Scripts of prestige. Handwritten books produced by the colonial elite in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá (1700-1750)

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"I declare that the work in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis."

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Abstract

This research aims to analyse how *letrados* in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá employed handwritten books to enhance and sustain their social status and prestige between 1700 and 1750. Colonial elites established and maintained their social positions through wealth, nobility, land ownership, marriage and services provided to the Crown. Revealingly, Ángel Rama in his work *The Lettered City* considered the "ability to manipulate writing" as the main factor enabling the social advancement of lettered people in largely preliterate societies, yet little is known about the role played by handwritten books in shaping colonial hierarchies. Recent studies have revealed the processes involved in the creation of handwritten documents associated with the colonial bureaucracy, but there are few studies of manuscript books produced by members of the elite besides those made for bureaucratic purposes. *Letrados* negotiated their social status in educational institutions, viceregal palaces, and other places of power through employing the handwritten word. This study examines the material characteristics of a range of manuscript books produced in this process. They show how even when there was a printing press handwritten books were a tool for promoting the status of members of the colonial elite.

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Chapter 1. Penmanship and prestige. The role of handwritten books in enhancing status by colonial elite members

This research aims to analyse how *letrados*[1] in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá employed handwritten books to enhance and sustain their social status and prestige between 1700 and 1750. Colonial elites established and maintained their social positions through wealth, nobility, land ownership, marriage and services provided to the Crown.[2] Revealingly, Ángel Rama in his work *The Lettered City* considered the "ability to manipulate writing" as the main factor enabling the social advancement of lettered people in largely preliterate societies, yet little is known about the role played by handwritten books in shaping colonial hierarchies.[3] Recent studies have revealed the processes involved in the creation of handwritten documents associated with the colonial bureaucracy, but there are few studies of manuscript books produced by members of the elite besides those made for bureaucratic purposes.[4] *Letrados* negotiated their social status in educational institutions, viceregal palaces, and other places of power through employing the handwritten word. This study examines the material characteristics of a range of manuscript books produced in this process.

The study focuses on the period between 1700 and 1750 when colonial elites considered bureaucratic careers as the main path to enhancing power, respect and social advancement. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cities of Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá went through a period of political and administrative turmoil when many colonial structures changed due to the arrival of the Bourbons on the Spanish throne. According to Francisco Eissa Barroso, the early Bourbon period – the first sixteen years of the eighteenth century – was a period in which ideas and actors that

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[1] Kathryn Burns defines *letrados* as individuals who knew Latin and had a degree in Law, differentiating them from *escribanos,* who learned to read and write inside of the notaries and did not belong necessarily to a colonial elite. Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham [NC] ; London: Duke University Press, 2010).

[2] Magnus Mörner, 'Economic Factors and Stratification in Colonial Spanish America with Special Regard to Elites', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983): 335–69; James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-60: Social History / James Lockhart.*, 2 ed. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Linda A. Newson, *Making Medicines in Early Colonial Lima, Peru: Apothecaries, Science and Society* (Brill, 2017).

[3] Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham, North Carolina; London: Duke University Press, 1996), 24.

[4] Kathryn Burns, 'Notaries, Truth, and Consequences', *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (4 January 2005): 350–79; Burns, *Into the Archive*; José R. Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005).

had emerged in the last decades of the seventeenth century became dominant.[5] One of the most significant economic and political changes introduced by the Bourbons was the creation of a third viceroyalty. The Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was meant to control a territory that had been hitherto neglected by Lima and the Crown. As a consequence, contraband trade and the presence of other European colonial powers had become a major economic and security threat for the colonial authorities.[6] The new viceroyalty was supposed to protect commerce between the colonies and the metropolis from foreign attacks and support the *Proyecto para galeones*.[7] Between 1700 and 1720 the viceroyalty of Peru fell into a deep crisis that affected every aspect of economic, political and demographic life. In addition, the lack of an "active and coherent" government in the first quarter of the century aggravated the situation.[8] This instability in the viceregal government may have been the reason why print production appears to have decayed in Lima and was delayed in Santa Fe de Bogotá.[9]

The written culture of Spanish American colonies encompassed both printed and hand-written materials.[10] Colonial authors preferred to have their books printed since this generally enabled them to be circulated more widely and more quickly and thereby potentially brought them more prestige. At this time, authors also saw the printed text as a way of making a living, enhancing their position as members of the elite or earning fame as writers. The historian of the printing press in Spain, D.W. Cruickshank, states that by the seventeenth century, writers were able to make a living

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[5] Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso, *The Spanish Monarchy and the Creation of the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717-1739): The Politics of Early Bourbon Reform in Spain and Spanish America* (Brill, 2017), 10.

[6] Adrian Pearce, *Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America 1700-1763* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 90; Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society, and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 195.

[7] Pearce, *Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America 1700-1763*, 90.

[8] Ibid., 28.

[9] According to historians Otero Muñoz and Medina, Jesuits established the first printing press in Santa Fe de Bogotá between the years of 1735 and 1739. However, this workshop only produced small books for prayers and minor loose leaves. It was only until 1777 that major efforts were done to build a more appropriate printing workshop for the city under the ruling of the Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores. Gustavo Otero Muñoz, *Historia del periodismo en Colombia*, 3 ed., Biblioteca Aldeana de Colombia, no. 61 (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, S.A., 1936); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Bogotá (1739-1821): Notas Bibliográficas* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904).

[10] The term 'written culture' refers to the different objects and practices involved in the production and circulation of texts. This study follows Roger Chartier's approach to written culture. This author proposes that the material dimension of writing and the forms it produced contributed to the literary and social value of texts. Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

out of patronage and revenues from publication.[11] Nonetheless, during this period, the printing industry in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá struggled. In the case of Lima, the production of printed books was complicated by a shortage of material resources, such as movable types, ink and paper, while in Santa Fe de Bogotá the delay in the creation and establishment of the viceroyalty – which was necessary for issuing a license to print – affected the opening of the first printing shop in Nueva Granada.[12] The colonial elite frequently opted to print books and public communications in Spain or locally in the case of Lima, but where these options did not exist, for practical or financial reasons, handwritten books might also have been circulated, including in places of power, such as the viceregal court. As a consequence, the handwritten practices employed by colonial elites occupied an important place in building and negotiating power between colonial elite members and the colonial authorities.

Colonial elites were part of a complex social structure imposed by Europeans since the beginning of the colonial period. This organization privileged the control of land. The two main viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru, inherited this political structure created "for the government of the medieval Catalan-Aragonese Empire in the Mediterranean."[13] Spanish society was based on medieval ideas of nobility, the separation between Christians, Jews and Muslims, and the existence of corporatist or functional groups. Nonetheless, the lack of control by the Crown and the excessive power of the first *conquistadores* lead the metropolis to develop a social structure to protect the indigenous population from the abuse by *encomenderos*, control the use of Indian labour and bring about its Christianisation.[14] The separation between a *república de indios* and a *república de españoles* did not last long and soon indigenous

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[11] It is possible that, in the case of the Spanish American colonies, authors were only able to benefit from the profits of printed publications until the nineteenth century. D. W. Cruickshank, '"Literature" and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain', *Modern Humanities Research Association* 73, no. 4 (1978): 800.

[12] It is probable that a correlation existed between the spreading of the printing press in Spanish American colonies and the installation of the viceroyalties. As it has been acknowledged by the historian on the printing press in Mexico, Kenneth Ward, publishing required the license of the viceroy. Printing presses in other cities than the capitals of the viceroyalties did extra efforts to fulfil the legality of their production by sending books for licensing to the cities of Mexico or Lima during most of the colonial period, while the workshops founded in these two cities would have enjoyed better working conditions. Kenneth C. Ward, '"Mexico, Where They Coin Money and Print Books:" The Calderón Dynasty and the Mexican Book Trade, 1630-1730.' (Austin, The University of Texas at Austin, 2013), 75.

[13] J. H. (John Huxtable) Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*, Kindle edition (Yale University Press, 2006), sec. 2253.

[14] Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

people and Spaniards, alongside with black communities, gave birth to a society of castes defined by an intense process of *mestizaje*.[15]

In this evolving social structure, a person's position was based on their *calidad*. As historian Robert McCaa notes *calidad* was

> typically expressed in racial terms (e.g., indio, mestizo, español), [and] in many instances was an inclusive impression reflecting one's reputation as a whole. Colour, occupation, and wealth might influence one's *calidad*, as did purity of blood, honour, integrity, and even place of origin.[16]

Other historians similarly argue that the labels of the society of castes, such as *blanco, mestizo, mulato, zambo,* etc., also considered other elements. Richard Boyer, for example, argues that *calidad* encompassed an individual's additional characteristics, such as, occupation, patronage links and even gender configurations such as manliness and, in the case of women, control over sexual behaviour.[17] Boyer examines how individuals were described in legal documents produced by elites and bureaucrats, showing how racial labels were part of a social structure based on the ideas of worth and precedence.[18] Members of the elite were not immune to the consequences of caste descriptions and many of them sought to protect and enhance their own position by preserving their reputation.

Other approaches to understanding the social structure in Spanish America indicate that corporatism played an important role.[19] Corporatism "is the tradition of rule through corporate bodies, the institutionalized representation of politically significant groups."[20] In this system, elites are part of these ruling institutions that control the social order and provide stability and harmony.[21] According to Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, part of corporatism was the administration of privileges, usually

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[15] Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, sec. 3052.

[16] Robert McCaa, 'Calidad, Clase, and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788-90', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (1984): 477–501.

[17] Richard Boyer, 'Negotiating Calidad: The Everyday Struggle for Status in Mexico', *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1 March 1997): 64.

[18] Ibid., 69.

[19] Fred Bronner, 'Elite Formation in Seventeenth-Century Peru', *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe*, no. 24 (1978): 3–26; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Racial, Religious, and Civic Creole Identity in Colonial Spanish America', *American Literary History* 17, no. 3 (2005): 420–37; Pablo Rodríguez Jiménez, 'Sangre y mestizaje en la América Hispánica', *Anuario colombiano de historia social y de la cultura*, no. 35 (2008): 279–310; Marta Zambrano, 'Ilegitimidad, cruce de sangres y desigualdad: Dilemas del porvenir en Santa Fe colonial', in *El peso de la sangre*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher, Bernd Hausberger, and Max S. Hering Torres, 1st ed., Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispánico (Colegio de Mexico, 2011), 251–82.

[20] Lon S. Felker, 'The Iberian Administrative Legacy', *Public Administration Quarterly* 27, no. 1/2 (2003): 89.

[21] Michael J. Hogan, 'Corporatism', *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990): 154.

granted by the king. Hence the hierarchy was based on the position that the individual or corporation occupied in relation to the monarch. In this respect, the society was still based on the ideals of nobility, the power of which whose emerged from the courts that were created across the Empire. Each time a viceroy was appointed, the functionary "found himself at the centre of a court where the etiquette and ritual replicated in microcosm those of the royal court in Madrid. As in Madrid, there was a palace guard to protect him."[22] Courts were, at the same time, centres of power and places of cultural production. Around the viceroys, poets, musicians, artisans, architects, sculptors and intellectuals gathered in search of the benefits of royal patronage.

The flux of power extended from the courts to other cities and towns established across the Empire. Historians such as Francisco Eissa-Barroso, Pedro Cardim and Tamar Herzog have proposed that early modern states could be understood as "many different interlinked centers which interacted not only with the king but also among themselves, thus actively participating in forging the polity."[23] Courts were probably one of many institutions involved in this 'multi-centered' political organisation, that included the *reales audiencias* and *cabildos*. However, the presence of a viceroy, ergo a viceregal court, in one city contributed to the enhancement of the status of that centre in relation to those that were not viceregal capitals. As a consequence, moving up the urban hierarchy was a process accompanied by tensions and conflicts between major cities.[24] This was probably the case between Santa Fe de Bogotá and Cartagena when the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was created.

In the case of Lima, James Lockhart indicates that, in the sixteenth century, the Peruvian elite was connected to the court of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Seville. Throughout this period, different viceroys made periodic efforts to create a court in Lima, as a place where power and culture were promoted and exerted in the same way as around the king in Madrid. These efforts took the form of promoting a courtly culture among the people close to the viceroy through ceremonies and events such as

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[22] Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, sec. 2279.

[23] Pedro Cardim quoted by Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso, *The Spanish Monarchy and the Creation of the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717-1739)*, 13.

[24] Ibid., 14.

academies, funerals, royal celebrations, etc.[25] The aim of promoting a courtly culture in Lima at the beginning of the seventeenth century shows a change in the idea of nobility. The prestige and status gained through military expeditions and land ownership – which were particularly important at the beginning of the colonial period – were no longer the only way to be worthy of royal favour. The institution of the *encomienda* was in decline by 1630 and the period of great conquests had already come to an end.[26] The second half of this century saw a new type of nobility based on the holding of colonial office that could, in turn, bring status. In his *Universidad y sociedad en la España moderna*, Richard Kagan describes the creation of a corps of bureaucrats. He stresses the key role of universities in building the human resource that would support the functioning of the colonial state through a system of *prebendas y honores*.[27] Other authors such as John Elliot and Fred Bonner have argued that, along with colonial universities, the system of patronage and the colonial government's improvisation contributed to making posts in colonial administration desirable to the colonial elite.[28]

James Lockhart has identified a group of professionals who occupied colonial administrative positions. In his study of Peruvian society between 1532 and 1560, he argues that members of this community could be divided into three subdivisions: representatives from the church, law and medicine. Each one of these bodies had an upper and lower stratum. Lawmakers, doctors and members of the clergy with academic titles granted by a university belonged to the upper level, while men who learned their skills in grammar schools or through an apprenticeship had their place in the lower one. The population of the upper colonial elite will be the focus of this research because their use of script extended beyond their official tasks and into the social realm of the colonial elite. This last dimension of the script makes it possible to

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[25] Pilar Latasa, 'Transformaciones de una elite: El nuevo modelo de nobleza de letras en el Perú (1590-1621)', in *Élites urbanas en Hispanoamerica (de la conquista a la independencia)*, ed. Luis Navarro García (Sevilla: Secretariado de publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 413–33, http://dadun.unav.edu/handle/10171/6119.

[26] Fred Bronner, 'Peruvian Encomenderos in 1630: Elite Circulation and Consolidation', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 4 (1977): 633–59.

[27] Richard L Kagan, José Antonio Maravall, and Luis Toharia, *Universidad y sociedad en la España moderna* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1981); Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'Pureza, prestigio y letras en la Lima colonial: El conflicto entre el Colegio de San Martín y el Colegio Real de San Felipe y San Marcos (1590-1615)', in *El peso de la sangre*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher, Bernd Hausberger, and Max S. Hering Torres, 1st ed. (Colegio de Mexico, 2011), 137–68.

[28] J. H Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (NY: St. Martins, 1963); Bronner, 'Elite Formation in Seventeenth-Century Peru', 12.

see how the handwritten text could be used to enhance status. Knowledge about writing gathered during the education of colonial elite members allowed them to move comfortably across secular and ecclesiastical institutions. According to Lockhart, "all professionals wrote their books, treatises, ordinances, and protests, when they were of any length, in the same capitular style; not even the chroniclers could divest themselves of the eternal *Item*."[29]

In the case of the colonial elite, the objects of the literacy culture were symbols of distinction that limited access to the minority who knew how to write and read. This, however, does not imply that information did not circulate outside the boundaries of the colonial lettered elite, but rather that control over the production of written objects was mostly located in their hands. The script, handwritten or printed, shared common spaces with speech and images, tools usually employed to address the illiterate population; they were not different types of media, but they worked together to disseminate information across different social groups.

Beyond the idea of the script as a symbol of status, the outcomes of the lettered culture played an important role in negotiations, alliances and conflicts among local elites and between them and the Crown. The local elites saw in some literacy products the means to enhance their position in the colonial hierarchy, fulfil their duties as representatives of the monarch, promote their names as producers of literary texts, treatises or sermons. The handwritten word thus became central to the struggles for power inside of the colonial elite. As Ángel Rama has argued, writing was one of the key features of the predominance of the *letrados* over other social groups, but at the same time, it was a tool for participating more actively in the rituals and ceremonies of power.

In Spanish America manuscript books were not the only objects that granted or helped members of the colonial elite to improve their social standing. A countless number of papers conveyed power and reputation. Particular mention should be made of the *relaciones de méritos* and *cartas de probanza*. The former "emerged from Iberian courtly and medieval understandings of mutual obligations."[30] The relationship between the king and the nobility was bound by agreements of reciprocity in which favours and services were properly rewarded. In the late medieval period,

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[29] Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-60*, 56–57.
[30] Murdo J. McCleod, 'Self-Promotion: The Relaciones de Méritos y Servicios and their Historical and Political Interpretation', *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 26.

relaciones de méritos recompensed the services and efforts of nobles in the fight against Moors and Jews; in Spanish America, this instrument was used by soldiers when reporting on their battles and campaigns, by government officials as evidence of their role in *juntas* and *residencias,* and by clerics asking for rewards for their religious services and as teachers.[31]

Developing a bureaucratic career and participating in military campaigns offered possible paths to members of the colonial elite wishing to climb the social ladder. *Relaciones de méritos*, whether manuscript or printed, aimed to glorify these services. Furthermore, these texts were part of the bureaucratic process and frequently followed legal formulas. However, historians such as Ann Stoler, Kathryn Burns and Felipe E. Ruan point out that "document making was like chess: full of gambits, scripted moves, and countermoves."[32] The production of texts through negotiations between petitioners and *escribanos* are, however, not considered in this thesis. Epistolary production is another type of document that could provide information about improving social standing through the handwritten word. Letters circulated widely across Spanish America; an examination of these can help scholars to trace elite networks across the Empire and the patronage system. In recent years, the postal system has become the subject of studies about the history of communication in the early modern period.[33]

This study focuses on manuscript books with unique graphic and material characteristics. A study of material characteristics of books could involve tracing the provenance of the object, analysing the types of paper, bindings and inks employed in their making, or examining the practices of bookmaking, etc. The handwritten books analysed in this dissertation exist due to the interest of institutions and members of the colonial elite in acquiring prestige. The definition of a manuscript book that is used as a form of communicating status departs from the traditional understanding of a book. According to the Diccionario de autoridades, a book was "el volumen de papel, cosido y cubierto de pergamíno o otra cosa."[34] The early modern period inherited the medieval codex (gatherings of sheets of paper, tables of wood, wax or other materials

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[31] Ibid., 34–35.

[32] Felipe E. Ruan, 'The Probanza and Shaping a Contesting Mestizo Record in Early Colonial Peru', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 94, no. 5 (28 May 2017): 868.

[33] Nelson Fernando González Martínez, 'Communiquer l'empire : L'administration du courrier dans le monde atlantique hispano-americain (1501-1768)' (Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), 2018), http://mondes-americains.ehess.fr/index.php?511.

[34] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1734.

bound together) as the dominant idea of a book, which even continues until modern times. However, handwritten books employed to earn status conveyed the idea of prestige through their material characteristics. This dissertation considers these books as material objects in the first place and in the second, as sources of information about the practices, individuals, and processes involved in their production. The analysis of the sources in this thesis will be focus on tracing the system of patronage, the practices involved in making handwritten books, and the graphic characteristics of manuscript books for earning status. They also reveal the interaction between the Crown and colonial elites and the role of literary production in earning prestige under the Bourbons.

As previously noted, during the early modern period, except for a few centres in New Spain (México, Puebla and Guatemala), other cities in Spanish America, such as Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá, faced considerable difficulties in keeping their printing presses running continuously or even in establishing centres of print production.[35] Yet these circumstances did not prevent authors from having their works printed because many were produced and distributed elsewhere, often passing through the transatlantic networks of religious orders, friends and family.[36] In most cases, printing a book in the colonies was a challenging task, and in many cases handwriting became a legitimate means to 'publish' in Spanish America. Traditionally, scholars have seen handwritten texts as objects for private consumption, but recent research by scholars such as Fernando Bouza and David Hall have shown that some handwritten books circulated widely across communities and could reach distant audiences.[37]

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[35] The printing press arrived in Mexico in 1539, while in Lima it was only possible to find a printing press in 1585. Puebla was the third city to establish a printing workshop in the seventeenth century. The third viceroyalty had its first printing press built in Santa Fe de Bogotá by 1738, and other cities of the Empire such as Caracas, Habana and Santiago de Chile had printing workshops by the second half of the eighteenth century. Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); José Toribio Medina, Guillermo Feliú Cruz, and José Zamudio Zamora, *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1958); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)* (Santiago de Chile: Impreso y grabado en casa del autor, 1904).

[36] José Luis Guevara Salamanca, *La fábrica del hombre: Historias de viajes y usos de los libros del Nuevo Reino de Granada en el Siglo XVII*, 1st ed. (Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2015).

[37] Hugh Amory, David D. Hall, and American Antiquarian Society, eds., *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, A History of the Book in America, v. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); David D. Hall, *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England*, Kindle edition (University of Pennsylvania Press, n.d.); Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, *Corre manuscrito: Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons / Ediciones de Historia, 2001); Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, *Palabra e imagen en la corte: Cultura oral y visual de la nobleza en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Abada Editores, 2003).

This research approaches the study of handwritten practices that the colonial elite employed in maintaining and building their status from the perspective of the material production of literacy objects. It will be shown that the focus on handwriting practices provides an insight into the production of the script, the employment of images and the participation of speech in the circulation of information. In the field of book studies, this rich manuscript material culture has been examined by authors such as Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, David Hall, Fernando Bouza, Antonio Castillo and Harold Love, who have identified different dynamics involved in the production of different types of handwritten materials.[38] Their studies have focused largely on medieval and early modern Europe and have been aimed at assessing the changes brought about by the creation of the printing machine of movable types, and indicating the importance of long-lasting scribal traditions.

This study follows the existing contributions made by scholars in book studies in exploring the material production of handwritten books and the purposes to which they were put. This approach also seeks to link their material production with the rituals and places in which the texts were made. Most of the handwritten sources analysed in this research allow access to information that is lost when texts are printed. In order to make a printed book, a manuscript text went through different stages of preparation, such as: fulfilling the censorship requirements and adjusting the text to the typographical space and layout. In the case of manuscript production, it is possible to identify different stages of preparation of the text through its graphic and visual

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[38] Roger Chartier and Lydia G. Cochrane, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2014); Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure*; Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin, eds., *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1997); Armando Petrucci, *Public Lettering: Script, Power, and Culture* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Armando Petrucci, *Alfabetismo, escritura, sociedad*, 1ª ed, (Lea ; 14) (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999); Armando Petrucci, Albinia Catherine de la Mare, and Charles Radding, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture* (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 1995); Robert Darnton, *El coloquio de los lectores* (México, D.F.: FCE - Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016); Fernando Jesús Bouza, 'Para qué imprimir. De autores, público, impresores y manuscritos en el Siglo de Oro.', *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 18 (1 January 1997): 31; Bouza Alvarez, *Palabra e imagen en la corte*; Bouza Alvarez, *Corre manuscrito*; Antonio (Castillo Gómez) Castillo, *La conquista del alfabeto: Escritura y clases populares* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2002); Antonio Castillo, *Escrituras y escribientes: Prácticas de la cultura escrita en una ciudad del Renacimiento* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Gobierno de Canarias: Fundación de Enseñanza Superior a Distancia de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1997); Antonio Castillo and Verónica Sierra Blas, *Letras bajo sospecha : Escritura y lectura en centros de internamiento* (Gijón, Asturias: Ediciones Trea, 2005); Hall, *Ways of Writing*; Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

qualities. For this reason, an exploration of manuscript production illuminates additional aspects belonging to the processes of production and preparations of texts when compared to the printed page, which traditionally has been understood as the final version.

1.1. Studying colonial elite's handwritten Culture. Contributions and limitations of recent research in Spanish American book studies

Studying the handwritten practices among the *letrados* in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá requires an examination of previous efforts in three major fields: book studies, literacy studies and studies in colonial education. The first has become, in global terms, a prolific and autonomous field of study that encompasses different aspects of written culture. Through a review of studies in book history in Spanish America, it will be shown how this field has focussed on printing press production and neglected the role played by manuscript production and the demand for handwritten materials. Second, literacy studies have been interested in the knowledge, practices and forms acquired by writing in concrete times and places. The focus of most studies of literacy in Spanish America has been on the distinction between Western and native scripts, leaving the topic of the diverse uses of Western script by local elites during the colonial period almost untouched. Finally, studies of colonial education have aimed to identify the factors that have shaped the written culture of the period by examining colonial education practices. This review will illustrate how the focus of book studies has been on the printed book, and how there is a need to address handwriting production as a mechanism by which the colonial elite could enhance their status.

1.1.1. Book studies in Spanish American colonies. A half-told history of the written culture

The focus on printed texts has shaped studies of the book in Spanish America. By analysing the books produced by printing presses, historians of the book have provided a thorough understanding of the trade networks and printing practices in some of the main Spanish American cities. Once Spanish colonial societies were established in the New World, they looked to Europe in search of resources to help them continue their mission of transforming places, communities, and nature into forms with which they

were familiar. Books were among the most indispensable artefacts for this enterprise, as they contained the knowledge necessary to drive the endeavour forward and were a symbol of the technological and intellectual supremacy of Europeans over native people.

This approach assumed that the production of books and other written objects was mostly done in Europe, creating the idea that knowledge and information travelled mainly from there to America. It is therefore important to take a closer look at how this circulation of books has been narrated over the years in Latin America and the nature of the studies that investigate the production of printed books, in order to understand the trends, topics, and methodologies that have influenced this perspective. This will, in turn, demonstrate how a focus on the printed materials has described only one part of the intense flow of papers, books and other written materials amongst the colonies, and between them and the metropolis. Studies on the history of the book for the early modern period in Spanish America has focused on the production and the circulation of printed texts through the trading networks, whilst neglecting the circulation of handwritten books outside of the market and paying little attention to their physical form.

1.1.1.1. The trade and circulation of printed books

The circulation of books has been studied mainly through trade in books. However, trade represents only one way in which books circulated as commodities since it excludes books that were borrowed, stolen or gifted. For example, in the case of New France, a former French colony in North America, François Melançon has identified three networks through which books arrived in this colony: "the merchant network, the institutional network and the private network."[39] These three orders of circulation assume that all books were commodities, when in fact only the merchant network required the exchange of money for goods. The other two are defined by particular social relations. This discussion is important because it takes for granted the idea that books were made to be sold, paying little attention to other kinds of circulation that could be related to struggles for power or status.

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[39] François Melançon, 'Print and Manuscript in French Canada under the Ancien Régime', in *Books between Europe and the Americas. Connections and Communities, 1620-1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 94.

In the case of Spanish America, studies have not made this distinction in part because the sources rarely say how books were obtained. The focus of attention has been on how trade served as a mechanism for the implantation of European ideas in the New World so that historians have looked at the books shipped to America and stored in libraries. Natalia Maillard has described this approach by quoting *Books of the Brave. Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*.

> Books, whatever their subject, were a potent instrument towards the westernisation of America, since they were pieces of European culture directly implanted in the New World. Similarly they were intensively used for the evangelisation of the indigenous people, making the production (often in local printing presses) of catechisms, glossaries and grammatical treatises in American languages a common feature. As colonial society and institutions took shape, the demand for books, mostly imported for Europe, increased.[40]

Following Irving Leonard, she highlights the importance of religious books and grammars, and the colonies' dependence on European book production. These studies tell one side of the relations between American and Europe, where during the early modern period Spanish American territories were the main suppliers of bullion to Western Europe and, in exchange, received European manufactures.[41] Most of these goods were not made in Spain, for manufacturing industries were not well developed there.[42] This inflow of manufactures from other European countries facilitated the circulation of books from regions beyond Spain's borders to the Americas.[43] For example, in the seventeenth century, the Sarria family, a family of booksellers and merchants, imported books produced in centres such as Lyon, Venice, Paris, Rome, Antwerp and Madrid through Seville, Lisbon and Amsterdam.[44]

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[40] Natalia Maillard Alvarez, 'Italian Literature in the Hispanic World during the Early Modern Period (Seville and Mexico City)', in *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 122–23.

[41] However, the pattern of trading that crossed the Pacific Ocean and linked South Eastern Asia with New Spain and Lima has been noticed by economic historians Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Plata del Perú y riqueza de Europa* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004).

[42] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 87.

[43] "Some 94 percent of the value of all goods shipped to America in Spain's famous convoys of *flotas* and *galeones* in the late seventeenth century consisted of non-Spanish goods; 40 percent of the exports via Cádiz were French in origin". Ibid.

[44] Ulrike Valeria Fuss, 'Books and Book Trade as Trigger of the Global Modernity', *EREBEA. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales* 2, no. 2 (2012): 240.

