme authority and power and jurisdiction over others as well as the public and private wealth of men, who were naturally drawn to these things.³⁰

Botero also argued that a great city possessed a multitude of people.³¹ What exactly Botero meant by “multitude” is not entirely clear. In general

terms, however, Botero stood against the Aristotelian notion that a city should limit its population to those it could readily sustain. Instead, Botero argued that since disease and death could quickly decimate a city's population, a multitude of people was the best safeguard against catastrophe. Botero did not advocate endless growth, however. Rather, in his view a great city would reach an equilibrium based on what it had to offer and what was available; when this balance was broken the city's population would decline, as indeed it had done in the case of Rome.³² The multitude of any great city must include distinguished members who could lend the city an aura of grandeur and authority.³³ Botero argued that Italian cities were greater than those of France because gentlemen dwelled in them and not in distant country castles surrounded by moats. In short, the residences of noblemen made cities more glorious and more populous. The noble presence also had civilizing effects on the urban population: Daily contact with those who were refined in dress, speech, and manners "educated" the plebes. Moreover, the "gorgeous and gallant buildings" of nobility fomented the arts and were thus also part of the civilizing process.³⁴ Notably, Botero illustrated this point by holding up the Incas as a primary example. To make their city (Cuzco) great and noble, noted Botero, the Incas had made caciques and barons reside in it and build palaces there, the result of which was to make their city magnificent and great.³⁵

Botero argued that all of the conditions of greatness should be adjusted to local realities. Thus, Italian cities could never grow to the scale of the great Chinese cities since the geography of Italy, with mountain ranges that separated the flow of rivers, made them unnavigable.³⁶ Thus, and while geography and place were important, the determining factors of any great city were its material and symbolic capital. What, asks Botero, would have become of Rome were it not for the Pope making it the permanent seat of his court? If not for the ambassadors, ministers, and guests who came to reside in the city, and their infinite numbers of servants, and the magnificent building in which they all lived, what would have become of Rome? And what would Rome be without the multitudes of peoples in the different sections of the city and without the glory provided by the service to God, with churches, prelates, and the like? If it were not for all this, he asked rhetorically, would Rome not be "just a bunch of hills in a desert?"³⁷ The very same rhetorical questions were posed in late-seventeenth Lima and, as I hope to make clear, the responses to those questions would no doubt have pleased Botero. But that would be getting ahead of our story.

Significantly, Botero relegates the physical layout and historical past of the great city to a secondary position. Instead, his great city, modeled after Italian city-states, is fully rational or modern, with a corresponding emphasis on the economy and population as central characteristics of any great city. Notably, Botero's views would be embraced in Lima but rejected in Spain. In the latter chroniclers generally privileged religious and historicist principles, that is, "a glorious historical past at the service of evangelization" based in part on the narration (in text and stone) of a "sequence of testimonies of the

marvelous” that, taken together, made the peninsular city into an ancient *civitas christiana*.³⁸ In contrast, religious chroniclers in Lima were notoriously concerned with Peru’s material riches (if as a providential sign of Peru’s sublime cosmological and spiritual advantages as David Brading has pointed out) and newness. Indeed, the chroniclers could not avoid making reference to Peru’s riches and Lima’s newness no matter what the main theme of their writings was.³⁹ But one should go further on this point. If we read these religious chronicles of the city not for data or distortions of reality (as Brading often does) but as particular forms of political discourse, one soon realizes that the organizing principle of all such chronicles is the new wealth of Lima; all other information and arguments contained in them is subsumed to this principle. In this book I will argue that the discourse of greatness that founded and built Lima was distinct from, and more modern than, the discourse of foundation for Mexico City, and that this distinction corresponds not to any failure of Lima’s Creole elites to build upon the Inca heritage (as Brading argues) but rather to the particular moment of its founding and to the demands and conditions of ruling the vast viceroyalty of Peru and the South Sea. Lima would become not only a “great city” in Botero’s sense but also the head of a vast, edge-of-the-world empire that connected South America and the Pacific Ocean or South Sea in new and irreversible ways.

CHRONICLING LIMA’S GREATNESS

One of the first literary praises of the majesty of Lima is found in the 1596 epic poem *Arauco Domado* by Pedro de Oña. This poem helped establish the famous image of the city as regal, affluent, and rapidly growing in size and power.⁴⁰

From the shops come the brocades,
And a thousand silks, in varied colors,
Delightful works of art are brought out,
Striking costumes, and richly embroidered harnesses . . .
Lima rises with pride, splendor, and pomp,
She swells, and grows in might.⁴¹

Writing in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Jeromite Diego de Ocaña noted that, in the sixty years since its founding, Lima had grown to such an extent that there was no longer any space left to build. Traversing the city now took close to an hour.⁴² In addition to its impressive growth, Ocaña noted that the city had dramatically changed its appearance from that of a small village to a bustling city of plebeians graced by a large number of wealthy nobles, knights of the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara, lords or *encomenderos*, and a host of other illustrious people, all living off rents and contracts. Notably, this extraordinary city of plebes and

noblemen was dominated by commerce. In Lima, continued the chronicler, “everyone was a merchant.”⁴³

In 1630, the Franciscan Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, a Lima-born Creole, published a notable chronicle or memorial on the merits and excellences of Lima. The text was intended to persuade the king to promote the canonization of Francisco Solano.⁴⁴ For Fray Buenaventura Lima, the “metropolis and head of the extended kingdoms of Peru” exceeded all other cities of the realm in grandeur.⁴⁵ Lima’s greatness, he argued, was also based on geography, that is, on its proximity to the ocean, its situation on a plain where waters did not gather in swamps and where insects were almost unknown. Moreover, Lima’s airs were apparently healthy and its summers and winters uniformly mild. Salinas y Córdova also compared Lima’s development in relation to that of other world cities. He admitted that, initially, Lima had not possessed a very large population, but that this was also the case of Venice, Seville, and Lisbon. Given the benevolence of its location, Lima’s population had steadily increased (in size but also in authority and nobility) to the point where it now rose “as head among the most illustrious cities of this [New] World and Spain.”⁴⁶ Like Ocaña and others, Fray Buenaventura described Lima’s Rimac River as gentle but plentiful and as a source of sufficient water for the city’s many fountains, homes, and gardens. He praised the layout of The City of the Kings as perfect, with a centrally located plaza and very symmetric streets, “all at the same level.”⁴⁷ Its temples were opulent and magnificent and moreover harmonious in design. Lima had certain advantages not only in terms of the variety of fruits of her own lands but also for her proximity to the South Sea. Her ample port at Callao attracted ships of all sizes and capacities and from around the world, which filled her with merchandise and riches unknown in many Old World cities. By sea also came the products of her realm: the pearls of Panama, the hardwoods of Guayaquil, the wines of Ica, Pisco, and Nazca, the wheat from the coastal valleys of Peru, sugar and preserves from Saña and Trujillo, and meats from Chile, while from other points also flowed honey, firewood, coal, and all those things “that pertain to human life, as much by necessity as for its delight and greater glory.”⁴⁸ In his description of the fruits of the land, Salinas y Córdova established a perfect balance between the products that came to Lima from near and far. Again, few European cities at the time possessed this variety of wealth, and none also enjoyed the wealth that flowed from the world’s greatest mines.

From the *topos* of the wealth of the land and the geography of the city Salinas y Córdova turned to the related subject of Lima’s political wealth. In doing so he followed the prescriptions outlined by Botero in his modern treatise on the greatness of cities. He now described the royal fortifications at Callao, with its seven bastions, each named after viceroys and saints (and later after kings, queens, and Incas), and the impressive artillery pieces placed in each turret, which in his view made this fortress one of the most imposing structures of defense in the Spanish world. The good friar then listed, in

annals fashion, all the viceroys who had ruled Peru, describing in detail their more notable deeds, and noting the amount of silver that each of Peru's viceroys had remitted to the kings of Castile. Since its conquest and foundation, Peru's wealth had in his estimation amounted to an almost unimaginable total of 68,138,111 ducats, not including the remittances from Peru's northern kingdom of Quito.⁴⁹ Notably, Salinas y Córdova described other regions of the viceroyalty of Peru in terms of what they contributed to Lima's markets. Like many a chronicler to come, Salinas y Córdova emphasized Lima's diverse population, making repeated references to its "great numbers,"⁵⁰ which was also depicted as a source of wealth and greatness. In a section on Lima's impressive Holy Office or Inquisition, for example, he noted that the *auto de fé* performed in the Plaza Mayor in 1625 was observed by over twelve thousand people.⁵¹ Salinas y Córdova closed by pointing out that the greatness of Lima was based not just on great wealth and population but also on the presence of the illustrious viceroys who had governed alongside the city's *Real Audiencia* (Royal Court of Justice).⁵²

Writing about the same time, the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Anello Oliva described Lima as *la mayor y emporio* (the greatest emporium) of "this West."⁵³ Oliva praised Salinas y Córdova as the author who came closest to portraying the true nature of The City of the Kings of Peru. Oliva made similar arguments about Lima's climate, location, and population. Lima was to Peru what Venice was to Italy, Lisbon to Portugal, and Seville to Spain. Oliva's comparison resonated with Botero's view that the greatest European city was Lisbon, since its port opened onto the Atlantic Ocean and its commerce. Similarly, Lima opened onto the Pacific Ocean and its sources of wealth. Lima was also a Renaissance city. With its perfectly symmetric urban design, the city offered to the modern viewer an accurate and open sense of perspective, once visible from almost any point within the city and now made more difficult by the city's growth. Oliva also noted Lima's diverse population, where people of all condition and color dressed in extreme luxury, making it hard to distinguish a commoner from a noble and which he viewed with scorn. For Oliva as for Salinas y Córdova, the greatness of Lima was ultimately manifested by the presence of high officials and nobles housed in the city's more notable structures, which he described in detail.⁵⁴ Lima for Oliva was a cosmopolitan city comparable to other coastal cities in the world.

The Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha, a Creole born in the southern highland city of La Plata or Chuquisaca, began his 1630s description of Lima with a historical reconstruction of the known facts of its foundation. Calancha's aim was to correct the errors made by previous historians of the city. Calancha called Lima the "Metropolis of this admirable Kingdom, and the First in it in greatness."⁵⁵ He was also among the first to create a myth of origin for Lima that, via a sophisticated astrological theology, connected its date of founding with the exact date of origin of Roman Catholicism. Calancha noted that the day of Lima's founding—January 18—was the same day that Peter took possession of the Church. This auspicious

founding announced The City of the Kings' role in Peru as the guiding light of the faith. As "head of this excellent world" Lima was akin to Christian Rome; she would "illuminate the people of this Kingdom" with the radiance of God's truth on earth.⁵⁶ Lima's identity as a pious space was further emphasized by Calancha when he noted that the city held more nuns than thirty Spanish cities put together, and that its monks numbered in the thousands. This image of Lima as "light of the faith" was reinforced and further disseminated in the many hagiographies of her numerous candidates for sainthood, discussed in Chapter 5.

Calancha also noted that in Lima opulence was to be found everywhere, from the costly dresses of ladies to the costumes of the plebes and the candles for fiestas. Although the great wealth of Lima (and Potosi) was surely harmful to the wretched Indians of the realm, Calancha also noted that it was a genuine reflection of Lima's extreme piety, since there was no other city known to man where more alms were given in masses, more dowries were donated to the orphaned, or more hospitals, mendicants, and convents were concentrated. Opulence was reflected in the white wax spent in convents, parishes, confraternities, and processions. Indeed, more money was spent in Lima on wax in one month than in the great cities of Europe in eight (wax was imported from Spain and thus extremely expensive). Despite its vanity, Lima, Calancha concluded, should be praised as "the most generous city" in the Christian world.⁵⁷

Like many other chroniclers, Calancha praised the dry earth and the flatness of the plains in which Lima was situated. Lima was level and symmetric, its streets straight, wide, and long. The houses were adorned with balconies and large windows, which in some streets were so numerous and tall that they appeared to be floating on air. This effect was magnified by the absence of pitched tile roofs. Such roofs were irrelevant in a desert city where it never rained, and so Lima's skyline was uniformly flat and modern, like her streets. The houses were nevertheless cheerful, and one-third of these had a second floor. Many had interior vegetable gardens, potted flowers, and trees. Echoing Botero, Calancha also described the great many varieties of flowers and fruits that were available in Lima's markets year around, and the different types of wines, oils, and salts produced nearby and which sustained the city. Calancha likewise described the nearby highlands of Lima, whose rains fed her fast-flowing river and irrigated its oasis.⁵⁸ He described the delightful view of the city afforded by the nearby San Cristóbal Hill, noting that even the louse and snakes found there were benign, for they were not poisonous. Calancha also went beyond European comparisons when he likened Lima to Calicut or Malibar, "that great city of the Oriental Indies . . . a land where our Portuguese have commerce."⁵⁹

For Calancha the beauty of Lima was to be found in her inhabitants, that is, in their elegance, cleanliness, and the silks worn to embellish their persons. He noted that in Lima there were nearly six thousand "excellent" Spaniards and more than twenty thousand women who exceeded all others in gallantry

and beauty. In addition, Calancha reported that the city harbored thousands of blacks, mulattoes, mestizos, and Indians, as well as other ethnicities, but that many of these were not distinguishable from noblemen and officials. "All is Court," he argued, since in Lima all of the people emulated the habits and tastes of the elites, "suggesting ostentation in some and vanity in others."⁶⁰ For the pious and stern Calancha all of this was not political, since on any given day it was nearly impossible to distinguish the gentleman from the official or the plebeian.⁶¹ But this give-and-take of style and dress among all of the city's castes was precisely the source and mirror of Lima's political greatness.

By the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the supremacy of Lima was written and recognized within a wider geography or theater of power. In a poem published in 1641 in celebration of the virtues and miracles of the Virgin of Copacabana at the high Andean Lake Titicaca, the Augustinian Creole Fernando de Valverde portrayed Peru as an emperor entering the Virgin Mary's shrine with great apparatus and majesty. Peru was accompanied by all of the neighboring but lesser kingdoms that formed South America: Castilla del Oro, the New Kingdom of Granada, Quito, Chile, Tucuman, Paraguay, and Brazil, as well as the "Orb left to be discovered beyond the Straits of Magellan."⁶² To either side of the allegorical "Emperor Peru" stood two "princess daughters." To the right of "Peru" stood "the City of Lima, or of the Kings . . . the Court of the Kingdom."⁶³ The City of the Kings was accompanied by "the [lesser] cities of the plains (*llanos*)," including Trujillo, Piura, León de Guanuco, Arequipa, Ica, and Arica. To the left of "Emperor Peru" stood the "princess daughter" that was the City of Cuzco, the former (*antigua*) court of the Inca Kings.⁶⁴ Cuzco was accompanied by the lesser highland cities of La Plata or Chuquisaca, La Paz, Oruro, Guamanga, Castrovirreyna, and Huancavelica. Behind Peru, and appearing as two giants, stood the great silver and gold mining centers of Potosi and Carabaya. In the poem all of these political figures shed their crowns and knelt before the holy image of the Virgin Mary. "Emperor Peru" rejoiced for having exchanged his former (*antigua*) monarchy for a new and holy servitude (*servidumbre*) to the Virgin Mary. In a vigorous oration, "Potosi" offered to "the Queen of the Heavens" her riches and courage, hanging in her temple as an offering an elaborate silver lamp, while "Carabaya" presented the Virgin Mary with a gold crown.⁶⁵

This poem, which was read aloud in ceremonies, rendered in verse the established prose narrative (famously evident, for example, in Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's 1609 *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, which was also read aloud in public) of how "Emperor Peru" came to be conquered not by Spaniards but by the Virgin Mary, who in turn offered Christianity and civilization to her newly favored flock. In the process, the old Inca and "gentile" sanctuary at Copacabana was reconstituted as the connecting space between civilization and barbarism.⁶⁶ In Valverde's poem as in Inca Garcilaso's royal history, "Emperor Peru" would conclude that conquest had been a net gain. Before

conquest “Peru” was merely the king of a small, earthly kingdom; after conquest “Peru” became part both of Charles V’s universal monarchy and Jesus Christ’s Kingdom of Heaven.⁶⁷ Notably, Lima is depicted here as “that illustrious [and] opulent metropolis, Peru’s new court, with glorious lands and skies, whose good fortunes are the envy of Old World cities.”⁶⁸ Closer to home, Lima’s royal (*regia*) court now ennobled Peru, since she “spreads her authority and jurisdiction (*derrama potestades*) over the pueblos, villas, and smaller cities” of the realm.⁶⁹ In the new universal and Christian era, Lima was Peru’s true metropolis.⁷⁰

For the Dominican Creole Juan Meléndez, writing in 1681, Peru was by now “without doubt the most powerful of all the discovered lands.”⁷¹ The wealth of Lima was “the greatest known, because she [the city] is the only dispenser of the Treasures of the Western World; and from here leave all the gold and silver and pearls possessed by the other cities, not only in Europe but the entire world.”⁷² Meléndez’s vision of Lima’s wealth was not an exaggeration.⁷³ By the time of Meléndez’s writing, the elites of Lima had become financially responsible for all the flotillas that kept the *Mar del Sur* operational and profitable for the Spanish Crown. Lima’s merchants had also assumed the expenses involved in defending not only the main port of Callao but also the ports of Valdivia (kingdom of Chile), Cartagena, Panama, Buenos Aires, and it was the sole financier of the ongoing border wars in Chile against the Araucanians.⁷⁴

By the end of the century, Lima’s chroniclers had developed a discourse about the riches and attributes of The City of the Kings that resembled closely the characteristics outlined by Giovanni Botero in his classic work, *The Greatness of Cities*. Lima’s chroniclers compared the city and its port to Venice, Seville, and Lisbon, and also to Calicut in India. By the end of the seventeenth century Lima was portrayed not only as a passage city for goods and people but also as a center of power in its own realm: Peru and the South Sea. By the 1660s the center of the city around the Plaza Mayor harbored over one hundred shops selling different products, and it was crowded.⁷⁵ Although for a time the mining town at Potosi had more people, it was not a city but rather a *villa* and therefore not on the same political level as The City of the Kings. Lima’s greatness would depend on a combination of factors, most of which were described by Botero: wealth, water, population, illustrious nobles, and courts.

BUILDING A GREAT “CITY OF KINGS” IN THE DESERT SANDS OF THE SOUTH SEA

The City of the Kings of Peru was founded in 1535 by Captain Francisco Pizarro in accordance with early New World regulations of urban space later codified⁷⁶ in the *Provisión* issued by Philip II on July 13, 1573 (see Figure I.2).⁷⁷ Provisions for the design and distribution of urban space and architecture



Figure 1.2. Francisco Pizarro setting the first stone for the building of the Cathedral of Lima while Emperor Charles V watches. In Alonso de la Cueva Ponce de León, *Synopsi, De la Historia General de la Sta. Cathedral Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima* (Lima 1725). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

reflected the concerns of an imperial court that increasingly conceived of the city as a baroque “stage” for the exhibition of royal power. The regulations also closely followed classical Aristotelian principles by prescribing the ideal size of the city’s territory and number of inhabitants, its location in a healthy space and near large bodies of water, and ready access to fertile lands so as to ensure agricultural self-sufficiency. These new Spanish cities also needed to be defendable and often fortified. Its layout should allow for the convenience of political activities, and different groups should occupy distinct spaces within the city according to their conditions or status. The city, also need to be beautiful, or harmonious in its design, since the aesthetic aspect of it was thought to be an external reflection of the internal harmony of the community. Finally, the city was to be ruled by a system of laws and the principle of order.⁷⁸

The original layout of Lima (1535) was almost perfect in this regard. Initially the city had 117 *manzanas* or city blocks, each measuring 15,587 square meters divided into 4 *solares* or equal plots. The initial city was 13 city blocks in length or longitude and 9 in width or latitude, separated by streets 40 feet wide.⁷⁹ Captain and city-founder Francisco Pizarro assigned one solar to each member of his Conquistador party and two for each of his *beneméritos*.⁸⁰ In 1536, Lima’s *cabildo* (municipal council) would complain that few landowners had built permanent structures in the plots assigned by Pizarro, depriving the city “of beauty and harmony.”⁸¹ The *cabildo* set a deadline of one year for owners to wall in and build on the plots of land assigned to them

or be forced to return the land to the city for reassignment.⁸² This regulation began to be enforced in 1538, and soon thereafter the city grew at relatively rapid rates for the period.

Early on, the *cabildo* of Lima designated a master builder charged with supervising the correct layout of the streets, the designation of its *ejido* or common lands, and the demarcation of city plots.⁸³ The master builder was also responsible for informing the *cabildo* on the progress of constructions around the city. *Ejido* lands were legislated by the Spanish Crown and had to be carefully set since they needed to be sufficiently large to meet the subsistent needs of future populations, to provide public spaces of leisure for urbanites, and to accommodate the grazing of large herds of livestock.

The early city was initially built of wood and high demand quickly decimated the surrounding forests, prompting the *cabildo* to regulate its use and initiate reforestation.⁸⁴ In 1536, quarries of lime and gypsum (plaster) were established. The lack of “noble materials,” however, soon prompted the city to import stone and hard woods from as far off as Guayaquil and Panama. During this early period in the development of the city, however, the use of lumber would give way to adobe in the construction of walls, while more expensive bricks would be reserved almost exclusively for used in facades. Early Lima had a modest appearance and it would take some time for it to acquire the magnificence expected of baroque cities. One aspect of early Lima often noted by chroniclers was the horizontal nature or flatness of its houses, which lacked pitched and tiled rooftops. Chroniclers also noted Lima’s wide and very straight streets (Figure I.3). These ocular aspects gave the city—even in its humble stages—that modern perspectivism so revered in Renaissance and baroque cities. The idea of the city as *vista* or *panorama*, characteristic of baroque urbanism, incorporated three basic concepts: the straight line, monumental perspective, and uniformity.⁸⁵

Lima was not a city of great palaces and its official buildings did not have the durability and sense of permanence associated with those built of stone. The viceregal palace (originally called *Casas de Pizarro* and later changed to *Casas Reales* or royal houses), was initially a modest structure built on the Plaza Mayor that barely accommodated the viceroy and a few of his servants. In 1618, viceroy Prince of Esquilache remodeled the structure by building new rooms and improving the quality and structure of its walls, ceilings, and roof. The first balcony was also built then as a privileged place from which the viceroy and the *oidores* (royal justices) could observe the ceremonies performed in the Plaza Mayor. For the first time also the Real Audiencia (royal court) was assigned a room where the Royal Seal was permanently kept (up to that point it had been kept in different *oidor*’s houses around the city). During most of the seventeenth century the building was large with a carved stone frontis and wooden balconies. Its interiors included several patios, one with a chapel, and gardens in the back facing the Church of Desamparados by the Rimac River. The building was constructed out of a variety of materials that included adobe, brick, wood, plaster, and stone, and



until the devastating earthquake of 1687 had a second floor that was then destroyed.⁸⁶ The building was reconstructed later as a single-story structure.

The Plaza Mayor was the heart of city life, but it also had many recesses. Lima's central plaza was perfectly square and measured 440 feet on each of its sides (see Figure I.4). The plaza was the focal point of Lima's courtly and orderly official life where all official ceremonies were performed. During this ceremonial time, the plaza was cleaned up, ordered, and embellished with great ephemeral constructions transforming it into an idealized space. The plaza, however, also functioned as the city's market and meeting space for Lima's varied populations. As a quotidian space of economic transactions, the plaza was less orderly and clean. The space where Christianity met idolatry and where the great ephemera of official ceremonies were staged was replaced by the infamous *cajones*, or vendor stalls, set up everywhere for the informal sale of all kinds of products ranging from fish to fruits to items of clothing to trinkets. Throughout the seventeenth century the municipal government attempted to either eliminate—or at least order—this early rendition of *ambulantes* (informal sellers) with little or no success. Indeed, the *Libros de Cabildos* or minutes of the municipal council's meetings are peppered with these complaints and attempts at ordering this most public of city spaces. On a daily basis, therefore, the plaza was a space where the elites met the plebes as illustrated in the painting on the cover of this book. The plaza was the central gathering place for the city's diverse "multitude" or population. On two of its sides, the plaza was bordered by arcades built in the sixteenth century, which served to shelter people from the elements and as a recessed space from which to view court or religious ceremonies. The recesses of the arcades housed the offices of scribes and lawyers, as well as shops, such as those of the *botoneros* (button-makers) and *sombrereros* (hatters). In the center of the plaza stood a bronze fountain placed there in 1651, designed by Pedro de Noguera, and cast by Antonio de Rivas.⁸⁷ The fountain boasted a statue of Fame with a bugle in her left hand and on her right a standard with the royal and city's coats of arms.⁸⁸ As the fountain quickly became a popular drinking place for the horses and other animals in the city, the cabildo was forced to build sixteen columns connected with heavy chains around intended as protection.⁸⁹ The cabildo also kept an Indian on its payroll, who was assigned to the upkeep of the grounds year round.⁹⁰ Also on the plaza, adjacent to the cathedral, was the archbishop's palace with green balconies on its second floor. On opposite sides of the plaza were the cabildo houses, the only structures to maintain their two floors after the 1687 earthquake and until 1746, when a devastating earthquake that year destroyed them.⁹¹

Like many other New World cities, Lima grew rapidly out from the central plaza, and by the first third of the seventeenth century it spanned twenty-five city blocks. The breadth or latitude of the city, from the churches of San Francisco to that of Guadalupe, now comprised fourteen blocks. Given that this was a considerable extension of its original layout (thirteen by nine), the



cabildo now divided the city into neighborhoods or *barrios* for cleaning and care, naming *alcaldes* (city magistrates) for each on an annual basis. In the seventeenth century the adjacent Mercaderes Street became the site of many lavish stores where over forty shops sold fabrics and other goods imported from Spain, Mexico, and China.⁹² Other seventeenth-century neighborhoods of Lima included those of Montserrat, Pachacamilla, Chacarilla, Santa Ana, and El Cercado, with San Lázaro across the Rimac River. Montserrat and Santa Ana were closest to the center of the city. The latter *barrio* took its name from the hospice founded by Benedictine monks and dedicated to Our Lady of Montserrat. With the exception of the church and the hospice, Montserrat was a neighborhood of humble buildings until the seventeenth century when it became the official gateway into Lima for all those traveling on the road from Callao.⁹³ Montserrat became Lima's gateway by virtue of the arch designed by Luis Ortiz y Vargas, built for the entry of viceroy Marquis of Guadalcazar in 1622. This archway to the city became the place where viceroys who came by sea to the port of Callao took their oath before taking possession of the realm.⁹⁴ The *barrio* of Pachacamilla was the site of a native settlement later reduced to Santiago del Cercado and where the parishes of San Marcelo and San Sebastián were later built. This place would become occupied by the *corrales* (courtyards) of free blacks, known as *negros borros*. Santa Ana was one of the first *barrios* in the city after Lima's first archbishop Jerónimo de Loayza founded a parish and a hospital here. The Cercado, created in the sixteenth century as a *reducción* for Indians coming from the highlands to serve in the *mita* of Lima,⁹⁵ grew during the seventeenth century to include more than two hundred houses and gardens contained in thirty-five blocks surrounded by a wall and with gates kept closed at night. The neighborhood of San Lázaro or New Triana (since like Triana in Seville, it was located across the river from the city) lay across the Rimac River and was also created in the sixteenth century. It grew during the seventeenth century to include popular neighborhoods, such as Malambo, Acho, and the Baratillo. This part of the city, separated by the river, was mainly populated by the *castas* (mixed races) and many lots were devoted to *mesones* or *pulperias* (taverns) and other popular shops. Its design was regulated in 1603 by viceroy Luis de Velasco, who ordered the cabildo to straighten the streets of the sector up to the Franciscan convent of Descalzos. In 1615, in the *barrio* of Malambo, a wide boulevard was constructed.⁹⁶ By 1629, the *barrio* had grown to include nearly two thousand houses.⁹⁷

Among the *solares* originally allocated by Pizarro, some were designated to Indians from the surrounding villages who would work for the Spaniards. These plots were scattered throughout the city, making the Indians' indoctrination difficult. The governor Lópe García de Castro in the 1560s sold many of these plots in order to purchase a large track of land on the eastern edge of the city where he relocated the Indians. Under the supervision of Diego Porras Sagredo, the area was organized around a plaza, a church, a hospital, and a cabildo house. Garcia's successor, viceroy Francisco de Toledo,

designated the *oidor* of the Chancellery, Gregorio González de Cuenca, to transform it into the *reducción* of Santiago del Cercado. Toledo also designated the Jesuits to provide religious instruction to its populations in 1571.⁹⁸ The barrio of San Lázaro, across the Rimac River, was originally a small village of native fishermen that had become populated by *castas* and blacks by the mid-sixteenth century. Attempts by viceroy Count of Villar to relocate all of the Indians from San Lázaro to the Cercado in the mid-1580s were met with resistance by the *mayorales* or local leaders who appealed their relocation to the king. After a long and complex lawsuit, Philip II decreed in 1596 that the Indians of San Lázaro be allowed to freely choose their place of residence in the city as *gente libre* (free people). The dispute involved jurisdictional issues over the religious instruction of these Indians, which pitted seculars against Jesuits. Before their removal the Indians of San Lázaro had been under the tutelage of their parish priest and were free to worship at the Cathedral of Lima, which was viewed by the Indians as a privilege they had lost with relocation to the Cercado, as they were now restricted to services offered by the Jesuits in their local church. The king's decree settled the issue for the Indians; meanwhile, the ecclesiastical dispute was still unresolved in the mid-seventeenth century.⁹⁹

Seventeenth-century Lima also boasted numerous churches and monasteries. The cathedral, located on the eastern side of the plaza, was initially a modest structure, which was destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt between 1604 and 1625. Improvements and additions to it continued throughout the century. Between 1622 and 1687 its vaults were built of lime (*cal*) and bricks. By 1680, the cathedral had become an imposing building in the city. The devastating earthquake of 1687 badly damaged the building, which was reconstructed using wood, reeds, and lime—all materials believed to be more flexible and better at withstanding the impact of earthquakes.¹⁰⁰ One of the buildings that epitomized the baroque architecture of Lima was the complex of San Francisco (see Figures I.5 and I.6). The original church was destroyed by an earthquake in 1656, and viceroy Count de Alba de Liste broke ground for a new one in 1657. Its design was entrusted to the Portuguese architect resident in Lima, Constantino de Vasconcellos.¹⁰¹ Part of the temple was finished in 1664, and it was later completed in 1672. According to Joseph de Mugaburu, on the “morning of Monday, the 3rd of October 1672, all of the new church of San Francisco of this illustrious city of Lima was unveiled, with all altars very well decorated as well as all the cloister.”¹⁰² Attending the ceremony were the viceroy Count of Lemos and his wife the Countess, high church officials, and the entire Franciscan order. On this occasion the temple was finished except for its door and towers, which were completed around 1675.¹⁰³ The consecration of the new church by the Bishop of Cuzco, Manuel de Mollinedo, was held on Sunday, January 22, 1673.¹⁰⁴ San Francisco was built during the tenure of the General Commissary of the Franciscan order, Father Luis Cervela, who was immortalized by Miguel Suárez de Figueroa in his history of the destruction and reconstruction of the

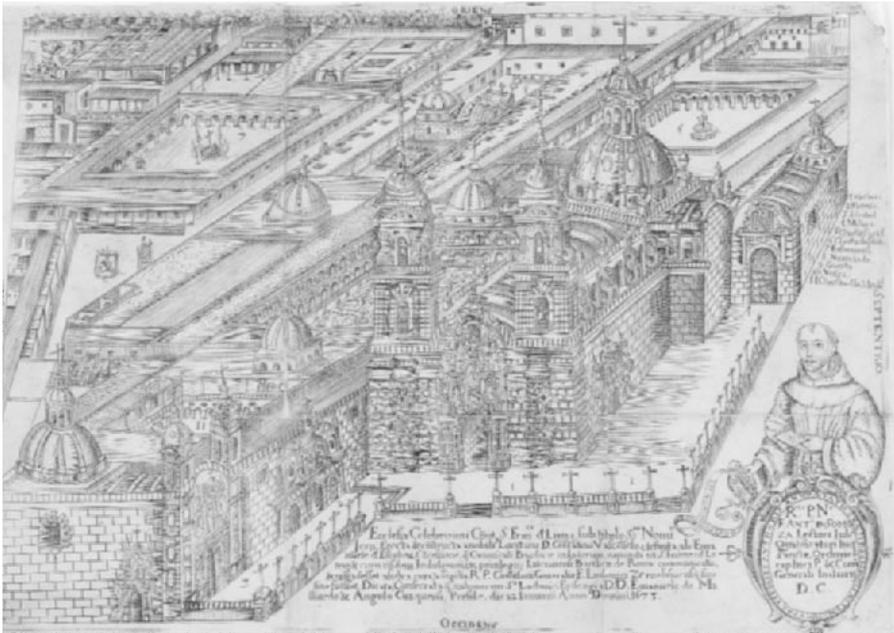


Figure I.5. Convent and Church of San Francisco and the Chapel of Our Lady of La Soledad. Miguel Suárez de Figueroa, *Templo de Nuestro Grande Patriarca San Francisco* (Lima 1675). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

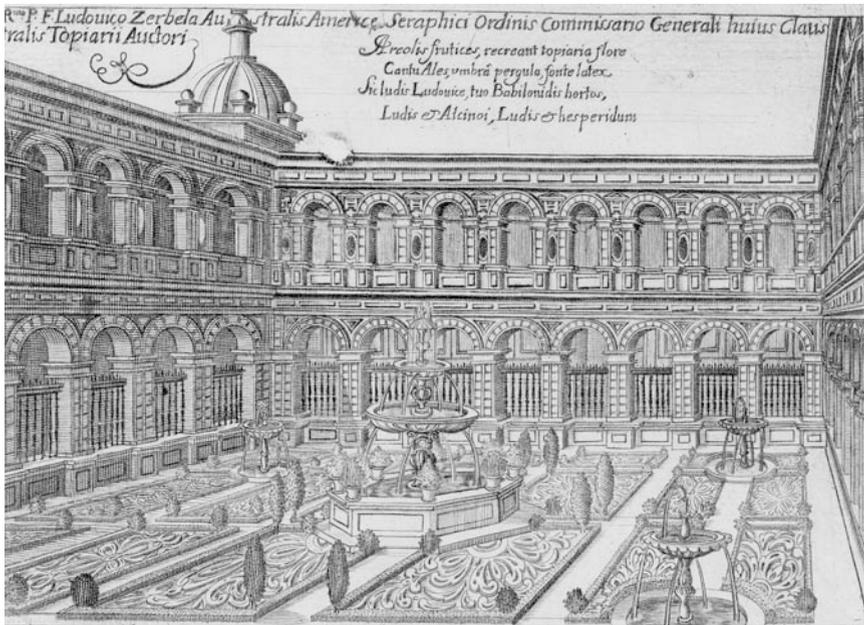


Figure I.6. Interior patio of the Convent of San Francisco. Miguel Suárez de Figueroa, *Templo de Nuestro Grande Patriarca San Francisco* (Lima 1675). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

temple.¹⁰⁵ Its final cost was 2,350,000 silver pesos, of which more than 90 thousand pesos were spent on the chapel of the Soledad, 100 thousand on altarpieces, 26 thousand on the monstrance, and 60 thousand on its sacristy.¹⁰⁶

The Dominican convent and church, a few blocks from the plaza in the opposite direction, originally built in the sixteenth century, became transformed into one of the great seventeenth-century buildings of Lima after the completion of the works by the *Maestro Mayor de Reales Fábricas*, Diego Maroto, between 1678 and 1683 (see Figure I.7). During the earthquake of 1687, the church was spared considerable damage, while its adjacent convent was nearly destroyed and had to be rebuilt.¹⁰⁷ The University of San Marcos,



Figure I.7. Design of the Convent and Church of Santo Domingo. Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* (Rome 1681). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

founded in 1551 with pontifical and royal authority, was first housed in the convent of the Dominican order.¹⁰⁸ Viceroy Francisco de Toledo moved it to a more permanent location by the Plaza of the Inquisition in 1576.¹⁰⁹ The Mercedarian church, inaugurated in 1630 and designed by Fray Pedro Galeano was also almost entirely destroyed in 1687, and its restorations, which were completed in 1704, produced one of the best examples of the American baroque. The altarpieces that framed the front entrances of the Mercedarian and San Augustin churches were the most ornate in the city.¹¹⁰ Buildings in Lima were destroyed by earthquakes and, when not, saved by miracles. The great Jesuit temple of San Pablo, completed in 1638, was spared destruction in 1687 by virtue of the good offices of the Virgin Mary who, only days before the devastating earthquake, cried and sweated thirty-two times before finally drying up on October 20, the day of the quake. As buildings toppled around Lima, San Pablo remained standing. The image became known as “Our Lady of the Warning” (*Nuestra Señora del Aviso*) and her devotion was promoted by viceroy Duke of la Palata.¹¹¹

The best example of the Jesuit baroque in Lima was not San Pablo but the Church of Our Lady of the Desamparados. The temple was built between 1669 and 1671 and designed by Manuel de Escobar.¹¹² It was located to one side of the viceregal palace’s rear and near the bridge over the River Rimac built during the tenure of viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros. The church began as a modest chapel devoted to an image of the virgin until 1675, when Doña Ursula de Morales obtained a permit to build a sacristy with a door facing the bridge. The chapel was frequented by viceroys, and with the patronage of viceroy Count of Lemos, the Jesuits obtained a permit to build a mayor church in its place. The temple was built with 50 thousand silver pesos donated by Gaspar de la Serna who died in 1674 and whose body was later interred in the main chapel. The consecrating ceremony of the finished church was celebrated on Saturday, January 30, 1672, and was officiated by the Bishop of Chiapas, Cristóbal de Quiros, in the presence of the viceroy, the Count of Lemos, the *oidores*, and numerous city gentlemen. This was the same day news arrived in Lima from Spain of the canonization of Santa Rosa de Lima.¹¹³

Lima was built in an earthquake prone area. The city was also prone to epidemics, particularly after serious quakes, as living conditions often remained precarious for extended periods of time. Lima experienced about twenty earthquakes of different magnitudes during the first century of its existence (see Appendix 4), and sections of the city were often in a permanent state of reconstruction as a result. Earthquakes shaped not only the way Lima was built and looked but also its religious and ceremonial life. At the time, earthquakes were thought to be produced by the wrath of God over transgressions committed by the community affected by them. Religious processions were, therefore, performed to placate God’s ire and to atone for the misdeeds of those sinners who had provoked his wrath. Ocaña, for example, wrote of an incident that occurred one night after the Christmas of 1605

when rumors of an earthquake that had flooded the southern coastal city of Arica and had been felt as far north as Arequipa reached Lima, spreading panic and horror among the population. Apparently a Franciscan friar who was preaching in the Plaza Mayor to a large gathering argued in his sermon that because the city had many sins to repent from, it could be punished that very night before dawn, as presumably Arequipa and Arica had been.¹¹⁴ According to Ocaña, those gathered in the plaza heard that Lima would sink before dawn. A rumor that God had revealed this to the friar so that he would inform the city ahead of time, and so that “the punishment from the sky” would not catch them unaware, spread quickly thorough the city streets causing an outbreak of panic.¹¹⁵ The commotion was such that convents and churches throughout the city open their doors and lit up candles and many different sorts of lights, exhibiting the Holy Sacrament, as the crowds spilled onto the streets and into the churches pressing the priests to the walls asking to be confessed, shouting, and flogging themselves through the streets, while others gave alms and still others “who found themselves living in sin” went out to get married.¹¹⁶ What Ocaña conveyed in this passage was something akin to the end of the world; an entire city spilled out onto the streets crying, screaming, sobbing, and shouting that on that night the earth would swallow them all. According to Ocaña, this night was “a vivid portrait of Final Judgment Day,” as people implored God to be merciful.¹¹⁷ In an attempt to bring order to the city, the viceroy and the archbishop went out into the streets to deny the claims allegedly made by the friar, sending out the guards to steer people back into their homes, and ordering all churches and chapels be closed. The chaos did not subside until the next day, as through the night people continued to shout and confess their sins in fear that the earth would split open and bury them all.¹¹⁸

The processions or *rogativas* (rogations) and masses that followed earthquakes were always official ceremonies attended by the viceroy, the archbishop, and all the prominent peoples in the city. Rogations were also celebrated for quakes occurred in other cities in the viceroyalty. In October 1698, a rogation took place through the streets of Lima after news arrived of a devastating earthquake that had badly damaged the cities of Riobamba, Tacunga, and Ambato in the northern kingdom of Quito.¹¹⁹ Often, rogations were also performed for the epidemics that usually followed the devastation left by earthquakes in Lima and other cities in the viceroyalty. These ceremonies served to create not only a shared sense of destiny but also a shared sense of commonplace within the larger viceroyalty and the empire.

THE FACES OF LIMA

Lima was apparently founded as a city for Spaniards, but the reality was far more complex. Despite royal decrees and laws to the contrary, the city of Lima does not seem to have been capable of segregating castes by neighborhoods.

Instead, a more fluid and hybrid urban culture emerged that reflected the diversity of Peru and the Spanish empire.¹²⁰ As we shall see in Chapter 5, this cultural hybridity was particularly evident in the cross-caste practices of love magic, sorcery, and healing, and in the alleys or *callejones* of the city populated by the plebes and targeted by the Extirpation of Idolatry for reform.

The central area around Lima's Plaza Mayor, also known as the *Damero de Pizarro*, was presumably reserved for Spaniards and Creoles; the *Reducción* de Santiago del Cercado was reserved for Indians; and San Lázaro, across the Rimac River, was reserved for blacks and mixed-blood castes (see Figure I.4).¹²¹ From early on, however, the city presented a mixed face and spatial arrangement with Indians, Africans, and *castas* living in close quarters with Spaniards and Creoles.¹²² As early as 1613, what were once considered distinct ethnic groups now lived and mingled in shared houses and rooms all across the city.¹²³

According to census data, in 1614 Lima's population was close to twenty-five thousand and by 1700 it had increased to nearly thirty-five thousand. Official records showed that by the 1620s Lima had a permanent Indian population of approximately two thousand.¹²⁴ In addition to its Spanish and Indian populations, Lima also harbored an African population of approximately ten thousand, consisting of some free blacks and many more slaves from Africa and other Spanish American colonies.¹²⁵ Chroniclers, however, describe much larger populations, particularly toward the second half of the seventeenth century when a consensus emerged that the population was between fifty and sixty thousand souls. While these numbers are thought by some scholars to be exaggerated, it is important to note that censuses did not capture all of the city's population, particularly the transient Indians that came and went to and from the city. This mobile population of Lima appears in the records of the Extirpation of Idolatry, where a large number of those interrogated moved frequently. Rural-urban migration was significant in the growth and ethnic composition of Lima, and it may account in part for the impression that the city's population was far greater than census records indicate.¹²⁶

Lima was mixed but it was also aristocratic. Outside the territories of Peninsular Spain, and throughout the period of Spanish rule, the Spanish Monarchy conferred more titles of nobility to the kingdom of Peru—and most notably Lima—than anywhere else in the empire.¹²⁷ Within the viceroyalty of Peru, the great majority of titles belonged to elites in Lima with only a few titles in Cuzco and even fewer in the provincial cities of Trujillo, Guamanga, Arequipa, Ica, Moquegua, and Tarma. The presence of this titled nobility lent Lima an aristocratic flair that was matched perhaps only by its audacious plebes. In 1570, for example, viceroy Francisco de Toledo noted that there was not one chief Spanish family that did not have an American branch in the viceroyalty.¹²⁸ The Peruvian nobility was not only the most significant in numbers in the Americas throughout the entire period

of Spanish rule, but it was also the wealthiest and most powerful during the seventeenth century.¹²⁹

LIMA'S ECONOMY

From the sixteenth century onward the principal sector of the viceregal economy was silver production, which not only helped create a large internal market but also stimulated other sectors such as textiles and agriculture.¹³⁰ At the end of the sixteenth century, Peru produced around ten million silver pesos, seven million of which came from the silver mines of Potosi, while Mexico only produced four million, primarily drawn from the Zacatecas mines. Silver production in both viceroyalties declined after 1635. And while Mexican production increased again after 1689, Peru never regained its place as principal producer of this precious metal.¹³¹ Silver production in Peru was nonetheless so enormous that it created a diverse economy that remained for the most part healthy at least until the earthquake of 1687, after which a sustained drought provoked a financial crisis for the Lima elite that extended into the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, recent studies suggest that Lima's elite weathered the Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century much better than previously thought.¹³² The impression of a weak or inept Peruvian elite (noted by Humboldt and reproduced by Brading and now largely an accepted *topos* in the historiography) may be also related to the fact that much of the vast wealth of Lima did not stem directly from mining but was instead based on agriculture, cattle raising, textiles, commerce, investments in Peru and abroad, and banking.¹³³

Lima's hinterland possessed some of the most fertile valleys of Peru, apt for large, small, or medium size plantations of sugar cane, cascarilla or quinine, grapes, various legumes, fruits, and wheat. Coca was also produced in adjacent valleys for Indian markets in the highlands. Many of these agricultural products could be exported to other markets in the Americas and beyond, as was the case of sugar and cascarilla, which was exported to European markets. Lima's hinterlands also produced considerable alfalfa for local cattle farms and for export to other areas of the continent. The proximity of different-sized farms to the great urban markets of Lima and the port of Callao made the ownership of estates in nearby valleys accessible possessions.¹³⁴ Thus, in addition to its voluminous titled nobility Lima was blessed with surrounding valleys irrigated by important rivers, which supplied the population of the city with basic goods.¹³⁵ Lima was surrounded by the valley of Carabayllo, irrigated by the Chillón and Rimac Rivers; by the valley of Magdalena, which was irrigated by the Rimac River and such pre-Hispanic canals as the Hatica Canal; by the valleys of Surco and Ate, which were irrigated by the Surco River. To the south of the city was the valley of Pachacamac, which was irrigated by the Lurín River, and to the east, the valleys Lurigancho or Huachipa, also irrigated by the Rimac River. The main

production was sugar cane and wheat, the latter of which declined considerably after 1687 when this product began to be imported from Chile.

In short, the resource base of Lima's elite was drawn from several sectors, and this base would permit vast commercial and financial enterprises that reached across Peru and into Europe and the Far East. The silver production in Peru, which peaked in the 1590s, produced mining camps with strong purchasing power "to stimulate not merely trans-Atlantic and Pacific commerce but also long distance internal trade."¹³⁶ The great mining town of Potosi in Alto Peru, for example, received cloth from Quito, mules from Buenos Aires, sugar and coca from Cuzco, and brandy from Arequipa. The great banker of Lima, Juan de la Cueva held a monopoly on wax and iron, which he supplied to the miners in Potosi. It was this export sector of the economy that, according to Brading and Cross, prevented New World economies from "being simple agrarian or feudal societies."¹³⁷ Furthermore, American silver remittances funded the foreign policy of Spain during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In spite of the fact that the Peruvian remittances rarely exceeded 20 percent of the total revenue of the Spanish treasury, they were essential because they did not have to be negotiated with the cities' members of the Spanish cortes, as such the king could disburse them at will.¹³⁸

In 1581 Spain had created the *Armada del Mar del Sur* (Armada of the South Sea) to protect merchant ships plying along the Pacific coast. The southern Armada coordinated its actions with that of the *Mar del Norte* charged with protecting the Atlantic routes from Spain to Panama (*Carrera de Indias*). Starting in 1597, merchandise from Spain was exchanged at the forty-five day annual fair held at Portobelo on the Isthmus of Panama. Here merchants and representatives of commercial houses gathered from Seville, New Spain, and Lima.¹³⁹ Initially, the commercial houses that operated in Lima were branches of those in Seville. With time, however, a specialized local merchant elite developed that not only operated the trade fairs at Portobelo and Lima but also controlled the production, distribution, and export of silver, creating huge profits and interests that were often opposed to those of Peninsular merchants.¹⁴⁰ By the seventeenth century the *peruleros*—as the Lima merchants and their agents were known—preferred to avoid the Portobelo fair, traveling instead directly to Spain with silver to buy goods from foreign merchants in Europe. The large amounts of precious metal carried by the Lima merchants allowed them to obtain great volumes of merchandise, some of it on credit to be paid later in Lima or Tierra Firme. By the seventeenth century, the Portobelo Fair was reputed to have become a fair for the payment of debts rather than the purchase of goods.¹⁴¹ Over time the increasing trade of Lima with Asia caused some to note that the "Lima Fair looked like the Peking Fair."¹⁴²

Although the Crown forbade the sale of goods on credit in 1592, the practice continued throughout the seventeenth century, generating huge profits for Lima's merchants. According to Margarita Suárez, two factors

allowed the Lima merchants to play a decisive role in transatlantic trade. The first was credit, which allowed for the creation of huge merchant consortiums in the viceroyalty of Peru; and the other was the intervention of Lima's bankers and merchants in matters of state, which gave them political clout.¹⁴³ The rise of Lima's merchants was in part made possible by the mining boom of the 1580s, which was followed by a diversification in production, which in turn allowed *encomenderos* and merchants, among others, to directly partake of the wealth of the mines and therewith successfully resist the exigencies of the Seville merchant houses.¹⁴⁴ This new merchant economy turned Lima into the financial center of the viceroyalty, with the creation of seven banks in the city during the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁵ Notably, Lima was the only city in the seventeenth-century Americas with these types of institutions, which meant that its merchants were not only "the beneficiaries but the lenders of most of the available moneys in the viceroyalty," and as such their control went beyond the mere buying and selling of imported merchandise.¹⁴⁶ The expansion in investments "in productive or tertiary economic activities" during the first half of the seventeenth century meant that Lima's merchants would control—together with the church—the finances of the viceroyalty of Peru.

Lima's merchants amassed immense fortunes, which they used to sustain a lavish life style but also to patronize the arts, ritual, and religious life of the city. Juan de la Cueva, for example, lived in a very large house furnished with a sizeable art collection, an impressive library, expensive furniture, a large luxurious wardrobe and jewels, many slaves, carriages, and the like. He was also known to have commissioned numerous works of art for different local churches.¹⁴⁷ Alonso González de la Canal was responsible for funding the reconstruction of the Church of Our Lady of Montserrat as well as paying for the costs of its inauguration ceremonies. Fortunes were also reflected in the sizable dowries merchants gave to their children upon marriage, such as that of Francisco de Oyague who contributed 338 thousand pesos for the dowry of his daughter in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁸ One of the results of this new wealth was that during the seventeenth century the old oligarchy of *encomenderos* and conquistadors who had dominated the sixteenth century gave way to the new elite of merchants. The upward mobility created by this new system and the availability of cheaper luxury goods from Asia and Mexico in the local market made it difficult to visually distinguish an individual's social and economic group in Lima. The creation of the *Consulado de Lima* or Merchant Guild in 1592–93 brought a series of privileges to this new elite. For example, the Consul and the Prior of the guild could now walk down the street accompanied by royal black militiamen, and any slander directed against them was punishable with imprisonment.¹⁴⁹

The indisputable center of viceregal commerce was Lima's port of Callao (see Figure I.8). According to Hernando de Valencia, the Lima merchants negotiated at the very least "five million pesos in European cloth" a year.¹⁵⁰ Upon their arrival in Callao, the great importers sold their merchandise

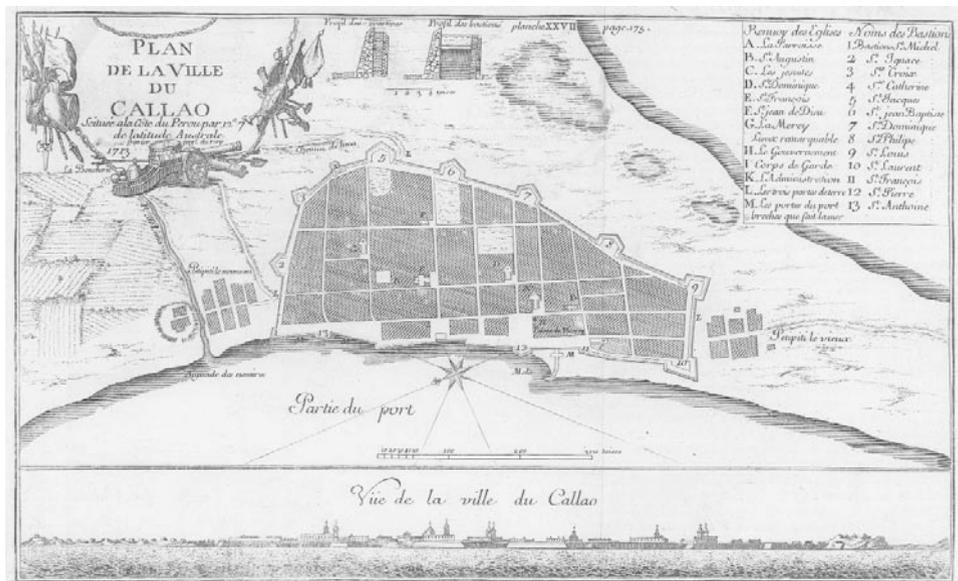


Figure I.8. Plan of the Fort and Port of Callao, founded in 1537. Amédée Frezier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud* (Paris 1732). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

directly to the stores in the port and in Lima. These stores in turn “passed merchandise to the *cajoneros*, who in turn sold it to the peddlers” or *mercachifles*.¹⁵¹ The port of Callao traded with more than twenty-four ports situated up and down the Pacific coast of America, from Acapulco in the north to Concepción in the south. Juan de la Cueva, for example, was involved in all these points of maritime traffic (except for those of Chile) with his merchant marine, which included the ships, *Nuestra Señora de las Nieves*, *San Juan Evangelista*, *San Francisco*, *San Josephe*, and *Santa Barbara* (see Figure I.9). De la Cueva also financed many shipbuilders who not only bought iron, nails, tar, and wax for their ships in Lima but also secured credit in currency for the payment of salaries and other expenses in the building process. The products he trafficked were very diverse and included soles from Panama, tar, tobacco, and cochineal from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Sonsonate, silks from Mexico, soaps from the valleys of Lima, wines from Ica, buckram and coal from Casma and Huarmey, salt from Huacho, cacao, different woods, cane, textiles from Quito, and so on. Through the port of Manta he also exported a great volume of cables and other items for ships built in Guayaquil, which was the main shipyard of the *Mar del Sur* and the port of exit for all the textiles coming from Quito and wood and cacao for Peru. The port network of Lima’s merchants also included webs of commercial agents and overland shippers in the interior, such that Lima’s distributors worked in tandem with agents in Arequipa, Cuzco, Potosi, and Quito, as well as in other interior cities of the viceroyalty.¹⁵² Juan de la Cueva, for example, sent textiles, tobacco, wax, and iron to Potosi.¹⁵³ Lima’s merchants also shipped

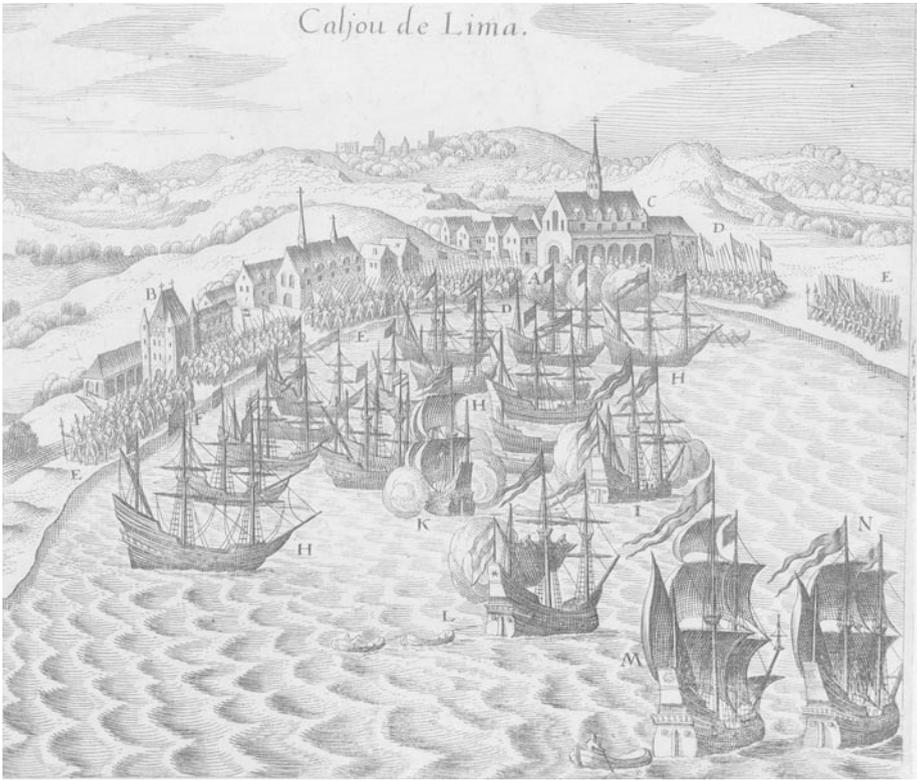


Figure I.9. View of the Port of Callao showing the *Armada del Mar del Sur* surrounded by Dutch ships. Johann Theodor de Bry, *Historische Beschreibung der wunderbarlichen Reyse* (Frankfurt 1619). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

the wheat production of Lima's coastal valleys to Panama and the Central American markets where the price was much higher, one result of which was shortages in the local market. After the 1687 earthquake wheat production declined in Lima and shifted to Chile; meanwhile producers of wheat shifted to sugar mills.¹⁵⁴ Lima's merchants were also connected, often through familial ties, to markets beyond the viceroyalty. More prominent traders had family members in Spain and Portugal and New Spain, who in turn were connected to international markets in Holland, France, and other points in Europe. The merchant Juan Bautista Perez, for example, had family connections in Portobelo, Cartagena de Indias, Buenos Aires, Seville, and Lisbon.¹⁵⁵

Of all the products sold in Lima, the Chinese textiles and fabrics shipped from Mexico and the Philippines were the most profitable. The low cost and great popularity of Chinese fabrics among Lima's plebes secured a quick return on investments.¹⁵⁶ Commerce with Mexico was an extension of trade with Panama and Guatemala, as ships sailed north from Callao with raisins, preserves, olives, salt, tin, mercury, cacao, wine, vinegar, and silver to return

with Asiatic and European merchandise obtained in Mexico City, as well as local agricultural products such as tar, woods, cochineal, Mexican silks, balsam, and Campeche wood.¹⁵⁷ Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Peruvian merchants attempted to establish a direct legal route between Lima and Manila (thus avoiding the trip to Acapulco). Although this route was constantly obstructed and opposed by the merchant guild of Seville, there is evidence that the traffic continued illicitly.¹⁵⁸

Lima's merchants also assumed funding and thus control over important aspects of the running of the Spanish Empire in the Atlantic and Pacific. In 1664 a *situado* (subsidy) for Panama was approved by the merchant guild in the amount of 105,150 pesos, which was to be paid by the *Caja de Lima*, effectively making Panama "the Isthmus of Peru." After the pirate Morgan destroyed Portobelo in 1668 and Chagres attacked it that same year and again in 1670 destroying the city of Panama, the *situado* paid by Lima was increased to 275,314 pesos. This sum was paid to move the city of Panama to a new location and rebuild its fortress. By 1684, however, the expenses of the move had exceeded 400 thousand pesos.¹⁵⁹ In 1681 Lima's merchants loaned 150 thousand (and later another 960 thousand) pesos to the Spanish Monarch, and in 1682 they contributed 40 thousand pesos for the expenses of his royal wedding. Until 1687, the Consulado de Lima also financed the War in Chile. The annual amount assigned to this *situado* was 212 thousand ducats, which Lima began paying in 1606. According to Suárez the permanent war in Chile produced immense profits for Lima's merchants.

The greater burden of maintaining the Atlantic Armada also fell on Lima's merchants, who paid 350 thousand ducats. In contrast, New Spain or Mexico paid 200 thousand, and New Granada paid 50 thousand. The argument offered for this difference in payments was that Lima's commerce was greater and stronger.¹⁶⁰ Lima's merchants assumed these large payments not only because they could pay them but also because in exchange they got administrative concessions of such magnitude that the *consulado* became a virtual "parallel state" institution.¹⁶¹ Through their contributions to the King of Spain, the merchants of the Consulado de Lima became by far the main contributors to the American treasury. In the second half of the seventeenth century their contributions—between extraordinary loans and donations—amounted to more than 6 million pesos, while during the first half of the century they had only contributed 277 thousand pesos. In exchange for these contributions the merchants of Lima obtained concessions and privileges negotiated in Madrid by their own consulado procurator, don Diego de Villatoro, who was well connected in the court and who enjoyed easy access to the king.¹⁶² Among the many privileges granted were exemptions from certain taxes, the right to "secret and free passage" of their fortunes back to Europe, the titles and privileges of *señoría* (lordship) for all the members of the guild, and privileged seating in all public events, as well as investiture of many of their members with the prestigious military orders of knighthood, including those of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara.¹⁶³

The political power of the merchants was such that when the viceroy Count of Castellar allowed the docking in Callao of Mexican ships loaded with merchandise from Asia behind the backs of the consulado they had him removed. He was replaced in 1678 by the interim viceroy Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros, the only archbishop to rule Peru during the Hapsburg period.¹⁶⁴ Their power notwithstanding, the king refused to allow Lima's merchants to abandon the *asientos* and insisted that Lima continue paying the maintenance of two armadas. The king also never agreed to close traffic through Buenos Aires, which eventually undermined the fortunes of Lima's merchants in the late eighteenth century.¹⁶⁵ The height of the merchants' political power in Lima occurred between the 1630s and 1660s. Cabildo posts were obtained by merchants in great part through the openings provided by the sale of offices by the Crown.¹⁶⁶ Merchants also became members of the Holy Office of the Inquisition; Gregorio Ibarra, a Lima importer, was a familiar and Receptor General of the Inquisition. After 1630 the merchants of Lima acquired an impressive number of titles of nobility.¹⁶⁷ The power and high status acquired by the Lima merchants was also reflected in the prominent place they came to occupy in the baroque ceremonial life of the city during the seventeenth century, particularly during the elaborate and politically significant viceregal entries, where they became responsible for sponsoring the most majestic arch.

CHAPTER SYNOPSES

Chapter 1 focuses on an overlooked legal battle waged by the delegates or procurators of the cities of Lima and Cuzco. At stake in this dispute was the royal title of "head city" and "first vote" in the viceroyalty of Peru. The allegations contained in the *memorial* filed with the Royal Council of the Indies in Spain in 1621 suggest the degree to which Lima's and Cuzco's political identities and destinies were intertwined rather than divorced, forcing us to reconsider the long held notion of a "Spanish Lima" estranged from an "Indian Cuzco." The rival claims to primacy were notably based on very different premises, however. While Cuzco rested her right to primacy on her past history as the seat of the Inca dynasty and on the presence of a multitude of Indians (an old Roman argument with precedents in Castile), Lima founded its claims on its new courtly status, the presence of many illustrious noblemen, and the teeming numbers of its plebe (a new argument along the lines of Botero's notion of "the greatness of cities"). The arguments of Cuzco and Lima serve to illustrate the mytho-political importance of rivalries among cities in the Spanish world for favors from the Spanish court. The politics of the baroque ritual life of the cities cannot be understood except in relation to these rivalries.

Chapter 2 argues that the presence of the viceroy of Peru lent Lima a courtly aura, which the city capitalized upon in its rivalries with other cities.

As the *alter ego* of the Spanish monarch, the viceroy's arrival in Peru was greeted with a great triumphal entry staged in the streets of Lima with the pomp and circumstance deserving of the king. As the ceremony constituted the formal symbolic taking of possession of the new realm the viceroy came to rule, Lima stood in as a synecdoche for the entire viceroyalty for the duration of the festivities, which could extend for more than a month. Since few viceroys in Peru ever traveled beyond the confines of Lima, the entry ceremony and the subsequent residency of the viceroy and his court provided The City of the Kings of Peru with an unrivaled stage to display its power and in the process build its cultural capital vis-à-vis rival cities in the realm. The magnificence displayed in the viceroy's entry reflected the power of the Crown but also the status of Lima as the splendid head of Peru.

