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Giving for the Mission: The *Encomenderos* and Christian Space in the Late Sixteenth-Century Andes

Aliocha Maldavsky

During the 1570s, the Society of Jesus established itself in the Andes with the foundation of Jesuit colleges, financially supported by the *encomenderos*—former conquistadors who had become wealthy settlers by extracting tribute and work from a specific group of natives. Their generous donations and bequests reveal the consideration the population of the colonial cities had for the freshly arrived Jesuit priests in the American territories of Philip II. The Jesuits represented the revival of the Catholic faith and emphasized local commitment to the evangelization and conversion of the native populations. However, becoming a founder or a benefactor of the Society of Jesus by offering financial support was not just a means of spiritual salvation but also a way of seeing one's memory perpetuated amongst the living.¹ The sponsorship of the *encomenderos*—who are the sole donators studied here—deserves more than just a cursory glance and should be set in the context of the struggle for social status within the new-born Andean colonial society, at a time when the privileges of the *encomenderos* were being challenged.

Throughout the last third of the sixteenth century, the Church established, through several provincial councils and for many decades, a colonial orthodoxy that justified the Spanish presence and dominion in the area by considering the American Indians as needful of Catholic salvation.² At a time when in Castile the nature of nobility was being redefined by new urban institutions, it was the *encomenderos* who continued to define the still tentative Spanish-American aristocracy in the Andes. They were the founding members of the American *cabildos* and formed the elite of the local Spanish population, and even held a status close to that of feudal lord. The very feats of the Conquest, an unflinching loyalty towards the Crown and a due respect for the duties they

1 Rodríguez D., *Por un lugar en el cielo: Juan Martínez Rengifo y su legado a los jesuitas, 1560–1592* (Lima: 2005).

2 Estenssoro Fuchs J.-C., *Del paganismo a la santidad: La incorporación de los Indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: 2003).

had been entrusted with concerning the evangelization of the indigenous populations, legitimized their superior social status.³ The New Laws of 1542, however, promulgated by Charles V to protect the native population, increased the control of the Spanish Crown over its American territories, at the expense of the *encomenderos*. By denying them full jurisdiction over the Indians of their *encomiendas*, the monarchy obviously no longer wished to perpetuate the *encomienda* system.⁴

Modern historians have concluded that the *encomenderos* in the end were an obstacle to evangelization, as they were involved in civil warfare and because they exploited the native populations. Yet, at the time, the conversion to Christianity of the Indians was part and parcel of the duties of the *encomenderos*. They were the delegates of the Crown's patronage of the Church, therefore they felt that their patronage was the same as that of any European noble over his land. Indeed, according to royal legislation and as confirmed by the grants assigning the individual *encomiendas*, a commitment to evangelization conditioned their possession.⁵ Encouraged, however, by Bartolomé de las Casas and the Dominicans of Peru, who already regarded the *encomienda* system as an obstacle to the conversion of the Indians, many were the former conquistadors who, in the 1550s and 1560s, proceeded to the restitution of property to the natives for moral reasons, intimately linked to the conditions of the Conquest.⁶ The careful analysis of documents of restitution shows, however, that beyond the fear of hell or compliance with the demands of Las Casas, the *encomenderos* were also intent on the defence of the Catholic faith as this strengthened their dominion over the Indians. Through charity, they could justify their continuing conquest, in accordance with a bygone medieval

3 Zuñiga J.-P., *Espagnols d'outre-mer: Emigration, métissage et reproduction sociale à Santiago du Chili au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 2002) 149–168; Moore J.P., *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs* (Durham: 1954); De la Puente Brunke J., *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú: Estudio social y político de una institución* (Sevilla: 1992) 258.

4 Hampe Martínez T., "La encomienda en el Perú en el siglo XVI: Ensayo bibliográfico", *Histórica* 6 (1982) 173–216; Goldwert M., "La lucha por la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú virreinal, 1550–1600", *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–1956) 336–360; 23 (1957–1958) 207–245.

5 *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, Julián de Paredes, 1681) bk. 6, tit. 9, law 3.

6 Lohmann Villena G., "La restitución por conquistadores y encomenderos: Un aspecto de la incidencia lascasiana en el Perú", *Anuario de Estudios americanos*, 23 (1966) 21–89; idem, "El encomendero indiano, cooperador de la evangelización", in *Homenaje al profesor Alfonso García Gallo*, 5 vols. (Madrid: 1996), vol. V, 113–136; Del Río M., "Riquezas y poder: las restituciones a los indios del repartimiento de Paria", in Bouysse-Cassagne T. (ed.), *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: In memoriam Thierry Saignes* (Paris – Lima: 1997) 261–278.

model, while simultaneously obeying the Crown's New Laws.⁷ From the 1570s, donations to the Jesuit order and the foundation of educational institutions for the Spaniards were a means of demonstrating their dedication to the evangelization of the Indians, while at the same time reasserting their aristocratic status within the new Andean society. Thus, even though they were deprived of full territorial lordship and even though religious patronage was largely limited by royal and ecclesiastical law—namely by the Council of Trent's decrees—, by partnering with those whose aim was to build a missionary space, the *encomenderos* of the 1570s asserted a *de facto* religious patronage over the lands of their *encomiendas*.

To show the full implications of the donations of the *encomenderos*, I will begin by presenting three examples of pious bequests to the Society of Jesus made by wealthy *encomenderos* of La Paz and Arequipa between the 1570s and 1580s. These were a form of secular patronage of the Church but also an affirmation of a typically Hispano-American form of noble identity. Indeed, evangelical charity through the Jesuits added to the reformulation of lordly dominion over the Indians of the *encomiendas* and also over the lands they occupied.

Andean Jesuit Colleges Financed by the *Encomenderos*

At a time when the Council of Trent encouraged charity, there were many donations and bequests by wealthy Spaniards supporting the evangelization of the native Indians in the Andean area. A large body of notarial acts detailing the motivations, circumstances and content of these donations has survived. This study focuses on three main donations to the Jesuits of Peru established between the 1570s and the 1580s.