Studies of book circulation in Spanish America effectively began with Irving Leonard's *Books of the Brave*.[45] This study provides the context for understanding how the word *conquistador* had been used to counter perceptions of Spanish rule proposed by the "leyenda negra" or Black Legend. Other historians after Leonard, often worked with similar sources, though their purposes were different. For them, challenging the idea of the Black Legend that accompanied the term conquistador was no longer a historical problem. Instead, they were more interested in describing the process of "implantation" of the European culture in Spanish America and the cultural needs of the newly formed society and colonial elites. Some of the main representatives of this trend are Carlos Alberto González Sánchez,[46] Pedro Rueda[47] and Guillermo Lohmann.[48] Other historians who have not been so interested in the book trade, but who, instead, explore other topics related with book circulation are:

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[45] This book published in 1949 has been quoted continuously and has been republished including in an open access online digital version by the University of California. This is the internet address for the online and open access version of *Books of the Brave*: http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft1f59n78v&chunk.id=d0e2218&toc.depth=1 &toc.id=&brand=ucpress

[46] Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Repatriacion de capitales del Virreinato del Perú en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Banco de España, 1991); Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Los mundos del libro: Medios de difusión de la cultura occidental en las Indias de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 1a reimpresión. (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla : Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2001); Carlos-Alberto González-Sánchez, 'El libro y la carrera de Indias: Registro de ida de navíos', *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 72, no. 220 (1989): 93–104; Carlos Alberto González González Sánchez, 'La cultura del libro en el Virreinato del Perú en tiempos de Felipe II', *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (2000): 62–79; Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, 'El comercio de libros entre Europa y América en la Sevilla del siglo XVI: Impresores, libreros y mercaderes', *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 3 (2 September 2014): 439–65; Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, 'Emigrantes y comercio de libros en el Virreinato del Perú', *Historica* XXI, no. 2 (1997): 171–205; Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, 'Los libros de los españoles en el Virreinato del Perú, siglos XVI y XVII', *Revista de Indias* 56, no. 206 (30 April 1996): 7–47; Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Enriqueta Vila Vilar, eds., *Grafías del imaginario: Representaciones culturales en España y América (Siglos XVI-XVIII)*, 1 ed., Sección de Obras de Historia (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003).
[47] Pedro Rueda, ed., *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica*, Biblioteca litterae 26 (Madrid: Calambur, 2012); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'La circulación de libros entre el viejo y el nuevo mundo en la Sevilla de finales del siglo XVI y comienzos del siglo XVII', *Cuadernos de historia moderna*, no. 22 (1999): 79–105; Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'Las rutas del libro atlántico: Libros enviados en el navío de Honduras (1557-1700)', *Anuario de estudios americanos* 64, no. 2 (2007): 61–86; Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2005); Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica* (Madrid: Calambur Editorial, 2012).
[48] Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Plata del Perú, riqueza de Europa* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Los libros españoles en Indias," *Arbor* II, no. 6 (1944): 221–49; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Libros, libreros y bibliotecas en la época colonial," *Fénix, Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* 21 (1971): 17–24.

Pedro Guibovich Pérez,[49] who has worked profusely on censorship; Anne Cayuela,[50] who has been more interested in the history of literature and publishing; and D.W. Cruickshank,[51] who has focused on textual criticism and studies on literary works. Studies of the trade in books in Spanish America show how commerce met the demand for printed books, but an investigation into the production of the handwritten word will require an examination of other practices involved in book circulation.

1.1.1.2. The printing press and journalism

The history of the printing press and journalism are topics that have been of common interest to book historians writing in the context of Spanish America. These two topics have been widely studied and been employed to answer questions arising from the fields of intellectual history and political history.[52] The relationship between these two areas is based, first, on the relationship between the printing press and the circulation of knowledge in the Enlightenment, especially in journals and magazines during the second half of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century. Second, it has been argued that the printing press increased the circulation of information through the publication of "avisos", "noticias" and other "papeles", which have been taken to be the origin of journalism in Spanish America. For some Latin American countries, there is a particularly strong relationship between the history of journalism and the history of the printing press. In the case of the viceroyalty of Peru and Nueva Granada, it is possible to see paradigmatic cases such as the *Mercurio*

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[49] Pedro Guibovich Pérez, 'Libros para ser vendidos en el Virreinato del Perú fines del siglo XVI', *Bira*, no. 13 (July 2014): 85–114.

[50] Anne Cayuela, *Alonso Pérez de Montalbán: Un librero en el Madrid de los Austrias*, 1a ed. (Madrid: Calambur, 2005).

[51] Cruickshank, '"Literature" and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain'.

[52] Renán Silva, *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada, 1760-1808: Genealogía de una comunidad de interpretación* (Bogotá?]: Banco de la República, 2002); Mauricio Nieto Olarte, *Orden natural y orden social: Ciencia y política en el Semanario del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, Estudios sobre la ciencia 43 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007); Jean-Pierre Clement, 'L'apparition de la presse periodique en Amerique espagnole: Le cas du Mercurio peruano', in *L'Amerique espagnole a l'epoque des lumieres* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), 273–86; Adam Sharman, 'Towards a Literary Public Sphere: The Mercurio Peruano, Lima, 1791', *Hispanic Research Journal* 18, no. 4 (2017): 306–19; Rosa Zeta Quinde, *El pensamiento ilustrado en el Mercurio peruano 1791-1794* (Piura: Universidad de Piura, 2000); Sebastián Wierny, 'Reivindicación histórica y natural de los criollos ilustrados en el Mercurio peruano: El despertar de una "conciencia de sí" en el Perú del siglo XVIII', *Tinkuy: Boletín de investigación y debate*, no. 14 (2010): 95–104.

Peruano (published between 1790 and 1795), and *El Papel Periódico de Santafé de Bogotá* (1791-1797).[53]

The link between the printing press and journalism in Spanish America was strong. The political and economic ideas during the Enlightenment were promoted mostly by the production of small size periodicals and leaflets that were suitable for the Spanish American colonial printing presses that suffered from shortages of printing equipment, such as fonts, paper or printing machine spare parts. These small publications were certainly easier to produce than larger projects such as books.[54] By the end of the colonial period news was probably published in short pieces that could be between 8 to 32 pages (from one to four sheets of paper each one folded twice), such as "«cartas» y «diálogos», las disertaciones teológicas, históricas, jurídicas, y de otras […] añádase el conjunto de los textos polémicos sobre cualquier asunto, religioso, filosófico, científico, literario, teniendo en cuenta que tantos panfletos, sátiras, libelos".[55] The production of booklets and unbound leaves did not depend on the availability of printing presses but traditionally may have been written by hand.

Given the relationship between printed and handwritten texts, it is worth examining further studies that have been conducted on the topic of the printing press in Spanish America. A prominent scholar of the printing press is José Toribio Medina. His works, based on the compilation of documents and a positivist writing of the history, focus on the establishment, spread, regulation and production of printing presses throughout Latin America.[56] Both Medina and the Argentinian José Torre

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[53] *L'Amérique espagnole a l'epoque des lumières: Tradition-innovation-representations: Colloque Franco-Espagnol Du CNRS, 18-20 Septembre 1986* (Paris: CNRS, 1987).

[54] Fernando Bouza has taken some steps forward with regard to the analysis of the publication and circulation of news in Spain in his book *Papeles y opinión. Políticas de publicación en el Siglo de Oro*, yet, there are still more questions that should be addressed about the role played by "papeles" in the circulation of information. Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, *Papeles y opinión: Políticas de publicación en el Siglo de Oro*, Monografías 33 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008).

[55] François López, 'Libros y papeles', *Bulletin hispanique* 99, no. 1 (1997): 296.

[56] José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)* (Santiago de Chile: Impreso y grabado en casa del autor, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *Bibliografía de la imprenta en Santiago de Chile. Desde sus orígenes hasta febrero de 1817*, Ed. facsimilar (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1961); José Toribio Medina, *Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en el antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata*, Historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en la América española, pt. 2 (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Bogotá (1739-1821): Notas bibliográficas* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en la Habana, 1707-1810, Notas bibliográficas.* (Santiago de Chile, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Guadalajara de México, 1793-1821, Notas bibliográficas.* (Santiago de Chile, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Caracas, 1808-1821, Notas bibliográficas.* (Santiago de Chile, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México, Epitome, 1539-1810.* (Sevilla, 1893); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Quito, 1760-1818, Notas bibliográficas.* (Santiago de Chile, 1904); José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Arequipa, El Cuzco, Trujillo, y otros pueblos del Perú durante las*

Revello[57] can be regarded as the founders of this field in Latin American historiography. Their purpose was primarily to contribute to the history of the printing press from a national perspective. Their methodology has been shared by many other historians who have come after them,[58] and it has helped to locate and identify a huge corpus of sources and materials for future research. However, the national framework used in these studies is a limitation when trying to understand the impact of the printing press across Spanish America as a transnational endeavour of corporate religious orders and administrative organisations aimed at transforming the colonies. This is exemplified in the establishment of the eighteenth-century viceroyalties, the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada (1717, 1739) and the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (1776). These new structures of governance were supported by presses that were installed close to the time the viceroyalties were founded. In the case of Nueva Granada, the printing press arrived in Santa Fe de Bogotá between 1735-1739 and, in the case of Río de la Plata, Buenos Aires first printing workshop functioned since 1780.[59]

The cases of Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá illustrate two different experiences of the printing press in the colonial period. In the case of the Ciudad de los Reyes, print production appears to have declined at the beginning of the eighteenth century, probably as a result of the weakened power of the viceroy, who had been one of the main promoters of the printing press, together with a lack of financial support and

campañas de la independencia, 1820-1825, Notas bibliográficas. (Santiago de Chile, 1904); W. E. Retana and José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Filipinas: Adiciones y observaciones a la imprenta en Manila de D. J. T. Medina* (Madrid: Impr. de la viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1897).

[57] Jose Torre Revello, *La imprenta y el Libro en Cataluña (Siglo XV)* (Mexico, D. F.: Club del Libre Catala, 1944); Guillermo Fúrlong Cárdiff and José Torre Revello, *Bibliotecas argentinas durante la dominación hispánica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1944); José Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española: Con ilus. y apéndice documental*, Burt Franklin Research and Source Works Series. Essays in Literature and Criticism, 193 (New York: B. Franklin, 1973); José María Andrés Torre Revello, *Los orígenes de la imprenta en la América española.* (Madrid, 1927); José Torre Revello, *Contribución a la historia y bibliografía de la imprenta en montevideo* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1926); José María Andrés Torre Revello, *Orígenes de la imprenta en España y su desarrollo en América española* (Buenos Aires, 1940).

[58] J. Antonio Campos Q. and Mario Gilberto González R., *Introducción de la imprenta en Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1961); Álvaro Garzón Marthá, *Historia y catálogo descriptivo de la imprenta en Colombia (1738-1810)* (Bogotá, Colombia: [s.n.], 2008); Rodrigo Miró, *La imprenta y el periodismo en Panamá durante el período de la Gran Colombia.* (Panamá: [Editora Panamá América], 1963); Frederick John Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*, The Sandars Lectures in Bibliography 1963 (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1966); Eduardo Posada, *La imprenta en Santa Fé de Bogotá en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Librería general de V. Suárez, 1917); Higuera B. Tarcisio, *La imprenta en Colombia, 1937-1970* ([Bogotá, 1970).

[59] Hortensia Calvo, 'The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America', *Book History* 6, no. 1 (2003): 277–305.

material resources.[60] Meanwhile in Santa Fe de Bogotá, because of the absence of a printing press until the eighteenth century, a stronger and more elaborate handwriting culture may have developed. Hence, manuscript production may have been employed more widely by elite groups in Santa Fe de Bogotá when compared to Lima.

As indicated above, the number of printing workshops increased before the Republican period. The focus on printing press production and the processes of independence created an understanding of the written culture from the perspective of national histories. One way of breaking down the hitherto unquestionable relationship between written culture and national boundaries promoted also by the national histories of literature, is to look for other types of books, such as those which were handwritten. A similar argument is made by Rebecca Earle in her article, "Information and Disinformation in Late Colonial New Granada," in which she traces the circulation of information outside the printed world through an analysis of letters.[61] In handwritten sources, therefore, it might be possible to find other narratives about the production of books that worked beyond the national boundaries. In addition, their stories might provide a closer look into elites' everyday life practices, their local connections and the way they acquired power – aspects that, in the handwritten form, were not subject to the modifications undertaken in printing workshops, or by censors and other forms of 'editing'. One field that has been concerned with manuscript sources in Spanish America is that of literacy studies. The research findings in this field can provide some insights into the nature of manuscript books in the region.

1.1.2. Handwriting and studies of literacy

Studies of literacy in the first two centuries of the colonial period understand the aims of literacy as being part of the dissemination of western beliefs to native American communities and the control of social life in the colonies.[62] Most studies of literacy

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[60] Pearce, *Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America 1700-1763*; Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias que se celebraron en el real palacio de Lima, en el gabinete de D. Manuel de Oms y de Santa Pau, Virrey Del Perú [Manuscrito]* (ca. 1713, n.d.).

[61] Rebecca Earle, 'Information and Disinformation in Late Colonial New Granada', *The Americas* 54, no. 2 (October 1997): 167–84.

[62] Nicholas Cushner presents a comprehensive study on the role of writing in the colonial process in America. According to him, "The linkages between imperialism, culture, and Christianity demonstrate how the agents of one supported the other. The key colonialist ideas of authority and submission were imbedded within the concepts of Spanish Catholicism, a major factor accounting for the different approaches to the native American exhibited by the English, French, and Spanish. Cultural technologies as well as force of arms sustained the colonial empire." Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come*

practices and knowledge have considered the imposition of Western literacies over native systems of writing and beliefs as an exercise in exerting power over indigenous communities. For instance, the work of Serge Gruzinski describes how this 'literate imposition' took place and the process of the *acculturation* of the native population in Mexico.[63] As David Barton argues, from the perspective of linguistics, "we should not lose sight of the fact that [literacy] roles are related to power and that much literacy is learned in relationships of unequal power–those of parent and child, and teacher and teacher and student".[64] This is a major topic in studies of literacy in the context of the Spanish conquest, which involved struggles, conflicts, negotiations and alliances between alphabetic literacies and the indigenous ones. Through a review of these studies, it is possible to see how the emphasis has been placed on the imposition of Western literacies and how there has been a lack of interest in examining the handwritten culture developed from Spanish American colonies.

The negotiations, imposition and conflicts between different literacies at the beginning of the colonial period have been studied by eminent historians such as Rolena Adorno, Joanne Rappaport, Thomas Cummins and Walter Mignolo. A major contribution to scholarship on the literate culture of colonial Spanish America is Rolena Adorno's work on the history of colonial narrative production. She has been interested in revealing the contributions of indigenous cultures to a literary Latin American culture and production of texts. She also analyses the inclusion of European, Native American and African elements in this narrative culture, showing how a "colonial literature" was formed by a mixture of traditions, instead of a one-way imposition.[65] Although this particular trend in literacy studies does not challenge the traditional approach that examines the imposition of alphabetic literacy over indigenous literacies, it does acknowledge the existence of other types of literacies besides the printed text.

Here?: The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2006), 8.

[63] Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Serge Gruzinski and Heather MacLean, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2001).

[64] David Barton, *Literacy: An Introduction to the Ecology of Written Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 42.

[65] Rolena Adorno, *Colonial Latin American Literature: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, *New Studies of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003).

The book *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes*, edited by Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, presents evidence of indigenous involvement in the intellectual and social construction of colonial Spanish America, specifically in the Andes.[66] Contrary to Ángel Rama's *The Lettered City*, it reveals the involvement of indigenous people and other subaltern communities in the production and use of written material. The volume stretches the definition of a written culture by looking into architectural, graphic and oral materials and practices, providing a more complex understanding of colonial literacies. They observe an entanglement of different social groups in the production and circulation of manuscript objects or, in their own words, an "interculture" that takes place in rituals where the handwritten word was used. This approach adopts a wider view of elite literacy in the early colonial period. As a consequence, the diversity of sources unveiled by Rappaport and Cummins provides insights into the tensions between indigenous and Western literacies in texts and visual materials. It also portrays a more complex interaction between colonial elites, in which the native elites played an important role in promoting and spreading the alphabetic script inside their own communities in order to enhance their own status.[67]

A new trend in indigenous literacies and material culture has been opened up recently by Thomas Cummins and others.[68] Their work focuses on the material resources employed in making four manuscript books: the *Galvin Murúa*, the *Getty Murúa*, the *Florentine Codex*, and the *Relación* de Michoacán. They stress the benefits of approaching these books from the combined perspective of book history and material culture. In *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches*, a team headed by Cummins employed different forensic methods designed to find – through an examination of materiality – traces of authorship, material resources, bindings, etc.[69] *Manuscript Cultures* indicates the benefits of working with conservators, anthropologists and historians in examining the material characteristics of handwritten books. Another scholar interested in early colonial

[66] Joanne Rappaport and Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes*, Narrating Native Histories (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), sec. 557.
[67] Ibid., sec. 3880.
[68] Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002); Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998).
[69] Tom Cummins et al., eds., *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches* (Los Angeles, California: Getty Research Institute, 2014).

manuscript production is Gordon Brotherston, who, in his work *Painted Books from Mexico,* analyses native American visual traditions.[70]

Literacy studies of the colonial period have taken new paths leading to a consideration of the social and political history of the colonial period. The central role played by writing in shaping the colonial society can be seen in the construction of a colonial archive studied by Kathryn Burns in *Into the Archive*.[71] This study contributes to the understanding of the handwritten practices associated with notaries who produced most archival materials. Her work demonstrates the different types of practices employed in handwritten production. José R. Jouve Martín also focuses on notaries in *Esclavos de la Ciudad Letrada: Esclavitud, Escritura y Colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)*[72], in this case studying black people who worked as *escribanos*. Further research about the important role that black and mulatto communities played in public displays of power in Lima are evident in Jouve Martín's recent works.[73] These works have opened up a new area for literacy studies in colonial Spanish America by examining the practices, individuals and knowledge behind the making of different types of handwritten texts. This thesis adopts this approach by looking into those practices, but in this case with regard to the efforts of *letrados* in maintaining or enhancing status through handwritten books.

1.1.1   Building the colonial elite. Education for the colonial bureaucracy

As indicated at the beginning of the introduction, through education local elites were able to learn the techniques of writing and how they could be employed in gaining prestige and enhancing their status. Indeed, part of the research on writing practices in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá has been conducted through studies of the history of education. Research on this topic has focussed on the religious orders, which were the main providers of education in the colonial period, including university education. Some historians, like Renan Silva, who focuses on Santa Fe de Bogotá, have proposed that educational institutions were initially created to educate missionaries for the

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[70] Gordon Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico: Codices in UK Collections and the World They Represent* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1995).
[71] Burns, *Into the Archive*.
[72] Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)*.
[73] José R. Jouve Martín, 'Public Ceremonies and Mulatto Identity in Viceregal Lima: A Colonial Reenactment of the Fall of Troy (1631)', *Colonial Latin American Review* 16, no. 2 (1 December 2007): 179–201.

purposes of evangelisation of the native population and for literate people to fill posts in the colonial administration.[74]

Studies on the history of religious education are particularly important for this present research because they show how education remained an elite privilege. Educational institutions enabled students to obtain jobs in the colonial bureaucracy, thereby allowing them to provide service to the Crown, take advantage of *prebendas*, and improve their social standing and honour.[75] Through looking into the materials and products of the colonial classroom it is possible to recover the knowledge about writing that shaped the bureaucratic apparatus and the uses of the script by elites. Chapter Two will deal with some of the practices that were involved in making notebooks and textbooks in schools and universities.

This literature review demonstrates that, in order to understand literacy and authorship, it is necessary to move beyond a history of the book in the context of Spanish American colonies which focused on the printed book, to a study of the role of handwritten materials. Manuscript production of texts opens a door to other types of information about the interests of the colonial elites, the production of texts, the role of copyists and *escribanos* and the circulation of texts. Furthermore, new trends in literacy studies in the Spanish American colonies suggest that behind the handwritten documents were practices and knowledges that need to be analysed and explained. This review has shown how book studies has neglected the handwritten production of books as a source for understanding the elite written culture of the period. Furthermore, even though the colonial elite's monopoly of manuscript production has been widely acknowledged, an examination of the diverse purposes for which handwritten books were used remains a field that still needs to be explored. The following section will introduce a methodological approach to handwriting book production in the colonial period that seeks to address these issues.

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[74] Renán Silva, *Universidad y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: Contribución a un análisis histórico de la formación intelectual de la sociedad colombiana* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1992).
[75] Martín Monsalve Zanatti, 'Del estudio del rosario a la Real y Pontificia Universidad Mayor de San Marcos | Histórica', *Historica* 22, no. 1 (1998): 66; De la Rosa, 'Pureza, prestigio y letras en la Lima colonial: El conflicto entre el Colegio de San Martín y el Colegio Real de San Felipe y San Marcos (1590-1615)', 151.

1.2 Towards a social view of the written word and its practices

In seeking social advancement, the colonial elite produced a considerable variety and quantity of handwritten objects, including manuscript books. When it comes to analysing these materials, it is necessary to consider three main areas: the knowledge about how to write, the meaning handwritten books had for the elite individuals, and the material characteristics of the manuscript books they produced.

1.2.1 Literacy in between the social and material dimensions of the written word

Talking about handwritten book production demands a methodological perspective when considering practices such as writing and reading. Paul Gee has argued that "the ability to read and write takes literacy out of its sociocultural contexts and treats it as an asocial cognitive skill. It cloaks literacy's connections to power, to social identity, and to ideologies, often in the service of privileging certain types of literacy and certain types of people."[76] This also applies to previous literacy studies in colonial Spanish America, where the focus has been on the imposition, through education and evangelisation, of European literacy, which consequently dominated native forms of writing.

Nonetheless, in focusing on sociocultural aspects of literacy, researchers find it impossible to discuss the uses of language in a singular way.[77] Hence, literacy, in the words of Jouve Martín, can be defined not only as "la habilidad de leer y escribir, pero también a los discursos y prácticas en el que estas habilidades tienen sentido y cobran relevancia, así como al conocimiento y dominio de dichos discursos y prácticas."[78] Knowledge and abilities differ in every case producing the historically constructed narratives and practices, which could include spoken or visual languages that are usually excluded from traditional views of literacy.[79] The importance of visual

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[76] James Paul Gee, *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*, 4th ed (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012), 63.

[77] This also relates to Peter Burke's works on the social dimension of language, in which he addresses the diverse faces adopted by this communicative tool from the social groups it inhabits. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, The Wiles Lectures given at the Queens University, Belfast (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds., *Languages and Jargons: Contributions to a Social History of Language* (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1995); Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds., *Language, Self, and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

[78] Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)*, 14.

[79] The word 'language' has different meanings in English, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*. In this text, sometimes it will refer to "The method of human communication, either spoken or written,

language is perceptible in many spaces in colonial Spanish America. Rappaport and Cummins address the uses of images through Diego de Valades' work *Rethorica Christiana*,[80] as shown in the image below (Figure 1.1). This depicts the scene of a priest standing in a church pulpit relating the episode of the Passion of Christ through images hanging from the walls of the building. Other images can be found in manuscript books, at first sight, fulfilling a decorative role, but, on a second view, as an element that links the object to scriptural traditions. As Rappaport and Cummins have argued, "It would be an error to imagine literacy as restricted to the production and reception of alphabetic writing; literacy also includes the visual, which must be understood in relation to the written word."[81] Therefore, the production of images is involved with the script by supporting the messages, addressing other audiences or creating memorable objects related to the stories and narratives worth remembering. Consequently, the image helps us to understand how different audiences view and use forms of literacy.

Figure 1.1. Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia: Petrus jacobus Petrutius, 1579), http://www.smu.edu/Bridwell/SpecialCollectionsandArchives/Exhibitions/WelcomeAdditions/Illustrated/RhetoricaChristiana.

The approach proposed by the New Literacy Studies (NLS), represented in this case by Barton and Gee, goes further than the division of literate and illiterate worlds.

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consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way" and others to "A system of communication used by a particular country or community". In the first case, it refers to the way in which communication takes place and, in the second, to the specific language, Spanish, Portuguese.

[80] Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia: Petrus jacobus Petrutius, 1579), http://www.smu.edu/Bridwell/SpecialCollectionsandArchives/Exhibitions/WelcomeAdditions/Illustrated/RhetoricaChristiana.

[81] Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 2012, sec. 571.

Clearly these two categories do not explain the limits and complexities of the spread of writing and reading. Instead, researchers have come up with a plural definition of literacy in which it is possible to trace the social uses of the script, speech and image. Although, as David Barton argues, it is not possible to present a universally applicable list of fixed literacies that could be applied in every situation, he proposes a list of categories that can help to describe them. Barton portrays literacies in terms of their purposes (imposed or self-generated), institutions (dominant or vernacular), origin (indigenous or imported), autonomy (creative or constrained) and power (domesticating or empowering);[82] and takes into account the domain with which they are associated (house, school, church or work). In this way, it would be feasible to define literacies according to the social context in which they emerge.

In addition, NLS have used other concepts, such as literacy events and literacy practices as methodological tools to enhance an understanding of the actions, knowledge and individuals that are involved in the creation of literacy materials, such as manuscript books. Literacy events "are activities where literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text. Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them."[83] Examples of literacy events in the colonial period include leaving an inheritance, participating in funeral ceremonies or celebrations upon the arrival of a new viceroy, writing letters or circulating manuscript books by copying them.

These events can happen regularly, depending on their autonomy, purposes, origins, the "authors", or the institutions involved. They could be part of the specific routines that give shape to social life, like sacraments, or at the same time be part of the violent responses to changes in fiscal policies. Examples of the former could be sermons delivered at festivities or ceremonies, or the use of emblems in royal public events, such as births, weddings, or funerals. These events follow a pattern and employ a set of carefully chosen texts. Their realisation involves a series of steps or actions that follow an established protocol. Sociolinguists have called these activities *literacy practices*. In the words of David Barton and Mary Hamilton,

> Literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilising written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy. However practices are not observable units of behaviour since they

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[82] Barton, *Literacy*.
[83] David Barton and Mary Hamilton, 'Literacy Practices', in *Situated Literacies: Reading and Writing in Context*, ed. David Barton, Mary Hamilton, and Roz Ivanič (London: Routledge, 2000), 8.

> also involve values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. This includes people's awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy and discourses of literacy, how people talk about and make sense of literacy.[84]

Practices go beyond their realisation into the realms of meaning and value. For example, the rejection of scholasticism by a group of students during the second half of the eighteenth century in Nueva Granada accompanied new practices of communicating knowledge and new types of literacy objects, such as scientific books or printed pamphlets. In the context of this study, a focus on practices facilitates the study of handwritten books made by the colonial elites by raising questions such as: how did people engage with the production of manuscript books?; what were the alliances and oppositions surrounding the literacy practices in places of power?; and, what did writing mean for members of the colonial elite? An example of the creation of a notarial document, described by Katherine Burns in colonial Cuzco, can provide a better picture of the interaction of different agents and purposes in producing a handwritten text. First, a client delivered a paper with a list of abbreviated instructions to one of the boys that worked for the *escribano*. He made a draft or *minuta* in a book reserved only for non-finished documents. Later the final document was written on a loose-leaf of paper, and finally registered and bound in chronological order in a *cuaderno* or *registro*. This process was done under the supervision of an assistant. Copies for the clients were produced by a penman and then signed and authorized by the notary with his signature and seal.[85]

Each one of the stages present a different practice, each demanding a specific knowledge and use of the written word. The first, for instance, requires the client to make an abbreviated list with the instructions, to know where to ask for the creation of the document and how much it will cost. The other three steps are distinguished by the expertise of each member of the notary's office. The boy, probably an apprentice, oversees the fulfilment of the client's demands in a text written following the protocols of the legal colonial language he has learned. The assistant makes sure the document reaches the final stage defined by those protocols. Only at this point can the text be stored and copied so as to be circulated 'publicly' with the seals that grant legitimacy and legality to the paper. In addition, this literacy event shows how the document is subjected to material changes fundamental to understanding its circulation and

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[84] Ibid., 7.
[85] Burns, *Into the Archive*, 82.

storage. Only when the paper is bound can it be properly stored in the sequence of the registry, while for its circulation it had to be separated from others, copied and sealed. The role played by each of the social actors, applicant, *escribano*, and assistant, defines the meaning of the handwritten legal piece. For the applicant, handwriting is the result of service, probably exchanged for currency, and for the others, it is a source of income and a way to exert power by 'diluting' and transforming the voices of the petitioners into the bureaucratic discourses.

The analysis of events and practices helps to provide a social context for the study of literacy. This will be important when studying the role played by handwriting in the production of books related to ceremonies of power, in the actions taken by elite individuals in making manuscript books, and in the training of writing texts according to the conventions of the written culture of the period. However, the approach of NLS lacks an understanding of the material dimension of the handwritten books. Incorporating this element into this study arises from the necessity to examine the significance that these objects had for the people who participated in their production. In this way, it is sometimes possible to recognise how the colonial elite constructed an idea of status and prestige through handwritten texts.