The political powers both of Lima and the viceroy of Peru emanated from the king. In Chapter 3, therefore, I examine the role of the king's simulacra (a true image for which there is no referent produced in life) in royal ceremonies staged in Lima. The Royal Exequies (mourning of the death of the king) in Lima were always followed by the king's Proclamation, a celebration of succession and a public renewal of the political pact of fidelity between city and king. In these baroque ceremonies of loyalty, Lima's citizens demonstrated its status as a very generous city loyal to their king by means of ostentation, while in turn the king pledged, via his simulacrum, to protect the city's privileges and to offer new favors. An important feature of these ceremonies was the enthroned presence of the royal portrait. The royal portrait provided a vivid depiction of the king's eyes that, according to contemporary chroniclers, allowed his subjects to experience the essence of the king. While the "real" king, which in any case was never produced in the New World, could not be looked directly in the eye, in Lima his subjects could forge a personal relationship with him through his eyes and oath.

The magnificence displayed in courtly and regal ceremonies, however, were only part of Lima's cultural capital. To attain true baroque magnificence, Lima also needed and claimed spiritual capital. The campaigns to acquire the status of beacon or "light of the faith" included the institution of the Inquisition and the performance of the auto de fé, the Extirpation of Idolatry and its interrogations, and the hagiographies and campaigns intended to beatify in Rome Lima's homegrown candidates for sainthood. Chapter 4 reexamines the Inquisition's auto de fé, not as a bloody act of punishment and paranoid repression but instead as "baroque machinery" (*maquinaria barroca*) or theater intended to heal the Christian body politic of its impurities. Lima's ceremony was an imposing dramatic performance both tenebrous and edifying, and it contributed to the genesis of an imperial Catholic community or polity based on the principles of unity and ultimate justice. It was around 1640 when the Extirpation of Idolatries campaign was launched with fervor and considerable political interest in Lima's archdioceses, and it was at about the same time that numerous *limeños* were forwarded as candidates to sainthood. Chapter 5 examines the interrogations of the Extirpation

of Idolatry and of the Church, both of which reveal the practical dissemination of a discourse of Catholic conscience among all sectors of Lima's diverse population. What emerges from these interrogations, campaigns, and hagiographies is a more intimate picture of the lives and words of Lima's residents, one in which the sorceress is nearly interchangeable with the saint.

Finally, I conclude by reflecting upon the meaning of Lima's baroque invention for current discussions about the history of modernity and empire.

CHAPTER 1



AN IMPERIAL TALE OF TWO CITIES AND ONE IMAGINARY BODY

Disunion and the absence of one superior head is a spectacle of horror. Without a head there are no members or bodies; and if [such members or bodies do] exist they are rigid, dead.

—*Diario de México*, 1808¹

On January 18, 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the *Ciudad de los Reyes del Peru* (The City of the Kings of Peru) in a desert river oasis near the coast of New Castile.² Notably, however, “Peru” was not yet a political or viceregal realm but instead a popular name for a newly discovered land of riches. Lima was a new town of Spaniards in New Castile, which had been granted to Pizarro as *adelantado* of the king in the unchartered lands of the South Sea recently named “Peru.” Soon, however, this new land and its two political divisions, New Castile and New Toledo (the latter was granted to the conquistador and adelantado Diego de Almagro), were in the throes of civil war and treachery between conquistador bands and their Inca allies. Following years of war that would decide the fate of highland Cuzco, the former Inca capital, and of Lima, the new city on the coast, in 1542 New Castile was united with New Toledo as the new viceroyalty of Peru, which was also called “The Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru.”³ In the same year the *Real Audiencia*, or Royal Tribunal of Peru, was created and designated as the highest tribunal in the new viceroyalty, and its place of residence was Lima.⁴ Lima was also named the seat of the new viceroy and his court. As a result of these acts Lima became the head city (*cabeçera*) of Peru. These two strokes of the royal quill transformed Lima into a new political and cultural configuration—the highest in the hierarchical structure of cities in the viceroyalty—thus sealing the fate of Cuzco, the former center of Inca rule, to a subordinate role as the symbolic center of the now defunct realm or monarchy known in the Quechua language as *Tawantinsuyu* (The Four Quarters of

the World). Nevertheless, the 1542 royal decrees favoring Lima did not automatically or swiftly confer upon the new city the necessary authority and power that it would need to exercise its newfound paramountcy, in the name of the Crown, over so vast and diverse a realm. Despite the presence of the court and the viceroy, Lima's authority over Peru would have to be made, invented, and earned. This book traces that process of invention.

In the process of fashioning itself as the center of power and authority in the viceroyalty of Peru, Lima would have to confront the continuous opposition of Cuzco, the former center of Inca power, whose spokespersons of Spanish, Inca, mixed or Mestizo descent now claimed "ancestral rights" as "the most principal city" of Peru. Erected in a river oasis engulfed by desert sands that stretch between the steep Andes mountains and the vast Ocean Sea (Pacific Ocean), the new site and city of Lima bore no ancestral relation to the vanquished Inca Empire (although it was located close to an important precolonial ceremonial center at Pachacamac), whose center at Cuzco lay deep to the south in the high mountain valleys. Cuzco, on the other hand, possessed impressive, royal-imperial structures and roads of stone, which in some cases served as sturdy foundations for Spanish adobe superstructures (and invited comparisons with Rome). The architectural antiquity and heritage of that old city visibly linked it to the former glory of the Inca Empire. In contrast, Lima was entirely new, without a past, without stone, and without "historical capital" as an "immemorial" center.

Following what was understood to be Roman practice and as is illustrated by the case of Mexico City, "head cities" or new imperial centers of civilization in newly conquered lands were built literally on top of the ruins of the former center of the conquered realm. These sites could provide the conquerors with a genealogical and physical continuity that was of significant use in legitimating kingly rule over conquered lands and peoples and before other European courts and readers. In the unique case of Peru, however, physical continuity with the ancient seat of the Inca Empire was lost with Charles V's creation of the *audiencia* of Lima as the seat of the viceroy and with Lima's explicit designation as the "head city of the provinces of Peru." Although Cuzco appears to have been initially founded by Francisco Pizarro (before Lima) as the likely hereditary center of a Spanish imperial rule over the entire continent, the civil unrest and rebellions against the Crown that followed upon the conquest would contribute to its decision to favor loyal Lima over the former—and at times rebellious—Inca center at Cuzco (which was moreover claimed by Almagro and became the battleground of a war that included Inca elites). Significantly, the historically contingent designation of Lima as the new ruling center of Peru would require new forms of rule and legitimation. The new patterns of predominance were contested, however, and Lima emerged as head city of Peru only after a long process of political authorization and cultural representation was brought to its baroque fruition in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

Seventy-nine years after its official designation as head of the viceroyalty, Lima was still challenged by the city of Cuzco. This challenge was poignantly registered in a legal claim or *memorial* submitted before the Council of the Indies in Madrid concerning “the right” to represent Peru before the Spanish *cortes* or assembly of cities.⁵ Filed with the Royal Council of the Indies in 1621, the memorial contained arguments presented by the cities of Lima and Cuzco, each of which claimed the title of head city (*ciudad cabecera* or *cabeza*) of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru. In the course of the arguments Lima would represent itself as citizenly, viceregal, and courtly, while Cuzco sought to portray itself as ancient, Inca, and native. Cuzco would deploy old Castilian arguments to make its case, while Lima would rely upon a more modern interpretation of the greatness of cities akin to that espoused by the Italian theorist Giovanni Botero, discussed in the Introduction.

WHO IS FIRST IN PERU?

Helen Nader pointed out that “in the Middle Ages a city (*ciudad*) held special status as a city-state not subject to royal jurisdiction in its internal affairs.”⁶ According to Antonio Hespanha, the title of “city” was traditionally contingent on the presence of a bishop. Nonetheless, it was always understood that the granting of such a title was a royal privilege and given by royal dispensation, so that kings could grant this title without the presence of a bishop or a bishopric.⁷ In the case of Peru, early cities gained titles through royal dispensation. In Spain, jurists established guidelines to be met by those communities that would become cities. They referred to a section of the Justinian Code (C., 11.21, *De Metropoli Berito*), which established the number of inhabitants, doctors, *gramáticos*, and magnificent buildings and houses that these places had to maintain.⁸ Furthermore, since the eighth century, the semiautonomous town in the Iberian Peninsula had served as the means to consolidate and control newly acquired territory.⁹ However, the persistent problem of attracting and holding residents in these new towns prompted the 1573 codification of “the first systematic compilation of propositions derived from that experience.”¹⁰ While these codes were not published until after cities like Lima were founded, they became important guidelines for their future shaping and consolidation. In the Indies, cities became important focal points of Spanish rule, the settlement, and the civilizing of new imperial territory. The surveying, founding, and settlement of cities codified in the *Provisión* of 1573 stipulated, for example, that the sites for the head cities should be staked out before those intended for subordinate cities.¹¹ The *Provisión* also permitted cities to move to new locations when the initial site proved inadequate because of vulnerability to attack or susceptibility to ill health.

In modern histories of the origins of Lima as “the capital”¹² of the viceroyalty of Peru, Xauxa (or Jauja) is very often cited as the real or first “capital.”¹³ Such an assumption, although befitting of the stipulations of the *Provisión* of 1573, is problematic. A comparison of the founding documents of Cuzco and Lima suggests that Francisco Pizarro considered Cuzco, and not Lima, as the head city (*cabeçera*) of New Castile. Xauxa and Lima, on the other hand, seem to have been founded simply because the conqueror needed to control and consolidate the newly discovered and conquered territories from several strategic locations.¹⁴ Lima’s founding charter by Francisco Pizarro, for example, attributed no special title or privileges to the city except that it was to be a settlement for Spaniards (that is, a “*ciudad*” rather than a “*villa*” or “*pueblo*”).¹⁵ In similar fashion, the confirmation of the founding of Lima issued by Charles V in Valladolid on November 3, 1536, simply stated that since the previous site chosen (Xauxa) for this city for Spaniards had proven inadequate Pizarro had decided to move it to a new site (Lima) for the benefit of everyone involved. The Spanish king, furthermore, did not confer any special ranks, titles, or privileges on Lima at this time.¹⁶

Lima’s lack of special status becomes more evident when its founding charter is compared with Cuzco’s. Pizarro founded and took possession of Cuzco on Monday, March 23, 1534.¹⁷ The *acta de fundación* of Cuzco differed from Lima’s in some significant ways. In terms of style, the Cuzco account provided a more detailed description of the founding ceremony, while Lima’s document remained formulaic. Furthermore, Pizarro titled Cuzco *La Muy Noble y Muy Gran Ciudad del Cuzco*, leaving it up to the king and his Royal Council to make any changes, approvals, and confirmations of these titles as was customary.¹⁸ Lima, on the other hand, was simply named *Ciudad de los Reyes del Peru*.¹⁹ But perhaps the most striking and significant difference between these two documents is that Pizarro provided a detailed description of the limits of the jurisdiction he conferred on the newly founded city of Cuzco.²⁰ Cuzco’s new limits reflected the quadripartite organization of the former Inca Empire (Tawantinsuyu, the land of four parts): Vilcas in the North, included everything but Xauxa; in the West, the whole of “Cuntisuyu” including the land up to the ocean; in the East, all the provinces included in “Antisuyu”; in the South, Pizarro placed the still unknown and undiscovered Collasuyu.²¹ Revealing some understanding of the political vastness of the Inca Empire, Francisco Pizarro (re)conferred on Cuzco jurisdiction over most of it, making the city at once the center (at least in terms of its jurisdiction) and most powerful municipality in the new province of Peru.²² In contrast, no records specify which territories Lima comprised at the time of its founding. Pizarro gave Cuzco the widest jurisdiction in Peru largely because the Spanish practice was to create political legitimacy by superimposing a new center over the old.²³ In this way, former spaces of power were colonized with new architecture and the implementation of new rituals of power. Pizarro’s actions constituted one ritual in the

creation of a historically seamless progression of conquerors and conquered, allowing the Spanish to “naturalize” their ruling power.²⁴ But Lima was a different sort of center of political power, perhaps closer to the model of Madrid.

According to Helen Nader, “[w]hen disputes arose between cities, between towns, or between city and town,” in Spain “they were adjudicated before the Royal Council, which acted as an appellate court between jurisdictions of equal status. The Royal Appellate Court applied legal principles that had been codified at various times through the centuries, each codification citing the earlier codes and incorporating previous royal rulings. These royal codifications, of which the most famous was Alfonso X’s *Siete Partidas*, guided the royal appellate judges in their decisions; they did not, nor were they intended to, supersede the law codes in the municipal charters.”²⁵ In the Indies it appears that a similar procedure was followed. In this case, the most coveted privilege sought by the cities was the right of the head city to exercise the first vote before all other cities in the viceroyalty, if and when delegates from each were to be convened in cortes or *concilios*, that is, in assemblies of estates. In the *memorial* filed in this dispute, the representatives of Lima and Cuzco would make important points about the political power of cities and the importance of the cortes. At the same time, each city’s representative constructed historical narratives that could legitimate their rival claims to first-rank or head city of the viceroyalty. They suggested different but in both cases legitimate claims to paramountcy or joint paramountcy. Cuzco would eventually argue for joint first-city status with Lima in the kingdom of Peru, citing as precedent the analogous case of Burgos and Madrid in Castile. In contrast, Lima strongly advocated exclusive rights and powers as head city. Cuzco’s claim to head status was based on its greater Indian population, its illustrious Inca past as “Head of their Empire,” and its having been discovered and founded by Francisco Pizarro before Lima. Lima, on the other hand, appealed to its greater number of *vecinos*²⁶ or notable Spaniards residing in the city to its being the seat of the viceregal court and the archbishop—the *in situ* sources of all imperial powers mundane and spiritual.²⁷ Lima’s arguments would resonate with Giovanni Botero’s new vision of a great seventeenth-century city, as previously discussed. Cuzco’s arguments, on the other hand, ultimately echoed those of the precedent Roman practice of establishing new imperial cities on the ruins of conquered ones and using those ruins as sources of a new legitimacy and power.²⁸

“In the name of the Very Noble and Loyal City of the Kings,” Francisco Suarez de Arguello charged the city of Cuzco with falsely declaring to be in possession of a royal decree “titling Cuzco Head of the Kingdoms of Peru.”²⁹ The title of head city potentially entitled Cuzco to privileged seating in the Council of Cities (*concilios*) in the viceroyalty of Peru. Suarez de Arguello also denounced licentiate Juan Ortiz de Cervantes for claiming to be Cuzco’s procurator, and for improperly calling his city “Head of the Kingdom of Peru.” He implored the king to forbid Cuzco from further use

of this spurious title and to cease making any claims to its privileges.³⁰ Writing for the “Great City of Cuzco Head of the Kingdoms of Peru,” Bartolomé Fernández replied to Suarez de Arguello’s allegations by asking King Philip IV to confirm the decrees issued by Charles V, Philip II, and Philip III, all of whom, he noted, had granted to Cuzco the rank and title of “Head and Greatest City of the Kingdom [of Peru].”³¹ Emperor Charles V, argued Fernández, had addressed Cuzco as the most principal city of the province of New Castile. According to Fernández, Charles V had also decreed that all the rights and privileges (*preeminencias*) bestowed on such rank be observed (*se guardasen*) by other cities in the realm. As evidence for this claim, Fernández included a copy of the original royal decree issued by Charles V, which included ratifications by Philip II (in 1593) and Philip III (in 1604). Fernández further avowed that Cuzco was in quiet and peaceful possession of the title of head, which was used “only in the public acts Cuzco attends *without* the city of Lima’s presence.”³²

Cuzco’s representative also made a deep historical claim for its legitimacy as head by arguing that the city was originally founded by the Inca kings as the royal seat of their court (*real asiento*) five hundred years before the Spanish came to Peru, “during which time there was no rival city like it.”³³ In addition, Fernández claimed that Cuzco was (re)founded and inhabited by Spaniards two years before the city of Lima was founded. These powerful reasons had prompted Charles V and his successors to grant Cuzco royal titles. Cuzco’s scribes’ present and formulaic use of the title of “head” was now a common style in legal documents. Fernández noted that this “common style” was “also used by viceroys in their decrees, *without* contradicting” Lima’s claims and rights.³⁴

Lima dismissed Cuzco’s historical arguments as irrelevant since the Inca monarchy had ceased to exist (*fenecio su monarquía*) with the Spanish conquest, leaving only one prevailing monarchy: the Spanish.³⁵ Furthermore, the Inca monarchy was ruled by entirely different laws, customs, and populations, none of which, argued Suarez de Arguello, were present in Cuzco any longer. Instead, the person of the Spanish king was represented in Peru by the viceroy and the Real Audiencia, both of which were resident in Lima. Echoing Botero, Suarez de Arguello argued that a head city with the privilege of first vote was the one with the largest population of *vecinos*³⁶ or notable citizens, as well as the permanent residence of the archbishop, the university, the Holy Office, the Royal Tribunal, and the viceroy, all of which was true in the case of Lima. Lima’s representative also emphasized the city’s wealth, which in turn was a result of its proximity to the sea, arguing that its geographical position made it not only the center of a large and diverse population but also a focal point of commerce, since the treasures and tributes of the entire kingdom were gathered here by Lima’s merchants before the Royal *Armada* transported much of that wealth to Seville, Spain, and the rest of Europe, as well as New Spain and the Orient.

While recognizing Lima as the seat of the metropolitan archbishop and also conceding that it might indeed possess a larger population of *vecinos*, Fernández argued that this was not sufficient reason for Lima to claim superiority over Cuzco. “A better location and more propitious surroundings,” argued Fernández, could not “prejudice” the “acquired right” of Cuzco.³⁷ Fernández then turned to the precedent case of Castile and argued that simply because Madrid was richer, possessed more *vecinos*, and was the seat of the royal court did not mean that it could thereby claim exclusive rights as head of all the cities in the Spanish or Castilian cortes. That privilege was shared by Madrid with Burgos. To get rich and acquire citizens (*ynrrriqueerse y auvecindarse*) were merely temporary qualities given and taken by time. Real wealth was founded instead on a large population, in this case Cuzco’s fourteen thousand Indians, and also in the residence of very noble *caballeros* (knights) “the first and oldest discoverers and conquerors of the Indies.”³⁸ Finally, Fernández cautioned that depriving Cuzco of its title as “head city” might threaten the peace and tranquility of the realm.³⁹

Lima’s representative, on the other hand, refused to acknowledge the validity (or rather, Fernández’s interpretation) of the 1540 decree, arguing that it was drafted only after Cuzco had remitted to Charles V a *memorial* in which it claimed to be the most principal and greatest city in the Inca Empire, a claim that Lima now firmly rejected. Suarez de Arguello argued that since *antigüedad* or seniority was one of the principles of precedence, Cuzco’s royal decree was offset by the fact that Lima had been established and settled more rapidly and securely, that is, “before Cuzco was reduced and won over to the service of the Spanish crown” (after the civil wars and Inca rebellions had subsided there, that is, not until 1572).⁴⁰ Indeed, Lima now argued that, in an act of grace and benevolence, it had bestowed upon Cuzco the honorary title of “city.” Cuzco’s smaller population, in Suarez de Arguello’s opinion, made it “inferior” and so obviously undeserving of the title of head city.⁴¹ Given that Cuzco owed its title of city to Lima, Lima now expected Cuzco to respectfully and “graciously” acknowledge and credit its concession by recognizing that it was the “only city great enough in the viceroyalty” worthy of such a title.⁴² Suarez de Arguello also openly challenged the political significance of the royal decree cited and held by Cuzco. Pointing to precedent, Suarez de Arguello argued that the 1540 decree had failed to prevent Lima from obtaining the preferential seating and first place in staged public events in the viceroyalty. This had been the case, for example, during the ecclesiastical *Concilio Limense* of 1582–83, where while attending the council meeting viceroy Martín Enríquez had ordered the *alcalde ordinario* and *vecino* of Lima Joseph de Ribera to attend as the representative of Lima, expressly referred to as the head city of the kingdom. In another instance when all the cities of the kingdom of Peru were convened to send an envoy to the King of Castile, all of the attending cities had contributed to cover the expenses of Lima’s procurator so that he might travel to Spain to plead before the king on behalf of the kingdom as a whole.⁴³ For

Lima, the financial support offered by all the cities in the viceroyalty for Lima's procurator translated into their tacit acceptance of the rank and powers of Lima as head of the kingdom.

A FIVE-HUNDRED-YEAR-OLD MISREADING

The royal decree of Charles V issued to Cuzco in 1540 states that the licentiates Caldera and Hernando de Caballos have brought to His Majesty's attention that, under Inca rule, Cuzco was held to be the head because the *naturales* (Indians) of the realm regarded it as the most "distinguished and principal" city.⁴⁴ This ancestral right had prompted Cuzco to request that the Emperor recognize the title of "the most principal of all the land as it was [during Inca times]."⁴⁵ Cuzco's representatives had also asked the king to bestow upon the city the privilege of the first vote in cortes or *concilios*, much like that which the city of Burgos enjoyed in the kingdom of Castile. In response, the Emperor addressed and recognized Cuzco as "the most Principal of all the other cities and towns [*villas*] in the province of New Castile," adding that, as the "first vote, her *Ayuntamiento*, and procurator or procurators be allowed to speak in her name first, and before all the other cities and towns in the realm in all cases and issues that might arise involving Cuzco with other cities of the province."⁴⁶ The decree continued to request that all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives accorded such a city be observed.⁴⁷

By granting Cuzco the title of "most principal" and the place of "first vote among all the other cities" Charles V seemingly complied with Cuzco's retrospective announced in the 1621 memorial to be recognized as the head city of the kingdom of Peru.⁴⁸ However, it is noteworthy that the text falls short of granting Cuzco the formal title of *cabeza* or head of the kingdom of Peru. Instead, the text grants only that of "most principal" city of the "Province of New Castile."⁴⁹ In fact, the Emperor's decree never mentions the words *cabeza* or kingdom except in reference to the history related to him by the two licentiates about Cuzco *having once been* the head city of the Inca Empire.⁵⁰ This tacit omission is significant, since historians have often equated the title of "principal city" with that of "head" to argue that Cuzco and not Lima was indeed the first head city in the viceroyalty of Peru.⁵¹

In contrast, Charles V did formally confer the title of head city on Lima in 1542 with the creation of the audiencia and chancellery of Lima.⁵² In the same year Charles V also decreed that Peru would be ruled by a viceroy.⁵³ As previously noted, the Province of Peru was initially divided into the two *adelantado* jurisdictions of New Castile and New Toledo (each two hundred leagues long, later extended by sixty leagues). These were conjoined under the jurisdiction of Lima with the creation of the viceroyalty of Peru and the audiencia of Lima. The title given to Cuzco in 1540 as principal city of the province of New Castile was, therefore, circumscribed to a more limited (and

now defunct) jurisdiction than the one granted to Lima as the head of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru, which now included the former territories of New Castile and New Toledo.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the status of head city conferred on Lima in 1542 seems to have been directly related to the creation of the *audiencia* and chancellery of Lima as the highest ranking *audiencia* in the kingdom, a status made possible by its being designated as the seat of the viceroy and his court.⁵⁵ Lima was an *Audiencia Pretorial*, ruled directly by the viceroy, with both political or administrative and judicial powers and jurisdictions.⁵⁶ During the seventeenth century, all other *audiencias* in the viceroyalty would be subordinated to that of Lima. And while Panama (1557), Charcas (1559), Quito (1563), Chile (1606)—and after 1787, also Cuzco—would have presidents of their own, their powers were merely judicial. The ultimate governing power (*superior gobierno*) was vested in the viceroy of Peru and his *Audiencia Pretorial*.⁵⁷

THE HEAD AND THE FEET OF THE REPUBLIC

In 1648, Juan de Solórzano y Pereira defined the provinces of Peru as a “body” made up of “the two Republics of Spaniards and Indians, in the spiritual as in the temporal, [which] are today united, and form one body in these provinces.”⁵⁸ Solórzano went on to explain that “[a]ccording to the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and Plutarch,” this body “was composed of many men, like many limbs who help and support each other; among them the shepherds, peasants, and others, some call them feet, and others arms, others fingers of the same Republic, being all indispensable in it, and necessary each one in her ministry.”⁵⁹ The Republic, then, was a harmonious body where every estate in society occupied a preestablished organic order allowing it to work in perfect unison, much like the way body parts made the body function as a perfectly fitted organism. Implicit in this organic notion of the republic was the hierarchical order of viceregal estates and cities.⁶⁰

The notion of hierarchy was subject to different emphases, however. For Juan Ortiz de Cervantes, procurator general (*procurador general*) of the City of Cuzco, the Indians were “the principal” part of the kingdom, not because they were at the top but because they held up from the bottom the weight of the empire. Thus, in the “Peruvian kingdoms there are Two Republics, one of Spaniards and the other of native Indians, and this latter [Republic] is the principal component because with them, as with the nerves and bones of a body, the realm stands, is fed, and preserved; and on their shoulders rests all the weight of that kingdom.”⁶¹ On the other hand, this body-like republic sustained from below was ruled by a head whose qualities were thought to be essential for good government and the public good.⁶² Writing in 1645, Diego de Tovar Valderrama argued that once men came together to live in community, their collective became a Republic, “which is nothing but an aggregate of many families who make up a civil body with different members,

served by a supreme power as their head maintaining them in just government, in whose union are contained the means to conserve this temporal life and to merit the eternal one.”⁶³ Catholic monotheism was in part responsible for the notion that a body politic could only have one head, one voice, and one belief, but the particular structure of the Spanish Monarchy since Philip II’s reign was also important.⁶⁴ One of the defining principles of the Hapsburg Spanish Monarchy “was the image of the monarchy as the supreme embodiment of a law . . . the concept of a single law, a *ius publicum*, for all the several states within the monarchy.”⁶⁵ This concept partially explains “Philip II’s insistence on the need for a capital city [Madrid] and for his monarchy to be run from a powerfully constituted center [the nearby El Escorial].”⁶⁶ Citing Saint Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, Solórzano had argued that “a city will be perfect and well governed when all of her citizens help one another by fulfilling their obligations and occupations, using for this purpose the argument/example of the human body, which for all authors is frequently [the example] used for the mystical or political [body] of the Republic.”⁶⁷ The place or role one occupied in the body was in part determined by one’s natural ability to perform certain tasks better than others,⁶⁸ by possessing certain mental capacities and by one’s degree or state (*estado*) of civility or *púlicia*, a condition linked to orderly rule.⁶⁹

Lima’s objection to Cuzco’s claim to the privileges of head status in the kingdom should be understood within this organic and hierarchical notion of the republic as body. It is notable that Ortiz de Cervantes contended that the Republic of Indians was there to serve the Spanish Republic. For Lima, this argument illustrated the absurdity of Cuzco’s pretension to head status, since it would “not be fair nor reasonable” to have as head of the kingdom “the subjected republic” (*qse tubiesse Por cabeça republica subjeta*) meant to serve or support the Spanish Republic.⁷⁰ Cuzco’s claim to head status resided in the social fact that the Republic of Indians occupied a “principal” but nevertheless subordinate station as “the feet” or “limbs” and “shoulders” of the Republic.⁷¹ A two-headed Republic, and one indeed in which one of the heads was now that of a “defunct monarchy” with thousands of “feet,” collided with the notion of a harmonious and well-ordered republic. Nevertheless, Cuzco could be granted a symbolic and historical status albeit “not in the presence of Lima.” Lima, on the other hand, was obliged to represent itself in superior relation to, and in the presence of, Cuzco. This was so since it was the ancillary members (Indians) who made it possible for the organically privileged citizens (*vecinos*) to share in the good life of the Republic. The head could only be in, or belong to, the *estado* or estate best fitted for the task of rule. Since in Peru the head of the body politic was occupied by the viceroy, the archbishop, and the Spanish *vecinos*, allowing Cuzco to occupy a head position could only result in an antipodal monster: an “upside-down world.”⁷²

As Anthony Pagden has noted, in the Spanish world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Aristotelian notion of *civitas*, or “what it is to be a

‘political animal,’” was a regnant political concept that required cities. Drawing on the model of the Roman Empire, the Spanish embraced the ideal of the head city as “political center of both Republic and Empire,” and as “the center of the state’s legislative activities and most of the state’s religious cult,” that is, as the center “of the collective ethical life of the entire community.”⁷³ As such, *civitas* was a fundamental concept of empire, since the city was the source of the means and authority (civilization) needed to retain and govern newly conquered territories. Since civilization was equated with the rule of law and since law was operative in urban spaces, living under laws in a city or town (indeed, even a well-ordered village) eventually rendered its inhabitants civilized.⁷⁴ The parameters of the civilized body politic were set by the head city. The rank of head city implied a series of privileges, chief among them the right to the “first vote” before all other cities when convened in special assemblies. Other privileges included preferential places in political and religious processions and preferred seating in the cathedral.

THE MYTHO-POLITICAL SPECTER OF THE CORTES

One of the most coveted privileges and central arguments pursued by both cities in the 1621 memorial concerned the head city’s participation and privileges in cortes or assemblies of estates. It is well-known that the Spanish Crown excluded American cities from participating in the metropolitan cortes, and that it also barred those cities from acquiring direct representation in the metropolitan assemblies. It is also apparent that cortes were never convened in the Indies at large.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the mere legal possibility of the cortes seems to have been influential in shaping the mytho-political identity of viceregal cities, such as Lima and Cuzco.

While there are no records of cities meeting in cortes in the Indies at large, there is evidence that suggests that cities might have gathered collectively in Peru. More importantly, the issue of gaining direct representation with *voz y voto* (deliberating and voting rights) in the Cortes of Castile was an important issue for American *cabildos* from early on, as the dispute between Cuzco and Lima suggests. Claims that cortes met in the Indies have been rejected on the grounds that the meetings of cities that actually took place, such as those in Mexico in 1525, did not have the purpose or scope (as a deliberating and counseling body to the king) of the Spanish cortes.⁷⁶ It has also been argued that the privileges of “first vote and most principal city” granted to Mexico City and Cuzco, for example, might have had a different meaning and purpose than similar rights or privileges of cities in Spain, particularly since these were granted after negotiations (and presumably hefty payments) were carried out in the metropolis by envoys of American *cabildos*.⁷⁷ Also important is the absence of the term “cortes” in the decrees issued by Charles V who, in the case of Mexico, used instead the word *congreso* (gathering) and in that of Cuzco left things even more ambiguous by simply

referring to the preeminence to speak first and before all the other cites and *villas* when issues of their common concern arose.⁷⁸

Since 1442 the Cortes of Castile were regularly constituted by the representatives of eighteen cites. In descending order of rank these cities were: Burgos, León, Toledo, Granada, Sevilla, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, Segovia, Ávila, Zamora, Salamanca, Soria, Cuenca, Guadalajara, Toro, Valladolid, and Madrid. Of these seventeen cities Burgos, León, Toledo, and Granada were *Cabeceras de los grandes reinos* (Heads of the great kingdoms), while Sevilla, Córdoba, Murcia, and Jaén were *Cabeceras de reinos menores* (Heads of the lesser kingdoms); Segovia, Ávila, Zamora, Salamanca, Soria, Cuenca, Guadalajara, and Toro were cities, and Valladolid and Madrid were *villas*. The rank of head city in the Cortes of Castile always belonged to Burgos, while the rank of the remaining cities varied at times, mainly due to changing political conjunctures.⁷⁹ Although the rank occupied by the cities in the Cortes of Castile were preestablished, disputes over preeminence did often occur. These conflicts stemmed primarily from the fact that the cities who were members of the Cortes of Castile possessed the power to display (*ostentar*) their privileges. This ostentation could bring them immense social, political, juridical, and material advantages vis-à-vis other cities lacking status or membership.

The member cities of the Cortes of Castile exercised important economic muscle in the regions under their jurisdiction, where they were responsible for the collection of revenues.⁸⁰ When convened in cortes, these cities deliberated and allocated portions of the collected revenues to the Crown; the member cities regarded, to a large degree, that these revenues were theirs to administer.⁸¹ The increasing power of the cortes, from the 1560s on, to sanction the Crown's fiscal disbursements, was responsible in part for the concerted efforts of Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares to curtail the perceived limitations imposed on monarchical authority by the cities.⁸² The cities represented in the Cortes of Castile were those with the strongest aristocracies and in many cases were tightly connected politically and administratively to the Crown.⁸³ The privilege to vote in cortes could also be purchased, as when Palencia obtained entrance after a payment of eight hundred ducats.⁸⁴ Cities were represented in the cortes by *procuradores*, and each city was allowed to send two, after a law dictated in Burgos in 1428 by Juan II.⁸⁵

In 1519 Charles V authorized cities, *villas*, and *poblaciones* in the Indies to elect *procuradores* who would assist with their business and defend their interests before the Council of the Indies and the different courts and audiencias in the metropolis.⁸⁶ The ability of cities to freely send *procuradores* to Spain was, however, severely restricted by royal legislation beginning in 1613 when Philip III ruled that the expenses of sending and maintaining *procuradores* in Spain should not and could not burden the coffers of their respective cabildos or city councils.⁸⁷ Instead, cities were to delegate their legal powers and send instructions to Spain to be handled by "agents" or

procuradores already existing at court. This lobbying measure not only diminished the real possibilities of many of the smaller cities to send *procuradores* to Spain, thereby benefiting larger and wealthier cities like Lima, but also threatened the capabilities of larger cities to send *procuradores* in times of economic stress or disagreements with other cities in the viceroyalty. The rights of cities in the Indies were further curtailed in 1621 when, for a brief moment, Philip IV repealed all previous rules and banned all cities, *villas*, *lugares*, councils, universities, and secular and ecclesiastical communities in the Indies from sending *procuradores* to the royal court all together. Under this decree, all issues needing the Crown's attention were to be submitted in writing to Spain, where they would be reviewed, after which advice would be given to cities on how (or indeed whether) to proceed. The decree also made an exception that in extreme or exceptional cases *procuradores* could be sent to Spain, with prior consent of the viceroy, or in his absence by the governing *audiencia*.⁸⁸ Philip IV's decree not only stripped the *cabildos* of a cherished privilege by transferring all the power to the viceroys and *audiencias*, who would now decide what constituted an exceptional or extreme case, but it also made it more difficult for cities to come together to discuss issues of common concern. This restriction was short-lived, however, as American cities forcefully protested the king's decree, forcing a repeal in 1625.⁸⁹ Philip IV's sweeping decree was now reduced to a nepotism clause wherein the elected *procuradores* could not be directly related to members of the Real *Audiencia*.⁹⁰

Procuradores from American cities who came to Spain were known as *procuradores generales en la Corte Real*, or more generally as *procuradores de corte* (court procurators).⁹¹ This status differentiated them from those *procuradores particulares de las poblaciones* who defended the particular interests of one city and its *vecinos* in their *cabildos*⁹² and also from the *procuradores de comunidades* some of whom exercised judicial responsibilities.⁹³ The Lima *cabildo*'s first elected *procurador general* was Rodrigo Mazuelas, who was replaced shortly thereafter by Hernando de Cevallos.⁹⁴ Cevallos successfully negotiated, among other privileges, Cuzco's right to the first vote and title of most principal city and also a coat of arms for Lima.⁹⁵

Lima's *cabildo* charged her *procuradores generales* with long agendas that stipulated the issues and *mercedes* (privileges) that should be voiced or pleaded (*suplicar*) before the king in Spain. In the letters to the *procuradores* entrusting them with the representation of the city, the *cabildo* always expressed its expectation that the king grant the city its demands as repayment for the city's generous support of the Crown's imperial enterprises.⁹⁶

Lima's sense that it was fully entitled to certain privileges in exchange for the favors it rendered to the king was eloquently expressed by Jerónimo de Guevara, *regidor* and elected *procurador general* of Lima's *cabildo*. The occasion of Guevara's intervention was the unpopular implementation of the *alcabala* or customs tax by viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza in 1592. The tax was forcefully opposed by Lima and other cities throughout the

vicerealty of Peru. In an effort to plead to the king directly for its repeal, the Lima cabildo elected Guevara as *procurador general*. Guevara had been a vehement opponent of the *alcabala*, which earned him the reputation of *levantisco* (restless). When Guevara was chosen by the cabildo the viceroy quickly approved his election, primarily as a way to get rid of him.⁹⁷ Guevara's reputation as a subversive was traceable to his alleged authorship of a sarcastic broadside plastered on a wall near the viceroy's palace. The broadside had appeared on the corner wall of Mercaderes Street on the morning of April 24, 1592. It denounced the imposition of the *alcabala* and called upon the citizenry of the realm to refuse to pay it. The king, it declared, had no right to impose such a burden given that he had not invested anything in conquering the kingdoms of Peru, in some contrast to what he had done in the case of Spain's European wars. The author of the broadside argued further that Lima had helped finance the king's European wars with prompt payments of the *quinto real*, or royal fifth, with the silver of its mines, and with the immense voluntary donations made by Lima's loyal vassals. Lima's donations had always been forthcoming when the king was in need. The broadside called for open and generalized rejection of the *alcabala* tax at the risk of being detained and cast as outlaws in perpetuity. It also gave notice of this popular sentiment to the authorities in "Cuzco, our head."⁹⁸ The broadside was stripped down and brought to the viceroy, who viewed it as one more incident in the series of riots and protests that had taken place in Lima (and in which Quito had precipitated a mutiny) as news of the new *alcabala* spread through the vicerealty.⁹⁹

Guevara's protest (if indeed he authored the text) against the *alcabala* tax made some important points about the rights and obligations of monarch and vassal. First, the text questioned the king's right to tax his subjects without giving something in return for their loyal contributions to his causes. Each year in Lima the king's subjects pledged an oath of loyalty during the elaborate ceremony of the royal standard, which was also enacted in a special way in the Royal Proclamation of succession. In the annual ceremony of the royal standard, the city and subjects of the king vowed to serve him financially and if necessary with their lives. In exchange, and speaking through the most senior magistrate of the audiencia, the king pledged to recompense his subjects' loyalty with favors or *mercedes* and new privileges, at the same time he vowed to respect and honor previous grants and privileges. Guevara's expression of a broken pact between king and city was entirely within the bounds of what, at the time, loyal subjects understood to be their rights vis-à-vis the Spanish monarch. Second, Guevara's recognition of Cuzco, and not Lima, as the "head of Peru" suggests that forty years after the establishment of Lima as the official head city of the Real Audiencia and vicerealty of Peru, the city had not yet succeeded in establishing its supremacy over Cuzco. It may also be read to suggest that Lima's role as "head" was perceived by some to include leading resistance to an unpopular tax law that the resident viceroy was obliged to obey if not enforce.

LIMA'S PROCURADORES GENERALES

It has been argued that two general concerns motivated Lima's cabildo to fight continuously to keep her *procuradores generales* in Spain. The first of these was the defense of the perpetuity of the *encomienda* or labor and land entitlement of the leading Spanish and Creole families, and the second was the desire to gain direct representation with *voz y voto* in the Cortes of Castile.¹⁰⁰ Between 1536 and 1620, however, Lima also sought to gain other privileges and grants that in effect would serve to increase the city's jurisdiction and the political powers of its cabildo. In 1550, for example, Lima's cabildo sent Jerónimo de Aliaga and Fray Tomás de San Martín to Spain to negotiate the elimination of the office of *corregidor* or magistrate of Lima. They argued that since Lima was the seat of the Real Audiencia, justice should be executed not by the magistrate but instead by the city's two *alcaldes ordinarios*. Lima also sought at this time the perpetuity of the *encomienda* (or at least the extension of the grant to two consecutive lives);¹⁰¹ a salary for the *regidores* of the Lima cabildo; a reimbursement for the expenses incurred by the cabildo member chosen to take the royal standard in its annual ceremony; a reduction in the number of *regidores* from twelve to eight; an increase in the audiencia members' salaries; that "one of the former *oidores* (magistrates) of the audiencia of Lima be placed as a permanent member in the Royal Council of the Indies"; and, finally, that Lima be granted the title of *muy noble y muy leal ciudad* (very noble and very loyal city).¹⁰² Notably, Lima attained the title it desired and it also succeeded at having the *corregidor* post eliminated. The local administration of justice was left in the hands of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, which significantly increased the powers and autonomy of Lima's cabildo. Lima enjoyed this privilege throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century, and it was apparently the only city in the Indies to do so.¹⁰³

In 1592 Lima had, in addition to the question of the *alcabala*, assigned Jerónimo de Guevara thirty-two issues to negotiate in Spain. Chief among these was a series of issues concerning Lima's control of the nearby Port of Callao, which was the main point of entry for all European, Asian, and Mexican goods on the Pacific coast of the South American continent. Lima requested the confirmation of its jurisdiction over the port, including the city's absolute right to dispose of all goods arriving there (at the moment that right corresponded to the General of Callao). Lima also sought rights to administer the transportation by wagon of all goods between the port and the city and to claim all of its revenues. Lima sought judicial control of Callao as well, requesting that no civil or criminal justice be administered in the port. In addition, Lima pleaded with the king to extend its jurisdiction by at least ten additional leagues, thereby banning *corregidores* from this additional territory as well. Other issues concerned a request that the office of *regidor* in Lima's cabildo be restricted to *hijosdalgo*. This measure would raise the status and prestige of the office and also that of the cabildo and the city.

Another included the repeal of a decree given in 1564 forbidding the city from financing viceregal entries. This decree had limited the ostentation that Lima could display during these crucial ceremonies. Along these same lines, Lima also sought the confirmation of a provision authorizing the cabildo to spend three hundred pesos on the annual celebration of Corpus Christi. Ultimately, Lima sought the creation of a *Consulado de Mercaderes* akin to Seville's. As in Seville, the cabildo argued that merchants were the most important economic group in the city.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the most ambitious and controversial set of requests to come from the cabildo of Lima were those initially proposed in 1611 and again in 1620.¹⁰⁵ The first issue at hand concerned the royal dispensation of *encomiendas vacas* (vacant land grants) to Peninsulars residing in Spain.¹⁰⁶ The cabildo petitioned the king to grant these *encomiendas* to the relatives and descendants of the discoverers and conquistadors of Peru then residing in the viceroyalty.¹⁰⁷ The cabildo questioned the king's judgment and fairness in making these grants to Peninsulars most of whom had never set foot in Peru. In support of their position they cited a royal decree issued by Charles V prohibiting the bestowing of an *encomienda* on the eldest son or any other successor who was absent from the territory, ordering that it be given instead to the son who resided in Peru.¹⁰⁸ Lima also requested that viceroys be allowed to fill the posts of *corregidores de partidos y provincias* with Creoles residing in Peru and that, in a similar manner, ecclesiastical offices be filled with local clergy instead of the Peninsulars favored by the Spanish Monarch. Lima's cabildo argued that the continued appointment of Peninsulars to these posts only hurt the Republic. Since most Spaniards coming to Peru only stayed long enough to enrich themselves, they argued, the Peninsulars did not contribute much to the Republic's well being. To end these abuses Lima requested that Creoles also be appointed to the audiencias. Since arguments of favoritism and potential corruption were often marshaled against the idea of appointing locals to high posts, Lima proposed that those born in the city be appointed to the audiencias of Charcas, Quito, Chile, Panama, Guatemala, and Mexico and conversely that those born in other cities be appointed to courts other than those of their birth.¹⁰⁹ The demeanor of these discussions demonstrated a strong sentiment that those born on this side of the Atlantic were better fitted to govern the land, in part because their vested interests were different from the Peninsulars' but also because it was the king's duty to fulfill a pact with his loyal vassals, one moreover with a strong precedent in the decrees of Charles V.¹¹⁰

A second pressing issue in the 1611 petition was perhaps more controversial. It regarded the inclusion of the *procuradores* sent to Spain by Lima in the metropolitan Cortes of Castile. The cabildo's petition read thus: "that the procurator general sent to Spain in the name of this kingdom be admitted to the cortes convened by His Majesty and given a seat *voz y voto* in them as enjoyed by the procurators of other cities and kingdoms."¹¹¹ This provision was argued even more forcefully by the Lima cabildo in 1620 when, in its

session of March 21, the *regidor* Diego de Arce y Azpilcueta proposed that a procurator general be dispatched to Spain to request of the king a decree confirming all the privileges and prerogatives granted the city in the past, as well as reassurance that there would be more coming in the future. In his intervention de Arce argued that the city had not been well served by the appointment of foreign-born *procuradores* (used by the city in instances when it could not finance its own emissary to travel to Spain). Peninsulars, he argued, felt no duty to come to Lima to *rendir cuentas* (settle accounts, give a full report), nor did they have sufficient understanding of the needs of the city or the viceroyalty (since they had never been there) to negotiate in its best interest. All Lima got out of the deal, he argued, was an endless string of inquiries yielding no concrete results. The city, de Arce continued, needed urgent confirmation of all the existing royal decrees since these were now routinely ignored. He went on to remind the cabildo that in a royal decree given on February 15, 1528, the king had given license and faculty to the Lima cabildo to send a person of its choosing to Spain to handle the business of the city *without* the intervention of the viceroy of Peru or the audiencia. De Arce was clearly voicing Lima's increasing sense of a loss of rights and autonomy.¹¹² This loss of autonomy had become patently evident when the *procurador general* Jusepe de Rivera, elected in 1611, never made it to Spain because of the manipulations of the viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros, who in effect succeeded in convincing the cabildo to allow him to mediate the city's business with the court in Spain.¹¹³

In the session of March 21, 1620, and following de Arce's successful intervention, the cabildo agreed to petition the king for the right of Lima to vote in cortes, "as Peninsular cities enjoyed in Spain."¹¹⁴ Lima, they argued, was entitled to this privilege as the head city of the kingdom. This entitlement was owed to Lima by the king as "compensation for the generous *servicio* she had dispensed to Him since the time of her founding."¹¹⁵ The cabildo then elected Bartolomé de Hosnayo y Velasco, who sailed for Spain in 1620 to plead this privilege.¹¹⁶

The Cortes of Castile enjoyed a new vitality in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—until their dissolution under Charles II in 1665.¹¹⁷ Between 1573 and 1665 the Cortes of Castile became "a more or less permanent part of the political scene," making the Spanish Crown dependent on them for a greater share of its revenues.¹¹⁸ During Philip III's reign (1598–1621) there was renewed debate and interest in the place of the cortes in Spanish politics, particularly because the cities could exercise their right to approve extraordinary taxes, "thus depriving the Crown of fiscal autonomy—an ingredient normally considered to have been essential to royal absolutism."¹¹⁹ During Philip III's reign the cortes insisted on retaining administrative control of the new taxes they conceded, tried to impose budgets in an effort to ensure the use of public monies in the public good, and also demanded new legislation and privileges in exchange for approving new subsidies. As Charles Jago has argued, "in effect they began to

distinguish between public revenues and the king's private funds and to exercise, if only in a limited and tentative fashion, the power of the purse."¹²⁰ Within this emerging framework, Lima's aspirations to membership in the Cortes of Castile should be seen as a struggle not only to enjoy the privilege of membership but also to exercise the power of the purse in negotiating with the Spanish Monarch. The emerging power of the cortes, however, were offset by Philip IV and his favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares who systematically worked to bypass and weaken both the cortes and those cities that they deemed were unjustly compromising monarchical authority.¹²¹

The absence of cortes in Peru may be attributed to two issues. The first is what Woodrow Borah termed "the frightening experience of almost losing Peru in the 1540s."¹²² The second was the reluctance—and outright rejection in some cases—of viceroys to allow these meetings to be convened in the viceroyalty. In her study of viceregal administration Pilar Latasa has argued that the cabildos in the viceroyalty of Peru were fully conscious that their strength and power vis-à-vis the Crown derived from their unity.¹²³ Viceroys, however, regarded this unity with suspicion and reservation, particularly since many considered that much of the civil unrest following the conquest had followed from this municipal unity, which had earned Peru the reputation of a bellicose land.¹²⁴

Since the major function of the Cortes of Castile was to furnish funds to the Crown, when Philip II's government experienced its first bankruptcy (1557–59), the king apparently entertained the idea of using the same design to gain additional revenues from the Indies.¹²⁵ In instructions given to the Count of Nieva in 1559 before he embarked to Peru to serve as viceroy, the king suggested that he consider summoning cortes in Peru so as to obtain a grant from the cities. The viceroy rejected the idea on the grounds that Peru was still too unstable to make such a gathering safe. In similar fashion, in a royal decree of April 10, 1609, Philip III inquired about the possibility of convening cortes in the viceroyalty of Peru, specifying that the gathering would take place in Lima or in cities with an *audiencia*, so as to limit the traveling distance and the expenses of the procurators representing each city.¹²⁶ In his response to the king, the Marquis of Montesclaros remarked that the Cortes of Castile were a painful reality the king had to contend with; allowing the overseas possessions similar powers could only serve to increase his pain. Montesclaros advised the king to keep silent on this issue in the future.¹²⁷

The Marquis of Montesclaros' initial concern was the possible damage (*daño*) these meetings would cause in *provincias de tanta inquietud* (restless provinces). For Montesclaros the meetings ran the risk of becoming schools for subversive action, a place where the *vecinos* from the remotest areas who still dare not to complain could study and learn to speak freely and *quexarse de sus penas*, which for the viceroy was only a short step away from *una insolencia* (revolt). Proof of this pending threat was the fact that, for Montesclaros, all insurrections in Peru had begun in cabildo meetings.¹²⁸ Montesclaros's

more substantial opposition to these gatherings, however, was a perceived threat to the powers of his office. If cities were allowed deliberative powers as a body, Montesclaros pointed out, the possible resistance a viceroy would confront when the demands of a unified cortes were in conflict with his duties might be insurmountable. Moreover, for viceroy Montesclaros any cortes were unnecessary since the power to amend or improve the government of the viceroyalty belonged to the viceroy. It would be more beneficial if each city was required to deal individually with the viceroy and the king. More problematic still was the possibility that the cities gathered in cortes in Peru might seek the same fiscal rights and exemptions of their Spanish counterparts in the Cortes of Castile. This, the viceroy cautioned the king, would mean a reduction in the Crown's much needed revenues from Peru. At a time of financial crisis this inquiry was apparently the last to be made regarding the issue of cortes in Peru.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, Lima would continue its efforts to gain full membership in the Cortes of Castile, in part because one of the side effects of those ostentatious efforts was increased prestige within Peru.

CUZCO'S DECLINE

On September 1, 1614, Cuzco's cabildo ordered all scribes in the city to head their legal documents with the caption *En la gran ciudad del Cuzco, cabeza de los reynos del Peru* (In the great city of Cuzco, head of the kingdoms of Peru).¹³⁰ This action was presumably triggered by the two royal decrees that Cuzco had received in 1605 pertaining to its status in the viceroyalty of Peru. The first, issued in Barajas on March 10, 1604, indicated that Cuzco's privileges and prerogatives should be respected as per another enclosed decree issued in Madrid on February 21, 1594, which designated Cuzco as the "head of the provinces of Peru."¹³¹ In Cuzco's cabildo records there are several entries concerning Lima's designation of *procuradores generales* with complete disregard for Cuzco's status as *la mas principal*.¹³² Cuzco's insistence on claiming the title and status of head city at this moment, however, was more likely influenced by political events that directly affected its power and place within the larger viceroyalty.¹³³

Cuzco was the first dioceses created in Peru (1537), followed by Lima (1541) which, together with Santo Domingo and Mexico, was later raised to an archbishopric (1546).¹³⁴ While dioceses had been created in Quito (1546), Popayán (1546), Asunción (1547), La Plata (1552), Santiago de Chile (1561), Concepción (1564), and Tucuman (1570), Cuzco and Lima enjoyed the largest jurisdictions in the viceroyalty. In 1612, however, an important redrawing of the boundaries of the bishopric of Cuzco considerably diminished its territory and revenue.¹³⁵ A papal decree issued by Pope Paulo V on July 20, 1609, and ratified by Philip III on June 5, 1612, created the new bishoprics of Guamanga and Arequipa, thereby depriving Cuzco of

considerable stretches of territory.¹³⁶ With the creation of these three new bishoprics, Cuzco was reduced from 274 parishes before being partitioned to 138.¹³⁷ The partition left the Archbishopric of Lima as the largest and most powerful, even after the creation of the bishopric of Trujillo in 1614 reduced its territory and revenues.¹³⁸ The 1612 decree had also “raised the *pueblo* of Arequipa to the category of city, and its district into a diocese.”¹³⁹ Viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros’ attempts to enforce these changes were met with resistance from Cuzco, which formally petitioned the viceroy to halt the division of its bishopric until an appeal to the king could be made to reverse the decision.¹⁴⁰ In a letter dated March 6, 1614, Cuzco’s ecclesiastical chapter also pleaded both to the viceroy and the king to halt its division, since it would radically reduce the church’s income, leaving it in “extreme poverty.”¹⁴¹

Cuzco’s public display of the title of head from 1614 onward appears to have been an attempt to reclaim in symbolic terms the loss of its highland territory and the wealth it derived from its indigenous populations.¹⁴² Having failed to secure a viceroy and an audiencia, Cuzco was reduced to making claims based on its Inca past and Indian population, but these were either of the past or in decline.¹⁴³ After the creation of the audiencia of La Plata (1559) in Alto Peru, Cuzco still argued in 1604 that the king should favor Cuzco over La Plata as an audiencia and also grant it a university, since Cuzco not only was the head of the kingdom but also had been the first bishopric in Peru.¹⁴⁴ By arguing that Cuzco had been the first bishopric in the province of Peru, the procurator was using an old historical argument that tied the rank of city to those places that harbored a bishop.¹⁴⁵ Cuzco would have to wait until the late eighteenth century (and a great rebellion) to gain its own university and become the last audiencia created in Peru.¹⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

The contingent creation in 1542 of the audiencia and chancellery of Lima and The City of the Kings designation as the seat of the viceroy of Peru and his court dramatically reversed Lima’s relatively inconsequential founding in 1535. Built on a desert near the sea and far away from the former highland center of Inca power, Lima’s designation as the seat of the highest imperial institutions reflected the Crown’s fear of continued unrest in Cuzco. The long-term consequence of that decision, however, was to create a new “great city”—one without historical precedent or the legitimacy of antiquity and conquest. The former Inca capital of Cuzco would appeal to its Inca past and Indian population to contest Lima’s modern claim to exclusive “head city” and “first-vote” status in a hierarchy of cities that was more imaginary than effective, since cortes were rarely if ever held in Peru, in large part because viceroys opposed them, and often contradicted the wish of the king in Castile that such cortes be held in Peru. By the first quarter of the seventeenth

century, the city of Cuzco had been permanently relegated to a secondary status as its territorial jurisdiction and revenue were severely reduced. More significant in this decline, however, was the Crown's refusal to grant Cuzco an *audiencia*, which was essential to becoming a "head city." Without possession of the highest court, Cuzco could never hope to rival Lima as "head city" of the viceroyalty of Peru.

Thus, for most of the seventeenth century Lima's challenge would be to build on its newfound political capital and material wealth, while outbidding and overshadowing Cuzco's "ancestral" claim—both in Peru and in the metropolitan court—to represent the kingdoms of Peru. It is to Lima's campaigns to accumulate cultural capital that we now turn.

CHAPTER 2



LIMA ES CORTE THE VICEROY AS CULTURAL CAPITAL

Of all the solemnities observed in the Indies, one of the greatest acts in which Lima's opulence is displayed is the entrance of the viceroy . . . rich coaches and calashes, laces, jewels and garments of rich and costly fabrics are displayed in order to flaunt the power of its people.

—Juan and Ulloa, *Relacion Historica del Viaje a la America Meridional*

On Saint Andrew's Day in 1569, viceroy Francisco de Toledo made his official entry into Lima. By custom the fifth viceroy of Peru had come ashore at the northern port of Paíta at the end of September and from there traveled overland to Lima (meanwhile his entourage continued south by ship to Lima's port at Callao). On his way to Lima, the viceroy visited several cities along the Peruvian coast and made a solemn entry into the city of Trujillo. With the viceroy nearing Lima, the *cabildo* learned that his entourage had not yet arrived at Callao. Since it was customary to accommodate the viceroy's household into his new residence before the entry, the viceroy paused near Chancay, at the *Villa de Arnedo*, approximately nine leagues to the north of Lima. Once the viceregal household (*criados y recamara*) arrived in Callao and his entourage was set up in the "royal houses" they would occupy before moving to Lima, the viceroy traveled half a league to the small farm or *Chacara del Barrio Nuevo*, on the outskirts of Lima, where he was greeted by royal and city officials before his formal entrance into the city a few days later.¹ It was a long, seven-month journey: the viceroy had left the Spanish port of San Lúcar de Barrameda in March.²

On the day of his entry and after dinning with his household, viceroy Francisco de Toledo left the *Chacara del Barrio Nuevo* early. He was carried in a sedan chair and followed by his standard. The viceroy was met by Lima's companies of lancers and musketeers who escorted him the rest of the way. Just outside the city gates the viceroy descended from his sedan and mounted

his own horse. Luxuriously attired, he trotted toward the city limits with the musketeers in the vanguard and the lancers following behind. Soon the viceroy was met by Lima's *mayordomo* (lord-steward), who presented him with a splendid horse.³ At this point Toledo was also met by the halberdier with halberds in hand and dressed in yellow, black, and crimson liveries. The viceroy met the infantry and their captain, Julio de la Reinaga, chosen by the cabildo to deliver the city's official welcoming speech. The viceroy mounted a new horse and approached the stage and arch erected by the cabildo for the taking of his oath. When the viceroy reached the stage, which was enclosed on all four sides with luxurious hangings and tapestries, he dismounted and entered. Once inside, he took the traditional oath promising to safeguard and keep all of Lima's privileges. Whence the oath was dutifully recorded by the cabildo's scribe, the doors were opened, allowing viceroy Toledo to enter the city through the arch. He mounted his new horse once again and under the *palio* or royal canopy began his march up the street to the Plaza Mayor. The rein of the viceroy's horse was led by the city's two *alcaldes ordinarios* (urban magistrates), while six *regidores* (aldermen) upheld the poles of his canopy.⁴

With the creation of the viceroyalty of Peru in 1542 and its designation as seat for the viceroy and his court, Lima enjoyed the great privilege of staging one of the most magnificent ceremonies performed in the viceroyalty: the viceregal entry. Since power was understood to be manifested in ostentatious public rituals, the performance of the entry ceremony generated symbolic or cultural capital for both the viceroy and the city of Lima. As the *alter ego* of the king and the highest imperial official in the land, it was in the entry that the viceroy first exhibited his power and grace before the people of the city. At the same time, the city used the opportunity of the ceremony to exhibit its own power in the form of a magnificence displayed during each stage of the performance. The message of power and opulence was not only delivered to those people present at the ceremony but also recorded and written up as history or chronicle, and this written account reached the court in Spain as well as other cities in the realm, further augmenting Lima's fame. The performed and written magnificence was an enactment both of the real power of the city and its desire to represent and extend its dominion across Peru, for it ritually confirmed Lima's claim to "head city" of the viceroyalty.

The difficult geography and vastness of the viceroyalty of Peru combined with Lima's coastal location shaped the nature and route of the viceregal entry in important ways. In New Spain, the highland location of Mexico City at the geographical center of the kingdom meant that the viceroy's entry could take the form of a political performance of the conquest narrative that began at the Caribbean or Gulf port of Veracruz and continued upward through Puebla, Tlaxcala, and onward to Mexico City. The route followed by the viceroy from the coast inland to Mexico City was a "ritual voyage" seen by some "as political allegory."⁵ Here the viceroy's journey inland included three public entries before his arrival in Mexico City. The first was

staged at the port city of Veracruz, site of conquistador Hernan Cortes's landing; the second was staged at Puebla, a city founded by the Spanish; and the third was staged at Tlaxcala in the Central Valley, a native city-state whose warriors had allied with Cortes against Mexica-Tenochtitlan, the Aztec center. The viceroy's final entry into Mexico City completed his journey to the center of the realm. In his progress from the coast to the heart of the viceroyalty, the viceroy of New Spain traversed a large field of historical and political operations, recreating a sense of imperial space, historical time, and political relationship between realm and king. In short, the viceregal procession in New Spain constituted a pilgrimage, which helped define and render meaningful an otherwise dispersed territory by linking in a cohesive historical narrative of territorial possession all the members of the political body—Indians, Spaniards, and Creoles—via the figure of the *alter ego* of the king who retraced the steps of conquistadors.⁶

For the viceregal entry to retrace the events of conquest was simply prohibitive in Peru. It would have meant an overland trip from the northern port at Paita where Pizarro came ashore in 1532 (although previously he landed to the north at Tumbes), up to highland Cajamarca, down the long and winding Inca road to Xauja and Cuzco, and then back down to Lima, an arduous journey of several months. Indeed, few viceroys ever made the entire symbolic overland journey from Paita to the imperial center of power at Lima, since the great expense and pain that such a journey entailed was prohibitive, and the cheaper and easier alternative was to continue by sea south to Callao. Geographical location and royal concerns over tribute burdens (particularly for Indians) moved the Crown to advise viceroys to land at Callao, arguing that the sea route eliminated the great expense that towns and villages along the land route incurred when visited by the viceroy and his entourage on their way to Lima.⁷ When a viceroy arrived at the northern port of Paita, towns along his route were required to "dress up" buildings, fix roads, and feed and lodge his entourage in good style. For Antonio de Mendoza, second viceroy of Peru, the road from Paita to Lima had to be paved and his lodging places populated. The expense was charged to the *encomenderos* of the different localities visited by the viceroy and his entourage, but of course the final burden fell on the Indians who paid tribute to the *encomenderos*. To spare the Indians the expense of these events, and when viceroys could not land at Callao, Lima's cabildo sometimes assumed the expenses for their journeys south. This was the case in 1604, when the Count of Monterrey, who was expected to land at Callao, was caught in a storm and forced to disembark at Paita and from there proceed overland to Lima. When Lima's cabildo learned of the viceroy's sudden change of plans it promptly dispatched a convoy to "quickly repair all the roads for his trip" and assumed all expenses involved.⁸

Using Callao as the point of entry short-circuited the triumphal, narrative dimension of the viceroy's entry into his new realm as a reenactment of conquest, although it should also be noted that in Europe royal processions were

also losing this dimension.⁹ In Peru, there was no set pilgrimage route of entry for viceroys to follow, and the overland journey from Paita to Lima did not possess the same symbolic and narrative value as the march from Veracruz to Mexico City in New Spain. As a result, in Peru the narrative of the Spanish conquest was not a unifying theme in the construction of a myth of origin that could be reproduced or reenacted by the viceroy's entry. Instead, the difficult geography and large expense of a conquest-narrative viceregal pilgrimage through the vast territory of Peru made Lima the primary referent and symbolic space for the ritual construction of political meaning vis-à-vis the entire kingdom.

LIMA AS SYNECDOCHE FOR PERU

Since the viceregal entry symbolized taking possession of the territory by the new ruler, for the duration of the performance Lima stood as synecdoche for the entire viceroyalty, while the viceroy stood in for the king. Given its great political importance, the viceregal entry was always, no matter what the circumstances, staged with the greatest care and magnificence. The viceroy's entry ceremony in Lima was important for another reason: It set the standard of magnificence for lesser cities throughout the realm, and this setting of standards could be reaffirmed at regular intervals. Twenty-three viceroys ruled between 1544 and 1689, making the viceregal entry one of the more frequent civic rituals performed in Lima during the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Since few viceroys ever traveled beyond Lima's confines, the entry provided Lima with an almost exclusive occasion to display its magnificence. The performances were always recorded by the *cabildo's* chronicler and after their publication were then distributed to the other cities in the viceroyalty, serving as written testimony of the head city's power.¹¹

Lima's magnificence, however, did not go unchallenged. Provincial cities attempted, whenever possible, to surpass its displays of magnificence. This was particularly the case of Cuzco, which would go to great lengths and expense to compete with richer Lima. Despite an official ban on lavish celebrations, viceroy Francisco de Toledo's entry into Cuzco in 1570 was a magnificent and expensive entry ceremony that lasted for fifteen consecutive days. This and other royal ceremonies were part of intercity rivalries. Displays were about the accumulation of cultural capital that could be spent politically. At stake was not only the reputation and status of the city in question but also high hopes to gain privileges and favors both from the viceroy and the Crown.

The residence of the viceroy and his court in the city was also an important source of Lima's cultural capital. The arrival of a new viceroy and his wife was always an important source of cultural renewal. The viceregal couple brought new tastes and the latest fashions into the courtly city, producing in return a sophisticated local culture that Lima exported to the interior of the

kingdom. In this fashion, the viceroy's presence was converted into cultural capital for Lima, and this capital was invested in ruling Peru.