The first concerns Juan de Ribas. He was a rich *encomendero*, the founder of the city of La Paz and an active member of its town council (*cabildo*).⁸ In September 1572, just four years after the Jesuits first landed in Peru, Juan de Ribas promised to support the foundation of a Jesuit college in La Paz and to provide an annuity of 3,000 pesos for the fathers to 'take care of the ministries

of the Society'.⁹ Besides an *obraje* (textile fabric) in La Paz, Juan de Ribas owned the *repartimiento* of Viacha, situated 30 kilometres away on the road to Potosí,¹⁰ and the *encomienda* of Pucara, which belonged to Mencia de Vargas, the daughter from a previous marriage of his wife, Lucrecia de Sanzoles.¹¹ To justify his bequest, Ribas mentioned the spiritual benefit that both the local Indians and the Spaniards would reap from the education offered by the Jesuits.¹² The Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, however, refused to authorize the immediate foundation of the College of La Paz, as Juan de Ribas also had outstanding debts, which he needed to reimburse first.¹³ It therefore took a full decade for Philip II to authorize the foundation of the College in 1578 and for Juan de Ribas to confirm his donation in 1583, through a bequest made in his will. The donation was finalized with his death in 1584.¹⁴

Antonio de Llanos belonged to an altogether different category of *encomenderos*. He was a merchant in Arequipa and a benefactor of the Jesuit College of the city, to the point of entering the Society of Jesus as a temporal coadjutor after the death of his wife in 1587. Signing a first bequest dated 17 February 1579, Antonio de Llanos donated to the Society of Jesus an annuity of 1,500 pesos, on the condition that the Jesuits say masses for the salvation of his soul and that of his wife, María Cermeño, and allow them to rest upon their death in the main chapel of their church. A written donation signed by both spouses was registered on 28 May 1582.¹⁵ It announced that the promised annuity would begin as of June 1582 and that an extra 500 pesos would be given for the purchase of ornaments for the church and for the reconstruction of the college damaged by an earthquake in January of that year. The bequest also included a *hacienda*

7 Maldavsky A., "Les *encomenderos* et l'évangélisation des Indiens dans le Pérou colonial: 'Noblesse' et propagation de la foi au XVI^e siècle", in Boltanski A. – Mercier F. (eds.), *Le salut par les armes: Noblesse et défense de l'orthodoxie, XIII^e – XVII^e s.* (Rennes: 2011) 239–250.

8 He was named Public Prosecutor of the City on the day of its foundation. See Crespo A.R., *El corregimiento de La Paz, 1548–1600* (La Paz: 1972) 77.

9 Egaña de A. – Fernández E. (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, 8 vols. (Rome: 1954–1986), vol. 1, 481–487. Juan de Ribas' donation is summarized in Mateos F. (ed.), *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Perú*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1944), vol. 11, 258; Rodríguez, *Por un lugar*, 111–112.

10 Jiménez de la Espada M., *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú*, ed. J.U. Martínez Carreras, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1965), vol. 11, 57; López Beltrán C., *Alianzas familiares: Elite, género y negocios en La Paz. s. XVII* (Lima: 1998) 32. According to Crespo, *El corregimiento* 77, he also owned a *hacienda* and an *estancia*, coca plantations and 13,000 heads of cattle.

11 *Ibidem*, 54.

12 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 1, 730; Archivo General de Indias [henceforth AGI], Patronato, 113, R.9, fols. 2r and 13r.

13 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 11, 147–149.

14 *Ibidem*, vols. 11, 329, and 111, 116–124, 318–328, 329–330.

15 *Ibidem*, vol. 11, 591–592, 806 and 809. The donation is summarized in Mateos (ed.), *Historia general*, vol. 11, 195.

and its cattle, to be given to the Jesuits upon the death of the donors.¹⁶ The donation was confirmed in 1587 by Antonio de Llanos following the death of his wife, María Cermeño.¹⁷

According to this later document, María Cermeño was the widow of an *encomendero* and had inherited the *encomienda* from her first husband, Thomas Farel. It was therefore through her that Antonio de Llanos, a simple merchant, had been able to attain the most admired status in sixteenth-century Peruvian society. Of English descent, Farel had sailed to Peru in 1540 with María Cermeño, with his sisters-in-law, Ana and Catalina Cermeño, and with his mother-in-law, Leonor López, whose husband, a gunpowder supplier of the *Casa de la Contratación*, had died before they all took ship.¹⁸

When in Peru, the Cermeño daughters met their two brothers, Cristóbal, a conquistador of Cuzco, and Pedro, a leader of Gonzalo Pizarro's musketeers. Given their father's occupation, the Cermeños were neither of noble descent nor of particularly humble origin.¹⁹ Yet in Cajamarca, they quickly became the allies of one of the local conquistadors, Martín Pizarro. James Lockhart has classified the latter (no relative of Francisco and Gonzalo Pizarro) among the plebeians of Cajamarca, for he belonged to a family of artisans and was illiterate. The alliance between Antonio de Llanos and a family related to the Conquest was a huge social promotion for this merchant, who had arrived in Peru as a simple representative of a company established in Seville in 1546.²⁰

Active in the region of Arequipa as from the 1550s, specializing in the trade of wine, sugar and the goods given in tribute by the Indians, Llanos wholesaled imported goods and exported products from his *encomienda* and was one of the initiators of the textile industry in Peru. He had met Farel in the course of marketing the wool produced by the Indians of Farel's *encomienda*.²¹ Llanos ceased his commercial activities after his marriage to Farel's widow, purchased more land thanks to his position as the royal treasurer of Arequipa, and became one of the most prominent *vecinos* of the 1570s.²² Indeed, he became a member of the *cabildo* of Arequipa, and appears in the minutes of its deliberations

as of July 1557.²³ It is this network of social relations that clarifies the donation to the Jesuits. In 1589, in a report to the Superior General in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva, the Jesuit Father Provincial, Juan de Atienza, confirmed the details of the donation and wrote that Antonio de Llanos had already donated to the college 6,000 of the 14,000 pesos needed to establish the annuity promised after the death of the couple.²⁴ This donation and the entry of Llanos into the Society of Jesus were also largely achieved thanks to family ties between María Cermeño and the Jesuit Martín Pizarro, the son of her sister Catalina.²⁵

The third and far more prestigious figure is Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica. He was a conquistador who had arrived in Peru with Pedro de Alvarado in 1534. He was the founder of Arequipa and *encomendero* of Camaná and died in 1547 amongst the royal troops at the Battle of Guarina against Gonzalo Pizarro. On 26 May 1582, his legitimate son, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, donated to the Society of Jesus a plot of land adjacent to the college. According to his father's will, registered posthumously on 10 June 1548, the donation was for a pious purpose.²⁶ Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica had previously ordered that houses be built on a plot of land owned in Arequipa, so that their lease should pay a priest to teach Christian doctrine to the Indians of his *encomienda* of Camaná. In his posthumous will of 1548, prepared on the basis of his memoirs left before his death and cited in the 1582 donation papers, he wrote, however, of his bad conscience for having done nothing for his Indians in terms of teaching them the Catholic faith, contrary to his duties as *encomendero*.²⁷

The heir of Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica justified the full donation of the land to the Jesuits with the drastic reduction of the population of the *encomienda* of Camaná. Antonio Gómez de Butrón claimed that there remained no more than twenty Indians on the land. He added that it was impossible to receive enough rent from the stores that had been built because the buildings themselves had been largely destroyed by the earthquake of January 1582. Being therefore unable to respect his father's last wishes, but fully aware of the moral responsibility that came with the legacy of his father's pious will, Antonio Gómez de Butrón decided to transform his father's chaplaincy into a donation of land to the Jesuits, as their zeal for the conversion of the Indians

16 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 111, 162–175.