1.2.2   Understanding literacy materials. Meanings and values of handwritten objects

In the case of material studies, anthropologists have pioneered research into material culture. Since the 1980s and 1990s, research has used the material characteristics of objects as a methodological tool in social and cultural research. These efforts have focused on showing what 'things' can tell us about social relations and the role objects play in them.[86] Robert Foster advocates the study of social relations through material objects as follows: "Researchers thus do not simply trace the movement of commodities in the mechanical manner of a radar or a bar code scanning device; more important, they trace the social relations and material linkages that this movement

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[86] The role of things is usually difficult to acknowledge, as Brown points, "We begin to confront the thingness of objects when they stop working for us: when the drill breaks, when the car stalls, when the windows get filthy, when their flow between the circuits of production and distribution, consumption and exhibition, has been arrested, however momentarily. The story of objects asserted themselves as things, then, is the story of a changed relation to the human subject and thus the story of how the thing really names less an object than a particular subject-object relation." Bill Brown, ed., *Things* (Chicago ; London: University Of Chicago Press, 2004), 4.

creates and within which the value of commodities emerges."[87] It is precisely the concept of value that has motivated most studies of material culture. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* Arjun Appadurai argues that value is a component of the exchanged object rather than a result of the process of exchange. This idea allows the author to underline that politics is central to the relationship between value and exchange.[88] Basically, there are two main ways in which items are exchanged: as commodities and as gifts. The first has been particularly important in studying exchange in modern markets, where capitalism has commodified most objects that circulate. But in previous periods, before capitalism had been established or was in the process of formation, objects were more likely to circulate as gifts or through barter.[89] Gift exchange gives importance to the relationship between the two transactors and to the role played by the object in the exchange, while commodity exchange usually happens between two strangers where the object does not have an important meaning for them. Theories of gifts start with Marcel Mauss's study, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. For this author

> The obligation to give is no less important; a study of it might enable us to understand how people have become exchangers of goods and services. We can only point out a few facts. To refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war; it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality. Also, one gives because one is compelled to do so, because the recipient possesses some kind of right of property over anything that belongs to the donor.[90]

This author shows how objects and services can be exchanged for other objects and favours. When this happens, the exchange that occurs is part of social negotiations and the formation of alliances between individuals or institutions. As will be shown, ceremonies such as the *exequias* conducted on the death of a king can be seen as gifts, because they are services done to thank the Crown in a system designed to constantly recreate the alliances between a king and his people.

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[87] Robert J. Foster, 'Tracking Globalization. Commodities and Value in Motion', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Y. Tilley (London; Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2006), 285.

[88] Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Kindle edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), sec. 83.

[89] Many authors, including Appadurai, will oppose market exchange, commodification, to culture. While commodification looks for homogeneity and uniformity, culture battles in terms of differentiation and singularity. In the same way, authors like Annette Weiner will restate this opposition proposing the category of treasures instead of gift.

[90] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls, Kindle (W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), sec. 422.

In addition, from Mauss' perspective is possible to see how gifts could be part of a large series of favours or services. For example, during the colonial period, dedications in books were usually addressed to the patron that funded the printing project or other stages of the writing of the texts. Books belonged to those sponsors and their paratexts, the information published in the preliminary pages of the book, indicated that ownership. Since in early modern Spain print production depended on a license only granted by the king, it meant that only he could give away the privilege or 'gift' of printing to people.[91] Usually, this privilege was given for a period of ten years when the right of printing reverted exclusively to the Crown. Most likely this explains why many texts were dedicated to the king or had an additional paratext that included an address to him. The control over the print production of books raises questions for manuscript publication such as: how was control exerted over the production of handwritten books?; were there manuscript books, genres or particular types of manuscript objects prosecuted by institutions?

The main point is that members of the colonial elite believed that using the handwritten word in book production would bring a change to their position or satisfy their needs. The importance of objects in people's lives and the 'power' they possess have been studied by the sociologist Bruno Latour. He pointed out that 'things' are not passive, but instead they have an agency that affects people. For him,

> if we stick to our decision to start from the controversies about actors and agencies, then anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor—or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant. Thus, the questions to ask about any agent are simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent's action or not? Is there some trial that allows someone to detect this difference?[92]

In the cases studied here, the written word could be seen as an actor, a 'thing' that had an agency for social groups and people. In the words of Latour, "In addition to 'determining' and serving as a 'backdrop for human action', things might authorize,

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[91] Marta Milagros del Vas Mingo and Miguel Luque Talaván, 'El comercio librario: Mecanismos de distribución y control de la cultura escrita en Indias', *Revista complutense de historia de América* 32, no. 0 (31 January 2007): 127–49; Fernando Jesús Bouza, 'Para qué imprimir. De autores, público, impresores y manuscritos en el Siglo de Oro.', *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 18 (1 January 1997): 31; Fernando J. Bouza Álvarez, *'Dásele licencia y privilegio': Don Quijote y la aprobación de libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Tres Cantos, Madrid: Akal, 2012); Jaime Moll, *De la imprenta al lector: Estudios sobre el libro español de los siglos XVI Al XVIII*, Colección Instrumenta Bibliológica (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1994); Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América: Legislación y censura, siglos XV-XVIII*, Instrumenta Bibliológica (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2000).
[92] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71.

allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on."[93] The deployment of manuscript books, which will be introduced in the description of sources, fulfilled a purpose for *letrados* in seeking the king's favours and earning a distinguishable position among the elite members and authors.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, politics are at the heart of the construction of the object's meaning and value. As Annette Weiner argues, "individuals and groups create value in objects, using them as commodities or treasures in fortifying or reconstructing their cultural identities."[94] Colonial elites followed the Spanish courtly tradition that originated in the sixteenth century, in which literacy was an instrument of power.[95] The written culture of the period, represented by the handwritten objects produced in Spanish America, supported the construction of the identity of these groups as elites.

In this engagement of people and 'things', objects go through different stages in their own life. Arjun Appadurai has insisted that studies in material culture should ask

> What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?[96]

Ages, periods and stages suggest that 'things' have a preconceived purpose they are supposed to accomplish. But these ideas are built on the expectations people have when dealing with objects and the knowledge they possess about their utility. This can explain how alien objects can challenge the conceptions of individuals about what they are good for and how to use them. Another dynamic in thinking about an object's life comes from the idea that they imply a fixed group of practices that

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[93] Ibid., 72.

[94] In Weiner words, "some objects become so symbolically "dense" with cultural meaning that people covet them as prized collectibles, "art", or ancestral relics. Such density accrues through an object's association with its owner's fame, ancestral histories, secrecy, sacredness, and aesthetic and economic values. These especially dense objects circulate in exchange or in the marketplace exceedingly slowly in comparison with less dense ones that are easily reduced to commodities." Fred R. Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, 1st ed (Santa Fe, N.M. : Oxford [England]: School of American Research Press ; James Currey, 2001), 9.

[95] José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, 'Lectura y bibliofilia cortesanas en la España del Quinientos', in *Libro y lectura en la península Ibérica y América: Siglos XIII a XVIII*, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez (Valladolid: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2003), 131, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3845138.

[96] Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, sec. 1008.

'stabilise' them. Frank Trentmann in talking about the methods used in introducing Appadurai's perspective into the study of 'politics of value' (how the value of an object changes depending on the situation in which people find themselves) writes:

> The 'circuits of culture' approach developed by geographers emphasizes the variety of practices and knowledges at play between producers, merchants and consumers of a particular good (Cook, 2004). The emphasis here is on segmentation and contestation – a flower, a chicken, or a papaya mean different things to different people in the commodity chain. What deserves equal attention is that practices have the power of integration and interaction, stabilizing meaning and creating shared forms of use and reception.[97]

Literacy studies and material studies share this emphasis on practices in their methodological approaches. Practices are the nexus that connects actions with meanings reinforcing the dependence of objects and people. As Daniel Miller points out, the aim is not only to discern the agency of objects, but that the

> practices and their relationships that create the appearance of both subjects and objects through the dialectics of objectification, and we need to be able to document how people internalize and then externalize the normative. In short, we need to show how the things that people make, make people.[98]

The centrality of practices can be traced in the material dimension of the handwritten books because most of the time they were made following parameters of production that are only visible thanks to the contributions of the material research that has been undertaken in studies of the book.

1.2.3   Digging into the page. Contributions of book studies to a social history of literacy

The material dimension of books becomes more important when one realises that a way to study handwritten practices — their stability or instability, their material resources, among other things — comes from people's engagement with objects. In some cases, teachers use books in the teaching process depending on their understanding of how learning works and its purpose; institutions ban books because they contradict their dogmas; and plotters sneak political messages in leaflets of paper posted on doors looking to avoid social controls and attacking people in power using the handwritten word. At the same time books influence their readers or audiences according to their contents, types of reception, institutional support of the messages

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[97] Frank Trentmann, 'Crossing Divides Consumption and Globalization in History', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 9, no. 2 (7 January 2009): 207.
[98] Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality* (Durham, N.C. : London: Duke University Press, 2005), 38.

and material features. A manuscript book addressed to the Crown in order to portray the wealth of a viceregal ceremony would have been designed and produced to convey the city's prestige and status. In achieving their purposes, manuscript books acquired the particular shapes, languages and forms demanded for 'publication'.

Looking at the design of graphic and material structures can reveal the knowledge behind the making of handwritten books. From this perspective, the field of book studies can offer methodological tools that shed light on how these pieces were created. Knowing the processes of production behind the creation of these written objects facilitates an understanding of the practices, the material resources required to create them, and the challenges people had to confront, particularly in a colonial context. The material world constructed in Spanish America lacked many of the resources, such as the local production of paper, the skills and tools for typecasting, and circuits of commerce that underpinned the Flemish, English and French printing industries; even Spanish printed book production was well behind the state of the industry in other European countries.[99] This does not mean that making manuscript books was the easiest or only way to communicate information and knowledge, but it represented a recurrent possibility for people on both sides of the Atlantic. Studying the practices of production and literacy traditions will provide information about people's reasons for producing manuscript books.

This field of study is still in its early stages for Spanish America historiography. While there is an abundant literature on the production of handwritten objects for Spain, France and England, in the case of Latin America it is only recently that its manuscript culture in the early modern period has been addressed. A few works, such as *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches* by Tom Cummins, have started to provide information about how manuscript books were produced in Spanish America.[100] Studies about the production of inks and paper, as well as the way they were distributed and marketed, are still rare for Spanish America. It seems that paper production only began in Spanish America in the nineteenth century, while most book production in the colonial period relied on

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[99] Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico: El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón, Asturias: Ediciones Trea, 2003); Pedro M. Cátedra, María Luisa López-Vidriero, and María Isabel de Páiz Hernández, eds., *La memoria de los libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, Serie maior / Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura 4–5 (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004).
[100] Cummins et al., *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru.*

European imports.[101] Unfortunately, there are few studies of the material resources used in Spanish America for making manuscript books. Apart from the aforementioned book by Cummins, only a few other works have examined inks and other materials used in book production.[102] These studies have focused on finding the origins of the inks employed by early colonial scribes; they appropriated some American indigenous practices of writing in their handwritten practices. Searching for the places of production and elements used in inks and papers for the colonial period demands working in interdisciplinary teams of bibliographers, preservation professionals and book historians.

The study of handwritten practices has also been an interest of palaeographers. There are countless palaeography manuals produced to teach one how to read early modern scripts.[103] They focus on the changes and characteristics of the script in a particular period, but they fail to acknowledge the individual styles of scribes. There is an important distinction between script and hand, as it will be explained further on Chapter Four. Hands are the individual versions of a script belonged to scribes or any lettered person. Therefore, through the analysis of hands, it is possible to trace the number of scribes participating in the production of a handwritten project. Additionally, studies on the mechanics, tools and techniques of handwriting have employed early modern calligraphy manuals. They explore the different ink traces made by the quills, the correct position of the scribe's body, the visual characteristics of the script and the material resources necessary to produce a handwritten text.[104]

Early modern scribes and manuscript-book makers employed different techniques that allowed them to produce various copies of a text. The difficulty of producing multiple copies of a manuscript text has been considered as one of the main

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[101] Hans Lenz, *Historia del papel en México y cosas relacionadas (1525-1950)*, 1a ed. (México: Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1990).

[102] Mary Elizabeth Haude, 'Identification of Colorants on Maps from the Early Colonial Period of New Spain (Mexico)', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 37, no. 3 (1 January 1998): 240–70. In New Spain and Peru there exists a large body of works focused on the production of dyes for fabrics using pre-Hispanic technologies and practices. This interest influenced the study of colonial art, but the study of colonial production of books has not included such fields of expertise in the analysis of literate objects production.

[103] María Mercedes Ladrón de Guevara León, *Manual de paleografía*, 1a. ed, n.d.; Agustín Millares Carlo and José Ignacio Mantecón Navasal, *Album de paleografía hispanoamericana de los siglos XVI y XVII* (México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1955); Conrado Morterero Simón, *Apuntes de iniciación a la paleografía española de los siglos XII a XVII [Texto Impreso]* (Madrid: Hidalguía, 1963); Jesús Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual de paleografía diplomática española de los siglos XII al XVII: Método teórico-práctico para aprender a leer los documentos españoles de los siglos XII al XVII* (Valencia: Librerías 'París-Valencia', 2008).

[104] Guevara Salamanca, *La fábrica del hombre*.

differences between handwritten and printed books. Nowadays it is well known that some manuscript objects reached a large public through organised scribal production that could provide several copies of the same handwritten text.[105] In the words of Fernando Bouza, "hay que superar el esquematismo que, de un lado, reduce lo tipográfico exclusivamente a la difusión, así como sus copias a productos de mercado, y que, de otro, imagina que lo manuscrito es sinónimo de una voluntad no difusionista."[106] To analyse the methods employed for making handwritten-books in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá, this thesis will examine the spaces left blank inside of books and the number of hands (scribes) who participated in the copy or in the preparation of the final version for circulation. The aim is to understand some of the procedures used in the production of handwritten books. The cases in the third and fourth chapters present examples of handwritten books made by scribal production. The former analyses a *relación de honras fúnebres* made in Santa Fe de Bogotá and the latter the recordings of the academies of the viceregal palace in Lima.

1.3   Colonial handwritten objects in the field. A glance at colonial written culture

Among the abundant handwritten materials produced by *letrados*, this thesis will consider three types of manuscript books that illustrate the way the elite, as individuals or a group, used them to acquire or maintain their status. They are related to education and knowledge, viceregal ceremonies and literary production.[107] Each of these dimensions reveals the particular roles that handwritten books played, such as supporting the learning process inside colonial educational institutions, embellishing colonial educational libraries, recording the production of services to the Crown, promoting cities as place of wealth and cultural production, or publicizing the literary figures who participated in courtly events, among other thing.

The second chapter of the thesis focuses on handwritten books produced inside of educational institutions by members of the colonial elite. As will be shown, these

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[105] Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*; Hall, *Ways of Writing*.
[106] Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, *Corre manuscrito: Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*, Historia (Madrid: Marcial Pons / Ediciones de Historia, 2001), 18.
[107] It must be noted that other dynamics in gaining status can be seen in bloodline certificates, genealogies and historical books, however some of these texts belonged to bureaucratic production or have been found only in printed form.

books fulfilled a diversity of purposes, such as: supporting the learning process of students and teaching practices, as they were also used by lecturers; providing prestige to the humble colonial educational institutional libraries; and fulfilling the requirements to earn a degree as these books were considered evidence of the courses taken.[108] Given that having a scholarly degree granted a level of status, looking into the production of notebooks and textbooks by students provides insights on how prestige was earned through education. Furthermore, the analysis of note-taking practices illustrates the methods in which books, such as commonplace books, sermons and treatises, were made. Through the analysis of the note-taking practices, it is possible to gather insights about the processes of creating knowledge under the religious orders, especially the Jesuits. These sources also demonstrate the challenges faced by scholars when managing large amounts of information and when attempting to record and preserve the fruits of their readings. These practices continued a long-lasting manuscript tradition of storing and accumulating knowledge that was shared by educational institutions in the early modern period. The permanence of them shows a highly controlled intellectual environment, designed for storing and circulating knowledge through handwritten materials and the spoken word.

The notes found in the Archivo General de la Nación del Perú in Lima tell another story about education through the examination of textbooks inside and beyond the walls of the classrooms. In the collection entitled Compañía de Jesús, Sermones, intertwined with the manuscript sermons, are two groups of handwritten materials called *apuntes*, which were used to produce texts such as sermons and treatises. They consist of notes and unbound textbooks or notebooks, easy to share and consult by readers or other writers; they may also have been drafts or quotations used in the composition of sermons and treatises. The textbooks found in Santa Fe de Bogotá offer a better picture of the final form of the materials created by students during their studies. Notes, textbooks and notebooks were common in colonial educational institutions. The practices learned by students in writing and copying those books and papers were probably employed further in their roles as colonial administrators, clerics and poetry writers.

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[108] Renán Silva, *Saber, Cultura y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVII y XVIII* (La Carreta Editores, 2004), 74.

Chapter Three deals with the creation of the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada as one of the most appropriate contexts in which to analyse the participation of handwritten materials in the promotion of a courtly culture through gift exchange. During the years when the Crown abandoned the project of creating a third viceroyalty, president Antonio Manso y Maldonado directed and promoted probably the first *honras fúnebres* done in the city, which were in honour of Luis I. The result of the ceremonies is a manuscript book entitled *Descripción sucinta de las honras y exequias que en la muerte de nuestro Rey D. Luis Fernando el primero, se celebraron en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá, cabeza del Nuevo Reino de Granada*.[109] This book gives evidence of the collective efforts of the members of the Real Audiencia and the president to offer its service to the Crown and promote the city as a potential viceregal capital, and thereby enhance the status of Santa Fe de Bogotá's citizens. Contrary to the other sources that depict an individual's pursuit for status, this case explores the attempts made by the city's colonial elite, as a group, to earn recognition similar to their peers in Lima and Mexico.

This chapter discusses literacy practices in this kind of ceremony and, at the same time, it reveals the communication between the Crown and the colonial authorities. In the case of the *honras*, it conveys the grief apparently suffered by the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogotá and the different roles that members of the colonial elite played in producing emblems, sermons and other types of texts. This is compared with the printed account of the *honras fúnebres* in Lima showing similarities in the production of texts for this kind of event, and at the same time illustrates the different roles played by the church and universities in supporting and promoting such events. The comparison between a printed and a manuscript *relación* will provide information about the role of handwriting in creating a book designed to portray the city's status.

Poets participated actively in the production of ceremonies such as *honras fúnebres*. They probably saw these events as circumstances in which they could demonstrate their creative and poetic skills. Nevertheless, as Chapter Four will show, *honras fúnebres* were not the only open spaces where poets could earn prestige by demonstrating their literary prowess. In Lima, under the mandate of viceroy Marques del Castelldorius, the viceregal court became a place where the arts and culture were

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[109] BNE, *Descripción sucinta de las honras y exequias que en la muerte de nuestro Rey D. Luis Fernando el primero, se celebraron en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá, cabeza del Nuevo Reino de Granada*. MSS/2943, 1726.

cultivated. To do this, the viceroy gathered a group of the most renowned poets in the city. Music, theatre and poetry found a patron in the viceroy, who promoted the names and productions involved in his Academia. The *Flor de academias* records the literary events that took place in meetings held from September 1709 to April 1710 inside of the viceregal palace. This chapter will focus on how individuals aimed at improving prestige and status through the production of a manuscript book with the poems recorded in each session. It will show how handwriting practices contributed to the promotion of poets as part of a literary imperial canon and members of a global Spanish republic of letters.

The analysis of this source questions the relationship between the spoken and the handwritten word. In the gatherings that took place in the chambers of the viceregal palace, the participants in these practices delivered an orally improvised text about a topic chosen at the time by a member of the audience or the viceroy. Additionally, every session was 'recorded' in manuscript form, which suggests that writing was again at the service of the spoken word. Behind the material production was probably a team of scribes that, at the command of a director, tried to replace the unavailable resources of the printing industry. However, it is worth mentioning from the start that the *Flor de academias* was intended to be printed as a book. Printing would have given the project the fame and reputation sought by the viceroy. The handwritten form of the book conveys more information about the internal dynamics of the academia than is possible from the printed proceedings of earlier academies in Lima.

The analysis of these sources aims to fill a gap in the study of colonial written culture. Most of these handwritten practices did not originate in Spanish America, but instead came from Europe and constitute a characteristic of the colonial period. This research analyses the uses that *letrados* made of manuscript objects to build and maintain a certain social status, to promote their literary skills, and to take advantage of the system of patronage from the Crown and colonial authorities. It argues that a history of books in Spanish America must consider handwriting as a cornerstone of the written culture of the period. This study identifies different dimensions of the script, shows the connections between the speech and visual traditions, and describes the character and way in which some manuscript objects were produced. An investigation into the material sources and practices employed in making books is still needed, as well as further research on the circulation and consumption of a wide range of literate objects that all shaped the colonial experience. This work aims to open a

discussion about the role and production of handwritten texts in colonial society and encourage further research on a neglected field in colonial Spanish American history.

Chapter 2. The workshop of the writer. Colonial educational institutions and the tasks of remembering

Colonial elites learned their literacy practices in the educational institutions founded by the religious orders or the Crown and by private tutors.[1] Inside these institutions, students compiled handwritten books from other copies or readings inside of classrooms. Handwritten practices played a central role in the process of learning, so a wide range of manuscript products created by members of the education institutions can be found in inventories of private or public libraries. Most of these manuscripts recorded the readings of the lecturers and their commentaries about other texts; they were tools for studying and at the same time requirements to earn a degree. At the end of a course, the student would have to produce these manuscripts as evidence of the knowledge he had acquired.[2] Along with these notebooks, leaves of paper and unbound booklets circulated between students and professors. Most of these papers also provide insights about the intellectual practices inside the religious orders and the methods they used to produce knowledge. The purpose of this chapter is to study the manuscript practices associated with these scholarly processes and examine the production of notebooks that enabled the student to be granted the honour of receiving a degree from a colonial educational institution. These sources are related to Jesuit institutions that were involved in the education of the colonial elite in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá.

Using the script and the spoken language, colonial elites developed different ways of recording and memorising facts. It could be said that memory is an inherent part of writing, and that all objects produced by different literacies carried with them the aim of preserving and remembering events, knowledge, doctrine and beliefs,

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[1] With regard to the education in New Spain, Carmen Castañeda provides a perspective on the uses of books and literacy practices inside of the colonial educational institutions. Carmen Castañeda García, CIESAS--Occidente, y Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (Mexico), *Historia social de la Universidad de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, Jalisco, México; México, D.F.: Universidad de Guadalajara ; CIESAS, 1995); Carmen Castañeda, "Historia social y cultural de los colegios y universidades del Antiguo Régimen", en *Historia y nación (actas del Congreso en homenaje a Josefina Zoraida Vázquez)*, ed. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 1a ed., I. Historia de la educación y enseñanza de la historia (Colegio de Mexico, 1998), 155–72 Carmen Castañeda García, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la colonia: 1552-1821*, 2012.

[2] Renán Silva, *Saber, Cultura y sociedad en el nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVII y XVIII* (La Carreta Editores, 2004), 85.

amongst other things. In this chapter, this dimension of the written word will be explored through analysing handwritten materials, such as notes, leaves and unbound booklets, that were created by priests and students in order to support the production and circulation of knowledge, including the writing of sermons.

Colonial elite practices of memory involved taking notes during readings or listening speeches. Colonial note-taking practices evolved from European late medieval traditions that gained strength during the early modern period. Some of them are still in use by scholars today. They address the problems associated with the act of remembering, such as what would be important to record?, what categories or hierarchies should be used?, what process of storage is required?, all depending on the needs of writers or other readers. Note-taking practices link the processes of acquiring information, with the activities of reading, listening, observing, and writing. Through the examination of annotated papers, it is possible to analyse the procedures behind the written production of scholarly texts and the transmission of knowledge.

Manuscript textbooks, books copied from other manuscript or printed editions, and notebooks, – books produced by students as a result of participating in a course – are examples of the outputs of training undertaken by students that could be used in the production of manuscript books. On one hand, these objects portray the physical characteristics and graphic composition of knowledge, and on the other, they illustrate the practices employed to produce handwritten texts in an elite context. Graphic elements such as title pages, layouts, scripts, miniatures, and others, shaped the production of manuscript books and loose leaves for status purposes.

The wider context of this chapter is the influence of the Catholic Church, which was the most important institution that promoted literacy in colonial Spanish America. It designed methods to teach people how to write and read using the doctrine of the Church, thereby sharing certain social values and beliefs as well as particular knowledge about the written word. The particular uses of the written word inside of the religious orders in Spanish American colonies included, besides those used in evangelisation, handwritten practices destined to support the production and circulation of knowledge. These reflected the control of the Church over the production of knowledge and the limited autonomy of scholars.

The purpose of this section is to analyse the links between memory and writing, looking at the latter as part of the history of media. This involves understanding the handwritten word as part of the history of the technologies invented to share and record information that play a large role in the creation of memory. Although the purpose of this chapter is to focus on the practices of note-taking and handwritten books relating to the circulation of knowledge, understanding these literacy practices demands looking into the relationship between them and the creation of memory. The handwritten script can be seen as a type of media since it shows how collective memory is produced.

Astrid Erll has worked on the relationship between memory and media. According to Erll, "Personal memories can only gain social relevance through media representation and distribution", in a double process of 'externalisation' and 'internalisation'."[3] The first process consists of putting into the public realm personal experiences, and the latter describes how individuals access the collective memory that is circulating in their culture. At first sight, externalisation can be related to the process of making "public" or "publishing", which is one of the properties normally attributed to the printing press, but not to the circulation and distribution of the handwritten books inside social groups and communities. In the seventeenth century, the possibilities that handwriting offered for the permanence of texts were already well known; while the spoken word was 'condemned' for almost instantaneously vanishing, the script lasted longer. Juan Díaz Rengijo, author of *Arte poética española*, acknowledged this dimension of the written text, drawing attention to the survival of Virgil's *Aeneid* that was saved by the readers against the will of the poet who wanted to burn his work, which he considered imperfect, as well as drawing attention to the endurance of the poems "hasta el fin del mundo [of] los conquistadores de Arauco; el esfuerzo y valentía de los Numantinos: la inmortal victoria naval de Lepanto, la reprimida rebelión de Granada y milagros de muchos santos, si la envidia de estos tiempos no me lo estorbara."[4] The longevity of a text could be understood as resulting

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[3] Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 113–14.
[4] Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte poética española: con una fertilissima silua de consonantes comunes, propios, esdruxulos, y reflexos y vn diuino estímulo del amor de Dios* (Salamanca: Casa de Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1592), 8.

from the material dimension of writing, but may also, as the cases introduced by Díaz Rengijo suggest, derive from a long-lasting interest in certain texts preserved in collective memory.[5]

Nonetheless, the creation of memory through the written text also depends on the practices of speech. Writing has traditionally been defined as the act of putting onto a graphic piece or object the sounds made by spoken language. Walter Ong describes the interdependence between the written and spoken word in his already classic work *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Written Word*. He states that:

> The condition of words in a text is quite different from their condition in spoken discourse. Although they refer to sounds and are meaningless unless they can be related – externally or in the imagination – to the sounds or, more precisely, the phonemes they encode, written words are isolated from the fuller context in which spoken words come into being.[6]

This understanding has been employed to explain the development of the alphabet and its 'supremacy' over other systems of writing. Alphabetic writing has been considered the last stage in a long history of the developments of writing systems and the most efficient tool for the physical representation of syllabic sounds. Furthermore, it has also been presented as an example of the apparent supremacy of the European writing systems over others that were different or those that were not alphabetic.[7]

This Eurocentric perspective of literacy and the politics behind the spoken and written word has been examined by many scholars, such as Walter Ong, David R. Olson, Walter Mignolo, Elizabeth Hill Boone, and Jack Goody. The studies of David R. Olson, a cognitive psychologist who has studied the spoken word, literacy and cognition, challenge some of the methodologies and consequences of such a traditional approach. For this author, there are six views that should be questioned: the first is "considering the writing as the transcription of speech"; second, "the superiority of writing to speech"; third, "the technological superiority of the alphabetic

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[5] Juan Díaz Rengifo, quoting Cicero, refers to the 'burdens' of the written text in the following way: "estas letras (dice) son para todas personas, tiempos y lugares. Porque con ellas se crían los mozos y se recrean los viejos: son ornamento de los próspero: consuelan en lo adverso, entretienen en casa, no estorban fuera; de noche velan con nosotros: en los caminos, en los campos y dondequiera que estemos nos acompañan. Las cuales que nosotros no las tuviesemos, deberíamos venerarlas en los que las tienen." Ibid.

[6] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, New Accents (London; New York: Methuen, 1982), 99.

[7] David R. Olson, *The World on Paper: The Conceptual and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

writing system"; fourth, the understanding of literacy as the "organ of social progress"; fifth, "literacy as an instrument of cultural and scientific development"; and sixth, "literacy as an instrument of cognitive development".[8] Literacy based on these parameters has strengthened the separation between literate and illiterate societies, the distinction between alphabetic and "pre-alphabetic" societies, and has been supported by the idea that knowledge can only be produced in a literate environment.

These divisions hold tremendous importance in the study of literacy in colonial Spanish America. They have been used, first, as a frame of reference for the study of the native American writing systems and, second, to underpin the separation of literate and illiterate groups in colonial society. The first point was acknowledged by Elizabeth Hill Boone, in her book *Writing and Recording Knowledge*, in which she states that

> We are all aware of the commonly held belief among those scholars and particularly linguists who focus on Europe and Asia that Pre-Columbian cultures did not yet develop 'true writing.' We have heard terms such as illiterate, nonliterate, and preliterate applied to these peoples.[9]

She recognises that classical works on the history of writing, most of them from an evolutionary perspective, like Leonard Bloomfield,[10] Ignace Gelb[11] and John DeFrancis,[12] have encouraged this view of non-alphabetic writing and systems of writing found outside of Europe. For Boone the reason lies in the difficulty of applying European categories, such as art and writing, to the literacies found in Pre-Columbian societies.