THE VICEROY'S ENTRY

The viceregal entry became one of the most majestic ceremonies of power staged in Peru during the seventeenth century. Modeled after the triumphant royal entries into European cities, the entry ceremony in Lima could last anywhere from several weeks to several months. Because of Peru's territorial vastness and Lima's coastal location, the viceregal entry here came to resemble those performed in Spanish Italian kingdoms, such as Naples, rather than those performed in the northern viceroyalty of New Spain.¹² Many of the viceroys who came to Peru by sea and landed at Callao enjoyed two ceremonies (this was not the case with viceroy Toledo). As the viceroy's ship was sighted in the harbor of Callao a gun salute given by the port's artillery was answered by the viceroy's ship, and a vessel with a canopy and adorned with flowers was then sent to his ship for disembarkment. Upon his disembarking, the viceroy was saluted again while infantry and cavalry squadrons waved their flags. He was then met and greeted on the beach by the *audiencia* and cabildo of Lima as well as the ecclesiastical chapter of the cathedral, and then they all paraded together to the port's splendid church where a *Te-deum laudamus*¹³ was officiated (see Figure I.8). The viceroy was later taken to a house decorated for his lodging where prominent members of Lima's society gathered to greet him. The night before his entry into Lima the viceroy was entertained in Callao with courtly games, fireworks, and music, and a banquet in his honor was sponsored by the cabildo of Lima. This ceremony, known as the *besamanos* or the ritual kissing of the viceroy's hand, constituted the viceroy's first opportunity to assess the political climate, since it was attended by all of Lima's officials and nobles who came to Callao to personally pay their respects to him.¹⁴ The courtesy was later returned when, in the coming weeks, the viceroy paid personal visits to all the religious and secular institutions and to prominent families. Since the route and structure of his official entry was decided by the new viceroy in consultation with Lima's political and civil authorities, it was customary for him to visit the city incognito before his entry, at which time he met the outgoing viceroy and inspected the state of his future accommodations and the route that he would follow during the entry ceremony.

The viceregal entry was one of several ritual privileges viceroys enjoyed, not for their own qualities but because they stood in for the person (or hand) of the king.¹⁵ It was intended to remind subjects of their intimate, reciprocal, and hierarchical relation to the monarch, here embodied by the figure of his *alter ego*, the viceroy. This ceremony, like those royal entries in Europe, reenacted "the union between the king and his kingdom, represented in this case by the city."¹⁶ The entry also introduced the new viceroy for the first

time to the king's subjects in a ritual that exhibited many elements associated with his royal magnificence. The majesty and power of the king was, therefore, reestablished every time his *alter ego* appeared in public surrounded by magnificence and splendor.¹⁷ In a larger sense, the viceregal entry defined a field of operations for the new viceroy in his realm. This field of operations was outlined by the viceroy's progress from the outer edges of the city, standing as synecdoche for the entire kingdom, to the very center of imperial power, the Plaza Mayor, a space surrounded by imperial and municipal buildings, the physical sites of government.¹⁸

The entry ceremony constituted the taking of possession by the viceroy of the new realm he came to rule. The viceroy had no effective powers until this ceremony was performed, and in this sense all the ritual power to legally confirm the authority of the viceroy in a splendid manner was in the hands of the city of Lima. Although the viceroy was appointed to his post by the Spanish king and he traveled to America as his *alter ego*, he was nevertheless not invested with his powers as ruler until his entry into Lima confirmed it as such. This political fact was impressed upon the Count of Lemos in 1667. Stopping in Panama on his way from Spain to Lima to assume his post as viceroy, he suspended and arrested Panama's president and governor, Juan Pérez de Guzmán, taking him prisoner to Lima. Pérez was accused of various infractions, including violating payment agreements on the shipments sent by Lima's merchants to Panama, pilfering portions of the silver shipments sent by Lima to the king, and allowing English and Flemish ships to dock in his ports. Pérez managed to escape but was eventually captured with great celebration, earning the Count of Lemos the honorific title of Restorer of the Republic. This euphoria, however, came to an abrupt end with the arrival in Lima of a legal brief from Madrid's Council of the Indies. Despite the fact that Panama was then part of the viceroyalty of Peru, the count had exceeded his powers there since he could exercise no jurisdiction over the territory until he formally entered Lima, which of course he had not yet done. The Council, therefore, restored Pérez de Guzmán to his post and ordered the viceroy to pay for his return to Panama out of his own pocket.¹⁹

A central aspect of the ceremony was the oath taken by the viceroy. It was an important moment for the city. Unlike the oath in the king's Proclamation, which was an open public ritual, the viceregal oath was a private event restricted to the viceroy and municipal officials, that is, the *alcaldes*, the most senior *regidor*, and the city's scribe.²⁰ The stage set for this ceremony was located in the outer limits of the city's jurisdiction and consisted of a platform enclosed by luxurious hangings and tapestries, furnished with a rug (a symbol of authority), a desk, and a chair. This platform was always situated before the closed doors of the arch that, when opened, allowed the viceroy to symbolically access the city for the first time.²¹ The viceroy's oath was worded very much like that of the king's Proclamation, promising to respect and uphold the city's rights and privileges. Unlike the king, however, the viceroy did not promise to grant the city new privileges, but only to respect

those already in existence, since to grant new privileges was an exclusive prerogative of the king. Once the ceremony was concluded, the doors of the arch opened allowing the viceroy to symbolically enter the city as a new figure: the king's *alter ego* in Peru. At the same time, it was a symbolic crossing into the city's jurisdiction.²² Only in Lima could the king's emissary become the viceroy of Peru. The oath, then, also symbolized a pact between the city and the viceroy, and from the city's side this pact was sealed with the gift of the splendid horse, a sign of gratitude and a gesture of respect. Mounted on his new horse, the viceroy rode in procession through the city streets to the symbolic heart of his new realm, Lima's Plaza Mayor.

THE VICEREGAL ARCH

Lima's cabildo also offered the new viceroy an arch. In European entries the arch was a "mirror of princes," part of a contractual dialogue of give-and-take between the city and the prince or monarch. The arch was used by the city to communicate to the monarch its expectations for the privilege of ruling over it.²³ In a similar fashion, Lima's arches often expressed an elaborate political iconography, alluding to recent events in the city, and expressing the desired virtues and actions expected of the new viceroy.²⁴ For these "mirrors of viceroys" the city usually commissioned the most well-known artists and writers in the city,²⁵ and the commissions created a close relationship between city officials and artists, many of whom came to depend on the patronage of the city.²⁶

The arch sponsored by the cabildo in 1589 for the entry of viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza, second Marquis of Cañete, was designed by the Augustinian artist Fray Mateo de León. It was an elaborate structure of moderate height and with an ample door inscribed with symbols that, according to the city's chronicler, in its final form was insufficiently large to harbor all of the "letters" or motifs, mottoes, and figurines contemplated in the artist's original design.²⁷ At its apex the arch displayed the Royal Seal and an inscription which read: *Feliz vida aumenta la magestad divina*.²⁸ On either side of the king's coat of arms were those of Lima: three crowns for "The Three Kings" with a star above each set on a blue background. Under the coats of arms ran an inscription: "The King and the Church will guide until death." Allegorical paintings graced each side of the arch's pillars. To the right, there appeared a venerable old man dressed as a native or Inca king, sitting under a tree and representing, according to the chronicler, the Kingdom of Peru. The tree was embraced by a grapevine, with a Latin inscription implying mutual aid.

The chronicler noted that the tree and the vine symbolized the marriage of the viceroy, making it "clear that this fact would not be an impediment" to his rule but instead an aid, "as the vine is to the tree, and vice versa."²⁹ The second Marquis of Cañete was indeed the first viceroy to bring his wife to

Peru with him. In European iconography, trees were an old symbol of the legitimacy of contractual monarchy. Here, the tree suggested the contractual nature of the Spanish king's and the new viceroy's rule over the Kingdom of Peru, a contract, moreover, that was always sealed and resealed in Lima. Fruits were an old symbol of political and religious authority, and here they referenced both, that is, the viceroy and city officials as well as the church's ministers. The central allegorical message in this section of the structure concerned the benefits to Peru that the tree's shade (the rule of the king and the viceroy) offered. The allegorical painting also alluded to the principles of complementarity and unity. Marriage as an allegory of political unity was suggested by a pair of emblems that hung from the tree in place of fruits. One contained the coat of arms of the viceroy and vicereine, while the other featured that of Lima, representing the symbolic union of the head city with the new rulers of the kingdom. A Latin inscription accentuated the message: *non Potest Arbor bona, malos fructus facere* (a good tree cannot bear bad fruits). Another legend read, "If each tree produces its fruit they will be enjoyed by the King, the Republic, and God."³⁰ This section, then, also emphasized the hierarchical and organic nature of the viceregal polity, where all occupied an assigned station in the body, and it suggested the powerful and sacred imagery of the Holy Trinity.

To the left side of the arch were allegorical paintings of Justice (a young female figure holding up a scale) and Prudence (reins attached to brakes, with one side loose and the other pulled), which are both virtues of a good ruler. The message here was that the city particularly desired that the new viceroy possess and exercise these virtues. In the Justice allegory, the scale had on one side instruments of justice (i.e., chains, shackles, and swords) and on the other instruments of mercy (i.e., crowns, olive branches, and palm fronds). The balance was tipped toward the side of mercy or "reward rather than the punishment."³¹ An inscription below suggested to the viceroy that the city expected his rule to be benevolent rather than stern. In her other hand, Lady Justice held a bouquet of flowers and seasoned fruits signifying, according to the chronicler, how His Majesty had "seasoned this fruit from the tree of the Marquis of Cañete."³² Don García had been to Peru before while his father—don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, the first Marquis of Cañete—ruled as Peru's third viceroy. Don García had also served as Governor of Chile in 1557.³³ Unlike many other viceroys, Don García possessed a "home-grown authority."

The arch had two doors. One displayed a painting of a captain holding a lance with his left hand, while with his right he lifted up a woman lying at his feet. The woman, according to the chronicler, symbolized the city of Lima. Dressed in her royal attire, this allegory of Lima was worthy of "her name of 'the Kings,' covered with crowns and stars, as [in] her coat of arms."³⁴ At Lady Lima's feet lie buildings in ruins and a Latin legend: "To be lifted from her fall, and freed from her dust."³⁵ The dust conjured two events: the earthquake of July 8, 1586, and the death of the viceroy's father in Lima in

1560.³⁶ The captain represented the new viceroy, and his legend read: “Although I come late, I come in your favor.”³⁷ Another legend stated “I come with council and strength.” In the middle of this composition stood the figure of the first Marquis of Cañete’s sepulcher standing in for the dead father of the new viceroy and a Latin inscription that alluded to the sorrow caused by his absence and departure from Lima and the high esteem in which he was held in the city.³⁸ Another Latin inscription reading: *Restaurador, P. et. P.*, or “Restorer of my Father’s and my Patria’s honor,” alluded to the hope that the new viceroy would continue his father’s legacy of benevolent rule.³⁹ The second door in the arch held a painting of Aeneas and his father Anchises, with a sign on his shoulders that read, *Honor onusq. Paternum* (the paternal/ancestral honor and burden). Another inscription symbolized piety and the respect of a son for his father. Aeneas, according to the chronicler, represented the viceroy, while Anchises represented both the king and his father, don Andrés. In the mythical genealogy of the Hapsburg Dynasty, Aeneas was the founding figure.⁴⁰ Depicting the viceroy as Aeneas and his father as Anchises associated the Peruvian viceroys with the illustrious royal genealogy.⁴¹

The arch above the doors displayed a large sun and moon. The shining sun was surrounded by clouds, representing various misfortunes the city had endured, including pirate attacks, the earthquake, small-pox and measles epidemics, and the death of don Andrés. The sun was a well-known image of the Hapsburg dynasty, and since at least Philip II’s reign it was an emblem of the king.⁴² Here the sun indicated Lima’s hope that, as the king’s representative, the new viceroy would lift the city up from its misery. The moon, on the other hand, symbolized Lima, and it alluded to the city’s inability to shine on its own without the light of the king. At the apex of the structure ran a summary inscription: “The senate and people of Lima offer this Arch to Señor don García de Mendoça in the hope that with his coming, the city will be repaired.” The blueprints for the arch included an additional legend: “Admiration is felt by don García upon seeing the greatness of this city which in another time was a hamlet and is now so illustrious and opulent.” This inscription, however, was apparently left out for lack of space, if not modesty.⁴³

SPONSORING THE VICEROY’S ENTRY

In spite of extensive royal regulations to limit the expenditures for the celebration of viceregal entries, the crown failed to curtail them in Peru. Baroque protocol, regal and viceregal favors, and intercity political rivalries required that these ceremonies be ostentatious, since the future status of the city and its members were often at stake. Nonetheless, the crown repeatedly attempted to regulate the expenses incurred. In 1619 the king decreed that the expense of the viceregal entry to Lima should not exceed twelve thousand pesos (the allowed amount for New Spain was eight thousand).⁴⁴ But

Lima always exceeded this amount, and cabildo members often made up the difference out of their own pockets or by pressuring merchants.⁴⁵

Political rivalry with other cities was always a strong motivating factor in coming up with funds. In 1556 a cabildo member learned that on his way to Lima, the second Marquis of Cañete had solemnly entered the provincial city of Trujillo to the north. At the time Lima was heavily in debt and the cabildo had debated long and hard about the kind and scale of ceremony it could realistically afford for the Marquis's entry.⁴⁶ When the cabildo learned of the scope of the Trujillo entry, however, it quickly decided to stage the most lavish ceremony no matter what the cost.⁴⁷ In the opinion of key cabildo members, failing to do so would undermine the city's honor and reputation causing it to lose standing in the viceroyalty; moreover, not to do so would risk insulting the viceroy.

The cabildo ordered merchants to underwrite the costs of production of the ceremonial arch for the entry of the first Marquis of Cañete,⁴⁸ arguing that the merchants had grown exceedingly wealthy, and that as a result it was their moral and political obligation to give something in return for their privilege. The merchants were commanded to clean up the entry to the Plaza and to build a triumphant arch "as such occasion required."⁴⁹ The cabildo threatened to impose a two hundred peso fine on those merchants who failed to comply. Offering a palm frond, the cabildo invited the merchants to participate in the entry procession, advising them to dress as best they could and to come out to the outer limits of the city to greet the new viceroy on the day of his entry.⁵⁰ The merchants were not persuaded and resisted the cabildo's order. The cabildo now threatened the merchants with exile if they persisted in refusing to comply.⁵¹ By the time of the entry of the second Marquis of Cañete in 1589, sponsoring an arch for the viceregal entry had become a highly coveted honor among Lima's merchants. This practice evolved into a permanent privilege in the seventeenth century.⁵²

Indeed, throughout the seventeenth century the street directly under and surrounding the arch erected by Lima's merchants at the entrance to the Plaza Mayor was paved with silver ingots. This ostentatious display of silver reflected the wealth of the viceroyalty, the magnificence of Lima, and the stature attained by its merchants. For the viceregal entry of the Count of Salvatierra in 1648, the space surrounding the arch on Mercaderes Street was paved with more than three hundred ingots of silver. As the viceroy passed under the silver-paved arch, the merchants "showered" him with flowers and silver coins.⁵³ As the merchants of Lima grew in wealth and power, their display of silver in viceregal entries grew correspondingly. For the entry of viceroy Count of Lemos in 1667, the merchants sponsored several arches.

At the entrance of Mercaderes Street near the door of the *consulado* there was a magnificent and costly arch, which was worth seeing. There was another very tall arch of fine architecture at the intersection near the end of the same street. This arch, top to bottom, inside and outside, was filled with platters, vessels, and trays all in white and gilded silver, which were very artful, costly, and

interesting. All the hollows of the arch were laid with more than five hundred and fifty bars of silver; each bar weighed more than two hundred marks.⁵⁴

Silver bars were also displayed for the entry of viceroy Count of Castellar in 1674. The area adjacent to the arch on Mercaderes street was literally “paved with bars of silver . . . of . . . more than two hundred marks [one hundred pounds].”⁵⁵ The prominent place of silver in the viceregal entry reflected not only the immense wealth of the merchants but also the power and grandeur of Lima. The wealth and power of Lima’s merchants was something that viceroys had to reckon with, and so the arches were also “mirrors” or messages of instruction for the new ruler of the kingdom of which Lima was the true head.

Lima’s repeated challenges to royal regulations limiting the moneys the city could spend on the viceregal entry was due in part to the fact that the identity that the city projected to the interior of the viceroyalty was closely tied to its ability to demonstrate (display) its wealth and privileges in these performances. This was made clear in the arguments of cabildo members in a session held in 1604, where they discussed a royal decree limiting the expenses allowed for the viceroy’s entry to four thousand ducats. The city rejected the prescribed amount on grounds that it was insufficient since it would cover less than a third of what was actually needed to stage the appropriate ceremony. The cabildo agreed to appeal before the viceroy and the audiencia for a new authorization to spend more for the entry of the Count of Monterrey.⁵⁶

Once the cabildo had obtained an authorization from the audiencia to spend the same amount for the count’s entry as had been spent for previous entries, it was necessary to determine where the extra funds would come from.⁵⁷ Since salaries had not been paid for several months, the cabildo was unable to finance the entry out of their own pockets and so decided to borrow seven thousand pesos by mortgaging city property.⁵⁸ The cabildo also agreed that if this amount proved insufficient, it would petition the viceroy to allow the city to obtain additional funds from the *cajas de comunidad* (community chests) of the Indians.⁵⁹ On another occasion when Lima did not have the necessary royal dispensation to spend monies on the entry of viceroy Martín Enríquez in 1581, the city decided to finance the entry with municipal funds while awaiting authorization.⁶⁰ In the event that the appeal for funding was denied, cabildo members agreed beforehand to finance the ceremony with allotments from their own salaries.⁶¹

In this case, and with the additional funds secured, the cabildo began the arduous task of gathering all the elements necessary for the Count of Monterrey’s viceregal entry. First, it needed to acquire the necessary fabrics for its members’ ceremonial attire. Francisco de Mansilla Marroquí and Francisco de León were commissioned by the cabildo to procure vast amounts of velvet at reasonable prices. Since the city had initially attempted to purchase the fabric on credit, merchants charged the cabildo exorbitant

prices that were made steeper by an apparently shortage of velvet in the city.⁶² Unable to acquire fabrics at a reasonable price on credit, Mansilla was forced to ask the cabildo for a cash advance. He was given a total of 4,800 pesos for *ropones* (loose gowns) and to fabricate the *palio* for the ceremony.⁶³

THE LIBERAL USE OF THE *PALIO* IN PERU

Citing Seneca, Juan de Solórzano y Pereira explained that the territory or province of a viceroy was not theirs to rule; instead, it was entrusted to them for a limited time.⁶⁴ The powers of the viceroy were, therefore, temporary and contingent upon the king's will.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the viceroy was referred to by the king as his *alter ego*, and as such he enjoyed a series of privileges otherwise reserved for the monarch. Within the entry ceremony, the viceroy's right to enter the city under the *palio* or royal canopy was one of the most coveted privileges he enjoyed as the king's *alter ego*. The privilege of appearing in public under a *palio* was enjoyed only by the king and the Holy Sacrament (which was also an emblem of the Habsburg Dynasty⁶⁶), and extended to viceroys as the king's representative. The royal canopy demarcated a quasi "sacred space" under which the king almost always appeared in public.⁶⁷ In Europe the king's presence under the canopy seems to have literally meant the taking of possession of his territory. On the occasion of a visit to the city of Milan by Prince Philip in 1548, Charles V petitioned the city not to receive him under a *palio*, since his visit "was not to be seen as his 'taking possession' of the city or of the duchy."⁶⁸

In the New World, the viceroy's right to enter under a *palio* went through numerous and often contradictory changes over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggesting that its political meaning was perhaps changing as the powers of the viceroy were redefined. When the king announced the appointment of a new viceroy, he advised officials in the viceroyalty to obey (*obedecer*) him as if he were the king, or "as a person who represents mine" (*como a persona que representa la mia*).⁶⁹ As early as 1572, however, Francisco de Toledo noted in a letter to Philip II that in Peru not only did the viceroys use the *palio* in their entry into Lima but governors did also in their entries into the pueblos of their districts.⁷⁰ In his response, Philip II ordered that "because these ceremonies and standards (*insignias*) pertain only to the royal person, they should not be used by governors *even if they are viceroys*."⁷¹

Later, in a letter to viceroy Prince of Esquilache, Philip III noted that it was his understanding that, while governors in Peru had restrained from using the *palio* and other insignias when entering their pueblos, the viceroys had ignored his father's prohibition and continued its unauthorized use.⁷² The king added that while royal dispensation only authorized viceroys to stage entries in Lima and Mexico City, they nonetheless appeared to have staged entries, with the use of the *palio*, on almost every occasion when visiting

other places in their jurisdictions. Given that the costs of the entry ceremonies were very high, the king argued that this practice had placed an undue financial burden on his subjects, and so decreed that “no viceroy in either Mexico or Peru be received under a *palio*.”⁷³ The king ordered viceroys to refuse the *palio* in cases when cities insisted on their use and argued that its use should be restricted to the king. Philip III further prohibited viceroys and their households from accepting or demanding food or other gifts from the people of the towns, villas, and hamlets they visited on their journeys to the viceregal courts.⁷⁴ These were also forbidden from spending public or private funds on the viceroy’s entry or on the lodging of the viceroy and his entourage.

Notably, in the case of Peru the only exception to this rule was Lima where, on August 2, 1614, the king authorized the city to spend up to twelve thousand pesos on the viceroy’s entry. The king also mentioned a decree sent to viceroy Montesclaros on August 28, 1608, prohibiting archbishops and church prelates from entering Lima under a *palio*, emphasizing again that these ceremonies should only be performed for His Royal Person.⁷⁵ According to Solórzano, the use of the *palio* was reinstated in the Indies in 1632.⁷⁶ Juan Bromley cites a royal decree signed in Madrid on April 11, 1639, reestablishing the use of the *palio* in Lima, where the king recognized that its use closely associated the figure of the viceroy to His Royal Person and so had positive consequences for the good government of his province, since it invested authority in the viceroy by “representing with such immediacy [His] Persona.”⁷⁷

Despite the king’s attempts to curtail the use of the *palio* as an exclusive marker of His Royal Person, in Peru not only had its use become more widespread (as viceroy Francisco de Toledo noted) but also its meaning seems to have suffered a transformation as a result. The use of the royal canopy in the viceroy’s entry was understood in Lima as an ancestral right, acquired by its cabildo with the city’s founding in 1535. The cabildo also emphasized the didactic aspect of the presence of the canopy in the ceremony, since its use revealed to those born in the land (and thus far away from the king) the nature of the king’s majesty. The cabildo, therefore, defended the use of the canopy in spite of the royal decrees forbidding it, ordering that a very luxurious *palio* be manufactured of red velvets with gold fringes and that at its center there be embroidered in silk Lima’s own coat of arms and a castle and silver rings representing Castile.⁷⁸ This order broke with the rule, since the royal canopy always displayed only the king’s insignias, never those of viceroys or cities. By placing the city’s coat of arms at the center of the royal canopy the cabildo transformed its meaning and augmented its own symbolic power by placing king (Castile) and city (Lima) on the same plane. Notably, between 1544 and 1639 twelve of the fifteen viceroys entered Lima under such a canopy.

While the widespread use of the canopy was seen by the king and his officials as a corruption of its original (and only possible) meaning as a specific

marker of the king's majesty, its liberal use in Peru also reflects a more abstract understanding (and use) of its significance. While the use of the *palio* by governors was seen by some as attempts to usurp higher powers and aggrandize their own position, cabildo arguments point to a more political and pedagogical understanding of the function and utility of the canopy for rule, which comes closer to that of the royal simulacra like the royal standard, the royal seal, or the royal writs (discussed in Chapter 3).

THE VICEROY IN CUZCO

For reasons of geography and expense previously noted, few viceroys passed through the vast interior of Peru. Nevertheless, the few viceregal entries into provincial cities always entailed grand efforts to eclipse the magnificence of the Lima celebrations, and no city was more ready to do so than Cuzco. But while provincial ceremonies could be lavish, they lacked the cultural capital of Lima's court and nobility. The large presence of Indians, particularly in Cuzco, also lent these entries a very different character from those staged in Lima.

Francisco de Toledo was one of the few viceroys to visit interior cities, first because he entered at Paita and traveled overland to Lima, and second because he carried out a lengthy *visita general* or general inspection of the viceroyalty in the early 1570s.⁷⁹ Viceroy Toledo's journey to the silver mining center at Potosi covered more than four hundred leagues. When he arrived in November of 1572, the *Villa Imperial de Potosi* staged fifteen days of very costly celebrations. Toledo made solemn entries at Huancavelica and Guamanga along the way; but it was in Cuzco where he was given the most majestic ceremony of his inland journey.⁸⁰

Toledo was greeted on the outer-limits of Cuzco by an *alcalde ordinario* and a *regidor* who made sure that the viceroy found the road leading up to the city adequately furnished for his journey.⁸¹ Upon meeting Cuzco city officials and under official orders, Toledo urged the city not to stage an official entry for him so as to spare it the expense.⁸² Cuzco officials refused on the grounds that given the high status of their city and of viceroy Toledo, they were obliged to proudly mark his visit. The city officials wished that viceroy Toledo see for himself the power and grandeur of their city. They also wished to convey to the viceroy that they knew how prominent he was as the representative "of the King our Lord."⁸³ They also conveyed their expectation that the city's majestic ceremony be matched by the viceroy's favors. Most of all, Cuzco wished to demonstrate to viceroy Toledo its superiority over Lima, noting that they knew of the magnificence Lima had displayed during his entry there. In short, Cuzco could not grant the viceroy's wish that the entry be cancelled nor was it permissible that its ceremony should be inferior to the power and will of Lima's.⁸⁴

In most ways Cuzco attempted to one-up Lima. The day prior to Toledo's entry into Cuzco, the city offered a lavish banquet in his honor, attended by all the prominent persons of the region. Afterward viceroy Toledo was invited to a lookout point above the city (possibly at Sacsahuaman) to witness the celebrations in his honor taking place in an esplanade below. The festivities (which may have been a dramatization of the conquest or Battle of Cuzco) began with hundreds of mounted men wearing Moorish gowns (*marlotas*) and carrying lances and daggers galloping down the hills, accompanied by the music of trumpets and kettledrums, and finally pairing up right before they paraded before the viceroy. As they galloped back up the hills, thousands of Indians with their Inca Kings in the vanguard poured down the hillsides. The Incas were followed by the lords of the provinces or *suyos* (the Four Quarters of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Realm), each with their flag and great numbers of standards in a variety of colors. The Indians wore gold and silver breast medals and straps, as well as *canipos* on their heads with great many feathers.⁸⁵ As each *suyo* or province and *parcialidad* (ethnic dominion) passed before the viceroy, they paused to give their respects and welcomed him with brief speeches. Once the ceremonies were over, the viceroy thanked everyone with words showing much love, and lamenting that the king himself had not been present to witness first hand "the illustrious vassals that the city harbored."⁸⁶

The next day the entry began very early in the morning so as to avoid the torrential afternoon rains. The procession included not only places significant in the history of Pizarro's conquest of the city but also ceremonial arches that, unlike those built in Lima, seemed to lack a political message or symbolism. The ceremonies began about a league outside the city of Cuzco, with a parade of thousand of Indians wearing silk shawls and shirts decorated with gold and silver, while other Indians wore *cumbi* or the very fine Inca textiles reserved for the native elite, and which according to the chronicler were very old and no less valuable than silk. To the city, Toledo reached one of the arches erected for the occasion, looking like a *tiro de Arcabuz* (shaped like a musket) where the city of Cuzco presented him with a splendid Rosillo horse, with a black flounce and saddle, trimmed with gold, and a black and gold horse-blanket. The *mayordomo* (municipal official) of Cuzco, Pedro Guerrero, offered the horse to Toledo and served as his master of the horse for the duration of the ceremony. Mounted on his new horse Toledo rode toward the arch near the stage for his oath.

Viceroy Toledo's oath, however, is described as being very different from the ones he had taken in other cities in Peru. Apparently the viceroy evaded making a commitment to respect the city's privileges by arguing he would "do and accomplish that which [he] *understood* to be in the service of God and the King."⁸⁷ This was in keeping perhaps with his plans, which would include capturing and subduing rebel Inca leaders and executing them as traitors in the main square of Cuzco. In spite of Toledo's failure to firmly commit to act in accordance with Cuzco's rights and privileges, the city

scribe recorded the event, music was played, and the doors of the arch were opened letting Toledo into the city proper. A few steps into the city, Toledo was met by a “splendid” infantry of more than eight hundred soldiers, all luxuriously dressed, led by their captain, Joan de Berrío Villavicencio, *encomendero* of Arapa and “*vezino*” of Cuzco. After performing a military salute to the viceroy, they began their slow march through the city streets. Toledo entered Cuzco under a *palio*. The city streets were adorned with luxurious tapestries and damasks, forming a ceiling between buildings. The great numbers of Indians, both men and women, along his route slowed the procession. As they marched up the street, the infantry at the vanguard of the procession fired shots into the air all along the way to the plaza toward the cathedral. The *corregidor* (chief magistrate) of Cuzco carried the reins of Toledo’s horse, while *regidores* carried the poles of his *palio*. Because there were so many people, and because Toledo had never seen the plaza, the viceroy decided to go around it a few times before entering the cathedral, where he heard a solemn high mass. After the mass Toledo mounted his horse, and following the same route taken to reach the cathedral, he was led back to the house where he was lodged. Before his entering the house, the infantry saluted him again by firing shots into the air. With his hat in hand, the viceroy bid his farewells, thanking the infantry and the entourage of officials who had come with him. Before he could enter the house, however, Cuzco’s representatives ritually apologized to Toledo, begging his forgiveness for the “modest demonstration they had made in his entry when compared to his very large goodwill.” Apparently Toledo did not respond, and thanking them, disappeared into the house.⁸⁸

THE VICEROY’S PROCESSION

While the messages inscribed in the arches set along the way of the viceroy’s journey into the center of the city exhibited the city’s expectations for the king and his *alter ego*, and the silver ingots that paved the streets reflected the power and wealth of Lima, the viceroy’s procession displayed the political structure at play in the viceroyalty at large.⁸⁹ The procession was a ritual pilgrimage into the territory he came to rule.⁹⁰ In short, it was in the procession’s progress through the city streets that kingdom and ruler acquired meaning as a political narrative. The procession naturalized the viceroy and his powers since he and his entourage marched in the company of the already existing institutions of power in the realm and in the city, which now formed a single body in procession. Viceroy Toledo’s procession was led by the infantry, followed by the captain of the musketeers on horseback and the musketeers right behind. The *criados* of the viceroy followed in pairs dressed in journey attires (*hábito de camino*). Twenty-four pages with muskets walked behind in pairs dressed in yellow velvet uniforms with black and crimson trimmings, with two valets (*maestres de salas*), one in front and another

in back. This first section was followed by the cavalry, the city's nobility, the university faculty with their hoods lined up according to rank, and the city's mace-bearers with their maces resting over their arms. The audiencia with all their ministers and officials from their different tribunals came next, followed by the kings at arms (*reyes de armas*) with their armor (*cotas*) and maces. Right behind walked the *regidores*, *alcaldes*, and the lieutenant of the viceroy's guard, with mounted guards on both sides. Then, at the ritual center of the procession under the canopy was viceroy Toledo, followed by his standalone banner (*guion en cuerpo*). The viceroy's standard was followed by his master of the horse and his chamberlain, who were followed by two pages—one with a lance and the other with a velvet case. This whole "machine" (*maquina*) as the chronicler called it, ended with the captain of the lancers, leading the corps of lancers who walked in pairs at the rear of the procession.⁹¹

The entry procession of the second Marquis of Cañete innovated somewhat on the configuration of Francisco de Toledo's entry.⁹² For his oath, the second Marquis of Cañete rode in a carriage—instead of a sedan chair as Toledo had done before—from the *chacara* to the stage. For the first time, the viceroy's rapier (*estoque*) was carried uncovered by his master of the horse. In European rituals the sword symbolized the source of all government, and sovereignty.⁹³ Toward the end of the procession marched the viceroy's tutor (*ayo*)—and that of his father—Julian de Bastidas, the high steward (*mayordomo mayor*) Juan Osorio, his head valet (*camarero*) Antonio Torres de la Fresneda, his secretary Antonio de Heredia, and his gentleman of the chamber (*gentil hombre de la cámara*) Francisco de Cañizares. They were followed by five mounted pages of the chamber carrying a lance, a velvet case, a taffeta hat, a spear, and a very noticeable helmet with feathers, all items associated with symbols of empire and rule.⁹⁴ The appearance of these new symbols of political power and rule in the viceregal entry, consequently, reflected the establishment of a more mature political culture.

Perhaps the most important innovation, however, was the addition in the viceroy's procession of a *suiza* or company of Indians dressed like the king's *suiza* guards in Spain, that led the procession dressed in colorful silk uniforms trimmed with gold.⁹⁵ In Mexico City, Indians, blacks, mulattos, mestizos, women, and religious groups were notably absent from the entry procession. The entry reflected the political structure of power at work in the realm, and since none of these groups exercised political power they were logically absent from the ceremony.⁹⁶ In Lima throughout much of the sixteenth century Indians, blacks, castes, religious groups, and guilds were also excluded from the entry procession. However, beginning in 1589 the ritual began to incorporate some of these groups. The presence of Indians in Lima's viceregal entries increased dramatically over the course of the seventeenth century. In 1622 close to five hundred Indians with muskets "and pikes, with their captains, standard-bearers and sergeants all very well dressed . . . with as much finery as the Spanish," marched in the Marquis of

Guadalcázar's entry procession.⁹⁷ In the 1648 entry procession of the Count of Salvatierra, the Indian presence had grown to include several troops.⁹⁸ Toward the late seventeenth century, blacks and mulattos were also present in the viceregal procession. For the Count of Castellar's entry ceremony in 1674, the procession included six additional companies (two each) of mulattos, Creole blacks, and free blacks from Guinea.⁹⁹ The clergy, usually absent from these processions also became integrated in 1607 when, for the entry of the Marquis of Montesclaros, the learned monks of the Royal College participated for the first time, adding a considerable religious presence to the ceremony.

THE VICEREINE'S ENTRY

Traditionally the viceregal entry processions were displays of masculine power and privilege. Women were usually an inconspicuous element in these ceremonies. Most, but not all, women participated as passive and somewhat invisible observers ensconced behind the lattices covering the windows and balconies of Lima. In 1589 Lima saw the first vicereine arrive in the city as companion of her husband, the eighth viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza, second Marquis of Cañete.¹⁰⁰ The arrival of the first vicereine in Peru marked a turning point in several ways. Her presence signaled the political maturity of the viceroyalty. It also marked the establishment of a new court lifestyle, unknown in Lima until the arrival of the vicereine's large entourage of noble Spanish ladies.¹⁰¹ Doña Teresa de Castro y de la Cueva, Marchioness of Cañete, provided the viceregal court in Lima with unprecedented cultural capital. Doña Teresa was the daughter of Pedro de Castro y Andrade, Count of Villalba and Lemos and Marquis of Sarriá, and of Doña Leonor de la Cueva, daughter of Beltrán de la Cueva, first Duke of Albuquerque, and the favorite of King Enrique IV of Castile (1425–74). Given the social stature of the vicereine and the fact that she was the first female Spanish noble to grace the city with her presence, the *cabildo* decided to welcome her with a public entry of her own, set on the day before her husband's entry as viceroy.

Doña Teresa's entry marked an innovation in political ritual.¹⁰² For the first time the ceremony introduced the viceroy's wife as a public figure in an otherwise entirely male space of power. When the news arrived in Lima that the second Marquis of Cañete¹⁰³ had been appointed to be the eighth viceroy of Peru the city was stricken by smallpox and measles epidemics. In addition, the ruling viceroy at the time, the Count of Villar, was living in a wooden house built for him in the convent of San Francisco because his official residence was badly damaged by the 1586 earthquake that nearly destroyed the city. The Marquis and Marchioness of Cañete left Spain in March 1598 and arrived in Callao on November 8 of that same year. When Doña Teresa disembarked in Callao, she was greeted with a military salute performed by all the galleons in the harbor and the music of kettle drums and

trumpets. The same ritual was later performed for her husband the viceroy.¹⁰⁴ Doña Teresa's entry into Lima was a political ritual of a different sort, emphasizing family ties and courtly culture. The vicereine's entry alluded to the role of women in the family and in a more civilized viceregal society.¹⁰⁵ The vicereine was dressed in green and carried in a crimson sedan chair.¹⁰⁶ Doña Teresa's procession gathered all the illustrious people of Lima. On her right hand side (signifying preeminence or deference) was the departing viceroy Count of Villar with his son Jerónimo, while on her left (signifying inferiority in status) was her brother Don Beltrán de Castro y de la Cueva and Don Pedro de Córdova y Gúzman.¹⁰⁷ Directly behind the vicereine's chair followed the mare offered to her by the cabildo, with a saddle and horsecloth of purple velvet with silver accents. The horse was escorted by four footmen. Right behind the horse another sedan chair followed carrying the vicereine's head waiting maid, Doña Ana de Zúñiga, with one of the vicereine's maids of honor (*meninas*). They were followed by a crimson coach and carriage with three *dueñas de honor*,¹⁰⁸ the wife of the viceroy's secretary, and a long list of ladies and maids of honor.¹⁰⁹ Leading the procession was the vicereine's lord high steward (*mayordomo mayor*), her principal servant, and her master of the horse. The captain of the viceroy's guard, followed by the guards with their heads uncovered in sign of respect, closed the rear of the procession.¹¹⁰ Notably, the vicereine's entry would thereafter become a regular ceremony in Lima.¹¹¹

LIMA AND THE VICEREGAL COURT

An important task assigned to the viceroy was to preserve the honor and glory of the Spanish king, which could only be achieved through the elaborate protocol that surrounded his public and private figures. Central to establishing an aura of power and grace around the viceroy's figure was his household. The viceroy's household was meant to mirror the structure of the royal court in Madrid.¹¹² His *alter ego*, therefore, brought to Lima for his personal service a confessor, two secretaries (one of war and one of justice), a head butler (*mayordomo mayor*), a head servant (*camarero mayor*), a master of the horse (*caballerizo mayor*), a master of the hall (*maestro de sala*), gentlemen, pages, a treasurer, an accountant, a doctor of the chamber (*médico de cámara*), assistants of the chamber, a master of ceremonies, and at least four porters, twenty six lackeys, buglers, cooks, bottlers, storekeepers, low servants, coachmen, and stable boys. In addition, the vicereine brought her own household, which included a master of the horse, a personal secretary, a head servant, numerous ladies-in-waiting, hall assistants, female slaves, and so on.

Viceregal courts were considerably smaller than the king's court, which averaged around two thousand members in Madrid.¹¹³ The average size of the Neapolitan viceroy's household was 158 members, setting them apart, according to Gabriel Guarino, from the Spanish aristocracy and bringing

them closer to the king in their privilege.¹¹⁴ Considering, however, the great distance that separated Lima from Madrid, the harshness and length of the trip that could last anywhere from six to eight months, and the great expense for the viceroy who was responsible for financing the transporting of all the members of his entourage as well as all the material goods necessary for their proper upkeep, the viceregal households in Peru easily rivaled those of the Neapolitan viceroys. Early in the viceroyalty's life, the Count of Nieva brought with him an entourage of sixty-seven in 1560.¹¹⁵ Later Francisco de Toledo's household in 1568 numbered eighty-six, while that of the Marquis of Montesclaros in 1603 had only fifty-eight members, possibly due to a strict restriction set by the Crown on their size. The average number of the viceroy's household in the seventeenth century, however, was around one hundred members.¹¹⁶ One of the largest household in that century was that of the Count of Lemos, who in 1667, at the height of Lima's power, arrived in Callao with an entourage of 113 people.¹¹⁷

In addition to their households, viceroys also brought with them all the material accouterments necessary for the proper setting and functioning of their viceregal courts. Viceroys were allowed to bring with them to Peru items otherwise forbidden for import into the Indies, such as expensive jewels, fine china, crystal glassware, precious metal silverware (*vajilla de metal precioso*), expensive linens and bedding, luxurious fabrics, laces, and embroideries. In addition, viceroys came to Peru well supplied with large quantities of food items not found there, such as Spanish olives (twenty seven barrels of forty seven kilos each), rice, raisins (ten barrels), different kinds of almonds (twelve barrels), capers (two barrels), spices such as cumin and marjoram, and very large supplies of olive oil and wines.¹¹⁸ Food was a marker of distinction, and the introduction of these food items into the viceregal court contributed to the creation of a highly sophisticated culinary culture in Lima that would be later exported to the viceroyalty at large.¹¹⁹

During the seventeenth century the viceregal palace became an important site for the development of an elite courtly culture through performances of theater and music, promoted by the viceroy's patronage of a variety of courtly artistic productions. This patronage and performances of artistic productions in the palace began in Lima in the 1630s. They reached new heights at the turn of the century under the Count of la Monclova who sponsored high performances of works such as *La púrpura de la Rosa* (based on the text of the same title by Calderón de la Barca and written in Lima by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco), which was an opera staged in the viceregal palace in 1701 to commemorate King Philip V's eighteenth birthday and his first year of rule.¹²⁰

The viceregal court was also an important center of cultural production in other ways. In Lima the vicereine and her court became an important referent for establishing and renewing the city's fashion as they brought with them the latest trends in Europe to the city.¹²¹ In the seventeenth century, Lima women and men of all conditions became renowned for their luxurious

attire (see Figure 2.1). The fashion established in Lima was soon followed by women and men in distant cities in the viceroyalty, such as Panama and Trujillo.¹²² Notably, the increase in imports of silks and velvets, which imitated European designs from China and sold in Lima for a fraction of the European imports, allowed the plebes to adopt the high, elaborate dressing styles of the city's elites.¹²³ The subversion to the hierarchical order established by dress at the time by the plebes of Lima became the object of endless official legislation attempting, always unsuccessfully, to curtail it.¹²⁴ The adoption of courtly dress by Lima's plebe lent the city a less hierarchical air than European counterpart cities, a fact that proved most disconcerting to many European travelers to Lima. European travelers routinely described the luxurious dress of Lima's population, and they often noted with much curiosity and discomfort the fact that one could not distinguish a gentleman from an artisan or freed slave on the streets of Lima "save for their color."¹²⁵ The plebe's high tastes in dress responded to a certain prosperity driven in part by a culture of ostentation financed by merchant capital.¹²⁶ The consumption preferences of the plebes in Lima for courtly dress point to a form of modernity and to the success of an elite civilizing process that was largely mercantile in nature.¹²⁷ The modernity of Lima's seventeenth-century society was made possible by a new global economic order that made available, *for the first time*, affordable Asian imitation imports for mass consumption of items previously reserved for elite consumption only, generating in the process a new social order not defined by social status and race but by new patterns of conspicuous consumption. Besides Asian imports, Lima also



Figure 2.1. People of Lima. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relacion historica del viaje a la America Meridional* (Madrid 1748). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

imported Mexican silks and local precious stones and pearls, which were affordable to all as it is attested by their wide use in the city. The broad availability of these markers of distinction in Lima made it splendid like no other city in the viceroyalty and Europe, as Juan and Ulloa noted in the middle of the eighteenth century. What was disconcerting to Europeans at the time was the new fact that in Lima social origin no longer marked the individual, as anyone could now publicly display the markers of a higher status (velvets, silks, pearls, very fancy shoes, and silk stockings) for a fraction of the price, confusing, therefore, the established social order. In Europe this phenomenon would have to wait until the Industrial Revolution to become widely available to the masses.¹²⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The Peruvian viceregal entry shared certain characteristics with the triumphal entry of princes and kings into European cities.¹²⁹ In early modern Europe the royal entry was a very solemn occasion in which the prince took possession of a city or town.¹³⁰ Between 1450 and 1650 the royal entry was often “an absolutist triumph in emulation of those of Imperial Rome.”¹³¹ This shift toward an absolutist celebration entailed a transformation not only of its form but also of its content, as “any lingering possibilities of its use as a vehicle for dialogue with the middle classes” were diminished.¹³² In other words, by the mid-seventeenth century the entry in Europe had become more about aesthetic form than political content.¹³³ In seventeenth-century Lima, however, the dialogue with the viceroy was still evident in the messages encrypted by the city in the triumphal arches erected for the viceregal entry. The entry itself seems to have been as much about political content as form, and this aspect was reflected in the liberal, bold, and idiosyncratic use of the *palio* of royal canopy, which was understood by Lima to be one of its founding rights.

The long procession or progress that accompanied the new viceroy along Lima’s streets included the different groups that made up the political community he came to rule and was watched and often celebrated by the inhabitants and visitors in the city. As Robert Schneider has pointed out, these public processions drew in many ordinary people who otherwise did not have a place from which to view the hierarchy of the polity in action. Processions allowed them not only to observe the process by which the city constituted itself as a social and political body, but also to emulate or parody the fashions and gestures of the elite.

The viceregal entry into Lima was an important ceremony for establishing the authority of the new viceroy in the viceroyalty. But equally important was its role in establishing Lima’s authority within the viceroyalty, since its identity as head city depended upon the continuous presence of the viceroy and his court. The entry ceremony’s magnificence furnished Lima with an important occasion to display its power and wealth as the legitimate head city of the

kingdom. When entries did take place in provincial cities, which was rare, those cities tried hard to eclipse Lima's displays of wealth and magnificence. The most notable case was Cuzco, which as the former center of Inca rule repeatedly tried to outdo and displace Lima. Although Cuzco's entry included Incas and its Spanish nobility in their ceremony, tens of thousands of Indians and the provincial elite lacked the cultural capital provided by the highest ranking imperial official elites and large numbers of nobles who marched in the Lima ceremony. The Cuzco entry procession also lacked the diversity of plebeian and foreign participants that gave the Lima procession a cosmopolitan flair. Cuzco was also left out of what in New Spain was an important ritual journey that shaped the narrative of Spanish rule there. The viceroy's journey from Spain to Lima excluded Cuzco that, for reasons of geography and transportation costs, included only coastal Peru.

Lima successfully defied royal attempts to dictate its ceremonial practices; it did so to maintain its place as the head city and center of the realm. Viceroys often approved the city's request for additional funds, understanding the importance of the ritual for imperial authority. Lima also re-inscribed royal signs with new forms and meanings. Lima's viceregal processions appear to have been more inclusive than those of New Spain. This openness to plebeian participation eventually undermined elite markers of distinction.

The magnificence displayed in the viceroy's entry in seventeenth-century Lima reflected not so much the power of the Crown¹³⁴ but the wealth and status of Lima. In its viceregency Lima was the splendid head of Peru. Like the viceroy who derived much of his power from the king, Lima also needed a kingly identity to complement its viceregal stature in order to exercise its powers in the viceroyalty. And so we now turn to the king in Lima.

CHAPTER 3



THE KING IN THE CITY OF THE KINGS

The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth—it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true.

—Ecclesiastes¹

In 1622, King Philip IV was in Lima. Leandro de la Reinaga Salazar, the most senior *alcalde*, was chosen to carry him to a temporary throne set on the center stage of Lima's Plaza Mayor. But the King turned out to be rather heavier than expected. At the last minute, it was necessary to secure the help of three more men to carry His Majesty with the "appropriate decency required by the occasion."²

In 1622, King Philip IV was not in Lima. In his stead, a "lifelike copy of the King" (*un trasunto vivo del Rey*) measuring two yards tall by one and a half yards wide, with an additional half yard for its heavy frame, was carried to the Plaza Mayor for the King's Proclamation ceremony.³ The black frame was decorated with gold trimmings and chains, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and royal topaz, and inscribed in it in gold letters were the words: "Long Live the Catholic King Philip IV for Many Happy Years." The painting itself depicted Philip's entire body, with a face "like that of an angel."⁴ According to the chronicler Antonio Roman de Herrera, the king's half-smile and deeply expressive eyes "undoubtedly communicated a look of authority."⁵ When the four men and the king had reached the stage, the royal magistrates and all seated in the surrounding bleachers and galleries stood and removed their hats. The king was then "seated" on the throne (described as an elaborate and luxuriously upholstered chair) under a silken and gold *palio* or royal canopy. With the king seated, the royal magistrates took their seats and covered their heads.

The entourage that had accompanied the portrait then exited the stage, "bowing deeply to the Theater of the King Our Lord."⁶ As this was happening, Roman de Herrera relates, luxuriously dressed squadrons led by Diego

de Carvajal, postmaster general of Peru and deputy of the cavalry, entered the plaza. Mounted companies of musketeers were followed by one hundred artillerymen, who paraded before the theater, bowing before the king's portrait. Two hundred uniformed infantrymen followed, likewise bowing to the king. When all companies had entered the square they formed four blocks of twenty-five rows of men. They saluted their king by firing their muskets into the air. Residents of stature gazed upon the scene from balconies while others viewed from the rooftops of surrounding buildings, and in the streets adjacent to the main square crowds pressed forward to see and cheer the event.⁷

During the seventeenth century the staging of ceremonies centered on the body of the Spanish king was an essential aspect of monarchical rule in the viceroyalty of Peru. These ceremonies were also important to Lima's political self-fashioning as head city of the Kingdom of Peru. Although the royal ceremonies that commemorated the passing of one king and proclaimed the succession of another were far less frequent and regular than the viceregal entries discussed in the previous chapter, royal or kingly rituals were nonetheless of great symbolic significance for the cultural maintenance of political allegiances to the distant monarch. The figure of the king and the ceremonies that surrounded his body and image were important elements of a ritual or theatrical idiom of imperial rule that staged the political relationship between the distant monarch and his subjects as one of intimacy and benevolence. In a word, the ceremonies created and managed a royal presence that could be seen, heard, and touched. The effect of this royal theater appears to have been the cultivation or confirmation of strong fidelities toward the king among all segments of the Peruvian body politic.

Royal ceremonies were useful for Lima's self-fashioning as the head city of the composite body politic or republic of the viceroyalty of Peru. The ceremonies of the Royal Exequies and of the King's Proclamation, for example, constituted important currency in the production of Lima's courtly aura during the period of her dispute with Cuzco for the title of head city of the viceroyalty, discussed in Chapter 1.⁸ As we saw in Chapter 2, notable cities openly competed for status, favors, privileges, and predominance within the viceroyalty, and Lima also strived for membership in the Cortes of Castile in Spain. An important element in this competition among urban centers was ceremony: the staging of elaborate and magnificent public ceremonies that could be compared to those of other cities, and which were seen to express the relative wealth, power, and influence at court of the city in question. The display of the king's simulacra became an important form of cultural capital that sealed Lima's reputation as a kingly or royal city and as head of all the rest. By the close of the seventeenth century, Lima's royal ceremonial life established The City of the Kings as the indisputable center of baroque power in Peru.

THE KING'S BODY AND ROYAL CEREMONY

It is well-known that the Spanish kings never visited their American dominions. Nevertheless, in imperial America, the unseen king was widely seen as the legitimate head of the Spanish Empire's vast body. Historians have noted that Viceregal Lima was a bastion of royalism even as the Creole wars of independence came knocking in the early nineteenth century. This royalism had much to do with Lima's mercantile privileges under the Crown, but it was also a reflection of the persuasiveness of its baroque political culture or representational "machine" (*maquina*). After a period of violent civil war and rebellion, from the 1570s, on the viceroyalty of Peru was characterized instead by a growing political stability wherein the Spanish monarchy successfully ruled the territory and exercised its imperial power via Lima with legitimacy and sovereignty despite trying moments of economic crisis and dissent.⁹ Much of the social history and ethnohistory on the "colonial period" in Peru published in the last three decades or so privileged rural society, the destruction or transformation of indigenous cultures, and resistance to Spanish rule.¹⁰ Despite their great value as scholarship, rural social history and ethnohistory largely left unexamined the urban baroque cultural "machine" that allowed the Spanish monarchy to create and maintain a political system that brought relative economic and social stability to the New World possessions for nearly three hundred years.

In the Spanish political theory of the period, the king as head of the political body or republic constituted the driving principle, and this principle was expressed and impressed in the elaborate ceremonials and writings that endowed his figure with an aura of sovereign power and benevolence.¹¹ Central to the cultural viability of the imperial political system was the presence of the king in the form of simulacra.¹² The Hapsburg Empire was made up of worldwide and utterly disparate composite of old principalities, kingdoms, and former empires that had enjoyed an independent, separate existence for centuries with political institutions and traditions of their own. A fundamental issue for the composite Spanish monarchy from Charles V forward was how to make the monarch present in his many remote dominions and in this manner unite them.¹³ The manner in which the king's simulacra was distributed was not so different from those baroque technologies of the church that reproduced and disseminated countless ceremonials and images of God Almighty, the Holy Eucharist, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, the martyrs, and the saints. It is surprising, then, that the figure of the Spanish king in distant overseas possessions remains largely unexamined.

According to Marcello Carmagnani and Ruggiero Romano, the image (or idea) of the king was clear for a European but less so for a Creole or an Indian, for whom the royal image must have been "fairly confused and unreal."¹⁴ Still, since the late sixteenth century the clarity of the king's image to ordinary European subjects was also increasingly mediated by simulacra, and this shift in the technologies of royal representation may have been

linked to the political demands and lessons of imperial rule overseas. In the seventeenth century royal ceremonies on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean increasingly privileged the king's simulacra over his earthly body. With the exception of Madrid and certain other Castilian sites of the Spanish Hapsburg royal court, in Spain the king became increasingly "absent" or invisible allowing him to become more powerful. The king's invisibility was due in part to a new system of ritual life that increasingly resembled sacred rites and sought to render the Spanish king more present in ceremonies in order to exercise his powers.¹⁵ It was also after Philip II that Spanish monarchs considerably diminished their travels outside of their Peninsular possessions, adopting a ceremonial style similar to that previously established in the New World.

This ritual use of the body of the king on both sides of the Atlantic during the same period may be seen as a logical consequence of the political challenges faced by the Spanish monarchy after Charles V: The very vastness of possessions so distant and diverse meant that the sovereign could never hope to visit them all in person. In addition, the transitory figure of the viceroy as *alter ego* of the king was insufficient to impress upon subjects the idea of a universal monarchical sovereignty above and beyond the viceregal sphere. In short, the shift in representational technologies for presenting the sovereign from the actual body to the simulacra—which is nearly always explained in the historiography in terms of its internal European logic—was indispensable in the Indies.

Kingly or royal ceremonies in Lima served the dual purpose of making the absent king present to his distant subjects and binding both in a reciprocal pact that was made real and true by means of the simulacra. Since (unlike in many parts of Spain) the king's body was never produced in Peru, his simulacrum—a copy for which there is no original to be had—in effect made him a hyperreal king for most American subjects. Moreover, the centrality of the king's simulacrum in Lima's ceremonies seems to have been unmatched by any other American city.¹⁶ If this is true, an investigation of the king's simulacrum in Lima might reveal unique insights into the nature of Lima's considerable political and cultural capital. An additional characteristic of Lima's royal ceremonies that appears to be singular is the fact that the two major Royal Exequies and the king's Proclamations in seventeenth-century Lima coincided with interim governments of the *Real Audiencia*, which meant that no viceroy was present at these ceremonies. This coincidence meant that in these occasions the king's simulacrum took unmediated center stage as the true and only sovereign with a direct relationship to his subjects.¹⁷ Unfettered by the bodily presence of his *alter ego*, at these moments of political truth the king was truly present in The City of the Kings.

In seventeenth-century Lima the "sworn faith" to the king as sovereign lord entailed the obligation to assist not only with "actions [and] riches" but to commit one's life to defend Him.¹⁸ What is significant here for our analysis is the act of "swearing" rather than the "faith." In Lima the oath

of allegiance to the king was renewed annually at the ceremony of the royal standard, celebrated on January 18 to commemorate the city's founding by Francisco Pizarro.¹⁹ The oath was also central to the king's Proclamation. While the Exequies allowed city and vassals to publicly display their grief and sorrow over the death of their beloved king, the culmination of the king's Proclamation required a public proclamation of allegiance to, and love for, his successor.²⁰ In short, the ceremony marking death and succession linked in ritual time public demonstrations of grieving and celebration. These rituals assisted in the establishing among vassals of an emotional tie to, and identification with, the sovereign. The royal presence and emotional identification was repeated in different venues and contexts. In Lima the king was "personally present" in several instances: He presided over courtly ceremonies comfortably seated in a luxurious throne; His voice was heard every year when his oath to the city was enunciated by the most senior royal magistrate; His will was publicly announced by the royal town crier every time the ceremony of the *pregón* was performed; and His seal and signature *YO EL REY* (I the King) graced official imperial paperwork.

LIMA AS THEATER OF ROYAL CEREMONY

The baroque was an epoch not only of fiesta and splendor but also of the enclosed space, that is, of theater. As a cultural manifestation, the baroque was primarily an urban phenomenon where the city became associated with the inner or enclosed space of the production of culture.²¹ One of the main features of this urban baroque culture was its love of ostentation, such as luxurious modes of dress, lavish display of riches, magnificent and draped structures, and splendid fiestas.²² In European baroque societies of the seventeenth century, urban centers became the power base of local ruling elites.²³ New urban centers of power such as Madrid and Paris, which began as insignificant medieval villas, gained importance and centrality as monarchs made them the seats of their courts and as urban migration, produced by the economic transformation of the countryside, swelled their populations.²⁴ In Spain's overseas empire, the creation of new viceregal centers like Lima, and the imperial project of indigenous relocation into Indian towns known as *pueblos de indios* or *reducciones*, manifested the new principle of rule as *civitas* or the political life lived in cities. This ancient but renewed concept of rule regarded the city as the place of civil life, cultural production, and political power.²⁵ At about the same time the idea of "ritual" as a political sphere for the exercise of power was developed. The central urban space of the plaza and adjacent streets, and most particularly in the Spanish world, became a stage or baroque theater-state thought capable of "bring[ing] something into being."²⁶ Neoplatonic theories based on the principle that to see is to believe lie at the heart of this theatrical political practice. Initially derived from religious liturgical grammar, by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

century that grammar had become a liturgy of state centered on the figure of the monarch.²⁷ While the esoteric messages and symbols conveyed by these performances were thought to be beyond the comprehension of the masses, as the seventeenth century progressed the repetitive messages became more mythological and as a result the imposing apparatus was read to convey a message of power and magnificence but also of identification. The magnificence of the ritual allowed the participants to share in a collective emotional identification with the order of power without having to understand each and every symbolic element.²⁸ The understanding of the symbols displayed in these events were aided and reinforced by their repetition in different ceremonial contexts, such as sermons, masses, and religious and civic processions. Because many of these ceremonies shared a common ceremonial grammar, the general audiences could reach some important understandings of the symbols imbued in them. The iconography, emblems, allegories, and “hieroglyphs” found in religious and solemn civic fiestas formed “mental habits” of reading and interpreting symbols that were accessible and knowable.²⁹ To a certain extent these mental habits and rituals contributed to the self-disciplining and self-fashioning of the bodies, gestures, and costumes of the imperial city’s inhabitants.

The physical and symbolic center of imperial power in the seventeenth-century Indies or Americas was the Plaza Mayor. In general the New World plaza acquired a somewhat distinct form and function from Iberian plazas, since in most American cases all political and religious powers were physically concentrated around this urban core space.³⁰ The importance of the Plaza Mayor as the center of power in Lima was established upon its founding in 1535 when Francisco Pizarro—after allocating prime lots for the cathedral, the royal houses, the *cabildo*, and the jail—assigned the remaining plots surrounding it for the privileged residences of fellow conquistadors.³¹ By the seventeenth century, this core space of power in Lima had been enlarged to include the main city streets adjacent to the Plaza Mayor, now occupied by churches and convents erected by the major ecclesiastical orders—Jesuit, Dominican, Mercedarian, Franciscan, and Augustinian—and by the Holy Office or Inquisition.³² This central space of power was ritually mapped on a regular basis by what was called the *pregón* or *publicación*, that is, a slow-moving procession of luxuriously mounted city notables who accompanied the royal town crier in his public announcements of important events. Ritual events were set in motion by the arrival of a royal charter (*cédula real*) announcing the occasion and specifying the manner and limits of the particular ceremonial to be realized. The date, nature of the event, and protocol to be followed was then communicated to the city in the ceremonial procession of the *pregón*. Readings of the *cédula real* were marked by additional rituals that treated the artifact with much the same pomp and circumstance owed the king. Since the procession always traveled the same route and stopped before the same official buildings, the *pregón* traced what Michel de Certeau calls a “field of operation,” which is an authorized space in which power was

performed or “staged” and understood as such.³³ In Lima, the carefully laid-out Plaza Mayor and surrounding streets and structures provided a historical genealogy of founding and imperial rule embroidered into a narrative of power via the *pregón*’s processional route.³⁴ This “narration in acts,” as it were, generated an aura around the Plaza Mayor that was widely recognized and appropriated by elite and plebeian alike.³⁵

It was in this urban core space of power that (once funding was secured for the ceremony) the city embarked upon the construction of elaborate sets, ephemeral structures, and decorations. Lima’s main buildings were dressed up with ephemeral additions such as arches, walls, altars, plants, colors, and drapes.³⁶ This staging also required new lighting, fresh smells, different sounds, and carefully designed costumes for all to wear. As the term “baroque” still connotes today, Lima’s royal ceremonials sought to fill every nook and cranny, or an enclosed and draped space of the urban core, with allegorical elements relating to the ceremony in question. This temporal theatrical space would, moreover, reveal certain political truths to all present. In the parlance of the period, “theater” was in this context used metaphorically to mean the place where something or someone was exposed to the *estimación o censura* (the regard or censorship) of the world. This notion was encapsulated in the concept of the *Theatrum Publicum*. In this theater of public scrutiny, ostentation was the principal marker of status, power, and authority, and appearance became a highly valued and discriminating social marker. To a certain extent power was constituted and accumulated in this “theater.”³⁷ This theater had its script, and it is largely thanks to this script that we may glimpse its workings. The chronicles of this theater constituted not only a social commentary on how the city should ideally function but also a political model that could be drawn upon and compared with those of rival cities or theaters.

Under the desired magnificence of baroque representations and the perfect designs of the city lay an urban social reality of crowded rooms in unimpressive and even squalid structures. Indeed, with the exception of religious temples and a few palatial residences, Lima was not a city of monumental architecture. Chroniclers often remarked upon the monotonous flatness or horizontal profile of most of her buildings. Much of this horizontal image corresponded to the flat-roofed *callejones* (tight alleyways or tenements with numerous rooms facing a common patio) that dominated viceregal Lima’s housing.³⁸ In these structures entire families lived in one small room one next to the other. In these environs private lives were the public knowledge of the *callejón* and beyond. These enclosed, interior spaces—occupied by the plebes of poor Spaniards, Creoles, mestizos, Andean migrants, and people of African descent—were the breeding ground of a low cosmopolitan culture that coexisted with and thrived under the high courtly culture of Lima.³⁹ These overpopulated residential spaces spilled onto the city’s streets, lending Lima a crowded feel—which in part explains the observations made by travelers, many seemingly inflated—about the dimensions of Lima’s population.

Plebeian alley-dwellers were the targets of the civilizing and disciplining campaigns carried out by the Offices of the Inquisition and the Archbishop's Extirpation of Idolatries.

As was noted in the previous chapter, mounting grand celebrations in Lima was an expensive endeavor. Royal attempts to curb ceremonies generated an endless procession of decrees advising to cut costs and reduce displays of magnificence.⁴⁰ But the king's discourse of fiscal contrition seems playfully at odds with the cultural and political importance of the lavish displays of his own image or simulacrum.⁴¹ And although city officials also often complained to the king and to other officials about the strains that these productions put on the city's budget,⁴² as a rule cities went to great lengths—often incurring huge debts—to carry out the celebration in the appropriate manner.⁴³ This was due in part to the fact that public ceremonies were central to an economy of favors that regulated all social and political relations at the time.⁴⁴ The magnificence of the ceremony also sent a strong message to rival cities that their city had achieved economic dominance and social magnificence. Cabildos fostered the collective image of their cities and built a historical memory of their constitution as a body or harmonious community through the performance of elaborate civic rituals, but also the published chronicles of these events known as *relaciones de fiestas*.⁴⁵ In short, the reluctance to curb ceremonial expenses should be understood in the context of the political significance that the ceremonies and the circulation of the *relaciones de fiestas* had for the power cities like Lima exercised over smaller provincial ones and for the opportunity they afforded for gaining favors.