17 María Cermeño's will dated 4 July 1587 can be found among the documents concerning the will and succession of her husband, Archivo General de la Nación del Perú [henceforth AGNP], Papeles de jesuitas 44/61, fols. 13r–17r.

18 AGI, Pasajeros, L.3, E.1258, 24/02/1540.

19 Lockhart J., *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: 1972) 418–419; Del Busto Duthurburu J.-A., "El conquistador Martín Pizarro", *Mercurio Peruano* 44 (1963) 111–125.

20 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 270.

21 Ibidem, 270–271.

22 Davies K.A., *Landowners in colonial Peru* (Austin: 1984) 73.

23 Barriga V.M., *Documentos para la historia de Arequipa, 1534–1558*, 3 vols. (Arequipa: 1939), vol. I, 372, 374, 375, 378, 405.

24 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 111, 467.

25 Ibidem, 530–531. Llanos appears as the temporal coadjutor of the College of Arequipa in the short index of 1591 (ibidem, vol. IV, 668).

26 Ibidem, vol. 111, 147–162.

27 Ibidem, 149.

seemed able to replace the financing of a specific priest.²⁸ Through José de Acosta, the Jesuits thus asked Gregory XIII for the authorization of such a modification, which finally came into effect on 15 March 1583.²⁹

The transformation of a chaplaincy into a pious bequest, however, raised legal issues. Indeed, there was a jurisdictional dispute with the secular priests, to whom the chaplaincy had initially been assigned.³⁰ Moreover, in 1585 the Jesuits asked the general of the order to alter the papal document, which assessed the value of the land at half its true worth. This could have given the secular clergy even more reason for complaint.³¹ As early as June 1582, the Jesuits had begun to present witnesses attesting to Francisco's intent to finance a chaplaincy that had never been established by the secular clergy. Among them, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, Gonzalo Gómez de Butrón, the brother of the donor, but also Alonso de Luque, the *regidor* of Arequipa, all confirmed Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica's thirty-year-old desire to found a chaplaincy, but indicated that no building capable of producing any kind of annuity had ever been built.³² One of the witnesses even declared that the present owner, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, was too poor to finance such a construction.³³

These three examples, quickly summarized here, reveal the complexity of the situation underlying the donations to the Society of Jesus by the *encomenderos* of La Paz and of Arequipa. It appears, however, that one aim was to show a religious behaviour comparable to that of the devout Castilian nobility of the day. Through pious legacies, the rich settlers, regardless of their social origins, could demonstrate their membership of the elite of Spanish America, as the status of founder and benefactor of the Jesuits proved to be useful markers of aristocratic status.

Pious Bequests and the Identity of Hispanic Nobility

The conditions attached to the Peruvian donations are typical of the attitudes the sixteenth-century Spanish nobility had about death; and they show that the wealthy settlers adopted, in the American context, the same standards that pre-

vailed in feudal Spain. Speaking of Chile, Jean-Paul Zuñiga refers to a 'society haunted by a mirage of nobility, the ideation of Castilian aristocracy'.³⁴

By defining honour as one of the 'axes of traditional society', José Antonio Maravall has explained that distinctions within a society of orders, such as that existing in Europe's *Ancien Régime*, were above all differences in status. Status depended on 'differences in social esteem, prestige, dignity, honour, rank, between individuals and groups and on the mutual recognition of these differences'.³⁵ Economic and political power was used merely to strengthen and actively participate in revealing such distinctions. Despite the impression of rigidity such societies appear to have had, recent research undertaken on Iberian societies has shown the importance of mobility and that of the Crown in the definition and legitimization of the role of each and every individual within the social game.³⁶ In America, the same values underpinning society in the peninsula were renewed by the prospects of increased mobility through the conquest and exploitation of new territories, and by a king who played a fundamental role in the definition of the elites, by controlling both access to land and honours.

The conditions attached to the donations made to the Society of Jesus in Arequipa and La Paz were modelled on the practices of the Castilian nobles, which consolidated family lineages through religious patronage. As Adolfo Carrasco Martínez has written, 'the foundation of convents, churches and chapels, the efforts to obtain spectacular sepulchres in sacred locations, the profusion of family heraldic insignia in temples, the financial donations, the objects of worship and ornamental items; in short, the concentration of symbols and religious locations offered visible signs of individual and family reputations in the eyes of the faithful and built a link between the prestige of the nobility and the truths of faith'.³⁷ Such a staging of aristocratic prestige through the strategic use of religious spaces and funerary rituals had been customary in Castile since medieval times. These practices were a conscious means of sustainably occupying public space, by generating links between families and religious orders. The dukes of Infantado nurtured in this way an enduring relationship with the Franciscan convent in Guadalajara, which had been funded by the family and was used as the family sepulchre from the late fourteenth to the

28 Ibidem, 153.

29 Ibidem, 262–264.

30 Ibidem, 331.

31 Ibidem, 725.

32 Ibidem, 175–184.

33 Ibidem, 180.

34 Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outre-mer* 149.

35 Maravall J.-A., *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: 1989) 15 and 44.

36 Vincent B. – Ruiz Ibáñez J.J., *Los siglos XVI y XVII: Política y sociedad* (Madrid: 2007) 75–77.

37 Carrasco Martínez A., *El poder de la sangre: Los duques del Infantado* (Madrid: 2010) 211, confirmed by Atienza A., *Tiempos de conventos: Una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna* (Madrid: 2008) 151–232.

nineteenth century.³⁸ The same attitude was adopted by the Valdés de Gijón, a noble family from Asturias, the Fernández de Córdoba, and by the noble lineages of Navarre.³⁹

In America, one of the outward signs of nobility widely used in religious matters was the foundation of chaplaincies, through which a testator offered an annuity to finance a chaplain, often a family member, and required him to say masses for the salvation of the souls of the founder and of his descendants. The advantage of these chaplaincies was that they supported an ecclesiastical parent, maintained economic assets within a lineage and preserved the family history.⁴⁰

The foundation of a convent or of a Jesuit college was, however, an even more elaborate form of secular patronage of religious institutions as this not only followed the model drawn by the aristocratic families of the peninsula to preserve the memory of their lineages but also represented patronage of the Church. The language and expectations of the Spanish donors in the Andes, when deciding on a burial place for their families, clearly show that they wished to be honoured as founders and remembered as patrons.