This critique of Eurocentric categories of writing has been a common response to the problems associated with a traditional linguistic approach. Olson has tried to show that there was no departure from the spoken word in the development of writing systems, instead he shows how the consciousness about language, the understanding of the existence and elements of it, moved in the other direction, from writing to speech. In his words, "Rather than viewing writing as the attempt to capture the

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[8] Ibid., 7–12.

[9] Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge," in *Writing without Words*, ed. Walter Mignolo and Elizabeth Hill Boone (Duke University Press, 1994), 4.

[10] Isaac Taylor, *The History of the Alphabet: An Account of the Origin and Developments of Letters*, vol. 2 (n.d.: Edward Arnold, 1899).

[11] Ignace J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing: The Foundations of Grammatology* (London ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

[12] John DeFrancis, *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

existing knowledge of syntax, writing provided a model for speech, thereby making the language available for analysis into syntactic constituents, the primary one being words which then became subjects of philosophical reflection as well as objects of definition. Words became things."[13] This materiality of speech, which provided the possibility to set apart the components of language, provides an intelligibility of the spoken language that would not exist if it were not from the written word. The interaction between these two linguistic orders can be studied in the particular forms and ways that utterances were recorded, recognising that the first are also affected by the technologies of the written word.

Additionally, Rappaport and Cummins assign orality a role in between the alphabetic and the visual. The spoken word was designed to convey the knowledge that circulated in script in lettered groups, in the form of speech that accompanied images that were assembled for pedagogical purposes. The scenarios created inside churches with paintings and sculptures used in the 'performances' of sermons is an example of this intermingling of the three forms of communication.[14] Clear boundaries dividing the realm of the written, visual and oral might have been visible for the period studied by these two authors – the sixteenth century – but between 1700 and 1750 these three elements became difficult to separate. This could have been the result of a more established colonial system that promoted the written word and the alphabetical system, incorporating the visual culture of native Americans as a secondary element.[15] Rappaport and Cummins also acknowledge this change in stressing the importance of a "manuscript interculture", which emerges when looking into the manuscripts from a material perspective. This "interculture" addresses "the ways in which such documents are written, compiled, conserved; how they are related to one another and to nonwritten referents in an intertextual series; the ritual uses to which they were put."[16] They are called "interculture" by the authors because, according to them, in their production and use they involve people from different cultural backgrounds. In that way, the handwritten word "provided a creative interface within which members

[13] Olson, *The World on Paper*, 76.

[14] Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Duke University Press Books, 2012), sec. 588.

[15] Serge Gruzinski and Heather MacLean, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2001); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico:The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

[16] Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*, sec. 656.

of different cultural traditions expounded upon and adjusted to an unequal relationship born of colonialism."[17] This consideration of the written word as an interface is also shared by Jack Goody, but his interest is in positioning the outcomes of the practices of writing in between the literate and the illiterate. Was colonial elite handwritten production an example of "manuscript interculture"?, and what was the involvement of non-elite individuals in the colonial elite manuscript production?

In his study of literate traditions, Jack Goody argues that the capacity of the written word for creating a new type of accumulation generates a particular form of memory linked to the written page. Goody recognises that the new memory created from writing makes possible the verbatim recording of a text, while through the oral transmission of texts the recordings tend to vary constantly.[18] Jack Goody is not the only one who argues that remembering depends on changes in technologies and the processes employed in registering or transmitting texts. According to Astrid Erll, "specific modes of remembering are closely linked to available media technologies. For example, the detailed histories of nineteenth-century historiographers had no counterpart outside the medium of the book."[19] Perhaps this could explain why certain narrative genres circulated exclusively in particular book formats, or why poetry has been closely related with the oral transmission of texts.[20]

Naturally, the process of remembering also involves forgetting. Individuals and collectives have limited material and physical capacity to remember information, which forces them to select information to remember. This act of selection is discussed in the works of sociologist Nicklas Luhmann, who states that "the real function of memory lies not in preserving the past but in regulating the relationship between

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[17] The authors took the term *interculture* from Thomas Abercrombie's work, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. 1998. Ibid., sec. 660.

[18] Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 88. Also Harold Innis remarks on the type of memory built under contexts in which oral tradition dominated the transmission of texts, for him: "Prior to the introduction of writing, music played its role in emphasizing rhythm and metre, which eased the task of memory. Poetry is significant as a tribute to the oral tradition." Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 28.

[19] Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 114.

[20] A study about the complex relationship between the spoken word and poetry can be found in Margit Frenk's book, *Entre la voz y el silencio: La lectura en tiempos de Cervantes* (México, D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013). Future research can focus on the possible relation of the histories of religious orders, produced by members of the orders in the Spanish American colonies, and the chronicles of the conquest of America with specific kind of materials of the handwritten culture, such as manuscript books, diaries, notebooks and notes. There was probably a link between certain elements of the handwritten culture of that period with the type of memory created out of the European experience in America.

remembering and forgetting; or, as Heinz von Foerster puts it, in the constant selective re-impregnation of one's own states."[21] This regulation also affects the process of writing; according to Luhmann, "For writing something down always means that something else is not written down. Writing is self-made memory. It can remember more and leave more to be forgotten than before. Writing aids the memory but it burdens it, too."[22] Recording ideas as written text involves a different kind of memory than the one found in the oral transmission of texts. Memory seems to change depending on the media socially available to record information and to represent it. But what are the variables operating between different ways of producing memory?

Communities design mechanisms to store information, such as in monuments, rituals, and different types of media. In this form, narratives are constantly played and performed, keeping them in the consciousness of the members of particular communities. This process, according to Astrid Erll, can be described as a constant reconstruction of memory, which takes place

> in social contexts and it is the 'social frameworks of memory' (in the literal sense) which decide – consciously or unconsciously – which media to avail themselves of in this constructive process. The social institutionalization of memory media finds its strongest manifestation in the framework of national, ideological, ethnic or religious memory.[23]

This means that under the domain of institutions, it is possible to recognise the type of media used in the process of keeping records or creating memory. Examples of this are the employment of newspapers by nineteenth-century national projects in Latin America, the printed editions of the Bible or the handwritten versions of revolutionary pamphlets in eighteenth-century Paris.[24]

In this chapter the role of handwritten texts used by the colonial elite for record-keeping will be considered in the context of the Church and the religious orders. Among the objects found in the collections of the Jesuits in the Archivo Nacional del Perú, there is a collection called Sermones Jesuitas, which constitutes of a group of nearly 1500 handwritten documents in a wide range of formats, of different origins and purposes. The archival material varies from small sheets of paper with notes to collections of incomplete handwritten treatises of sixty or seventy pages; these

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[21] Niklas Luhmann, *Theory of Society* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2012), 162.
[22] Ibid., 163.
[23] Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 124.
[24] Robert Darnton, *El coloquio de los lectores* (México, D.F.: FCE - Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016).

tell the story of record-keeping practices and the circulation of memorable information within the Jesuit Order. Although the focus of this chapter will be on the production of sermons and treatises, the textual materials found in this collection are probably only a small sample of the papers employed to write other kinds of texts, such as the histories of the religious orders. Thus, notes can be seen as the main textual object supporting the intellectual work of scholars and a tool for memory within this community.

2.2 Designing memory in a scholarly environment: Note-taking practices in colonial Lima

The following two sections of this chapter focus on the note-taking practices employed and notebooks created by members of the Society of Jesus in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá mostly between 1700 and 1750. These handwritten objects, as it will be shown, were designed to manage, store and circulate knowledge and information relevant for the production and reproduction of texts such as sermons, philosophical and theological treatises, and a variety of manuscript materials that were regularly used in everyday life. Notes and notebooks constituted one of the main resources for storing information, producing knowledge and providing education during the early modern period; through them the affiliates of the Society, such as priests, students, missionaries and other members of the order, adhered to practices and methods of a republic of letters.

The missionary quest of the Jesuits led them to different parts of the globe within a couple of decades of their foundation as an order. The formal institution of the Society of Jesus occurred in 1540 and by 1568 the first priests of the Company arrived in Lima and by 1598 they were installed in Santa Fe de Bogotá.[25] The Society established itself through establishing colleges and universities that allowed it to educate an 'ecclesiastical workforce' that would undertake the evangelisation of the native people. The Jesuits, unlike other religious orders, were involved in shaping Spanish American colonies according to Christian principles. Andrés Prieto, in his research on the Jesuit scientific production, argues that missionary endeavour became one of the signatures of the Society's American experience, whereas their ventures in

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[25] Olga Merino and Linda A. Newson, "Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion," *Revista de historia de América*, no. 118 (1994): 134.

Europe were more intellectual and pedagogical.[26] Missions were at the forefront of the colonial enterprise, pushing the boundaries of 'civilization' forward, transforming the system of beliefs, and assimilating native communities into the new colonial order.[27]

Steven Harris, whose academic inquiries examined the global range of the Jesuit activities, identifies three basic dimensions to their work – missionisation, education and publication. Harris states that the Society had control over "a unique combination of institutions, namely, its mission stations, its European colleges and universities, and the publication of its members' writings." Through education, the Society ensured that "its missionaries were themselves well educated and thus well poised to participate in the republic of letters", while their publications supplied the missionaries with the content needed for their endeavours and also served as a way to disseminate the knowledge they had gathered to wider audiences. This entwining of

> agendas of colleges, missions, and publications gave Jesuits both the 'motive and the means' to engage in overseas science, and the missionaries' long-term residency and commitment to cross-cultural intimacy provided the 'opportunity' to engage in the selective appropriation of disparate bodies of indigenous natural knowledge.[28]

In Harris' understanding, publications were the channel that connected the diverse experiences of Jesuits in America and Asia with Europe, circulating mostly freely inside of the Order without imperial restrictions. This freedom of movement of texts and papers underpinned the networks formed between Spanish American colonies and the printing presses in the Netherlands, where countless texts written in the colonies were printed and subsequently disseminated through the Jesuit libraries.[29] Printed books and probably handwritten objects, such as: letters, notes, notebooks, commonplace books, etc., were employed 'globally' by the priests in their own education, missionary endeavours and in writing other texts. In particular, the objects related to note-taking practices fulfilled the tasks of remembering, storing and sharing knowledge, including the results of scientific empirical enquiries and readings.

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[26] Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011).
[27] Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here?*
[28] Steven J. Harris, 'Long-Distance Corporations, Big Sciences, and the Geography of Knowledge', *Configurations* 6, no. 2 (1998): 78–79.
[29] Stijn Van Rossem, "The Verdussens & the International Trade of Catholic Books," in *Books in the Catholic World During the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). However, some of the networks between Spain and the Netherlands existed before the Society of Jesus, which would probably mean that the Jesuits extended the length of range of them.

Note-taking practices cover a series of lettered activities, which from the point of view of this research have the common purpose of recording and organising information. The limited human capacity to remember obliges people to invent methods to retain information; note-taking has proved to be not only a successful aid for individual memory but also an effective method regardless of the material substrata on which they are inscribed.[30] Notes can be found written on wax tablets in medieval times, on pieces of parchment or paper, and nowadays digital texts fulfil the same objectives. Roger Chartier, in one of his latest works *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, underlines this historic dimension by analysing the materiality of the wax tablets and their use.[31]

In defining what a note is, Ann Blair, a leading scholar in the study of note-taking practices, has stated that a note is "a piece of writing not meant for circulation but for private use, say, as preparatory toward a finished work."[32] She is especially concerned about the difficulty of identifying notes in a society that constantly employs manuscript objects as the main or one of the most important ways of sharing information or knowledge; while in the printed culture, handwriting is almost exclusively dedicated to drafts and for note-taking. In a manuscript, societal differences between finished and unfinished handwritten objects are not easy to detect. This is evident when analysing the documents in the collection of Jesuit sermons at the Archivo Nacional del Perú in Lima. This series gathers together a wide range of handwritten objects with different material characteristics but all of them in an unfinished manuscript form, which means in a form probably only suitable for private circulation. About 73 percent of a collection of 1500 documents is composed of almost finished manuscript sermons, most of them still with minor corrections or annotations. The rest, 27 percent of the collection, consists of random topics (118),[33] *apuntes* (98), treatises (69), fragments (64), *pláticas* (37), and reports (23) (Figure 2.1) (these

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[30] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2010), sec. 1780.
[31] Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure*.
[32] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, sec. 1588.
[33] The category of random topics gathers a series of documents which provide information about manuscript papers used regularly in a priest's everyday life. Among them there were drafts, certifications, biblical quotations, compendia, speeches, questionaires, learnings, manuals, poetry and grammars. Unfortunately there were only a small number of these documents in this category.

categories are taken from the name given by the archive following the occasional titles included in some of the documents).
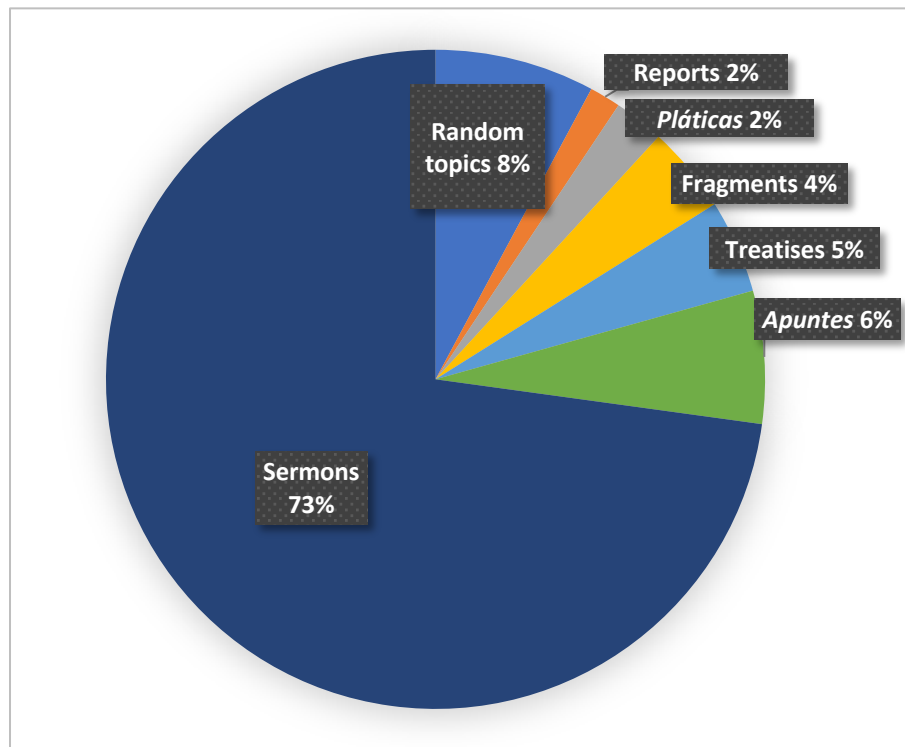
Figure 2.1. Categories of Jesuit Sermons Collection. Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Archivo General de la Nación del Perú.

Collections like this were probably quite common inside religious orders, because most of the notes were designed to support their daily tasks, such as preparing sermons or producing academic and literary written texts. According to Paul Nelles, a historian of the book who has studied the manuscript culture in the Society of Jesus, "In one of the most graphic accounts of the material culture of note-taking in Jesuit sources, the college librarian was to ensure that everything necessary for note-taking was available in the library: paper, ink, pens, knives, scissors, and a stylus."[34] The preparation of an adequate space and tools for taking notes reveals the collective and institutional dynamics inside of the Jesuit order, where registering and storing information was the main purpose. Blair also proposes that there was a collective dimension to note-taking, which can be useful when looking into the Society of Jesus practices of note-taking in Lima. The collective dimension of the note-taking practices can be seen in the sum of efforts invested in maintaining, growing and accumulating

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[34] Paul Nelles, "Libros de Papel, Libri Bianchi, Libri Papyracei: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 72 (2007): 99.

collections of notes, which were "valued as treasuries or storehouses in which to accumulate information even if they did not serve an immediate purpose."[35] This will explain why, in the collection of Jesuit sermons, many of the notebooks were separated into different sheets or booklets. Notes were subjected to the immediate necessities of the priests, who continuously added more notes to the existing collection. The materiality and textual dimension of notes can indicate some of the purposes they fulfilled. The documents catalogued under *apuntes* are pieces of unbound notebooks and leaves of paper, on which quotations, list of phrases or statements, drafts of sermons or treatises with comments, and Latin phrases with explanations.

Although most of these documents are unfinished copies of texts and pieces of notebooks, often covered in marks and written in a messy and untidy script (see Figure 2.5), not all of them can be regarded as notes. The main focus for this research was to analyse the material character of the documents regarded as *apuntes*, as it was stated. The decision to focus on these ninety-eight documents was based on the thesis' interest in note-taking practices, although it is recognised that the rest of the papers could provide insights about this topic in other ways or about other handwritten practices. The word *apuntes* was defined by the dictionary of the Real Academia Española in 1770 as "el asiento o nota que que se hace por escrito de alguna cosa, y así se dice: esto resulta de mis *apuntes*. *Nota, adscriptio*." However, a closer look into the collection found that this definition and this category did not cover all the practices found in the sources. The documents classified as *apuntes* consist of individual pages or small booklets of no more than 30 pages, some of them probably resulting from unbound notebooks. None of them were found bound or had any type of cover page. The script varies; in some cases it is uniform and tidy, and in others is totally confusing and done without care. Although the layouts change between one and two columns, the same dimensions of 15.5 x 20.5 cm was widely found in *apuntes* made of one sheet of paper.

The organisation of the content in some of the *apuntes* followed a structure based on topics, along with quotations, explanations or statements. Most of these notes were probably designed to support the production of the spoken sermons depending on the topic the priest might have been interested in.[36] For example, these are some of

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[35] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, sec. 1485.
[36] Ann Blair found a similar type of notes in the writing of medieval sermons. According to her, "Similarly, but with a narrower set of goals, medieval aids to preachers collected passages that would

the titles of these written materials: "Apuntes para un sermón sobre la pasión de Cristo"; "Apuntes para sermones, sobre temas de semana santa y la pasión de Cristo"; "Apuntes para sermones sobre las bacanales"; and "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias."[37] Each of these papers has subheadings in the margins to indicate the topic of a statement, quotation or reference. An example of this scheme can be seen in "Apuntes sobre conceptos diversos para uso en sermones", where a booklet of eighteen pages illustrates the organisation of the excerpts probably copied by a reader or scribe. This booklet might have been part of a larger handwritten object, probably a notebook, that was used for keeping a record of important passages read or heard (figures 2.2 and 2.3).
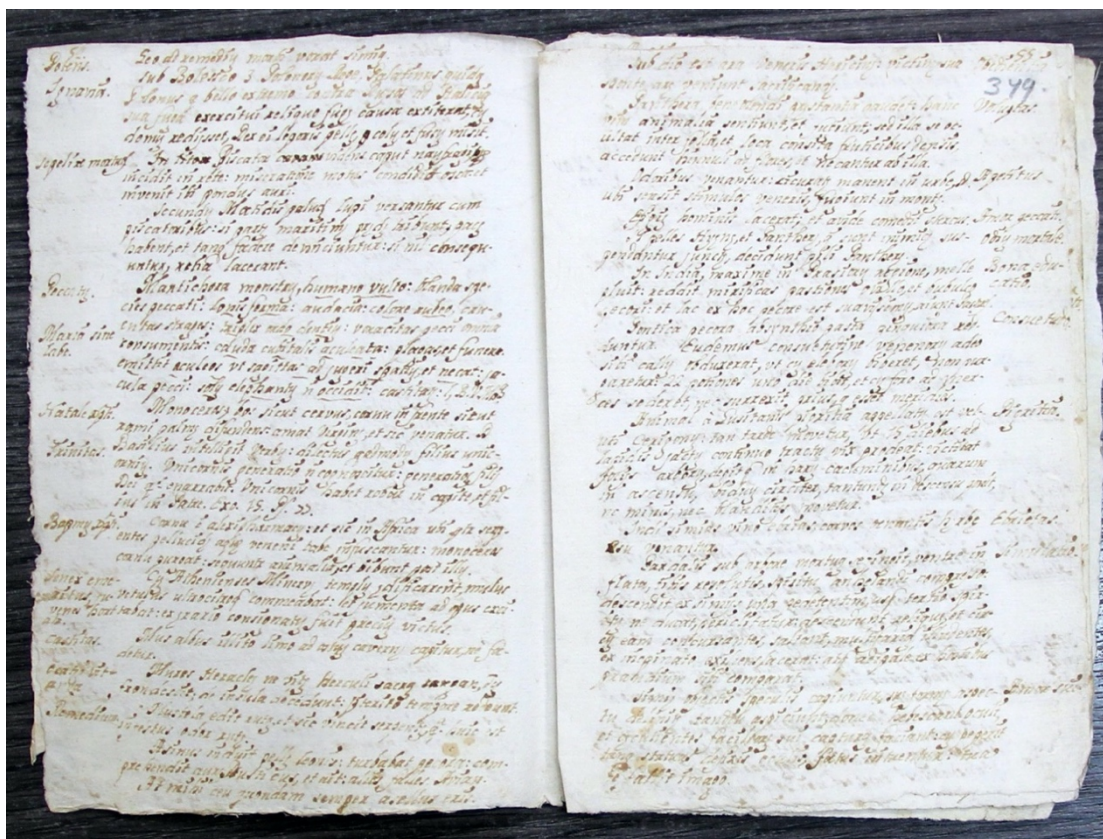
Figure 2.2. AGNP, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 120, doc. 136.24, "Apuntes sobre conceptos diversos para uso en sermones", ff.2v-3.

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supply the material for writing sermons on a variety of topics without any further reading." Ibid., sec. 1990.

[37] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 63, doc. 47; AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 120, doc. 135.61; AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 62, doc. 113; AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 62, doc. 123.
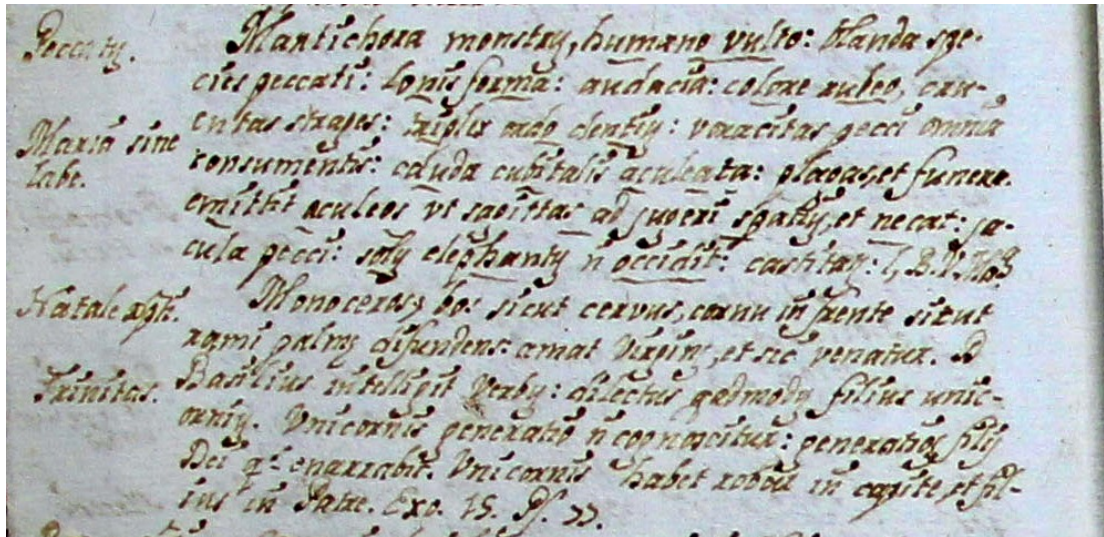
Figure 2.3. Detail Figure 2.2. AGNP, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 120, doc. 136.24, "Apuntes sobre conceptos diversos para uso en sermones", f.2v.

The topics covered in this document were written in Latin, as was the rest of the text, and were basically of ecclesiastical and moral character. In this case, headings were comprised of one or two words, which may be the result of training in the selection and creation of such labels. Nelles has studied the educational practices of the Jesuits and showed how they trained their students and priests in the technique of labelling or assigning headings. In his work "Libros de Papel, Libri Bianchi, Libri Papyracei: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges", he studies the instructions given to students in the Collegio Romano, located in Rome, Italy. Nelles identifies that "Initially, the student was to maintain some forty commonplaces in order to avoid the confusion caused by having too many *loci*. These places were then to be filled with the fruit of each day's reading".[38] It seems that these commonplaces were meant to be stable and able to be shared by the community of readers or 'extractors'.[39] Nonetheless, in other *apuntes* it is possible to see other types of headings which perhaps reveal a different tradition of managing extracts or that the job of excerpting was less controlled and restricted. In the case of "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias", the heading "hospitales"[40] comes before

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[38] Nelles, "Libros de Papel, Libri Bianchi, Libri Papyracei: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges," 98.

[39] Ann Blair has shown that some readers were paid for excerpting. Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

[40] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 62, doc. 123, "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias", f. 1.

"hospitalidad virtud poética"[41] and "hospital jardín;"[42] while in another document, "Apuntes sobre los sacramentos de confesión y comunión y sobre el perdón", some of the headings were: "Atravesado con tres lanzadas. Por lascivo jugador enemigo de los sacramentos";[43] "Muerte repentina castigo";[44] "Perdona Cristo cuya imagen fue José por los motivos de castigo."[45] There is a difference between these documents in the types of headings; while the first employs words, the second tends to organize information into phrases. This invites the question: was this due to a particular training or the personal choice of the readers?

The selection of extracts was probably undertaken in order to record them for future use by the reader or other readers. Two Jesuit authors who wrote on note-taking practices were Francesco Sacchini (1570-1625)[46] and Jeremías Drexel,[47] who in their manuals understood that this type of annotations

> aided memory in two ways. In the first place, the process of writing out the passage itself helped to retain what was copied. Sacchini recommended copying out each passage twice: first in a notebook that accumulated passages in the order in which they were encountered, second as sorted under commonplace headings in a separate notebook.[48]

Note-taking can thus be seen as a trace of the reader's trajectory through the written page, revealing his or her searches, intentions, priorities and hierarchies, as well as revealing decisions about what should be remembered and the best way to store them and make accessible important information.

The extracts found in the *apuntes* seem to differ from a standard Jesuit model. In most of the pieces of paper and booklets examined here, there is a recurrent structure of a description of the topic or a heading, a text in Latin, a quotation or an expression,

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[41] Ibid. f. 11.
[42] Ibid.
[43] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 63, doc. 107, "Apuntes sobre los sacramentos de confesión y comunión y sobre el perdón", f. 10.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid. f. 15.
[46] According to Blair, "The first manual solely devoted to excerpting, or note-taking from reading, was composed for students in the advanced or rhetoric class at Jesuit colleges by Francesco Sacchini (1570–1625), professor of rhetoric at the Collegio Romano. *De ratione libros cum profectu legendi libellus* (A Little Book on How to Read with Profit) was published in 1614 and in a further six editions, followed by a translation into French in 1786 (for the use of Calvinists, judging from the dedication to a pastor in Geneva) and into German in 1832." Blair, *Too Much to Know*, sec. 1643.
[47] "Equally long-lived and more frequently reprinted was the manual of Jeremías Drexel (1581–1638), also a Jesuit (born in Augsburg) and a noted preacher who composed more than two dozen moral treatises, many of which were abundantly reprinted." Ibid., sec. 1646.
[48] Ibid., sec. 1810.

and an explanation or description. An example of this was found in the document "Apuntes sobre la muerte y la ley de Dios":

> [Heading] Es de mucha importancia meditar sobre la ley de Dios y las verdades eternas que contiene. Es bueno para exordio al dar ejercicios.

> [Quotation and explanation] Nisi qlextua [sic] medita o mea est: sune [sic] forte perisemin [sic] lus nil itate mea dice Darío también en un salmo que se hallara en la 6a. Señor si mi meditación no hubiera por materia vuestra santísima ley hubiera perecido sumergido en mi pequeñez en mi nada y humildad: esto nos da a entender de cuanta importancia es para nuestra salvación en el considerar y meditar sobre la ley de Dios, sobre lo racional que son sus preceptos, sobre las máximas, y verdades que contiene que sin esta meditación no se puede escapar de tantos peligros y tentaciones como hay en esta vida: ninguno puede alegar excusa pues Darío siendo rey y por eso embarazasadísimo destinaba tiempo para una cosa que tanto importa.[49]

This note was part of a document that seems to have been created as a guide for the religious life that priests had to follow. The heading stresses that priests should be aware of the relevance of God's law and of the necessity to meditate about its revelations. This suggests that notes were perhaps employed frequently in everyday activities and during moments of introspection, and not only for remembering passages for sermons or preaching. In her comprehensive study about notes, Ann Blair states that note-taking "is a general term that covers various kinds of writing in response to listening, reading, or thinking, often in more or less direct preparation for the production of a composition or report (oral or written)."[50] However, she only examines the types of note-taking practices involved in the production of texts and from the previous quotation other uses for this handwritten practice can be detected. In comparison, a note designed to support the production of a spoken or a written text expresses a different intention. In the note "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias", under the heading "hospitales"[51], the texts under the heading "Hospitales" says:

> 8. C. 5. Lo que se ha escrito de hospitalidad: mucha erudición de hospitales, a todas las religiones las llama hospitalarias. Recoge cuanto ha escrito historias eclesiásticas y polianteas, historias profanas de hospitales. El primer hospital el cielo, en que enfermó Luzbel, el segundo el paraíso como trabe en el c. 18, en que resume las antecedentes

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[49] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 63, doc. 107, "Apuntes sobre los sacramentos de confesión y comunión y sobre el perdón", f. 15.