The importance of the royal ceremonies in this economy of favors was revealed in the actions of viceroy Count of La Monclova. On the occasion of the Royal Exequies of the queen mother, the viceroy ignored the *Pragmática* of 1693, which strictly regulated the ceremonial to be observed in them and severely limited the amount that could be spent.⁴⁶ Notably, the king had specifically ordered that this *Pragmática* be observed during his mother's funeral in Lima. The viceroy, however, did not honor the king's wishes, arguing that the order was too recent and the form of ceremony it proscribed too uncertain.⁴⁷ To circumvent the royal orders and so continue with the exequies as per custom, the viceroy personally assumed the expense of the catafalque and of the rebuilding of the cathedral's cupola, destroyed in the 1697 earthquake.⁴⁸ Although baroque displays of wealth have often been interpreted from a purely economic rationale of cost and benefit,⁴⁹ such calculations often ignore the fact that through these public displays of wealth and luxury cities, viceroys, and subjects stood to benefit politically in the longer term in the form of privileges and favors granted by the new king.

Seventeenth-century Lima's ceremonial calendar included over three hundred annual fiestas.⁵⁰ Those particularly related to the life cycle of the king and his royal family included the celebration and commemoration of births, marriages, baptisms, and deaths, as well as prayers for their health and well-being.⁵¹ Those related to the life cycle of the monarchy included

the celebration of military victories, royal patron saints, and the king's Proclamation. Among these, the more majestic and costly ceremonies staged in viceregal Lima were the Royal Exequies and the king's Proclamation. In the Spanish Habsburg dominions, these ceremonies constituted paramount occasions for cities to display their power and wealth to other cities and to demonstrate loyalty to the king. For example, great displays of grief during Royal Exequies were seen as a form of public and individual repayment for *mercedes* (favours) granted by the deceased king. Likewise, gratitude and anticipation was manifested in the sumptuous dress of the *alférez real* (standard bearer) and his entourage during the new king's Proclamation.

PRELUDE TO THE KING'S PROCLAMATION: THE ROYAL EXEQUIES

In the late sixteenth century, Philip II transformed the Royal Exequies into an official ritual to be celebrated not only in Madrid but also in all of the cities in his realm.⁵² This allowed the Spanish monarchy to exalt its historical genealogy, and at the same time it facilitated the elaboration of a unifying dynastic narrative for the empire as a whole.⁵³ The celebration of the Royal Exequies was as much a prelude to a celebration of the succession as it was a funeral, and it reminded all those present of their own mortality.⁵⁴ In short, it was a theater or spectacle of death that invoked the royal genealogy and then gave way to a celebration of life and the new king. It is important to underscore the ritual emphasis on the Spanish king's transitory mortality, since his vulnerability before death (always followed by succession) contrasts with the cultivated image of immortality assumed by the French kings. While the elaborate state ritual surrounding the French king's death was meant to underscore the superhuman or sacred nature of the monarchy, the Spanish ceremony underscored not only the king's human vulnerability before Almighty God but also the favor of God toward the dynasty (evidenced in the succession).⁵⁵ While the colorful regalia worn by the French king signified immortality, the black cloth of the Spanish king accentuated mortality. Since the French king never died publicly, so to speak, he was at some distance from his mortal subjects. This was not the case with the Spanish monarch, who openly shared death with all other mortals.⁵⁶ In Madrid, the king's dead body dressed in black lay in state for several days, while in the cities of his realm his death was represented by an urn covered with a rich cloth symbolizing the ashes of his decomposed body. His living soul, however, was omnipresent in the paintings and artifacts that decorated his catafalque.⁵⁷

Royal Exequies were exterior manifestations of loyalty and power. It was expected that those who benefited most from God and the king would make greater demonstrations of sadness or joy. This expectation was expressed by Pedro Ramírez in a eulogy he delivered on the occasion of the Royal

Exequies of Queen Margarita of Austria. Ramírez argued that although all people were indebted to God, the size of that debt depended upon how much they had received from Him. It followed, therefore, that since queens and kings received the most from God, they had a larger obligation to make greater displays of grief.⁵⁸ Sadness, however, was not expressed by an excessive demonstration of emotion but rather by ostentation, which was reflected in the proportions of the catafalque and in the length and quality of the mourning dress. Baroque ceremonial costumes were meant to publicly establish or reaffirm the qualities of the persons wearing them. It was also widely held that proper attire preserved the proper order of society. Since 1614, the Spanish Crown financed mourning robes for officials.⁵⁹ Notably, officials, nobles, and gentlemen were expected to distribute mourning dress to their households, including servants.⁶⁰ Social distinctions were marked by the length of the robes and by the quality of the fabric. Long robes were associated with authority: The longer the robe, the greater the authority. The robes of high authorities were cut long enough to touch the ground and wide enough to regulate the distance between rows during the processions, lending uniformity by regulating pace. High city and imperial officials, for example, wore long velvet robes with great hoods (*capirotos*) and ample sleeves, while lesser officials wore shorter robes made of mere flannel. The poor were expected to wear dark colors and a hat.

In his *Empresas*, Spanish political theorist Diego Saavedra y Fajardo argued that “appearance” was essential for the proper “division of society” and that “sumptuousness” was the marker of high status or “reputation.”⁶¹ Reputation and justice were essential for inspiring and maintaining *la obediencia a la majestad* and preserving the faith, which were key elements of good government. Authority was defined as ostentation; robes reflected one’s status, and distributing robes to one’s household demonstrated patriarchal power.⁶² It is therefore unsurprising that chroniclers should describe ceremonial clothing at great length and in minute detail, down to the color, shape, and size of each stone adorning a mourner’s hat. Each detail manifested the power and authority of the person being described. In this physical “wearing” of power, as it were, lay the baroque and Neoplatonist principle of “to see is to believe.”

Elaborate funeral ceremonies in Lima became a generalized marker of distinction appropriated by the city’s elites and plebeians.⁶³ Exequies were intended as exclusive royal ceremonies, but by the seventeenth century this was no longer the case in Lima.⁶⁴ In 1605 viceroy Count of Monterrey issued a long provision regulating the uses and abuses of elaborate and expensive funeral ceremonies by the common people of Lima. The viceroy referred to the excessively expensive mourning dress, the use of large catafalques, the elaborate burial sites, and the amazing number of candles consumed in the city to mark these occasions. All of this, he exclaimed, was disorderly and moreover a discredit to the authority and nobility of Spaniards and the *gente principal*. In 1614 viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros prohibited

elaborate funerals and the widespread use of coffins among blacks and mulattoes in the city.⁶⁵ Viceregal regulations of funerals inevitably clashed with the church's more egalitarian practice of burying all Christian bodies in coffins and in a grave (usually inside or near a church) and with a funeral ceremony including candles.⁶⁶ As the confraternities gained in numbers and clout, however, and as the primary institution responsible for funerals and burials, these became the space in which official secular restrictions were negotiated or simply ignored.⁶⁷

On October 8, 1621, Lima's cathedral bell tolled one hundred times, announcing Philip III's death. Every church bell in the city answered, and the public life of the city came to a sudden halt.⁶⁸ City and crown officials disappeared from public view until their new mourning robes could be made. All prominent buildings were draped in black, and even interiors had, in some cases, to be "dressed" in mourning attire. In Lima's viceregal palace, the viceroy's bedroom (down to his bed sheets) had to be black.⁶⁹ Likewise, the interior walls and windows of all imperial and city offices were covered in black. According to one account, the blanket use of black created the effect of an absence of color and texture and in this manner made real and tangible the passing of the king.⁷⁰

The catafalque was perhaps the only colorful structure present in the Royal Exequies. It was a construction of monumental dimensions, and in Lima it was usually placed in the central nave of the cathedral (see Figure 3.1).⁷¹ Thousands of candles lit the massive structure on the day of the ceremony, reminding everyone that life (ephemeral as lit candles) burned bright and intense for but a limited time and that death was inevitable, even for a king.⁷² The contrast of the darkness of the church and the brightness of the catafalque evoked the flame of life in a sea of death.

According to Joseph de Mugaburu's account, Philip IV's Royal Exequies were celebrated in Lima with as much solemnity and grandeur as in the king's own court. The ceremonies began with a military procession of five companies of the battalion, each with one hundred men dressed in black mourning uniforms. These were followed by 254 royal and city officials, Creole elites, and clergy dressed in long black funeral cloaks. An artillery shot was fired every hour on the hour for two days in the nearby port of Callao. The cathedral bells tolled one hundred tolls every hour, answered by all the churches in the city. Mugaburu reports that 2,031 pounds of wax were consumed in the catafalque alone for the ceremony. In addition, each religious order in the city received one hundred pounds of wax—one hundred candles of one pound each—as they filed into the cathedral to say mass and sing a responsorial. All other city parishes were given fifty one-pound candles for their observances.⁷³

The royal funeral's central ceremony took place on Thursday afternoon, when the full communities of the city's four religious orders proceeded to the cathedral bearing crosses and led by images of their respective patron saints, also dressed in mourning attire. Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez

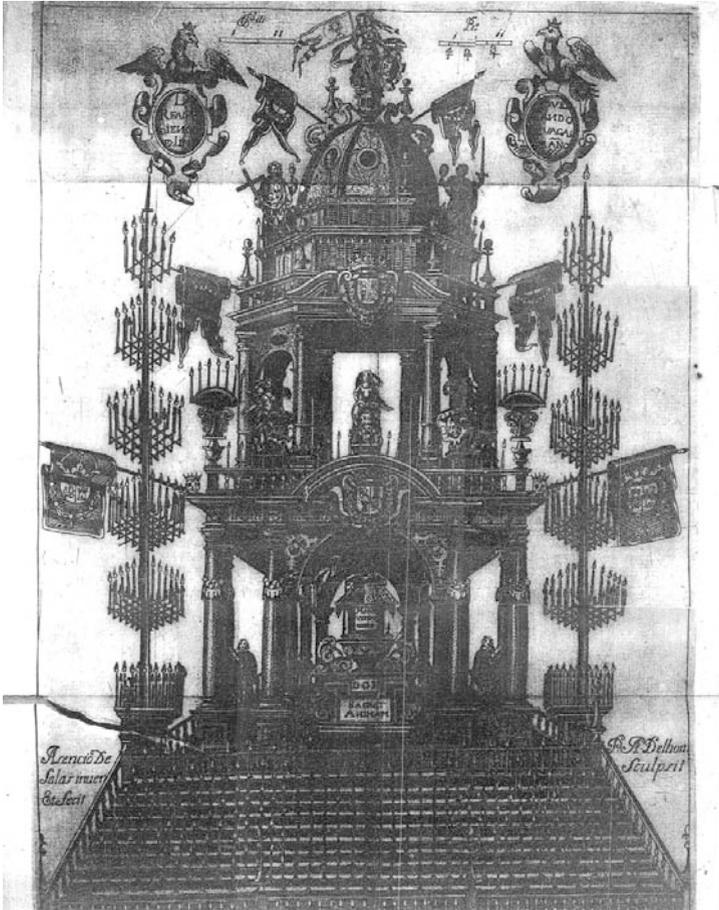


Figure 3.1. Catafalque built in Lima for Philip IV's Exequies in 1666. Antonio de León Pinelo, *Solemnidad Funebre y exequias a la Muerte del catolico . . . Rey D. Felipe Quarto* (Lima 1666). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

followed in a long train, wearing a large hat over his cap. He was followed by a procession of more than four hundred secular clergy in surplices and prebends and canons dressed in long black taffeta cloaks. The most spectacular feature of the ceremony was the catafalque in the central nave, which rose all the way to the copula and held more than three thousand candles. The entire cathedral interior was hung with drapings of black damask and Seville gold coins, while the ceiling and dome were covered with black buckram.⁷⁴

The catafalque was usually inscribed with historical events in the life of the king. For example, Philip III's catafalque announced "His victories and world achievements, the tracks of his enduring fame, and his happy entrance into eternal beatitude."⁷⁵ It was adorned with paintings depicting "the principal histories and events that occurred during the king's rule."⁷⁶ The

paintings also highlighted the king's triumphant entries into European cities and the many coats of arms of all his kingdoms.⁷⁷ Because these events had taken place, according to the official chronicler, by the will of the king, they constituted a testimony to his good government, good sense, and success as a ruler.⁷⁸

Panegyrics delivered during the Royal Exequies also interpreted the monarch's life and oeuvre.⁷⁹ These adulatory sermons were history lessons in the genealogy of empire, reciting past kings' military achievements and worldly virtues before recounting the victories and virtues of the most recent dead king.⁸⁰ Although they were censored before publication, on occasion these panegyrics managed to insert subtle criticisms of current affairs. In 1666, the provincial of the Mercedarian Order in Cuzco, Miguel Sanz Breton, equated the death of Philip IV with "the absence of much sun" in the kingdoms of Peru.⁸¹ Sanz Breton's critique was cloaked in the occasion and appeared to some to be merely a reference to the void caused by the king's death; however, the notion of a king's weak rays barely reaching distant kingdoms was a common *topos* of critique that conjured the image of neglect.⁸²

Philip III's catafalque exhibited numerous royal coats of arms strategically placed around the damask-covered urn. In this representation, what seemed to survive him was not justice, as with the French king (symbolized by the *lit de justice*) but dynasty or royal genealogy as symbolized by the coats of arms.⁸³ In Peru, the prestige and power of lineage was clearly understood. Late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century representations of "The Peruvian Monarchy" or "Peruvian Emperors" depicted the Spanish dynasty grafted on to the earlier Inca dynasty whose mythical founder was Manco Capac, and evidence suggests that the "conquest" of Peru was from early on understood as a *translatio imperii* and providential succession of dynasties.⁸⁴

The importance of this lineage was also present in royal portraits often placed around the catafalque, alternating with the coat of arms. In the Royal Exequies celebrated in Quito for Queen Margarita of Austria in 1613, the Habsburg dynasty was represented by twenty-seven portraits of kings, from Pepino I, Duke of Bravantia to Philip II. The life-sized portraits were copied with great care from a book of *estampas*, reproducing their original dress and other details. According to the chronicler, the life-size amplifications were "perfect and living copies of the copies in the book," making them the best and most "animated" (*vivos*) portraits in the kingdom.⁸⁵ These striking images possessed the aura of the represented.⁸⁶

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

Philip IV's Proclamation was celebrated in Lima on Sunday, February 6, 1622; nearly two months after Philip III's Royal Exequies had taken place. In the prolonged interregnum between the Exequies and the Proclamation,

processions of clergymen cloaked in black, engulfed in incense, and accompanied by the mournful music of church choirs, filed through the city's streets, day and night. This mournful atmosphere, however, rapidly switched to one of exuberance, as the city prepared to acclaim the new king. On Friday, February 4, a *pregón* announced that on the next day all residents should go out and cheer the news of Philip IV's Proclamation with special fiesta torches, fireworks, and other joyful inventions according to "the possibilities and desires of each."⁸⁷ Immediately thereafter, and in contrast to the Exequies, the cathedral's bell tolls were joyous, people shed their mourning robes for colorful and luxurious clothing, and buildings changed their black drapes for rich and colorful Persian rugs, Flemish coverlets, and Chinese silks. Gold-embroidered velvets were hung from windows and balconies, from which the ladies could eye the scene in the main square.⁸⁸

The entrance of the *alférez real* into the Plaza Mayor holding the luxurious royal standard, featuring the royal coat of arms on one side and Lima's coat of arms on the other, marked the beginning of the act of proclamation. Accompanied by two *alcaldes ordinarios* and cabildo members, the *alférez* climbed the stairs leading to the podium where the king sat enthroned. Standing before the king's portrait, the *alférez* bowed three times, waving the royal standard after each bow. Kneeling before the president of the *audiencia*, he then declared: "This City of the Kings comes in fulfillment of what His Majesty orders, and in accordance with this obligation and her fidelity, to raise standards for her King, and natural Lord, the King Don Philip IV, whose name may God protect for many years."⁸⁹ The king, "speaking through the voice of the *oidor*," acknowledged the city's fidelity and love as manifested by its "great demonstrations of jubilation, and fiestas, and such excessive expenses" and pledged both to uphold its old privileges and grant new ones in the future.⁹⁰ Taking the royal standard from the *alférez real*, the *oidor* stepped up before the king and exclaimed: "Castile, León, Peru, for the King our Lord Philip may God keep him for many years!" The people shouted in response: "Long live the King our Lord Philip the Fourth; may the King live for many happy years!"⁹¹

In the *cédula real* or Royal Charter sent to Lima announcing the death of Philip IV and the succession of Carlos II to the throne (dated October 24, 1665), the queen mother had explained that the custom of the king's Proclamation went back to 1407 when the Duke of Alva, Don Fadrique of Toledo, raised the standard of Philip I "the Handsome" with the cry, "Castile, Castile, Castile for the King our lord!"⁹² This tradition may be traced to medieval Ávila, Spain, where kings were first elected by the nobility and later proclaimed by the people. Nobles decided in private whether to accept the new king, after which they "act[ed] out the traditional rituals in public."⁹³ This decision amounted to the "election" of the new monarch, who then pledged to the nobles to uphold the *fueros* (privileges) of the city and the kingdom and to grant new ones. In the public Proclamation, the people were convoked to view and approve of their new ruler and to pledge

to defend, love, and honor him.⁹⁴ The Proclamation was, therefore, a public oath of loyalty between the king and the people. After this tradition, and once the *cédula real* had arrived with official news of the death of the old king and the succession of the new, audiencia and cabildo members in Lima met privately in their respective offices to read the announcement and acknowledge the new king. A scribe recorded the secret election and sent it to the new king as testimony of the city's approval of his succession.⁹⁵

While the portraits of the king's forefathers and the royal coats of arms on the catafalque of the Royal Exequies connected the dead king to his ancestors and the great royal houses of Europe, the single royal portrait placed on the throne under a gold canopy in the center stage of Lima's Plaza Mayor located the living king in the heart of the city (see Figure 3.2). For Philip IV's



Figure 3.2. “Maquina” built for Carlos II’s Royal Proclamation in Lima in 1666 by Fray Cristóbal de Caballero. *Aclamacion y pendones que levanto la Muy Noble y muy Coronada Ciudad de los Reyes Por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II* (Lima 1666). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Proclamation, the stage built in front of the viceregal palace and near the cabildo measured twenty yards long, fifteen yards wide, and two and a half yards high. On each corner of this stage stood a colorful silk-covered pyramid twelve yards high and one-and-a-half yards wide, with each apex surmounted by a sphere adorned with roses, taffeta, satins, and silks. The proportions of the stage and the luxurious decorations attested to the king's majesty, while the rectangular platform, the roses, and the pyramids evoked his perfection. On top of this "perfect" stage stood a smaller stage measuring fourteen yards long by eight yards wide, with four Doric columns supporting the royal canopy under which the king's throne was placed. The walls of this section were covered with pink satin drapes on which hung numerous portraits of the king's forefathers, and the floor was graced with a Persian rug. On the two front columns supporting the canopy were two giant statues depicting the two most illustrious cities of the kingdom: Lima and Cuzco. Each statue held a crown in its hands that was tilted slightly toward the canopy, "as in a grateful offering to the King in his living portrait, which they respected no less than his original."⁹⁶ Although here Lima and Cuzco appear crowning the king on equal footing, as it were, the key ceremonial fact is that the ritual gesture took place in Lima, not Cuzco. The audience present at the ceremony marked this fact, for only Lima could gather all of the highest royal and municipal officials save the absent viceroy. For Carlos II's Proclamation in 1666 this composition changed. The Inca was now depicted offering an imperial crown, while the Coya (or "Inca Queen") presented a crown of flowers to the king. In both cases, Cuzco and the Incas are emblems of the past, of old empire, and of succession.⁹⁷

THE KING'S PORTRAIT

Chronicler Roman de Herrera placed singular importance on the size and ornamentation of the frame of Philip IV's portrait.⁹⁸ Since the Renaissance, gilded frames were markers of status. The frame was an essential aspect of the virtue of the image, bestowing social honor on the personal image enclosed within its borders.⁹⁹ In Lima, Philip VI's portrait showed him with his upper body inclined and dressed in purple—a posture and color associated with royalty. Although the portrait was of the king's entire body, Herrera emphasized its upper half—more specifically his face—noting that his half-smile (also a royal gesture) conveyed a look of authority.¹⁰⁰ The chronicle recounting Carlos II's Proclamation in 1666 also notes that the king's portrait "represented majesty, empire, and dominion."¹⁰¹ Descriptions of the portraits of both Philip IV and Carlos II emphasize the kings' eyes, suggesting that one could perceive the essence of the king in the vivid depiction of his expressive eyes.¹⁰²

It is in this description of the eyes of the king as essence of his character and rule that we may appreciate the unique value of the king's simulacrum.

Even if the king were bodily present most mortals could not look him in the eye, and in this sense the portrait of the king was very unlike the king himself. The simulacrum enabled a contemplation of, and intimacy with, the king that was otherwise unavailable. This intimacy was accentuated in the eighteenth century, when personal-size portraits, like those of saints, were distributed among the population.¹⁰³

In 1641 Antonio de León Pinelo explained that the face revealed the nature of a person as a whole, both in the spiritual and physical realms, “because everything is condensed in the body, and in [the face] is concentrated all the perfections that are distributed throughout the other members.”¹⁰⁴ In Pinelo’s view, one could penetrate a person’s soul through his or her eyes. Citing Ovid, Pinelo argued that the face was the locus of affection communicated through the eyes of men and women.¹⁰⁵ He described the head as comprising the whole body, although its limits were understood to end at the collar.¹⁰⁶ The notion of the head as the total sum of the body is reflected in the political theory of the time, where the king embodied, as the head, the totality of his kingdoms and powers.¹⁰⁷ For Pinelo, to show one’s face was to uncover (*descubrir*), both in the sense of discovery and in the sense of revealing oneself to others.

During the seventeenth century, both in Spain and in Lima as in the rest of the empire, royal portraits increasingly presided over royal ceremonies in place of the absent king. The success of this substitution is illustrated by the incident that occurred during the Neapolitan rebellion of 1647, when the rebels themselves saved the royal portraits of Philip IV from the flames of the burning royal palace they themselves had torched, lowering their royal standards immediately thereafter as a gesture of obedience and respect.¹⁰⁸ The use of the king’s portrait in Lima’s public rituals changed significantly, however, with the ascendance of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne. In the 1701 Proclamation of Philip V, the portrait of the king was no longer publicly displayed in the Plaza Mayor. On that occasion, *estampas* (small images) of the king were printed and distributed to the attending public, while a private ceremony was held for the king’s portrait by cabildo and audiencia members. A half a century later, for Carlos III’s Proclamation in 1759, the face and body of the king had vanished, and in its place a royal banner placed atop brocade pillows took center stage under the royal canopy.¹⁰⁹ These shifts of imagery suggest that the more personal presence of the Habsburg kings gave way to a more abstract or symbolic representation of imperial power under the Bourbons.¹¹⁰ It was also in 1759 that the acclamation was reduced to “Castile and the Indies” and the “Kingdom of Peru” was dropped altogether. The Proclamation of Carlos IV in 1789 was celebrated in private with separate festivities on different days performed by the various corporate bodies of Lima’s republic. The Indians, who up to that moment had participated in the general ceremony performed in Lima’s Plaza Mayor with other groups, now performed as the *Nación Indica* in a separate ceremony in the Indian plaza of Santiago del Cercado. The ceremonial iconography lost

all reference to the Spanish Empire and the Indians appeared simply as members of the many Indian villages near Lima. References to Cuzco and the Incas were also absent.¹¹¹ These transformations in royal ceremonies in Lima ultimately point to profound changes in the imperial relationship of Spain with its territories—changes that transformed the kingdoms of Peru into yet another colony of “the Indies” by the end of the century.

THE *RELACIONES DE FIESTAS*

Published accounts of the royal rituals in Lima constituted cultural capital vis-à-vis provincial cities. The accounts of the ceremonies, or *relaciones de fiestas*, became virtual books of ceremonial etiquette exported to other cities as models for local celebrations and as testament of Lima’s power and stature (see Figure 3.3).¹¹² The accounts constituted a continuation of the performances, since their elaborate descriptions were one more “monument, [a form of] literary architecture” erected to preserve the memory of the ceremonies.¹¹³ The accounts were sponsored by the cabildo, the audiencia, and on occasion the viceroy, constituting an important historical source for the city’s construction of its own constitution as an orderly republic.¹¹⁴ They were also distributed as gifts to local authorities and notables in the city. The printing press, established in Peru in 1584, often did not have the capacity to produce high quality ceremonial books like those published in New Spain, Madrid, or the Italian kingdoms, prompting some Peruvian authors to have their works printed abroad.¹¹⁵ It could be argued that the *relaciones de fiestas* enjoyed an even more prominent place in the life cycle of Lima as the recurrent earthquakes that repeatedly destroyed the physical city during the seventeenth century were substituted in the public imagination (and historical record) by the magnificent ephemeral structures built for these occasions. As these buildings lingered in the pages of books, the images of Lima’s ephemeral architecture was made permanent.

CONCLUSIONS

Up until the sixteenth century, Spain had no capital, the king moved around the peninsula with his court, and Madrid was only a small town of roughly five thousand inhabitants.¹¹⁶ However, after 1561 Philip II settled his court in Madrid and the city began to grow rapidly.¹¹⁷ According to John Elliott, Madrid became an “artificial city of courtiers and bureaucrats, deriving its rather fertile prosperity from the profits of empire which flowed into it from all over the world.”¹¹⁸ Likewise, Lima only became the head city of Peru after 1542 with the creation of the audiencia and its designation as site for the residence of the viceroy and his court. Lima was also “artificial”¹¹⁹ in Elliott’s sense, although perhaps a more accurate term would be “modern.”



Figure 3.3. Only known period illustration of the Printing Press in Peru. Josep de Buendía, *Parentacion real al soberano nombre e immortal memoria del Catolico Rey . . . Carlos II* (Lima 1701). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

According to Elliott, the rule of such a vast Empire required the creation of an expansive bureaucratic structure.¹²⁰ Lima became a modern city of bureaucrats, courtiers, and merchants heavily dependent on the wealth that flowed not only from the Peruvian interior but also from the South Sea, that is, from the transoceanic trade and also patronage from the Royal Court at Madrid.

According to Anthony Pagden, between 1581 and 1640 the Spanish monarchy was in flux; the creation of a capital city during this period was a manifestation of a new legal concept of “a single law, or *ius publicum* for all

the several states” within its monarchy.¹²¹ Unity for the disparate composite of kingdoms, provinces, duchies, and principalities in the Spanish monarchy was provided by the figure of the king. When the king settled in Madrid after 1561, the city became “a centrifugal structure, which the King sought to hold together by a carefully organized institutional system of viceroys and councils.”¹²² Something similar occurred in Lima. Elliott and Pagden concur that the image of the king was of paramount importance during this period, as “in his own body he embodi[ed] unity.” To cultivate and retain allegiance and loyalty in Crown subjects, the king’s sovereign aura was represented in different forms in his various realms.¹²³ In *The City of the Kings*, the ceremonial portrait of the king was honored to foster unity in ways that often reflected Lima’s interests and also lent authority to the viceroy’s court and the royal tribunal. As Elliott shows, the Spanish king, having sworn to uphold the laws of each of his kingdoms, faced continual difficulties trying to defend the law in a constitutionally diversified monarchy.¹²⁴ This was also clearly the case in Lima. The new city used public ceremonies and the written record of their performance to create a precedent or historical record that fostered the development of a historical memory about the city’s rights and privileges or *fueros*. By claiming, in the words of the cabildo, that these *fueros* had been in existence since “times immemorial,” the city hoped to legitimate its special status and maintain privileges. Viceroys and cabildo members continuously challenged and often ignored royal dictates about the form and financing of public ceremonies, which was considered to be essential for the proper ruling and order of the viceregal realm. In effect, local custom took precedent over the dictates or wishes of the king¹²⁵ and the accredited opinion of the king’s subjects as manifested in *memoriales* were necessary to authorize the king’s decrees.¹²⁶

During the seventeenth century the Spanish monarchy increasingly relied on ceremonial representations of the king on both sides of the Atlantic. The king never traveled to the New World, however, so the living king was never produced or beheld here by subjects. The absence of the original king conditioned New World understandings of, and political relations to, royal simulacra, which in this context were effectively real. Since the referent had never been seen in Lima, the simulacrum was true by virtue of an absence-compounded by the viceroy’s absence in the royal ceremonies of the Exequies and Proclamation. Unlike the king in person, which in any case was never produced in the Americas, the king’s face could be contemplated (and even adored) in his royal portrait. The portrait enjoyed an unusual centrality in kingly ceremonies during the seventeenth century in Lima. In baroque metaphysics, the distinction between the signifier and the signified was diminished as all things were understood to possess an occult correspondence, so that the head was not merely a metaphor for the king, it could also *be* the king.¹²⁷ Bernard Cohn has argued that in seventeenth-century India, “the body of the ruler was literally his authority, the substance of which could be transmitted in what Europeans thought of as objects . . . [c]lothes, weapons,

jewels and paper.”¹²⁸ This was also true in Lima where he was known to his subjects through objects or simulacra: portraits, emblems, royal insignia, and royal seal, as well as words on objects, such as the *cédulas* written on *papel sellado* and prominently signed, *Yo El Rey*. In his royal simulacra the king in Lima was everywhere all the time.

The hyperreality of the king in Habsburg Lima was revealed to subjects in ceremonies centered on his royal body, which served the dual purpose of making the king present and binding loyal and loving subjects to him.¹²⁹ The ceremonial display of royal simulacra is not best understood, as some modern historians and critics have claimed, as instances of “colonial exaggeration”¹³⁰ or as instruments of ideology. Instead, the royal simulacrum was the very means by which “obedience to his majesty”¹³¹ was achieved. José Antonio Maravall, José Díez Borque, and other scholars have argued that the celebration of Royal Exequies provided the monarchy with one more occasion to exalt majesty and power, manipulating from above the emotions of its vassals. In a similar vein, literary critic Angel Rama argued that as the ceremonial centers of the empire, colonial cities were “the prime instruments of social communication, through which [they] directed the public dissemination of social ideologies.” Like Maravall, Rama claimed that baroque public displays of royal power—including the triumphal arches erected for the arrival of viceroys—illustrated the “ideological functioning of colonial intellectuals” and “exemplify the manner in which they sought to conjugate diverse social forces, and typify their constant exaltation of (and quest for patronage from) those, like the charismatic figure of the viceroy, who embodied royal power.”¹³² But the presumption that these rituals were mere instruments for the dissemination of elite ideals in their quest for personal patronage misunderstands their political role in the exercise of monarchical rule as well as the exercise of power of head cities.¹³³

John Beverly has pointed out that toward the end of the nineteenth century, the baroque came to be seen by intellectuals as “an essentially reactionary cultural style.”¹³⁴ Baroque ceremonial culture in Spanish America is still often equated among intellectuals in Latin America and beyond with the decadence and corruption of an ill-constituted colonial state, maligned by a near “petrification of institutional life” produced by “little more than a collection of more or less picturesque anecdotes; [where] jurisdictional conflicts and questions of etiquette absorbed the life of judges and viceroys.”¹³⁵ Unfortunately, such liberal, national, and rationalist readings are of little use for understanding the workings of baroque Spanish American political culture.¹³⁶ Beverly has also noted that “Maravall’s concept of the absolutist state—which he derives from Weber’s characterization of the modern state bureaucracy—assumes too great an identity of interest between Crown, nobility, and church, and too great a degree of centralization and functional rationalization of the state apparatus itself.”¹³⁷ Beverly has proposed instead a view of baroque political culture “as the *imaginary*—in the Lacanian sense of a projection of desire that systematically misconstrues the real—of

absolutism, rather than as a reflection of its actual coherence and authority."¹³⁸ Lima's official ceremonies were indeed imaginary or desired representations of a unified center of power where the imaginary of the head (city, viceroy, king) of the republic or body politic was imbued with the king's simulacra. Ultimately, the king's simulacra were useful in producing the courtly aura of Lima as head city of the kingdom at that early modern moment when capital cities were becoming the new referent of kingdoms.

The ceremonies of the Royal Exequies and the king's Proclamation assisted Lima in establishing its royal aura during the long dispute with Cuzco, particularly since Philip III's Exequies and Philip IV's Proclamation took place near the time when the dispute was filed in Madrid. By the second half of the century, when Carlos II's proclamation was celebrated in 1666, Lima had successfully consolidated its power and positioned itself as the most powerful city in the viceroyalty. The canonization of Rosa de Santa Maria in 1671 finally crowned Lima as the indisputable head and center of Peru, if not of all of the Spanish dominions abroad. Santa Rosa was designated the Patron Saint of the Empire.¹³⁹ Lima was now flush with spiritual capital as well. The production of Lima's saintly image is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4



THE BAROQUE MACHINERY OF THE AUTO DE FÉ

It makes one think that all this great machinery for the punishment of a few beggars, is more a wish for display on the part of the inquisitors than a real zeal for religion.

—The French Ambassador, Marquis de Villars,
on the Madrid *auto de fé* of 1680¹

The third jewel of the Trinity is the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition. She is a tree planted by God, where each branch extends through all of Christianity like a staff of justice crowned with flowers of mercy and the fruits of temerity. . . . In each Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition there is an army of three Inquisitors, who triumph over the enemies of Your Majesty and, making them tremble, conserve The Faith and Crown.

—Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*²

In his official published account (*relación*) of the *auto general de fé* (auto da fe) celebrated in Lima in 1639, Fernando de Montesinos argued that in its entire history the world had known only two great *autos de fé*: the first in Paradise, the second in Lima.³ The first, staged by God at the doorsteps of Paradise “against the apostasy of Adam and Eve,” had taken place on a Sunday, only three days after He had created man.⁴ The second was staged by Lima’s Holy Office or Inquisition at the doorsteps of Peru on a Sunday, January 23, 1639, the feast day of Saint Ildefonso, Patron Saint of the City and Guardian of the Virgin Mary. In Paradise, Montesinos noted, there had been a singular appetite to acquire knowledge of forbidden things, while in Peru a certain curiosity drove the misguided to make pacts with the devil. As God sent Adam and Eve forth from Paradise, in Lima the Inquisition now expelled the unrepentant from Peru and the Indies, thereby preserving the faith *and* His Majesty’s Crown. In short, in Lima the auto de fé was “the greatest and most awe-inspiring seen anywhere in the Indies”⁵ and baroque

proof that The City of the Kings occupied a high station in the Empire as Guardian of the Faith.

In the early days of the Spanish Inquisition (the first auto de fé was celebrated in 1481), the auto de fé was not specifically designed to be a public ritual. It was only after the discovery of protestant heretics in Seville and Valladolid in 1558 that the auto de fé was reinvented as a grandiloquent public ceremony by the Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés.⁶ The discovery of heretics paired with the Crown's eagerness to assist with its presence encouraged Valdés to draw up a set of rules, known as the Instructions of 1561, for the public staging of a "flamboyant public ceremony that would reaffirm the power of the Inquisition and reinforce its presence."⁷ With the royal presence and patronage at the Valladolid auto de fé of 1559, the ceremony attained a "prestige it had not previously possessed."⁸ From this event forward the auto de fé became more ornate, and its performances became grander and more theatrical.⁹ By the middle decades of the seventeenth century the ceremonial of the auto de fé had become "a true art-form of the baroque."¹⁰

Notably, it was at the same time that the Plaza Mayor became the locus of political theater in the cities of the Spanish world¹¹ and that Lima emerged as the head of the viceroyalty of Peru. Ceremonial machinations transformed the chaotic space of the plaza into a transient theater of order, rule, and pomp, and there is little doubt that this calendric and calibrated "theater-state" left a lasting, everyday impression on many subjects. The Plaza Mayor would be increasingly associated with the ritual time of high religious, royal, judicial, and civic ceremonies, including executions and other displays of corporal punishment.¹² In more mundane times, however, the same space was a gregarious and nearly ungovernable mixture of markets, magic, and social castes. The elaborate performance of the auto de fé assisted in the transformation of the Plaza Mayor into a temporal theater-state, and it also aided in the longer-term production of Lima's image as the most (powerfully) pious city in the viceroyalty of Peru since autos de fé were celebrated only in The City of the Kings. This saintly and rigorous image of Lima as Guardian of the Faith and the Crown was further enhanced vis-à-vis its Peruvian hinterland, on the one hand, by the punitive Extirpation of Idolatry and, on the other, by the many exalted and well-financed campaigns, finally successful in the case of Santa Rosa, to "crown" its own saints (these latter two aspects are the subject of Chapter 5).

The larger, baroque purpose of the auto de fé was first to ritually restore the moral fabric and religious purity of the city and the polity, and second—in its post-performance, published form as *relación* or chronicle—to accentuate and disseminate the exalted status of Lima as Guardian of the Faith, to the Crown, and the Empire. Although the auto de fé has often been depicted in the historiography and the popular imagination as the punitive and intolerant rite of a fanatical institution with financial interests in social control, steeped in dogma, and prone to overreach its powers,¹³ such views tend to

underplay the broader, productive nature of its baroque performance and publication as a grandiloquent and powerful chronicle of imperial dimensions. Rather than focus here on the plight of the condemned or on the means and effects of punishment and surveillance, and without wishing to argue that the Inquisition in Peru represents an early colonial form of modern authoritarianism,¹⁴ my reading will emphasize the baroque “theater-state” nature of the Trial of the Faith along the lines it was written by contemporaries. To conceptualize the productive, theatrical workings of the auto de fé in seventeenth-century Lima, I propose that the “baroque machinery” served to enact a “field of operation, in which . . . punishments . . . [were] not the sole element” but instead were associated with broader “positive and useful effects which it is their task to support.”¹⁵ These effects, I argue, included those normally associated with rule during the period: order, honor, magnificence, and power.

WHAT WAS THE INQUISITION?

The Inquisitions of Mexico and Peru were created by royal decree in 1569.¹⁶ In Peru the institution was established in a solemn ceremony celebrated in the Cathedral of Lima on January 29, 1570. The ceremony was attended by viceroy Francisco de Toledo, members of the *Real Audiencia*, the city’s secular and ecclesiastical *cabildos*, members of the secular and regular clergy, and illustrious *vecinos*.¹⁷ The purpose of the Inquisition brought to Peru by viceroy Toledo was, in his words, “not to smoke out heretics but to impose silence on the preachers and confessors in this realm who hold contrary opinions on matters of justice and conscience.”¹⁸ Prior to his departure for Peru, Toledo participated in the *Junta Magna* celebrated in 1568 in Madrid. This Junta was called to settle issues concerning the Royal Patronage of the Indies, including the boundaries of the dioceses of Lima, the reform of its clergy, viceregal powers vis-à-vis those of the church, and the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal.¹⁹ The *Junta* proposed to use the Inquisition against those clergy who espoused Lascasian ideas (after the Dominican Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolomé de las Casas) with respect to the mistreatment of Indians at the hands of *encomenderos*, and the possible illegitimacy of Crown rule. It was in this political context that Toledo established the Inquisition in Peru. An important target of the Peruvian Inquisition from early on, then, were those Catholic monks and clergy whose preaching was seen to undermine the legitimacy and powers not only (as is frequently argued) of the *encomenderos* but also of the Crown and the viceroy.²⁰

Under canon law heresy was a crime of *lesa majestad*, a crime against Majesty (that of God and the Pope)—and, in the Spanish realms since the auto de fé at Valladolid, that of the king—and it was punishable by death. The reason, then, for the auto de fé was the dangerous presence to Majesty of heretics within the realm.²¹ The public punishment of heretics then was

the highest form of discipline for the highest of crimes. Because of the importance of its punishment for the realm and its faith, heretics were publicly sentenced only in the most public of disciplining rituals, the *autos públicos de fé*.²² Autos de fé were not frequent occurrences in Lima as only nine *autos públicos* were staged in its Plaza Mayor between 1573 and 1608, two between 1625 and 1639 and the last of the century in 1664.²³ Private *autos* reserved for smaller violations that did not include heresy, such as bigamy, sodomy, witchcraft, and blasphemy, were equally small in numbers; four private autos were celebrated between 1612 and 1641 and four between 1666 and 1694. As the perceived presence of heretics declined after the auto de fé of 1639, so too did the celebration of these public rituals.²⁴

Fragmentary study of the Inquisition has led scholars to argue that the Inquisition had as its “first target . . . ‘hidden Jews’” and that only over time did its “charge broaden to include all sorts of heresies.”²⁵ Joseph Pérez has demonstrated, however, that in the Spanish case the first target of the modern Inquisition was not hidden Jews but protestant heretics, and that with time the focus on Lutherans broadened to include “judaizers,” “old Christians,” converted Muslims (*moriscos*), witches, and deviant clergy.²⁶ In the case of Peru the Inquisition’s larger project also conformed to a Counter Reformation design that proposed to educate society on matters of Christian dogma.

As the Spanish jurist Francisco Peña pointed out in 1578, the primary end of the process and death sentence of the Inquisition was “not to save the soul of the accused but to procure the public good and instill fear (*atemorizar*) and modesty in the people.”²⁷ Consequently, sentences and abjurations (*abjuraciones*) needed to be performed publicly so as to both “educate and also fill with (*infundir*) terror [the audience].”²⁸ In Inquisitorial cases it was not sufficient for the accused to simply confess to his sins and repent; it was also necessary to publicly declare one’s guilt in the spirit of a proclamation of devotion (*apego*) to the Christian faith. The auto de fé was a public act of exaltation of the Faith and His Majesty, a collective or communal rejection of heresy by the people reunited, and a pledge (*sometimiento*) to renewed orthodoxy. As an important institutional and community ritual, minor crimes (*delitos menores*) such as blasphemy, witchcraft, and solicitations could be represented in the ceremony only as complementary, since in themselves they were insufficient cause to organize a public auto de fé. Lesser crimes against the faith were usually sentenced in private autos, for example, they were carried out in the Santo Domingo Church in Lima or in the Halls of the Inquisition. Sentences against solicitations that might prove embarrassing for the church were usually read in the privacy of the tribunal, and in general the culprits did not march in the ceremony of the general auto de fé.²⁹

A statistical study of the cases investigated and sentenced by the Lima Tribunal between 1570 and 1700 found that 28.5 percent of all cases corresponded to *proposiciones* (propositions contrary to Catholic dogma, including blasphemies and “shameful words”).³⁰ In second place were bigamy

cases, followed by those of “judaizers,” and finally witchcraft or sorcery. Sociological analysis of those investigated and convicted in these cases has revealed an overwhelming majority of Spanish Peninsular men and poor Africans. Women, in contrast, were represented in much smaller numbers.³¹ This was particularly true in blasphemy cases, where Peninsular men constituted by far the dominant group; Creoles and mestizos are only a marginal statistic in the records. According to René Millar, the large representation of Peninsular or Spanish men in blasphemy cases was directly related to a poor Christian education in the Peninsula (a target of Counter-Reformation reforms). Similarly, the relatively high number of Africans was a consequence of their recent encounter with Catholicism. Overall the numbers suggest that the focus of the Lima Inquisition in the seventeenth century was not heretics or witches but a poorly educated clergy and old Christians.³²

PUBLIC PUNISHMENT, THE PLAZA MAYOR, AND THE INQUISITION

Public punishment in the Plaza Mayor took on several forms in Hapsburg Lima. Hangings and public lashings were not uncommon. On November 17, 1632, for example, five men, including two mulattoes, an Indian, a mestizo, and a Spaniard, convicted of theft were publicly hanged in Lima's plaza mayor in gallows built in such a way that each of the convicts could be clearly displayed. The spectacle was watched by an “extraordinary” multitude of people (*el concurso de gente fue extraordinario*).³³ A few days later, a black man was hanged in the plaza and quartered for killing a Jesuit brother. On December 17, the criminal court hanged a black slave in the plaza for having killed three people; later on in the month, four black *cimarrones* and assailants were also publicly hanged.³⁴ On occasion, sentences to be hanged and quartered could be reduced to lashings, as was the case with a common Spanish man sentenced to death and quartering for attacking and killing his friend, whose sentence was reduced to three hundred lashes—to be publicly executed as he walked through the city streets—and perpetual servitude in the “gallows without pay.”³⁵ Civil punishments could also, on occasion, take on a more didactic tone. In a particularly gruesome case, a Creole assassin was dragged through the city streets back to the house where he had committed his crime. His right hand was cut off in public by the front door where the slaying had taken place. The man was later hanged.³⁶ Later on in the century, the chronicler Joseph de Mugaburu reported that on “Monday the 10th of March of 1664, at four in the afternoon Antonio Ordoñez,” Captain of the regular Cavalry of Santiago, Chile, was convicted to die by hanging in Lima's Plaza Mayor for the murder of a woman. Ordoñez was hauled from the prison to the Plaza Mayor “dressed in mourning” where he was first strangled with the garrote, after which his hand was cut off and placed where he had committed his crime.³⁷ These civil cases of punishment were common

both in Europe and the Americas, and they remind us that public violence was not unique to the Inquisition.³⁸ Instead, the Inquisition practiced a particularly dramatic form of punishment that recreated the scene of the Last Judgment. In other ways, however, public executions such as those previously described were part of a shared “pedagogy of fear”³⁹ with certain methods of the Inquisition. Inquisitorial methods included potentially long periods of isolation and confinement, torture as a means of confession, the loss of property, personal, and family reputation, and finally the loss of life. Civil punishments, even in their more dramatic forms (quartering and beheading of the body), had a more finite trajectory. The *auto de fé*, on the other hand, potentially damned one eternally. Lesser violators (witches, sorcerers, bigamists) tried by the Inquisition or the Extirpation of Idolatry endured public humiliation, were paraded through the city streets half naked, mounted on donkeys with a noose around their necks with as many knots as the violations committed, and then lashed. Extreme heretics such as the “judaizers,” when sentenced to death by burning, were led away from the Plaza Mayor. They were later executed and then burnt at the *quemadero* (bonfire) on the outskirts of the city, not in the Plaza Mayor. Thanks to the ceremony and its publication, however, the infamy of their transgressions lived on for generations. Moreover, *sanbenitos* (penitential garments) were publicly displayed for generations on the walls of the city’s churches bearing their names and crimes.

The *auto de fé* severely punished (for eternity) those who had transgressed and not repented, but it also made sure to show mercy (*misericordia*) to those who had repented and recognized their error. In addition, it sought to publicly restore honor to those victims who had been wrongly accused.⁴⁰ As our chronicler noted, “Justice” and “Mercy” were inscribed in the Inquisition’s seal, which bore on one side a cross, sword, and olive branch, and on the other side a palm frond. The sword signified the rigor of justice, while the olive branch stood for “the softness of mercy” (*la suavidad de la misericordia*) for those who repented. The palm frond stood for the “honor that it is given [back] to the one who, because of false testimony, has suffered infamy.”⁴¹ Montesinos illustrated the mercy and honor of the Lima Inquisition by emphasizing the procession of the eight innocent (and luxuriously dressed) and the forty-four reconciliations over the twelve ritual burnings.⁴² The prominent presence of the innocent and wrongly accused in the procession and on stage was intended to restore the honor and reputation they had enjoyed prior to their imprisonment.⁴³ For Montesinos, the innocent men’s ornate dress and privileged seating symbolized the triumph of justice and grace in Lima. Moreover, their presence in the ceremony served the productive ritual purpose of restoring order to the polity and honor to individuals.⁴⁴ The interplay in the *auto de fé* of punishments and rewards (or of the threat of God’s ire and mercy) appears to have generated among the populace what Pierre Bourdieu termed a *habitus*—that is, a *practical sense* of the rules of the game that become second nature to actors.⁴⁵ But for many,

the success of the inquisitorial rites stemmed from the belief that the rewards went beyond freedom and honor in the earthly life for those who abided by or were favored by its rules and rituals: at stake was also the prospect of a happy life in eternity. This promise of ritual mercy and eternal salvation also appears to have attracted some to denounce their own transgressions (as well as those of others) before the Inquisition's merciful judges.⁴⁶ The Inquisition (and, as we shall see in Chapter 5, the Extirpation of Idolatry) also exercised a confessional function that, unlike that practiced within the confidential walls of the church, was publicly performed on a grand scale. Surely the great popularity of the auto de fé may be attributed to its grand "mimesis" of the Last Judgment.⁴⁷ The rite piqued the interest of witnesses "all over Christendom, filling them with the apprehension of their own final judgment."⁴⁸ In addition to the motifs of judgment and punishment, however, the ceremony was a grand demonstration of mercy and the restoration of honor and order, and as such it lured crowds not simply for its tenebrous qualities. In the projection of this "machinery" of mercy and honor lay much of the auto de fé's political significance for Lima, the viceroy, and the Crown.

ONE CHRISTIAN BODY

Article 77 of the Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés's Instructions of 1561 indicated that autos de fé were to be performed on Sundays or holidays so as to make it easier for people to attend. Special invitation was to be extended to ecclesiastical and municipal chapters, and in those places like Lima with an *audiencia*, the *oidores* (supreme judges) and presidents were also to be invited, and the ceremony was to be performed at a time that would ensure the execution of the sentences during daylight.⁴⁹ In the case of Spain, autos de fé celebrated in the royal court were graced with the presence of the king, and those celebrated outside of the vicinity of the court were graced with the presence of members of the high nobility. It also became practice to have the highest noble in the city carry the Inquisition standard. Autos de fé presided by the king were celebrated in Spain for the marriage of Philip II and Isabel de Valois in 1560, in Barcelona in 1564 on the occasion of the king's visit to the *cortes* at Cataluña, in Lisbon in 1582, and in Toledo in 1591.

In Spain and the Indies there were twenty inquisitorial tribunals, including those of Mexico, Lima, and Cartagena de Indias.⁵⁰ In most Peninsular or Spanish cases each tribunal celebrated autos de fé in their respective cities with the accused gathered from their jurisdictions. The auto de fé celebrated in Madrid in 1680 (immortalized in the magnificent painting "Auto de Fé en la Plaza Mayor" by Francisco Rizi, which today is housed in the Prado Museum) was an exception, since it united the entire peninsula in one great ceremony. So as to produce a magnificent spectacle for the wedding celebrations of King Carlos II and Maria Luisa de Orleans, the Inquisitor General

Diego Sarmiento de Valladares decided to gather the accused from different Peninsular tribunals to celebrate a grand auto de fé in Toledo. However, the venue was moved to Madrid at the king's request.⁵¹ Carlos II wished that the ceremony should serve as evidence of his religious zeal in defense of the Faith.⁵² The grand 1680 ceremony in Madrid was the last auto de fé celebrated under Hapsburg rule, and it symbolically united the Peninsula at the same time as it marked the holy matrimony of the king and queen. While this appears to be the only instance in Hapsburg Spain of such territorial unification by the auto de fé, in the case of Lima and Peru this unification effect was routinely produced. As in the viceroy's entry, Lima during the general auto de fé stood in for the larger territory of Peru. Moreover, every time an *auto público* was performed in Lima it inevitably included "old Christians" from Spain among its sentenced, and as a result Lima's reach as "Guardian of the Faith" went beyond the viceroyalty of Peru, suggesting the extraterritoriality of its powers.⁵³

The separate Inquisitions of Castile and Aragon were conjoined into one after 1518.⁵⁴ In turn this single Inquisition was divided into districts, which initially coincided with those of the dioceses.⁵⁵ Over time districts became more concerned with efficiency than with respecting old political divisions and jurisdictions (and the privileges and *fueros* that went with them) and so gave way to a form of supra-territoriality. The reach of the Inquisition was a source of recurrent conflicts between inquisitors and officials, since Spanish and Spanish American polities were based on estates or *estamentos*—such as the clergy, the nobility, and the cities—who enjoyed particular rights and privileges. In defense of its extraterritoriality, the Inquisition argued that as an institution of divine law it had been created "independently from all the *fueros* and with superiority to all of them."⁵⁶ Only bishops suspected of heresy lie outside of the Inquisition's jurisdiction, since they could only be tried by the Pope. These rules also applied to the execution of punishments, where nobles and commoners could be subjected to torture.⁵⁷ In this sense, the Inquisition became a basis for the standardization of punishments for particular crimes irrespective of who committed them. For example, in the auto de fé of 1639 one of the richest merchants in Lima, Manuel Bautista Perez, a native of Seville and resident of Lima since the 1620s, was sentenced along with the likes of Juan de Acevedo, a petty clerk in one of the city's shops. The guilty were positioned on the scaffold not by social status but according to the severity of their offence.⁵⁸ Notably, the procession to the scaffold also included fervent Indians who accompanied the convicted and attempted at the last moment to convince them to repent.⁵⁹

The centralization or supremacy of the Inquisition was reinforced by Charles V circa 1530, when he decreed that all sentences dictated by local tribunals must be confirmed by the Inquisitor General and the Inquisition Council or *Suprema*. The decree brought provincial tribunals under the supervision of the *Suprema*.⁶⁰ In the case of the Indies, tribunals presented challenges that were met, in part, by the granting of special dispensations.

The Lima tribunal, for example, was granted special instructions (*instrucciones particulares*) in addition to the general ones decreed by the *Suprema* and the Inquisitor General. To address the problem of distance and the inevitable slowing of the process when there were discrepancies, the Inquisitor General Diego de Espinoza ordered on January 5, 1569, that in cases of disagreement over the sentence to be applied to a *causa de fé*, the sentence could be executed without sending it back to the *Suprema* provided that there was a majority opinion. An exception was made for cases where the sentenced was to be executed or *relajado*.⁶¹

From its inception, the Inquisition's relationship with the secular and religious forces in Lima was contentious.⁶² Inquisition actions in the city were often contradicted and publicly snubbed by viceroys and archbishops alike. Notably, the quarrels over issues of jurisdiction and privileges usually manifested themselves publicly as conflicts of etiquette.⁶³ In the Indies the Inquisition enjoyed special privileges granted by royal decree, which allowed it "to exceed its jurisdictions" on those days when autos de fé were performed.⁶⁴ For the celebration of the fourth *auto general de fé* in 1587, for example, the Lima Inquisition banned all horses, carriages, and weapons in the city on the day of the ceremony. Although the regulation of weapons, horses, and carriages was also enforced in Spain during the celebration of autos de fé, viceroy Count of Villar objected to the Inquisition's decree, viewing it as a transgression of his own powers.⁶⁵ The count's solution to the problem of jurisdiction was direct. The viceroy issued a decree, publicly delivered by *pregón* in the most public corners of the city, ordering his companies of lancers, musketeers, and other *fuerzas* to report to the viceregal palace *a caballo y celados* (mounted and armed) on the day of the auto de fé. On the morning of the Trial, the viceroy, on horseback, was escorted by his mounted and armed companies through the city streets along the traditional route of procession, from the viceregal palace to the Halls of the Inquisition. When the viceroy arrived at the Inquisition's doorsteps, he proceeded to a second interior patio (as dictated by protocol) on his horse to meet the awaiting Inquisition officials.⁶⁶ In the procession to the scaffold, the viceroy was escorted by his mounted and armed troops; He rode while Inquisition officials walked. The display of power did not end there, however. Once all of the authorities had climbed onto the scaffold, the Inquisitor and the viceroy publicly quarreled over the seating arrangements previously designated by the Inquisition.⁶⁷ The Inquisitor Pedro Ordoñez Flores attempted to occupy the best seat on the stage, but he was outdone by the viceroy, who occupied the "highest seat" with a pillow by its feet. In the meantime, the vicereine took her seat to the favored right side of the viceroy in a velvet chair under the only *docel* or baldachin (canopy), while the Inquisitor and his officials were left to "share the seats without distinction" on the other side.⁶⁸ To make matters worse, once the ceremony was finally under way, and as was customary, the viceroy was asked to give a public oath of endorsement and support to the Inquisition and its enterprise in the struggle against heresy.

Perturbed by the request, the viceroy refused to provide public endorsement and recognition of the Inquisition's powers, instead he left the ceremony on horseback, riding onto the stage and followed by his mounted lancers and musketeers while the ceremony was being performed. Following this public insult and flagrant act of disobedience, the Count of Villar was excommunicated by the Inquisition, but he continued to exercise his power. The viceroy decided, for example, to torture the Inquisition's lawyer, Dr. Salinas. The count had to await his return to Spain to be reconciled with the Church by royal decree.⁶⁹

Viceroy were not the only public figures to openly quarrel with the Inquisition in Lima.⁷⁰ In 1600, having learned that his seating place on the scaffold granted him a status lower than that of the Inquisitor, the archbishop of Lima left town alleging "reasons of health."⁷¹ The archbishop argued that, if he were to attend, he deserved as privileged a place on the scaffold as the Inquisitor.⁷² Quarrels of etiquette prompted Inquisitor Ordoñez Flores to write a letter to the king in which he argued that if the wrong order were displayed on the scaffold, it could send the wrong message to the people about the authority of the Inquisition. If these contentious and erroneous displays of power were allowed to continue, the Inquisition could be taken for a power subordinate to those of the viceroy or the bishops when in fact it was the viceroy who should appear to be subordinated to the Inquisition. The Inquisitor charged the viceroy, "in simple language," with "wishing to convey his superiority by having the Inquisitor appear as his 'minister.'"⁷³ Ordoñez Flores's objection to being the viceroy's minister was informed in part by the fact that one represented the king and the other stood in for the pope as "vice-pope."⁷⁴ In the context of a culture where to a large extent seeing was believing, the power and authority of the Inquisition (and other institutions) in viceregal Lima depended on its proper "public representation," and it could be undermined if a viceroy or an archbishop could maneuver to "represent" himself as the more powerful.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, the physical presence of the viceroy as the king's *alter ego* and the company of the many other civil and religious high authorities were crucial to the greater success of the auto de fé, since much of the power and authority of the Inquisition itself derived from the aura created by the sheer presence of royal and high church officials. In this sense the auto de fé was vulnerable to power plays among officials. In Spain, the presence of the king and queen at the auto de fé signified the unconcealed compromise of the monarchy to favor and protect the Inquisition as Defender of the Faith, a compromise that was publicly renewed and made manifest by kings in the oath taken at the beginning of the ceremony in which he accepted the Inquisition as an obligation inherited from his forebears. In the Indies, where the viceroy was the king's *alter ego*, his attendance at the auto de fé was also significant, but from the Inquisition's perspective it was harder to manage.⁷⁶

The presence of the viceroy at the auto de fé lent majesty and gravity to the ceremony. Given the continuous presence of the viceroy in the city and

at the ceremonies, the autos de fé in Lima displayed a degree of ostentation not always enjoyed by those celebrated in Spain without the presence of the king. Diego de Ocaña, who witnessed the auto de fé celebrated in Lima in 1605, noted how the ceremony in the city was “more majestic than those celebrated in Spain since it was performed in a theater erected in the plaza that accommodated a great number of the city’s inhabitants.”⁷⁷ For Ocaña the presence of the viceroy, *oidores*, university, ecclesiastical and secular *cabildos*, and all the religious orders in the city made the Lima auto de fé “something to behold”—particularly since “sixty years before [Peru] had not known the real God.”⁷⁸

By the middle decades of the seventeenth century, Lima’s auto de fé had become a grandiloquent ceremony with an enormous stage decked out with fine rugs, large silver candelabra, ceremonial candles, crucifixes, elaborate chairs and other seating arrangements, plants, special lighting, music, chants, powerful scents that filled the air, and participants clad in elaborate ceremonial costumes. The theatricality of the auto de fé’s rituals was designed to appeal to the senses and lured people of all conditions.⁷⁹ In a letter addressed to Philip III, the Royal Council of the Indies bemoaned the fact that “in ostentation one lives according to the laws of opinion, having forgotten the law of nature, which is content with moderation, and which is what illuminates, and endures.”⁸⁰ This dissenting view of ostentation by a board of wise men, however, did not carry the day, and it was surely at odds with the general mood and political practice of the age, particularly so in Lima. In his *relación* of 1639, for example, Montesinos made repeated references to the ostentation of the ceremony. The public announcement of the auto de fé took place “with much ostentation” (*con mucha ostentación*), manifested in the *familiares*⁸¹ of the Inquisition who rode on horseback in the procession, regaled with long black poles bearing the Inquisition’s insignia, followed by the equally regaled ministers and other Inquisition officials, all accompanied by the music of trumpets, reeds, and kettledrums as they paraded down the main thoroughfares of the city. Montesinos also named each participating Inquisition official in this procession, providing their full titles and detailed descriptions of their attires. He relates in detail the progress of the procession and the places where announcements were read. The first *pregón* was delivered in front of the Halls of the Inquisition and the second in the Plaza Mayor near the door of the viceregal palace. Subsequently, announcements were given at the doorsteps of all of the major churches and convents of the city. After all of the announcements had been made, the procession retraced its steps back to the Halls of the Inquisition. The elaborate costumes worn by the *familiares* and other Inquisition officials in the ceremony (as their descriptions in relation to the city’s landmarks) were intended to convey the power and status of the individual but also of the institution they represented and in the process instill obedience for them and the institution in the observing public. Diego Saavedra y Fajardo explained this best in one of his *Empresas* where he argued that “*lo precioso y brillante en el arreo de la persona*

causa admiración y respeto,” (a luxuriously dressed person arouses admiration and respect), which is the reason why “the knowledgeable men of antiquity had established that kings should wear silks adorned with gold and precious stones,” so that the common man could recognize them as their superior.⁸² Saavedra y Fajardo also argued that appearance was essential for the proper division of society, and that sumptuousness was always the marker of reputation. Reputation and justice, he argued, were essential for inspiring and maintaining “*la obediencia a la majestad*” (obedience to majesty) temporal and divine, and for preserving the Faith, all of which were key elements for the successfully governing of the people.⁸³

Under the costumes and the seating arrangements, the cabildo exerted its power and authority in the auto de fé by erecting imposing physical structures. As in the king’s Proclamation, the cabildo of Lima built a colossal scaffold for the staging of autos de fé. Montesinos described the stage built by the cabildo for the 1639 auto de fé as a structure composed of five interconnected scaffolds with twenty-one sets of steps, fourteen of which were adobe. One set of steps was so large, he claimed, that it had taken two thousand adobe bricks to build. Seven ladders and thirteen rooms were built to accommodate the *familiares* of the Inquisition. Twenty-two trees were placed on the scaffold to provide shade, while the stage itself was so tall that it provided pleasant shade to those standing at street level. Such was also the case in 1625, when the cabildo built a series of large interconnected scaffolds. In the anonymous *relación* of this *auto general*, the author noted how the “proportion and majesty” of the scaffold provoked much “fear, respect and praise” in the audience, lending majesty to the ceremony.⁸⁴ The majesty of the 1625 ceremony was further reflected in the silks that covered the seating spaces designated for the vicereine and other illustrious ladies as well as those for the viceroy and the cabildo.⁸⁵ Montesinos rendered a more vivid portrayal for the 1639 auto de fé.⁸⁶ In the seating designated for the viceroy and the Inquisitor General, there was a baldachin covered with rich brocades, costly embroideries, and gold tassels from which were hung images of angels. The baldachin boasted on its ceiling, embroidered in silver thread, an image of the Holy Spirit. Behind the chairs was a large ebony cross and a gold crucifix.⁸⁷ The viceroy’s chair had three pillows—two for his seat and one for his feet—made of rich yellow cloth. The Inquisitor had one black velvet pillow for his seat while the vicereine sat on a yellow satin chair. The bleachers for the wives of important officials were decorated with rich brocades and yellow silk.

Decorations could also reference political arrangements. It was in the auto de fé of 1639 that, according to Montesinos, the places reserved both for city and ecclesiastical cabildos were decorated with expensive and colorful rugs. These rugs were merited since “both jurisdictions had helped the Inquisition: the ecclesiastical with a judge in the investigations, and the secular with a ‘minister’ to execute the sentences.”⁸⁸ Montesinos’s political

reading of the rugs alluded to a particular solution to the contested jurisdictions of the Inquisition.