Indeed, Teresa Ordoñez, a rich *encomendera* in Cuzco, in exchange for a donation of 20,000 pesos towards the financing the Jesuit college of the ancient capital of the Incas, asked that she and her late husband, Diego de Silva, be considered 'founders and patrons' of the college and that they be buried in the main chapel. She required that the remains of Diego de Silva be transferred there and that in the chapel should equally be laid to rest, when the time came, the remains of her son 'don Tristán de Silva', his three daughters Paula, Feliciania and Florencia, and their spouses and respective heirs, be they born or yet to come. Repeating with each paragraph of the donation the term 'founders and patrons' to describe her and her husband, Teresa Ordoñez

stipulated that masses should be said by the Jesuits for the salvation of her soul and for that of Diego de Silva. These, she added, were to be said under the family coat of arms while a wax candle was lit. The candle was then to be given to her legitimate son, whom she designated as the heir to the 'patronage' she was establishing, detailing, like for a chaplaincy, the succession of her heirs in case of death. She also required the eternal presence of her family's coat of arms in the church and in the Jesuit college in Cuzco and designated a specific date for the annual celebration of a mass for her soul and for that of her husband.⁴¹

In Arequipa in 1582, Antonio de Llanos and Maria Cermeño had similar requirements for their sepulchre: they stipulated that their parents be laid to rest with them in the main chapel of the Jesuit church, to the right of the altar, thereby appropriating a sacred space for their family lineage. Moreover, beyond these remains, the Jesuits were required to receive those of Francisco Yeres, Llanos' father, and of Alonço Pizarro, Maria Cermeño's nephew, and to further transfer the dead body of Francisca Pizarro, one of the donor's nieces. The latter's daughter, Gerónima Pizarro, was also to be buried alongside her mother and her aunt, as she and her heirs were to succeed the initial donors as the founders of the college. The arms of the donors were to be ostensibly displayed on the occasion of their burial above the ornaments they promised to offer the Jesuits.⁴² The same year, Antonio Gómez de Butrón more modestly required that he and his father be considered 'benefactors' of the college.⁴³ Far less demanding than de Llanos or Ordoñez, Juan de Ribas requested only to be considered the 'founder' of the college of La Paz.

It is quite significant that Teresa Ordoñez used the terms 'patronage' and 'patron' when claiming founder status for herself, her husband and their legitimate descendants, as the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus indicate that a mass must be said, every week and until the end of time, in each college, for founders and benefactors, both living and dead. At the beginning of every month, all the priests of a college were also required, until the end of time, to celebrate a mass for these same founders and benefactors. Every year, too, on the anniversary of the establishment of a college, a 'solemn' mass, attended by all the resident priests, was to be said for all founders and benefactors. On the anniversary day of a foundation, the founder, or his closest parent, or someone designated by the founder, was also offered, in the name of the Lord, 'a wax candle' with the coat of arms or symbols corresponding to his devotions

38 Carrasco Martínez, *El poder de la sangre* 210–244; Jara Fuente J.-A., "Muerte, ceremonial y ritual funerario: Procesos de cohesión intraestamental y de control social en la alta aristocracia del antiguo régimen (Corona de Castilla, siglos XV–XVIII)", *Hispania* 56 (1996) 861–883.

39 Fernández Secades L., *Los Valdés: Una casa nobiliaria en el Gijón de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Oviedo: 2009); Molina Recio R., *Los señores de la Casa del Bailío* (Córdoba: 2002); Orduna Portús P. M., *Honor y cultura nobiliaria en la Navarra moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Pamplona: 2009).

40 Wobeser G. von, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales: Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España, 1600–1821* (Mexico: 2005); idem, "La función social y económica de las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España en el siglo XVIII", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 16 (1996) 119–138. On the chaplaincies in seventeenth-century Chile, see Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outre-mer* 163–165.

41 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. II, 187–201 (conditions are on pages 192–197).

42 Ibidem, vol. III, 166.

43 Ibidem, 156.

'as a sign of gratitude'.⁴⁴ The *Constitutions* nuance the meaning of these ceremonies, by making clear that 'this candle signifies the gratitude due to the founders, not any right of patronage or any claim belonging to them or their successors against the College or its temporal goods, for none such will exist'.⁴⁵

In a letter to José de Acosta, dated 27 November 1581, General Acquaviva warned of the claims of certain donors and asked that the term 'patron' should be omitted when drawing up the legal texts of a foundation. Those of 'founder' or successor of the founder were to be preferred, since the term 'patron' implied specific legal rights. He also requested that founders make no specific requests concerning masses or ministries, beyond what was provided by the *Constitutions* of the Order, and that sponsors trust the Society of Jesus in the same manner as had the pope and the emperor when they participated in the foundation of a Jesuit college.⁴⁶

The donors and benefactors seem to have used the reputation of the Jesuits to anchor their cultural and ethical pretensions as members of the Spanish nobility. Their claims of patron status and the specific conditions they attached to their donations had precise implications in terms of social status. Indeed, the ideal representation of the Spanish nobleman implied being a patron. In the new American society, however, aristocracy entailed first and foremost being of conquistador lineage, being entrusted with an *encomienda* and yielding urban power, since it appears that the *encomenderos* were not all members of Spain's nobility. Only a quarter of the first conquerors of Cajamarca may have belonged to the more modest fringe of peninsular nobility.⁴⁷ Yet most of those who settled obtained an *encomienda* and adopted the lifestyles of lords constantly seeking further respectability and responsibilities. The efforts of the Spaniards in America to enter the Spanish military orders during the seventeenth century seem finally to point to the fact that the *encomenderos* generally lacked legitimacy.⁴⁸ As Jean-Paul Zuñiga has shown in the case of Chile,⁴⁹ in the absence of a clear legal distinction between those paying taxes and those who had the privilege of not paying, it appears that the mere fact of

belonging to the *encomendero* elite and being able to prove a family tie with a conquistador was what established 'nobility' locally. The importance of lineage in the definition of an individual's status therefore meant that it was necessary to uphold by all means a noble-like lifestyle. Bearing the status of founder or benefactor of a Jesuit school was one of those means.