[50] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, sec. 1515.

[51] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 62, doc. 123, "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias", f. 1.

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que han sido de la antigüedad y nobleza del Instituto de la Hospitalidad y acaba el primero libro.[52]

The numbers and letters at the beginning of the previous quotation (8.C.5.) seems to refer to a chapter of a book, indicating the origin of the extract. Across twenty-four folios, all the notes listed in the document "Apuntes de sermones sobre San Juan de Dios, los hospitales, la misericordia con los enfermos y las órdenes hospitalarias" begin with that referencing code created out of two numbers plus the letter C. Most of these notes do not appear to have been copied verbatim from the original but are rather paraphrased. After choosing to record certain excerpts, the reader had to organise the information for use in future spoken speeches or written texts (an example of referencing and types of reading excerpts can be seen in Figure 2.4). According to Jonathan Gibson, extracting and organising excerpts into headings was learned at school in the early modern period.[53] This is also acknowledged by other scholars such as Ann Blair, Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, who have understood commonplace books as an instrument for training in extracting information.[54] In some cases the production of the excerpts that eventually will be published as commonplace books were instructed to readers or assistants, who were given a list of headings selected beforehand. These lists needed some sort of organisation, which could have been arranged in alphabetical order. But when the project was different from making a commonplace book, the list of entries probably followed the sequence in which information was found or needed.[55] Ordering the excerpts and notes was an important task and it seems that priests were left to decide

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[52] Ibid., ff. 1-1r.

[53] Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting Off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730*, ed. James Daybell and Peter Hinds, Early Modern Literature in History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 210.

[54] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2010), sec. 1703; "Commonplace books played an important role in the education of students, according to Knoles and Zaucha KnolesAs students read books, they took notes, inscribed marginal comments, and/or copied portions into commonplace books. Like their tutors, undergraduates made lists of books they owned, read, and/or lent to others. They engaged in debates and took notes on disputations they heard. They composed 'synopses' of their reading on subjects such as logic or natural philosophy in order to fulfill the requirements for the master's degree." Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, '"In Usum Pupillorum". Student-Transcribed Texts', *Proc. AAS*, no. 109 (1999): 387.

[55] "Drexel explains how to index one's notes. Each of the three kinds of notes is kept in a quarto-sized notebook and indexed in a separate octavo-sized notebook in an alphabetical list of headings." Ann Blair, "Note Taking as an Art of Transmission," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 1 (2004): 101. About the beginnings of the index cards, which employed an alphabetical system of ordering see Richard Yeo, 'Between Memory and Paperbooks: Baconianism and Natural History in Seventeenth-Century England', *History of Science* XLV (2007): 14.

the best organisation of these entries according to their own needs. In the "Apuntes para discurso, sobre la prédica", the smallest sheet reveals concerns about readers who do not keep notes in order: "Verdad es que no falta quien por ostentar estrechez y familiaridad con los libros doctos amontona multitud de noticias estimables pero desordenadamente colocadas, blancas margaritas, unas sobre otras feamente puestas con despreciable artificio."[56] This remark addresses how the accumulation of knowledge became a problem for the colonial reader, making note-taking and excerpting an indispensable tool for academic work.
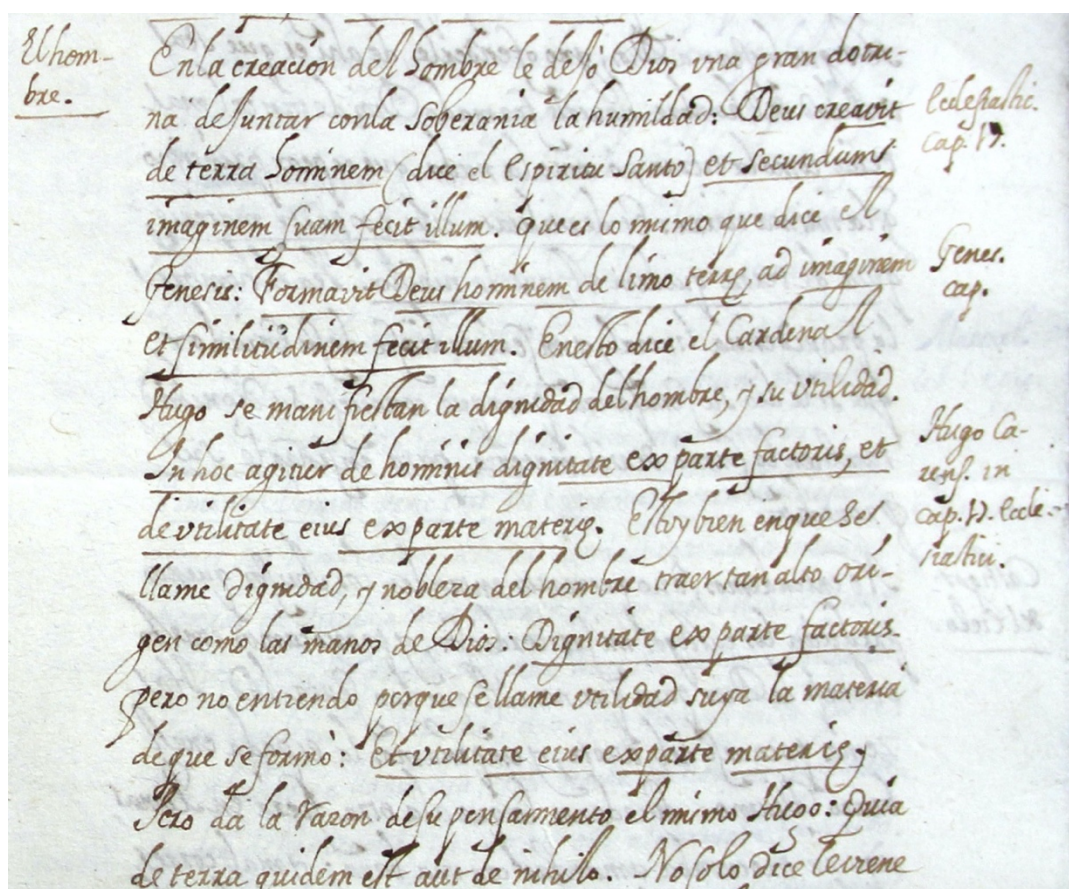
Figure 2.4. Detailed notes on the topic of "el hombre" with references to the sources on the right margin. AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 121, doc. 72, "Apuntes para sermones sobre diversos temas como el trabajo, los bienes temporales, la felicidad humana, los castigos del cielo, la crianza de los hijos y otros. Incompleto.", f 3.

From this collection of papers, it is possible to trace practices related to note-taking related to the spoken word, especially sermons. In some cases, handwritten sermons are the outcome of the transcription of the spoken text onto paper through a series of notes and drafts. The "Sermón sobre el amor de Cristo. Incluye apuntes para otros sermones sobre la pobreza, San Juan Evangelista, sobre Dios como benefactor

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[56] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 64, doc. 40.000, "Apuntes para discurso, sobre la prédica", f. 1.

desinteresado, San Ignacio de Loyola y San Pablo"[57] delivered by the priest Nicolás de Mirabal in 1670 states that "Este sermón a 3 meses que leí y por no haber podido escribir por precisas ocupaciones lo encomendé a la memoria que como tan flaca [o...] en breve y así solo han quedado lugares que para el desinterés de beneficios que no admiten retorno, son muy a propósito."[58] How could priests memorise the spoken sermons delivered a few months before they were written? Why was writing them down necessary if the sermons were predominantly 'published' through speech during ceremonies and in public spaces? In the same sermon, he also addresses the places where sermons were preached:

> Predicando un día de la fiesta que se hacía en la nueva casa de recogidas fundada en Lima por don Pedro de Castro y Andrade, conde de Lemos, y virrey del Perú; dijo con su mucha agudeza el padre Ignacio de las Roelas, rector de San Pablo que [...]tarse a sus obligaciones las que inspiradas en Dios se recogían a servirle en este nuevo santuario, no habían menester más medio que acordarse del día en que habían entrado en este recogimiento que fue el día de la Cruz, a 3 de mayo, del año de 1670.[59]

In other cases, notes relating to sermons present information about the interaction between the preacher and the audience. It is well known that sermons were aimed to generate specific feelings amongst the public; for which sermons made use of rhetorical formulas (constantly repeated phrases or expressions) to alter the mood of the listeners. For example, the "Apuntes para un sermón sobre la pasión de Cristo" advises that:

> A este modo son los sermones de este sagrado tipo: viene los hombres a oírlos con curiosidad, oyen con divertimiento y salen con desengaño sucédese la admiración con los extraños de los sucesos que componen la historia que se parla que engolosinada la atención con esta dulzura el alma que está a la vista toca también [sus alas] **[deleted information]** una [predica] dorada que viene a ser lo mismo que un pícaro bien vestido entra por la garganta del enfermo haciéndole mil honras al paladar pero en llegando al estómago la embosada carga a un lado la cara de oro y a cara descubierta empieza su batería: es la palabra de Dios una como píldora que limpia el corazón el corazón de los afectos mal humorados, es edificantísima: sermo Dei [eficasa] pero pura y neta como la creó el mismo Dios es para estos pecadores que en ellos del gusto y estregado muy desabrida.[60]

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[57] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 63, doc. 67, "Sermón sobre el amor de Cristo. Incluye apuntes para otros sermones sobre la pobreza, San Juan Evangelista, sobre Dios como benefactor desinteresado, San Ignacio de Loyola y San Pablo".

[58] Ibid., f. 10r.

[59] Ibid., f. 12.

[60] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 63, doc. 47, "Apuntes para un sermón sobre la pasión de Cristo.", f. 6.

The word of God was delivered by preachers through the speech. According to the document "Apuntes para sermones sobre diversos temas como el trabajo, los bienes temporales, la felicidad humana, los castigos del cielo, la crianza de los hijos y otros",[61] the preacher should follow certain parameters in order to produce a change in the audience's feelings. The first indicates that "No ha de hablar el predicador para el oído sino para el corazón." Words were meant to be directed to the ear, and

> están tan lejos el corazón de tener por objeto a las palabras, que solo percibe golpes y movimientos silenciosos. Ya podría decirlo el pecho del otro a quien tan bárbaramente persuadieron las hermosas mudeces de una estatua. Pues cómo hemos de entender que tengan oídos para las palabras los corazones? Hemos de entender dice Hugo Cardenal, que cuando tienen doctrina provechosa, y no vana las palabras, son voces proporcionadas al corazón que las entiende y pesa mayor que el oído.[62]

The preachers' training in the art of mastering public speaking was defined by learning the Catholic doctrine. It was designed to address the sentiments of the audience because it talks about "verdades y no al oídole [sic] solo con la infructuosa armonía de las voces, que así tendrá voces no solo para el oído sino para el corazón."[63] This distinction between words destined for the ear and for the heart raises the issue of what was considered trustworthy in colonial society. While the 'common' spoken words of people, such as rumours, were considered 'superficial,' harmonic sounds made by preachers were seen as full of content and truth. This emphasis on the preacher's words reinforces the Catholic doctrine that presented itself as the only valid way to understand the order of things. The imposition of the Catholic doctrine as the only truth was sustained by the Church which supported its diffusion and a corps of preachers who embraced this knowledge and made it available to the community. For the sermon to be 'effective', it was expected to move people,

> Han de ser penetrantes las palabras: *et penetrabitror*, y no solamente penetrante, sino como espada de dos filos: *omni gladio ancipiti*; porque la palabra de Dios que hemos dicho que ha de ser viva, y eficaz para el predicador y su Auditorio, logrados persuasiones recíprocas. La una parte del predicador que con el testimonio de sus costumbres inculpables es una espada que sale de su boca a herir en el corazón de su auditorio. La otra de parte del auditorio que herido así con las obras y palabra del predicador vuelve a herir al mismo predicador con el ejemplo de su constricción y enmienda.[64]

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[61] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 121, doc. 72, "Apuntes para sermones sobre diversos temas como el trabajo, los bienes temporales, la felicidad humana, los castigos del cielo, la crianza de los hijos y otros. Cast y lat. Incompleto".
[62] Ibid., f. 8.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., f. 9.

The success of preaching lies in the response of the Catholic spectators and the effects the spoken word had on their lives. The Catholic community was in charge of replicating the exemplary life of the preacher and incorporating the rules of the doctrine. The power of the religious colonial discourse, supported by the Church's doctrine and some literacy practices, granted preachers with enough status to control and guide the social life of the members of the community. Preachers were not only moral examples to follow but they were also in charge of disseminating knowledge. Sermons illustrate how priests employed the spoken word to share information about geography, history, work, happiness, the education of children, the practice of conversation, health issues, amongst other issues. An example of this variety of topics can be seen in the "Apuntes con notas sobre los puntos cardinales y el nombre de América", where the preacher stated that America was called this

> […] por Vespucio Américo compañero de Colón y de su misma tierra que descubrió una parte de Brasil o del Paraguay = Debe llamarse Colonia por el primer admirante de esta mar Cristóbal Colón gran genovés que de un hombre huésped que murió en su casa gran marinero le quedaron noticias de tierras nunca vistas donde contrastado de vientos y tempestades se había derrotado y de allí vuelto a Sevilla murió en casa de Colón el cual se aprovechó de la relación.[65]

The oral transmission of information included in this note is particularly interesting. The sailor's story is presented as enigmatic and mysterious; the great sailor arrives almost in the last moments of his life at Colon's house with evidence of a great 'discovery'. This information, transmitted orally, talks about a new world which this "great sailor" has been able to see before winds and storms defeated him. The information has all the structure of a rumour, with no precise details about names, places or dates. Instead of disregarding this story as false or a lie, the preacher recorded the passage as worth remembering and thereby afforded this information a sense of reliability.

It seems likely that notes and note-taking practices were also involved in remembering and recording sermons that were delivered orally. Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles observed the same recording procedures for sermons given in Harvard University in their research on the notebooks written by students between 1650 and 1740. They selected sermons as tools for learning how to read, to write, to listen and to speak; in some cases sermons were preached several times for students

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[65] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 120, doc. 135.22, "Apuntes con notas sobre los puntos cardinales y el nombre de América", f. 1.

to practice their note-taking and listening abilities.[66] Other historians, like Ann Blair and Ann Moss, have shown the role that note-taking had in recording sermons or, in the case of commonplace books, keeping useful texts that helped the preacher to develop a certain topic when addressing the audience at hand.[67] This reinforces the idea that the collection of Jesuit sermons was probably the outcome of the intellectual and academic practices that the priests and students employed in their daily activities. It also explains the diversity of documents, the different origins of these materials and the practices involved in the production of texts that move constantly between the spoken and the written word.

Commonplace books, understood as part of the tradition of note-taking, were key to the production of spoken and written materials, meanwhile notes were useful for registering information that had been transmitted aloud. The latter method was called *reportatio* and it consisted of a series of techniques, widely employed in medieval Europe, that were designed to improve the making of notes from texts spoken in sermons, lectures and in courtrooms.[68] When *reportatio* was used to record the scholastic disputes or *disputatio* the results were similar to the notes taken from a spoken sermon, which meant that they were "sketchy notes to be filled in later from memory and other aids."[69] Similar objects can be seen in some of the *apuntes* in Lima where phrases appear to have been recorded without care and quickly, as suggested by their poor legibility; they look like parts or annotations of a speech (Figure 2.5). The phrases in these notes are separated by brackets, perhaps with the intention of identifying different statements gathered out from a speech in a random manner or as part of a method of transcription. A group of scribes would take turns writing phrases in order to have a complete copy of the oral text, leaving markings indicating the parts of the text each one of them managed to copy. Another hypothesis is that these markings separate the parts of the text the scribe transcribed *in situ* from the parts he remembered by memory and added *a posteriori*. Inside the brackets he would have indicated the text he was able to write, while the rest of text would correspond to the memorised information. Unfortunately it is impossible to provide a concrete answer

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[66] Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, "'In Usum Pupillorum'. Student-Transcribed Texts," *Proc. AAS*, no. 109 (1999): 388.

[67] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, (Clarendon Press, 1996), 136.

[68] Ann Blair, 'Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe', in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi, 447 (Genève: Droz, 2008), 6.

[69] Ibid., 7.

to this query since more work is needed on the kind of handwriting systems used in recording.
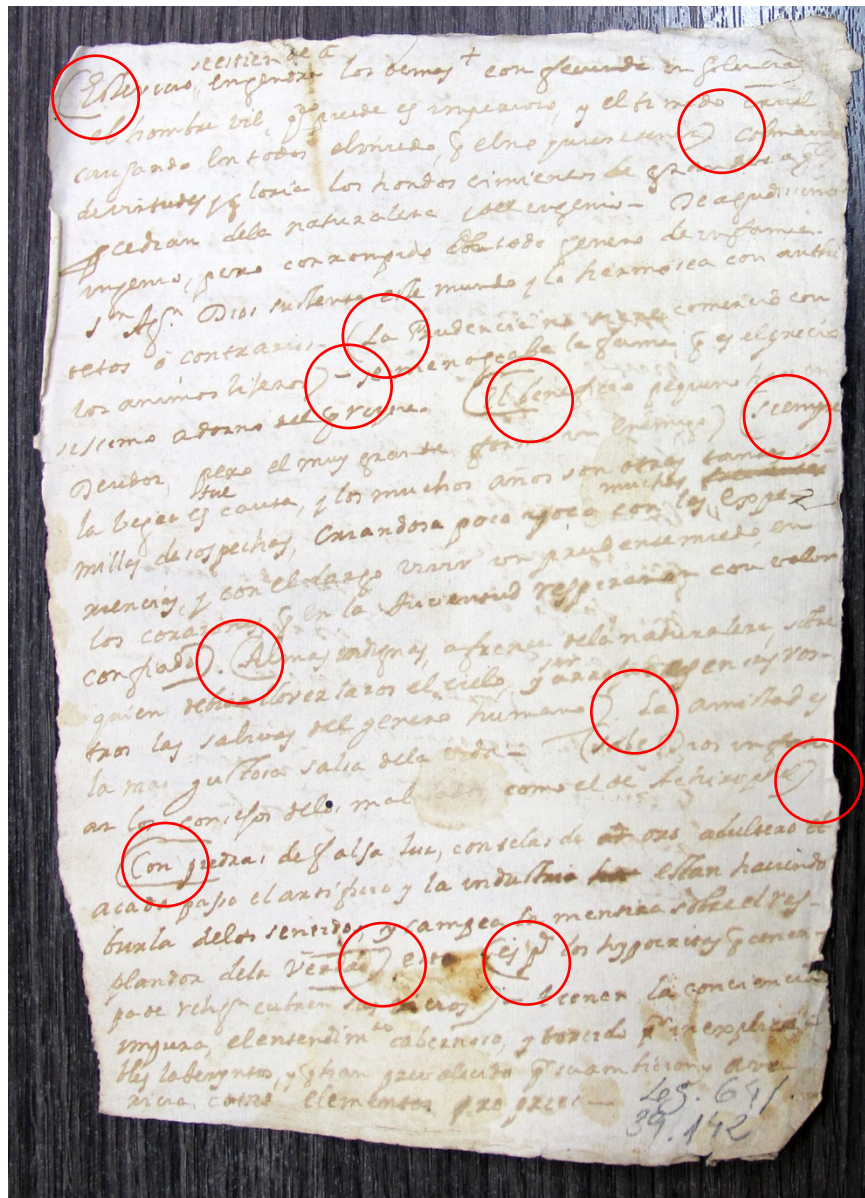
Figure 2.5. Brackets on a page. AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 64, doc. 39.142, "Apuntes sobre diversos temas como la prudencia, la vejez, la amistad o el adulterio. Castellano.", f 1.

Most of the papers found in the category of *apuntes* have different types of annotations and corrections. Some of them seem to have been drafts of texts that were being prepared for publishing or for circulation when they were finished. They were written, possibly at slow pace, with a script that looks more refined and elaborate; even the number of corrections and changes marked on the text varies. In some cases, the documents were perfectly clean and ready to be distributed to a wider audience or as an evidence that a sermon has been declaimed. According to the document "Apuntes para sermones sobre diversos temas como el trabajo, los bienes temporales, la felicidad

humana, los castigos del cielo, la crianza de los hijos y otros", there were three ways of publishing sermons consistent with the demands of the readers:

> Deseaba Job que saliesen a la luz y se publicasen por todo el mundo sus sermones: sermones al fin de desengaños desde la catedral o lugar de su miserable infortunio, y son de ponderar los tres modos en que quería predicar Job. Pretendía predicar una doctrina que fuese obra de la pluma: *quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei?* Quería también que fuese de impresión sus sermones: *Ut exarentur in libro*, y últimamente los querría esculpidos en láminas de bronce de tabla y de pedernal. *Et plumbi lamina vel celte sculpantur in silice.*[70]

Handwriting, printing and drawing in wood were the ways in which sermons, and probably other texts were published in Santa Fe de Bogotá and Lima in the colonial period. As it will be shown in the following chapter, besides manuscript and printed form of texts, stone and probably wood were employed as a material for the drawing of 'public' displays of religious texts on the walls of churches and other spaces open to the majority of the population. The difference between them seems to be related to the type of audience and its understanding of the moral principles and behaviour promoted by the Church. For example, the readers for whom the handwritten sermon was published looked for "las delicadezas de la pluma en la candidez del papel; porque para los que viven con pura consciencia y temor de Dios basta una doctrina suave, basta una persuasión que escribe con suavidad de pluma"; for other readers, those who preferred printed books, they looked for the "persuasiones con apreturas de prensa; porque viviendo de cuidados de su salvación, es necesario el aviso con más entereza y peso", and for those who had "pechos de bronce, entrañas de roble, y corazones de pedernal; y para estos ni basta la suavidad de la pluma, ni los estrechos de la prensa, porque son menester el pico y el sincel, son necesario el fierro y el arriero."[71] Hence, the type of textual material used was related to the degree of resistance to or knowledge of religious discourse.

This classification of written culture materials portrays the type of audiences and the educational practices involved in teaching the doctrine. The audiences could have been fully aware of God's message, driven by individual interests such as their own salvation, or totally defiant of Catholic doctrine. In order to educate them, the priest employed the gentle trace of the quill over paper, the pressure of the printing

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[70] AGNP, Colección Sermones Jesuitas, Asuntos religiosos, sermones, 121, doc. 72, "Apuntes para sermones sobre diversos temas como el trabajo, los bienes temporales, la felicidad humana, los castigos del cielo, la crianza de los hijos y otros. Cast y lat. Incompleto", f. 7.
[71] Ibid., ff. 7-7r.

press and the strong hand necessary to carve text in stone. Inscribing presents itself as a metaphor for educating, depicting the role of the audience as a passive agent, which should be shaped even through punishment. Carved wood or stone texts were usually employed in public spaces, probably addressing illiterate people by oral reading and images, while handwritten and printed materials were destined for a selected group already trained in the Church's doctrine.

Note-taking practices illustrate how priests and other members of the Church were key agents in the process of controlling, educating and organizing the colonial social life. Their status granted them the power to exert control over the knowledge and beliefs circulating among illiterate masses and other audiences. Through their notes it was possible to trace their methods of recording and selecting the information they considered relevant for their job as preachers. It is now worth considering the writing practices in Jesuit classrooms in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá. It has already been noted that notes were used as a tool for making a record of spoken texts through systems like the *reportatio*. Notes were probably involved in the production of the handwritten notebooks resulting from the lectures given to priests and members of the elite inside educational institutions. Although most of the notebooks and textbooks ended up dispersed in the private libraries of former students or, in the case of the examples in Lima, taken apart to be consulted inside of institutions, some remained intact inside of the libraries of the Jesuits in Santa Fe de Bogotá.

2.3 Enhancing status through notebooks produced in the colonial classroom

The considerable number of handwritten products coming out of colonial institutions of learning in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá shows a strong connection between manuscript production and colonial education. Historians have analysed such notebooks and books in their search for traces of a unique colonial philosophical and theological tradition, but what they have found are workshops for handwritten books rather than centres for the production of knowledge. This was in part due to the apparent stagnation of scholasticism inside institutions belonging to the religious orders, but it could have also been due to a tradition that considered writing to be a method of remembering and learning, as well as a way of supplying learning materials to students. The argument in this section is that it is not possible to understand the colonial handwritten materials that were employed to earn social advancement without

looking into the production of manuscript texts inside of the educational system. Insights into this process will be gained through an examination of pieces of manuscript notebooks found in Lima, guidelines for teaching writing to Native American children, and manuscript notebooks and books written and copied in the academic courses at the Jesuit university, the Academia Javeriana, in Santa Fe de Bogotá at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

There is some evidence about the production of manuscript books undertaken by students during their classes at universities in Santa Fe de Bogotá. Some of the handwritten objects they produced remained in the hands of their creators in their private libraries, as seen in the posthumous inventory of the library of Don Fernando de Castro y Vargas in 1664. At the end of the list of his books was recorded the "materias que oyó el señor Doctor; libros de mano desde gramática, retórica, artes y Teología. Desde la gramática hasta la Teología hay de mano cinquenta y ocho libros."[72] Probably most of these fifty eight manuscript books were written by the priest during his studies, but some of them may have been inherited or borrowed. One reason it is hard to find information about notebooks is because they frequently circulated among students or were stored in the school libraries, where they were pulled apart to create separate booklets that could be used by several readers at the same time. This was the case with most of the sixty-nine treatises found in the collection Sermones Jesuitas in the Archivo Nacional del Perú (Figure 2.1), where booklets have marks on their inner margins indicating previous bindings. In the collection of documents found in Lima, there are also smaller pieces of treatises under the name of fragments and others under the name of *apuntes*.

Training in recording lectures through handwriting may have started from childhood. In the document "Instrucción que los maestros de enseñar a leer y a escribir de esta ciudad de los Reyes han de guardar en sus escuelas para la Buena educación y enseñanza de los niños", there are instructions for teaching young people how to write and read.[73] Although this document is dated 9 October, 1592, the information it contains is indispensable for understanding the processes of learning to write and read and the variables entailed in the process. It comprises thirty-one rules for teachers on

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[72] Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "La biblioteca del canónigo Don Fernando de Castro y Vargas," *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 55, no. 1–3 (1959): 139.

[73] BNE, Manuscritos, Mss. 3043, "Ordenanzas y comisiones para el Reino de Nueva Granada y obispado de Quito".

how to instruct students about reading and writing, that went beyond these actual practices of writing or reading and instead focussed on the moral and religious dimension of the student. Some of the guidance seems to be directed at evangelisation and the control of individual's social life outside of the classroom.

Of the thirty-one rules, twenty-three were closely related with the moral training of the children. These guidelines for teachers show that behind teaching to read and write, the aim was to configure a student's life around the values, behaviours, rituals and customs of the Catholic Church. Most of these instructions indicated when and where children should pray and the kind of prayers they should perform on different occasions. For example, rule twelve indicates that teachers should

> enseñarles [to the children] que por la mañana en levantándose e hinquen de rodillas delante de alguna imagen y persignándose y santigüándose den gracias a dios [sic] por haberles dejado llegar a aquella hora y pídanle su favor y gracia para emplear aquel día en su santo [sea] guardando sus mandamientos lo cual hecho rezen las cuatro oraciones comunes [a] la Iglesia […].[74]

The instruction states the allegiance and acknowledgement of the authority of the Church and the monarchy with the following words "[…] y religiones de ella y por nuestro católico rey don Felipe y por todos los demás reyes y príncipes cristianos y todo el pueblo cristiano para que todos sirvan a Dios guardando su ley y por la reducción de los herejes a la Iglesia Romana [y] la conversión de todos los infieles […]."[75] The emphasis on the ecclesiastical and monarchical institutions, and the imposition of a 'Christian' way of living through the guidance given in the *Instrucción* suggests that this document was meant to address the indigenous communities.[76] These guidelines illustrate how training on literacy created a set of values characteristic of literate people united by Catholic moral parameters. These parameters were likely shared by members of the colonial elite who learned them from tutors or in educational institutions.

In addition, the rules went even further by considering students responsible for spreading the doctrine of the Catholic Church inside their homes and in places where the word of God was still unknown. Children were required to repeat the "declaración que el maestro les enseña y a los que así lo hicieren cada semana su maestro les

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[74] Ibid., f. 365r.
[75] Ibid., f. 365r.
[76] In addition, most of the documents collected along with "Instrucción que los maestros de enseñar a leer y a escribir de esta ciudad de los Reyes han de guardar en sus escuelas para la Buena educación y enseñanza de los niños" are related with the native population and their organisation.

perdone una vez de azotes trayendo de su padre firma de cómo la enseñan y por las calles la vayan cantando […]."[77] Students learned the doctrine through memorising prayers in *cartillas* maybe produced exclusively for the purpose of teaching how to read.[78] Becoming a Christian and literate were interrelated processes through which the Catholic Church increased its dominance over the written text and the book. People learned to read and write in contexts where the only content available was a religious understanding of the world defined by the Catholic Church. The prohibition of other books and texts in the classroom also extended to the household, where books had to be "devotos y buenos que enseñen cosas de la religion cristiana y buenas costumbres[…]."[79] However, there were other ways of becoming literate; the historian Renán Silva, who has worked on the intellectual colonial history in Nueva Granada asserts that "El aprendizaje de la lectura y la escritura en el caso de los grupos dominantes en la sociedad colonial, hasta bien entrado el siglo XVIII fue un proceso adelantado en el ámbito de la institución familiar, a través de la modalidad de preceptores privados."[80] This suggests that there were two different ways of literacy training. The first was the act of being taught in institutions, where the training followed formal procedures, and the second form of training took place within the family and can be considered in some way less formal. Furthermore, sermons and preaching could have been tools employed in mastering literacy practices learned in colleges or in private spaces.