Notably, Montesinos emphasized the countless people who witnessed the *pregón* and the multitudes who attended the auto de fé, all of whom raised their voice as one to thank God (and the Inquisition) for celebrating so grandiose a trial. Estimates of the mass or multitude in attendance at this auto de fé ranged from six to twelve thousand.⁸⁹ The baroque had sought to shape the masses with street theater.⁹⁰ The emergence of masses followed in part from the rapid growth of urban populations in many parts of the world during the early modern period. As a new mercantile world made it possible for the plebes to cheaply mimic the tastes and styles of the elite, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish the members of an increasingly amorphous mass of people. Elaborate baroque ceremonies represented in part a new technique of rule to deal with these multitudes. Baroque rituals of rule sought to create order both by transmitting uniform values and by invoking a uniform code of distinction and hierarchy, examples of which abounded in the church. Since the ceremonies were largely didactic, their success depended on the presence of a mass audience.

PEACE, JUSTICE, AND RELIGION

Justice in the Spanish Monarchy of the seventeenth century was understood in terms of the preservation of peace. The main obligation of a ruler was maintaining the peace, that is, preserving unity among his subjects. For many Spanish political writers of the period, the preservation of peace was the direct result of the exclusive practice of the one True Faith. For Juan de Mariana, the public good was possible only in places that espoused the Catholic doctrine, as the observance and toleration of more than one faith would bring about *discordia*, and discord was the sure sign of the lack of justice.⁹¹ For Saavedra, the “two columns of the republic: justice and law”—equated with rewards and punishments—would be standing “on air” if it were not for the firm base provided by the Catholic faith.⁹² The Faith constituted the link (*vínculo*) for all laws. For Saavedra, more princes had lost their power to religious differences than to arms. He turned to history to make his point, arguing that Spain had not achieved peace and unity until all had embraced Catholicism.⁹³ The reputation of the prince was the direct result of well-constituted laws, and justice was done and “respect [and] obedience to majesty” obtained, only when one religion was observed.⁹⁴ Such a happy arrangement ensured the prosperity of the realm and the flourishing of the arts “harmoniously moved by the hand of the prince.”⁹⁵ In support of this princely order, the Inquisition’s primary role was to ensure the professing of only one faith, thereby preserving the “public good.”

In seventeenth-century European societies ideal urban space was often imagined to be harmonious, and disturbances to the republican order were

seen as violations of both natural and civil law. As Samuel Edgerton suggested in his study of Renaissance Italy, crimes that upset the community were thought to also anger God, who “unless the wrong was quickly righted, might unleash terrible happenings upon the world.”⁹⁶ In short, public ritual sought to “exorcize all peace-disturbing, ‘unnatural’ elements.”⁹⁷ Justice in this period, argues Edgerton, was not “a matter of achieving human rights” but rather it was a matter of governing urban space according to sacred rules that ensured and preserved the peace.⁹⁸ According to Manuel Jiménez Montserín, the early modern auto de fé in Spain was oriented toward the reparation of the “social and moral fabric” of a community broken by individual transgressions.⁹⁹

The reparation of the sacred obligations and social and moral fabric of *limeño* society was achieved symbolically both in the performance of the auto de fé and in the narrative written by Montesinos. Thus, he begins his description with a detailed account of the procession of the sentenced people on the morning of the auto de fé. This procession slowly made its way from the Halls of the Inquisition to the Plaza Mayor and was led by four men bearing crosses covered with black “sleeves”—in sign of mourning for the transgressions committed to the faith—followed by a long trail of solemnly dressed clergymen.¹⁰⁰ The clergymen were followed by the sentenced in the order of the severity of their crime: Those charged with witchcraft came before the bigamists, followed by the “judaizers” dressed in *sambenitos*. Those sentenced to be lashed (the following day) ported ropes around their necks, and toward the end walked those to be “relaxed” with the famous *corozas* or conical hats, and also *sambenitos* both bearing flames and demons in the shape of dragons and serpents. In their hands they carried unlit green candles and were escorted on both sides by paired soldiers. The procession was closed by the master usher or *Portero de la Inquisición* who, mounted on his horse, carried the silver trunk containing the sentences to be read on the scaffold during the ceremony. Once in the Plaza Mayor, the guilty sat in an adjacent scaffold to the right of the main stage. The silver trunk was placed on a prominent and richly dressed table to the right of the altar in front of which sat eight richly dressed innocent men. The narration of the ceremony performed for the “wrongly accused” or innocent men—intended by the Inquisition to restore their reputation—closed Montesinos’ description of the sentences read to the guilty. The chronicler described and praised these men’s regalia, the beauty of their display of riches, and the “happy note” they put on the final moments of the ceremony.

Montesinos concluded this passage by arguing that the Inquisition punished the guilty but also honored the innocent, since its main mission was to show *misericordia* (mercy). While reconciliations were important moments of evidence of Catholic faith’s triumph, the Inquisition rarely acquitted cases where it could not “prove” guilt, because doing so was admitting “error,” usually suspending them instead.¹⁰¹ This ritual, therefore, seems to have been particular to the Lima Inquisition.¹⁰² Finally, “all rejoiced in unison in

general praise for the gravity with which all was arranged for the public good."¹⁰³

In other instances the restoration of order and peace, disrupted by individual transgressions, required an extension of the rituals associated with the auto de fé beyond the confines of the main ceremony performed on the scaffolds of the Plaza Mayor. Such was the case in the auto de fé of 1667, when the Inquisition engaged in a series of additional ceremonies, performed over several weeks, and it was designed to restore the name and reputation of the Virgin Mary. In 1667, Don Cesar de Bandier, otherwise known as the "greatest heretic Lima had ever seen" and personal physician of viceroy Count of Santisteban, was sentenced to exile in Seville in a private trial in the Chapel of the Inquisition.¹⁰⁴ Don Cesar was charged with having publicly insulted the Virgin Mary, repeatedly calling her a liar. Because of Bandier's prominence and visibility in local society, his profanations were likely to be known among different sectors of *limeño* society, which might help explain, in part, why the Inquisition took it upon itself to conduct an extended series of processions and masses, which lasted close to a month.¹⁰⁵ Joseph de Mugaburu wrote in his diary that,

the same image of the [Virgin of] Solitude and the Holy Christ, towards which the heretic dog [Don César de Bandier] directed so many insults, were brought out in the procession. The image was carried by the clerical priests, and the Holy Christ by four monks of the Dominican order. . . . From the Inquisition to Santo Domingo [Church] all the streets were swept and sprinkled with flowers; balconies and windows were hung with great display. . . . In this procession there were eighty students dressed as angels, all very well costumed, [as well as] all the secular priests, *caballeros*, and residents with their lighted torches.¹⁰⁶

The following Saturday, there was rejoicing as the head Inquisitor celebrated mass and a Dominican friar gave a sermon praising the Virgin. On both occasions, according to the chronicler, "all the [Inquisition] officers attended . . . with their insignias on their chests and the Inquisition's banner was carried by Señor Don García Híjar y Mendoza, *caballero*, of the order of Santiago and chief constable of the Holy Office."¹⁰⁷ On Saturday afternoon, the archbishop Pedro de Villagómez, dressed in full ceremonial regalia, walked with his clergy and canons from the cathedral to the Church of Santo Domingo where the Christ, Virgin, and Holy Sacrament were kept in order to walk them back to the cathedral.¹⁰⁸ A series of other very dignified processions carried the Virgin, Christ, and Holy Sacrament to the churches of the city. Finally, on October 28 "at four in the afternoon the procession in retaliation for insults by the heretic Don César [de Bandier] to the Holy Mary of Solitude left the chapel of La Soledad . . . [and] the Holy Image . . . with its beautiful and costly litter appeared in the procession."¹⁰⁹ This ceremony derived its authority, according to Mugaburu, from the solemn dress of all the participants and from the candles and incense used to inspire much "rejoicing" in the multitudes.¹¹⁰

CONCLUSIONS

In his chronicle of the last *auto de fé* celebrated in Lima in 1694, Joseph de Hoyo began his narration by providing a definition of a true Spaniard as one who practiced in imitation of the example of the Spanish king Carlos II who had presided over the great *auto de fé* of 1680. His account provided a complete history of all the great *autos de fé* performed in the Empire, including of course those performed in Lima. In a manner similar to those panegyrics authored to commemorate the king's Exequies, this *relación* provided a history of the Catholic Empire as the triumph of the Faith, with Lima occupying a central place in that history. Hoyo emphasized the *auto de fé*'s role to "correct errors," noting that this particular *auto de fé* in Lima had attracted great numbers of citizens and outsiders, curious to see the triumph of the Faith over the principal accused, one Angela Carranza.¹¹¹

The center of this last great *auto público de fé* was the *beata de San Agustín* Angela Carranza, referred to in the *relación* as "that magical Medusa." She was accused of false sanctity—for she was publicly "adored" in Lima as a saint in her portrait, in the "original," and in her writings.¹¹² Charges against Carranza took six hours to read and forty-nine folios of the *relación* to describe.¹¹³ The six others convicted took much less time in the ceremony and were likewise marginal in the chronicle.¹¹⁴ For such a lengthy set of charges, however, Angela's punishment seems not as severe as one might expect. Carranza was sentenced to seclusion for four years in one of Lima's monasteries, and during her first year she was to fast and confess every Friday, take communion on Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, and at each feast of the Virgin Mary; she was not to wear the habit of *beata* or go by the name of Angela *de Dios*; she was forbidden from writing and was instructed to relate all her spiritual matters only to the judges of the Inquisition; all of her portraits, writings, and other paraphernalia presenting her as a saint were to be destroyed; she was to be exiled from the Court in Madrid and her native City of Cordova del Tucumán (present-day Argentina) for ten years.¹¹⁵ The seemingly modest punishment ensured Angela's proper education in Christian ways, and it restored the "public good" of the realm.

The *auto de fé* of 1694 exhibited some important changes. Hoyo referred to an *auto público* in his narrative, yet the 1694 event took place inside the Church of Santo Domingo with a presumably wide public attendance but one which could not have matched those *autos de fé* performed in the Plaza Mayor. For the first time the viceroy and the members of the *audiencia* did not preside in person but instead observed the ceremony from behind a Church lattice. In addition, Inquisition officials no longer walked the streets in penitential procession but were carried instead in closed carriages and calashes as was the chest containing the sentences. Notably, in the meantime the city had successfully promoted in Rome the first Creole saint, Santa Rosa de Lima, canonized in 1671. Lima had come a long way from its early days of ignorance of the Christian faith, as Ocaña noted. As the public *autos de fé*

declined in public importance in the 1660s, a homologous institution, the Extirpation of Idolatries, would increase its field of operations, signaling that the making of Lima as one Catholic body was not yet complete.

In Michel Foucault's view executions and bodily torture were always accompanied by an elaborate "ceremonial of triumph."¹¹⁶ Ceremonies of punishment were exercises of terror that sought "to make everyone aware, through the body of the criminal, of the unrestrained presence of the sovereign."¹¹⁷ Once the community had been civilized, however, the preservation of order required that the public sites of punishments be moved to more private spaces for their execution. The magnificence surrounding the spectacle and the episodes marking the stages of the ceremony (the processions, stops at church doors and important buildings, the public reading of the sentences, kneeling, and the declarations of remorse for offending God and the king) were designed to celebrate the triumph of the law. These rituals of the law were also meant to educate the masses, for punishments were not applied indiscriminately¹¹⁸ but rather according to the gravity of the crime and the rank of his victims¹¹⁹ and in the interests of the "presentation of the abjuration, reconciliation, and punishment" of the accused.¹²⁰ The auto de fé celebrated the triumph of the Catholic faith but more importantly "the preservation of peace."¹²¹ In the case of Lima's auto de fé, triumph was represented by the presence of the king's *alter ego*, the viceroy, the colossal dimensions of the scaffold, the presence of those reconciled with the Faith, the magnificence of the ceremony, and the lighting of green candles after the readings of the sentences. It was the triumphal aspects of the auto de fé that lent Lima an image of piety and spiritual superiority, unmatched by any city in the viceroyalty. Lima's authority over the realm in this aspect was revealed in the fact that all of the accused in the realm were joined in Lima's Plaza Mayor, the center of the kingdom, to be judged and punished according to the law, liberating the larger community from the members who had threatened the public order and thus its peace. With this act of justice Lima reestablished order in the republic and preserved its peace. Preserving the peace meant maintaining the purity of the Christian body politic, and that process would require the creation of subjects who could represent themselves in terms of the baroque machinery, that is, as saints or deviants from saints. It is to the making of these saintly and unsaintly subjects that we now turn.

CHAPTER 5



SAINTHOOD AND SORCERY

[Josepha de Escobar] declares that she saw a Black woman named Tomasa, slave . . . of doña Sebastiana de Medina . . . chew some coca leaves and conjure with them by holding the leaves up with both hands and spraying them with wine and corn beer, saying ‘coca mia palla mia linda mia querida mia Chabela mia Don Juan Antesaria help with this. I ask of you my coca, I conjure with the seven devils of the corner of Santo Domingo [Church], with the seven devils of the corner of Melchor Malo [street], and with those of the corner of Mercaderes [Street].’ She also saw her put on a white kerchief pretending to be Chabela the Inca Princess, and then sprinkle the coca leaves and curtsy before [the divination bundle]. She then saw her put some liquor in a small pot and lit it so that the flames would shoot upwards.

—Testimony of Josepha de Escobar, October 8, 1668¹

As soon as [Lima] receives the said Bull or its copy its contents should be obeyed and executed. Ceremonies and fiestas should be celebrated with the proper etiquette and veneration *so that devotion to the Saint is instilled in the hearts of the faithful, and so that by means of her intercession an increase and exaltation of the Catholic Faith is achieved*, with the understanding that all that is done in this regard will earn my greatest gratitude.

—The Queen Regent to the City of Lima, 1671²

On December 13, 1609, Francisco de Ávila delivered his poignant sermon before the newly arrived Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, denouncing the failure of the Church’s efforts—after more than a half-century of evangelization—to fully convert the indigenous populations of the archdioceses of Lima.³ That same year, one of the few *autos públicos de fe* concerning Indians was performed in Lima’s Plaza Mayor. “Idols and ornaments” were burned, and the Indian Hernando de Paucar was publicly flogged under the watchful eye of thousands of Indians gathered there “from four leagues around.”⁴ Ávila’s discovery encouraged the new archbishop not only to embark on a

campaign to complete the conversion process but also to begin efforts to promote the beatification and canonization of Isabel Flores de Oliva, who had died in 1617.⁵ That same year a formal campaign to Extirpate Idolatry was launched in Lima, and it was later intensified during the 1640s and 1660s.⁶

By 1630 Lima had over forty churches and chapels and according to some accounts over 10 percent of its population wore a religious habit.⁷ Between 1580 and 1620 Lima also harbored an unusually high number of men and women associated with *santidad* (or living a beatific life).⁸ The surge in the construction of houses of worship and enclosure combined with an apparent religious fervor earned Lima the informal title of *ciudad monasterio* (monastic city).⁹ More recently, modern historians have asserted that Lima's subjects practiced an exaggerated "colonial piety."¹⁰ In the instructions given to the first Inquisitors to Peru in 1568, Indians were excluded from the Inquisition's jurisdiction in matters of faith.¹¹ In Lima, the religious surveillance of Indian Christian orthodoxy was carried out instead by the Extirpation of Idolatry, a peculiar institution that seems to have operated almost exclusively within the confines of the extensive archdioceses of Lima.¹² With a population that mirrored the diversity of the Spanish Empire and Peru, church, royal, and civic authorities faced a challenging task to make Lima into an exemplary and united Christian body. Yet Lima was largely successful at presenting itself as extraordinarily pious, and the city deployed this claim to spiritual superiority to justify its dominance over the viceroyalty of Peru and its special place in the Empire of the Indies.

Notably, the onset of the campaigns to extirpate idolatries in 1609, the Indian *auto de fe* in 1610, the two most majestic autos de fe (1625 and 1639), and the early efforts to canonize Santa Rosa de Lima all occurred during the crucial lapse of time in which the bishoprics of Lima and Cuzco were being redrawn, and at the same moment in which Cuzco and Lima were involved in the dispute over which city would be the official head of the viceroyalty of Peru.¹³ The culmination of these campaigns to acquire and project a saintly image was realized in 1671 with the canonization of Santa Rosa of Lima, the first American-born saint and the Patron Saint of the Empire.¹⁴

LIMA'S CAMPAIGN TO EXTIRPATE IDOLATRY

The religious conversion of Peru's native peoples is often told as a story of the violent and fanatical destruction of indigenous religions and cultural practices. Without denying the history of destruction and loss, it is important to realize that the Crown and the Church vied to protect indigenous people for the imperial project of "saving souls."¹⁵ This "saving" required not only an intricate understanding, in Catholic terms, of native beliefs and practices but also a campaign that could be enlisted in the wider project of Lima's

ascent, in the name of Majesty, to spiritual and civic dominance in the realm,¹⁶ and to the making and restoration of the harmony and purity of its Christian body so that God might look favorably upon it. In short, what was being extirpated was not the indigenous culture (as anthropologists lament) but instead the impurities of the body politic that threatened its harmonious existence.

The Extirpation of Idolatry may also be understood as one of the products of the Counter Reformation: a major epistemological shift that gave birth to new practices. The Counter Reformation was a highly rational movement that sought to unify a disorderly and increasingly divided world or body by creating “civilized” subjects through language and rite, particularly via confessions and parish visitations. To this end, the Counter-Reformation Church trafficked in new moral subjectivities, such as “the fornicator” and “the sodomite,” while introducing new notions of the devil and new techniques for instilling fear. The Counter Reformation renewed the centrality of the image in religious ceremonies and streamlined the plethora of patron saints, in part to make the conversion of “New Christians” in the Indies a more rational and governable process.¹⁷ It also sought to reform older Catholic rituals and processions that often ended in lewd acts, drunkenness, and other public disorders.¹⁸

In seventeenth-century Lima, idolatry was only one of the many cultural practices that the Counter-Reformation Church attempted to reshape and civilize, if not banish. The broad nature of this civilizing mission is made clear by the actions carried out in the 1660s by the *Visitador general de la Idolatría* or General Inspector of Idolatries, Juan Sarmiento de Vivero, who prosecuted not only those Indians who legally fell under his jurisdiction, but also mestizo, black, and Spanish men and women. Sarmiento’s crusade ranged from attempting to eradicate such common cultural practices as chewing and divining with coca leaves—an Andean practice that by the seventeenth century was shared by men and women of all castes and ethnicities in the city—to the old Iberian practice of deploying the noose of a hanged man to keep the law away.¹⁹ Indeed, the zealous Sarmiento used “Inquisition” and “Extirpation” interchangeably to refer to the institution he represented.²⁰ Extirpation required inquisition or interrogation and confession, and these were seen to be important to the making and maintenance of a Catholic body politic in seventeenth-century Lima. Indeed, the testimonies generated by the scribes of the Extirpation of Idolatry campaign reveal the existence among the interrogated of a discursive “field of operations” or “grammar” used to articulate one’s actions and thoughts in Christian and baroque terms.²¹ To the extent that Lima’s diverse population came to inhabit this discursive field of operations and express itself with its grammar, it became part of the body politic.

This discursive field or grammar was first outlined in Lima by the Jesuits who upon their arrival, and finding a rather precarious religious ritual structure at work in the city, implemented important reforms of the daily habits of

limeños. In his account of Lima, Jesuit Father Giovanni Annello de Oliva described the transformation of habits wrought by the Jesuit arrival in 1568. The Jesuits had found that religious sermons were delivered only on high holy days; henceforth sermons were delivered twice (morning and evening) each Sunday, as well as on special occasions determined by the Company of Jesus. These sermons were to be more strictly based on biblical references than in the past. Delivery was also changed. According to Father Oliva, Jesuits imposed a commanding rhetorical performance in which diction and tone of voice should “make their hair stand on ends” and “make their ears ring.”²² The desired effect was to instill such fear in the parishioners that, fearful of speaking to others in the street, they would rush straight home to reflect in silence on what had been propounded from the pulpit. To further encourage personal reflection and church attendance, the Jesuits introduced daily prayers three times a day (morning, noon, and night); previously, prayer was a nighttime matter only.²³ The Jesuits also increased the administration of sacraments, particularly confession and communion, which until then had only been given during Lent. To ensure that these new rules were observed, the Company of Jesus also began mentioning them repeatedly in sermons, in individual conversations with parishioners, by paying home visits, and by greeting people in the streets and plazas of the city where, “like good merchants,” the Jesuit Fathers engaged passersby and reminded them of their Christian duties.²⁴

The Jesuit reforms assisted in the cultural process that produced a Catholic discourse of conscience. Women and men would come to denounce themselves before the religious authorities *por descargo de su conciencia* (to relieve their guilty conscience). Knowing that what they did or had done was contrary to the teachings of the Church, confessants formulated their defenses, in many cases with the help of scribes, by arguing that their deviant behavior fell within the wider parameters or grammar of Catholic orthodoxy. Such was the case of the Neapolitan Don Geronimo Caracholo, tried by the Lima Inquisition between 1602 and 1615, who argued that the Virgin appeared to him and punched him in the face when he did not say the Rosary.²⁵ Confessing deviant practices could also be done in hopes of mitigating punishment, as appears to have been the case with the Indian woman Juana de Mayo. When Juana came before the *Visitador de la Idolatría* (Inspector of Idolatry) to inform him that she had permitted another woman to chew coca leaves in her room, she probably did not entertain the possibility that she would end up in jail accused of sorcery.²⁶ Confession or self-accusation was a tactic common among those who sought to mitigate their “guilt” and “punishment” in exchange for their cooperation with the authorities.²⁷ Indeed many of the testimonies in the Lima Extirpation trials are voluntary confessions. Furthermore, many of the trials were themselves initiated by women who wished to incriminate other women with whom they had conflictual relationships.²⁸

SORCERY AND THE DISCOURSE OF CONSCIENCE

The testimonies of those subjects interrogated by the Extirpation and the Inquisition suggest the quotidian existence of hybrid cultural practices that could be framed in a Catholic language of conscience and repentance. María de la Cruz, an Indian from Guanuco, was accused in 1691 by the *mestiza* María de Vargas, with whom she had a long history of intimate conflicts. De Vargas accused de la Cruz of being a sorceress and of killing her lover with *maleficios* (black magic).²⁹ From de la Cruz's trial we learn that in Guanuco de Vargas had twice lost her lovers to de la Cruz. De la Cruz had come to live in Lima after her community exiled her to Marca (Huaylas) for having an illicit affair with one of de Vargas's lovers. On several occasions the two women had lived together and shared (although not willingly) their men and on one such occasion both women ended up *quebradas* (pregnant), each bearing a child by the same man.³⁰ On her journey from Marca to Lima, de la Cruz met another man (no name appears in the testimonies) with whom she would live in Lima, but he publicly abused her, both physically and verbally. When de la Cruz tried to end their relationship and expressed a desire to work as a vendor in the local market, he became crazed, prohibiting her from leaving the house.³¹ De la Cruz escaped and sought refuge in several places, going first to the house of her godfather, a man whose surname she did not know (or so she testified to the Extirpator). After hiding out in different women's rooms the paths of the two Marías crossed again. When de la Cruz, battered by her lover, needed a place to hide, de Vargas suggested that she move into the room next to hers, in the *Callejón de la Soledad*.³² What at first appears to be an act of sisterly solidarity—as de Vargas had made it seem—was later revealed to be an attempt to keep de la Cruz nearby so that de Vargas could gather the necessary information she later used to substantiate her accusation to the Extirpation that de la Cruz was a witch and a sorceress.³³

De la Cruz, put on trial by the Extirpation, was accused of superstition and witchcraft for having in her possession some *aguardiente* (hard liquor), wine, coca leaves, a load stone, and iron shavings. De la Cruz had become pregnant with a child she did not want while living with the man she met in her journey from Marca to Lima. Investigating de Vargas's accusations against her, de la Cruz was found by the Extirpation in her room with the forbidden ingredients, which she intended to use to end her pregnancy or *mal de madre* as she referred to it.³⁴ According to de la Cruz, she had acquired these ingredients with the help of another Indian woman named Francisca Huailas to induce a miscarriage.³⁵

An area of inquiry and concern for the Extirpation was women's sexual and reproductive practices. Birth control practices are ancient and diverse. Contraceptives as well as abortifacients have long been used in the form of suppositories, vaginal douches, and medicinal potions. Since ancient times, contraceptives and abortifacients have been part of a medicinal practice that

reached its highest development—in the form of manuals and treatises—in the Islamic world of the Middle Ages.³⁶ During the European Renaissance much of this knowledge was lost, however, as proto-natalist attitudes based on church teachings and ideology gained ground. The emphasis of the Counter-Reformation Church on marriage and on sexual intercourse only for procreation, meant that contraception and abortion were increasingly seen as signs of the degeneration of the moral fabric or Christian body of the community.³⁷ By the seventeenth century, much of the information about the properties and usages of herbs for these purposes had disappeared from learned discourse, being preserved mainly in popular practices.³⁸

In the absence of a well-developed Western medical science in this area, popular healing practices were sought by a wide range of clients to treat such ailments as *bubas* (syphilis), and to control women's reproductive system.³⁹ In Europe many contraceptives and abortifacients were based on symbolic associations, such as infusions of herbs that did not produce fruits. In Hungary, for example, women drank gunpowder dissolved in vinegar, since it was believed that the fetus would be expelled from the uterus like a bullet. It is also known that European women used beverages made of turpentine, castor oil, quinine, the water of a soaked and rusty nail, horseradish, ginger, ammonia, mustard, gin with iron shavings, magnesium salts, opium, wormwood, and rosemary teas as abortifacients.⁴⁰ The load stone with iron shavings and wine held by the Indian María de la Cruz suggests European origins; the *aguardiente* and the wine were probably local alternatives to the use of gin.

Little is known about the attitudes of seventeenth-century Peruvians toward abortion. In his essay on sex and colonialism, Pablo Macera argued that by the end of the eighteenth century abortion had become stigmatized as a form of deviance because of the threat of demographic collapse.⁴¹ Although that threat was graver in the seventeenth century among Indians,⁴² we do not know if what Macera proposes was held by broad sectors of Lima's population. We do know, however, that the Counter-Reformation Church was not only against abortion but against infanticide as well (usually concealed as accidental suffocation), and it opposed the ancient Mediterranean tradition of the exposure of unwanted children, or *expósitos*.⁴³ In seventeenth-century Lima abortion was apparently not illegal, but it also was not condoned. Chroniclers of the period allude to the apparent sterility of the younger women of Lima, often depicted as living licentious lifestyles without the burden of bearing children.⁴⁴ In the Extirpation records one encounters cases where women's sexuality, and in particular abortion practices, sexual encounters, and amorous potions, are closely scrutinized.

The efficacy of the load stone as an abortifacient seems to have been readily recognized in seventeenth-century Lima by everyone except the Extirpation judges. In María de la Cruz's trial, all male witnesses testified to its efficacy as well as to its widespread prescription for terminating an unwanted pregnancy. The Spaniard Juan de Ochoa Aranda was emphatic about the effectiveness of

the load stone as a proven remedy, since he had seen the women of Guanuco use it and “be cured by it.”⁴⁵ Joseph Mexia, *Procurador General de los Naturales* or Public Defender of Indians, also argued that the ingredients found in Maria de la Cruz’s possession—wine, the load stone, and the iron shavings—were well-known for the cure of her “condition,” thereby supporting de la Cruz’s contention that all of the ingredients were licit and should not be taken as evidence for superstition and witchcraft.⁴⁶

Many of the herbal remedies used as abortifacients, such as marjoram, thyme, lavender, dill, saffron, and celedonia, or greater celandine, may be classified as emmenagogues (*menstrua provocat*) or stimulants of menstruation, which may give the appearance of an abortion. German women during this period, for example, preferred teas of lavender, thyme, parsley, marjoram, and oregano leaves. Tartar, German, and French women used the root of the “worm fern,” also known as the “prostitute root.”⁴⁷ According to the Spaniard Juan de Ochoa, coca leaves, another ingredient used in Lima to cure the *mal de madre* was seen to have, among other properties, that of being an emmenagogue. It was used by Indian as well as Spanish women “to induce menses in women” (*para que les venga el menstuo a las mujeres*).⁴⁸

“Magic” (*magia*) and “sorcery” (*hechiceria*) were terms frequently deployed by those women who testified before the Extirpation, but the techniques and uses that those terms referenced were everyday domestic matters, deployed to resolve conflicts among partners, or to tackle social and emotional problems related to illicit sexual relations, adultery, and violence—for the most part men against women, although the reverse was not unusual. Through the practice and consumption of magic and sorcery,⁴⁹ women of all castes routinely attempted to control—and sometimes change—their world of relationships. In their attempts to keep men faithful for example, sorcery (use of potions, casting of spells) was deployed to induce male partners to hate “the other woman.” Sorcery was also used to prevent or stop physical abuse at the hands of partners. On the other hand, magic was most often used to entice a man’s love, and the well-known European practices of *ligar* (to bind) and *embrujar* (to bewitch) a man was practiced in seventeenth-century Lima for the same purpose as it was in Europe, that is, for getting a desired man to surrender at your feet.⁵⁰

The state of being in love and the power of sexual attraction were often portrayed by men in negative ways; both were routinely attributed to magic spells cast by women. In 1670, the *zamba* Josepha de la Encarnación charged her ex-lover, Carlos de Guevara, with spreading rumors about her having bewitched (*embrugiado*) him.⁵¹ In her deposition, Josepha accused Carlos of faking being bewitched and insane as a trick to make his accusations against her credible to the Extirpation judge. She urged the judge to take action against Carlos, since she claimed they had caused her great harm and loss of honor.⁵² Apparently Carlos wanted to get even with Josepha for ending their relationship, which she described in the record as “illicit.” Carlos attributed his love and desire for Josepha to the effects of a little bundle he had found

hidden inside his mattress and to two coca leaves neatly tied together in a small cloth, arranged like “a man and a woman” and found on the wall by his bed. The bundle contained one leaf (*biguerilla*), a tuft of Carlos’ hair, a piece of cloth from one of his everyday outfits, dried human feces, a corn cob, dried quince, a dull pin, and a little snake, all of which was carefully laid out in a piece of paper with dried phlegm or spit.⁵³ In his testimony, Carlos related how he repeatedly tried to leave Josepha but no matter what he did he could not help but go back, begging her to take him back. He had tried being with other women, but he could not forget her.⁵⁴ In his desperation Carlos had sought the help of a sorceress from Surco (an Indian village outside Lima) to rid himself of the spell, and when that did not work he sought the remedies of a Spanish sorceress from Chile. In the end nothing worked, and every time he saw Josepha he went crazy and was unable to resist her charms. Carlos concluded that he had come under her “magic spell.”⁵⁵ Charges of bewitchment, like Carlos’s were not uncommon. Miguel Cano, one of Juana de Mayo’s lovers, begged her to “untie” him after their affair ended, because he claimed she had him *enechisado* or hexed.⁵⁶ María de la Cruz’s lover also accused her of bewitching him, which is why he refused to let her go when she wanted to end their relationship.⁵⁷ These men justified their “blind love” and passion for a woman as the product of an exterior and mysterious force manipulated by the woman who was the object of their desire.

In Spain, spells were made with alum and salt, menstrual blood, semen, and pubic hair. In Lima, women used magic spells—or amulets—and herbal baths to procure the love of a desired man, to rid themselves of the competition, or just for luck and good fortune. Doña Maria de la Cerda, tried by the Inquisition in 1641, declared to have made a love potion good for procuring a man’s love that included powder from a consecrated ara stone⁵⁸ and menstrual blood mixed with chocolate, conjured with “certain words.”⁵⁹ Juana de Mayo gave herbal baths of basil and dill and also medicinal baths of the *tapa tapa* herb to cure several illnesses. The mestiza María de la Cruz had been sick in bed for three years with an unspecified illness that had left her *rota y desnuda* (broken and naked). Juana cured her with a bath made of *mastranto y tapa tapa* and other herbs that María de la Cruz did not recognize, plus wine, a variety of flowers, apples, and *junquillos*, which María used to clean her face, arms, thighs, and “private parts.”⁶⁰ Juana also gave baths that were guaranteed to bring women success with men. For Aneta, the slave of a nun from the convent of Santa Clara, Juana gave baths of *mastranto*, mint leaves, rue, dill and basil, at the same time that she rubbed Aneta’s body with masticated purple and white corn.⁶¹ Aneta had requested the baths because she wanted to sleep with a man, and because she wanted her men to give her money, since the men she currently had did not give her any.⁶² For good luck Juana gave Aneta powdered avocado pits mixed with ground *mullu* (a pink sea shell used by the Incas as a form of currency), which Juana put on her neck and face.⁶³ Juana had used the same powder on Doña

Josepha de Araya's face, a Spanish woman, for luck and good fortune, "so that she would have lots of money."⁶⁴ In compensation Doña Josepha gave Juana a skirt and a shawl (*una saya y manto en pago*). Doña Josepha allegedly went to Juana's house with hurried frequency, to get baths of *mastranto*, orange leaves, basil, and rue.⁶⁵

In the fabrication of love spells, Juana de Mayo used a variety of ingredients, including men's hair, llama fat, coca leaves, pubic hair, animal-shaped stones, colored powder, and colored threads.⁶⁶ Juana "dressed up" a load stone with pearls, corals, small needles and pins, a half Real coin, two white corn kernels, and two blue corn kernels for Doña Josepha, so that she could be loved by men.⁶⁷ The one-eyed mestiza Juana Bernarda "tied" a man for the slave Felician Rengifo with a spell composed of the man's hair, a load stone, silver, and *alagalia* wrapped in a piece of cloth from one of his clothing articles. According to Bernarda, the man was *bien puesto* (properly set) in the bundle.⁶⁸ Juana Bernarda also made Felician chew coca so that she could "hear" the man talk and tell her if and when he was going to leave the other woman he was seeing.⁶⁹ Felician also sought the services of the slave sorceress Francisca Criolla, who also made her chew coca leaves so as to "hear" the man whose "voice" confirmed that he had another lover. Francisca then gave Felician a little bundle to put inside her right shoe under the heel. With the bundle in her shoe, Felician had to stamp on the floor with her heel three times repeating each time, "come Lorenzo, come Lorenzo, come Lorenzo." Francisca procured special waters (*agua de fragua*) to throw on the door of "the other woman" so as to make her leave Lorenzo.⁷⁰ In addition, Francisca spat chewed coca leaves around the hemline of Felician's skirt every time she went to Francisca's house, so that Felician could recover Lorenzo's love.⁷¹ In her desperation Felician consulted Marota, another *mestiza*, who also made her chew coca leaves to procure Lorenzo's love. She also sought out Sebastiana, a black woman from Quito, who in addition to chewing coca leaves made Felician drink wine "in the name of Lorenzo." The two women lit candles to San Antonio, who was stood upside down, while Sebastiana told Felician that Lorenzo would come to her. In front of a picture of San Antonio, they chewed coca leaves and Felician spit in Sebastiana's hands, who after examining her phlegm told Felician that Lorenzo "was sure to come to her."⁷²

Despite Counter Reformation efforts to promote monogamy through properly constituted marriages, adultery and marital violence were among the most common reasons cited for annulments in seventeenth-century Lima.⁷³ Although in annulment cases these charges were usually made by women against men, in the Extirpation testimonies women claimed to be using magic to appease their husbands while they carried on with extramarital affairs.⁷⁴ Juana de Mayo's daughter, María de la Asunción Cano, also known as *La Marota*, had the reputation of sleeping around with men (*andar trabiesa con los hombres*).⁷⁵ Her husband Nicolas was privy to her affairs, but never said anything about them thanks to Juana de Mayo's magic.

On one occasion when Nicolas found Marota in bed with another man (a young mestizo) he tried to kill them both, but Juana de Mayo sprinkled powdered *mullu* on “the other man” to protect him from Nicolas’ wrath. The magic was so effective that after the incident, according to Juana, all three lived together in harmony.⁷⁶ Magic powders were also used to solve domestic conflicts, as in the case of Doña Gerónima, who used Juana de Mayo’s magic powders to get rid of her husband and in-laws, who had made her life impossible.⁷⁷ In other instances Juana de Mayo made amulets that helped prevent physical abuse. The little blue bag with *tapa tapa* root, salt, garlic, and *contrayerba* that she gave to Ana de Oserín to wear around her waist would keep her husband from beating her, while some magic powder—to be sprinkled in his food—would make him love her at will.⁷⁸

The testimonies of the Extirpation trials also reveal that the plebes could readily recognize and appropriate for their own purposes of “magic” Lima’s urban spaces of power, most notably the Plaza Mayor, major churches, processional routes, and surrounding streets and buildings. In their quotidian “sorcery” practices, women appear to have summoned these urban spaces of power—the core of the baroque theater-state—to increase the powers and effectiveness of their invocations and divinations. Invocations—the calling of the devil or, more commonly, one of the lesser demons to obtain instructions or assistance—were usually part of the love magic ritual of divination, also known as conjuring, during which the sorceress sought to uncover the intentions of the desired man (or woman). In Spain, sorcerers used beans, cards, sieves, scissors, fire, rosaries, and oranges for this purpose. In Lima, coca leaves and candles were most often used. Juana de Mayo, for example, claimed that she could predict whether a woman’s lover was faithful or not by tossing two coca leaves in a dish of water; if the leaves came together the man was unfaithful, and if they floated apart her client need not worry.⁷⁹ Conjuring was important for getting the desired lover to come to the woman and/or leave the competition. In conjuring, magic cants were essential since the sorceress’ conviction and force in reciting them was what gave her predictions credibility among clients. In Spain, sorceresses had been known to conjure a man by calling out “furious you come to me” (*furioso vienes a mí*). They also made conjurations to the sun, the moon, and the stars. To obtain the love of a suitor one canted to Santa Marta or “wicked Marta,” to Santa Elena, to San Silvestre, and to San Onofre. The demons most commonly invoked in Spain were the Lame Devil (*Diablo Cojuelo*), Satan, and Barrabas.⁸⁰ In Lima, Juana de Castañeda prayed to Santa Marta who appeared in the shape of a cat that she conjured to get her husband out of jail, while Maria Nuñez conjured the saint so that men would love women, also invoking the *Animas Solitarias* (Lonely Souls) so that they would marry.⁸¹

In addition to local references of Andean cultural figures, in Lima sorceresses under interrogation revealed knowledge of a wide cast of ancient Biblical characters and familiarity with the baroque geography of power in

central Lima, which they deployed in their rituals, seemingly to increase their powers. The *zamba* from Conchucos, Maria Jurado (also known as Maria Feliciana), in her conjurations invoked the “Lonely Soul” as well as “the devil of the fish market [alley], the Inga, and Doña Isabel *del* Inga.”⁸² When Juana de Mayo conjured with coca leaves, in her invocations she summoned an Andean princess or *palla*, calling forth *mama palla linda mia*, adding that in the House of *Cayfas* lived Herodotus and Pontius Pilate.⁸³ When Tomasa, a black slave, conjured with coca leaves, she invoked “the seven demons” of the fruit and fish market alleys and also those demons of those street corners that marked the sacred routes of processions and the sites of the stages and arches of baroque power, including the corners of the Plaza Mayor, Mercaderes Street, Santo Domingo Church, and the adjacent streets.⁸⁴ When Tomasa performed this ritual she apparently wore a white cloth over her head, pretending to be the *palla* Chabela, while she sprinkled wine on the coca and curtsied to it. After the conjuring was finished, she put *aguardiente* in a pan on the fire and lit the alcohol so that a flame would shoot upward.⁸⁵

Several of the women interrogated by the Extirpation claimed to invoke the Inca and use the bones of unbaptized Indians (*indios gentiles*) in their ritual practices. The Spanish Doña Bernarda de Cerbantes gave herbal baths made of two reales worth of *aguardiente*. The ritual consisted of tossing the equivalent of one real of the beverage in the bath while drinking the other and toasting “the Inca and his vassals, who she called and invoked.” This ritual ensured that men of any estate (*estado*), “be it White, Black, or Indian” would throw themselves at the feet of the woman who used it.⁸⁶ The ritual ended with a body rub of chewed white corn. Catalina de Baeza used the bones from the graveyards of unbaptized Indians to cure women of bewitchment.⁸⁷ Doña Marina, also known as Doña Juana de Vega, used a potion made with powders from a consecrated ara stone, the bones of unbaptized Indians, and other things, mixed with chocolate in a beverage to procure the love of men.⁸⁸ Other women used Christian symbols to increase their powers. The mestizo woman known as *La Camandula* claimed that her powers were derived from a crucifix on her palate. She argued that God had given it to her so that she would always be able to tell people what they needed to know about life. Her claim was confirmed by the Indian Ana de Oserín, who declared that when she looked inside Camandula’s mouth she saw the crucifix.⁸⁹

Most of the accused women who practiced magic and sorcery were either unmarried or widows. The Indian Ana de Oserín, for example, was the widow of Pedro de Oguera. She defined herself as a “good Christian woman” who had married to serve God but had resorted to sorcery in an effort to end the physical abuse that her husband had inflicted upon her. After her husband’s death Ana saw other men and when Camandula found her crying one day because her lover Juan was seeing another woman, Camandula told Ana not to waste her time and energy, urging her to take

action. Camandula sent Ana to the nearby port of Callao to gather certain herbs needed to prepare a concoction that would turn Juan into the equivalent of a docile puppy or, as Camandula put it, to make him *mas arrastrado q[ue] la culebra*.⁹⁰ As Ana ripped the herbs (*hierba de vidrio*) from the soil, she had to repeat that Juan (her lover) was “a drunk and a pig.”⁹¹ Ana declared to the Extirpation judge that she never had the courage to use the potions and remedies created by Camandula, rejecting them always at the last minute.⁹²

Some decades ago Elinor Burkett argued that urban women in seventeenth-century Peru were manipulated by the criteria and needs of a dominant class of white males, who continually frustrated their aspirations with regulations and social practices.⁹³ In contrast, Irene Silverblatt argued that rural Andean women rejected Spanish colonialism by taking a political decision to preserve and defend their preconquest culture, largely by taking refuge in the far reaches of the Andes.⁹⁴ The testimony, generated by Lima’s Extirpation of Idolatry and Inquisitorial records, suggests another reading. Sex, gender, and the cultural practices that marked and defined both in and around Lima were fluid and hybrid, urban and rural, Andean, African, and European. In short, a complex baroque process of transculturation was underway in and around seventeenth-century Lima.⁹⁵ Indigenous women from rural areas actively and willingly participated in this process of cultural exchange. The cultural practices inscribed in the Extirpation cases as well as those of the Inquisition suggest that although women in viceregal Lima encountered many obstacles, they readily sought and found alternative ways to deal with them, and those alternatives were available in abundance. The women appearing in the Extirpation and Inquisition trials frequently defied established gender roles and at other times simply ignored them. Furthermore, “cultural purity” and the rejection of a dominant patriarchal culture were not issues that concerned the practitioners or consumers of magic and sorcery. Instead, they used these notions in declarations before Extirpation and Inquisition judges in efforts to gain advantages vis-à-vis the law and intimate others with whom they cultivated emotional relationships. The cultural practices of these women reveal a complex combination of “official” (i.e., Catholic baroque) and “plebeian” (Andean, African, and Spanish) discourses and knowledge. Although not unique in Peru, these hybrid cultural practices were particularly pronounced in baroque Lima. This was so because Lima gathered and attracted peoples from all corners of the Empire, and because her plazas and housing (*callejones*) concentrated the lower castes in close proximity. In addition, Lima’s prosperity and cheap imports made it possible for the plebe to mimic elite fashions, discourses, and tastes.

The cases reviewed here suggest that the practitioners of sorcery in viceregal Lima were intimately aware of their surrounding environs. They performed and often resided in the very center of the city, in and around the Plaza Mayor, in part because the plaza was a market (in quotidian time) but also because it was a theater of power (in ritual time) of use in divinations.

Although the Counter-Reformation Church attempted to prohibit the use of pagan elements, such as coca leaves, its wide use among all sectors of Lima's social spectrum could not be eliminated.⁹⁶ Official ceremonies in Lima, such as those analyzed in the previous chapters, provided a meaningful road map for the masses in the city to organize their lives and time. But as these cases suggest, uses of that map were far from the official prescriptions. On the other hand, sorcery was clearly an important part of the Christian body politic whose head was Lima, and it could explain itself before Extirpation and Inquisition judges in the Catholic terms of conscience.

SAINTHOOD FOR LIMA

The Counter-Reformation Church in Lima created not only negative identities like those of the sorceress and the witch but also the positive identity of the saint. It was through the process of interrogation and confession or testimony that the king's subjects in viceregal Lima were inculcated in the virtues of living pious lives. The characteristics of this pious existence included obedience, humbleness, abnegation, and love and devotion to God, all of which presumed a familiarity with the discourse of conscience and the procedures of interrogation. Saints were central in the constitution of the viceregal city as a Catholic sacred space reflected, and their lives and good deeds narrated in hagiographies were meant to be exemplary and serve as models to be copied by the faithful.⁹⁷ The variety of backgrounds found among the candidates to sainthood in Lima during the seventeenth century reflected the city's diversity: the Indian Nicolas de Ayllon, the poor mulatto Martin de Porres, and the Creoles Rosa de Santa María, Francisco del Castillo, and Juan Macias. Since saintly lives were to be imitated, this diversity served the evangelical purposes of the orders and the church.⁹⁸ The processes followed by the church to record the deeds of prospective saints involved interrogating large numbers of witnesses to their miracles. These interrogations for sainthood instructed subjects in Lima in the ways of a saintly existence. The publication of hagiographies both in the city and abroad promoted an image of Lima as an orderly and pious city.

In the *proceso ordinario* (general inquiry) conducted for Santa Rosa's beatification immediately after her death in 1617, Doña María de Mesta declared that she had known Rosa de Santa María—as she was then known—as “a person of great virtue and piety (*santidad*).”⁹⁹ Doña María defined Rosa de Santa María as an obedient daughter of great humbleness and gentleness who professed an ardent and impassioned love for God from which she never strayed.¹⁰⁰ Santa Rosa received the Holy Sacrament regularly and disciplined her body with fasting, flagellation, and prayers. According to Doña María, Rosa was also a woman of extreme charity and benefaction, always fulfilling the spiritual and material needs of those around her.¹⁰¹ Angelino Medoro, interrogated in the same process, added that Rosa de Santa María showed

great love, humility, patience, and suffering in her deeds and ailments.¹⁰² Notably, in these interrogations for sainthood the subjects who gave testimony often appeared to be as saintly as the candidates promoted by the Church. In 1628 during the process to gather evidence of the saintly virtues of Francisco Solano, the scribe noted that a Jerónima de Esquivel *parecio ser tan santa como fray Francisco* (appeared as saintly as the prospective saint).¹⁰³

In seventeenth-century Lima there was, in principle, a fine line between the deeds promoted and accepted by the Catholic Church as evidence of saintly “miracles” and the idolatrous practices of healing and sorcery it sought to extirpate; for this reason extensive interrogations were required. Healing with relics was saintly or demonic depending upon the characteristics of the relic and the words and deeds associated with it. According to Doña María de Mesta, Rosa de Santa María after her death had repeatedly performed the miracle of curing her many ailments. Doña María referred in particular to the extreme pain and bloating of one of her legs, which kept her from sleeping and walking properly. The remedy consisted of sleeping with a relic of Rosa de Santa María placed on her ailing limb.¹⁰⁴ According to Doña María’s testimony, she had cured hemorrhaging, headaches, back pains, and asthma with the same procedure. The relic was also instrumental in calming her very choleric nature. In addition, Doña María apparently was prone to depression, which she cured by remembering the “good advice” Rosa de Santa María had given her in life.¹⁰⁵ Rosa de Santa María had other attributes as well. Doña María had once told Rosa about two of her slaves running away and of her urgency to get them back because one had taken a key to an important box. Rosa de Santa María told Doña María not to worry since upon her return to her home she would hear of her slave’s return “before she had a chance to descend from her carriage.”¹⁰⁶ This is what is claimed to have occurred. Doña María concluded that Rosa de Santa María possessed the spirit of prophecy, a notion shared by her husband Angelino Medoro.

Rosa also performed miracles by means of her simulacra, that is, through her portrait and image. In one case, when a dying woman’s bed had been touched by a portrait of the Santa brought by a nun, the dying woman suddenly motioned to be fed. The account of this case stresses the cured woman’s weak faith, since she had initially rejected Rosa’s portrait, asking instead for a crucifix. She mistakenly thought that the crucifix had been responsible for the miracle, and as a result her health continued to deteriorate for seventeen more days. At this point, and now nearing death, she was given some water from a jar Rosa had drunk from. As soon as the drops of water touched the dying woman’s lips, she was revived. She then told those present in the room she was not going to die because Santa Rosa had told her that she would not die as long as she ate fish for the rest of her life.¹⁰⁷

In another instance, a small, portable relic of Rosa resuscitated a dead slave. The miracle was performed in Malambo, the popular neighborhood on the other side of the Rimac River, where the mother of an infant girl who had died the day before and was left to be buried the next morning suddenly

remembered she had a relic of Santa Rosa. Taking little shavings from the relic, she burned them in a small fire-pan, “perfuming” the child’s dead body with its smoke. As soon as the smoked touched her eyes the baby girl came back to life *sana y buena* (healthy and good).¹⁰⁸ In yet another case, the Ethiopian slave of Doña Iana Barreto died unexpectedly one night in his wife’s arms. When the wife told Doña Iana of the sudden death of her husband, she went to the room where his body was lying and, noticing a painting of Santa Rosa hanging on the wall, proceeded to take it down. Placing it upon the dead man’s chest, she begged the saint to revive her slave. As in the other cases, upon touching the body the portrait revived the man.¹⁰⁹

THE POLITICS OF SAINTHOOD

Hagiographies constituted more than an early form of “how-to” manuals on saintly life. The little books could also emphasize, as they did in the case of Santa Rosa, the dilemmas of becoming a saintly woman. For women, the saintly life presented difficult choices that demanded the renunciation of temptations and obligations presented by the patriarchal order of everyday lay life, including sex and marriage.¹¹⁰ The hagiographies were also laden with political content. Like the *relaciones* (chronicles of royal ceremonies and autos de fé), hagiographies could and did claim that the body of the republic was cleansed and realized as a harmonious whole by the exemplary life of a saint. In the official chronicle of Rosa’s beatification ceremony in Lima, for example, she is credited with having successfully cleansed the city of idolatry. In another chronicle, Juan Meléndez argued that beatifications and canonizations such as Rosa’s constituted one of the “most fruitful things” for the city since they had the effect of fomenting mass conversions of the “most sinful” members of the republic.¹¹¹ Indeed, in the hagiographies the city of the saint was represented as a sacred place “where all could live in peace and away from sin.”¹¹² This notion was clearly expressed by Antonio de León Pinelo in his hagiography of the second archbishop of Lima, Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo, beatified on July 2, 1679.¹¹³ León Pinelo argued that the body of the republic was enlivened (*dar vida*) by the two governments, one ecclesiastical and the other royal, and that the grandeur of Lima lie not so much in its architecture as in the saintly and noble men and women who inhabited the city.¹¹⁴

During the seventeenth century Peru’s ecclesiastical orders, the *cabildo* of Lima, and the archdiocese promoted a large number of candidates to sainthood. As a result of this effort, hundreds of inquiries were conducted in the city as part of the process of building the necessary evidence for their review in Rome. These interrogations served multiple purposes: they instructed the devout in Lima in the ways of a saintly existence while their publication in numerous hagiographies in the city and abroad promoted an image of Lima as an orderly and piously Catholic republic (see Figure 5.1). The promotion



Figure 5.1. Santa Rosa de Lima holding an anchor containing the city. The image also exhibits Lima's coat of arms with three crowns and one star. Luis Antonio de Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Sta. Rosa de Santa Maria, Natural de Lima, y Patrona del Peru* (Madrid 1711). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

of Catholic saints was also a political endeavor, as successfully placing a saint in Rome required a wealth of resources and influence both at the Royal Court in Madrid as well as Rome.¹¹⁵ The canonization of Rosa de Santa Maria on April 12, 1671, conferred religious authority on Lima. The generous donations made by the Lima cabildo toward her cause to the monarchy, particularly during the last years of Philip IV's reign and that of the queen regent Mariana of Austria who succeeded his, also undoubtedly strengthened the city's place within the monarchy. Furthermore, Lima's power through Rosa extended beyond the confines of the viceroyalty of Peru into places such as Mexico, France, and Italy through the devotions to the saint developed there.¹¹⁶

The promotion of these candidates to sainthood in Lima coincided with the last years of Philip II's reign and the first twenty-five years of Phillip IV's rule.¹¹⁷ During the seventeenth century, the power of the Spanish monarchy was not only reflected in grand ceremonial displays of its powers but also in the personal piety of the monarch as well as in "divine favor and the richness of its territories in 'national' saints."¹¹⁸ In Lima between the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, close to sixty people who lived in the viceregal city claimed *olor de santidad* (a saintly essence) upon their deaths, prompting a surge in hagiographies, as well as files submitted for beatification in Rome.¹¹⁹ The proliferation of saints' lives made Peru—but particularly Lima—known throughout Europe where these books were translated, published, and sold.¹²⁰ Hagiographies were central for connecting cities in a historical narrative with Rome through the recounting of the saint's life and her miraculous deeds.¹²¹ For new cities like Lima, creating this historical relation with Rome was central for their authority, as Rome was not just the "traditional center of European Empire" but was also laden with religious authority as the center of Catholicism.¹²² By placing a saint in Rome, Lima could appropriate this form of power as a source for its authority or *antigüedad*, as through Rosa, Lima was inserted in a global metanarrative of Catholic sainthood and sacredness. The process by which Lima acquired this form of antiquity or authority was not the product of some kind of medieval religiosity or unduly exalted piety on the part of *limeño* elites and plebes but rather intrinsically modern as the promotion of saint in Rome constituted an important aspect of the new economy of favors and patronage developed by the Hapsburg monarchy as a way to ordered social and political relations in that most saintly of cities.¹²³ The authority of Lima and the far reaches of its urban sacral aura was portrayed in the illustrations to the many hagiographies of its saints where Lima was its central motif (see Figure 5.2).

The promotion of the cult of saints was a political effort that required sizable resources and concerted efforts not only in Lima but also abroad.¹²⁴ The proliferation of saints' lives made evident the competition between the different religious orders in Peru to canonize their candidates first.¹²⁵ This promotion, however, was not free of charge.¹²⁶ Placing saints in Rome represented a serious investment of resources by the Lima cabildo. On June 12, 1632, the authorities of both the ecclesiastical chapter and the cabildo of Lima signed a letter stating that the promotion of Rosa de Santa Maria to sainthood would be an important example for the Indians—whose practices were under attack by the Extirpation of Idolatries—as in Rosa they could see "realized the highest designs of God in one person of their own land which would help in their total conversion."¹²⁷ The cabildo, therefore, begged the Pope to proclaim Rosa as the city's patron. In a decree signed on December 18, 1633, Philip IV wrote to his ambassador in Rome, Cardinal Francisco Borja y Velasco to support the promotion of Rosa to the pantheon of Spanish saints, attesting to her estimation and grace of her life dedicated to serve God. The king also included a letter to the Pope asking that the process to



Figure 5.2. Lima under the saintly image of Francisco Solano unites the southern continent. Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, *El Sol, y año feliz del Peru San Francisco Solano, apostol, y patron universal del dicho Reyno* (Madrid 1735). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

canonize Rosa be done “with good results.”¹²⁸ Rosa’s case was formally presented to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome on July 21, 1634, where it would sit for sometime as a reform introduced by Pope Urban VIII—the constitution *Cælestis Hierusalem* of July 5, 1634—set a fifty-year moratorium from the time of death before a case could begin.¹²⁹ The financial arrangements to finance Rosa’s cause, nonetheless, began before this provision in April 1632, when the officials of the cabildo of Lima agreed to donate part of their earnings in the amount of two hundred ducats a year toward Rosa’s cause to be pursued in Rome. It was not until 1661, however, that Rosa’s file was relaunched in Rome and that the cabildo began to actually make good on the 1633 royal decree by Philip IV, which had also ordered the city’s

cabildo to designate 2,750 pesos of their municipal income toward her case.¹³⁰ Overall, Rosa's case moved quickly between her beatification in 1667 and canonization in 1671, in part because Pope Alexander VII had reopened Rosa's case on February 24, 1656—before the statue of limitation had run off—for investigation, which made it possible to expedite her case once the time limitation was over.¹³¹ The Spanish Crown, according to Rafael Sánchez-Concha, had a vested interest in making Lima a center of sanctity as a way to highlight its important role as “Defender of the Faith” by insuring the necessary protection of the Crown against external dangers. According to this author, Lima was a bastion of militant Catholicism against Spain's external enemies, England and Holland, and its corsairs and pirates who continuously threatened its coasts.¹³² At a more local level, Lima could also be construed as a Catholic bastion against the closer threat posed by the ongoing war of conquest waged against the unrelenting Araucanian Indians to the south in Chile and the Extirpation campaigns in Lima's own hinterlands.

As such, both Crown and city had vested interests in seeing Lima succeed in Rome.¹³³ Toward this end, by 1664 the cabildo of Lima had already spent seven thousand escudos in Rosa's case in translations, printing, paintings, images, legal services, and papal procurators. In addition, the cabildo had also sent to Rome 821 pesos more for the promotion of the beatification cases of Martin de Porres and Juan Macias. Nearing the end of Rosa's beatification process in 1668, the cabildo had sent more than twenty two thousand ducats to place its first saint in Rome's most distinguished celestial pantheon.¹³⁴

In addition to the generous donations to the Crown for the promotion of their candidates in Rome, local municipal and religious officials also needed to create a following for their saints to truly succeed. The development of a cult to new saints always began in earnest immediately after their deaths with elaborate ceremonies as well as written accounts of these events later published and broadly disseminated in the city and beyond. In Lima, the efforts to create a cult around Rosa de Santa María began in 1617, immediately after her death, with the staging of an elaborate funeral. Celebrated in the Dominican church and resembling the king's Exequies, Rosa's funeral was a splendid official ceremony that included the most prominent officials of Lima: the viceroy, the *Real Audiencia*, the cabildo, the archbishop, the ecclesiastical chapter, and all the religious orders in the city.¹³⁵ The catafalque built in the central nave of the church was draped with luxurious cloths “representing Glory,” and, as in the king's Exequies where his body was surrounded by his royal coats of arms, Rosa's dead body was surrounded by the images of many saints.¹³⁶ The event was later recounted both in oral testimonies and hagiographies of the saint, as a “solemn, majestic, and ostentatious” ceremony.¹³⁷ The celebration of Rosa's death was not just a local event but also observed in the distant lands of the interior of the viceroyalty. The *villa* of Potosi, 350 leagues from Lima, marked her passing,

“with universal acclamation by the people, and the bells celebrated her as a saint, asking for her favors and intercession before God.”¹³⁸

Efforts to promote the cult of new saints were also carried out in Rome. On February 26, 1669, Antonio González, a Dominican, sent a letter to the Lima cabildo recounting all that the Pope had done in Rome to promote the recent beatification of Rosa de Santa María, naming her patron of Lima and also of all the viceroyalty of Peru.¹³⁹ What González described in his letter was clearly the efforts of Rome to quickly increase Rosa’s cult to promote her prompt canonization.¹⁴⁰ Allegedly 21,747 people received communion during the High Mass celebrated in Saint Peter’s Basilica in Rome by the Pope to mark the occasion of Santa Rosa’s beatification.¹⁴¹ The order of *Predicadores* (Dominicans) promoting Santa Rosa’s cause distributed forty-five thousand icons, twenty thousand medals, and twelve thousand books of her life, printed in Latin, French, Polish, German, Italian, and Spanish among others, to foster a worldwide devotion.¹⁴² These hagiographies promoted Lima as a perfectly ordered and pious city. This promotion of Lima was not limited to the case of Santa Rosa. On the occasion of Toribio de Mogrovejo’s beatification ceremony in Lima in 1679, for example, the city was declared to be the “American Jerusalem” (see Figure 5.3).¹⁴³

For Rosa de Santa María’s beatification in 1669, the Lima cabildo commissioned a special standard for the magnificent ceremony celebrated in the city marking the event, which was later used every year in the patroness’s ceremony on August 24.¹⁴⁴ The event conformed to the style of other official ceremonies in the city: The streets of the procession were adorned with luxurious tapestries, and triumphal arches were built by the Plaza Mayor and adjacent streets.¹⁴⁵ What distinguished this ceremony, perhaps, were the numerous altars strategically located by the viceregal palace, the cabildo, and at the entrance to Mercaderes Street, the latter sponsored by the Franciscans. At the end of Mercaderes Street stood another altar, this one sponsored by the order of San Juan de Dios, while two others were located at the corner of the San Augustin Church and one was on the street leading to Santo Domingo Church, all luxuriously decorated.¹⁴⁶ The purpose of the ceremony was made clear in the royal writ sent to Lima by the queen regent where she stated that after the city had received the Papal Bull announcing Rosa’s beatification, it was to execute exactly as outlined, where the celebrations and fiestas should conform to a protocol suited to the solemnity of the occasion, showing the “appropriate veneration, so that rooted in the hearts of the faithful, the devotion of the Saint [Rosa] and through her intervention, the augmentation and exaltation of the Catholic faith [was] achieved.”¹⁴⁷ The queen mother ended by stating that all the city could do to achieve this end would receive her greatest gratitude.¹⁴⁸

The ceremony marking Rosa’s beatification was not only a religious ritual but also a civic one. All the officials in the city participated in the procession, as well as the battalions (forming three companies in all), dressed in official uniforms, who paraded from the Plaza of the Inquisition down to the Plaza

Mayor.¹⁴⁹ As the image of Rosa de Santa María, carried under a gold and crimson pallium passed slowly by, the squadrons fired their muskets into the air.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the most singular ritual, however, was performed by the viceroy, who by holding the banner of Santa Rosa in his hand, while riding on horseback through the city streets before the procession took place, symbolically united the secular with the religious realms in one sacred space. Later, viceroy Count of Lemos walked the length of the procession to the church of the Dominicans with the banner still in his hand, lending authority to Rosa's image, who three years later would be "crowned" Santa Rosa of Lima.¹⁵¹

CONCLUSIONS

The baroque machinery of Lima's official rites and interrogations were reflected in the cultural practices and discourses of the city's diverse population. The testimonies and interrogations of the Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatries reveal a complex and fluid cultural reality both within and without Lima's walls. Seventeenth-century Lima housed significant Indian and African populations and its quotidian cultural practices were marked by a creative hybridity. These hybrid quotidian practices notwithstanding, by the end of the seventeenth century, and as a culmination of a rich religious ritual life, the beatification of Saint Toribio de Mogrovejo and Francisco Solano and the canonization of Santa Rosa of Lima would establish the viceregal city of Lima as the "most saintly" city in the vast Spanish Empire. Nevertheless, the campaigns and interrogations for sainthood shared key elements with those that identified sorcery, and in these ways, we may see that the difference between Rosa and Maria or Juana were not so great.¹⁵²

The Extirpation conducted inquiries both in rural and urban settings. *Visitas* or Inspections linked Lima to remote highland villages and hamlets in a "narration in acts."¹⁵³ Like the Inquisition, which gathered the accused from the entire viceroyalty, the Extirpation exercised a unifying function in the archbishopric. These unifying functions reflected a perceived need to cleanse the Christian body of the republic and promote Lima as the head of the viceroyalty and as an exemplary city in the Empire of the Indies. By the late seventeenth century, Lima had, like its saint, become an icon, the cultural referent not of a nation, but of three continents and the heavens—an Empire. At the elaborate celebrations staged in Rome for Santa Rosa's beatification, Lima could now be exalted in these terms:

The upper part of the front door was adorned with a painting of the City of Lima in the shape of a beautiful Matron crowned with Roses and holding three crowns in her hand, and dominating a crocodile, and with this distich: *Lima potens meritò caput inter sydera condit / Non duro, aut gemmis, sed redimita Rosis*. . . . In the main place there were in a large painting the coat of arms of the Imperial City of Lima, and below them this inscription: *Lima potens meritò*

*caput inter sydera condit / Non duro, aut gemmis, sed redimita Rosis . . . Exulta
felix Lima insignita Coronis / Sydereque ad Caelos erige fausta caput / At
grande, atque tibi, quod terque, quaterque Beati. / Clementi nutu Roma dat,
adole decus. / Adde Rosam, sic stemma tuum super aetherea Clesum / Terrestres
orbis astraque adore beat.*¹⁵⁴

C O N C L U S I O N



BORDER CITY AND METROPOLIS RETHINKING LIMA, EMPIRE, AND MODERNITY

*Pizarro populated this Second Mars,
And in this City was founded another World.*

—Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Sta. Rosa de Santa Maria*¹

Despina can be reached in two ways: by ship or by camel. The city displays one face to the traveler arriving overland and a different one to him who arrives by sea . . . Each city receives its form from the desert it opposes; and so the camel driver and the sailor see Despina, a border city between two deserts.

—Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*²

The Janus image of “Despina” in Italo Calvino’s fable of Marco Polo’s travels may come to our aid in the effort to rethink baroque Lima. For a more realist literary effect, we may substitute “llama” for camel and “Lima” for “Despina” and see, perhaps, that Lima too was a “border city” between “two deserts”: one that rose to the high Andes to the east, and another that sloped east into the vast and placid Pacific Ocean or, as it was then called, the South Sea (*Mar del Sur*). The South Sea was, of course, the gateway north and east to Mexico, Panama, Havana, and Spain, and also the gateway south and west to the Orient, Chile, and the Straits of Magellan. Lima conjoined and governed these two deserts under the auspices of the Spanish Monarchy, and in the process invented a modern, baroque image of herself that was embodied in ritual practices (or, rather, in the writing of those practices) and in the very faces of the city. Lima founded and represented her own modern empire (Peru) within the Spanish Empire.³

In this concluding chapter I explore some of the broader implications and questions raised by this study. I will suggest that Lima’s “border city” position as a “head city” between worlds at a particular moment in the overseas

expansion of the Spanish Empire lent itself to the genesis of an urban baroque modernity. Rethinking baroque Lima as a “border city” and Peruvian “metropolis” obliges us to revisit a number of popular images and historiographical certainties. The city’s modern historical making as a metropolitan border city of Spanish Empire also raises theoretical questions of a general nature.

MODERN MIRAGES

Since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, liberal, nationalist, regionalist, and leftist commentators and historians have repeatedly portrayed Lima as an “obstacle” to the national integration of Peru.⁴ Indeed, one of the most enduring *topos* of Peruvian historical and political discourse places blame for most of Peru’s woes on Lima’s supposedly “colonial” and “enclave” nature. These retrospective views of Lima, however, have often owed more to economic conjunctures and the national imagination, particularly as these emerged over the course of the postcolonial nineteenth century when the Peruvian Nation was defined.⁵ The burdensome “colonial legacy” argument about Lima grew in popularity during the apogee of the nativist or *indigenista* movements of the 1920s and 30s, when Lima was blamed for Peru’s “failure” to become authentically “Peruvian.”⁶ Lima now had to be “Peruvianized.” By the 1960s–70s, it was standard fare among Lima’s “progressive” intellectuals, many of whom hailed from the provinces, to debunk Lima as un-Peruvian, or “Westernized.”⁷ More recently, these views have lost some of their vice-grip on the Peruvianist and Peruvian historical imagination, in part because historians have begun to critique those views with new evidence and theoretical perspectives.⁸ Perhaps equally important to understanding the modern historiography and image of Lima is the opposing, “conservative view” of colonial Lima as a “Hispanic,” saintly, and courtly city. Conservatives have often applauded Lima as the living manifestation of a glorious viceregal and Spanish past, and tour guides attempt to sell this image abroad.⁹

While these polemical visions—progressive and conservative—of the nature of the city and its role in the formation of the Peruvian Nation might seem at first glance to be dramatically opposed, both are teleological and nationalist. For progressives, nativists, and Marxists, Lima has always been an impediment to national integration, social democracy, and revolution. For the conservatives and “Hispanists,” Lima has served as an illusionary “bastion” of Hispanic values and civilization. An intermediate, “mestizo” position also exists in Peru, but it too generally finds Lima wanting in this regard, for it is not “mestizo” enough, or has only recently become so as a result of rural-urban migration. All of these positions measure Lima against an impossible future posed as a political project for the nation. What these views ignore is the city’s historical invention. Viceregal Lima was invented as one

of the most modern political projects of the baroque age of empires, and her geographical position and social and cultural complexity are not readily understandable in nationalist or enlightened-modernist terms. Both, border city and Peruvian metropolis, baroque, pre-national Lima is not readily understood as “peripheral,” “colonial,” or “enclave.” The creation and consolidation of Lima should be understood instead as the singular manifestation of a broad historical process by which the first truly modern “great cities” or metropolis came into being.

Lima’s genesis as viceregal “seat” and “crown” and “head” of Peru was not forgone at the time of the city’s founding near the coast. Instead, it was the contingent result of a series of political conjunctures in the Hispanic world. Lima was not founded as the “capital” or court of any viceroyalty or dominion. Its preeminence was determined instead by the outcome of the civil wars waged by Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, combined with the coetaneous transformation of Spain into an overseas Empire. In short, Lima’s ascent to viceregal court and “head city” was “made” after the fact of its foundation, and as a consequence of royal and church decisions to place key institutions there. Contrary to the clichés of national and social history then, “Lima’s problems” or “Peru’s woes” did not “begin” with her founding on the coast.¹⁰ On the contrary, Lima’s location as a “border city” between the South Sea and the southern continent of America became a key asset both for Peru and Spain, since it allowed her to mediate between the two worlds she came to represent: the Andes and the Overseas Empire of the Spanish Monarchy otherwise called “the Indies.” When the viceroyalty of Peru and the Indies were fragmented in the late eighteenth century, and then torn asunder by the movements of independence in the early nineteenth century, Lima lost much of her “border” quality as the orchestrator of two worlds, and as a result an anachronistic national (later, dependency and Marxian) historiography would approach her from a certain desert, seeing her as an “enclave” out of touch with “the real Peru.”

In contrast to Mexico City or Cuzco, Lima became a South Sea metropolis built not on the ruins of a conquered civilization but on a sparsely inhabited, coastal desert plain of no obvious historical relevance for the Empire’s master narrative of Conquest and Christianization. As such, Lima invented itself as the “head” of the political body of Peru without recourse to an “immemorial past” or a classical imperial narrative. Without this classic (Roman) means of legitimation, Lima resorted to early modern theories of “greatness” that stressed proximity to the sea, commercial wealth, the presence of nobility, a rich hinterland, and the size and heterogeneity of its “masses.” These claims were made politically possible by the creation of the *Real Audiencia* and the viceroyalty in 1542 whose “seat” was Lima. But it was necessary to “demonstrate” this wealth and greatness with “baroque machinery” and the chronicles that celebrated and further disseminated that machinery, so that all could appreciate Lima’s stature. “The City of the Kings of Peru” soon developed a courtly aura so that it could compete with, and

eventually overcome, Cuzco's hereditary or dynastic claim to "head city" status of Peru before the Crown. With the arrival of viceroy Toledo in 1569 came also the Jesuits, more powers to Lima's archbishopric, and the creation of the Inquisition (as well as an archive), which in turn launched Lima on a career of sanctity and religious ritual that soon matched and exceeded the pomposity of her royal ceremonial life. All of this was financed by merchant capital backed by mining and agriculture, in which Lima, with its far-reaching trade and banking or credit system, truly excelled in the seventeenth century. Lima's courtly and saintly identity was not, however—as is commonly asserted—a "bad copy" of "European" models but instead the product of an early modern world history of baroque cultural formation that included Cuzco and which was largely financed by extra-European merchant capital.

Contrary to the popular and literary cliché that Lima has always stood "with her back turned to Peru," historical analysis reveals that the city's leaders were deeply and constantly preoccupied with representing Peru at large, and with projecting the image and power of The City of the Kings of Peru into the Andean interior and beyond. Moreover, Lima's baroque population is not best described as culturally "Spanish," as it hailed from all corners of the viceregal realm and the empire. "Metropolitan" better describes Lima's population. Indeed, as the magnetic or baroque seat of the viceregal court, the Royal Tribunal, the Inquisition, and the Extirpation of Idolatry, The City of the Kings was more "representative" of Peru and the Indies than any other city in the realm. Viceregal Lima was as a result more culturally hybrid than other cities in the realm, and its diverse populations of Indians, Africans, Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes, and Creoles were more "integrated" in the Christian polity as baroque urbanites than much of the contemporary historiography would suggest.¹¹

Colonialism in Latin American has often been reduced to an exploitative mercantilism and cruel tributary system designed to sap the native populations of their vitality and the land of its wealth, thereby increasing "the dependency" of the region on metropolitan centers. Another, now common approach has emphasized the missionary project of religious conversion or "spiritual conquest" as a project aimed at destroying and/or "colonizing" native beliefs. These colonial processes of economic and cultural domination are assumed to have taken place primarily in the countryside, where most of the indigenous population was concentrated, and as a result much of the "colonial history" of Latin America is rural. In contrast, in this study I have focused on a third and decisive dimension of empire in Spanish America which may be called urban "baroque machinery." Taking the making of the baroque city of Lima itself as the subject of analysis, I have suggested that the baroque machinery of American urban centers fashioned Spain's dominions into hybrid loci of political power and cultural production.

The effects of baroque machinery were particularly important to the making of Lima after the creation of the Real Audiencia and the viceroyalty of Peru in 1542, but it was also significant for imperial Cuzco, which in effect

reinvented its Inca dynastic history in a baroque mode fully compatible with Lima's representation of itself as "the crown" on Cuzco's Inca "head," and as the only modern "head city" suitable to govern one Christian political body or republic named "Peru."¹² In effect, the principal cultural referents of Lima and Cuzco were not, as nativists have claimed, opposites—one "authentically Andean" and precolonial, the other "Westernized" and colonial—but instead mirror images in a shared baroque imperial discourse that may be understood as an "invented tradition." Thus, Cuzco portrayed itself in Roman and old Castilian terms as the ancient seat of the Inca dynasty and "head" of Tawantinsuyu, and it appealed to modern criteria of population by pointing to its thousands of loyal Indian subjects ready to serve the King of Castile, while Lima developed an official courtly, commercial, and sanctified identity based not on precedence or antiquity but on early modern concepts of "greatness" that included geographical position near navigable waters, prominence or magnificence, the presence of an illustrious and exemplary nobility, the concentration of commercial wealth, and a representative and popular heterogeneity.

The baroque political culture that developed in Lima during the seventeenth century is not well understood as a sign of a lack of "national identity" among the Creole elite.¹³ As a vanguard "border city" that connected the Andes with the seas of the Empire, Lima forged its own cultural and commercial heritage, often acting against Crown regulations. The imperial baroque in Lima was certainly about simulacra and ostentation, but it was not primarily about "exaggerating" Spanish origins, or about trying to be "more Spanish than the Spanish."¹⁴ Instead, Lima tried to be more Peruvian (as that term was then understood) than any other city in the realm, and it largely succeeded in this regard. The political culture of baroque Lima built and accumulated the symbolic capital that the city's elite deemed necessary to gain and preserve its status as the head city of the viceroyalty of Peru, and this meant being more "ostentatious" and "majestic" than Cuzco or other cities, and it also meant rivaling Spanish cities in the Peninsula, since Lima always sought a cherished spot in the Castilian *cortes* from which it would be in a better political position to negotiate with the Crown. Still, what was "ostentatious" and "majestic" in Lima was not necessarily so in Madrid, Toledo, Seville, or Burgos. In Lima, for example, elite ostentation had to compete with a plebeian mimicry enabled by the commerce with Mexico and China, and by patterns of migration unknown in most cities in Spain. European visitors to Lima were of a uniform opinion that the city and its inhabitants were quite exotic, but they did so in ways that often escaped the common tropes of travel literature, in part because temperate and mixed caste Lima also eluded (and continues to elude) northern stereotypes of tropicality and indigeneity.

LIMA AS A BAROQUE WORK OF THE THEATRICAL ART OF POLITICS

According to the Argentinean architect and scholar Jorge Hardoy, the colonial American city was not a “work of art” but simply a “utilitarian” entity. “Colonial cities,” according to this author, were merely “centers from which administrative, trading, and production functions spread out over the territory and where they linked up with European markets.”¹⁵ They varied in size and function according to the region of their location, creating an unfair hierarchy of urban centers. Furthermore, these colonial cities were presumably designed in the metropolis and without input from local colonial subjects, resulting in the creation of inappropriate and dysfunctional spaces.¹⁶ Unfortunately, Hardoy’s utilitarian and nationalist concept of colonial urbanity has prevailed in the historiography of colonial Latin American cities. In contrast, this study suggests that Lima was as much a “work of art” as was Madrid.¹⁷ The results were not the same, of course, and Lima was clearly subordinate to the Royal Court when it was in residence in Madrid, but these things are largely irrelevant to the question, improperly posed by Hardoy, of “art” versus “function.” Moving from humble status to “greatness,” Madrid and Lima combined function and art in particular political ways, and indeed without this combination courtly rule would have been impossible. Both Lima and Madrid were “stages” for court life and the exercise of imperial authority. Humble American cities like Lima were indeed functional at their founding, but soon that changed: by the late sixteenth century Lima was being conceptualized as a “theater” of power and beauty, or “harmony.”¹⁸ In the 1570s viceroy Francisco de Toledo expressed his new concept of theater by regulating ritual and administrative life, by implementing, under the Jesuits, clock-like patterns of religious conduct, and by his overt efforts to transform the “appearance” in accordance with the principle of “harmony.”¹⁹

Literary critic Angel Rama’s influential view of the colonial Latin American city emphasized a primal dualism between “the real” and “the ideal,” but in the baroque American city the “physical” and the “symbolic” planes were never separated. Rama’s instrumental and binary view of the colonial city as “two cities”—one “real” or “social” and the other “ideal” or “lettered”—failed to grasp the functional-theatrical nature of the baroque city. By opposing the “lettered” to “the social” and “the real,” Rama and others missed their baroque unity, wherein “the real” and “the ideal” were inconceivable and, for us, unhelpful for historical analysis.²⁰ The chronicles that served to represent the “baroque machinery” of the city are not best understood as “ideal” since they constituted a political reality and historical memory that could and did have “real” commercial or economic effects.

The imperial baroque city was the real embodiment of political theater. The imperial city was laid out in an orthogonal pattern formed by blocks and streets in a checkerboard or gridiron pattern known as the *damero*.

The gridiron, and especially the checkerboard system of square blocks, emerged as the most distinguishable mark of Spanish Empire.²¹ This urban design was dominated both by rationality and theatricality, both in plan and execution. As a political design, the *damerao* was a manifestation of a desired order and power.²² The *damerao* also allowed for centralized control of its space embodied in the plaza, and a measured allocation of property. Functionality, however, only partially explains the proliferation of the design across the Indies. The grid with a central plaza was a Renaissance ideal of urban design based on visions of an orderly and rational polity.²³ It had its roots in concepts of symmetry and proportion, derived from reinterpretations of Vitruvian theory.²⁴ The city built “as the stage for human action” was related to new social and political structures emerging not only in Renaissance Europe but in the Americas as well.²⁵

In early modern Europe and the Indies the effects of authority were produced by the harmonious regulation of space, architecture, and ritual life.²⁶ This regulation was reflected in Spanish concerns with New World urban spaces, which were codified in the city planning ordinances compiled in the *Provisión* issued by Philip II on July 13, 1573, which in turn expanded and incorporated previous decrees by King Ferdinand and Emperor Charles V.²⁷ These codes—although published after the fact of the Peruvian foundations—reveal that early American cities were not conceptualized merely as functional entities but as stages for political theater and rational spaces of “good government.” The regulations contained in the provisions for the design and distribution of city space closely followed classical Aristotelian principles of the polity, or city-state.²⁸ The *Provisión* of 1573 stipulated, for example, that the city “within a specific term, assigned for its establishment, . . . should have at least thirty citizens of rank . . . a clergymen who can administer sacraments and provide the ornaments to the church as well as the necessary implements for the divine service.”²⁹ The site chosen for its location should be divided into four parts: one to be assigned to the person in charge of founding the town, while the remaining land should be divided into thirty house plots or *solares* for the founding thirty citizens.³⁰ The city should also set aside sufficient public land to be allocated for pastures.

The starting point for the physical layout of the city streets was the plaza. In cities founded inland, the plaza should be located in its center, and be rectangular, with “at least one and a half its width for length inasmuch as this shape is best for fiestas in which horses are used and for any other fiestas that should be held.”³¹ The plaza should be proportional to the number of inhabitants, and the ideal size suggested was six hundred feet long by four hundred feet wide.³² Four principal straight streets should radiate out from the plaza, one from the middle of each side, and two streets from each of its corners, so that “in this manner, the streets running from the plaza will not be exposed to the four principal winds, which cause much inconvenience.”³³ This design was also believed to allow for future growth without disturbing the gridiron design, since additional streets would simply

extend perpendicular to those radiating outward from the plaza.³⁴ Along the four principal streets surrounding the plaza, portals should be built to protect pedestrians from the elements and because they were “of considerable convenience to the merchants who generally gather there.”³⁵ As such, these portals or arcades were early spaces for the concentration of commerce and consumption. These portals also provided galleries and balconies on their second floors from which to view the ceremonies in the plaza. Other smaller plazas “of good proportion” could be built around the city, “where the temples associated with the principal church, the parish churches, and the monasteries can be built,” in a way that all could be distributed “in a good proportion for the instruction of religion.”³⁶ The cathedral building was conceived as a monument. And the ordinances specifically stipulated that the cathedral or “temple . . . shall not be placed on the square but at a distance.”³⁷

In Spain, churches usually occupied spaces away from royal buildings. In America, however, and in spite of regulations to the contrary, viceregal, municipal, and religious buildings often shared the same space around the Plaza Mayor at the heart of the city. The cathedral building was also to be free-standing, so that it could “be better decorated and seen from all sides, thereby acquiring more authority.”³⁸ This provision did not ring true in Lima.³⁹ The provisions also stipulated that the cathedral should be raised from ground level, so that it could be approached by steps, making those who entered physically aware of God’s superiority and power.⁴⁰ These laws also regulated the city’s government, stipulating that a head city should have a magistrate (*corregidor*) and *cabildo* (city council) in compliance with the “Book of the Republic of Spaniards.”⁴¹ As beauty and harmony in spatial design was thought to be a measure of the good government of the city, the provisions stipulated that all buildings in the city should aim to be “all of one type for the sake of the beauty of the town.”⁴²

In early modern Europe urbanism was a crucial element in lending power to ruling elites.⁴³ New urban centers of power like Madrid and Paris gained importance and centrality as monarchs made them the permanent seats of their courts, and as a new diversity of patterns of rural-urban migration produced by the economic transformation of the countryside increased their populations. Within the viceregal city of Lima, power was further concentrated in the Plaza Mayor, which became the core of urban social, political, and cultural life. It was here where, once funding was secured for the ceremony, the city embarked on the construction of elaborate sets and decorations.

Baroque rituals were thought to be capable of “bring[ing] something into being,” and their power to convey complex messages to audiences was also widely recognized, as was their didactic function, which imparted moral lessons that could be shared by wide swaths of the population.⁴⁴ According to Peter Burke, ritual in the seventeenth century was viewed as “a kind of drama, which had to be staged in order to encourage obedience.”⁴⁵ In

seventeenth-century Lima the ceremonial calendar included over three hundred annual fiestas.⁴⁶ Official public ceremonies in Lima included the celebration of events related to the life cycle of the King, including birth, marriages, baptisms, deaths, and his Proclamation. The city also celebrated courtly ceremonies related to local events such as the viceregal entries, the viceroy's funerals, the city's founding anniversary, and many religious ceremonies.

During official ceremonies Lima's city streets, particularly those adjacent to the Plaza Mayor became a stage where buildings were reconfigured with ephemeral arches, new walls, altars, plants, colors and drapings.⁴⁷ This "staging" also required new lighting, different scents to fill the air, special sound effects, and carefully designed costumes for all. As the word connotes today, "baroque" ceremonial sought to fill every "nook and cranny" of the core urban space with allegorical elements relating to the ceremony in question. The symbolic importance of the Plaza Mayor in Lima was first established upon its founding in 1535, when Francisco Pizarro assigned the plots around the Plaza to his fellow conquistadors, after allocating prime lots for the cathedral, the royal houses, the cabildo, and the jail.⁴⁸ The spatial situation of the powerful conquistadors and their families in buildings around the main plaza, together with the official imperial buildings of state and church, directly reflected Pizarro's patronage and personal power. Faithful conquistador residences were spatial representations of his cortege as governor of the land.⁴⁹ By the seventeenth century this core space of power in Lima had been enlarged to include the main city streets adjacent to the Plaza Mayor where churches erected by the Jesuits, Dominicans, Mercedarians, Franciscans, Augustinians, and the Inquisition stood.⁵⁰ Beyond the sphere of power around the Plaza Mayor and its sumptuous buildings lay a city of crowded rooms in unimpressive buildings.⁵¹ The *callejones* or alleys with numerous rooms situated around a common patio, often equipped with a kitchen and chicken coop, were an important feature of viceregal Lima's housing arrangements.⁵² Living quarters established in these *callejones limeños* were overcrowded, holding entire families in small rooms one next to another, making "private lives" public knowledge in the *callejón* community. The plebeian dwellers of these alleys were the targets of the civilizing and disciplining campaigns carried out by both the Extirpation of Idolatry and the Inquisition. As Alberto Flores Galindo and Magdalena Chocano suggested, tight living conditions and the lack of privacy in the *callejones* allowed witnesses at the trials of the Extirpation and the Inquisition to recount the private affairs of their neighbors in great detail.⁵³ Tight living quarters, however, also facilitated the sharing of particular knowledge about sorcery and healing between Andean migrant women and Spanish and African women. This back-alley world, which obliged different peoples to live in close proximity to one another, was the breeding ground for an urban hybrid culture that coexisted with the courtly culture of official ceremonies in Lima.⁵⁴ This plebeian culture reclaimed the center of official power—the

buildings and institutions situated around the Plaza Mayor—as their own in the incantations and conjuration of their popular religious rituals. As such, the plaza was not just a center of official power and literary representation but also of the plebes and their practices.

Early modern cities were also sites of writing. Cabildos fostered the collective image of cities through sponsored chronicles or histories. Cities built a “historical memory” of their constitution as a “body” or harmonious community through these writings which were used as evidence of their preeminence or “antiquity” (*antigüedad*) over other cities.⁵⁵ John Beverly has suggested that many of the baroque rituals and writings were intended as political treatises rather than as texts for mass consumption or “manipulation.” And certain forms of baroque literature were intended “to intervene in discrete circuits of aristocratic power and patronage.”⁵⁶ Such discrete circuits appear to have been the audience for the official *relaciones de fiestas* written in Lima to record public official ceremonies, since at times they could also be read as treatises on good government. These *relaciones* often seemed to have been intended as manuals of proper behavior aimed at educating local elites in matters of court etiquette.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the iconographic language actually deployed in the ceremonies described resembled that of religious liturgical representations.⁵⁸ Public rituals in Lima made symbolism legible by quoting similar images in different ways in a diverse variety of rituals. For example, the confluence of imposing buildings around the plaza mayor, with luxuriously dressed, well-known people during the celebration of majestic ceremonies made the power of those participating (and of the space they occupied) very evident.⁵⁹ In the baroque culture of public scrutiny, ostentation was the principal marker of status, power and authority. Appearance itself became a highly regarded social value.⁶⁰ The naming of powerful participants and the elaborate and detailed descriptions of their ornate attires in the *relaciones de fiestas*, therefore, were means by which to enhance their power and that of the city sponsoring their publication.

The *relaciones de fiestas* should be thought of, then, as texts partially intended for the ruling elites. In this sense, the Lima cabildo used these publications in a political way, or as evidence of the city’s greatness and superior status. These *relaciones*, written by the cabildo scribe, testified to the event and were later sent to the interior cities in the viceroyalty, to enhance the prestige of Lima. The designs for and writings about official ceremonies provided “social commentary” on how the city (and its society) should be both ideally conceived and practically ordered. By the mid-seventeenth century, therefore, Spanish and Creole chroniclers began to embellish descriptions of the magnificence of the ceremonies in Lima at the same time that the staging of these rituals also increased in ornamentation and grandiloquence. Baroque literature, therefore, attempted to “provide a literary style for the self-representation and legitimization of state functionaries,” conveying “not only the sign of aristocratic elevation—honor—but also a technique of power, an

exercise of formal simulacrum of the ability to understand, organize, control, and sublimate.”⁶¹

MODERNITY, EMPIRE, AND LIMA

“Modernization continues to be commonly understood as the process begun and finished in Europe, from where it has been exported across ever-expanding regions of the non-West. The destiny of those regions has been to mimic, never quite successfully, the history already performed by the West. To become modern, it is still said, or today to become postmodern, is to act like the West.”⁶² This quote from Timothy Mitchell’s reflections on modernity summarizes the ways in which the historiographical *topos* of “colonial Latin America” has too often been written. In general, the sign “Colonial Latin America” was invented as an index of everything that is *not* modern, and it is routinely opposed to the sign “Modern Latin America.” This study of the baroque invention of Lima suggests a different narrative of modernity and empire. In this narrative, “colonial” locations like Lima are metropolitan centers with their own spheres of influence and activity, and not mere “peripheries.” The Peruvian metropolis of Lima extended its dominion across South America and the South Sea, and so formed a modern node within a multi-centered and unequal empire made possible by the global commercial and cultural reach of the composite Spanish Monarchy, which during this period was not fully centered on Madrid or even the Iberian Peninsula.⁶³

“If the modern is inevitably associated with the rise and expansion of the West,” Mitchell asks, “what significance can we assign to an increasing awareness that its emergence was from the beginning a worldwide phenomenon, and that the modern was not produced from within Europe alone?”⁶⁴ Simply calling that other modernity from without a “colonial modernity” only throws up a mirror to Europe’s colonizing modernity. How may we escape this mirror-game? The claims of modernity to universality and hence order and rationality are mirrored by the non-modern—without which the modern has no claim—which is explained as the absence of modernity or the “lack of discipline, rationality, and abstraction of the modern order of things—and therefore, since they are defined by the way they are not, as essentially similar to non-modern forms everywhere else.”⁶⁵ The universality of the European modern produces, therefore, the universality of the colonial non-modern. Rather than conceptualize the invention of Lima in terms of the emergence of a peripheral “colonial modernity” here I wish to rethink Lima as a particular baroque instance of *the metropolitan modern*.

In the case of Lima, modernity was not born colonial but metropolitan in the sense that it was composed locally of global elements that could “travel” around Peru, Europe, and the Indies at large.⁶⁶ My usage of “metropolitan” here does not mean that Lima was an instrument of the Spanish Crown or of

Spanish merchant guilds, planted in Peru. Instead, Lima's metropolitan modernity exhibits material and cultural dimensions not readily found elsewhere in the same combinations. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has noted that the Spanish American baroque was "aggressively modern" in its endless quest for "radical renewal (in that it was willing to cast textual authorities aside)."⁶⁷ Baroque Lima was all about casting authorities aside, and at the same time recasting herself in an authoritative way vis-à-vis Peru. Lima's baroque modernity was metropolitan in a South Sea and South American way, as it was a space populated by an unusual variety of people, a place where the Indies—both Eastern and Western—and Europe met Peru. Lima became a space of mixing and subversion of social and cultural structures not found in this dimension anywhere in Europe or the Orient. The early censuses or *padrones* of Lima reveal populations that included Indian, Creole, Peninsular, African, Chinese, Japanese, mestizos and a variety of castas. Other sources also revealed that the city was home to Flemish, German, Portuguese, French, and Italian subjects. Lima's demographic modernity was original; in this sense she was not a bastard child of Europe's "real modernity."

Empire is usually defined as "a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social or cultural dependence."⁶⁸ While, this definition sums up the ways in which Spain came to control the former Inca Empire, a better way to describe the imperial relationship between the viceroyalty of Peru, Lima, and the Iberian Peninsula is a composite rule and unequal *interdependence* among the metropolitan centers. To complicate the story of modernity not only requires shifting the center or locus of production and study, but also changing the names that we apply to "the usual suspects."⁶⁹ At the core of the discussion about "modernity" in Latin America have lurked binary usages of such terms and concepts as "empire" versus "colony," "West" or "Europe" versus "the Indies," and "core" or "metropolis" versus "periphery." Behind these terms often lie notions of "original" and (bad or deficient) "copy."⁷⁰ In contrast, the notion of a composite interdependence among metropolitan spheres allows us to step outside of these binary notions, which have permeated much of the historiography on Lima and "Colonial Latin America."

"To see modernity as a product not of the West but of its interaction with the non-West still leaves a problem. It assumes the experience of the West and its exterior, long before the world's identities had been divided into this neat, European centered dualism."⁷¹ The East-West division of the world did not obtain in seventeenth-century Lima. The notion of "Europe" as the center and "America" as the periphery was not yet developed as an organizing principle of the world order. The Spanish Monarchy was very conscious of its economic dependence on Lima, reflected in the many concessions made to the city's merchant elite and cabildo. Was Lima "Occidental" or "Oriental" during this period? As the metropolitan center that dominated the "*Indias*

Occidentales” or Western Indies and, like Mexico, sustained trade with the “*Indias Orientales*” or East Indies, Lima was clearly both. Indeed, Lima during this period descenders “Europe” from those global history metanarratives that assume her centrality since the early sixteenth century.

Mitchell also argues that “staging the modern has always required the non-modern, the space of colonial difference.”⁷² But this was not necessarily the case in the early modern period. The “space of colonial difference” was first modern and imperial before it became “colonial.” In this sense, we may read the political ceremonies in seventeenth-century Lima not as techniques for the construction of “the non-modern” or the “non-West” but as the baroque machinery of legitimation that invented Lima as the “new” metropolis of Peru and the “border city” that mediated between South America or Tierra Firme and the South Sea. In the first Spanish dictionary, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined “modern” as that which is newly made (*lo que nuevamente es hecho*); notably, that which is “newly made” lacks the authority of “antiquity.”⁷³ “Modern,” then, clearly names Lima’s status and predicament. The struggle for paramountcy between Lima and Cuzco was waged on the grounds of *antigüedad* versus the newly made “greatness” of The City of the Kings. Nevertheless, and as we saw in Chapter 1, Cuzco’s claim to rule was also contaminated by “modern” arguments, including the exemplary contrast that her representatives drew between the “barbaric Aztecs” of Mexico and the civilized and efficient Incas (a contrast that draws on the providential history of the Incas authored by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega), and the use of the Castilian example of Burgos. Cuzco’s representative also employed Giovanni Botero’s modern argument about “the multitude,” pointing out that Cuzco had “many Indians” to offer in service to the Crown. The “newly made” and “invention” were perhaps the best names not only for “Lima” but for “Peru” as well.⁷⁴

To rethink Lima as border city and Peruvian metropolis, then, is to rethink the master narratives of modernity and empire. This study has attempted to make a small contribution to that rethinking, first by pointing to the baroque rites of invention that defined a new metropolis, and secondly by suggesting that this process of invention may in itself remind us that history is as much about “the newly made” as it is about the past.

A P P E N D I X 1

VICEROYS OF PERU IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Viceroy (V); Arrived at Paita (P), at Callao (C); Entered under palio (X), without (O)

CHARLES V (1516–56; D. 1558)

- 1534–41 Francisco Pizarro, Marquis, Governor
- 1541–44 Licentiate Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, Governor
- 1544–46 Blasco Nuñez de Vela (First V, P, X)
- 1547–50 Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, Audiencia President
- 1550–51 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1551–52 Antonio de Mendoza (Second V, P, O)
- 1552–56 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima

PHILIP II (1556–98)

- 1556–61 Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, second Marquis of Cañete
(Third V, P, X)
- 1561–64 Diego López de Zuñiga, Count of Nieva (Fourth V, P, X)
- 1564 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1564–69 Licentiate Lópe García Castro, Governor
- 1569–81 Francisco de Toledo (Fifth V, P, X)
- 1581–83 Martín Enríquez (Viceroy of New Spain) (Sixth V, C, X)
- 1583–85 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1585–89 Francisco de Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar Don Pardo
(Seventh V, P, X)
- 1589–96 García Hurtado de Mendoza, second Marquis of Cañete
(Eighth V, first wife, C, X)

PHILIP III (1598–1621)

- 1596–1604 Luís de Velasco, Marquis of Salinas (Viceroy of New Spain)
(Ninth V, P and C, X)
- 1604–6 Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey (Viceroy of
New Spain) (Tenth V, C, X)
- 1606–7 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1607–15 Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montesclaros (Viceroy
of New Spain) (Eleventh V, C, X)
- 1615–21 Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Prince of Esquilache (Twelfth V,
C, X)

PHILIP IV (1621–65)

- 1621–22 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1622–29 Diego Fernández de Córdova, Marquis of Guadalcazar
(Viceroy of New Spain) (Thirteenth V, P, O)
- 1629–39 Luís Gerónimo de Cabrera y Bobadilla, Count of Chinchón
(Fourteenth V, C, Private Entry Ceremony)
- 1639–48 Pedro de Toledo y Leyva, Marquis of Mancera (Fifteenth
V, C, X)
- 1648–55 García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, Count of Salvatierra (Viceroy
of New Spain) (Sixteenth V, C, X)
- 1655–61 Luís Henríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alva de Liste (Viceroy
of New Spain) (Seventeenth V, C, X)
- 1661–66 Diego de Benavides y de la Cueva, Count of Santiestevan
(Eighteenth V, P, X)

CARLOS II (1665–1700)

- 1666–67 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1667–72 Pedro de Castro, Count of Lemos (Nineteenth V, C, X)
- 1672–74 Rule of the Audiencia of Lima
- 1674–78 Baltazar de la Cueva Heríquez, Count of Castellar (Twentieth
V, C, X)
- 1678–81 Melchor Liñan y Cisneros, Archbishop (Twenty-First
Interim-V)
- 1681–89 Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Duque of la Palata (Twenty-
Second V, P and C, X)
- 1689–1705 Melchor Portocarrero Laso de Vega, Count of la Monclova
(Viceroy of New Spain) (Twenty-Third V, C, X)

A P P E N D I X 2

ARCHBISHOPS OF LIMA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

- 1548–75 Jerónimo de Loaysa (appointed November 24, 1541;
died in Lima)
- 1577 Diego de la Madrid (did not make it to Lima as he was
appointed Bishop of Badajoz before embarking to Peru)
- 1581–1606 Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo (appointed on June 10, 1579;
died in Lima)
- 1610–22 Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (appointed October 19, 1607;
died in Lima)
- 1625–26 Gonzalo de Ocampo (appointed February 15, 1624)
- 1630–38 Hernando Arias de Ugarte (appointed February 18, 1628)
- 1639 Fernando de Vera (appointed July 8, 1639, but had died on
November 1638 while serving as Bishop of Cuzco)
- 1641–71 Pedro de Villagómez y Vivanco (appointed March 5, 1640)
- 1674–76 Juan de Almoguera (appointed August 22, 1671; died in
Lima)
- 1677–1708 Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros (appointed December 21,
1676)

A P P E N D I X 3

AUTOS DE FÉ CELEBRATED IN LIMA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

AUTOS PÚBLICOS STAGED IN THE PLAZA MAYOR

November 15, 1573
April 13, 1578
October 29, 1581
November 30, 1587
April 5, 1592
December 17, 1595
December 10, 1600
March 13, 1605
June 1, 1608
December 21, 1625
January 23, 1639
January 23, 1664

AUTOS PARTICULARES CELEBRATED EITHER IN THE SANTO DOMINGO CHURCH OR THE INQUISITION'S CHAPEL

June 17, 1612
August 17, 1635
February 27, 1631
November 17, 1641
February 16, 1666
October 8, 1667
March 16, 1693
December 20, 1694

A P P E N D I X 4

EARTHQUAKES IN LIMA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

1582 (n.d.)
July 8, 1586
October 25, 1606
October 19, 1609
October 1612
August, 10, 1630
September, 1630
November 27, 1630
December 19, 1630
December 1, 1631
December 8, 1631
July 13, 1632
May 3, 1634
December 13, 1655
August 1, 1660
1678 (n.d.)
January 20, 1681
April 1, 1687
October 20, 1687
November, 1697
June 12, 1699

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, 44.
2. Kagan, *Urban Images*, 10; see also MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, 108–26.
3. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 14–28.
4. *Ibid.*, 37–40.
5. *Ibid.*, 18.
6. Montemayor, “Ciudades hispánicas y sus signos,” 289.
7. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 104–25.
8. Lechner, “El concepto de ‘policía,’” 395–409; see also Sánchez-Concha, “De la miserable condición de los Indios,” 95–104.
9. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 36–37.
10. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion*; MacLaren, *A History of Contraception*.
11. Kamen, *Empire*, 197–237.
12. *Ibid.*, 3–149.
13. The *Relazioni* was first published in Rome in 1591–93 in three parts. A second edition in four parts was published in Rome in 1595, and an expanded edition in four parts was published in 1596 in Venice. They appeared in Spanish in 1599. The copy I consulted at the John Carter Brown Library (JCBL) is a copy from 1748 of a translation first published in Barcelona in 1603. See Botero, *Descripcion de todas las provincias*.
14. See MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, ch. 4.
15. Calvo, “Le blanc manteau,” 19.
16. Botero, *The Greatness*, bk. I, 4, 5: 230–31.
17. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 6: 232.
18. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 6, 232–33.
19. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 6: 232–33 and 7: 233.
20. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 8: 234–35.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 9: 236.
23. The verb *conduco* in Latin means to “bring together” (*duco* means “lead”) in the sense of “assemble” or “collect.” It can be used about people—to collect or assemble an army, for instance—and about things—to collect things together in one place. That meaning is sometimes more intense, with the idea of bringing things or people together and uniting them. In Botero’s sense, a city should be a hub or magnet for all sorts of different things, and in a physical setting that makes transportation, exchange, and production easy. This ties in with a second meaning of *conductus* (the perfect passive participle of *conduco*)—it can mean something that makes a contribution to something by being useful, something that is useful/profitable/serviceable, which could be emphasizing the point that

the city brings things and peoples together for a productive purpose. I wish to thank Ray Starr for this explanation.

24. *Ibid.*, bk. I, 10: 236–37.
25. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 1: 245–46.
26. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 3: 247.
27. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 5: 253–54.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 7: 254 and 8: 255, 256.
30. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 9: 258, 259.
31. Accordingly, Botero devotes the last book (III) of his work to the issue of a great city's population.
32. Botero, *The Greatness*, bk. III, 3: 280.
33. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 9: 258–59.
34. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 10: 260.
35. *Ibid.*, bk. II, 10: 260.
36. *Ibid.*, 269–70.
37. *Ibid.*, 273.
38. Flor, *Barroco*, 146.
39. Brading, *The First America*, 314.
40. Pedro de Oña was a Creole born in Angol in southern Chile circa 1570. The *Arauco Domado* is considered to be his greatest work.
41. All translations are the author's, unless otherwise noted. "Ya salen de las tiendas los brocados, / Y sedas mil, distintas en colores, / Ya sacan vistosisimas labores, / vestidos, y jaezes recamados . . . / Ya Lima con soberbia, fausto, y pompa / Se hincha, se levanta, se engrandece," Oña, *Primera Parte de Arauco Domado*, Canto Primero, ff, 9v–12v.
42. Diego de Ocaña arrived in Lima from Spain in 1599 and lived there for a year before traveling to the kingdom of Chile in 1600. He returned to Lima in 1603 and stayed until 1605 and then sailed to New Spain where he died in 1608. He was in the Americas to establish the devotion of the Virgin of Guadalupe; *Un viaje fascinante*, Intro. and 87.
43. Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante*, 87, 96.
44. The Franciscan Francisco Solano, was born in Montilla, Spain, and came to Peru in 1589. He was beatified by Pope Clement X in 1675, and canonized by Benedict XIII in 1726. Fray Buenaventura early in his life was part of Lima's palace culture initially as a page of viceroys and later as the highest secretary of the governorship (*secretario mayor de la gobernación*) in charge of organizing the viceregal archive. He was educated by Jesuits. At age twenty-four, he left the viceregal court to profess as a Franciscan in which order he became an esteemed scholar and preacher. Fray Buenaventura was an ardent critic of the exploitation of the Indians (committed both by clerics and *corregidores*, in his view), and he also found fault in the monarchy that, he said, took much more from the Indians than it gave them. Because of his critical views he was accused before the king and other authorities by the Bishop of Cuzco. Salinas was eventually exiled and lived a good part of his life between Spain and Rome where he was entrusted with procuring the canonization of fray Francisco Solano. He never returned to the viceroyalty of Peru, and he spent the last years of his life in Cuernavaca, New Spain; Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias*, ix–xi.
45. *Ibid.*, 104.

46. *Ibid.*, 106.
47. *Ibid.*, 108.
48. *Ibid.*, 115.
49. *Ibid.*, 137.
50. Salinas lent authority to these claims by arguing that since the census conducted by the viceroy Marquis of Montesclaro in 1613, which set the city's population at 25,454, two or three others had been conducted revealing a population of more than 40 thousand peoples "of all conditions" living in the city (*Ibid.*, 246).
51. *Ibid.*, 149.
52. *Ibid.*, 138, 246, 247.
53. Oliva, *Historia del reino*, 213.
54. *Ibid.*, 214–17.
55. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada (1638)*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 234.
56. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 238.
57. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 245.
58. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 244.
59. Calicut was the most important city of Malabar—the northern region of the state of Kerala in southwestern India. A leading trading center for spices, Calicut was also famously cosmopolitan. Vasco da Gamma landed at Calicut in 1498, becoming the first European to reach India by sea around the southern cape of Africa.
60. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada (1638)*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 245.
61. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ch. 37, f. 245.
62. Valverde, *Santuario de N. Señora*, f. 286–87v.
63. *Ibid.*, f. 279v.
64. *Ibid.*, f. 279v.
65. *Ibid.*, f. 279v.
66. *Ibid.*, ff. 282v–83v.
67. *Ibid.*, 284v:E. On Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's history, see Thurner, *Abys of History*.
68. Valverde, *Santuario de N. Señora*, ff. 287v:G–88:C.
69. *Ibid.*, ff. 288v:G, 289:A. The superiority of Lima was clearly asserted in the poem by her appearance as a princess on the right-hand side of Emperor Peru, the ceremonial side signifying a higher status. Lima's supremacy was further emphasized by the structure of the poem itself, as princess Lima occupies the largest space of all the other cities mentioned in it. This poem serves as a fine example against the commonly held notion that at the time in Peru, Lima held no special status among other important cities of the viceroyalty; see Brading, *First America*, 3 and ss.
70. See also Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana*, ff. 473–80.
71. Meléndez, *Tesoro Verdadero de la Indias*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 4, 22.
72. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 4, 22.
73. This wealth was physically displayed in the city by the *trajines* or mule caravans loaded with the silver production of Potosi brought to Lima before being shipped to Spain. Antonio Suardo reported that on May 24, 1631, for example, four hundred mules loaded with over eight million pesos in silver and gold from Potosi made their entry into Lima before the cargo was shipped to Spain on

- May 31 aboard the *Capitana* and *Almiranta General* vessels; *Diario de Lima*, 132–33.
74. See Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 353–70.
 75. See *ibid.*, 373–74.
 76. Guarda, “Tres reflexiones,” 89–106; MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, 101–36.
 77. There were 148 ordinances in total that expanded and incorporated previous decrees issued by Kings Ferdinand and Charles V; they are reproduced in Encinas, *Cedulario*, IV, Año de 573; for a partial translation, see Dora Crouch, et. al., *Spanish City Planning*.
 78. Aristotle, *The Politics*, bk. VII, chs. IV–XII, and Encinas, *Cedulario*, IV, Año de 573.
 79. Libros de Cabildos de Lima [LCL], X, “Plano de la ciudad.”
 80. LCL, I, “fundacion de Lima,” Lunes xviii dias del mes de henero.
 81. Archivo General de Indias [AGI], Lima 95.
 82. LCL, I, “ordenanças fechas por los señores Justicia e Regidores.”
 83. Archivo General de la Nación [AGN], Protocolos Notariales [PN], Francisco García Durán, 1621–23, no. 672, f. 109–10.
 84. LCL, I, “xxij de octubre de I Udxxxv años.”
 85. Chueca Goitia, *Breve historia*, 146–47.
 86. Durán Montero, *Lima en el siglo XVII*, 137–38.
 87. AGN, PN, Luís Félix de la Rinaga, 1654, no. 83, ff. 367–69, and no. 90, f. 376. Juan Bautista de Herrera, 1651, no. 899, ff. 567–68v. See also Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 29.
 88. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 125–26.
 89. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima [AHML], Libros de Cabildo [LC] 25, f. 98.
 90. AGN, PN, Tomás de Cepeda, 1661–65, no. 319, ff. 35–35v.
 91. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 193–94.
 92. Anónimo Judío Portugués, 45; Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 373–74.
 93. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 122.
 94. AGN, PN, Francisco García Durán, 1621–23, no. 672:104, ff. 100–102, 110–11.
 95. Sánchez-Albornoz, “La mita de Lima,” 193–210.
 96. Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima*, f. 315. By the mid-century, according to the Franciscan Creole Diego de Córdova Salinas, this boulevard had grown into a large green and lively alameda lined with orange trees, willows, and other wild species, and three stone fountains with running water, which enlivened it throughout the year; *Crónica Franciscana*, f. 477.
 97. Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 187.
 98. “Provision of March 5, 1571,” in Lohmann, *Disposiciones gubernativas*.
 99. Archivo Arzobispal de Lima [AAL], Cofradías [CO], 47:15, 1666–69. Also León Pinelo, *Vida del Ilvstrissimo*, ff. 93–96.
 100. Lohmann Villena, et. al., *La Basílica*, 53–71, 115–51.
 101. Vasconcellos also built other important structures in the viceroyalty, such as the forts in Valdivia between 1643 and 1645, the mines in Huancavelica in 1645, and the walls of Callao. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 228.
 102. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 193.
 103. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 229–34.

104. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 198.
105. Suárez Figueroa, *Templo de Nuestro Grande Patriarca*.
106. Bernaldes Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 235.
107. *Ibid.*, 248–50.
108. The royal decree that created the first university in the Dominican convent was dated May 12, 1551, and the pontifical confirmation by Pope Pious V was not extended until July 15, 1571. The pontifical university was incorporated into that of Salamanca in July 1572 and in 1588 was placed under the Patronato Real by Philip II. A papal bull of July 15, 1571, gave the University of San Marcos primacy over all other universities in the Indies. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XXI, ley primera, and Eguiguren, *Historia de la Universidad*, vol. I, chs. 6 and 20.
109. By 1650, it had twenty-two professorships, eight in theology, and eight in canon law, three in art, one in the general language of the Indians (Quechua), and two in medicine. According to Diego de Córdova y Salinas most of the professors by then were from Peru, but principally from Lima; *Crónica Franciscana*, f. 482.
110. Bernaldes Ballesteros, *Lima, la ciudad*, 254–55, 259.
111. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid [BNM], Mss. 3029 “Gobierno del Peru D. Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful”; López, *Noticias del Sur Continuadas*, no. 7. See also Conde de Castellar, *Sudor y lagrimas de Maria Santísima*; and *Sudor y lagrimas de Maria Santísima en su Santa Imagen de la Misericordia*.
112. San Cristóbal, *Manuel de Escobar*, 159–62. I am indebted to Padre San Cristóbal for copies of his wonderful books and many articles, as well as for his help locating documents in the AGN in Lima and his generosity in sharing his knowledge about Lima’s architectural history.
113. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 177.
114. Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante*, 101.
115. *Ibid.*, 102.
116. *Ibid.*, 102.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Ibid.*, 102–3.
119. “Copia de carta que contiene una breve relacion de los Desagrabios, Procesiones de penitencias, y otros actos de edificacion, con q. a procurado esta ciudad de Lima desarmar la Divina Justicia despues de las noticias del terremoto de Riobamba, la Tacunga, y Ambato. 15 de October, 1698” (BNM, R 36200).
120. “Local culture” is a term coined by the anthropologist William Christian and refers to cultural practices that are exercised by all social and ethnic groups in a given society and are different from those of the centralized and centralizing Church. As such, these “local” practices cannot be segregated into “popular” and “elite” cultures; *Local Religion*.
121. See Angulo, “Notas y monografías,” 399–402; Bromley and Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*; Eguiguren, *Las calles de Lima*; Gálvez, *Las calles de Lima y meses del año*; Juan Gunther, *Colección de mapas*; Panfichi, “Urbanización temprana”; Tizón y Bueno, “Historia del plano de Lima.”
122. Cook, “Les Indies inmigrés à Lima”; Charney, “El indio urbano,” 5–33.
123. Durán Montero, “Lima in 1613,” 171–88.
124. Several seventeenth-century chroniclers of Lima suggested that the city was multiethnic in nature, in which Indians, Africans, and Spaniards lived in close proximity. The Anónimo Judío Portugués, for example, described Lima’s

- Indians as “good scribes, musicians, clothiers and shoemakers,” while also depicting an urban situation with different ethnic groups exchanging daily experiences, 48, 63. Charney, “El indio urbano,” see especially map 1, 23; Estenssoro, “Los bailes de los indios,” 353–404.
125. Bowser, *The African Slave*. See also Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 171–98.
126. Bronner, “The Population of Lima,” 107–19; Charney, “El indio urbano,” and *Indian Society*, Cook, “Les Indies immigrés à Lima”; Mellafe, “The Importance of Migration”; Sánchez-Albornoz, “La mita de Lima”; Vergara, “Migración y trabajo femenino,” 135–57.
127. Some of the reasons for this phenomenon might be found in the remoteness of the Peruvian realm, its extreme vastness, and its political and administrative complexity, as well as on the Spanish monarchy increasing dependency on Peruvian silver and its production decline in the seventeenth century. The granting of nobility titles created a hierarchical order and loyalty to the king as they were often granted in exchange for services to him. In the Peruvian case, the large number of titles may have been a way for the king to keep the silver coming and avoid resistance to its demands from his already overburdened subjects. See Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 51.
128. As Pablo Rizo-Patrón notes, this was in spite of the fact that many of the members of illustrious families that came to Peru were not always from the main branches; *Linaje, Dote y Poder*, 37.
129. The assumption in the historiography has usually been that the wealth and power of the Lima elites was inferior to that of New Spain. Rizo-Patrón argues, however, that this perception may be traced back to Alexander von Humboldt, who argued that the fortunes of the Peruvian elite were inferior to those of the Mexicans, a perception that was then projected back to describe that of the seventeenth century without much evidence to sustain it; *Linaje, Dote y Poder*, 35–37.
130. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 10–11.
131. Brading and Cross, “Colonial Silver Mining,” 545–79.
132. Haitin, *Late Colonial Lima*, 336. See also Marks, “Power and Authority,” and “Confronting a Mercantile Elite”; López, *Noticias del Sur*; and Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*.
133. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean*.
134. Rizo-Patrón, *Linaje, Dote y Poder*, 40–41.
135. The titled nobility of Lima was a fraction of that of Spain where in 1700 there were 722 thousand nobles. Rizo-Patrón, *Linaje, Dote y Poder*, 10, 18–20. See also, Lohmann Villena, “Los ministros de la Real,” xlv.
136. Brading and Cross, “Colonial Silver Mining,” 546.
137. *Ibid.* See also Grafe and Irigoín, “The Spanish Empire,” 8–14.
138. According to Joseph Pérez, by 1584 the silver from America represented 70 percent of the extraordinary financial resources of the Crown, a proportion that was maintained unchanged for most of the seventeenth century. By the time of the Philip II’s death, two-thirds of these extraordinary resources came from the Indies and only one-third from Castile. While these moneys were not the most important as the *alcabala* tax produced more revenues for the royal treasury, the silver was important because it constituted the only revenue in species where taxes could be paid in kind; Pérez, *La España*, 113–14. See also Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 5. Lima’s moneys also went to pay for the salaries of members

- of the Consejo de Indias, who did not get paid on occasions when ships coming from Lima's port of Callao were intersected by pirates. See Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, I: 129–30, and note 91.
139. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 3.
 140. *Ibid.*, 7.
 141. During the fair of 1624 only 11 percent of the merchandise brought to the Portobelo Fair was sold, sending the rest directly to be sold in the Fair of Lima. According to Suárez this was a defining moment for the Lima merchants who purchased these goods for a fraction of their cost. With their profits many of Lima's fortunes were built and consolidated during the course of the century; *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 8, 250.
 142. *Ibid.*, 3.
 143. *Ibid.*, 9.
 144. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
 145. According to Suárez “bank” was the term used then to refer to those institutions that performed banking functions at the time: They accepted deposits, transferred funds, gave out credit, and made long distance payments through their branches throughout the Indies and in Europe; *Ibid.*, 24, note 7, 40–44, 53, 58, 72–75, 99–100, 102–6.
 146. *Ibid.*, 24.
 147. *Ibid.*, 87–89, 90–91.
 148. *Ibid.*, 190.
 149. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IX, título XXXXVI, ley primera.
 150. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 201.
 151. Testimony of the Lima merchant Hernando de Valencia, cited in Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 201.
 152. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 223–27.
 153. *Ibid.*, 233.
 154. *Ibid.*, 209–16.
 155. Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean*, 74–75, 77, 97–105; Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 223–27.
 156. Chuang, “The Chinese Silk Trade,” 241–59.
 157. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 240.
 158. *Ibid.*, 238–39.
 159. *Ibid.*, 257.
 160. Between 1662 and 1664 the administration of the *averias* (protection) of the Mar del Norte and of the Mar del Sur, as well as the administration of *almojarifazgos*, *alcabalas* (taxes) and Union of the Arms were all placed in the hands of the *Consulado de Lima*. The merchants of Lima had to pay in each armada 350 thousand ducats for the *averia* del Mar del Norte, 102,500 pesos for the *averia* de la Mar del Sur, and annually 127 thousand pesos for other taxes. In addition, the Guild also agreed to “graciously” contribute 60 thousand pesos more in each armada and lent 150 thousand pesos annually to the king. Given that the payments from Mexico were morose and Cartagena and Nueva Granada simply did not pay their payments falling on the Seville merchants. In 1667 a new set of payments was established making Peru the most important financial contributor. While the amounts paid by Peru for each *averia* remained the same, New Spain now was only responsible for paying 90,909 ducats, Seville 109,091 ducats, and the merchants of Cartagena and New Granada 20 thousand each.

- The remaining 50 thousand was to be paid out of the fabrics sent from Spain to Tierra Firme. See Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 281, 309–10.
161. See *ibid.*, 310–12, 380–81.
 162. *Ibid.*, 380.
 163. *Ibid.*, 312–13, 380.
 164. *Ibid.*, 377.
 165. *Ibid.*, 396.
 166. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office*; Andrien, “The Sale of Fiscal Offices” 49–71, and “Corruption, Inefficiency,” 1–20.
 167. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 191–93; Rizo-Patrón, *Linaje, dote y poder*.

CHAPTER 1

1. “Sin cabeza . . . os pone delante el conjunto de horror, que causa la desunión y la falta de una cabeza superior: sin ella no hay, ni miembros ni cuerpos; si existen son yertos, y cual muertos” (“A los muy ilustres y nobles caballeros de Ciudad Real,” in *Diario de México* 1414 (November 14, 1808): 567–68, cited in Guerra, “La desintegración de la Monarquía,” 199).
2. For Lima’s founding title, see Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML), Libro de Cédulas y Provisones (LCP) III, part I, “Fundación y Población de esta muy noble y leal ciudad de los Reyes del Perú, hecha por el Marqués Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro, Adelantado y Primer Gobernador que fue de estos reynos en 18 de Enero de 1535,” f. 7. See also “Acta de la fundación de los Reyes. Ciudad de los Reyes, 18 de enero de 1535,” in *Antiguos privilegios y documentos*, doc. IV; and “Fundación de Lima,” Libros de Cabildos de Lima (LCL), vol. III: 13–17.
3. In his *capitulación* Pizarro was granted jurisdiction over the two hundred leagues extending south of the Santiago River in Panama to the vicinity of Chincha (Peru). Diego de Almagro was also granted two hundred leagues to the south of those of Pizarro. The issue of where Cuzco fell was from the start the apple of contention between the two conquistadors. Hernando Pizarro returned to Spain to plead for an extra seventy leagues for his brother in order to settle the matter. The additional seventy leagues were obtained by Pizarro without Almagro’s knowledge, however. Believing that Cuzco fell within the stipulated territory of New Toledo, Almagro signed an agreement not to contest Pizarro’s grant. However, upon his return from the conquest of Chile, and seeing that Pizarro had taken possession of Cuzco, Almagro captured Juan Pizarro, thus forcing the *cabildo* or city council of Cuzco to recognize him as governor. The limits of New Castile and New Toledo and the exact location of Cuzco were investigated by the cleric Francisco de Bobadilla who, on November 15, 1537, issued a decision in favor of Pizarro. Bobadilla argued that Pizarro had been in peaceful possession of the city when Almagro forcefully dispossessed him of it. The cleric ordered the city be returned to Pizarro within thirty days. Notably, the exact location of the Santiago River was still undetermined at the time, and so Bobadilla’s inclination toward Pizarro was based more on possession than rightful jurisdiction. Also noteworthy was the fact that the queen regent also held that Cuzco belonged to Francisco Pizarro. The issue was defined in 1538 at the Battle of Salinas when Almagro was defeated and taken

- prisoner by Hernando Pizarro, who later had him executed in Cuzco. Upon his return to Spain, Hernando himself was seized, tried, and imprisoned for the murder of Diego de Almagro, this despite the fact that the Cardinal of Seville, and also Dr. Beltrán, a member of the Council of the Indies, supported his actions. See Vargas Ugarte, *Historia General del Perú*, 35–38, 84, 88–89, 117, 120, 126–32, 134–35, 150.
4. The *audiencias* were composed of *oidores* or magistrates, *alcaldes del crimen* or criminal judges, a *fiscal* or Crown attorney, and a protector of Indians among other members.
 5. AHML, LCP VIII, “Copia I auto del Pleito q. sigue en esta corte y villa de Madrid, en el R^l. Conss^o de las Yndias la grande noule ciudad de los Reyes = con la del Cuzco,” unnumbered document. I would like to thank Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, former director of the AHML, for bringing this document to my attention. There is no record of this dispute in the *Catálogo de las consultas del Consejo de Indias*, vol. 4, 1617–25.
 6. Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist*, xv.
 7. Hespanha, *Visperas del Leviatán*, 91–92.
 8. *Ibid.*, 91.
 9. Sieber, “The Invention of a Capital,” 106.
 10. *Ibid.*, 105–12; Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades*, 21. In Peru, Francisco Pizarro had to abandon his first attempt to found the city of Xauxa because he lacked the required minimum of thirty *vecinos* necessary to establish a city. According to Pizarro, none of his men wanted to *asentarse por vecinos*, or remain in Xauxa as they wanted to get to Cuzco instead. Porras Barrenechea, “Jauja, Capital Mítica,” 121n13.
 11. Encinas, *Cedulario*, vol. IV, Año de 573, Ordinance 38. The urgency of the men accompanying Pizarro to reach Cuzco rather than remain in Xauxa illustrates this point.
 12. The use of “capital” to refer to any center of power in this period is anachronistic, as it is a term that does not appear in the documentation until the eighteenth century. The more commonly used terms at the time were *cabeçera* and *cabeça*.
 13. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, for example, argues that Xauxa, “se hallaba bien poblada de indios, de modo que se pudo repartir a los vecinos un buen número. Sin embargo, *el traslado de la capital a Lima*, vino a perjudicarle, pues muchos de los aquí avecindados se trasladaron a la costa y Jauja quedó en cierto modo aislada. Vino a ser, no obstante la segunda ciudad del Perú fundada por Pizarro y su nombre quedo cómo sinónimo de tierra rica y abundosa” (*Historia General del Perú: El descubrimiento*, 70, my emphasis). The founding charter of Xauxa does not clearly state what the future role of the city will be beyond that of providing a settlement for the Spanish as they move south toward Cuzco. See LCL, I, “Actas del 29 noviembre de 1534, Jauja.”
 14. See for example Pedro Cieza de León’s rendering of how and why Lima was founded. This author does not attach any particular importance to the founding of Lima, much beyond the fact that Pizarro needed to have a city near the ocean where those coming to Peru by ship from Spain and the northern territories in the Indies could gather before moving to other parts in Peru; see *Crónica del Perú: Primera Parte*, 211–12. Diego de Almagro, in a letter to the king on May 8, 1534, also reported the establishment of Xauxa as another Spanish settlement, “el gobernador [Pizarro] en nombre de vuestra magestad ha poblado dos

- pueblos de españoles, el uno en el pueblo de Xauxa y el otro en el asiento del Cuzco, los cuales están fundados,” cited in Porras Barrenechea, “Jauja, Capital Mítica,” 121n13.
15. AHML, LCP III, Pt. I, “Fundación y Población de esta muy noble y leal ciudad de los Reyes”; also “Acta de la fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes,” in *Antiguos privilegios y documentos*, doc. IV; and “Fundación de Lima,” LCL, III, 13–17. For stipulated distinctions of these three types of settlements in the *Recopilación*, see Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades*, 23–24; and *Cedulario*, IV, ordinances 38, 42 and 43.
 16. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Lima 565, “Carlos I aprueba la fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes y confirma el nombre impuesto a ella. Valladolid, 3 de noviembre de 1536,” libro 2, ff. 227–27r. Also in, *Antiguos privilegios y documentos*, doc. V. It should be noted that in the “Glosa” to this published document, there is a long explanation of the transference of “the capital” city from Xauxa to Lima. This is clearly a rereading of what Pizarro was really doing when he moved Xauxa to Lima and of what the king and the conqueror conceptualized as Lima’s future role. Rubén Vargas Ugarte also suggests that Lima might have been founded simply as a safe haven for tired old Conquistadors in need of a tranquil place to set up a home and a family in order to enjoy the spoils of conquest; see, *Historia General del Perú: El descubrimiento*, 90. Pedro Cieza de León, in similar fashion suggests that Lima was founded by Pizarro in order to prevent Pedro de Alvarado from claiming the coast of Peru, while Pizarro was far away up in the highlands of Cuzco unable to defend it; see, *Crónica del Perú: Primera Parte*, 211–13.
 17. Rivera Serna, “Libro Primero de Cabildos,” 446; Urteaga and Romero, *Fundación Española del Cuzco*, 11.
 18. Urteaga and Romero, *Fundación Española del Cuzco*, 11.
 19. AGI, Audiencia de Lima 565, “Carlos I aprueba la fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes y confirma el nombre impuesto a ella. Valladolid, 3 de noviembre de 1536,” libro 2, ff. 227–27r.
 20. Urteaga and Romero, *Fundación Española del Cuzco*, 12–13. See also Vargas, *Historia General del Perú: El descubrimiento*, 75.
 21. Urteaga and Romero, *Fundación Española del Cuzco*, 12–13.
 22. The importance attributed to Cuzco by Pizarro is also attested by Cieza de León’s description of the founding and layout of the city; see *Crónica del Perú: Primera Parte*, 257–59.
 23. Dora Crouch, et al., *Spanish City Planning*, xv–4; Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades*, 1–54; Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 11–46.
 24. Cuzco’s limits were later redrawn by Philip II in 1573 and its jurisdiction divided between the *audiencias* of Lima and La Plata. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro II, título XV, ley xiiij.
 25. Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist*, 28.
 26. According to Nader, “a *vecino* was a citizen of a specific city, town, or village, in contrast to noncitizens, who were temporary or permanent residents (*residentes* and *moradores*). In census terminology, *vecino* referred to the head of the citizen household, so that a village of fifteen households was said to have fifteen *vecinos*. . . . Each Castilian, in addition to being a citizen by birthright of a municipality, was a subject (*vasallo*) of the monarch” (*Liberty in Absolutist*, xv–xvi).
 27. AHML, LCP VIII, “Copia I auto del Pleito.”