Lay Patronage and the Duty to Evangelize

Though the *encomenderos* did adopt the attitudes and behaviours typical of nobility in Spain, as their donations and bequests to the Jesuits show, they did not forget their duties concerning the evangelization of the native populations. In their wills written during the 1550s and 1560s, sparked by accusations made against them or a desire to make amends to the Indians, the founders of the Jesuit colleges often wrote of their bad conscience concerning the neglect of their duty of evangelization. It is thus that, in 1587, Antonio Llanos declared in the will he wrote for his wife, María Cermeño:

that my wife, Maria Cermeño and I have often pondered upon the perishable nature of this world, on the salvation of our souls and on a means of alleviating the burden of our consciences. She would say that we had occupied these lands and had profited from the Indians, from their tribute as well as their labour, at the time of her husband Thomas Farel, with whom she first landed and became one of the first settlers, and again later after her marriage to me. Because of the burden of these thoughts and in order to ease her conscience, we have decided to use our wealth to become the founders in this town of a college of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁰

44 Loyola Ignatius de, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: 1996), 314–317, § 309–312.

45 Ibidem, 134, §314.

46 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 80–82.

47 Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca* 32.

48 Ibidem, 52. Guillermo Lohmann Villena claims without proof that there were more *hidalgos* in America than is generally thought. See Lohmann Villena G., *Los Americanos en las órdenes nobiliarias* (Madrid: 1993).

49 Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outremer* 159–163.

50 AGNP, Papeles de jesuitas 44/61, fol. 16 ('Ytem digo y declaro que entre mi y la dicha Maria Cermeño mi muger difunta muchas y diversas vezes se trato y comunico sobre las cosas percederas de este mundo, y lo que ella pretendia para lo que tocava a la salvacion de nuestras animas y descargos de nuestras consciencias y del mucho tiempo que avia que estavamos en este Reyno, y aver gozado de Yndios, tributos, y servicios personales dellos, assi en vida de Thomas Farel su marido con quien ella passo a este Reyno que fue uno de los primeros pobladores del, y despues destar casada conmigo y sobre estas cosas que agravavan su consciencia y que para satisfacion desta y de otras cosas acordamos de que de la hazienda de ambos a dos fuessemos fundadores del collegio de la compañia del nombre de Jhs desta ciudad').

These same arguments also figured in the will of Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica, quoted in the donation of his son to the Jesuit college of Arequipa in 1582. In 1548 the father had written:

I owe my Indians the money that they have given to me though I have done nothing to teach them doctrine nor done anything to light their paths towards the Catholic faith.⁵¹

Indeed, the duties linked to the *encomienda* were closely related to the Crown's patronage of the American Church and were a delegation of this patronage to the *encomenderos*. The latter were responsible for collecting the royal tribute and, in exchange, were to guarantee the evangelization and conversion of the Indians, to pay the priests and the expenses of worship, including the purchase of all church ornaments. This duty towards evangelization and conversion was stipulated in the *encomienda* concession documents from the time of Francisco Pizarro to the late sixteenth-century viceroys, and the law regularly provided to strip the *encomenderos* of their privileges if they did not ensure the evangelization of the Indians.⁵² Most documents, however, show that the *encomenderos* took their duty of evangelization rather lightly. The seventeenth-century Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha even wrote that the *encomenderos* 'did not even try to make them learn their prayers, either because they considered that this made a lord of vassals look like a sexton, or because they were too busy with civil warfare'.⁵³

Relieving a moral burden was thus one motivation behind the restitution of wealth to the Indians and the establishment of pious foundations for their evangelization, but the duty of evangelization should not be analysed simply in terms of individual morality. It is also necessary to consider the religious domination of the *encomenderos* over the Indians as a means of controlling the Indian parishes (*doctrinas*) then being established in Peru, a domination that was gradually being reclaimed by the Crown and the bishoprics.

In theory, the *encomienda* was not a feudal system as the Indians were not formally the vassals of the *encomenderos*. The Spaniards exploited their manpower and collected their tribute to the monarchy, but they had no judicial power over them, even if they designated themselves as lords when they used terms such as *vecino feudatario* or 'my Indians'.⁵⁴ If the *encomenderos* considered themselves as lords because they dominated the Indians and because they believed in their own merits and in those of their ancestors at the time of the conquest, it was the religious duty bound to the royal concession which was mainly at the root of the confusion between *encomienda* and fiefdom.

Indeed, in his chronicle, Antonio de la Calancha wrote that the *encomenderos* were given to appointing secular priests in their *encomiendas*.⁵⁵ They exerted a *de facto* patronage, just like the secular European lords, who owned the places of worship, bore the right to present and appoint priests, and collected the revenue of their churches.⁵⁶ According to canon law, the *jus patronatus* was the privilege granted to the patron of a church, a chapel or a benefice. Among the prerogatives of the patron was that of being able to propose a candidate for an ecclesiastical office. This right was a legacy of Carolingian times, during which many parish churches had been privately built, owned and financed. The Gregorian reform limited this secular influence on the parishes by codifying more precisely the *jus patronatus*. It gave the bishops the privilege of appointing a benefice-holder, but still left the donor the right to present the candidate. Moreover, patronage had a patrimonial value as it could be inherited or given as a fee.⁵⁷ Patronage also had other benefits such as priority to seating in the church, the right to a sepulchre or the right to blazon a coat of arms in a place of worship.⁵⁸

The Jesuits' distrust of the term 'patron' derived from the decisions of the thirteenth-century Fourth Lateran Council and of the Council of Trent. By reaffirming the role of bishops, these councils limited, but also clearly defined, the rights of the patron.⁵⁹ In Spain, these efforts to limit the rights of secular patrons went hand in hand with those of the monarch who had simultaneously

51 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 149 ('Soy en cargo a mis indios de muchos dineros que me an dado y ningún fruto e hecho en ellos en los doctrinar y alunbrar en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica').

52 De la Puente Brunke J., "Encomenderos y doctrineros: Notas sobre encomienda y evangelización en el siglo XVI", *Revista peruana de historia eclesiástica* 2 (1992) 259–269.

53 Calancha Antonio de la, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Agustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares vistos en esta monarquía...* (Barcelona, Pedro Lacavalleria: 1639) 345 ('no trataron de siquiera rezarles las oraciones, o porque les parecía que un señor de vasallos parecería Sacristan, o porque todos andavan en guerras civiles').

54 Vincent – Ruiz Ibañez, *Los siglos XVI y XVII* 82; Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outremer* 159–163 and 244–252.