Another set of rules, relating directly to the practices of reading and writing, refers to the timing of classes, the materials to be used, the pedagogical practices, the types of script to be employed and the role of the teacher. The classes were to be held in both the morning and afternoon. In the morning session

> el maestro les vaya tomando personalmente lección a los de escribir en carta o proceso y por la tarde en libro tan solamente para que en lo uno y en lo otro salgan buenos lectores y a los de leer que decoraren se les dará también lección en carta y a los demás en sus libros o cartillas cada uno donde le perteneciere leer.[81]

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[77] BNE, Manuscritos, Mss. 3043, "Ordenanzas y comisiones para el Reino de Nueva Granada y obispado de Quito", f. 366r.

[78] The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1729) defines *cartilla* as "el quadernito impreso en que están las letras, y los primeros rudimentos para aprender a leer."

[79] Ibid., f. 366.

[80] Renán Silva, *Saber, Cultura y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVII Y XVIII* (La Carreta Editores, 2004), 55.

[81] BNE, Manuscritos, Mss. 3043, "Ordenanzas y comisiones para el Reino de Nueva Granada y obispado de Quito", f. 365.

Students had to spend most of their time making "planas", which were constantly examined by the teacher twice a day; the first time "a las diez y por las tardes a las cuatro."[82] Corrections to the written exercises would have been done when students failed to use an accurate form of script. These were done beneath the marks made by the teacher. Two types were commonly taught: *letras redondas* and *bastardillas* since these were the most commonly used. Training consisted of giving to the children "al principio muestras de letra grande de suerte que en una plana hagan doce renglones y escriban sobre falsas reglas hasta que vayan soltando la mano."[83]

Reading and writing were not taught separately, nor were instructions for each one of them indicated individually. Reading was taught as a form of memorising prayers and Church doctrine, while writing focused on teaching the correct shape of the letters. A similar form of literacy training was observed by Jennifer Monaghan, a historian who has worked on the history of literacy in colonial North America. In her study of literacy instruction in seventeenth-century New England, she notes that 'good' reading meant performing oral reading according to the instruction received, while 'good' writing aimed to create letters in a refined manner.[84] The careful production of the scripts can be seen in the notebooks made after the lectures in Jesuit institutions such as the Academia Javeriana (Figure 2.6), where many manuscripts made by students feature high-quality handwriting, some of them accompanied by decorated titles. Monaghan argues that colonial writing should be seen as a craft mostly dominated by men, who at that time were the only people allowed to learn to write and read; in contrast women could only learn to read.[85] Similarly, the *Instrucciones* show that schools were only meant to allow boys access to the classrooms, while girls were banned from receiving guidance in "leer ni rezar por la indecencia que es y los inconvenientes que pueden suceder."[86] However, this may have only applied to social groups different form the colonial elite, given that members of this group could hire personal tutors who may have trained women. Likewise elite

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Jennifer Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England," in *The Book History Reader*, 2nd ed. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2006), 401.

[85] Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England".

[86] BNE, Manuscritos, Mss. 3043, "Ordenanzas y comisiones para el Reino de Nueva Granada y obispado de Quito", f. 365.

families sent women to convents where they were exposed to the literacy practices restricted only to men.[87]
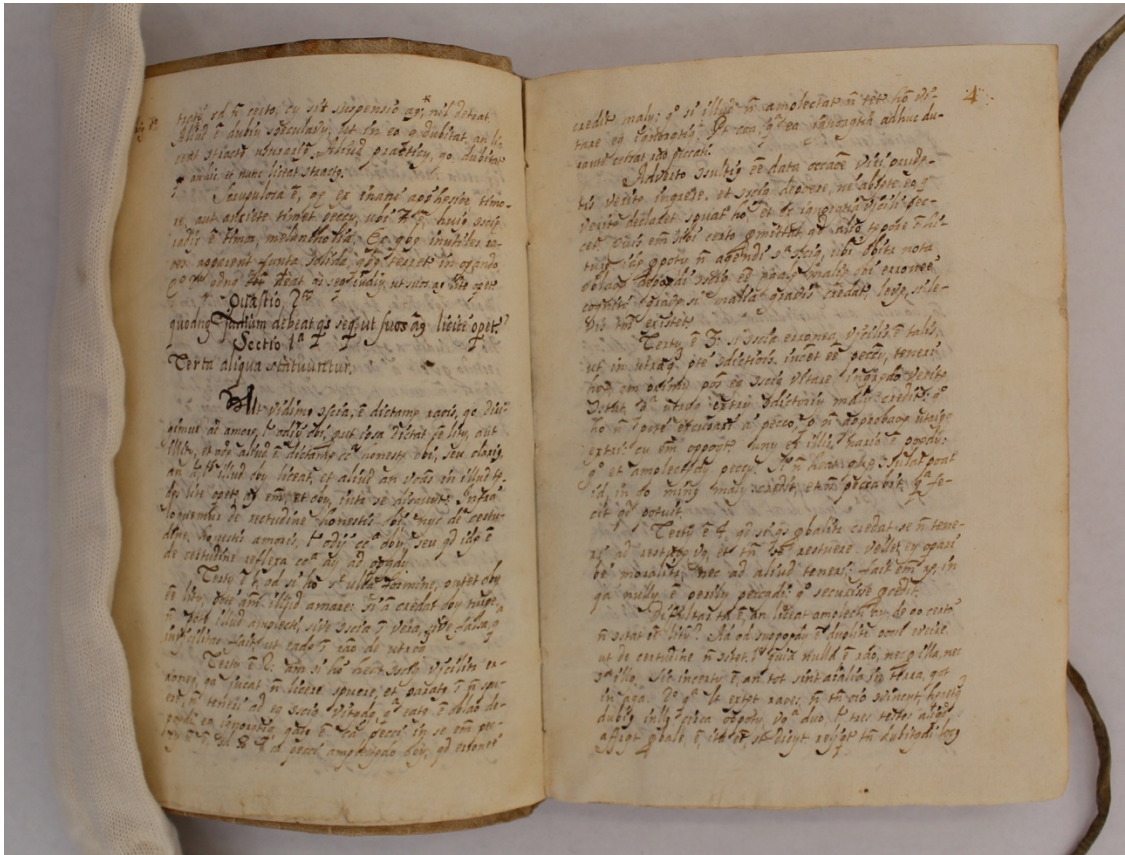
Figure 2.6. Layout of a notebook. It can be seen the careful production in the margins, the spaces between lines and the script. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.Tractatus de Conscientia, RM-082, f. 4.

Everyday life inside the schools was organised around religious services. Every day or at least once per week, preferably on Sundays, the children were required to go to mass, where they had to "ayudar conforme con el misal nuevo y oirla de rodillas con mucha atención y devoción, y el evangelio en pie y oigan sermon cuando lo hubiere". Most of these instructions were concerned with the respect Catholics were to exhibit in sacred spaces and in front of objects such as images and holy water. The week was basically organised around Sunday and religious *fiestas*. Each day before "fiestas por la tarde haya escuela y hagan lo que es costumbre en los demás días de trabajo, excepto los sábados por la tarde que se le ha de tomar cuenta las oraciones cada uno en particular y hecho esto rezarán toda la doctrina y se les enseñará a ayudar

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[87] For further information on women's education in Early Modern Spain see Elizabeth Rhodes, "Join the Jesuits, See the World: Early Modern Women in Spain and in the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits II. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 33–49.

a misa."[88] Saturday was the last day of the week and perhaps not the best day to be involved in writing tasks. This will be expanded upon in the fourth chapter, when in 1709 the Viceroy of Perú, Marques del Castelldosrius, suggested that poor-quality poems derived from having been written on that day of week. This may have been related to the need to prepare for religious rituals and ceremonies on Sunday. In contrast, the Viceroy's *academias* were set on Monday, the first 'working day'. Religion governed the organisation of everyday life in the colonial society, and writing practices were subjected to the Church's cycles of activities.

The *Instrucciones* shed some light on the handwritten practices inside the colonial classroom in universities and colleges. The manuscript books made in the religious institutions in Santa Fe de Bogotá were probably the result of similar activities lead by teachers reading aloud. The role of the professor enjoyed intellectual prestige as well as certain power inside of educational institutions and privileges. According to historian José Abel Salazar professors or *catedráticos* enjoy of certain rights, such as "de precedencia, el de asistir a exámenes y aun presidirlos, gozar de voz en el claustro o consejo universitario y devengar algunos emolumentos."[89] Along with the similar activity of note-taking discussed above, there were additional practices that were involved in the production of textbooks and notebooks. In the first case, textbooks were manuscript books resulting from copying other handwritten or printed books that students created as part of their courses and as tools for learning. These practices were common in the early modern period in many colonial educational institutions; Ann Blair, Thomas Knoles and Lucia Zaucha Knoles have studied the textbooks made at Harvard in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century.[90] Blair observed that some of the most important textbooks employed by students, such as 'Compendium physicae' by Charles Morton (1627-98), a 'Compendium logicae' by William Brattle (1662-1717) and a Hebrew grammar by Judah Monis (1683-1764), were copied out in blank books of 500 pages.[91] In the case of notebooks, Paul Nelles

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[88] BNE, Manuscritos, Mss. 3043, "Ordenanzas y comisiones para el Reino de Nueva Granada y obispado de Quito", f. 365r.

[89] José Abel Salazar, *Los estudios eclesiásticos superiores en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (1563-1810)* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1946), 660, http://repository.javeriana.edu.co/handle/10554/78.

[90] Blair, "Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe"; Thomas Knoles, Rick Kennedy, and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, *Student Notebooks at Colonial Harvard: Manuscripts and Educational Practice, 1650-1740* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2003); Knoles and Zaucha Knoles, "'In Usum Pupillorum'. Student-Transcribed Texts".

[91] Blair, "Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe" 17.

states that they "assumed the form of a collection of notes or glosses on a course text. Lectures furnished one source of information, but consultation of additional materials was clearly normal practice in stocking the notebook."[92] It seems that these practices of book making also took place in the Academia Javeriana in Santa Fe de Bogotá resulting in an abundance of theological and philosophical handwritten texts.

One of the first researchers to draw attention to the richness of the manuscript materials in Santa Fe de Bogotá was the Franciscan priest Francisco Quecedo, who in 1952 published a catalogue of the handwritten books produced in colonial classrooms. In his article "Manuscritos teológico-filosóficos colonials santafereños", Quecedo examined 129 handwritten books made by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, the last producing more than two thirds of these books. Jesuit schools encouraged the writing of manuscripts objects from their own curriculum, guided by the Ratio Studiorum.[93] Paul Nelles continues this focus on the written practices of the Jesuits showing that notes were taken inside and outside of the classroom and frequently they were at the heart of many exercises and training practices included in the Jesuit curriculum. Notebooks became frequently employed in Jesuits classrooms between 1550 and 1560, when guidelines for colleges and circular memoranda were distributed.[94] Notebooks were developed from the note-taking practices employed by the Jesuits, but what were the characteristics of these text materials in colonial Santa Fe de Bogotá?

Due to absence of local paper production, colonial manuscript books were written on blank books imported from Spain. Paper production required a continuous source of mainly rags and fabrics to supply the paper mills.[95] This meant that cities required a constant supply of unused clothing and an active textile industry. Neither Lima nor Santa Fe de Bogotá possessed the conditions to become a paper production

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[92] Nelles, "Libros de Papel, Libri Bianchi, Libri Papyracei: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges," 97.

[93] Francisco Quecedo stated that "La Compañía de Jesús, fiel a la orientación científica que su fundador le inspirara, inicia la magnífica obra de resurgimiento teológico. No creo que pueda superarla ninguna de las órdenes religiosas, entonces florecientes. […]. Elevado al gobierno de la naciente Compañía el P. Acquaviva, uno de sus planes, al que, tal vez, concedía más importancia, fue la organización de los estudios. Fruto de esta preocupación fue la Ratio Studiorum." Francisco Quecedo, "Manuscritos teologico-filosoficos coloniales santaferenos," *Ecclesiastica xaveriana* 2 (1952): 220.

[94] Nelles, "Libros de Papel, Libri Bianchi, Libri Papyracei: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges," 75.

[95] Dard Hunter, *Papermaking. The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (Pleiades Books: London; Norwood, Massprinted, 1947); Lucien Paul Victor Febvre et al., *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, The Foundations of History Library (London: N.L.B, 1976).

centre. This means that during the colonial and probably most of the republican period, in Spanish America, with the exception of New Spain, written culture survived by using paper produced in Europe. Imported paper came predominantly as blank paper books, which were already bound gatherings of paper ready for writing on. The bindings of these paper books were mostly in vellum, but other materials could have been employed, such as wood or fabrics. This does not mean that local bindings could have been done in some rare cases. They could have used domestic cattle or fabrics and wood. For instance, the handwritten books analysed in this chapter are all bound in vellum as well as the *Flor de academias* in Chapter Four. The exception is the *Descripción suscinta,* the relación de exequias examined in Chapter Three, which was bound in red velvet.[96]

Other important studies of the manuscript notebooks, besides the one previously quoted from Quecedo, are José Manuel Rivas Sacconi's *El Latín en Colombia: Bosquejo histórico del humanismo colombiano*, and the collective project *Biblioteca Virtual del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia* (henceforth BVPFC) under the direction of Yelitsa Marcela Forero Reyes.[97] The latter has worked on the digitalization and material analysis of forty eight handwritten treatises collected in notebooks between the early sixteenth century and the first decades of the second half of the eighteenth century, mostly at the Academia Javeriana in Santa Fe de Bogotá. Most of these books were examined for this research, especially those held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. The major focus was on finding traces of the practices employed in the classrooms that were involved in the production of manuscript books. All of these books are more or less the same size: 21,5 x 15,5 cm, and most of them have a watermark folded under the binding at the centre of the page (Figure 2.7).[98] In a printed book this would be described as a quarto format, but

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[96] Ministerio de Educación Nacional, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. IX (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1970), 210.

[97] José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, *El latín en Colombia: Bosquejo histórico del humanismo colombiano*, 3a ed, Biblioteca Colombiana ; 39 (Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1993); Universidad Javeriana, "Biblioteca Virtual del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia," BVPFC, accessed June 1, 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.

[98] Watermarks are important because they were the trademarks of paper that certified its provenance, although these marks were frequently counterfeited. Peter Beal explains that "A watermark is the device or design impressed into a sheet of paper as a result of the manufacturing process. In early papermaking, wires in the tray or mould were twisted into various shapes, the paper produced being thinner where the fibres touched the wires, leaving a design which was visible when the paper was held up to the light." Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450 to 2000*, 1 edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), sec. 4854.

manuscript books are usually described using measurements. These books or notebooks contain several treatises and, in a few cases, only one work comprised the whole length of the book. The first page of each of the works usually consisted of a statement of the course taken, the professor who read the text and the *auditore* or student who attended the course and took notes.[99] In the case of the Figure 2.8, the initial page of the work states that the Jesuit Mateo Mimbela was the reader or teacher of the Physics course and Juan de Herrera was the student.
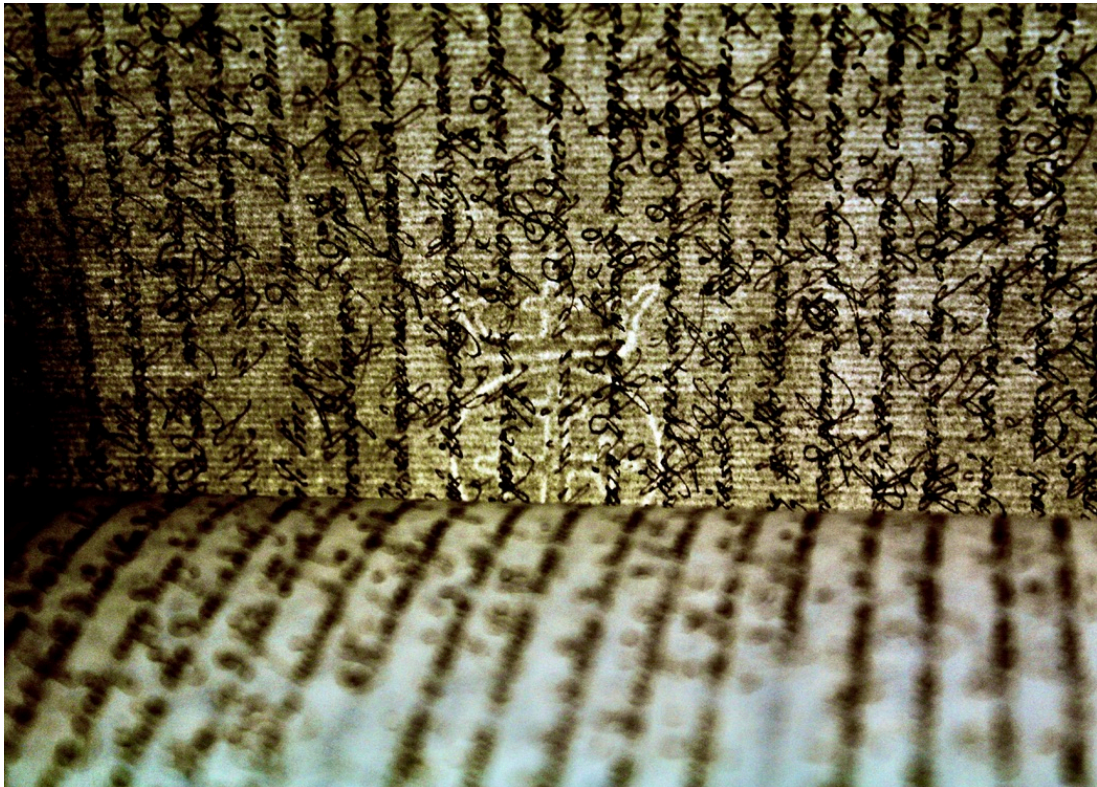
Figure 2.7. Watermark towards the inner margin. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, *Tractatus de Dei Visione*, RM-0041.

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[99] It is difficult, when considering this period, to use categories such as *writer* or *author*. The process of manuscript book making indicates that writers acted more like copyists and that authors probably were associated more with the spoken production of texts rather than the written word. It clearly shows how a different idea of authorship developed after the nineteenth century, when the spreading of the printing press and the market of the book created an idea of authorship linked to individuality and originality.

Figure 2.8. Highly decorated title page of a notebook. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, *Physices Tractatus* taught by Mateo Mimbela, S.J., and written by Juan de Herrera, RM-149.

As previously indicated, from the middle ages in Europe the practices of taking notes or transcribing from speech to written text was commonly known as *reportatio*. This consisted of a series of activities that took place in schools, churches and other spaces where it was necessary to create record of what was spoken. In the case of *reportationes* made for academic purposes, Ann Blair found that in fourteenth-century theology courses, the "[…] student *reportationes* certainly circulated but only rarely survived. Lecturers usually prepared their own definitive versions of their lectures ("lectura edita") from their own lecture notes (often prepared during the year before the lectures were delivered), supplemented with the *reportationes* of students or an assistant and with further annotations and revisions made after the lecture."[100] This would explain the findings of the BVPFC about the structure and composition of some *reportationes*. For instance, in the case of the *Physices Tractatus* by Mateo Mimbela,

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[100] Blair, 'Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe', 7.

the researchers found that even though the structure of the work follows on first Aristotle's *Physics*, "su temática está en verdad determinada en su mayor parte por las disputas intraescolásticas de la época."[101] Many Colombian historians such as Renán Silva and Rivas Sacconi have regarded these notebooks as the results of a scholastic system of practices of learning composed by the *lectio*, *dictatio* and *disputatio*. The first was the process of reading aloud with explanations and commentaries for the students to repeat and memorize; the second, was the activity of writing down speech with abbreviations and creating a record of the course's content. The last was basically a scholastic argument about a certain topic, where students were required to put into practice what they had learned from the courses in rhetorical competitions.[102]

It is clear that these notebooks were designed as tools to remember and record the knowledge transmitted during lectures in the classroom. Sharing knowledge also required the students and teachers to follow particular actions. For example, in the anonymous manuscript entitled by the BVPFC as *Logices opus: Logica Parva seu Summula et Disertationes Scholasticæ ad universam Aristotelis Logicam*[103], the anonymous professor addressing the students explains the practices they should adopt when becoming a philosopher:

> […] amante de la ciencia [sabiduría] nunca [en este momento o etapa] os creáis que sois filósofos sino que os dedicáis a pertrecharos de todo lo que se necesita para llegar a ella. Esto se logrará mediante un diligente cuidado en escuchar, en escribir, en meditar y en repetir todo lo que se os ha enseñado, lo mismo que en el ardiente deseo de servir a Dios. En lo que a mí se refiere, advierto y confieso que no doy la talla para llevar una carga tan grande; sin embargo, hasta donde me alcancen las fuerzas, cumpliré con toda diligencia y exactitud, con la mayor brevedad que me sea posible, con el lenguaje más claro que esté a mi alcance y con el método más sencillo que pueda, condensando, enseñando y dirigiendo [vuestro aprendizaje].[104]

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[101] Manuel Domínguez Miranda, ed., 'Obra 2 Physices Tractatus' (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), n.d., accessed 6 March 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.

[102] Silva, *Saber, cultura y sociedad*; José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, *El latín en Colombia*.

[103] This manuscript lost its title page, leaving the information of the professor and reader unknown as well as the title. However, the BVPFC locates the origin of the notebook in Santa Fe de Bogotá and identifies the reader as Jesuit. In their words, "Al final de cada tratado hay un colofón en el que se pide que el esfuerzo del curso redunde en gloria del gran protoparente Ignacio y del preclaro Juan Nepomuceno, muestra clara de que el profesor de este "cursus" es un jesuita. A parte de esto, no se ha encontrado ninguna referencia ni al autor, ni al oyente del curso. En el colofón del segundo tratado se da la fecha de la terminación del curso, sin embargo el año está tachado de modo que no es posible leerlo. Creemos que la obra fue escrita en el siglo XVIII." Manuel Domínguez Miranda, ed., 'Lógica 4. [Logices opus: Logica Parva seu Summula et Disertationes Scholasticæ ad universam Aristotelis Logicam]' (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), 9, accessed 6 March 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.

[104] Ibid., 10–11.

Both the student and the professor agreed on the tasks to enable the process needed to become a philosopher, which implies the frequent use of hearing, writing and meditating. However, if notebooks were only made to fulfil the task of capturing the speech of the reader, why were so many of them highly decorated, have a table of contents and were written in a clean and clear script? Is it possible that what has been considered an object for private use was actually made to be shared and reflect the status of the educational institution or the *catedrático*? On this topic, it is not clear how students managed to achieve the high level of decoration, organisation and production of some of the manuscripts. Given that each book has a different level of decoration, some of the students may have learned the skills to embellish their handwritten books elsewhere. However, it is more probable that they required the services of trained scribes to assist with book decoration.

By 1730, the priest Ignacio Ferrer, originally from Spain, was teaching philosophy at the Universidad Javeriana in Santa Fe de Bogotá.[105] Having taken his course, the student Josepho Laureano Godoy created or arranged for somebody else to write, what was probably a final copy of the course. This copy constituted a well-decorated notebook with a colourful title page illustrated with a bird standing on a book (Figure 2.9), and a diagram in the folio 62 (Figure 2.10). There was also a consistency in the script found in the subtitles, in the space between lines, in the indentation of the first line of paragraphs and there was a clear intention of leaving the outer margin larger than the inner one (Figure 2.11).

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[105] José del Rey Fajardo, quoted by Manuel Domínguez Miranda, ed., 'Obra 7. Disputationes in libros [Aristotelis] de Metaphysica by Ignacio Ferrer' (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), 42, accessed 6 March 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.

Figure 2.9. Highly decorated title page of a notebook. "Obra 7. Disputationes in libros [Aristotelis] de Metaphysica by Ignacio Ferrer" (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), title page, accessed 6 March, 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.
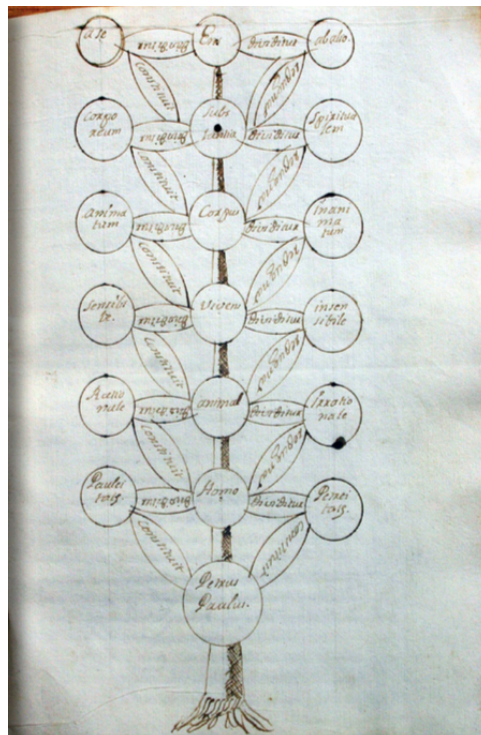
Figure 2.10. Illustration on a notebook. "Obra 7. Disputationes in libros [Aristotelis] de Metaphysica by Ignacio Ferrer" (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), 82, accessed 6 March, 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.
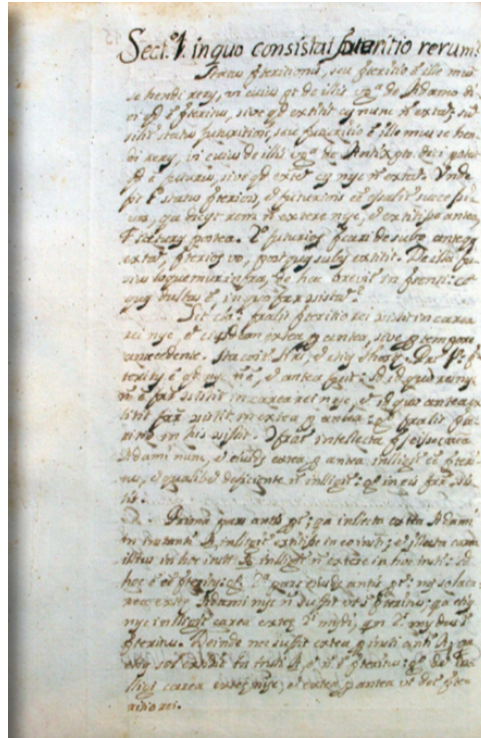
Figure 2.11. Consistency in the layout of a handwritten page in a notebook. "Obra 7. Disputationes in libros [Aristotelis] de Metaphysica by Ignacio Ferrer" (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), 45r, accessed 6 March, 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.

Although the stable script and the lack of abundant corrections or markings implies a manuscript copy done on a separate occasion from the rushing and rhythm when recording a spoken language, there is no evidence that they were compiled collectively. This contrasts with the procedure seen in chapters three and four, where a group of scribes was probably involved in writing the *relación de exequias* for the death of king Luis I and the recording of the events in the *Flor de academias*. This argument is supported by the presence of different sets of scripts and through casting blanks. In this case, and for most of these notebooks, the script is the same for each text and casting off blanks are only present on a few occasions.[106] This probably means that the transcription of the texts was undertaken in the order they were copied in class and not in sections assigned to different people. In the cases where notebooks of several works were compiled, the blank pages had been cut out, probably in order to prevent other people writing on those pages. This is the case in the RM 82 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, which gathered three different works: the first two

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[106] Casting off blanks is a method of manuscript book making in which titles of sections were written down in advance of copying out the content of the text. Usually the scribe is unaware of the size of the text he is going to copy. Further explanation about this practice will be introduce in Chapter Four.

recording the readings of Juan Antonio Varillas, S. J. and the last that of Juan Manuel Romero, S. J. (Figure 2.12).
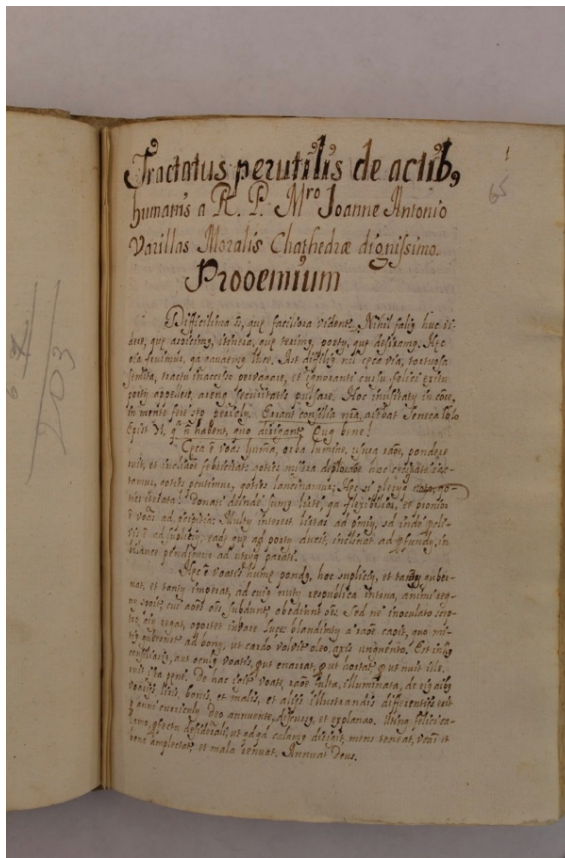
Figure 2.12. Removed blank leaves from a booklet. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. RM-082, f. 1. This notebook is composed of three different works. In the beginning of the second part it can be seen that the pages left blank at the end of the previous chapter have been cut out.