28. Botero, *The Greatness*; MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, ch. 4.
29. AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito."
30. Ibid.
31. AGI, Lima 110 contains numerous documents from the *cabildo* of Cuzco about its prerogatives as head city vis-à-vis Lima. They range from jurisdictional disputes with Lima to the Cuzco *cabildo*'s complaints about having lower salaries than that of Lima in spite of its being head of the provinces to documents certifying Cuzco's loyalty to the king and asking that its prerogatives as head city be confirmed.
32. AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito," my emphasis.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., my emphasis.
35. This is reflected in competing iconography of the "Peruvian dynasty" of the Habsburg. See Gisbert, *Iconografía*, 117–92; and Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian," 203–31.
36. "For the great majority of Castilians in the Hapsburg period, civil status, legal rights, and political power derived from citizenship (*vecindad*) in a municipality. Each Castilian was by birthright a citizen of the municipality in which he or she was born. This universal experience of citizenship in municipalities shaped Castilians as an urban people" (Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist*, 28).
37. AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito."
38. Here Cuzco is ambivalent about whether the "discoverers and conquerors" refer to the Incas, the Spanish, or both.
39. AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito."
40. Ibid.
41. The number of *vecinos* in the cities of Lima, Cuzco, and Quito circa 1570 was approximately two thousand, eight hundred, and four hundred, respectively (Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas*, I: 121, II: 50, 170).
42. AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito."
43. Ibid. Joseph or Jusepe de Rivera was elected *procurador general* in 1611. He never made it to Spain, however, in part because of Cuzco, Potosi, Oruro, and Trujillo's refusal to help finance the Lima *procurador*'s stay in Spain. See Bromley, "El Procurador," 97. Also, for the role played by viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros in the outcome of this incident, see Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 122–24.
44. "Caballos" appears to be a misspelling of "Cevallos," one of Lima's first *procuradores de corte*. For a copy of the decree, see Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Colección Matalinares, vol. XCVII, no. 4294, f. 153. "Real Cédula declarando a Cuzco la ciudad mas importante del Perú y de primer voto. Madrid, 24 de abril de 1540."
45. Ibid.
46. My emphasis. RAH, "Real Cédula declarando a Cuzco."
47. This 1540 royal decree was later ratified at Cuzco's request on May 5, 1593, by Philip II, on March 10, 1604, by Philip III, and in 1680 by Charles II. See, AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia I auto del Pleito." See also, Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, II: 144; and *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título ocho, ley iiiij.

48. The version of this decree included later in the 1681 Recompilation of the Laws of the Indies is an edited version from the original 1540 decree. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título ocho, ley iiiij.
49. On December 3, 1603, apparently Philip II had given Lima the title of “la mayor y más principal.” See AHML, LCP IV, ff. 54–55, “Cedula Real para q. el Virrey y Aud^a informen si convendra aprovar una provision de la preeminencia que se concedieron á la ciudad (1614).”
50. RAH, “Real Cédula declarando a Cuzco.” This section of the document is omitted in the later version included in the 1681 law codes. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título ocho, ley iiiij.
51. See for example, Vargas Ugarte, *Historia General del Perú*, 76.
52. In the royal decree that created the *audiencia* of Lima, the king refers to Lima as *Cabeça de las Provincias del Perú*. This decree was issued by Charles V in Barcelona, on November 20, 1542. It was later ratified by Prince Philip in Valladolid on September 13, 1543, and later by King Philip II in Guadalajara on August 29, 1563, and July 29, 1595. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro II, título XV, ley v.
53. In the decree, issued in Barcelona on November 20, 1542, Charles V mandated that “the *kingdoms* of Peru and New Spain will be ruled and governed by viceroys who represent our Royal person and who have our superior government.” It should be noted that in New Spain a viceroy had been governing since 1530, when Antonio de Mendoza became the first appointee to this post. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro III, título tercero, ley primera.
54. This territorial difference may partially explain why Cuzco and Lima were granted seemingly competing titles by the same king within the space of two years. It is also evident in the documentation that New Castile and New Toledo continued to be used even after the creation of the viceroyalty. In 1683, the Cuzco *cabildo* received a royal decree issued in Madrid on January 17, 1681, “confirming the precedent” by the king of its rank of first vote and title of principal city in the kingdom. Or at least this is how the chronicler reported this decree. It is possible that Cuzco interpreted New Castile to be synonymous with Peru, even though the analysis shows that they actually meant two very different jurisdictions. See Esquivel y Navia, *Anales del Cuzco*, 167. To add to the confusion, in a *relación* of Cuzco, dated January 1, 1650, the chronicler wrote that the city of Cuzco, “grater in name than in *vecindad* or citizenry, is head of the kingdoms of Perú by title and grace (*merced*) of the kings of Castile and León, executed on 14 April of 1540, confirmed on 5 May of 1593.” Its coat of arms exhibits a “castle in a gold field, with an eagle crowned with a motto reading: The Great City of Cuzco, given to the city on 19 July of 1540.” According to this account, “Cuzco has the *vote in Cortes*, and it is stated to be the first and principal city of the kingdom. . . . It was the court and seat of the Inca kings, and of the Spanish their object of discord” (“Descripción de la ciudad del Cuzco,” in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II: 3–4, my emphasis. This account corresponds to that of Contreras y Valverde, *Relación de la Ciudad del Cuzco*).
55. While in Castile the *audiencia* had an exclusive judicial character, in the New World *audiencias* could exercise both judicial and political powers. The dual nature of the American *audiencia* stemmed from its dual composition, which consisted of the *Real Chancillería* (Royal Chancellery) and the *Real Acuerdo*

- which together made up a body of *audiencia* members who acted as councilors to the viceroy. This difference between the two institutions accounts for the higher status accorded to American *audiencias* such that of Lima, and it also accounts for the Peninsular emphasis on *fueiros*. See Altuve–Febres, *Los Reinos del Perú*, 235–38.
56. Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, 128–30.
 57. Altuve-Febres, *Los Reinos del Perú*, 238–40.
 58. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. II, cap. VI, no. 1.
 59. *Ibid.*, lib. II, cap. VI, no. 6.
 60. For a sixteenth-century Spanish politico-medical treatise, see Merola, *Republica original sacada Del Cuerpo Humano*. Also see Tierno Galván, “Jeronimo de Merola y su ‘Republica,’” VII: 169–85, and VII: 247–77. Also see Tovar Valderrama, *Instituciones Políticas*. On the medieval origins of the organic notion of the body politic, see Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*.
 61. Ortiz de Cervantes, *Memorial que presenta a su Magestad*, f. I.
 62. See Tovar, *Instituciones Políticas*, 78–79, my emphasis. See also Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales y cartas*, 74–75.
 63. Tovar, *Instituciones Políticas*, 75–76, my emphasis.
 64. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 25.
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. *Ibid.*, 45.
 67. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. II, cap. VI, nos. 7 and 8. See also Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, ch. 5.
 68. While Covarrubias does not provide a definition, the 1726 dictionary defined *estado* as status, condition, and quality. See his *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*.
 69. Since commoner Indians were classified as *miserables* they occupied a lower status than Spaniards. See Sánchez-Concha, “De la miserable condición de los Indios,” 95–104. On these points, see Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. II, cap. VI, nos. 10 and 11.
 70. AHML, LCP VIII, “Copia I auto del Pleito.”
 71. See Ortiz de Cervantes, *Memorial que presenta a Su Magestad*; and AHML, LCP VIII, “Memorial del Licenciado Juan de Ortiz de Cervantes, Procurador General del Peru, sobre el protector de los Indios,” f. 46.
 72. The “upside-down world,” was a common metaphor used to explain an afflicted political body in seventeenth-century Peru. For example, see Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica i buen gobierno*. For an almost identical text in its language and sentiment to Guaman Poma’s Letter to the King, see “Fray Miguel de Monsalbe, Reducion del Piru,” in Antonio Bautista de Salazar, *Libro de la Descripción del Pirú*.
 73. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 18–20.
 74. *Ibid.*; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 192–97. On the civilizing aspects of *reducciones* in Peru, see Coello, *El barro de Cristo*.
 75. According to Woodrow Borah, royal governors did convene assemblies of cities in the Indies. In 1518, for example, a meeting was called in Hispaniola of all the representatives of the cities on the island. A similar meeting was convened in Mexico in 1525 and another in 1528 in Cuba. These meetings were described by governors as “consultative” and were never referred to as “*cortes*.” See “Representative Institutions,” 252; Lohmann, “Las Cortes,” 655–62; Pike,

- "The Municipality and the System," 139–58; and Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú: Virreinato*, II: 122.
76. Lohmann, "Las Cortes," 655.
 77. The privilege of first vote and rank of first city granted to Mexico City in 1530 by Charles V, resulted from the negotiations carried out in Spain by Doctor Hojeda as per an explicit mandate of the Mexico City *Ayuntamiento* in its session of September 25, 1528. Lohmann, "Las Cortes," 656–57. Cuzco on the other hand, as Lima argued in the Memorial of 1621, was also granted this title and privilege after negotiations by the licentiate Cevallos and Caldera. See AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia y auto del Pleito."
 78. Lohmann, "Las Cortes," 657. Also AHML, LCP VIII, "Copia y auto del Pleito;" RAH, "Real Cédula declarando a Cuzco;" and *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título VIII, ley iiij. The issue of *voz y voto* seems to also have referred to being the first city in the viceroyalty to receive all news from Spain and disclose them to the rest of the territory as well as being the first to stage the ceremonies related to the king's life cycle. See AGI, Lima 108, Letters of 1573 "La q. V. Mag^d Hizo m^d escribir"; 1590 "Que atento que el temblor que subcedio"; 1604 "La cossa de que mas necesidad"; 1606 "La que esta ciudad escribe"; 1606 "Aunque la Real Audiencia desta cibdad."
 79. For a discussion of changes in rank between Granada and Toledo in several different meetings of the *Cortes*, see Carretero, *Cortes, monarquía, ciudades*, 20–25.
 80. *Ibid.*, 15.
 81. *Ibid.*, 4.
 82. Jago, "Habsburg Absolutism," 310.
 83. Carretero, *Cortes, monarquía, ciudades*, 9.
 84. Unfortunately, Palencia never exercised this privilege, as the *Cortes* ceased convening after the 1660s. *Ibid.*, 3n1.
 85. According to Carretero procurators did not really "represent" but rather "spoke for" the cities that elected them as they had no sovereignty; *Cortes, monarquía, ciudades*, 11 and 7.
 86. This decree was signed in Barcelona, on November 14, 1519, and later ratified in Toledo in 1528. The emperor specified that the cities would use the office of *procurador* to "obtain their right and justice, and all other 'pretensions' as they saw fit" (*Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título onze, ley primera). Also see Bromley, "El Procurador," 76.
 87. Lerma, October 12, 1613. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título onze, ley iij. See also AGI, Lima 97, "El rey cedula de Madrid once de junio 1621."
 88. This decree was either signed on June 11, 1621 or 1622. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título onze, ley v. See also Bromley, "El Procurador," 76.
 89. Madrid, September 28, 1625. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título onze, ley iiij.
 90. Bromley, "El Procurador," 76.
 91. According to Vargas Ugarte, the procurator of the city of Lima had the honors and privileges of ambassador before the king's court in Spain; *Historia General del Perú*, 94.
 92. By the seventeenth century these *procuradores* in Lima were called *procuradores mayores*. See for example, "Cabildo de Lima, Session of January, 4, 1611." LCL, XVI: 12.

93. Bromley, "El Procurador," 77.
94. *Nota Bene*. This seems to be the same Hernando de Caballos mentioned in Cuzco's 1540 royal decree. See also, Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (ADC), Libros de Cabildos (LC), 1, 1545–1551, ff. 115r, 117r, 118, 126r, and 126r–28r for the power granted by Cuzco for the procurator to represent it in Spain.
95. Mazuelas was elected by the Lima *cabildo* in session of August 7, 1536, while Hernando de Cevallos was chosen in session of October 13, 1536. LCL, I: 101, 109–11. See also, Bromley, "El Procurador," 78–80.
96. This is clear in the wording of the letter given to Hernando de Cevallos in 1536. See session of November 20, 1536. LCL, I: 112–13.
97. In a letter to the king, viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza asked that the king only hear Guevara on the other issues he would bring up about the city of Lima, avoiding the issue of the *alcabalas* at all cost. The viceroy reasoned that the cities would be more reluctant to rebel if they knew that the king had refused to discuss the issue at court, as all other "past altercations and unrest" had began as appeals to his orders and then sending ambassadors to Spain. This practice, argued the viceroy, had resulted in the land being filled with "many lost vagabonds." Cited in Juan Bromley, "El Procurador," 89n2.
98. For full text, see Bromley, "El Procurador," 89–90n2. See also, LCL, XVI: 537. For the revolt in Quito, see Lavallé, "La rebelión de las alcabalas," 140–203.
99. LCL, XVI: 537.
100. Bromley, "El Procurador," 78.
101. See de la Puente, *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú*.
102. The letter to the king was debated and drafted in the *cabildo* session of January 28, 1550. LCL, III: 252–55. See also Bromley, "El Procurador," 83–84. The initiative to send a *procurador* had apparently been taken by Cuzco. Antonio de Quiñonez, *vecino y regidor* of Cuzco had addressed the *cabildo* of Lima on February 1, 1549, to propose that the two cities send a *procurador* to Spain to negotiate several privileges and grants with the king, including the perpetuity of the *encomienda*. At that session, Lima was quick to respond that it had already previously discussed and decided the issue, and offered to take charge in contacting the remaining cities in the viceroyalty to solicit funds for the *procuradores*'s expenses, as well as ideas on the issues to be sought before the king. On a later session held on February 8, Lima agreed that it could not wait for all cities to respond and wrote to the Cuzco *cabildo* asking to elect a *procurador* as soon as possible so that they could leave for Spain soon thereafter. Cuzco stalled, prompting Lima to send a delegation to discuss it with the president of the *audiencia* Pedro de la Gasca. To make matters worse, on September 8, the *procuradores* from Quito, Trujillo, and San Miguel de Piura showed up at the *cabildo* in Lima demanding that their cities be allowed to send *procuradores* to Spain. Lima responded that the city had *great will* to meet the cities's wishes but deferred the matter to la Gasca. In their session of September 13, the Lima *cabildo* discussed the fact that Cuzco remained silent and worried that the king would take the tardiness of the *procuradores* in offense, the *cabildo*, therefore, wrote to request an extension. On October 22, Francisco de Ampuero proposed that the *regidores* pay out of their own pockets to send a *procurador* to Spain. The motion was initially opposed by Nicolás de Rivera, but after the approval of the other members—Cristóbal de Burgos, Antonio de Ribera,

- Antonio del Solar, and Juan Cortés—was known, Nicolás de Rivera and Ruy Barba decided to support it. Finally, in their session of December 10, 1549, the Lima *cabildo* decided to send Jerónimo de Aliaga and fray Tomás de San Martín, both from Lima, to Spain. LCL, III: 60–61, 65, 173, 190, 199–200, 210. Jerónimo de Aliaga never returned to Lima, and on March 12, 1551, the Lima *cabildo* elected Francisco de Ampuero, the first mestizo *cabildo* member, as *procurador general* to travel to Spain, in part, to investigate what had become of Aliaga and San Martín. LCL, III: 351. On January 8, 1552, the Lima *cabildo* approved a motion requiring *procuradores* to regularly write to inform of their dealings in Spain or face a fine of fifty pesos. LCL, III: 503.
103. Lima enjoyed this privilege until 1784. See Lohmann, “El Corregidor de Lima,” 153–80.
 104. The city also asked the king to eliminate the salt tax (*estanco de la sal*) and the state monopoly on it, because, the *cabildo* explained, it was absurd to try to implement a tax and create a monopoly on a product that was so readably available to everyone all along the coast of the whole territory. Such a measure, cautioned the *cabildo*, could only end up being an embarrassing disaster; “Session of June 1, 1592.” LCL, XI: 693–704. See also Bromley, “El Procurador,” 88–89.
 105. See “Session of September 26, 1611.” LCL, XVI: 492–98, 500, 503–9, 519, 521.
 106. On this issue, see de la Puente, *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú*, 73–130.
 107. LCL, XVI: 493. See also Bromley, “El Procurador,” 90.
 108. My emphasis. Session of September 26, 1611. LCL, XVI, 493.
 109. Session of September 26, 1611. LCL, XVI, 494.
 110. I would not qualify this sentiment as “proto-nationalist,” as some have argued, given that the Creoles did not ever consider seceding from the monarchy. See for example Brading, *The First America*; Lavallé, *Las Promesas Ambiguas*; and Glave, *De Rosas y espinas*.
 111. Session of September 26, 1611. LCL, XVI: 494.
 112. The loss of autonomy of cities under the Spanish monarchy during the seventeenth century was a problem not only in the Indies but also in Spain. See for example Fernández Albaladejo, “Cities and the State in Spain,” 175.
 113. Bromley, “El Procurador,” 97–98. On de Rivera, see LCL, XVI: 496–98, 503–9. On the dealings with this issue by the Marquis of Montesclaros, see Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 123; and Lohmann, “Las Cortes.”
 114. Bromley, “El Procurador,” 98.
 115. The *servicio* was not a tax but a voluntary amount given to the Crown in times of financial need. According to Carretero, the faculty to grant the *servicio* was recognized by the Crown as a voluntary and free act of the representatives of the kingdom, more specifically, the *procuradores* in *cortes*; *Cortes*, *monarquía*, *ciudades*, 62.
 116. Bromley, “El Procurador,” 98.
 117. The *cortes* were not a parliamentary institution in the modern sense. Nor did they attempt to achieve direct legislative power. Between the 1550s and the 1660s, the *cortes* primarily debated and approved extraordinary subsidies to the Spanish Crown. Jago, “Habsburg Absolutism,” 311. Once the *cortes* had approved the amount of revenue to be handed over to the Crown and the king

- had taken possession of it, however, they had no power to determine how the monarch disbursed of it. Carretero, *Cortes, monarquías, ciudades*, 67.
118. Thompson, "Crown and Cortes in Castile," 31.
 119. Jago, "Habsburg Absolutism," 310.
 120. *Ibid.*
 121. *Ibid.* See also Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 146–62, 425–56; and Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales y cartas*, 15–23, 44, 45.
 122. Borah, "Representative Institutions," 252.
 123. Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 122.
 124. *Ibid.*, 123–24; Lohmann, "Las Cortes," 660.
 125. Lohmann argues, however, that this intent was never there, as the king would not have passed the opportunity to sell these rights to the American cities; "Notas sobre la presencia," 39.
 126. "R.C. a Montesclaros. Madrid, 10.IV.1609." AGI, Lima 570, lib. 16, ff. 310r–11. See also Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú*, 122.
 127. "Carta del virrey Marques de Montesclaros al Rey. Lima, April 12, 1611." AGI, Lima, 36. Also cited in Lohmann, "Las Cortes," 662.
 128. "Carta de Montesclaros a S. M. Gobierno CC. Lima. 12.IV.1611." AGI, Lima 36, and, lib. 4, ff. 184–88r, cap. 3. Cited in Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 123n360.
 129. Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 124.
 130. Esquivel y Navia, *Anales del Cuzco*, 25. It should be noted that this practice was still being used in Cuzco's legal documents throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. See for example captions to documents contained in, ADC, Cabildo-Justicia Ordinaria-Varios [CJOV], leg. 117.
 131. Esquivel y Navia does not provide the full text of these decrees making it impossible to assess its real content and language; they are not included in the *Recopilación de las leyes*. Esquivel y Navia, *Anales del Cuzco*, 5 and *Noticias Cronológicas*, II: 5.
 132. See for example, ADC, LC, 4, 1561–64, ff. 103–103r; also 9, Becerro no. 3–6, 1610–12, ff. 64r–66 and 73r–74.
 133. The first date in the Cuzco-Lima Memorial is May 14, 1621. The first *cortes* under the new king Philip IV began on June 19, 1621. This proximity of the new *cortes* might have been significant in Lima and Cuzco filling this dispute at this time, perhaps renewing the hopes of the Peruvian Creoles of actively participating in these metropolitan meetings. Peru was the main producer of silver as well as a considerable number of the troops sent to fight the European war. See Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica*; and Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales y cartas*.
 134. Trujillo, *La legislación eclesiástica*, 36, 37, 40.
 135. Moreyra, "Introducción a Documentos y Cartas," 209. Also "Lima, 29 Marzo de 1610. Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros a su Majestad," document published in Moreyra, "De la correspondencia del Virrey," 338–42. See also Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú. Virreinato*, 103–4.
 136. The divisions of these bishoprics translated into steep reductions in their incomes. In the case of Cuzco, for example, the total earnings of the bishopric from the *cuarta funeral* (percentage priests paid out of their funeral dues to their local bishop) between June 29, 1606 and January 12, 1607, was 64,242 pesos and 3.5 *tomines*. Of this, Guamanga would keep 8,361 pesos and Arequipa 12,157 pesos. The creation of the bishoprics of Guamanga and

- Arequipa, therefore, meant about a 20 percent reduction in Cuzco's church income just from the *cuarta funeral*. In the same period, Lima received a total of 63,434 pesos, 7 reales, and 2 *granos*. Of this amount half was kept by the prelate, and of the remaining Trujillo took in 4,238 pesos, 1 *toquin*, and 1 *grano*. See "Lima, 29 Marzo de 1610. Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros a su Majestad," in Moreyra, "De la Correspondencia del Virrey," 339. The cities—or more precisely their secular *cabildos*—where these bishops would reside were overwhelmingly in favor of this policy, since they would automatically upgrade their status. Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú. Virreinato*, 102. Furthermore, such rise in status necessitated some immediate material improvements in the local churches, as expressed by Montesclaros in a letter informing the king of the material changes needed in Trujillo, Guamanga, and Arequipa in order to refurbish their churches into cathedrals. See "Lima, 29 Marzo de 1610. Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros a su Majestad," in Moreyra, "De la correspondencia del Virrey," 331, 340.
137. Seventy-eight parishes were allocated to Guamanga while fifty-eight went to Arequipa. See "Auto de la Division de los Obispos de Guamanga y Arequipa separados del Cuzco." Document consulted at the John Carter Brown Library (JCBL).
 138. With the creation of the bishopric of Trujillo, Lima retained 189 but lost 108 to the new bishopric. After the partition Lima's annual income from its parishes was 43,460 pesos, while Cuzco's was only 19,307. "Auto de la Division de los Obispos de Guamanga y Arequipa separados del Cuzco," and "Auto de la Division del Obispado de Trujillo separado del Arzobispado de los Reyes," both consulted at the JBCL.
 139. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. IV, cap. V, nos. 9–11.
 140. See "Lima, 29 Marzo de 1610. Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros a su Majestad," in Moreyra, "De la correspondencia del virrey," 338–42.
 141. Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, II: 22.
 142. This discursive move by Cuzco proved to be so successful that no one has questioned the legitimacy or conditions of this claim until this study.
 143. Juan de Matienzo (1567) was a strong proponent of the creation of an *audiencia* and of moving the viceroy to Cuzco. See "Segunda Parte" in *Gobierno del Perú*. This idea was also developed by Cuzco's procurator Juan Ortiz de Cervantes. See Biblioteca Nacional de Chile (BNC) Iuan Ortiz de Cervantes, "Para bien Al Rey D. Felipe IIII. N.S./ Que / Da / La Cabeça del Reino del Piru / EN su nombre / el Lic. Iuan Ortiz de Cervantes su Procurador General, en la Corte." Also in AGI, Lima 110.
 144. For these arguments, see "Letter to the King of June 23, 1567," and "Letter to the King, Cuzco, January 13, 1604," both in AGI, Lima 110.
 145. Hespanha, *Vísperas del Leviatán*, 85–86. According to Solórzano cities acquired their status as such from having a bishop. While noting that the right to create a city belonged solely to the monarch independent from the pope, as evidenced by the existence of numerous cities that did not have a bishop. Solórzano also argued that a city with a bishop had a higher status as they gave them more "honor and luster." What transpires from Solórzano's discussion and the arguments made in the *memorial* is that at the time there were two traditions that could be called upon to legitimate the ruling power of a head city; *Política Indiana*, lib. IV, cap. V, nos. 11–15.

146. Cuzco was the last *audiencia* to be created in southern Peru in 1787, after the Tupac Amaru Revolt in part to provide greater protection to the Indians against the exploitation of *caciques* and *corregidores* alike. The *audiencia* of Cuzco was subordinated to that of Lima as it only enjoyed judicial capabilities. Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, 101. See also Castro, *Relacion de la fundacion de la Real Audiencia del Cuzco*.

CHAPTER 2

1. Libros de Cabildos de Lima (LCL), X, November 4, 1585.
2. "Capitulo sexto," in *Yndias de Birreyes*.
3. The *mayordomo* acted as the viceroy's master of the horse during the ceremony.
4. "Capitulo undecimo," in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
5. For Octavio Paz, this ritual constituted a political liturgy. See *Sor Juana Inés*, 193–95. A similar argument is made by Valenzuela, "De las liturgias del poder," 575–615.
6. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 53.
7. See Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Lima 97 "Carta del Cabildo al Rey, 1621." Rather than traveling the entire road by land from Paita to Lima, viceroys who landed in the northern port more often combined land and sea travel along the coast south to Callao.
8. LCL, XIV, March 28 and March 30, 1556. See also Bromley, "Recibimientos," 40, 44, 61.
9. In Europe the royal progress over a large territory had become nearly extinct by the seventeenth century as Spanish kings traveled less and less to visit their realms outside of the Peninsula. The last great imperial progress in Europe took place in 1535–36 when Charles V marched in triumph through Italy after his military success at Tunis. See Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 151–74.
10. While the viceroy's term in office was three years, the tenure in Peru fluctuated from one year (Antonio de Mendoza, 1551–52) to as many as sixteen years (Melchor Portocarrero Laso de Vega, Count of la Monclova 1689–1705). On the average there was a new viceroy every five to eight years, thus allowing people in Lima to probably witness three to four entries in their lifetime. In contrast, and since few viceroys ever traveled inland, for those cities of the interior the possibilities of seeing a viceroy were minimal. See Appendix I and also Herzog, "La presencia ausente," 819–26.
11. For the case of Chile, see Cruz de Amenábar, *La fiesta*, 78–85.
12. For Naples, see Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendor*. I am indebted to Professor Guarino for his gracious gift of the manuscript. For royal entries of Spanish monarchs in Italy, see Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 129–208. For those in New Spain, see Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 120–32; and Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 15–66.
13. A *Te-deum laudamus* was an ancient Latin hymn of praise beginning with, "We praise you, O God," sung as an expression of thanksgiving on special occasions.
14. In Castile, the *besamanos* was literally the kissing of the king's hand. The ritual presumably had Muslim roots and represented an act of submission performed by the great lords and royal officials of the realm. See Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy" 125–26.

15. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. V, cap. XII, no. 47.
16. Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 78.
17. For the magnificence that surrounded the figure of the king in royal entries, see Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, ch. 2; and Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*.
18. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 124–29. In the seventeenth century this geography of viceregal power was demarcated by the viceroy's walk from the convent of the Montserrat on the eastern edge of the city to the Plaza Mayor about eight blocks straight ahead, after which he turned onto Mercaderes until he reached the corner of La Merced, then he proceeded on to Martín de Ampuero and Miguel de Medina and to the cathedral. Exiting the cathedral, he turned on the corner of Medina and went on to the viceregal palace. This route was considerably longer than the one followed in the ceremonies for the king and that were confined to the Plaza and immediately adjacent streets. The routes followed by viceroy Toledo and the viceroy Count of Villar (1585), however, were more confined to the space adjacent to the Plaza, since they came to Lima by land from the northern port of Paíta, entering the city through the bridge directly behind the viceregal palace. See Figure I.4.
19. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 359–67.
20. The king's oath was read aloud to the entire city gathered at the Plaza Mayor, where the ceremony was performed on a large stage. See Osorio, "The King in Lima," 469; and Bromley, "Recibimientos," 69.
21. Chairs in early modern ceremonial signified power, and as such the cabildo always decorated a new chair for the viceroy's entry. For viceroy Martín Enríquez's entry in 1581, for example, the cabildo acquired a black velvet chair with gold trimmings and used the same fabric with the viceroy's and the city's coats of arms, for the saddle and horsecloth. LCL, IX, April 28, 1581.
22. Maravall, "Teatro, fiesta e ideología," 86.
23. Strong, *Art and Power*, 7.
24. On Mexican arches of a similar nature, see Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 26–36; and Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*.
25. For the contracts of these works for the entry of the following viceroys, see Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Protocolos Notariales (PN): Prince of Esquilache (1615): Notary Alonso de Carrión, 1615, no. 269, ff. 938–45r and ff. 952–53; Marquis of Guadalcázar (1622): Francisco García Durán, 1621–23, no. 672, item 93, ff. 7–9, 95, ff. 32–32r, 98, ff. 68–70, 104, ff. 100–102, 107, ff. 104v–6r, 111, ff. 110r–11r; Count of Chinchón (1629): Alonso de Carrión, 1634, no. 272, ff. 125–30r and ff. 140r–41, and 1629, no. 272, ff. 4–4r; Count of Alva de Liste (1655): Luis Félix de la Rinaga, 1605–54, no. 78, ff. 350–51r, 80, ff. 352r–53r, ff. 732–32r; Count of Lemos (1666): Tomás de Cepeda, 1661–65, no. 319, ff. 1059, 1065, and Francisco de Cárdenas, n.d., no. 251, item 5, ff. 1057r–59r, ff. 1065–65r, ff. 814–14r; Duke of La Palata (1681): Diego Fernández de Montaña, 1681, no. 494, f. 264, ff. 354–54r, ff. 357–59r, ff. 363–67r, ff. 369r–70.
26. Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco*, 110–20; Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 60. See also Ramos, *Arte Festivo en Lima*, 27–69; and Rama, *The Lettered City*, 22–25.
27. The materials, building, and painting of the structure cost the city 925 pesos. AGI, Lima 108.
28. "Capítulo 16," in *Yndia de Birreyes*.

29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. Marriage was a sacrament the crown and the church continuously promoted. This allegory might have also been included as a way to dispel possible anxieties about the vicereine's presence being an obstacle to the viceroy's rule.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. His ruled was praised by Oña in his *Arauco Domado*.
34. "Capítulo 16," in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
35. Ibid.
36. For a report on the earthquake's impact on the city, see "Carta del Conde del Villar al Rey sobre el terremoto en Lima del miércoles 8 de julio de 1586." Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (BNM) Mss. 2058.
37. *Tarde* from *tardus* means slow, while *tuto* from *tutus* means safe. This could mean something like "slowly but safely." *Tardus*, however, can have a negative connotation and mean "sluggish." It can also mean late, however. I thank Ray Starr for this clarification.
38. See Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, I: 42–43.
39. "Capítulo 16," in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
40. See Tanner, *The Last Descendent of Aeneas*. The use of Aeneas to symbolize the viceroy is interesting. In classical mythology, Aeneas saved Anchises's life at the Battle of Troy. Anchises then accompanied Aeneas on his trip to Italy. On his way, Aeneas was welcomed into Carthage by its founder and queen, Dido, who fell madly in love with him. When Aeneas left Carthage for Italy, Dido placed a curse on the Trojans and killed herself with a dagger. Once in Rome, Aeneas became the founder (or origin for) the Roman race. The overarching theme in this door was that of male filial obedience and the endurance of love in spite of the obstacles.
41. In Spain dynastic continuity was sometimes represented by depicting the king and the prince, father and son, supporting a globe. See Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 71–109.
42. See Tanner, *The Last Descendent of Aeneas*.
43. "Capítulo 16," in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
44. See also *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro III, título III, ley xix. It could be argued that the larger amount assigned to Lima for these ceremonies reflects the higher status held by the city in the New World.
45. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML), Libros de Cédulas y Provisiones (LCP) I, "Cedula de Sm^d 24 de septiembre 1680, en q. se manda a esta ciudad no pase el gasto que hace en las entradas de los señores virreyes, de 12,000 pesos (1680)," f. 53v. In spite of these regulations throughout the seventeenth century the city almost always exceeded this amount. For the entry of García Hurtado de Mendoza in 1590, for example, the city spent 12,508 pesos; for that of the Count of Villar in 1585, 8,012 pesos and 8 tomines; while that of Luis de Velasco in 1596 cost 11,203 *reales*. See Durán, "La entrada en Lima," 39–40.
46. LCL, V, March 24, and June 15, 1556.
47. The city voiced a concern that if there was no ceremony to mark the entry of the viceroy into Trujillo, he might be disinclined to honor and respect, in goodwill, the rights, privileges, and needs of the cabildo in the future. The cabildo

- decided, therefore, to pay for the ceremonies with the private funds of its members. LCL, V, April 15, 1556.
48. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1556.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1556.
 52. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*.
 53. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 22.
 54. A mark or *marco* was a unit used to weigh gold and silver. It corresponded to half a pound. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 121.
 55. *Ibid.*, 215. See also, Périsat, *Lima fête ses rois*, 49–50.
 56. LCL, XIV, March 4, 1604.
 57. The audiencia also decided to inform the king of their authorization so that he could adjust his decision. *Ibid.*, March 18 and 22, 1604.
 58. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1604.
 59. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1604. Viceroy Luis de Velasco authorized the cabildo to use the Indians's communal funds to finance the ceremony if the *censo* or mortgage was insufficient. See, *Ibid.*, March 30, 1604.
 60. LCL, IX, April 28, 1581. See also arguments by the *alcalde ordinario* Juan Maldonado de Buendía, in the session of May 2, 1581.
 61. *Ibid.*, April 21, 26, and 28 and May 2, 1581. See also Bromley, "Recibimientos," 51.
 62. Shortage of the European fabrics required for these ceremonies was not uncommon in the city. Many shortages were artificially created, however, as merchants saw these occasions as ripe moments to make high profits by limiting their availability. For Francisco de Toledo's entry, however, a chronicler noted that the city was anxious about his arrival since his ship contained the first shipment of velvets and satins the city had seen in three years.
 63. LCL, XIV, April 8, and May 12, 1604.
 64. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. V, cap. XII, no. 45.
 65. *Ibid.*, no. 47.
 66. See Tanner, *The Last Descendent of Aeneas*.
 67. Aercke, *Gods of Play*, 33–34.
 68. Although the prince had been secretly invested with the duchy by his father, the emperor wished to keep this a secret in order to avoid political conflicts. Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 183.
 69. AHML, LCP I, "Cedula de S. M., 24 de Sept[em]bre 1680, dandole aviso ala ciudad de haber proveido por Virrey al Duque de la Palata," f. 73.
 70. BNM, *Provisiones Reales para el Gobierno de las Indias*, f. 1271.
 71. My emphasis. The king's letter to Toledo was dated December 1, 1573. Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Colección Mata Linares, 4294, f. 382. Solórzano cites a letter dated 1571, which contains essentially the same text. See Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. V, cap. XII, no. 48.
 72. AGI, Lima 97 "Cedula Real dada por el Rey en Madrid el 18 de diciembre de 1619."
 73. BNM, *Provisiones Reales para el Gobierno de Indias*, f. 1271–72.
 74. Also see *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro III, título III, ley xxij.
 75. The original royal decree authorizing the use of the canopy for the viceroy was signed in Toledo on June 2, 1596. Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. V, cap. XII,

- no. 48. Philip III noted that in his 1608 decree, while prohibiting archbishops the use of the *palio*, he had authorized it for viceroys, but his new decree nullified that clause. BNM, *Provisiones Reales para el Gobierno Indias*, “Madrid, 28 diciembre, 1619,” f. 1271–74. For the prohibition of the use of the *palio* by archbishops, see AHML, LCP III, part II, “Cedula para que los Arçobispos no sean recibidos con Palio. Royal decree of 29 August 1608,” f. 442. See also *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro IV, título XV, ley iiiij.
76. In the seventeenth century, the *palio* was not used in their entries by the Marquis of Guadalcázar in 1622 or the Count of Chinchón in 1629. It was reinstated in 1639 for the entry of the Marquis of Mancera.
77. Bromley, “Recibimientos,” 25.
78. LCL, IX, April 28, 1581.
79. Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 90–95.
80. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Count of Lemos entered Cuzco on Wednesday, October 24, 1668, whence he was greeted by the cabildo, justices, and regiments under a canopy. The count remained in Cuzco until Wednesday, November 7. Esquivel y Navia, *Anales del Cuzco*, 145.
81. The custom was that when viceroys went on extended trips, they could send ahead an *alcalde de la audiencia* to make sure the roads were passable and there was an appropriate supply of food and lodging along the way. See Latasa, *Administración Virreinal*, 26.
82. Toledo was following royal dispositions that allowed viceroys to stage official entries only in the cities of Lima and Mexico City. See BNM, *Provisiones Reales para el Gobierno de Indias*, ff. 1271–74.
83. “Capítulo 22,” in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
84. Toledo also had entries into Quito, the Villa of La Paz, the Villa Imperial de Potosí, La Plata, and Arequipa. For the official chronicler these entries were not worth describing since, he argued, they had merely copied Cuzco’s ceremony. “Capítulo 22,” in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
85. A *canipu* was a silver plate worn on the forehead by Inca nobles; see González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la Lengva General*.
86. “Capítulo 22,” in *Yndia de Birreyes*.
87. *Ibid.*, my emphasis.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Guarino differentiates between processions (religious) and cavalcades (civic) to denote their different ceremonial natures during the seventeenth century in the Spanish kingdom of Naples. In spite of their civic nature I use the word “procession” here to refer to viceregal entries since in the documentation examined they are referred to as such. See Guarino, *Representing the King’s Splendor*, ch. 3.
90. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 53–65.
91. “Capítulo undécimo,” in *Yndias de Birreyes*. This line up of officials followed the prescribed order of the entry processions performed in the metropolis. See Lisón Tolosana, *La imagen del Rey*.
92. For the governments in between see Appendix 1.
93. Francisco de Toledo is credited with consolidating the viceregal state in the viceroyalty of Peru.
94. “Capítulo 16,” in *Yndia de Birreyes*.

95. The first time a *suiza* was included in the procession was for the entry of the first Marquis of Cañete in 1556. There is no indication, however, that this corps included Indians. The *suiza* for the first Marquis of Cañete apparently developed out of the *Real Ejercito de Su Magestad* created in Lima to arrest and punish Captain Francisco Hernández Girón, after his mutiny. See LCL, V, May 23, 1556. These *suizas* seemed to have been modeled after the king's three royal guards, where the Spanish and German sections were made up of archers and that of hunters with men from the Espinoza region for a grand total of 340 soldiers. See Lisón Tolosana, *La imagen del rey*, 122.
96. Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 125–26.
97. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la llegada a estos reynos del Peru del Exmô. Señôr Don Diego Fernández de Cordova, Marquez de Guadalcazar Virrey Gobernador, y Capitan Gen^l y del Recivimiento q^e le hizo esta muy noble y leal Ciudad de los Reyes,” f. 508. Also see Bromley, “Recibimientos,” 74.
98. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 22.
99. *Ibid.*, 216.
100. The first viceroy to be granted a royal license to bring his wife to Peru was the seventh viceroy Francisco Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar, in 1585. An illness, however, kept the vicereine from accompanying her husband to Lima.
101. According to Rodríguez Moya, since the creation of the New World vicerealties, viceroys fulfilled their post without spouses or family. In Peru, however, twenty-two of forty-four viceroys were married and fourteen came to Peru with their spouses. Of the twenty-two wives, eighteen were born in Spain, one in Italy, one in Cuba, and two in Peru. Bromley, “Virreinas del Perú,” 64 and 66. Rodríguez, *La mirada del virrey*, 26–27.
102. Río Barredo notes that in Spain the triumphal entries of queens into Spanish cities began in 1570 with Ana of Austria. The chronicles about these ceremonies seem to emphasize their performance over the king's, eventually eclipsing them; *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 63–65. For their entries into Italian cities, see Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 189–208.
103. García Hurtado de Mendoza was known in Peru as the second Marquis of Cañete but in fact he was the fourth in the lineage of the marquisate. The first Marquis of Cañete to come to Lima was second in the marquisate's genealogy.
104. “Capitulo diez,” in *Yndias de Birreyes*.
105. The role of elite and Spanish women in the creation of a colonial society in Peru has been studied by Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, and Martin, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*. For the structure of the queen's entry ceremony into Spanish cities, see Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 67.
106. A practice also followed by Spanish queens. See Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 203–4.
107. Pedro de Córdoba was the marquis's nephew and a member of his household. The Marquis of Cañete was accused of abuses in part for giving his nephew a salary of twelve thousand pesos during his stay in Peru. See Sánchez Bella, “El Gobierno del Perú,” 50–51.
108. *Dueñas* were widows who, in the royal palace, attended on the maids of honor.
109. The vicereine's entourage included ten ladies-in-waiting and an unspecified number of *criadas* or servants.
110. “Capitulo quinze,” in *Yndias de Birreyes*. See also Bromley, “Recibimientos,” 54–55.

111. Like her husband, the Countess of Chinchón did not have a public entry. She arrived late to Lima on the night of April 19, 1629, and was greeted only by her husband the viceroy. The countess had made the trip from the northern port of Paita to Lima by land alone with her entourage because of her advanced pregnancy. The vicereine gave birth in Lambayeque (approximately three hundred miles north of Lima) on January 4. After leaving his wife in Paita, the viceroy Count of Chinchón had continued to Callao by sea. The count only had a private welcoming ceremony on January 14, 1629. Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, II: 240.
112. See Büschges, “La corte virreinal,” 135.
113. Tolosana, *La imagen del Rey*, 123.
114. Guarino, *Representing the King’s Splendor*, ch. 2
115. Viceroys often traveled with royal officials who also brought their entire “houses” aboard ships to Peru. For an account of this and the extreme conditions that they could encounter during transatlantic voyages to Peru, on occasion also losing most all their belonging because of the weather, see Sánchez Bella, “El gobierno del Perú,” 70–71.
116. Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, II: 35.
117. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, III: 674–77, Lohmann, *El Conde de Lemos*, 24–25, 28–30, and Latasa, “La corte virreinal peruana,” 350–51.
118. The Peruvian viceroy was allowed to bring with him goods for up to 20,000 ducats free of duties for his household in Lima; during his stay he could import duty-free goods for up to 8,000 ducats per year. For specific figures of these imports, see Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, II: 34–35.
119. Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Olivas, *La cocina en el virreinato*.
120. Torrejón arrived in Lima in 1667 as a member of the Count of Lemos household. He stayed in Peru after the count’s death in 1672, becoming the music director of the Lima cathedral in 1676. See Rodríguez-Garrido, “Teatro y poder en el palacio virreinal,” 219–20, 240–43.
121. The same was true in New Spain. See Rodríguez, *La mirada del virrey*, 59.
122. Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South-America*, 20.
123. The import of Chinese silks and velvets to Lima was well established by the 1620s, when silk prices in Peru were approximately ten times higher than in Manila. The profits that could be made from the sale of silks generated enormous opportunities throughout the system, including Mexico, where imports of Chinese raw silk came to employ fourteen thousand workers in silk processing and weaving industries by 1637. In order to meet the demands of their American customers, “Chinese merchants took Spanish patterns back to China and very skillfully imitated them in their textiles, so that on the surface they look exactly like the cloths of southern Spain.” While the Chinese silks could be as fine and expensive as European ones, their production was not only aimed at the high end of the market, however, “for instance, the Indians, Negroes and other poor people of Peru were originally unable to buy silks because of their rarity and high price, but with large-scale imports and lower prices they bought Chinese silk textiles to make into clothes.” See Flynn et. al, *European Entry into the Pacific*, xxx.
124. See Chapter 3.
125. See for example discussions of Lima’s courtly culture in Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South-America*. For their discussion of the different styles of clothing

- in the city and how all kinds of fabrics were worn by all as they were available for purchase to all those who could afford them, including African slaves, says something about this not being the case in Spain, *Relacion Historica*, III:128–42. This aspect of Lima’s public culture was noted from early in their writings by Ocaña, Oliva, Calancha, among many others.
126. It has been held for a long time that the economic model followed in the New World by Spain was centered on the simple extraction of metals, which were then channeled to the metropolis thus thwarting local growth and emptying local coffers from vital resources for growth and development. New studies, however, reveal instead the existence of a complex system of internal redistribution of resources in the Americas that allowed the empire self-sufficiency in its functioning for over three centuries. It was in this context that the consumption tastes of the plebes in Lima need to be understood. See Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*; and Grafe and Irigoín, “The Spanish Empire and Its Legacy.”
127. For the role of the royal court in civilizing European societies, see Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, and *The Court Society*.
128. In the case of England for example, shoes did not become widely available to the masses until the eighteenth century (and fancy shoes much later). See Riello, *A foot in the Past*.
129. See Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*.
130. Bryant, *The King and the City*; Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*; Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*.
131. Strong, *Art and Power*, 42–43.
132. Ibid.
133. See Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 55–92.
134. Smuts, “Public ceremony and royal charisma,” 65–93.

CHAPTER 3

1. Cited in Baudrillard, “The Precession of Simulacra,” 1.
2. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML), Libro de Cédulas y Provisiones (LCP) III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
3. Philip IV became king in 1621; his proclamation ceremony in Lima took place in February 1622.
4. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
5. Ibid. Antonio Román de Herrera Maldonado was the *mayordomo mayor* of the Lima cabildo. See Meléndez, *Tesoro Verdadero*, vol. I, bk. 1, ch. VIII, 50.
6. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
7. Ibid.
8. *Aura* here is used to mean an “original” in possession of “authority.” See Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 217–24.
9. Sánchez Bella, “El gobierno del Perú,” 407–524; Bakewell, “La maduración del gobierno,” 41–70.

10. Some of the notable works in English of this tradition in Andean social history are Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquish*; Stern, *Huamanga*; Spalding, *Huarochirí*; and Silverblatt, *Moon Sun and Witches*.
11. See Tovar, *Instituciones políticas*; and Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.
12. This was, of course, a medieval political notion established in the *Siete Partidas*; see partida II, título I, ley V.
13. Gil Pujol, "Una cultura cortesana," 225–58; Elliott, "A Europe of Composite," 48–71.
14. Ruggiero and Carmagnani, "Componentes sociales."
15. See Ferros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 81–87. Río Barredo argues that while Philip II created a ceremonial that made the Spanish king "invisible," but that the transformations of courtly rituals implemented by Philip IV—and particularly his favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares—made the king more "present" in seventeenth-century courtly ceremonies in Madrid; *Madrid: Urbs Regia*, 45–51.
16. In Mexico City, the figure of the king and his simulacra, particularly his portrait, seem not to have had the same preeminence; see Curcio, *The Great Festivals*. For the case of Chile, see Valenzuela, *Las liturgias del poder*.
17. Two royal proclamations were celebrated in Lima during the seventeenth century: Philip IV's in February 1622 and Carlos II's in October 1666. Both ceremonies coincided with the interim governments of the audiencia of Lima in 1621–22 and 1666–67, respectively. In seventeenth-century Lima, therefore, the authority of the king seems to have gone publicly unchallenged by his *alter ego*, the viceroy. See Appendix 1.
18. Guerra, "La desintegración de la Monarquía," 200.
19. The most important civic celebration in the life of a member of the cabildo of Lima was the annual unfurling of the royal standard, a ceremony that symbolized the loyalty of the municipality—or the city as a corporate body—to the monarch. During this annual ceremony the city and subjects pledged their loyalty to their king. As a ceremony of loyalty it was exceeded in importance only by the Royal Exequies and the king's Proclamation. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro iii, título xv, ley lvj; AHML, LCP IV, "Relacion del orden que se ha de tener en sacar el Estandarte Real la víspera y el día de los Santos Reyes (1608)," f.136–36v; AHML, LCP III, part II, "Alferez Real de esta Ciudad de los REYES que tiene y por ser el Cabildo Justicia, y Rexim^{to} de ella, y ceremonia con que saca el Estandarte Real la víspera, y dia de los Reyes," f. 458v–63v.
20. It was established in the *Siete Partidas* that the most effective and legitimate king and emperor was one who loved and was loved by his subjects; partida II, título I, ley III.
21. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 114, 241.
22. Ibid. See also Bonet Correa, "La fiesta barroca."
23. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*; Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist*; Wilkinson-Zerner, "The Duke of Lerma and his Town."
24. Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*; Strong, *Splendor at Court*; Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe*; Domínguez, *Estudios de historia económica, and Political fiscal y cambio social*.
25. See Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 11–28, 44–45. See also Lechner, "El concepto de 'policía,'" 395–409; Sánchez-Concha, "De la miserable condición," 95–104; and Coello, *El barro de Cristo*.

26. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 7. This played on familiar liturgical ceremonies, such as the consecration rite, where Christ was physically present in the host. See also Strong, *Art and Power*.
27. Strong, *Art and Power*; Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome*; Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas*.
28. Rucquoi, "De los reyes que no son taumaturgos," 60.
29. Checa and Morán, *El Barroco*, 236. See Brown, "La antigua monarquía," 19–26. See also Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda*; Flor, *Barroco*; Edgerton, "Icons of Justice," 23–38; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, and *Ritual in Early Modern*, 147–54.
30. For the symbolic importance of the Plaza Mayor in the Americas, see *La plaza en España e Iberoamérica*; and Alvarez, "Plazas" *et sociabilité*. See also Kagan, *Urban Images*, 19–44, 169–76.
31. Libros de Cabildos de Lima (LCL), "Fundación de Lima," I.
32. During the eighteenth century, the main city square loses its primacy as several new city squares were added. See Anónimo, *Solemne Proclamacion . . . Felipe V . . . Lima 1701*; and *Lima Gozosa*. See also Bromley and Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*; Eguiguren, *Las calles de Lima*; and Panfichi, "Urbanización temprana," 15–42.
33. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 122–24.
34. "Jura de Felipe II en Lima," in *Colección de documentos*, 4, 390–402; Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Lima 97, 1621, "Relación de las exequias y honrras fúnebres, hechas al . . . Don Philipo tercero . . . por . . . Hernando de Valverde," AHML, LCP III, part II, "Relacion de la solemnidad y fiesta . . . del Rey . . . Felipe quarto; Solemnidad Funebre i Exequias . . . Felipe IV el Grande, and Aclamacion y Pendones . . . por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II, f. 17v. For Cuzco, see AGI, Lima 110, "Relacion de la Jura de Felipe II"; and the *pregón* for the death of Charles V, see Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (ADC), Libros de Cabildo (LC) III, 1559–60, f. 52, "Sobre la muerte del emperador N. S."
35. See also Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades*; Pagden, *Lords of All the World*; 44–45, and Rama, *The Lettered City*, 1–16.
36. Ramos Sosa, *Arte Festivo en Lima*, 17–19. See also Lohmann, *La Semana Santa*, and *La fiesta en el arte*; Wuffarden, "La ciudad y sus emblemas," 59–76; and Kagan, *Urban Images*, 173.
37. In this, Lima was no different than European cities, such as Paris and London, during the same period; see Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 3–5 and 12–88. It could be argued that the officials participating in these ceremonies possessed power in "proportion to the recognition they received from" the imperial subjects observing the ceremony. Luxurious clothing played an important role as marker of distinction; Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 106, and *Distinction*, part I.
38. Durán Montero, "Lima en 1613," 177–88.
39. For an analysis of this plebeian Lima, see Osorio, "El callejón de la soledad." See also Charney, "El indio urbano," 9, 11–16; and Vergara, "Migración y trabajo femenino," 135–57.
40. Spain issued *ordenanzas* regulating the excessive cost of these ceremonies in 1588, 1674, 1684, 1691, and 1693. See *Recopilación de leyes*, libro IV, título XIII, ley x. Also "Don Melchor Portocarrero . . . Conde de la Monclova . . . Por aver dado . . . su Magestad . . . los lutos, y pompa funeral en cedula de veinte y dos de marzo de mil seiscientos, y noventa, y tres [Lima, s.n. 1695]," consulted

- at the John Carter Brown Library (JCBL). Also Baena Gallé, *Exequias reales*, 31.
41. The king's requests for fiscal attrition and reduced displays of affluence on the part of his subjects, seem more a rhetorical device aimed at preserving his own image as a good and fair lord. See, for example, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (BNM), *Sucesos del Año 1619*, "Relacion," 80.
 42. On the lack of funds for ceremonies in the cabildo of Santiago de Chile, see Cruz de Amenábar, *La fiesta*, 38–41.
 43. See, for example, *Etiqueta Real de Palacio*, and, Marqués de Guadalcazar, "Relación de los Estilos y Tratamientos de que usan los Virreyes del Peru," both consulted at the BNM.
 44. This practice with a long tradition in Spain found its origins in Seneca; see "To Aebutius Liberalis," 181–308.
 45. Bouza, *Los Austrias Mayores*, 53; *Imagen y propaganda*, 26–57.
 46. "Don Melchor Portocarrero . . . Conde de la Monclova . . . Por aver dado forma su Magestad . . . a los Lutos, y Pompa funeral en Cedula de veinte y dos de Marzo de mil seiscientos, y noventa y tres [Lima, 1695]," consulted at the JCBL.
 47. Romero González, *Fyneral Pompa . . . Reyna . . . Mariana de Avstria*.
 48. The queen mother had died on October 30, 1696. For a report on the damages to the cathedral and general state of the city after the earthquake, see AGI, Lima 304, "El arzobispo de Lima al rey. 3 de diciembre de 1697."
 49. See Beezley, ed., *Rituals of Power*.
 50. Acosta, *Fiestas coloniales urbanas*, 55–56. This seems to have also been the case in Santiago de Chile; see Cruz de Amenábar, *La fiesta*.
 51. On the celebration of royal births in Lima, see Bilbao, *Sermon en publica accion de gracias . . . Infanta Margarita de Austria . . . Lima, 1626*; Carvajal y Robles, *Fiestas de Lima . . . Principe Baltasar Carlos, Lima 1632*; and Salas y Valdés, *Diseño Historial de los Gozos Ostentativos . . . de Felipe Andres Prospero . . . 1660*.
 52. For celebrations of these rituals beyond Lima, see MacCormack, "El gobierno de la República Cristiana," 217–49.
 53. See Mejías, "Muerte regia," 190. Philip II created the royal crypt at El Escorial, thereby establishing the physical "evidence" for his royal genealogy, a source of power and authority for the Spanish Monarchy. See Maravall, *Carlos V*; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 255–82; Varela, *La muerte del Rey*; and Wilkson-Zerner, "Body and Soul," 66–90.
 54. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 296; Orso, *Art and Death*, 13–81.
 55. On the divine nature of the French monarch, see Giesey, *The Royal Funeral*. On the mortality of the Spanish monarch, see, for example, Sanz Breton, *Sermon Panegirico Fyneral a . . . Filipo IV*, and Ramírez, *Sermon que . . . Pedro Ramirez . . . Reyna . . . Margarita . . . 1613*.
 56. In Spain, as in Lima, the details of the king's illness and decomposing body were very much part of the story of his death and Exequies; see Varela, *La muerte del Rey*; and Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*. See also Medina, *Oracion en Memoria de las Zenizas de D. Isabel de Borbon*.
 57. See Alló Manero, "Aportación al estudio de las exequias," 121–37; Baena Gallé, *Exequias Reales*; Lisón, *La imagen del Rey*; Mejías, "Muerte regia en cuatro ciudades," 189–205; Orso, *Art and Death*; Varela, *La Muerte del Rey*; and Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco*, 110–20.

58. Ramírez, *Sermon que . . . Pedro Ramírez . . . Reyna . . . Margarita . . . 1613*.
59. Viceroy Hurtado de Mendoza (1555–61) first regulated protocol for royal funerals in Lima in 1559; AHML, LCP III, “Provision de Don Hurtado de Mendoza Virrey del Peru-Lutos del Rey.” In 1584 the Crown decreed that mourning robes (*lobas*) for royal funerals should be paid by the cities hosting the ceremonies. In 1614, the king decreed that the mourning robes should be paid by the Crown, since it was a matter of state; see *Recopilación de leyes*, libro IV, título XIII, ley x; and AHML, LCP III, “Cédula Real sobre lutos [1614].” The Crown also forbade the use of *lobas* and catafalques in the funerals of viceroys, royal magistrates, or their wives; *Recopilación de leyes*, libro III, título XV, ley ciii. The strictest regulations of the Exequies was provided by the Royal *Pragmática* of 1693; see “Don Melchor Portocarrero . . . Conde de la Monclova . . . Por aver dado forma su Magestad . . . a los Lutos, y Pompa funeral en Cedula de veinte y dos de Marzo de mil seiscientos, y noventa y tres [Lima, 1695],” consulted at the JCBL.
60. AHML, LCP III, “Cédula Real sobre lutos [1614].”
61. Saavedra y Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe*, II, empresa 31, 61–62, and empresa 21, 57, 67. The power of splendid costumes was quickly adopted by the Incas. See Cummings, “We are the Other,” 203–31. Mulattoes, mestizos, poor Spaniards, and Indians also adopted a code of conspicuous dress in Lima; see, for example, AHML, LCP III, “Provision Real para que los Mulatos, Mulatas, Negros, ni Negras no vistan ni traigan Grana, Seda ni Oro.”
62. Funerals became another marker of status and power in Lima. In 1605 viceroy Count of Monterrey issued a long provision regulating the uses and abuses of elaborate and expensive funeral ceremonies by the common people of Lima, arguing it was disorderly and “contrary to the authority of Spaniards and leading citizens” (AHML, LCP IV, “Provision y pragmática de los lutos [1605]”).
63. For more on the elaborate catafalque built in the Church of Santa Clara to commemorate the death of the former viceroy Marquis of Guadalcázar in Lima in 1632, see Maldonado, *Oracion Funeral . . . en . . . Exequias . . . Guadalcazar . . . Lima . . . 1632*, ff. 3–3v.
64. The Exequies staged for the viceroy, his wife, and many notables in Lima became so luxurious during the seventeenth century that often times they seem to compete with those performed for the king and his royal family. Suardo mentions, for example, that on July 4, 1629, Lima celebrated the Exequies of the viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros with a ceremony of great “majesty and pomp” in the cathedral, attended by the viceroy Count of Chinchón and all the Tribunals of the court; *Diario de Lima*, 10. Royal regulations limited the use of the catafalque, ceremonial candles (*achas*), and the distribution of mourning robes to third parties only to Royal Exequies as a way to keep viceroys and royal magistrates from emulating royal symbols and honors deserving only of the king; see *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro III, título XV, ley ciii, fol. 74, AHML, LCP IV, “Pragmática y pragmática de los lutos (1605).”
65. See AHML, LCP IV, “Provision y pragmática de los lutos (1605),” and “Provision para que los mulatos ni negros se entierren en ataúdes (1614).”
66. For a discussion of Andean burial sites and funerary practices as central targets of the Extirpation of Idolatry campaigns in the highlands of Lima, see Osorio, “Una interpretación sobre la Extirpación,” 161–99.

67. See Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Papeles Importantes (PI), leg. 11:18:1677; leg. 23:4:1646; AAL, Cofradías (CO), leg.1:20:1680; leg. 5A:8:1693–1700; leg. 10:10:1621; leg.10A:31:1688; leg. 14:21:1686; leg. 16:15:1684; leg. 16A:4:1685 and 7:1695; leg. 19:1:1621–22; leg. 20:10:1661 and 12:1669; leg. 22:6:1632; leg. 27:9:1653 and 20:1673–74 and 30:1699; leg. 30:50:1684; leg 34:2:1603 and 3:1614–17; leg. 36:14:1640; leg. 39B:15:1675–75.
68. AGI, Lima 97, 1622, “Relación de las exequias y honrras fúnebres, hechas al . . . Don Philipo tercero . . . por . . . Hernando de Valverde.”
69. This was done by viceroy Conde de la Monclova for Carlos II’s Exequies in 1701; see Buendía, *Parentación Real . . . Carlos II*.
70. AGI, Lima 97, 1622, “Relación de las exequias y honrras fúnebres, hechas al . . . Don Philipo tercero . . . por . . . Hernando de Valverde.”
71. Charles V’s catafalque in Lima, built in the shape of a Greek cross, measured thirty-four across and approximately seventy-feet high and comprised two floors filled with columns, pedestals, arches, and ladders. Other royal catafalques built in Lima during the seventeenth century were equally monumental; see Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima*, 123–200; Varela, *La muerte del rey*, 115; and Strong, *Art and Power*, 42–64.
72. Catafalque iconography changed after the Council of Trent in 1570 as crowns of laurels began to represent the triumph of death, and skulls and bones were used to instill fear. This was the case in Quito in 1613; four death statues placed in the catafalque for Queen Margarita of Austria were described as being so real that they provoked “great horror and fright”; see Rodríguez Crespo, “Una fiesta religiosa en Quito.” I am indebted to Martín Monsalve for a copy of this transcription. See also Varela, *La muerte del rey*, 111; and Sebastián, “El triunfo de la muerte,” 93–125.
73. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 102–5.
74. *Solemnidad Funebre i Exequias . . . Felipe IV*, Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 103
75. AGI, Lima, 97, 1622, “Relación de las exequias y honrras fúnebres, hechas al . . . Don Philipo tercero . . . por . . . Hernando de Valverde.”
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. On Philip III’s reign, see Allen, *Philip III*; and Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 71–87.
79. See for example, Almoguera, *Oracion panegyrica . . . Felipe Quarto*; León Pinelo, *Solemnidad funebre y exequias . . . Felipe Quarto*; Romero González, *Funeral Pompa . . . a la muerte de . . . D. Mariana de Austria*; and Buendía, *Parentacion Real Al . . . Rey . . . Carlos II*.
80. See Astete de Ulloa, *Pompa Fvnebre . . . en la muerte de . . . Ysabel de Borbon*; Medina, *Oracion en Memoria . . . Isabel de Borbon*; and Ramírez, *Sermon . . . en la muerte de . . . Margarita de Austria . . . 1613*.
81. In the introductions to this document written by church officials who approved it for publication, they constantly allude to the more political and incendiary version of the spoken sermon; see introduction to *Sermon Panegvirico . . . Filipo IV*. For a critique of reason of state under Philip IV; see Espinosa Medrano, “Sermon a las Exequias de don Phelipe Quarto, Rey de las Españas . . . Año de 1666,” in *La novena maravilla*, ff. 298–99. On the reason of state; see Botero,

- Practical Politics*; Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince*, 45–135; and Viroli, *From Politics*, 11–280.
82. See Gil Pujol, “Una cultura cortesana,” 231.
 83. Hanley, “Legend, Ritual, and Discourse,” 65–106; Giesey, “Models of Rulership,” 41–64. As Richard Trexler has noted, coats of arms brought “social honor to the families they represented,” *Public Life*, 92. See also Maravall, *Carlos V*, 102–12.
 84. See Julien, *Reading Inca History*, particularly ch. 3. See also Cummins, “We Are the Other,” 203–31, and “A Tale of Two Cities”; Gisbert, *Iconografía*; Rowe, “Colonial Portraits”; Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria”; and Thurner, *Abys of History*.
 85. Rodríguez Crespo, “Una fiesta religiosa en Quito,” 217.
 86. According to Walter Benjamin, a reproduction has no presence, no historicity, and ultimately, no authority; “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations*, 217–51. In the seventeenth century, however, a reproduction was not yet conceptualized as removed from the essence of that which was being reproduced. The reproduction was “real.” The notion of “aura” or “uniqueness” or essence of the reproduction, therefore, is applicable here. See also Baudrillard, “The Precession of Simulacra”; and Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*.
 87. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
 88. *Ibid.*
 89. *Ibid.*
 90. *Ibid.*
 91. *Ibid.*
 92. *Aclamacion y Pendones . . . por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II*. Carlos M. N. Eire traces its origins to 1366; *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 297.
 93. MacKay, “Ritual and Propaganda,” 19.
 94. *Ibid.*, 22.
 95. AGI, Lima 110, “Relacion de la Jura de Felipe II.” During the seventeenth century, the *relación* appears to take on a more didactic and propagandistic role, ceasing to function as testimony of the vassal’s acceptance of the new king.
 96. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
 97. *Aclamacion y Pendones . . . por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II*. For the Incas as Imperial icons, see Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía*; Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Espinosa, “La Mascarada del Inca,” 17–21; and Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*; for their appearance in royal ceremonies in Madrid, see Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 74; for their use in the creation of an imperial dynastic genealogy, see Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 93–173.
 98. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].”
 99. Trexler, *Public Life*, 92.
 100. AHML, LCP III, part II, “Relacion de la solemnidad y fiestas . . . en el nombre del Rey nuestro Señor Felipe quarto [1621].” For the importance of royal and aristocratic portraits in baroque Spain, see *Alfonso Sánchez Coello*. On the importance of paintings and portraiture in creating an imperial identity in New

- Spain, see Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance*. I am indebted to professor Schreffler for a copy of his manuscript.
101. *Aclamacion y Pendones . . . por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II*.
 102. The portrait of Carlos II depicted him as a young boy, "with eyes like stars" (*Aclamacion y Pendones . . . por el . . . Rey D. Carlos II*, ff. 36–36v).
 103. *Anónimo, Solemne Proclamacion y cabalgata Real . . . Felipe V . . . Lima, 1701*.
 104. León Pinelo, *Velos Antiguos i modernos*, f. 72.
 105. See for example Ovid's "The Art of Love," 166–238. For a discussion of the importance of the face, particularly the eyes, in revealing one's proper place in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Paris and London, see Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 3–44.
 106. León Pinelo, *Velos Antiguos i modernos*, ff. 78v–79.
 107. See Tovar Valderrama, *Instituciones Políticas*; and Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.
 108. Gil Pujol, "Una cultura cortesana," 233; Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendor*.
 109. *Anónimo, Solemne Proclamacion y cabalgata Real . . . Felipe V . . . Lima, 1701; Lima Gozosa*.
 110. The oath also seems to decline in importance in the proclamations celebrated in Lima in the eighteenth century. See *Anónimo, Solemne Proclamacion y cabalgata Real . . . Felipe V . . . Lima, 1701*; and *Lima Gozosa*. Burke, *The Fabrication*; Marin, *Portrait of the King*.
 111. Terralla y Landa, *El sol en el medio dia*.
 112. Charles V was the first European monarch to use the printing press and public representations of the monarch as a political instrument; their importance as political artifacts developed in Peru and Europe at the same time; see Strong, *Art and Power*, 74. See also Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Festival Books in Europe," particularly 192–97, Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 1–18; Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendor*, ch. 6. For a discussion of how the chronicles were used and read in Chile, see Cruz de Amenábar, *La fiesta*, 78–85.
 113. Bonet Correa, "La fiesta barroca," 51.
 114. Flor, *Barroco*, 165–70.
 115. Guibovich, "The Printing Press in Colonial Peru," 167–88.
 116. See Sieber, "The Invention of a Capital." See also Segura, "Madrid en la Edad Media. Génesis de una capital (873?–1561)," in Juliá, et. al., *Madrid*, 11–158.
 117. Ringrose, "Madrid Capital Imperial (1561–1833)," in Juliá, et. al., *Madrid*, 161–325.
 118. Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 18.
 119. The use by Elliott of the adjective "artificial" to refer to Madrid could imply that older cities were more legitimate or organic. The historiography on Lima also concurs with this notion. Jorge Basadre, for example, citing Vallaux explained that there were two types of capitals: natural and artificial. For this author, Paris was an example of a natural capital, whereas Madrid and Lima were examples of artificial ones; see Jorge Basadre, *La multitud*, 52. Cited in Basadre, Vallaux, *La Geographie de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1922). Rather than think of Madrid or Lima as artificial perhaps we should think of them as modern.
 120. Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 18.
 121. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 45.
 122. Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 170.