55 Calancha, *Coronica* 346.

56 Larrea Beobide Á., *El Patronato laico vizcaíno en el Antiguo Régimen* (Bilbao: 2000) 13–14.

57 Aubrun M., *La paroisse en France des origines au XV^e siècle* (Paris: 2008) 36; Gaudemet J., *Le gouvernement de l'Église à l'époque classique* (Paris: 1979) 112; Thomas P., *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge* (Paris: 1906) 217–218.

58 Larrea Beobide, *El Patronato laico*.

59 *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Bologna: 1991) 249–250 (Fourth Lateran Council, constitution 32) and 789–791 (Council of Trent, Session XXV, "Decretum

regulated and consolidated the system by the end of the fifteenth century by scrutinizing the rights and duties of each and every noble. During the sixteenth century, the Crown also renegotiated with Rome its patronage of the Church in Spain and in Latin America.⁶⁰ In Spain, a secular feudal patronage coexisted with the sovereign's right of patronage over the Church, within the limits of the Crown's *Realengo*, and when it came to the appointment of prelates in the most prestigious ecclesiastical benefices.

In America, on the other hand, there was no secular seignorial right of patronage similar to that exercised in the peninsula by certain lords. The *encomenderos*, however, were the king's delegates and were responsible for the evangelization and conversion of the Crown's Indian subjects. They were thus in a position to choose the priests of their *encomiendas* and to collect from the Indians the king's tribute in order to finance local worship.⁶¹ The *encomenderos* exercised this right of patronage over the churches of their *encomienda* by choosing priests who were friends or relatives in a way that strengthened their power over the Indians. This complicity between the *encomenderos* and the priests in matters concerning the exploitation of the Indians was immediately denounced.⁶²

To remedy the situation, the American bishops did their best to impose their power of jurisdiction, in accordance with the Council of Trent, while the Crown established more directly its royal patronage over the American Church. Indeed, a royal decree of 1552 gave the bishops the sole responsibility of appointing the pastors of the *doctrinas*.⁶³ Later, in 1567, Philip II confirmed

de reformatione generali", cap. IX). For a recent edition, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta: Editio Critica*, 3 vols. (Turnhout: 2006–2013).

60 Larrea Beobide, *El Patronato laico* 17–20.

61 Matienzo Juan de, *Gobierno del Perú* [1567], ed. G. Lohmann Villena (Paris – Lima: 1967) 37, 123–125; Vargas Ugarte R., *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Lima – Burgos: 1953–1962), vol. I, 1511–1568, 125–126.

62 Letter of Domingo de Santo Tomás to Philip II, dated 10 December 1563, published by Lisson Chaves E., *La Iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Seville: 1943–1947), vol. II, 252–253. See also Hampe Martínez T., "Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás y la encomienda de indios en el Perú (1540–1570)", in Barrado J. (ed.), *Los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo* (Salamanca: 1990) 354–379.

63 Armas Medina F. de, "Evolución histórica de las doctrinas de indios", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 9 (1952) 101–129; idem, *Cristianización del Perú, 1532–1600* (Sevilla: 1953) 125–126. As early as 1551, legislation provided that the *encomenderos* should ask the prelates for priests and should provide their wages. There is no mention of any authorization to present priests for benefices. See *Recopilacion de leyes*, bk. 6, tit. 9, law 3.

his monopoly to present candidates for ecclesiastical benefices before the episcopal collation, a system which was later confirmed by the Decree of Royal Patronage of 1574.⁶⁴ The laws of the second and third Councils of Lima, of 1567 and 1582–1583, also emphasized the exclusive privilege of prelates in the appointment of priests for the *doctrinas*, echoing the royal legislation, which reduced the power of the *encomenderos* and strengthened the role of the royal officials in the choice of the parish priests.⁶⁵

These developments went hand in hand with the opposition of part of the clergy to the continued existence of the *encomiendas*, which King Philip II, for a fee, was systematically tempted to concede. Despite very heated debate both in the Council of the Indies and in Peru during the 1550s and 1560, no firm decision was taken in this matter during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ At the same time, however, the Crown imposed certain restrictions on the power of the *encomenderos*, such as the repeated prohibition for them to reside among the Indians or to benefit from indigenous labour, reducing the status of the *encomenderos* to that of annuitants receiving a tribute calculated exclusively by royal officials.⁶⁷

Thus, while the *encomenderos*, by appointing priests, had assumed a form of secular patronage over the church of their *encomiendas*, throughout the last third of the sixteenth century their power was largely limited to financing the Church and deducting these monies from the tribute taken from the Indians, as these did not pay tithes.⁶⁸ Under such conditions, donations to religious orders appear to have been an alternative means of preserving their feudal power within their *encomiendas*, which explains the use of the term 'patron' by some donors and their specific requirements concerning the evangelization of the Indians.

64 Lisson Chaves, *La Iglesia*, vol. II, 370–371; Padden R.C., "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay", *The Americas* 12 (1956) 333–354.

65 Calancha, *Coronica* 347; Tineo P., *Los concilios limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana* (Pamplona: 1990) 479, 539.

66 Goldwert M., "La lucha por la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú virreinal, 1550–1600", *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–1956) 336–360; 23 (1957–1958) 207–245.

67 Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* 174–177; De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 169–224.

68 Several texts insist on this obligation to finance, stating that even if the rent collected by the *encomenderos* is insufficient to cover the costs of evangelization, this has priority over the income of the *encomenderos*. See for instance, *Recopilacion de leyes*, bk. 6, tit. 8, law 24; De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 58–61.

Charitable Support of Evangelization and Feudal Strategy

In 1575, for the foundation of the college of La Paz, Juan de Ribas required the Society of Jesus occasionally to call upon the Indians of his *encomienda* and his stepdaughter's, and eventually to become the designated priests of the Indians of his *encomienda*. This last donation clause was considered contrary to the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus,⁶⁹ but Ribas and his wife had already settled such matters with the Augustinian order, when they had contributed to the foundation of a convent in La Paz in 1563. By 'giving' the responsibility of the souls of their *encomienda* of Anco Anco to the Augustinians, they had clearly become lay patrons.⁷⁰

In the same way, in 1582, Antonio de Llanos and María Cermeño asked the Jesuits in Arequipa,

that when the priests of the above-mentioned College go on missions beyond the above-mentioned city, as the above-mentioned Society usually does, they take particular care and remember the Indians of our *repartimiento*, which is in the Condesuyo called Chilpacas, Salamanca and Chichas, and take care of the Canchi Indians who live in Characato.⁷¹

Antonio Gómez de Butron made a similar demand, around the same time, when he wrote:

I, the above-mentioned Antonio Gomez de Buitron, recommend and ask and pray the above-mentioned Society of Jesus and its priests that when its fathers leave the city on missions, they remember in particular to instruct and teach the Indians and natives present in the above-mentioned valley of Camaná all the holy things of the Holy Catholic faith for the benefit of their conversion and salvation.⁷²

69 Maldavsky A., *Vocaciones inciertas: Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid – Lima: 2012) 39–40.

70 Calancha, *Coronica* 511.

71 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 1, 166–167 ('que cuando el dicho colegio de la dicha Compañía desta ciudad tuviere Padres para inbiar fuera desta dicha ciudad a las misiones [sic] que la dicha Compañía suele hazer, los tales padres tengan especial cuidado y memoria de los indios de nuestro repartimiento que en Condesuyo, que se llama, los Chilpacas y Salamanca y Chichas, y en esta dicha ciudad los canchis que residen en Characato').