The information at the beginning of each treatise gives the name of the lecturer, yet there is no trace of the student's name. Only the first treatise of this notebook has written "Dr. Luna" over the credits of the course and the professor, probably indicating the owner of the notebook (Figure 2.13). The first treatise, Tractatus de Conscientia, is dated 1697; the second one, Tractatus perutilis de actibus humanis, 1698, and the last one, Tractatus de peccatis, 1699. In the last treatise it is possible to see some blanks in the middle of the text, which were probably left to allow more text or illustrations to be added (Figure 2.14). In the case of the notebooks found in Harvard, Ann Blair states that "Transcriptions were typically made in sections, as in pecia[107] copying, intermittently over a period of weeks or months. The tutors oversaw corrections, which were entered in the text or in a list of errata."[108] However, none of the books found for

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[107] *Pecia* was a system of book manuscript copy designed to supply the needs of students in universities. Febvre et al., *The Coming of the Book*.
[108] Blair, 'Textbooks and Methods of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe', 17.

the case of Santa Fe de Bogotá gives a list of errata, and markings are occasional. An example of a notebook that can be considered unfinished or in draft form is the RM 23 stored in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, in which Jerónimo de Escobar wrote two of his texts, in different years: 1641-1658, 1670, 1671.[109] The project of the BVPFC argues that the different dates found in the colophons derived from the author continuously revisiting the text (Figure 2.15).[110] Although this book falls outside of the thesis' time frame, it is important to show how a handwritten texts were constantly revisited by their own writers or other writers. In addition, the layout and script differ considerably from the previous examples of finished works.
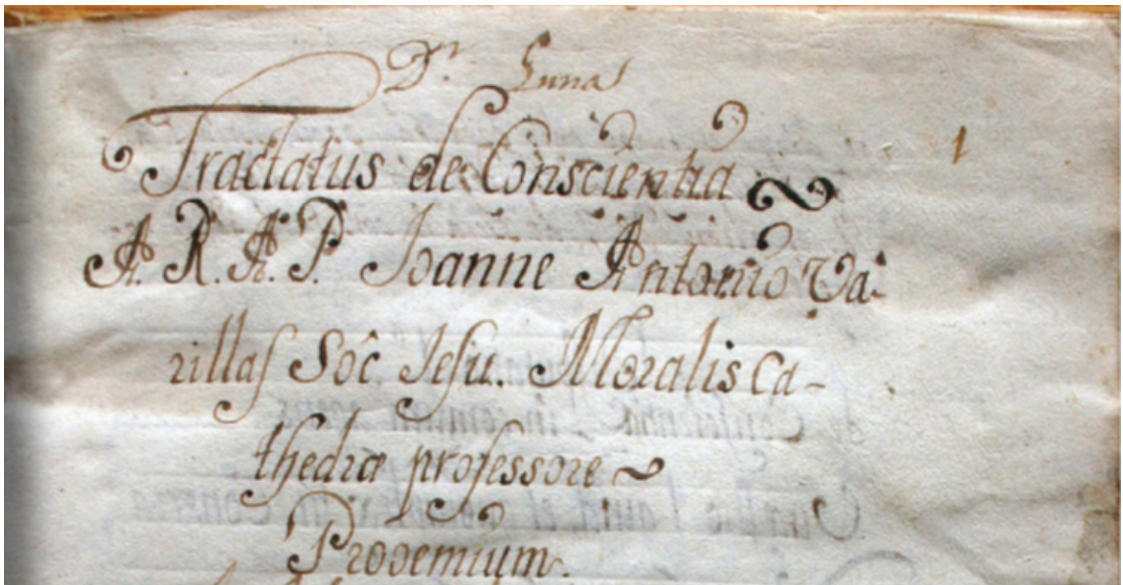
Figure 2.13. Title of the *Tractatus de Conscientia* with information of the owner of the book. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, RM 082, f. 1.

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[109] Jerónimo de Escobar was a Jesuit born in Spain, who travel to America in 1618. He arrived in Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1637 where he stayed for the next forty years in charge of teaching Scholastic Theology. He was a particularly cherished professor among students. José del Rey Fajardo, quoted by Manuel Domínguez Miranda, ed., 'Moral 2. Controversia de actibus humanis' (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Filosófico en Colombia, Universidad Javeriana), 24, accessed 6 March 2018, http://filosofia.javeriana.edu.co/investigacion/grupos-investigacion/bvpfc.
[110] Ibid., 16.

illis g̃ q̃ in illo hois ita illuminat̃, et voc̃ emollit̃, ut a
pecc̃ desistant, q̃ Deus ob fines suos sapit lic̃, ut ipsi volла eṽa.

Reo 2. Diabolus n̄ ē ca̅ pecci cogendo voatᵉ ad illud. Bene
n̄, ut aliquo cogat hoem ad actus externe malos, n̄ tñ cogit ad ñq̃ vo-
rir, ut si ad talᵉ aᵃ cogeret n̄ ēn peccᵃ, q̃ ad hᵃ aquirit litᵃ, ē tñ
Diaboly ca̅ pecci in hoc illud p̃suadendo, ˀq poindo obᵃ, aut imo-
rendo humores, et obᵃ excit̃ aᵃ phantasiᵃ, et appᵃ alliciens ad
peccᵃ. Nota tñ, diaboly n̄ ē ca̅ ois pecci ut pᵃ ex illᵃ Jacob. j.
Vnᵃ a cupidete sua tentat. Et ca̅ ē, q̃ s̃ villᵃ de mortᵃ opᵃ in-
surgunt in nobis plures motᵃ inchinantes ad peccandᵃ. Reo 3. hoᵃ
potue ut ē ca̅ pecci altei̅q hoid, succe, culᵃ, imper, aut explᵃ, Dᵃ
unᵃ occaois obᵃ, ut qñ femina sua pulchᵃ induᵃ ancᵃ, obᵃ tua-
gi desiдᵉ, aug̃ñ tñ potᵉ hᵃ cogeret ad peccandᵃ. Sc̃ d̃ altᵉ ibᵃ ocᵃ

Sectio 3. de effectibus peccatorum.

Aliqᵃ q̃ tractanda sug̃ circa peccᵃ oᵃq̃ breviter discu-
rabo. Rogas 1. qd ē reatᵃ ad p̃nᵃ, seam ē off̃q̃ peccᵃ 2. Suppo-
no 1. p̃nᵃ, ut p̃nᵃ dicit oĩdᵃ dualᵉ ad culpᵃ, ubi ēn culpᵃ
p̃cessit n̄ ecĩ ē p̃nᵃ. Unde malᵃ, qd inflig̃ ĩ medellᵃ,
p̃servativᵃ, vocet̃ n̄ ē reatᵃ, ut asseroẽ p̃nᵃ. Suppono 2. ad
reatᵃ p̃nᵃ n̄ requir̃ qd inflig̃ ob peccᵃ illᵃ, q p̃nᵃ subeunt
aliquᵃ ...

Figure 2.14. Blanks at the end of the page. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, *Tractatus de peccatis*, RM-082, f. 58.

Figure 2.15. Changes and commentaries resulting from the author reviewing the text. Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, *Controversia de actibus humanis*, RM-023, f. 5.

All these elements suggest that some of the notebooks were in fact the result of a more complex process of 'editing' under conventions and protocols designed to produce a final text that would bring prestige to the institution or the professor. This raises the question as to whether there was a difference between the manuscript notebooks archived inside university libraries and those that students kept privately in their own collections? Are notebooks addressing the absence of printed books for educational purposes or are they following institutional protocols formulated to circulate knowledge in the 'correct' way?

Perhaps some insights into these questions can be gained by examining another type of handwritten book produced in universities: textbooks. One of these manuscripts, *Compendio matemático que compuso el doctor Thomas Vicente Tosca. Que comprende artimética superior y algebra*, was a handwritten copy of a printed book made in Valencia in 1707. The 'original' book was part of a nine-volume work, while the manuscript book only gathered the treatises on arithmetic and algebra. The copy made in Santa Fe de Bogotá by José Antonio de Ascasubi y Olavegoytia is dated 9 July, 1737, and it resembles the original printed book, which means that its layout is different from the notebooks examined above. Not only is the book written in a different language – Spanish rather than Latin –, but the topic of arithmetic posed different challenges in terms of book production, which can be seen in the manuscript copy. If both title pages are compared, it is possible to appreciate how the handwritten copy differed from the layout of the printed one (Figures 2.16 and 2.17). Similarly, the internal heading of chapters and "libros" were in a roman script to match the typesetting of the original book (Figures 2.18 and 2.19). The layout was also designed to imitate the printed book, including the tables, figures and geometrical graphics. The careful production of the philosophy treatise is completely different from the textbook on arithmetic, which was probably derived from differences in the uses of manuscript books. The first was directly related to the process of attending and learning specific courses in theology and philosophy and the second as a way of providing sufficient books for educational purposes. There are other cases from other disciplines, such as grammars, where manuscript books were produced to meet a shortage of printed materials.[111]

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[111] Angie Vanessa Ordóñez Ubaque, 'Estudio filológico del Thesaurus linguae latinae explicatio de Fernando Fernández de Valenzuela' (Bogotá, Colombia, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2017).
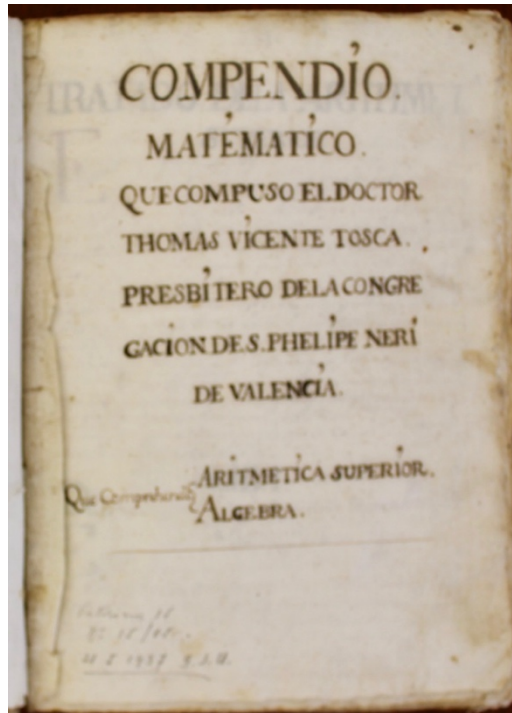
Figure 2.16. Handwritten version of the title page of Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Compendio matemático que compuso el doctor Thomas Vicente Tosca. Que comprende artimética superior y algebra. RM02, n.f.
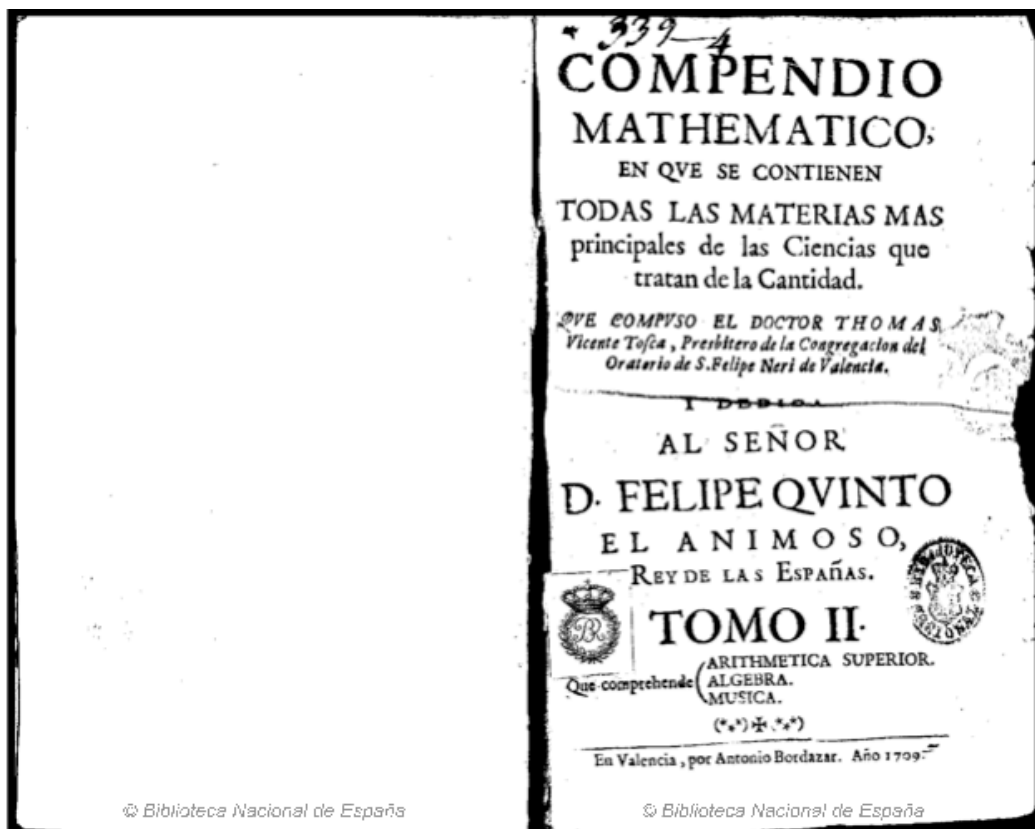
Figure 2.17. Printed title page of Thomas Vicente Tosca, Compendio matemático que compuso el doctor Thomas Vicente Tosca. Que comprende artimética superior y algebra. Tomo II. Valencia: Antonio Bordazas, 1709.

Figure 2.18. Handwritten pages of the manuscript version of the book Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, *Compendio matemático que compuso el doctor Thomas Vicente Tosca. Que comprende artimética superior y algebra*. RM02, f. 26.
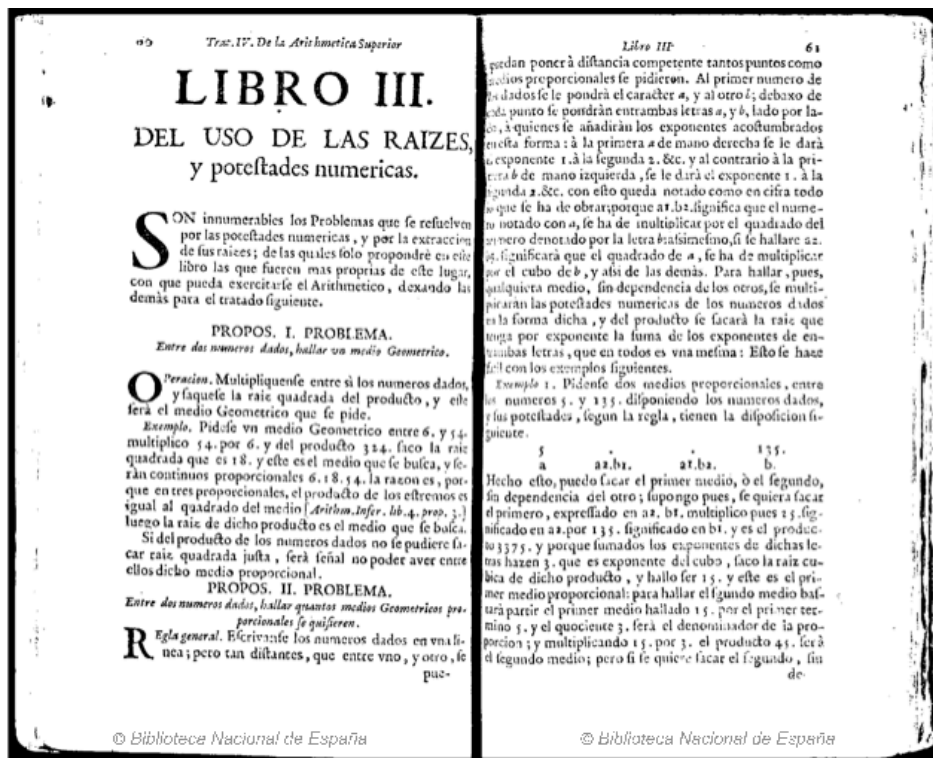
Figure 2.19. Pages of the printed version of the book Thomas Vicente Tosca, *Compendio matemático que compuso el doctor Thomas Vicente Tosca. Que comprende artimética superior y algebra*. Tomo II. Valencia: Antonio Bordazas, 1709, p. 60.

The *Compendio matemático* lacks decorations and a layout that is characteristic of handwritten books. This manuscript clearly responded to the demand for copies of printed texts that were difficult to acquire in the viceroyalty, instead of following the protocols for handwritten notebooks made for earning status. The examples of notebooks analysed in this section are a small portion of a large corpus of manuscripts that varies in different ways. Although most of them are clearly handwritten texts in their final stages, with few corrections or markings, there are differences in the degree of decoration and the nature of the contents. Some followed the readings or teachings of professors inside the classroom, in a more or less accurate way and within different parameters, but others were manuals, notebooks full of drafts that were updated constantly. Some of the material characteristics found in notebooks were employed in other literacy handwritten objects made to convey status, such as *relaciones de fiestas*. The next chapter will show how such handwriting practices were involved in viceregal ceremonies in Santa Fe de Bogotá.

Chapter 3. Handwritten gifts for the king. The case of the *Descripción suscinta* in honour of Luis I

The circulation of handwritten books that travelled from America to Europe during the early modern period are full of examples of social and political interactions between local elites that, in one way or another tried to find, negotiate or reinforce their position in the global politics of the Empire. Depending on the period of study, specific regions of the Americas struggled to maintain the ties that linked them to the Metropolis, which they did by taking advantage of the symbolic mechanisms designed by the Crown to maintain its position at the head of the social order. One of those tools was royal ceremonies and *fiestas* held to celebrate the birth, marriage or death of a king or another member of the royal family. Local authorities transformed the cities into spaces of celebration or mourning. The purpose was to create a moment in which the alliances between the king and his vassals were strengthened by public declarations of happiness or sorrow. Looking into the role of handwriting in these ceremonies is particularly important in cities where the printing press was absent, such as Santa Fe de Bogotá.

The *exequias fúnebres* or funeral ceremonies that took place upon the death of Luis I in Santa Fe de Bogotá were special. In 1715, after the coup suffered by president Francisco Meneses – who was exiled from Santa Fe de Bogotá and jailed in Cartagena by three *oidores* – the Crown decided to put in motion the creation of a Viceroyalty in Nueva Granada. The foundation of the third Viceroyalty happened in 1717 to solve these issues of governmentality, but it only lasted until 1723, when it disintegrated due to the failure of the first viceroy, don Jorge de Villalonga, to deliver the expected changes.[1] The following year, Antonio Manso y Maldonado, president of the Real Audiencia y Gobernador y Capitán General del Nuevo Reino and mariscal de campo, arrived in Santa Fe de Bogotá. He had to deal with local elites who had previously enjoyed considerable autonomy, at a moment when the province was under the scrutiny of the Metropolis.

The death of the king Luis I in August 1724, only seven months after he had been crowned, found the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogotá celebrating his coronation.

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[1] Pearce, *Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America 1700-1763*, 90.

At the same time as the official letters or *avisos* informing about the new king travelled the Atlantic Ocean and reached the Andes, Luis I had contracted smallpox and died. The apparent feelings of sorrow felt by the subjects in Santa Fe de Bogotá were presented in the *relación de exequias* done after the ceremonies that took place in 1725. This document, entitled *Descripción sucinta de las honras y exequias que en la muerte de nuestro Rey D. Luis Fernando el primero, se celebraron en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá, cabeza del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (henceforth *Descripción suscinta*), was handwritten and compiled by the president of the Real Audiencia of Nueva Granada, Antonio Manso y Maldonado.

Considering that *Descripción suscinta* came after the viceroyalty dissolved, this text provides an insight into the efforts made by local elites to portray Santa Fe de Bogotá as a city that was as important as Mexico or Lima. This is especially so since most *relaciones de exequias* in the two viceregal capitals were printed and because this was the first record of this kind of event in Santa Fe de Bogotá, which lacked a printing press at the time. This type of book provides information about the system of exchanges of goods and services that supported the alliance between the king and subjects, the practices used in manuscript book making and the visual traditions and representation that existed in this city. Furthermore, this *relación* can be compared with the one made in Lima for the same event, the death of Luis I, entitled: *Parentacion real sentimiento publico luctuosa pompa funebre solemnidad en las reales exequias del serenissimo Señor Don Luis I Catolico Rey de las Españas y emperador de las Indias*. Through this comparison, it will be possible to identify the differences between both celebrations, the interests of colonial elites, the different institutions in each city, the particular status of Santa Fe de Bogotá and Lima, and the similarities and contrasts of a printed *relación* with one produced in the form of a handwritten book.

In the *Descripción suscinta* it is possible to see the different literacy practices that the colonial elite employed in the creation of the *exequia*. One group of practices was related to the production of written materials for the decoration of the church and the other group was connected to the production of the *relación* itself. The first will show how writing was used in public events and the kind of traditions of representation and types of writing employed in these spaces. The second will examine how the manuscript book was part of the *exequias* and will reveal the choices made in the material creation of the object. The main purpose of this chapter is to examine how

the colonial elite as a group used handwriting, especially a manuscript book and handwritten practices inside of viceregal ceremonies, to position Santa Fe de Bogotá as a possible capital of a viceroyalty, and thereby enhance the city's status and thereby their own social position.

3.1 The dance of books. Patronage and funerary ceremonies in the Nuevo Reino de Granada

Objects circulated inside or between social groups in different ways. They could be bought and sold in a marketplace, exchanged for favours or simply get trapped in the circuits of smuggling and trafficking. Books as objects also have the capacity to move across societies through these paths. These routes followed fixed networks, strengthening the social relations between individuals, institutions or groups of people, in a social interaction with the objects.[2] This understanding is evident in the books of *exequias* because they are the result of a complex process of exchange between local authorities and the Crown, employing patronage as a way to improve a local elite's position in the Imperial organisation.

This section will argue that the manuscript book of *exequias* made in Santa Fe de Bogotá, entitled *Descripción sucinta*,[3] should be studied in a context of gift exchange to enable better understanding of the role of writing in the negotiations of power between colonial authorities and the Crown. Hitherto, this book of *exequias* has been studied from the perspective of the history of fiestas and royal ceremonies, the history of architecture and baroque history, but less has been done from the point of view of the history of the book or history of written culture.[4] The reason is that books of *exequias* or *relaciones de exequias* have been used as a source of information about

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[2] Bruno Latour has also argued in favour of the importance of objects as social agents: "In addition to 'determining' and serving as a 'backdrop for human action', things might authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on." Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, 72.

[3] Antonio Manso, *Descripción sucinta de las honras y exequias que en la muerte de nuestro rey D. Luis Fernando el primero, se celebraron en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá, cabeza del Nuevo Reino de Granada [Manuscrito]* (ca. 1726, n.d.).

[4] Víctor Mínguez and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, 'Cultura simbólica y fiestas borbónicas en Nueva Granada. De las exequias de Luis I (1724) a la proclamación de Fernando VII (1808)', *Revista CS* 9 (2012), http://repositori.uji.es/xmlui/handle/10234/61445; María Adelaida Allo Manero, 'Aportación al estudio de las exequias reales en Hispanoamérica: La influencia sevillana en algunos túmulos limeños y mejicanos', *Anuario del departamento de historia y teoría del arte*, no. 1 (1989): 121–38; Emilie Dairon, 'La primera flor de lis en los Andes: Las exequias de Luis I en Santa Fe de Bogotá', in *La formación de la cultura virreinal*, vol. 3 (Vervuert, Iberoamericana, 2006), 185–204.

the rituals, visual objects and architectural structures made for the ceremonies, considering them as registers or diaries of the procedures of the funerary rite. As such, this type of book has been studied as an outcome of the ceremony instead of being at the centre of an exchange between the colonial authorities and the Crown.[5]

Positioning the book of *exequias* at the centre of a gift exchange will reveal other dimensions of the colonial elite's written culture. These features allowed elite members to benefit from patronage and, in turn, increase their own status. To achieve this, it is necessary to consider gifts from the perspective of patronage. Gifts do not mean that the donor simply gives an object or a service without expecting something in return. On the contrary, gift exchange is part of a complex reciprocal system of circulation of objects and services that depend on the context in which it takes place. In words of John Davis, quoted by James G. Carrier, in his study about the change from circulation of gift objects to the movement of commodities in England during the dawn of capitalism,

> a "gift has meanings which involve class, social mobility, matrimony, patronage, employment, manufacturing processes, issues of style, and of changing rituals or conventions of gift-giving". In their turn, these public structures are regenerated, modified and subverted in part by what people do in their private lives. Moreover, the social worlds of relationship and identity that people create through their private transactions can be public, from the point of view of those involved.[6]

In the case of colonial Spanish America, patronage played an important role in the circulation of books, because this system was used by authors and patrons to their mutual benefit. Authors searched for patrons that provided them the means to write their books and get them printed or circulated in private circuits, while patrons could enjoy a reputation of refined cultural taste when the book or writer became famous, or indeed received financial gains from the book sales. According to Natalie Zemon Davies, there were three types of circumstances in which books circulated as gifts:

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[5] Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes solares: Iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica* (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2001); Mínguez and Rodríguez Moya, 'Cultura simbólica y fiestas borbónicas en Nueva Granada'; Dairon, 'La primera flor de lis en los Andes'; Manero, 'Aportación al estudio de las exequias reales en Hispanoamérica'; María Adelaida Allo Manero, 'Un manuscrito con ilustraciones sobre las exequias reales de Jacobo II de Inglaterra en Roma', in *Las noticias en los siglos de la imprenta manual: Homenaje a Mercedes Agulló, Herny Ettinghausen, Mª Cruz García de Enterría, Giuseppina Ledda, Augustín Redondo y José Simón*, 2006, 15–30, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4155164; María Adelaida Allo Manero, 'Las exequias reales de la casa de Austria en España, Italia e Hispanoamerica', *Artigrama: Revista del departamento de historia del arte de la universidad de Zaragoza*, no. 10 (1993): 597–602.
[6] James G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 7.

"the dedicated book, that is, the public gift; the book given to others in the course of one's lifetime; and the book bequeathed at death."[7] The book of *exequias* can be understood as a dedicated book, or public gift, because it was dedicated to the king, who not only paid for the production of the *exequias* with the money from the Real Hacienda but also, in other cases, the printing of the book.

Patronage can be traced through dedicatory texts, compiled in the paratexts of books of *exequias*, in which benefits and favours are disclosed to the reader of the book. The marketplace is not involved in this circulation of gifts since participants in the exchange usually have a bond that makes the exchange meaningful. While exchanges in the context of marketplaces are usually between strangers, gifts reflect more profound social ties that bring together a patron and a client, who are known to each other prior to the exchange. In exchanging gifts, the client also provides a service that benefits the patron in a symbolic or economic way. In the context of England between 1650 and 1800, Dustin Griffin has indicated that there may also have been an economic gain for the patron when it comes to funding or promoting the work of a writer or artist: "For the patron too there is a quasi-economic gain to be derived from the delegation of authority. In financial terms the patron 'invests' symbolic capital in a poem or play with the hope that its success will reflect well on him as an arbiter of taste."[8] In the case of the book of *exequias*, the patron, in other words the king, received a public acknowledgement of his virtues in ceremonial rituals presented in sermons, emblems, hieroglyphics, poems, epigrams, among other works. For the writing of the *relación* a writer or author was hired, who in some cases, as it will be shown in the next section, was publicly acknowledged in the title page of the book. These books often circulated among the nobility in Madrid or other cities providing opportunities for poets or writers to increase their fame.

The particularity of the books of *exequias reales* resides in that they narrate an event totally designed to convey the virtues of the monarch. These *exequias* were initiated when, upon the death of the Spanish king, letters were sent to the viceregal capitals and other cities of the Empire. In the case of Lima, for the death of Luis I, the news arrived first through private letters addressed to particular people, though

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[7] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 72.
[8] Dustin H. Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 25.

unfortunately the *relación* does not say who carried those letters or who they were addressed to;[9] while for the same event, in Santa Fe de Bogotá, news was received by spoken word.