123. According to Elliott, one very effective image championed by Philip II, for example, was that of “the supremely just king, remote but—when necessary—available,” which provided the “indispensable safety valve in societies subject to social and financial exploitation and administrative abuse” (*Spain and Its World*, 170–71).
124. *Ibid.*, 170. See also, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” 48–71.
125. Hence, the much misunderstood practice of “*obedescio pero no cumpro*.” Cárceles de Gea, “‘*Voluntas e iurisdictio*’,” 663–77.
126. Cárceles de Gea, “‘*Voluntas e iurisdictio*’,” 673.
127. Varela, *La Muerte del Rey*, 80.
128. Cohn, “The Command of Language,” 279. A similar argument has been made for the Spanish case by Pérez Samper in “El Rey Ausente.”
129. On the hyperreal nature of the baroque in the Mexican context, see Gruzinski, *Images at War*. See also Baudrillard, “The Precession of Simulacra.”
130. Such ceremonialism in viceregal Lima has frequently been satirized as a kind of antique charade bordering on the ridiculous. See Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas*.
131. See Saavedra y Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe*, II, empresa 21, 57, 67.
132. Rama, *The Lettered City*, 23–24.
133. See Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*; Bonet Correa, “La fiesta barroca,” 45–78; Díez Borque, “Relaciones del teatro y fiesta,” 11–40; Mejías, “Muerte regia,” 189–205; Beezley et al., *Rituals of Rule*.
134. Beverly, *Against Literature*, 47.
135. Haring, *The Spanish Empire*, 76.
136. Geertz, *Negara*, 13.
137. Beverly, *Against Literature*, 60.
138. *Ibid.*
139. Rosa de Santa María was canonized in Rome by Pope Clement X in 1671, becoming Santa Rosa de Lima. That same year, Santa Rosa was designated by the Spanish crown as the patron saint of all Spanish possessions abroad, including the Philippines making Lima the cultural referent for the Spanish Empire (AHML, LCP III, part I, “Cedula de SM, 11 de Marzo de 1669 . . . que declara por Patrona . . . Santa Rosa de Santa María”; Proaño, *Vida autentica de Santa Rosa*).

CHAPTER 4

1. Cited in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 193
2. “La tercera joya, o el joyel de la Trinidad, es el Tribunal santo de la Inquisición, es árbol que planto Dios, para que cada rama estendida por la Cristiandad, fuese la vara de justicia con flores de misericordia i frutos de escarmiento . . . En cada Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición ay un egército de tres Inquisidores, que vencen los enemigos de vuestra Majestad, i aziéndolos temblar, le conserva la Fe, i su corona.” Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, IV: 1390, 1396.
3. Montesinos, *Auto de la Fe . . . Lima . . . 1639*, unnumbered manuscript.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See Castañeda and Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, II: 400.
6. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 204–5; Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 141–47.

7. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 204–5.
8. Ibid., 205; Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fe*, 34, 80–81.
9. Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fe*, 84.
10. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 205.
11. Checa and Morán, *El barroco*, 148–52; Jiménez Montserín, “Modalidades y sentido histórico,” 565; Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fe*, 85; Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor*.
12. *La plaza en España e Iberoamérica*; Checa and Morán, *El barroco*, 147–52.
13. See for example, Guibovich, *En Defensa de Dios*; Hampe, *Santo Oficio e Historia*, 148; Pérez and Escandell, *Historia de la Inquisición*; Ramos, “La privatización del poder,” 75–92. Studies that emphasize social control include Mannarelli, *Hechiseras, beatas y expósitas*; Millar, *Inquisición y sociedad*; and Sánchez, “Mentalidad popular frente a la ideología,” 33–52. The near absence of studies of the rituals of the Lima auto de fe may be due in part to the few sources available. Most of the *relaciones de autos de fe* have been lost. There are only three surviving *relaciones* (1625, 1639, 1697) for the seventeenth century and one short description for the auto de fe of 1578. Most of the surviving Lima Inquisitorial records are administrative and financial in nature, and this in part explains a corresponding emphasis in the historiography. The sources directly related to the auto de fe are summaries of the *relaciones de causas de fe*, or sentences sent to Spain by the Holy Office of Lima, now housed in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. According to Ricardo Palma, the *relación* of 1625 was the first of its kind to be published in Lima. His claim that many of the lost documents were to be found in the National Archive and National Library in Chile is no longer true, if ever was. See Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición* and Edith Palma, “Prólogo” in Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas*, xxxviii–xxxix. For a catalogue of the collection of Inquisition documents housed in the National Archive in Chile, see Hampe, *Santo Oficio*, 152–212.
14. Such an argument has recently been forwarded by Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*.
15. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 24.
16. Given the jurisdictional vastness of these two tribunals, an additional one was created in Cartagena de Indias in 1610 with jurisdiction over Nueva Granada, Venezuela, the Caribbean Islands and the areas in Central America between Panama and Nicaragua. The Caribbean island had originally been under the Mexico tribunal as were the Philippines; *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley j and libro I, título XIX, ley iij. See also Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 255.
17. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML), Libro de Cédulas y Provisiones (LCP) III, part II, “Razon del Tribunal de la Santa Inquisicion de este Reyno del Peru (1569),” f. 423v, and “Cedula de S. M. por la que manda fundar el tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de esta Ciudad,” f. 427, f. 429. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio . . . en Chile*, 55, Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 273.
18. Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 273.
19. Ibid., 56.
20. Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle*, 163. See also Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 58–59, 148, 177.
21. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 141–66.

22. There were also *autos privados* (private autos) carried out in churches, usually without the presence of high secular officials and away from the public gaze; *autillos* (small autos) celebrated in the Inquisition's chapel and their degree of "privacy" depended on their being carried out with open or closed doors. According to José Toribio Medina in Lima *autos privados* were conducted in the Santo Domingo Church and in rare occasions in other churches. *Autillos*, on the other hand were celebrated in the *sala de audiencia* (main hall) of the Inquisition (Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, I: 121; Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fé*, 46–53; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 204; and Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 337).
23. As autos de fé declined after 1664, the Extirpation of Idolatries increased its presence in Lima. See Chapter 5.
24. See Appendix 3.
25. Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 31.
26. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*.
27. Cited in *Ibid.*, 341.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, 342–43.
30. In the Inquisitorial Tribunal of Toledo, Spain during this same time period they constituted 35 percent of all its cases.
31. Millar, *Inquisición y sociedad*, 273–76.
32. *Ibid.*, 263–74.
33. Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 202.
34. *Ibid.*, 206.
35. April 2, 1632. Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 176.
36. February 7, 1632. Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 170.
37. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 85.
38. See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Pt. I.
39. Bennassar, *Inquisición española*, 94.
40. Montesinos, *Auto de la fe . . . Lima . . . 1639*.
41. *Ibid.*
42. See also Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición*, 32.
43. Montesinos, *Auto de la fe . . . Lima . . . 1639*.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural*, 64–72, 234.
46. Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época*, 193–240.
47. Cañeque, "Theater of Power," 321–43.
48. Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgment," 381; Jiménez Montserín, "Modalidades y sentido histórico," 559–87; Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fé*; and González de Caldas, "Nuevas imágenes del Santo Oficio," 239.
49. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 342–43.
50. See *Ibid.*, 256–57.
51. *Ibid.*, 344–45.
52. *Ibid.*, 344.
53. For example, in the auto de fé of 1625, those sentenced came from: Talos in Galicia, Seville, Trujillo (Spain) and Valladolid in Spain, Coimbra and other smaller places in Portugal, Leiden in Holland, Mexico, Potosi, La Plata, Lima, Cuenca in the kingdom of Quito, and Santiago del Estero (Tucuman). See *Relación de la forma . . . auto público de la fe . . . 1625*, ff 17–30.

54. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 256–57.
55. *Ibid.*, 257.
56. For Pérez this claim anticipates those of the centralized nation-state that does not admit rights, privileges (*fueros*), customs, or traditions that can oppose an exclusive (*único*) common law (*derecho común*) and superior to all regional particularities; *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 258. A similar argument is made by Tomás y Valiente who argued that the Inquisition's dual nature, as both a civil and religious entity with special privileges and rights, made it by the sixteenth century the first real "hegemonic state" institution of the Spanish Crown; "Relaciones de la Inquisición," 13–36. See also Sánchez Agesta, *El Concepto del Estado*. This concept is also reflected in the long and elaborate *recibimiento* for the Inquisitors prescribed by the king, which closely resembled that of the viceroy; *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley v.
57. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 261.
58. The Inquisition confiscated the Pérez library, which contained 157 titles as well as an art collection of 125 paintings, among other items. See Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean*, 75–80.
59. Montesinos, *Auto de la fe . . . Lima . . . 1639*.
60. Pérez, *Crónica de la Inquisición*, 261.
61. Millar, *Inquisición y sociedad en el virreinato*, 88–91.
62. Before the establishment of the Inquisition in Lima, the role of Inquisitor fell on the bishops who received their mandate from the *Inquisidor Mayor* in Spain. See Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. IV, cap. XXIV, no. 4. Juan de Matienzo argued in 1567 in favor of making Cuzco the seat of the Inquisition Tribunal and permanent residence of the Inquisitor and his court; see *Gobierno del Perú*, II: 332–33. Notably, the first bishop in Peru with the attributes and powers of Inquisitor was Fray Vicente de Valverde, Bishop of Cuzco. Later, viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela (1543) also received royal authorization to review all cases and processes pending before a Bishop-Inquisitor and to determine just sentences. There is no evidence, however, that the viceroy ever exercised this faculty. According to the chronicler Antonio de la Calancha, the Archbishop Gerónimo de Loaysa, a Dominican, celebrated three of the first autos de fé in Lima before the establishment of the Inquisition. According to Calancha these took place in 1548, 1560, and 1565, respectively. Vargas Ugarte, however, disputes this claim. See Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, I, 374–75; and Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, IV: 1396.
63. See especially, Castañeda and Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, I: 97–172, II: 133–208.
64. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley xx.
65. The *Concordia* of 1611 took away the right of the Inquisition to regulate the bearing of arms on days autos de fé were celebrated, placing these on the viceroy instead. See *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley xxix.
66. *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley xxix. Also Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. IV, cap. XXIV, no. 26.
67. According to Solórzano y Pereira, the Inquisition during this auto de fé tried to "precede" the Count of Villar, prompting the king to rule that Inquisitors had to greatly respect the person and dignity of the viceroy and that they be given precedence in the autos de fé, to be reflected in their privileged seating places and pillow at their feet (*Política Indiana*, lib. IV, cap. XXIV, no. 29).

68. Conflicts between the Inquisition and the viceroy were also present in the auto de fé of 1600, when viceroy Velasco ordered the Inquisition and the accused to wait for him at the Inquisition's door where he met them while accompanied by the secular cabildo. During the procession to the scaffold, the viceroy ordered that his sword be publicly carried in a more prominent place than the Inquisition's standard, prompting a firm complaint to the king by the most senior Inquisitor. The viceroy also obliged the Inquisitor to sit to his left, a position of submission. Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición (IN), Libro 1036, "Carta de Ordoñez Flores, 28.XI.1600." Similar incidents occurred at the autos de fé celebrated in 1605 and 1608. See AHN, IN, Libro 1034, ff. 383–384.
69. Castañeda and Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, I: 105, 153.
70. Conflicts between viceroys and archbishops were also notorious in Lima. Some of the more notable were those between Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and Archbishop Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo over the jurisdiction of Indians in Santiago del Cercado, see León Pinelo, *Vida del Ilvstrissimo*, 93–96. For the disputes over precedence while in the Cathedral of Viceroy Duke of La Palata and Archbishop Liñan y Cisneros, see Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), B293, 1685, "Carta que escriuió el S^{or} Virrey al S^{or} Arzobispo," ff. 1–8v.
71. In Spain archbishops and bishops were ordered not to attend so as not to create jurisdictional problems for the Inquisitor. See Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época*.
72. Palma, *Anales de la Inquisición*, 22, 52; see also Castañeda and Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, I: 173–90.
73. AHN, IN, Libro 1036, "Carta de Ordoñez Flores, 28.XI.1600," ff.151–52.
74. In Peru these disputes were compounded by Rome's attempts to redefine its control of the church in the Indies ceded to the Spanish king under the Royal Patronage, which the discovery of Peru and its immense wealth had caused the pope to reconsider. See Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 30–32.
75. AHN, IN, bk. 1036, ff. 151–52.
76. Bordieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation*, 118–20.
77. Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante*, 100.
78. *Ibid.*
79. See, for example, Checa and Morán, *El barroco*, 65, 236; and Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 155, 241–46.
80. Cited in Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 177.
81. The *familiares* were akin a "moral police" of the Inquisition. Because they enjoyed all the privileges and rights of other Inquisition officials, in Lima they were often charged with corruption; see Castañeda and Hernández, *La Inquisición de Lima*, I: 58–62 and II: 116–18. The *familiares* main tasks were to observe and listen to people's moral behavior and speech and to report back to the Inquisition their findings. They were the Inquisition's eyes and ears.
82. Saavedra y Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe*, empresa 31, II: 61–62.
83. *Ibid.*, empresa 211, II: 57, 67.
84. *Relación de la forma . . . auto público de la fé . . . 1625*, ff. 5v–6.
85. *Ibid.*, ff 12v–15.
86. There were a total of four scaffolds built for the auto de fé of 1639 with the largest designated for the viceroy, Inquisition, and notable people. The second largest was the scaffold for the sentenced. These two scaffolds were connected

by a *cruxia*, that is, a long and wide bridge with an additional scaffold on each side. For details of the 1625 scaffold see, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Superior Gobierno (SG), leg. 3, bk. 42, 1625, “Autos seguidos ante el Superior Gobierno por Dⁿ Bartolomé Calderón, rematista de la obra del tablado que se mandó hacer por el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición, para la ejecución de un auto público.” For a description of the 1600 scaffold, see BNP, Manuscritos (M), Inquisición (I), Box 13, B935, 1600, “Testimonio de lo que la ciudad de los Reyes dio para las costas del tablado del auto. Los Reyes, octubre 31 de 1600.” See also, BNP, M, I, Box 13, B 254, 1663, “Almoneda que hizo de la madera y otras cosas que se compraron para hacer el cadalso para el auto público de la fé que se hizo en esta ciudad a 29 de Octubre de 1581.”

87. Montesinos, *Relacion auto de la fé . . . Lima . . . 1639*.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de la historias*, 149.
90. Checa and Morán, *El barroco*, 145.
91. Juan de Mariana, “Capítulo XV. No es verdad que pueda haber en una sola nación muchas religiones” in “Del Rey y De la Institución Real”; *Obras*, II: 570–76.
92. Saavedra y Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe*, empresa XXIV, II: 3.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*, empresa XXXI, II: 67–68.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Edgerton, “Icons of Justice,” 25.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*, 33.
99. Jiménez Montserín, “Modalidades y sentido histórico,” 575–76.
100. Montesinos does not mention any music accompanying this procession. However, the *relación* of 1625 mentions that the clergymen chanted Psalm 51 (King James’s version), the *Miserere*, a penitential Psalm. The 1625 *relación* adds that this Psalm was sang “en tono triste acción de terror” (*Relación de la forma . . . auto público de la fé . . . 1625*, ff. 10–10v).
101. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 199.
102. Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época*, 193–240.
103. *Relación de la forma . . . auto público de la fé . . . 1625*, f. 29.
104. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 112.
105. *Ibid.*, 112–16.
106. *Ibid.*, 112–13.
107. *Ibid.*, 113.
108. *Ibid.*, 114.
109. *Ibid.*, 116.
110. *Ibid.*, 115–16.
111. Hoyos, *Relacion Summaria . . . Angela Carranza . . . Lima . . . 1694*, f. 1v.
112. Hoyos, *Relacion completa . . . Del Avto Pvblico . . . 1695*, unnumbered document.
113. Hoyos, *Relacion Summaria . . . Angela Carranza . . . Lima . . . 1694*, f. 2v–51.
114. *Ibid.*, f. 52–53v.
115. *Ibid.*, f. 51v–52.
116. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 51.
117. *Ibid.*, 49.

118. González de Caldas, “Nuevas imágenes del Santo Oficio,” 239.
 119. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 34.
 120. Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época*, 290–99.
 121. Maqueda Abreu, *El auto de fe*, 159–66, González de Calda, “Nuevas imágenes del Santo Oficio,” 241.

CHAPTER 5

1. “Declara que vido a una negra llamada tomasa esclava . . . de doña sebastiana de medina . . . mascar coca y conjurarla cogiendola con ambas manos rociandola con vino y chicha diciendo coca mia palla mia lindamia querida mia Chabela mia Don Juan antesaria ayudame enesto que te pido coca mia yo te conjuro con los siete demonios de las pescadoras con los siete demonios de las fruteras con los siete demonios de la esquina del Santo Domingo con los siete demonios de la esquina de melchor malo y delos de la esquina de los mercaderes y la vido poner un paño blanco haziendo queera Chabela la palla y la rociaba con vino y la hazia reberencias y luego la bido poner una ollita en la candela y le hecho aguardiente y la ensendia para arriba” (Testimony of Josepha de Escobar, October 8, 1668, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima [AAL], Hechicerías e Idolatrías [HI], 1668, VII:6, 17r–18). The physical space delimited here includes the street of the Pescadoras, which runs alongside the viceregal palace to the corner with Plaza Mayor where the archbishop’s palace and the cathedral were located; the street of Melchor Malo, which runs alongside the cathedral and ends on the corner of the house of Doctor Carrasco, fiscal or attorney of the Santa Cruzada. This street took its name from Melchor Malo de Molina, one of Lima’s very powerful merchants who also lived on it, and served as both *regidor* and *alcalde* of the *cabildo* of Lima, and in 1687 his son acquired the nobility title of Marquis of Monterrico; Mercaderes Street was the street of merchant shops and began on the corner located diagonally across the Plaza Mayor from the corner of Pescaderia and the Archbishop’s palace; the corner of Santo Domingo was located a block away down the street from the viceregal palace on the right where the convent and church of Santo Domingo were located and also the jail and the office of the postmaster general of Peru. See Bromley and Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de Lima*, 16, 18, 21, 23. See also Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos*, 191.
2. “Que luego que [Lima] reciba la dicha Bula, o su trasumpto ponga en execucion lo determinado por ella, haziendolas celebridades y fiestas, que corresponden a la solemnidad del assumpto, con el obsequio, y veneracion devida, *para que quede radicada en los coraçones de los fieles, la devoción de la Santa, y por medio de su intercession, se consiga el aumento, y exaltación de la Fé Católica*, teniendo ente[n]dido, que lo que en esto obraren, será para mi de toda gratitud” (The Queen Regent to the City of Lima, 1671, in León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*, my emphasis). Rosa de Santa María’s beatification was also celebrated with great pomp in Mexico City. See Morales Pastrana, *Solemne Plausible Festiva Pompa*.
3. Acosta, “Francisco de Ávila,” 551–616. See also, Mills, *Idolatry and its enemies*; Griffiths, *The cross and the serpent*. The limits of the archdioceses of Lima were quite extensive. On the north its limits extended to include Lambayeque, Chota, Chachapoyas, and Moyobamba; on the east, to the mountains of Guanuco, the Mantaro Valley and the provinces of Angaraes; on the south, to

- Nazca and Acari. The archbishopric included nine suffragan dioceses: Nicaragua, Panama, Quito, Cuzco, Charcas (or La Plata), Rio de la Plata and Tucuman (present-day Argentina), La Imperial and Santiago (both in Chile).
4. Arriaga, *Extirpación de Idolatrías*, 194.
 5. Isabel Flores de Oliva was born in Lima on April 30, 1586 and died in the city on August 24, 1617. She was beatified by Pope Clement IX in 1667 (the Papal Bull was, however, only made public in 1668) and canonized by Clement X in 1671. See Archivo Histórico Municipal de Lima (AHML), Libro de Cédulas y Provisiones (LCP) I, “Carta de la Santidad de Clemente IX escribió al Cabildo, Justicia y Regimiento de esta ciudad, traducido al latin en romance, participando à esta ciudad la beatificación de nuestra Patrona Santa Rosa (1668),” f. 43r; and AHMNL, LCP I, “Cedula de SM, 11 de Marzo de 1669, remitiendo el Breve de Su Santidad en que declara por Patrona de este Reino del Pirú á la Bienaventurada Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, con oficio y fiesta de precepto (1669),” f. 91r.
 6. Arriaga, *Extirpación de Idolatrías*, 197–99. See also Mills, *Idolatroly and its enemies*; Griffiths, *The cross and the serpent*; Osorio, “Una interpretación sobre la Extirpación,” 161–99.
 7. Mújica, “El ancla de Rosa de Lima,” 53–211. See also van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly*.
 8. To name a few, they were: Toribio de Mogrovejo, Francisco Solano, Juan Macías, Martín de Porras, Santa Rosa de Santa María, Juan Sebastián Parra, Diego Martínez, Pedro Urraca, Vicente Bernedo, and Nicolás de Ayllón. See Iwasaki Cauti, “Mujeres al borde de la perfección,” 71–110. Also Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y Santidad*.
 9. Mújica, “El ancla de Rosa de Lima,” 54. In the early seventeenth century, fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga noted that, in his opinion no other city in the world had seen the number of monasteries and clergy grow so quickly as in Lima; *Descripción breve de toda la tierra*, 19.
 10. Iwasaki Cauti, “Vidas de santos y santas vidas,” 47–64.
 11. Item number thirty-six specified that the Inquisition was to proceed with “mildness” and much consideration towards the Indians, as the Inquisition was to be “very” feared and respected but *never* hated. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, 27, and *Recopilación de las leyes*, libro I, título XIX, ley xvij, and libro V, título I, ley xxxv.
 12. Alberto Flores Galindo explained the presence of the Extirpation campaigns in Lima only as a manifestation of a regional confrontation between Spaniards and Indians in densely populated areas, such as Lima; *Buscando un Inca*. For classical studies of Extirpation of Idolatroly, see Duviols, *La destrucción*, and *Cultura andina y represión*; Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía*; García Cabrera, *Ofensas a Dios*, 17–83; Griffiths, *The Serpent and the Cross*; Mills, *Idolatroly and Its Enemies*; and Sánchez, *Amacebados, hechiceros*.
 13. See Chapter 1.
 14. AHML, LCP I, “Carta de la Santidad de Clemente IX escribió al Cabildo, Justicia y Regimiento de esta ciudad, traducido al latin en romance, participando à esta ciudad la beatificación de nuestra Patrona Santa Rosa (1668),” f. 43r; and LCP I, “Cedula de SM, 11 de Marzo de 1669, remitiendo el Breve de Su Santidad en que declara por Patrona de este Reino del Pirú á la Bienaventurada Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, con oficio y fiesta de precepto (1669),” f. 91r.

15. See Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, 85–106.
16. See Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía*; and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*.
17. Overall, these changes were regulated in the Third Provincial Council celebrated in Lima in 1582–83; see Bartra, *Tercer Concilio* Limense. I would like to thank Father Bartra for a copy of his book. On the Counter Reformation in Europe, see Luria, *Territories of Grace*; Nalle, *God in La Mancha*; Christian, *Local Religion*; Wright, *The Counter Reformation*; Delumeau, *El miedo en occidente*; and Muchembled, *Historia del diablo*, 166–96.
18. For attempted changes by religious authorities of religious processions during Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and patron-saint days, see Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), Papeles Importantes (PI), doc. 8, 1628, also AAL, Cofradías (CO), 47:3, 1629/1654.
19. For cases dealing with the consumption, ritual use, and sale of coca in Lima, see AAL, Hechicerías e Idolatrías (HI): 1668, VI:5; 1668, VI:6; 1668, VI:7; 1668, VI:15; 1668, VI:16; 1669, VI:10; 1669, VI:12; 1669, VI:14; 1670, VII:6; 1674, VII:10A; 1694, IX:4; 1695, IX:5. For the use of rope in magic, see AAL, HI, 1669, VII:9; Sánchez, “Mentalidad popular,” 39; and Sánchez Ortega, “Sorcery and Eroticism,” 70.
20. See for example, AAL, HI, 1668, V:19. Sarmiento also repeatedly invoked “culture” rather than “religion”; see AAL, HI, 1669, VII:9, f. 9.
21. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
22. Oliva, *Historia del reino*, 217.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, 219. See also Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*; and Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest*.
25. Caracholo had a medical doctor degree from the University of Bologna, was forty-two years of age, and was married. He was also accused of palm reading and predicting life expectancy with the Pythagoras wheel. He claimed to have transformed silver into gold with magical powers he possessed, used conjurations to cure illnesses, and claimed that he could fit an angel in a crystal ball the size of a duck’s egg. The ball revealed to him anything he wished to know and, with the help of a stick and a book of conjurations he had in his possession, he claimed that he could also uncover treasures; Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición (IN), Lib. 1029, f. 528 and Lib. 1030, ff. 21, 28–37.
26. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, f. 1.
27. Osorio, “Una interpretación,” 184, and “*El callejón de la soledad*,” 198–229.
28. In his study of witch hunts in early modern Europe, Brian Levack argues that women charged with performing *maleficum* were usually accused by their neighbors, since they were more concerned with the misfortunes they believed they suffered than with the witch’s alleged pact with the devil; see, *The Witch Hunt*, 9.
29. AAL, HI, 1691, II:32, f. 1.
30. *Ibid.*, ff. 13r, 15.
31. *Ibid.*, ff. 6, 15–15r, 16, 36–36r.
32. *Ibid.*, f. 13r.
33. *Ibid.*, ff. 13r, 36r.
34. According to the public defender, Joseph Mexia, María de la Cruz was six months pregnant, and her imprisonment in the ecclesiastical jail jeopardized her health; *Ibid.*, f. 30.

35. *Ibid.*, ff. 1, 6.
36. See Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion*, ch.12.
37. Riddle also suggests that the sixteenth-century syphilis epidemics might have retarded the transmission of information about birth control agents and abortion practices; *Contraception and Abortion*, 157.
38. *Ibid.*, 156–57. Also MacLaren, *A History of Contraception*, ch. 5.
39. See Quezada, “The Inquisition’s Repression,” 37–57.
40. Gordon, *Woman’s Body*, 36–38.
41. “Sexo y coloniaje,” 311, 314.
42. Because Indians paid tribute to the Spanish Crown and constituted the bulk of the labor force in the viceroyalty, the threat of their demographic collapse was a critical concern of the viceregal government. Since viceroy Francisco de Toledo measures had been put in place to ensure the preservation and increase of the Indian population, particularly after their dramatic decline of the seventeenth century. See Cook, *Demographic Collapse*.
43. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation*, 54–55.
44. See Descola, *Daily Life*; and Anónimo Judío Portugués, “Descripción de Lima,” 39–67.
45. AAL, HI, 1691, II:32, f. 36.
46. *Ibid.*, f. 26. I have found no direct references to abortion practices in Inquisition cases, although many of the ingredients used for that purpose were often listed among uncovered items. See for example, AHN, IN: Lib. 1029, ff. 4r–5r, 135r–36r and Lib. 1030, f. 20r (case of Juana Castañeda); Lib. 1030, ff. 377r–80r (Francisca Martel); Lib. 1030, ff. 383r–86r (Maria de Brievescas); Lib. 1031, ff. 133–33r, 147r–48r (Doña Maria de la Cerda); Lib. 1032, ff. 220–24r (Doña Bernarda Cerbantes).
47. Gordon, *Woman’s Body*, 36–38.
48. AAL, HI, 1691, II:32, ff. 36 y 26.
49. “Magic” is a power that is activated and controlled by a man or woman. The magician’s power is used to produce readily observable, empirical results in the world, and he or she usually acts alone and secretly. In early modern discourse, the practice of harmful or “black magic” was usually referred to as “witchcraft,” and it indicated the performance of harmful deeds by means of some extraordinary, mysterious, or supernatural power. This type of magic could include the killing of a person by piercing a doll made in his or her image, or by tying knots in a piece of leather to cause impotence in a man. These acts were usually referred to in Latin and Spanish as *maleficia*. “Sorcery” (*hechicheria*) connotes the practice of magic by some mechanical process and is an acquired skill. It has a broader and more ambiguous meaning than *maleficum*, since it may be both harmful and beneficial. See Levack, *The Witch Hunt*, 4–6.
50. Men who used magic and sorcery to resolve similar problems also appear in the documents. On the practice of *ligar* in Spain, see Sánchez Ortega, “Sorcery and Eroticism,” 58–92.
51. AAL, HI, 1670, VII:12, f. 1. Also, AAL, HI, 1670, II:11.
52. *Ibid.*, II:11, f. 1.
53. *Ibid.*, VII:12, f. 7r, and *Ibid.*, II:11, ff. 1r–3r, 7r, 8.
54. *Ibid.*, II:11, f. 7.
55. *Ibid.*, II:11, ff. 7, 7r, 8.
56. *Ibid.*, 1668, VII:6, f. 12.

57. *Ibid.*, 1691, II:32, ff. 8, 9, 14.
58. The consecrated stone on which a consecrated linen cover is laid during the celebration of the Mass.
59. Maria was from Buenos Aires and was forty years old; AHN, IN, ff. 133–33r, 147r–48r.
60. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, ff. 7–7r.
61. *Ibid.*, ff. 39, 45. Among the charges against Doña Maria de la Cerda was the use of a love potion she made out of the blood of the woman's (who was to be the object of love) left arm, which Maria then made into a blood sausage to be eaten by the man in question so that "he would never forget her" (AHN, IN, Lib. 1031, ff. 133–33r, 147–48).
62. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, f. 38r.
63. *Ibid.*, f. 39.
64. *Ibid.*, f. 41.
65. *Ibid.*, f. 40r.
66. *Ibid.*, ff. 11r, 12. For other recipes for this type of love magic, see for example AHN, IN, Lib. 1031, ff. 517–21 (Doña Josefa de Tineo); Lib. 1032, ff. 182–82r (Sabina Junco).
67. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, f. 2r.
68. On occasion these amulets were made of wax figures. Petronila de Guebara aka "Petrona la Simbradora," was charged by the Inquisition for having a room full of figurines in the shape of men and women, arranged "each male with its female," which she used in love magic; see AHN, IN, Lib. 1032, ff. 394–97r. See also AHN, IN, Lib. 1032, ff. 182–82r (Sabina Junco); Lib. 1031, ff. 517–21 (Doña Josefa Tineo); Lib. 1031, ff. 349r–51r, 362, 382–87, 423–23r, 471 (Doña Luisa de Varga).
69. AAL, HI, 1669, IV:39, ff. 2, 2r.
70. Holy water was also used in these potions. Doña Petronila de Guebara claimed to have taken baths of holy water "from seven churches" so as "to have good luck with men," while also keeping in her mattress unspecified herbs and dead frogs for the same purpose; AHN, IN, Lib. 1031, ff. 496–96r.
71. AAL, HI, 1669, IV:39, ff. 2r, 3.
72. AAL, HI, 1669, IV:39, ff. 3r, 4–4r.
73. Flores Galindo and Chocano, "Las cargas del sacramento," 412–15, and Lavallé, "Divorcio y nulidad," 449–50.
74. These claims also appear in Inquisitorial cases. When her husband threatened Doña Bernarda Cerbantes, she would make him quiet by placing the umbilical cord of an infant in his eyes and mouth; AHN, IN, Lib. 1032, ff. 220r–24.
75. Marota herself was the product of an adulterous relationship that Juana de Mayo had with the Indian barber Miguel Cano; AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, f. 12. On illegitimacy in seventeenth-century Lima, see Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos*.
76. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, ff. 10, 10r, 11.
77. *Ibid.*, ff. 9.
78. *Ibid.*, f. 45.
79. *Ibid.*, ff. 8, 13r.
80. For cases using the planets, see AHN, IN, Lib. 1030, ff. 369r–73 (Ana de Almansa); Lib. 1030 and 1031, ff. 325r–26, 331r–32, 258–59 (Luisa Ramos); Lib. 1030, ff. 416–17 (Joan Lorenzo). Sánchez Ortega, "Sorcery and

- Eroticism,”59–61. On the transformations undergone by images of the devil in Mexican cultural practices, see Cervantes, *The Devil*.
81. Juana was from Valdivia, Chile and was thirty-two years old, while Mari was from Seville and was thirty-five years old; AHN, IN, Lib. 1029 ff. 4r–6r, and Lib. 1030, ff. 135r–37r. In some cases the Lame Devil was also invoked, see AHN, IN, 1030, ff. 369r–73 (Ana de Almansa).
 82. AHN, IN, Lib. 1032, f. 282, my emphasis.
 83. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, f. 9r.
 84. *Ibid.*, ff. 17, 18.
 85. *Ibid.*, f. 18.
 86. AHN, IN, Lib. 1032, ff. 220r–24. Also see AHN, IN, Lib. 1031, ff. 498r–99 (Doña Josefa de Lievana); Lib. 1031, ff. 499r–500r (Doña Magdalena Camacho); Lib. 1031, ff. 531–36r (Doña Marina); Lib. 1032, ff. 458–65r (Petrona de Santa Maria).
 87. Catalina was from Jeréz de la Frontera in Spain; AHN, IN, Lib. 1030, ff. 359r–62.
 88. Marina was from the villa of El Aral in Spain; AHN, IN, Lib. 1031, ff. 531–36r.
 89. AAL, HI, 1668, VII:6, ff. 28r, 29.
 90. *Ibid.*, f. 25r.
 91. *Ibid.*
 92. *Ibid.*, ff. 19r, 24, 25r, 26.
 93. Burkett, “Early Colonial Peru,” and “Indian Women,”101–29.
 94. *Moon, Sun and Witches*.
 95. A similar argument for the larger viceroyalty has been made by Estenssoro; *Del paganismo*.
 96. Gagliano, *Coca Prohibition*.
 97. Santa Rosa de Lima, for instance, was followed as example of beatitude beyond the city limits. The hagiography of St. Mariana de Jesus (also known as “Lily of Quito”) made a “concerted effort to liken Mariana’s life to that of Rose” (see Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 50).
 98. For example, see Iwasaki, “Vidas santas y santas vidas,” 47–67; Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 254–55.
 99. Archivo Secreto del Vaticano [ASV], Riti, 1570, “Testificación de Doña María de Mesta en el proceso ordinario de Santa Rosa (5 de mayo de 1618),” ff. 276–79r; documents published in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 125–28. Also *Noticia de la vida mística de Sor Rosa*.
 100. Rosa’s extreme obedience to her parents was also emphasized by don Gonzalo de la Maza in 1617. See AAL, Proceso de Beatificación y Canonización de Santa Rosa [PBC], “Declaración de Don Gonzalo de la Maza (o de la Masa). Año de 1617,” I, f. 402, question no. 5.
 101. ASV, Riti, 1570, “Testificación de Doña María de Mesta,” f. 277, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 125.
 102. ASV, Riti, 1570, “Testificación de Angelino Medoro en el proceso ordinario de Santa Rosa (5 de mayo de 1618),” ff. 279–80r, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 129–31.
 103. Cited in Iwasaki, “Vidas de santos,” 56. Francisco Solano was born in Spain and died in Lima on July 14, 1610. Lima proclaimed him patron saint of the city in 1629. He was beatified in 1675 although the celebrations in Lima did not take place until 1679. Francisco de Solano was later canonized in 1726, and his feast

- day is July 24. See Casasola, *Solemnidad Festiva*. According to Francisco Mugaburu, the Papal Bull announcing Solano's beatification in Rome arrived in Lima from Quito on June 18, 1675; *Chronicle of Lima*, 229.
104. ASV, Riti, 1570, "Testificación de Doña María de Mesta," f. 277r, and ASV, Riti, 1570, "Testificación de Juan Rodríguez Samames en el proceso ordinario de Santa Rosa (5 de marzo de 1618)," ff. 280r–81, both in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 126, 132. Juan testified to have been cured of asthma with the same relic and to have regained his appetite. He also declared that before using the relic, he used to diet and now he was "good and fat" as a result. Indians were also benefactors of Rosa's relic miracles. See, *Noticia de la vida de Sor Rosa*, ff. 159r–61. For other types of relics people sought from Rosa, see AAL, PBC, "Declaración de don Gonzalo de la Maza," f. 424r, question 29.
 105. ASV, Riti, 1570, "Testificación de Doña María de Mesta," f. 278, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 126–27.
 106. ASV, Riti, 1570, "Testificación de Doña María de Mesta," f. 278r, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 128. Doña María's husband Angelino Medoro corroborated her testimony, making it clear that the news had been delivered before she got out of the carriage; see, ASV, Riti, 1570, "Testificación de Angelino Medoro," f. 280r, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 131.
 107. Meléndez, *Tesoro verdadero de las Indias*, vol. II, lib. III, 474–74.
 108. *Ibid.*, 431.
 109. *Ibid.*, 432.
 110. *Ibid.*, lib. II, ch. XII.
 111. *Ibid.*, vol. III, 794.
 112. Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 323. See Meléndez, *Festiva Pompa, Culto Religioso*, f. 116. Also the introduction to the poems by Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Sta. Rosa de Santa Maria*, unnumbered manuscript.
 113. Mogrovejo was later canonized in 1726.
 114. León Pinelo, *Vida del Ilustrísimo*, ff. 51–54.
 115. See Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*.
 116. AHML, LC 28, "Acta del 31 de agosto de 1669," f. 255. According to Mújica, Rosa also appeared in Mexico at the end of the seventeenth century in the frontis of the cathedrals in Puebla, Oaxaca, and Morelia as well as several smaller churches, as her veneration expanded beyond the Americas to the Philippines and Europe; *Rosa Limensis*, 56.
 117. Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 54.
 118. Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 51. See also Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 71–73; and Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, 202–14.
 119. Iwasaki, "Vidas de santos," 48–49.
 120. See, for example, Córdova y Castro, *Festivos Cultos y celebres aclamaciones*, ff. 38–39.
 121. Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, 8–9.
 122. *Ibid.*, 5.
 123. Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 44–54. See also Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, 121–29.
 124. See Wolf, *Religious Regimes*, 7–84; and Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, 170–87.
 125. Of the ten cases sent to Rome in the early seventeenth century, four were Dominican candidates, Rosa de Santa María, Juan Macías, Vicente Bernedo and Martín de Porres; three were Jesuits, Diego Alvarez de Paz, Diego Martínez y

- Juan Sebastian Parra; one was Franciscan, Francisco Solano; one was Mercedarian, Gonzalo Díaz de Amarante; and one was Augustinian, Juan de Maldonado; Iwasaki, “Vidas de santos,” 49. Santa Rosa was the only one canonized, however, in the seventeenth century. The queen regent in 1668 explained that the Pope had chosen Rosa because she was the spiritual daughter of the religion of Saint Dominic, the first Spanish order to come to Peru accompanying the conquistadors to “plant the Catholic faith.” León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*.
126. Between the 1570s and 1580s the pensions granted by the Spanish Monarch to church officials in Rome substantially increased as did the numbers of Spanish cardinals in Rome. This period coincided with the consolidation of both the state and the church in Peru and the implementation of the mining Indian labor draft, which regularized silver production at Potosi increasing remittances to the Crown. It was in this period also that church proceeds became a major source of revenue for the Spanish king, with the Peruvian church as one of its largest contributors. Part of these contributions to the Crown came from the many cases promoted by different groups in Lima to sainthood. Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome*, 136–41; Merluzzi, *Politica e governo*, 30–32.
127. ASV, Riti, 1573, “Carta del Cabildo de Lima al Papa Urbano VIII sobre la beatificación de Santa Rosa, 12 de junio de 1632”; document published in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 133–34.
128. Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 57.
129. The Congregation of Rites was created after 1588 as an overseeing entity of all canonization processes; Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome*, 174, 209. See also Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 58; and Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 115–18.
130. Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 57–58. Cities could not proclaim their saints, until all debts incurred in their canonization process was paid in full to the Roman Curia. The celebrations of the canonization of San Francisco Solano in Lima were delayed for five years after his canonization on December 27, 1726 (he had been beatified on January 24, 1675), because the cabildo of Lima owed the Curia ten thousand pesos, which according to ones of his hagiographers would have been a “great mole” in his reputation if the celebrations had been staged before they were cleared. See Rodríguez Guillén, *El Sol y Año Feliz del Perú*, f. 41.
131. The second stage of Rosa’s case really began, however, in 1657 at the instigation of the Dominican Order in Lima who pleaded to the king that her case be reopened. Philip IV accepting their demand, advised his ambassador in Rome that same year to promote her case. In his letter, dated December 17, 1657, the king added that the Council of the Indies also favored forwarding her case. Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 61–62; Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 118–20.
132. Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 66.
133. Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 89–109.
134. Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 64.
135. Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 282; Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 111–14.
136. ASV, Riti, 1570, “Testificación de Doña María de Mesta,” f. 278, in Hampe, *Santidad e identidad*, 127. See also AAL, PBC, “Declaración de don Gonzalo de la Maza,” f. 424–24r, question 26.

137. According to Sánchez-Concha, over time Rosa's funeral became the archetypal saint's funeral in Lima reproduced in the stories of later saints; *Santos y santidad*, 281–88.
138. Meléndez, *Tesoro verdadero de las Indias*, vol. II, lib. III, 427. Even the promotion of the cult of saints could sometimes test the limits of orthodoxy. In 1619, and only two years after Rosa's death, archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero ordered her remains moved from the cemetery of the Dominican cloister to its church where they could be publicly revered. Moved in a solemn procession, they were placed in a niche on the right hand side of the main Church altar. Later, in 1624 the Inquisition ordered the remains removal as it considered the saints devotion to be an unauthorized cult. Tensions between the Inquisition and the church over Rosa persisted for much of the century. Mújica, *Rosa Limensis*, 47.
139. AHML, LPC I, "Carta de la Santidad de Clemente IX escribió al Cabildo, Justicia y Regimiento de esta ciudad, traducido al latin en romance, participando à esta ciudad la beatificación de nuestra Patrona Santa Rosa (1668)," f. 43r; and AHML, LCP I, "Cedula de SM, 11 de Marzo de 1669, remitiendo el Breve de Su Santidad en que declara por Patrona de este Reino del Pirú á la Bienaventurada Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, con oficio y fiesta de precepto (1669)," f. 91r.
140. AHML, LCP I, "Carta del Reverendo Maestro Fray Antonio Gonzalez, del Orden de Predicadores," f. 44r. The speed of Rosa's canonization can be attributed to the direct control the queen mother seems to have exerted over the two popes involved in her case, Clement IX and Clement X, as she was directly responsible for their elections to the papacy. See Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome*, 210–11.
141. AHML, LCP I, "Carta del Reverendo Maestro Fray Antonio Gonzalez, del Orden de Predicadores," f. 44r. See also Córdova y Castro, *Festivos Cultos y celebres aclamaciones*, ff. 38–39.
142. Córdova y Castro, *Festivos Cultos y celebres aclamaciones*, f. 39. According to Ramón Mújica, between 1668 and 1671 there were five coins minted in Rome commemorating Rosa with the Virgin of the Rosary, and the popes Pious V, Clement IX, and of Clement X crowned by the Holy Spirit among the other four saints canonized along with her: the Florentine Felipe Benicio (1233–85), the Italian Teatino Cayetano de Tiena (1480–1547), the Spanish Jesuit Francisco de Borja (1510–72), and the Spanish Dominican Luis Beltran (1525–81); *Rosa Limensis*, 55n7.
143. Toribio de Mogrovejo was the second archbishop of Lima, beatified on June 28, 1679. News of this event arrived in Lima on April 17, 1680, and celebrations took place later that year on April 27.
144. AHML, LC 28, "Relación presentada por Pedro Alvarez," f. 228r.
145. León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*, ff. 43–45.
146. AHML, LC 28, "Relación presentada por Pedro Alvarez," f. 228r. See also León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*, ff. 29r–32.
147. León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*.
148. León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*. Rosa de Santa Maria's beatification was also celebrated in other parts of the New World, such as Mexico; see for example, Morales Pastrana, *Solemne . . . Festiva Pompa*.
149. AHML, LC 28, "Relación presentada por Pedro Alvarez," f. 228r.

150. León Pinelo, *Celebridad y fiestas*, f. 32r; and Meléndez, *Festiva Pompa, Culto Religioso*, ff. 28–30r.
151. Meléndez, *Festiva Pompa, Culto Religioso*, 31–31v. See also Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, 146; Hansen, *Vida admirable de santa Rosa*, cap. X, 436. For Echave y Assu, Rosa was one of the three crowns of Lima—the other two being Mogrovejo and Solano. In this iconography, Lima was the sun providing—like the king—the light, force, and power for the three saints to reign; *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas*. See Figure 5.3.
152. The blurry boundaries between “idolatry” and “miracle” is best illustrated by a statement made by the queen mother Mariana of Austria in a letter sent to the viceroy Count of Lemos in 1668 ordering the protection of Rose’s house, “where there is the garden in which the trees bowed down to praise God” (cited in Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 35).
153. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. See also Guevara-Gil and Salomon, “A ‘Personal Visit,’” 3–36.
154. “La parte superior de la portada ocupaba un lienzo, en que estaba pintada la Ciudad de Lima en forma de una hermosa matrona coronada de Rosas y tres coronas en la mano, dominando a vn cocodrilo, con este distico: *Lima potens meritò caput inter sydera condit / Non duro, aut gemmis, sed redimita Rosis*. . . . En el lugar principal se fixaron en quadro grande las armas de la Imperial ciudad de Lima, y debaxo de sus blasones esta inscripcion: *Exulta felix Lima insignita Coronis / Sydereque ad Caelos erige fausta caput / At grande, atque tibi, quod terque, quaterque Beati. / Clementi nutu Roma dat, adole decus. / Adde Rosam, sic stemma tuum super aetherea Clesum / Terrestres orbes astraque adore beat*” (Córdova y Castro, *Festivos Cultos y celebres aclamaciones*, f. 46, italics in original, latin text).

CONCLUSION

1. Canto LXIII, In Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Sta. Rosa de Santa Maria*.
2. Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, 17–18.
3. The notion of Lima’s Empire was clearly elucidated by the eighteenth-century polymath Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo. In Peralta’s epic historical poem of Lima’s foundation, he wrote that, “having become a political Phoenix, [Lima] knew how to be her own heir.” And that “as the measure of the Hemisphere, [she] formed an entire Empire” (Peralta Barnuevo, *Lima Fundada*).
4. See for example, Basadre, *Perú: Problema*, and *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo*. See also, Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*; and Riofrío, “Lima: Mega-city and mega-problem.”
5. Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*, and *Imagining Development*; Thurner, *From Two Nations to One Divided*; “Peruvian Genealogies,” 12–57.
6. Mariategui, *Siete Ensayos de interpretación*.
7. The most influential historical modern work on Lima is Alberto Flores Galindo, *Aristocracia y Plebe*. After Flores Galindo’s untimely death in 1989, a second edition of his book was published with the title *La ciudad sumergida*; in its preface, Cecilia Rivera de Flores explains that Flores Galindo had intended to add a section to the last chapter, titled in the first edition “Vivir Separados,” dealing

- with the diverse “hidden worlds of Lima, including the Andean one,” to be titled “Ciudad Sumergida” or “Submerged City.”
8. Panfichi and Portocarrero, *Mundos interiores*. See also Durán Montero, “Lima en 1613,” 171–88, and *Lima en el siglo XVII*; Charney, “El Indio urbano,” 5–33; and *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima*.
 9. See for example, Porras Barrenechea, *Pequeña Antología de Lima*; Riva Agüero, *Paisajes peruanos*; and *Estudios de historia peruana*. See also, Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú*.
 10. Thus: “Lima’s problems began when it was founded on the Pacific coast by the Spanish in 1535. It was not a good place to locate Peru’s new capital city. They ignored Cuzco, the Inca capital, and Jauja, the first [Spanish] capital of Peru, both of which were located in the Sierra.” None of this is true, but it rings true today. See Riofrío, “Lima: Mega-city and mega-problem,” 155.
 11. See for example, Flores Galindo, *La ciudad sumergida*; Flores Galindo and Chocano, “Las Cargas del Sacramento,” 403–423. See also Panfichi and Portocarrero, *Mundos Interiores*, 15–42.
 12. This image of the kingdoms of Peru with Cuzco as the head crowned by Lima, was present at the end of the seventeenth century in the works, such as the panegyric and epic poem by Rodrigo de Valdés, *Poema Heroico Hispano-Latino . . . de la Fvndacion, y Grandeza . . . de Lima*.
 13. Brading, *The First America*.
 14. Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*.
 15. Hardoy, “Theory and Practice of Urban Planning,” 20. A similar argument has been made by Calvo, “Le blanc manteau.”
 16. Hardoy, “Theory and Practice of Urban Planning,” 20.
 17. See Brown, “La antigua monarquía española,” 19–26.
 18. See for example, Kagan and Marías, *Imágenes urbanas*, 264–74; and *Urban Images*, 19–44. See also Wuffarden, “La ciudad y sus emblemas,” 59–76.
 19. See for example, Toledo, *Memorial que D. Francisco de Toledo dio al Rey*. See also *Relaciones de los Virreyes (1867)*, 15–16.
 20. Rama, *The Lettered City*, 27.
 21. Durston, “Un régimen urbanístico,” 59–115.
 22. See Guarda, “Santo Tomás de Aquino,” 5–50.
 23. Durán Montero, *Fundación de ciudades*, 55–66.
 24. Argan, *The Renaissance City*, 13–29.
 25. Argan, *The Renaissance City*, 21.
 26. Where rituals could be understood to constitute a “language of authority,” which according to Pierre Bourdieu “never governs without the collaboration of those it governs. . . . For ritual to function and operate it must first of all present itself and be perceived as legitimate . . . the conditions which render ritual effective can be brought together only by an institution which is invested with the power to control its manipulation” (*Language and Symbolic Power*, 113, 115).
 27. There were 148 ordinances in total. The *Provisión* is reproduced in Encinas, *Cedulario*, IV, Año de 573; for a partial translation, see Crouch, et. al., *Spanish City Planning*. See also Guarda, “Tres reflexiones en torno a la fundación,” 89–106.
 28. Aristotle’s principles outlined the necessary conditions to be met by an ideal city-state. They prescribed the ideal size of the city’s territory and number of

inhabitants, both of which should be “surveyable.” The city’s location needed to have healthy conditions for its inhabitants, with ample supply of good waters. It should be located near large bodies of water and fertile lands to ensure agricultural self-sufficiency. The city should be defensible and fortified. The layout of the city should allow for the “convenience” of political activities, and those people considered as “integral parts” of the city-state, or “full citizens who share actively in the full good life of the state,” should occupy distinct spaces within the city from those considered as “necessary conditions,” or “the ancillary members who make it possible for the full citizens to share in that life.” The appearance of beauty was fundamental since it was thought to be an external reflection of the harmony of the community. Finally, the city should be ruled by a system of laws and the principle of order. The Spanish *Provisión* followed these principles very closely. Aristotle, *The Politics*, bk. VII, chs. IV–XII. See also MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, ch. 4.

29. Encinas, *Cedulario*, Ordinance 89.
30. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 91.
31. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 113.
32. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 114.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 117.
35. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 115.
36. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 119.
37. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 125.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Bernales Ballesteros, *Lima: La ciudad*, 39–40; San Cristóbal, *La catedral de Lima*, ch. 1.
40. Encinas, *Cedulario*, Ordinance 125.
41. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 43.
42. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 135.
43. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*; Wilkinson-Zerner, “The Duke of Lerma.”
44. According Edward Muir, the concept of “ritual” developed as a “distinct kind of activity” during the Reformation. Muir also points out that the appearance of the word “ritual” in the lexicon marked a major intellectual shift in the understanding of the relationship between human behavior and meaning. These rituals also freely quoted from liturgical ceremonies like the consecration rite where Christ was physically present in the host; *Rituals in Early Modern*, 7. For a discussion of the universe of social relations constitutive of these liturgies, see Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 107–16. See also Brown, “La antigua monarquía española,” 19–26; Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda*; Checa and Morán, *El barroco*, 236; Edgerton, “Icons of Justice,” 23–38; Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, 162–76; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, and *Ritual in Early Modern*, 147–54; and Trexler, *Public Life*, 1–9;
45. Burke, *The Fabrication*, 7.
46. See Acosta de Arias, *Fiestas coloniales urbanas*, 55–56.
47. Ramos Sosa, *Arte Festivo*, 17–19. See also Kagan, *Urban Images*, 173, Lohmann, *La Semana Santa de Lima*, and *La fiesta en el arte*; and Wuffarden, “La ciudad y sus emblemas.”
48. Libros de Cabildos de Lima (LCL), I, “fundacion de Lima.” For the symbolic importance of the Plaza Mayor in the Americas, see *La plaza en España e*

- Iberoamérica*; and Kagan, *Urban Images*, 19–44, 169–76. On the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, see Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor*.
49. See, LCL, I, “fundacion de Lima.” Pizarro’s power was reflected in this geography much like in the seventeenth-century towns of Lerma built by Philip III’s favorite, the Duke of Lerma, and that of Richelieu in France; Catherine Wilkerson–Zerner, “The Duke of Lerma.”
 50. During the eighteenth century the main city square loses its primacy as several new city squares (such as the Inquisition’s located several blocks to the west of the main plaza, see Figure I.4) are added to these ceremonies, expanding considerably this symbolic space of power. It could be argued that as the institutions of the state became more numerous and diverse so did the corresponding geography of power. This enlargement is particularly evident in the number of plazas that appear in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries around new state buildings (see Figure I.3). See *Anónimo, Solemne Proclamacion . . . Felipe V . . . Lima 1701*, and *Lima Gozosa*.
 51. See Osorio, “*El callejón de la soledad*,” 198–229.
 52. Durán Montero, “Lima en 1613,” 7.
 53. Flores Galindo and Chocano, “Las cargas del sacramento,” 409.
 54. Paul Charney also suggests a sharing of different cultural practices (occupational as well as economic) for male Indians who were well integrated into the occupational and economic life of other male groups in the city; “El indio urbano,” 9, 11–16. Teresa Vergara Ormeño makes a similar argument in her study of the occupations of Indian women in seventeenth century Lima; “Migración y trabajo femenino,” 135–57.
 55. Bouza, *Los Austrias Mayores*, 53, and *Imagen y propaganda*, ch. 1.
 56. John Beverly argues that critics of the presumed elitist nature of baroque literature seem to forget that the notion of “accessible” literature is a very recent invention. He reminds us that literature was historically an elite medium reserved for clerics and only the most educated, usually male, elites. The idea of accessible literature comes out of the Enlightenment and its emphasis on education, but even then is not a “universal right” or practice yet (*Against Literature*, 50). See also Muir, *Rituals in Early Modern*, 7–8, 55–72.
 57. On this process in the European context, see Eliás, *The Court Society*, and *The Civilizing Process*, 387–96, 421–48.
 58. Muir, *Rituals in Early Modern*, 7.
 59. On the power of these symbols, see Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 113.
 60. Lima was no different from European cities, such as Paris or London, in the same period. See Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, 3–5, 12–88.
 61. Beverley, *Against Literature*, 57.
 62. Mitchell, *Questions of Modernity*, 1.
 63. On globality and the Spanish Empire, see the reflections by Peter Hulme, “Beyond the Straits,” 41–61.
 64. Mitchell, *Questions of Modernity*, xii.
 65. *Ibid.*, xvi.
 66. A similar argument is made by Gruzinski, “Les modes mêlés de la monarchie catholique,” 85–117.
 67. Cañizares–Esguerra, *How to Write the History*, 9.
 68. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9.

69. "At issue, then, is whether one can find a way to theorize the question of modernity that relocates it within a global context and, at the same time, enables that context to complicate, rather than simply reverse, the narrative logic of modernization." Mitchell, *Questions of Modernity*, 7.
70. This has also been proposed by Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference," 1–24.
71. Mitchell, *Questions of Modernity*, 3.
72. *Ibid.*, xxvi.
73. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua*.
74. Lima's material modernity is evident in more mundane ways as well. The novelty of the city's built environment made it quite distinct from the Old World. In his history of the building of Lima's cathedral, Francisco Antonio Ruiz Cano argued that Lima's contribution to humanity was to be found in the use of wood, which he promoted as the building material of the future. Wood was a flexible natural resource that allowed the New World to "innovate" since wooden structures could be easily torn down, and "invention" could then take place. This "invention," he noted, was impossible in the Old World, where great buildings were "made of stone" (*Jubilos de Lima en la Dedicacion de su Santa Iglesia Cathedral*, f. 13).

GLOSSARY OF SPANISH TERMS

alcabala. Sales tax.

alcalde del crimen. Judge of the criminal division of the *audiencia*.

alcalde mayor. Chief Spanish magistrate of a district; also known as *corregidor*.

alcalde ordinario. City magistrate, having jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases; usually two per municipality.

alférez real. The member of a *cabildo* in charge of bearing the city standard.

asientos. The contracts signed for the provision of funds, goods, or supplies between private individuals and the Spanish exchequer.

audiencia. The highest royal court of appeals within a jurisdiction. A group of its members served at the same time as an advisory body to the viceroy or governor. The term was also applied to the area or district under the jurisdiction of the *audiencia*.

auto de fe. Public ceremony at which the sentences of the Inquisition were announced.

avería. Duty paid on all treasure and cargo loaded on vessels sailing in the *Carrera de Indias*. The revenue generated by the *avería* funded the naval defense of the *carrera*.

benemérito. Subjects of the Spanish monarchy worthy of royal favors and rewards.

cabildo eclesiástico. Ecclesiastical or cathedral chapter.

cabildo or cabildo secular. Municipal council.

capitán general. Title granted to the viceroy in his capacity as commander in chief of the viceroyalty.

Carrera de Indias. The sea routes that linked Seville to Veracruz, New Spain, Cartagena de Indias, Tierra Firme. The term also referred to the entire maritime convoy and monopoly ports that regulated transatlantic trade in the Spanish Empire.

cédula. Royal decree or writ.

Concordia. Written agreement established between the civil authorities and the Inquisition to settle jurisdictional conflicts.

consulado. The guild of merchants in important cities of the Spanish Empire, such as Lima, Mexico City, and Seville. The consulados had their own tribunals in charge of overseeing trade litigation as well as lobbying in order to protect their commercial interests.

corregidor. A city's chief magistrate. Spanish official in charge of a province or district.

- corregimiento.** The district of jurisdiction of a *corregidor*.
- cortes.** Castilian Council of Cities. Its deputies were elected by the eighteen cities that had the right to send representatives to the *cortes*.
- criollo.** A person of Spanish descent born in the New World.
- cura.** Parish priest.
- docel.** Baldachin, a canopy placed above a chair or a throne.
- doctrina.** Indian parish, usually administered by regular clergy.
- doctrinero.** Friar or priest in charge of a *doctrina*.
- encomendero.** Holder of an *encomienda*.
- encomienda.** Grants of Indians as tribute payers and laborers.
- familia.** Household. The entourage of any person of rank, particularly viceroys and bishops.
- familiar.** Lay deputy of the Inquisition.
- fiscal.** Crown attorney; in civil cases he represented the royal interests, while in criminal cases he acted as the prosecutor.
- fuero.** Charter of privileges or legal code.
- gobernador.** Governor.
- letrado.** Holder of a law degree, usually a royal official.
- mita.** Indian labor draft.
- oficiales reales.** Royal treasury officials.
- oidor.** Justice of the *audiencia*.
- palio.** Canopy, a covering of fabric, supported by poles and suspended above an extolled notable or sacred object.
- Patronato Real.** The body of rights and privileges that regulated the ecclesiastical patronage of the Spanish monarchs.
- peninsular.** A person born in Spain living in the New World.
- plebes.** The general populace.
- policía.** The good government and civilized life made possible by the laws and ordinances of a well-ordered community or *república*; civic order; civility; urbanity, refinement, and manners.
- Real Provisión.** Writ issued by the *audiencia* as if given by the king himself.
- regidor.** Alderman.
- reino.** Kingdom, realm. In Spanish constitutional tradition it was usually identified with the *cortes*.
- repartimiento.** Indian labor draft.
- República de Españoles.** Political community made up of those people of European descent.
- República de Indios.** Political community made up of Indians.
- Suprema.** Governing tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition.
- visita.** General tour of inspection made by the viceroy, the *oidor*, and archbishop or a bishop.

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- AAL: Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (Lima, Peru)
CO: Cofradías
CR: Curatos
HI: Hechicerías e Idolatrías
PI: Papeles Importantes
PBC: Proceso de Beatificación y Canonización de Santa Rosa
VP: Visitas Pastorales
- ADC: Archivo Departamental del Cuzco (Cuzco, Peru)
CJOV: Cabildo-Justicia Ordinaria-Varios
LC: Libros de Cabildos
- AGI: Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)
AHN/Inquisición: 1647, 1649, 1650
Audiencia de Lima (cited as Lima): 1, 25, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 77, 78, 84, 97, 98, 108, 109, 110, 111, 141, 296, 301, 302, 303, 304, 310, 311, 338, 341, 465, 570, 638
Indiferente: 614, 1450
MP-Estampas: 187
MP-Peru-Chile: 6, 12
MP-Varios: 6
Patronato: 90, 185, 186, 191, 231, 248
- AGN: Archivo General de la Nación (Lima, Peru)
JS: Compañía de Jesús, Sermones, Casillero11, Leg: 61, 62, 63
PN: Protocolos Notariales. Notaries: Francisco de Cárdenas, Alonso de Carrión, Tomás de Cepeda, Diego Fernández de Montaña, Francisco García Durán, Luis Félix de la Rinaga
RA/JC: Real Audiencia-Juzgado de Cofradías
SG: Superior Gobierno
- AHML: Archivo Municipal de Lima (Lima, Peru)
LC: Libros de Cabildos
LCP: Libros de Cédulas y Proviciones
- AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid, Spain)
IN: Inquisición
BRP: Biblioteca Real de Palacio (Madrid, Spain)

- BNC: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile (Santiago, Chile)
 CM: Colección Medina
 BNP: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Lima, Peru)
 M: Manuscritos
 BNM: Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid, Spain)
 JCBL: The John Carter Brown Library (Providence, RI)
 NYPL: New York Public Library
 RAH: Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, Spain)

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