72 *Ibidem*, 156 ('Iten encargo y pido y ruego yo, el dicho Antonio Gomez de Buitron, a la dicha Compañía de Jesus y religiosos della, que quando algunos Padres religiosos salieren

As General Claudio Acquaviva wrote in a letter to José de Acosta dated 27 November 1581, the Jesuits were not favourable towards such clauses, because even though preaching and teaching Christian doctrine were the main activities defined by the *Constitutions*, the Society was wary of contractual obligations linked to donations signed before notaries.⁷³ The demands of the donors, however, must have been sufficiently pressing, as these clauses were finally noted in the donation documents, and should be considered in the context of a weakening of the position of the *encomenderos*.

Indeed, it is not a coincidence that the Jesuits were receiving donations from the *encomenderos* at a time when the Crown was trying to weaken their position. In February 1580, Juan de Ribas asked the Council of the Indies an extension of his *encomienda* for an extra lifetime. He explained that his wealth would be used to found a college in La Paz, so that the resident Jesuits could preach to the Indians of the region. He also mentioned his role in the foundation of the convent of nuns of the Very Holy Trinity in Lima, of which his wife and daughter were the founders, but which had also cost him dearly.⁷⁴ In September 1581, the Gómez de Butrón brothers, Antonio and Gonzalo, presented a *Relación de méritos y servicios* concerning their father, Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica, in order to obtain royal favours. The fourteenth question submitted to the witnesses present during the investigation emphasized Antonio's poverty, which, it was said, did not allow him to live according to the quality of his person.⁷⁵

desta dicha ciudad a misiones, que se acuerden en particular de industrial y enseñar a los indios y naturales que ubiere en el dicho valle de Camaná en las cosas que para su salvacion convenga y en las cosas de la santa fe católica y su conversion').

73 *Ibidem*, vol. III, 80.

74 AGI, Patronato, 113, R.9, fols. 2r–v and 53r. The request for an extension was made through a petition accompanying the copy of the *Relación de méritos y servicios* dated 1565. It was denied on 23 April 1583. The *Relación de méritos y servicios* was a common legal and bureaucratic Spanish document presented to the king in order to obtain favours. It was 'a written document consisting of the plaintiff's statement of his case, along with the testimony of friendly witnesses who corroborated his petition'. See Adorno R., 'History, Law, and the Eyewitness: Protocols of Authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*', in Greene R. – Fowler E. (eds.), *The Project of Prose in the Early Modern West* (Cambridge: 1997) 159; Folger R., *Writing as Poaching: Interpretation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial 'relaciones de méritos y servicios'* (Leiden – Boston: 2011) 29.

75 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 4v. This copy of the *Relación de méritos y servicios* of Gómez de León was included in the file of his great-grandson, Antonio de Butrón y Mújica, priest of the cathedral of Arequipa, who asked for a promotion in 1657.

For José de la Puente Brunke, the economic situation of the *encomenderos* had deteriorated during the second half of the sixteenth century because of the demographic decline in the native populations. This made the idea of an unlimited extension of an *encomienda* all the more urgent. The New Laws of 1542 limited its length to two life spans, but allowed further extensions depending on the good will of the king and his officials who examined each case individually.⁷⁶ This may explain the number of pleas for extensions, such as that of the Gómez de Butrón brothers. Yet an extension did not necessarily imply a significantly better income. It did, however, remain synonymous with prestige.⁷⁷ In the case of the Gómez de Butrón brothers, both the donation documents and the plea to obtain a royal favour mentioned the economic insecurity of the descendants of the conquistador. Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica, founder of the Villa de Camaná in 1539, had obtained from Francisco Pizarro the *encomienda* of Majes, Pampamico and Camaná for the span of his lifetime and for that of his legitimate son, Antonio. The enquiry summarized by José de la Puente Brunke brought to light, however, a significant drop in the number of Indians paying tribute on these lands. There were 174 in 1573 but only 53 in 1602, confirming the words of Antonio Gómez de Butrón and those bearing witness for the Jesuits in 1582,⁷⁸ and also supporting demographic studies, which show a drastic drop in the native population all along the southern coast of Peru.⁷⁹

Yet, even if the sources do not allow the conclusion that the descendants of Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica lived in comfort, it appears that in 1570 Antonio owned an *estancia* and agricultural property (*heredad*), and that in 1556, while he was still under age, he had obtained the *tambo* of Siguas, a wayside inn where the Indians of his *encomienda* served.⁸⁰ In the early 1570s Antonio Gómez de Butrón also owned a 'good sugar plantation' ('buen ingenio de azúcar') in the valley of Camaná,⁸¹ and he declared himself to be married to Doña Juana de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, the legitimate daughter of the conquistador Diego Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, which ranked his heirs among the

most prominent families of Arequipa in the seventeenth century.⁸² This alliance also allowed him to ask his wife's brother, to whom he and his brother had given power of attorney, to carry out his father's *Relación de méritos y servicios* in 1581.⁸³ The vineyards in the region of Arequipa were also facing economic difficulties during the last third of the sixteenth century, due to the absence of manpower and falling prices. This situation benefited certain merchants but greatly reduced property values. The Gómez de Butrón brothers were not listed among the domain owners of the seventeenth century, which suggests that they may also have been affected by a production crisis.⁸⁴

The Gómez de Butrón plea of 1582 can further be linked to the general feeling among the conquistadors' descendants of having been declassed throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Because the battle for the perpetuity of the *encomiendas* was lost, and a true feudal system could not be established in the Indies,⁸⁶ the *encomenderos* and their descendants had had to turn, with more or less success, towards other, more lucrative economic activities, in the manner of Lucas Martínez Vegazo. Others relied on matrimonial alliances with officials of the Crown or on their management of royal concessions, to ensure the future of their social status.

Given the uncertainties of the day and the reduction of their religious role to that of simple fund-suppliers, the recourse to charity for evangelization, through the status of founder of a religious order, was one of the few ways for the *encomenderos* to establish a position independent from the king and the bishops which preserved their religious patronage over their *encomienda* Indians. No longer allowed to choose the priest of their *encomiendas*, uncertain of being able to transmit their privileges to their offspring, they used an intermediary means capable of undertaking the task of evangelization entrusted to them and of establishing a relationship with the natives that had no limit in time. The lasting nature of a religious foundation, when accompanied by demands for specific missions to a particular group of identifiable Indians, in a particular village, fulfilled their lordly role by offering them the status of

76 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 274–293.

77 Ibidem, 298.

78 Ibidem, 420; Málaga Medina A., *Reducciones toledanas en Arequipa: Pueblos tradicionales* (Arequipa: 1989) 91.

79 Cook N.D., *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge – London – New York: 1981) 59–74.

80 Davies, *Landowners* 191–192; Barriga, *Documentos* 384–385.

81 "Descripción de la ciudad de La Plata, Cuzco y Guamanga, y otros pueblos del Perú", in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Peru*, vol. 11, 49–50.

82 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 4v. She was one of the conquistador's eighteen children. See Davies, *Landowners* 105.

83 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 1r. The person in question was don Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, who later became *corregidor* of the valley of Colca (1596–1600), in the region of Arequipa. See Cook N.D., "The Corregidores of the Colca Valley, Peru: Imperial Administration in an Andean Region", *Anuario de estudios Americanos* 60 (2003) 428.

84 Davies, *Landowners* 84–98, 206.

85 Lavallé B., *Las promesas ambiguas: Criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: 1993); Saint-Lu A., *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatemala* (Paris: 1970).

86 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 300.

secular patron and strengthening their dominion over their *encomiendas* as Christian spaces they had helped create.

Conclusion

During the sixteenth century, the sponsorship of religious institutions furthered the Peruvian *encomenderos'* larger quest for social prestige, as it enabled them to adopt the typical behaviour of devout Spanish nobles. The memory of their patronage of the Jesuits and other religious orders was kept in seventeenth-century printed historical writings by religious chroniclers like the Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha. It contributed to their recognition as the local aristocracy, never really equal to the Spanish nobility and not powerful enough to oppose the Crown's claims of dominion. However, descendants of the Jesuit colleges' benefactors were keen on preserving the rights due to them as heirs.⁸⁷

At a time when the legal status of the *encomenderos* in the Andes was weakening, pious donations allowed them to proclaim their compliance with their royal duty of evangelization and to reinforce their dominion over the Indians of the territory of their *encomiendas*. The pious legacies helped strengthen the ties between a Spanish individual or lineage and Indian villages and territories—ties which could remain in people's minds many decades after the end of the legal link.⁸⁸ As the *encomenderos* sought religious control over the natives, their calls for missions amongst the Indians can be considered strategies of partnering with the Jesuits, since the missions were actually carried out by the fathers.⁸⁹ In return the *encomenderos* were taking part in the Jesuits' strategy of building a Christian missionary space around the Andean cities where they founded their colleges.⁹⁰

87 An example of this is the letter written by the heir of a 1591 benefactor of the Jesuit College of Cuzco, who wonders in 1652 about the fate of the chapel and the privileges belonging to his family after the building of a new Jesuit church. See Fernando de Cartagena's letter to Antonio Vázquez, 1655, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1407/7, fols. 27r–32r.

88 Mercedes del Río has studied the case of a pious legacy left in 1568 by Lorenzo de Aldana, *encomendero* of the native people of the region of Paria, in the southern highlands of the Andes. His testament was falsified a hundred years later and used by native authorities to prove their land claims. See Del Río, "Riquezas y poder" 269–276.

89 Annual Letter, 14 April 1585, in Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 615–616.

90 Maldivsky, *Vocaciones inciertas* 125–206.

If it is still difficult to say whether the *encomenderos'* pursuit of territorial control through pious donations actually reinforced the dependence of the Indians within the *encomiendas*, it certainly had a symbolic outcome. At least it can be asserted that a devout self-fashioning, in part facilitated by the Andean people's conversion to Christianity, strengthened the process of legitimation of the *encomenderos'* power and status as the Catholic Reformation was arriving on the American stage. It thus contributed to a deepening of the religious distance between them and the indigenous neophytes.

(Translated from the French by Stephan Kraitsowits)

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CHAPTER 12

Telling the Untellable: The Geography of Conversion of a Muslim Jesuit

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[...] the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack, from brothel to brothel, it goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens [...]. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates.¹

Ships, dreams, and seas—these are recurring motifs in the remarkable conversion story of Mohammed el-Attaz (1631–1667). Born in 1631 to the king of Fez of the Sa'adian dynasty, Mohammed grew up studying the Qur'an, and was married with three children before turning twenty, at which point he embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca without his father's consent.² While sailing near Tunis,

- 1 Foucault M., "Des espaces autres", *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984) 46–49; English translation by Miskowicz J., "Of Other Spaces", *Diacritics* 16 (1986) 22–27, at 27.
- 2 Given the political instability of the Maghreb, it is often difficult to identify Maghreb genealogies. According to the French historian Henri de Castries, el-Attaz was from a very influential family from the city of Dila. See De Castries H., *Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1922), vol. 11/1, 203–240; idem, "Trois princes marocains convertis au christianisme", in *Mémorial H. Basset. Nouvelles études nord-africaines et orientales* (Paris: 1928) 143–151. According to a study by the Spanish Jesuit Carlos García Goldáraz, who had access to the autograph documents by el-Attaz, he was the son of the king of Fez, of the Saa'dian dynasty. García Goldáraz C., *Un príncipe de Fez Jesuita: Scheih Muhammad Attasi, en religión P. Balthasar Diego Loyola de Mandes (1631–1667): Estudio sobre su ascendencia regia* (Burgos: 1944). See also Lebessou L., "La seconde vie d'un sultan du Maroc", *Etudes* 123 (1910) 488–498; Charles L., *Les Jésuites dans les Etats Barbaresques* (Paris: 1920); Duclos P., "Baldassarre Loyola Mandes", in O'Neill C.E. – Domínguez J.M. (eds.), *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático* (Rome – Madrid: 2001) 2428; "Mendez Balthasar Loyola", in De Backer A. – Sommervogel C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Paris: 1890–1932), vol. v, 882–883; Blunt W., *Black Sunrise: The Life and Time of Mulai Ismail, Emperor of Morocco*,