> No hay cosa que más ligeramente vuele, como dijo la discresión de Maron, que son noticia infausta y así diste grande distancia, que hay de España a Indias, ni la grandeza del mar que se interpone fueron bastantes para detener la noticia lamentable de la temprana muerte del rey nuestro señor, bien que primero empezaron a asustar los rumores por algún tiempo, hasta que con la venida del aviso y del real pliego de Su Majestad se confirmó la noticia.[10]

In the case of Lima, the *real cédu*la finally arrived on 8 June, 1725, preceded by a series of non-official letters with rumours about the death of the king.[11] After receiving confirmation of the news, the authorities marshalled a whole apparatus to inform the rest of other viceregal territories and prepare the *exequias*. In addition, it was probably at this moment when the decision was taken whether to hold a ceremony or not. One of the main questions, when conducting research on *exequias*, is who took the decision to put on the event and their reasons for doing so.

It is clear that not all the cities across the Empire celebrated the *exequias*. For instance, the letter commanding a moderation in the costs of the ceremony of Luis I's death, dated in Madrid on the 8 of September, 1724, was sent to the Viceroy of Peru and it should have been copied to the presidents and *audiencias* of Quito, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Cartagena, Chile, Charcas, Tierra Firme, Venezuela, Río de la Plata, Santa Marta, Portobello, Trinidad, Guyana, Valdivia y Popayán,[12] but, from this list, it has been possible to find only the traces of the ceremonies held in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá and their associated *relaciones*.[13] Other *relaciones* were most likely produced

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[9] "[…] llegó la primer tristísima voz de su temprano fallecimiento, conducida de Panamá, en cartas a varios Particulares." Thomas de Torrejón, *Parentación real sentimiento público luctuosa pompa fúnebre solemnidad en las reales exequias del serenísimo señor don Luis I* (Lima: Imprenta de la Calle del Palacio, por Ignacio de Luna y Bohórquez, 1725), f. 19r.
[10] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 3. Noticia de la muerte de nuestro señor don Luis I...
[11] Torrejón, *Parentación real*.
[12] AGI, Indiferente 1607, Al virrey del Perú encargándole de la moderación en los gastos de túmulos y lutos por la muerte del rey don Luis I., Madrid, 8 September, 1724.
[13] There has been found two *relaciones* for the death of this king in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The first one in Mexico José Antonio de Villerías y Roelas, *Llanto de las estrellas al ocaso de sol anochecido en el oriente: solemnes exeqvias, que a la augusta memoria del serenissimo, y potentissimo señor don Luis I Rey de las Españas, celebró el... virrey... de esta Nueva España...* (México: Por J. B. de Hogal, 1725). and the second one in Guatemala Francisco Javier de Paz, *El rey de las flores o la flor de los reyes: La rosa de castilla defojada en la primauera de sus años, y lambicada por los ojos mas leales en el tierno llanto, y afectuosos lágrimas, que virtió la muy noble ciudad de Santiago de los Caualleros de Goatemala, sobre la magestuosa pira que encendio a soplos de suspiros, e hizo arder a la immortal memoria de su florida monarcha don Luis Primero (Que de Dios Goza.) Funebre pompa, y exequial apparato, que celebró en su iglesia cathedral, y lugubres canciones, que para llorar a la*

in manuscript form but ended up being stored or hidden in the archives because they were not compiled as a book, while the printed ones can be traced more easily given the higher number of copies produced and in circulation. In the case of Lima, historian Ramos Sosa has done a meticulous job in gathering the *relaciones de exequias* produced in this city during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Although his work focuses on the tumuli built in the city, he traces the different characters honoured through the ceremonies. Among these people were not only kings, but also queens, viceroys, bishops and popes. In Santa Fe, there is no clear record of funeral ceremonies before the death of Luis I, which probably means that these ceremonies were related to its lack of status as the capital of a viceroyalty or that the *relaciones* have not been found.[14] However, what it is clear so far is that the *exequias* were financed by the local authorities and this probably was a factor in the decision to conduct the rituals.

In the royal *exequias* registered by Ramos Sosa in Lima, the viceroys opted to withdraw money from the local treasury. According to this author, "El promotor de la fiesta es el mismo virrey Enríquez [death of Anne of Austria, 1581] que ordena directamente los gastos de las exequias de la hacienda real. El dinero se debía dar al factor, don Francisco Martínez de Lara, de los fondos de las condenaciones y penas de cámara."[15] Although this author argues that the promoter of the celebration was the viceroy, the money did not belong to him but to the viceregal institution, which indicates that the production of the *exequias* had a direct impact on the royal treasury. This is reinforced by continued communications from the Crown advising viceroys to keep their expenses to the necessary limits and avoid any luxury.[16]

rosa de Castilla marchita en la flor de su edad Guatemala : En la Imprenta de el bachiller Antonio Velasco, 1726).

[14] According to Adita Allo Manero, "No siempre estas relaciones aparecen bajo la forma de libro impreso, en muchos casos tan sólo se trata de pliegos sueltos o bien de detalladas relaciones que pueden encontrarse en los memoralistas de la época." However, this was not the case of Lima and Mexico. Adita Allo Manero, 'Iconografía funeraria de las honras de Felipe IV en España e Hispanoamérica' (Universidad de Valencia, 1981).

[15] Rafael Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, Asesoria Quinto Centenario, 1992), 137.

[16] AGI, Lima 89, 83, Avisa el Reino de la cédula de 22 de marzo de 1693 que trata sobre la moderación de los lutos y remite el testimonio adjunto por donde consta haberse publicado. AGI, Indiferente 1607, Madrid, Al virrey del Perú participándole la muerte de la reina nuestra señora y ordenándole lo que deberá observar en la moderación y costo de luto, 3 March, 1714. AGI, Indiferente 1607, Madrid, Al virrey del Perú encargándole de la moderación en los gastos de túmulos y lutos por la muerte del rey don Luis I, September 8th, 1724. Traditionally, it has been considered that the restriction on the expenses in baroque ceremonies was done under the government of the Bourbons, but these documents show that the control over the expenditure began when the Habsburgs were still in power.

The money for the exequias was spent by viceroys or ministers primarily, according to Ramos Sosa, in "el túmulo, la cera para iluminarlo tanto las vísperas como el día de las honras y los lutos de los miembros de la audiencia."[17] The books of *exequias* were not an essential part of the most important expenses. Adita Allo, an eminent art historian interested in Spanish American ceremonies, suggests that the reason behind the printing of the *relación de exequias* was "única y exclusivamente de una cuestión puramente económica, de una voluntad expresa por parte de las instituciones encargantes de la celebración de sumar un gasto más, el correspondiente a la impresión del libro, a la larga lista de los ocasionados por la puesta en escena de todo el aparato."[18] In contrast, Ramos Sosa proposes a different perspective on this issue. For him, "El hacerlo o no significa un gasto más entre todos los que tenía la celebración. El interés americano no era más que una nota de fidelidad a la monarquía y un medio de ganar prestigio y méritos ante el rey por parte de los virreyes y audiencias, verdaderos impulsores de este tipo de manifestaciones en las capitales de los virreinatos."[19] From the perspective of this study, it is important to insist that these books were the only widely circulated evidence that the services of the *honras fúnebres*[20] had been effectively done and that they followed the traditional and expected procedures.

The *relaciones* played a central role in the whole event of the *exequias*. Not only did they recount the rituals of the grief of the king's people in the colonies, but they were also in the middle of an exchange of gifts between two social agents: the colonial authorities (viceroys and members of the *reales audiencias*) and the Crown. Their value lay in the circulation of favours and benefits from one side to the other, in which money served to fund a ceremony dedicated to spread the virtues and fame of the Crown. As it was shown the *exequias* were funded by the colonial resources on behalf of the Crown, while the viceroys and *real audiencias* played the role of promoters of the event. What was in it for each one of them? This was a particular occasion to improve the status of the colonial elite as well as promoting Santa Fe de Bogotá as one of the most important cities in the colonies. By looking more closely at

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[17] Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal*, 141.
[18] Manero, 'Aportación al estudio de las exequias reales en hispanoamérica', 125.
[19] Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal*, 141.
[20] *Honras fúnebres* and *exequias* can be used as synonyms. According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* "Honras: Se llama tambien aquel último honor que se da a los muertos, que tambien se llaman Exéquias." (Tomo IV, 1734).

the *relaciones* it will be possible to gain some insights about the type of exchanges that took place in these ceremonies.

When, in 1725, the *relación de exequias* in Lima was finally printed and bound, the dedication to the new king read as follows: "Llorar la muerte del mayor amigo, es amor: Sentir la de su Rey es deuda: Y deuda tan reconocida de la lealtad, que la paga con la prontitud de precisa, más con inclinación de voluntaria."[21] The king and the subject, the two social agents of the books of *exequias*, are bound together by a debt. The subject needs to show his loyalty to the king, who provides the necessary means for their existence. The repayment of that debt should be done in a timely way and without any constriction. It is possible that the donor and receiver's (the king Luis I and the Marquez del Castell de Fuerte) actions were driven by Seneca's approach to the rules of gifts. In his work *On Benefits* the philosopher explains that there is a way of giving benefits, "I think I can point to an extremely efficient way of doing this: let us give benefits in the way in which we would want to receive them. (1.2) Above all, that means doing so willingly, quickly, and with no hesitation."[22] The act of giving should be performed freely and mimic the benefit received in the first place.

The *exequias reales* were the appropriate moments to repay the gifts received from the king during his life. Those gifts, in Seneca's terms, had two dimensions, they could be benefits or objects. For him, benefits could enjoy a particular characteristic: they could be perennial, without an expiry date. They belonged to a higher sphere of exchange when the joy is the last aim: "So what is a benefit? It is a well-intentioned action that confers joy and in so doing derives joy, inclined towards and willingly prepared for doing what it does. And so it matters not what is done or what is given, but with what attitude, since the benefit consists not in what is done or given but rather in the intention of the giver or agent."[23] In contrast the other dimension of the gift, the 'thing', is destined to be forgotten and momentary, they are "the signs of the favours, not the favours themselves." Things were, for this author, the raw material of the benefits, while the most important aspect of the exchange, "the intention of the giver", lays in the benefit.[24]

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[21] Torrejón, *Parentación real*, f. 4.
[22] Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *On Benefits* (Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 33.
[23] Ibid., 24.
[24] Ibid., 23.

This discussion about benefits, taken from Seneca, has been used by researchers to construct a perspective on the exchange of favours and 'things' during the early modern period.[25] Seneca's work can help us to understand the complexities of gift giving and the meanings behind the uses of words like: favour, benefit or gift. These expressions are constantly used in the dedications of the books of *exequias*, through which people define the relationship between them and the king, which was one of the reasons to produce the *honras fúnebres*. In the case of the *Descripción suscinta*, Antonio Manso y Maldonado addressed this issue in this way: "Y aunque en todo este reino causó fatal estrago, y grande consternación esta noticia fue dobladamente mayor en el corazón de vuestros leales ministros, que como más favorecidos de tan grande Monarca, sintieron más su pérdida."[26] Loyalty was expressed through sorrow. This sadness felt by the subjects in the city was the response to the favours received from the deceased king, the same favours that 'shielded' this union. The ministers, members of the Real Audiencia in Santa Fe de Bogotá, were left with the duty to return the benefits they owed to his patron, in a movement that mimicked the dance of the three graces, depicted by several artist throughout history (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. *The Three Graces* by Peter Paul Rubens, 1635.

[25] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston; London: Unwin Hyman, 2003).

[26] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 2.

According to Seneca, The Three Graces depicts the 'dance' of a gift's circulation. The first of the sisters embodies the donor, who forges the relationship by satisfying a need.[27] The initial pulse sets in motion a chain reaction of a present's circulation through the society represented by the back and forth movement of the Graces' arms. In the books of *exequias* is clear that the colonial authorities were, in the first place, acknowledging a debt, but were also returning benefits by performing the whole apparatus of the fiesta. For example, amidst the confusion that followed Charles II's death and almost one year after his death, the Conde de la Monclova, viceroy of Peru (1689-1705), in trying to assert his agreement with Phillip V's designation as king during the turmoil of the Succession War, addressed the king asking for his approval of the *exequias*:

> Pongo en las Reales manos de V. M. Relación de las Reales Exequias, que dispuse, se celebrasen en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de esta ciudad, para que de ellas pasen a ser honras a la muerte del Rey N.S.D. Carlos II, que está en gloria, postrándome yo a los Reales pies de V.M. para suplicar rendidamente a V.M. se digne de darse por servido de lo que mi humilde y fiel reconocimiento ha ejecutado no dudando conseguirlo de V.M.[28]

De la Monclova's concern to satisfy the king resides in the balance desired by the gift exchange. The viceroy paid with the money from the Real Hacienda for a service that strengthened the ties between his subjects and the new king in the critical moment of the interregnum. This perhaps supports the belief upheld by some historians, like Víctor Mínguez, Claudia Murray, Verónica Salazar Baena,[29] who see the *exequias* as an event to promote the image of the king incarnated in the figure of the viceroy. In this case, the circulation of favours descends the social hierarchy, from the higher place of power to the less wealthy, and developed only to satisfy the Crown's needs, while the local authorities and inhabitants of the colonies play a passive role in reproducing the traditional stages of symbolic representation.

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[27] "Keep on with your task and fulfil the role of a good man. Assist one person with wealth, someone else with credit, another with your influence, someone else with your advice, another with sensible instructions." Seneca, *On Benefits*, 20.

[28] Joseph de Buendía, *Parentacion real*, ff. 1-1r preliminar pages.

[29] Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes: Imágenes del poder en el México virreinal* (Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1995); Claudia Murray, 'Architecture, Power and Urban Space in Buenos Aires during the Viceroyalty 1776-1810' (King's College of London, 2008); Verónica Salazar Baena, *Hacer presente al rey ausente. Ceremonias reales en la Nueva Granada, 1739-1810* (Bogotá, Colombia: Informe Final Proyecto. "Representar al Rey Ausente: Ceremonias Reales en Nueva Granada. 1760-1810". ICANH, 2010).

On the contrary, looking through the lens of the gift circulation as an exchange of benefits and favours, as it is proposed in this chapter, the figure of the viceroy presents itself not only as central in the organisation of the fiesta, but also as the local patron in charge of promoting the service. As the king occupies the role of the patron, the viceroy acts as an intermediary who produces the *fiesta* and demands services from the clients who create all sorts of materials for the ceremony. This portrayal of the viceroy, as an active agent in a patronage relationship, matches the depiction that historians such as J.H. Elliot observe

> The viceroy was not only the supreme governor in the name of the king; he was also president of the Audiencias within his area of jurisdiction, but was allowed to intervene directly in judicial business; he was head of the treasury system; and captain-general over the entire territory, although only exercising the duty in a supervisory capacity in those parts of his viceroyalty which possessed a captain-general of their own. He enjoyed considerable powers of patronage and appointment, although viceroy after viceroy would complain that these were not enough.[30]

This definition also indicates that patronage was a kind of relationship used in different social environments to reinforce the alliances, create new ones, and to balance the problems concerning the distribution of lands and goods, amongst other things.[31] As it will be shown in the following chapter, viceroys used the system of patronage to promote the literary production of the period through courtly events. An understanding of this type of social relationship supports the perspective of Eduardo Torres Arancivia, who in his work about the court in Lima, proposes that the viceroys of Peru and New Spain were key in the development of a cultural environment in the capital cities.[32] Furthermore, the system of patronage, built upon the foundational system of gifts and debts among people who belonged to the court or were part of the

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[30] Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, sec. 2285.

[31] Jose Jouve Martin acknowledges a similar exchange between ruler and subordinates in these ceremonies. According to him: "Alongside feelings of joy, there was hope not only that the future monarch would increase the glory and power of the metropolis, but that his reign would prove fair and beneficial for the colony as well. Perhaps more importantly, festivities played a crucial role in legitimizing the monarchy itself. If the participants in the events saw these as a means of showing their allegiance to the new prince, they were also giving the future sovereign the recognition that only the people could grant." Jouve Martín, 'Public Ceremonies and Mulatto Identity in Viceregal Lima: A Colonial Reenactment of the Fall of Troy (1631)', 182.

[32] "Finalmente, no puede dejar de mencionarse que la corte también puede ser analizada como un centro de irradiación cultural y fomento de las letras y las artes. Los monarcas congregaban a su alrededor a intelectuales, artistas, literatos, escultores y artesanos que, bajo el mecenazgo real, buscaban con sus obras glorificar a la dinastía reinante. Este hecho, además, servía de propaganda para impresionar tanto a los súbditos como a los embajadores de las potencias extranjeras con un alarde retórico del poder." Eduardo Torres Arancivia, *Corte de virreyes: El entorno del poder en el Perú en el siglo XVII*, 1 ed (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2006), 51.

nobility, also helped to keep the strings that tied overseas territories with the Metropolis intact. In words of Ramos Sosa, quoting José Torre Revelo, with regard to the case of the *relación de exequias* produced in Lima after the death of Charles V in 1559,

> El virrey ordenó los lutos de la audiencia, hacienda real y miembros del cabildo. Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, segundo marqués de Cañete debía su puesto gubernamental al emperador. Además cómo el mismo dice en la carta que envió junto con la relación de exequias, se había criado en la casa imperial durante dieciséis años. Es él el promotor de la fiesta y a él se debe la voluntad de glorificación y engrandecimiento de la ceremonia en honor del difunto. Afirma: "... y así trabajé lo mejor que se hiciera lo mejor que se pudo, quisiera mucho que vuestras mercedes me hubieran enviado la orden que se tuvo en esa ciudad para hacerlas conforme a ella pero a tientas se hizo como se verá en la memoria que envío...".[33]

Viceroys had received previous training or were already familiar with the *ceremonias de exequias* before travelling to the colonies. This is particularly important in the case of the *Descripción suscinta*, because no record has been found of a similar *relación* for Santa Fe de Bogotá before the arrival of Antonio Manso y Maldonado, the president of the Real Audiencia, promotor of the fiesta and compiler of the *relación*. It is probable that the viceroy or the colonial authority was in charge of finding the people who could help them to transform the city, prepare the funerary script and build the objects required for the ceremony. This is the process of setting up the stage for a procession to remember and acknowledge the virtues of the deceased king and to express the sorrow of his absence. After all, the subject could not live without a patron, the one that provides the benefits that will be repaid in tears, ceremonies and books. The following section provides an analysis of the fiesta and especially the work of the poets in the written accounts that were published in the mourning city.

3.2. Writing on the walls. Tensions in emblematic visual and textual traditions

The *relaciones de exequias* were the final outcomes of a long process of social interaction in which writing practices were employed to fulfil certain purposes. The letters that were sent to inform the colonies about the death of the king specified some of the characteristics and measures that should be taken in this ceremony. The centre

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[33] Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal*, 133.

of the event was focused on an iconographical programme that delivered a description of the virtues of the deceased king in allegorical terms and through comparing his life with a secular fable. The concept of iconographical programme was applied by historian José Miguel Morales Folguera in his study of the symbolic production associated with funeral ceremonies in New Spain.[34] Working with this concept, the author gathers a set of handwritten objects that were connected with images called emblems.[35] As a consequence, the poet was in charge of creating a story full of moral characteristics, in which key features of the recently deceased king could be shown and communicated. These graphic objects, which combined image and text, are an example of the literacy services provided to the Crown by members of the colonial elite in viceregal ceremonies. The participation of poets in these events would benefit both the cities, as they would be portrayed as places of cultural production, as well as the participants who would be promoting their names among aristocracy.

This part of the analysis will focus on the iconographical programme described in the *Descripción suscinta*. The intention here is to analyse the employment of the handwritten text in the emblems produced for the ceremony of the Real Audiencia, considering that probably only a few people in Santa Fe de Bogotá had experience in the production of such objects. The production of the iconographical programme part of the *exequias* can be understood as a practice of writing because it uses a particular knowledge of how this practice was employed in these ceremonies. The purpose is to trace the sources and traditions behind the production of those handwritten texts and to compare them with their depiction in the *Descripción suscinta*. Denise León Pérez

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[34] José Miguel Morales Folguera, 'Mitología y emblemática en el arte efímero novohispano', in *La producción simbólica en la América colonial: Interrelación de la literatura y las artes*, ed. José Pascual Buxó, Estudios de cultura literaria novohispana 15 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Seminario de Cultura Literaria Novohispana, Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, 2001), 285–300.

[35] According with the *Diccionario de autoridades* published in 1732, an emblem can be defined as "un cierto género de Geroglifico, symbolo o empresa, en que se representa alguna figura o cuerpo de qualquier género o especie que sea, al pie de la cual se escriben unos versos, en que se declara el concepto o intento que se encierra en ella: y casi siempre es de cosas morales y graves," while the *Diccionario of Autoridades* of 1734 states that a hieroglyphic is an "Expressión del concepto, y lo que se quiere decir, por figuras de otras cosas que se ofrecen a la vista: como la palma lo es de la victoria, y la paloma del candor del ánimo." Nonetheless, different approaches can be found about these objects that differ from these conventions of the eighteenth century. In the studies of Víctor Mínguez it is not possible to see a clear difference between an emblem or a hieroglyphic. Instead, he proposes other categories, such as "emblemática festiva", "emblemática popular" and "jeroglíficos de la muerte", for the study of this symbolic objects departing from the type of event in which they were employed. Víctor Mínguez, *emblemática y cultura simbólica en la Valencia barroca: Jeroglíficos, enigmas, divias y laberintos* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació : Generalitat Valenciana, Diputació Provincial de València, 1997).

has pointed out that the main components of the symbolic dimension of the *exequias*, the iconographical programme, were the preparation of the ceremonial spaces, the tumulus, emblems and sermons.[36] The *Descripción suscinta*, as with any other book of *relaciones de exequias*, gives an account of these materials and provides a written text of the sermons performed in the different churches. After the news was spread around the city, probably employing *pregoneros* who read aloud the *aviso* or announced the death of the king, the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogotá began preparations for paying their respects.[37] The members of the Real Audiencia or the president[38] chose the person to take charge of producing the tumulus, emblems, hieroglyphics, poetry and other texts and objects that decorated the cathedral. In the case of the *Descripción sucinta*, the name of the poet or the director of the programme is absent from the description, but in the case of Lima, for the death of the same king, Luis I, the printed *relación* provides more information about the people involved in the production of the written materials attached to the tumulus.

In the City of the Kings, thanks to the credits given to the people in charge of building the ephemeral architecture, visual and written objects, that are recorded inside the *relación*, in the *Parentación real,* it is possible to trace the directors of the iconographical programme. The Jesuit priest Tomás de Torrejón, author of the

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[36] Denise León Pérez, *Las exequias reales en Madrid durante el primer tercio del siglo XVIII: Corte y villa* ([Léon]: Universidad de Léon, Area de Publicaciones, 2010).

[37] Although the *relación* is not clear about how the spoken word was spread around the city, it seems that churches played a role in this process. Following the *Descripción suscinta*: "Esparcida brevemente por esta ciudad la noticia de su fallecimiento, las iglesias con sus funestos clamores dieron principio al dolor, causándole tan tierno en los corazones de todos, que más se oían lamentos." It is possible that news was communicated through the spoken word, and the churches worked as a place in which rumours were confirmed or conveyed initially, especially when messages were shared with the "gente popular." When the city was informed, the "ministros, ilustres cabildos y el resto de la nobleza" got together to decide the way in which the *reales exequias* should be done. Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*.

It is possible to trace how the spreading of the communications of the Crown relating to public ceremonies was conveyed in Lima, through the 'publication' in 1695 of the new considerations about expenses in in the funeral clothing during *honras*. First the orders must have been printed and certified in every city of the viceroyalty and, following this, they must have been read publicly by a *pregonero*. As Mateo de Rivera, escribano de Lima, shows in the Ciudad de los Reyes, "a diez y ocho del mes de enero de mil seiscientos noventa y cinco años, por voz de Nicolás negro criollo que hace oficio de pregonero se publicó este bando en las cuatro esquinas de la Plaza Mayor de esta ciudad en concurso de mucha gente en la forma en que se acostumbra en presencia y con asistencia del capitán Vicente Rueda y del ayudante Juan Jiménez de la Torre testigos los sargentos Nicolás de Rueda, Francisco Fernández y Juan de Herrera y de ellos doy fe Mateo de Rivera escribano de su Majestad." AGI, Lima, 89, 83, Avisa el Reino de la cédula de 22 de marzo de 1693 que trata sobre la moderación de los lutos y remite el testimonio adjunto por donde consta haberse publicado. Last two folios of the bando.

[38] Unfortunately the *relación* does not state who was in charge of finding the poet or poets to make the iconographical programme. The most possible guess could be that the president did this job because he was the promoter and the most interested person in doing this ceremony as his multiple role in the ceremony and the production of the *exequia* will show.

relación de exequias, points out that "Y que pidiendo negocio de tanta importancia una dirección no menos prudente, que eficaz; se cometiese al señor don Álvaro de Navia Bolaños y Moscoso, del Orden de Santiago, y oidor de esta Real Audiencia: pues en su gran talento y celo del real servicio iba ya el acierto más seguro. Diósele por acompañado, al factor don Francisco de Arnao", who had to travel to El Callao to deal with personal business leaving in charge of this job the royal official, Juan de Figueroa.[39] It seems that assigning the direction of the ceremony to members of the viceregal institutions was a custom in the case of *exequias*. Another example can be seen in the *exequias* of Fernando IV celebrated in Lima in 1760, when Pedro Bravo de Rivero "oidor decano y auditor general de guerra" and Juan Agustín Frade, "caballerizo de campo de su Majestad y oficial factor en la real caja", were in charge with organising the event.[40] The poetic skills belonging to these members of the colonial bureaucracy could have been discovered in social gatherings of the people surrounding the viceroys, such as the academies that took place in the viceregal palace in Lima during the Marquez de Castelldosrius ruling period, or in *certámenes poéticos* celebrated during public events. These literacy events will be studied in the following chapter.

The director of the iconographical programme must manage the production of the event according to the protocols and hire suitable people to create the tumulus, emblems, hieroglyphics and deliver or compile the sermons. Unfortunately, there are no credits of such roles in the case of the *Descripción suscinta*, written about the *exequias* for Luis I in Santa Fe. It seems that Antonio Manso y Maldonado, president of the Real Audiencia, carried out many of the tasks that were usually assigned to the director and writer of the *relación*. It was customary that the title page of the *relación* indicated three people involved: the deceased person, the viceroy or person in charge of funding and producing the *exequia*, and the writer of the *relación* under orders of the viceroy.[41] In the *relación* written in Santa Fe de Bogotá for Luis I, the title page only gives the name of the deceased king and describes Manso y Maldonado as the

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[39] Torrejón, *Parentación real*, ff. 25-25r.

[40] Juan Antonio Ribera, *pompa funeral en las exequias del católico rey de España y de las Indias don Fernando VI* (Lima: Pedro Nolasco Alvarado, 1760), 96–97.

[41] The importance of the writer of the *relaciones* is supported by his credits on the title page of the book. In addition, this task could have been an opportunity for local writers to extend their fame across the Empire. This topic will be fully developed in the next section of the chapter, which deals with the production of the *exequias*.

person in charge of publishing the *relación*.[42] This means that Manso y Maldonado performed the roles of the promoter, director of the *reales exequias* and writer of the *relación*, because probably at that time in Santa Fe de Bogotá just only a few people were skilled at organising this kind of event.

Throughout the book there are barely any other references to other writers, authors or specific colonial functionaries dealing with the *honras fúnebres*, only the dedicatory of the *relación* provides information about people other than Manso y Maldonado. These are José Joaquín Martínez Malo, José de Quintana y Acevedo, Jorge Lozano Peralta and José Castilla. Most of them seem to have held positions in the colonial administration and, in the case of José de Castilla, had already enjoyed favours from the king.[43] It is possible that Manso y Maldonado had directed the event, bringing all his knowledge about this courtly tradition into a city that had not seen a ceremony like this before,[44] even though there were a considerable number of *oraciones panegíricas* and *oraciones fúnebres*, written probably for different people. All this evidence suggests that Manso y Maldonado was the only director of the *honras* and probably in charge of making the *relación*, and that he was responsible for putting into practice the knowledge behind the production of a ceremony like this. However, Manso could not have undertaken all the jobs this event required. Among the people he had to pay for the preparation of the ceremony were architects, a painter to draw the images and texts, a poet to create the iconographical programme and other texts that were displayed on the front and inside the church.

This central task of the poet is also supported by the idea that behind the iconographical programme there was the intention of memorising the monarch as the carrier of certain virtues and values. As Claudia Murray has stated, "the overall language employed iconography, allegory, emblems, and hieroglyphs aimed to depict the characteristics by which the deceased king would be remembered and made immortal among his subjects."[45] The programme prepared by the poet probably

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[42] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. I.
[43] AGI, Escribania 693C, Comisiones de la Gobernación de Cumaná y Caracas, 1715. AGI, Escribania 821A, Comisiones Audiencia de Santa Fe, 1729. AGI, Indiferente 140, 2, Méritos José de Castilla Lisperguer, 1719. The case of this last document is particular because it shows that José de Castilla formally asked the king for retribution and acknowledge of his services to the Crown. In return for his merits as a lawyer, writer, lecturer and counsellor he demanded a position in one of the *audiencias* of the Viceroyalty, probably Santa Fe. F. 6.
[44] No evidence from other *exequias reales* in Santa Fe de Bogotá before this one has been found.
[45] Murray, 'Architecture, Power and Urban Space in Buenos Aires during the Viceroyalty 1776-1810', 186.

followed the rules constructed through the repetition of these types of events since the Renaissance. In the words of Esther Merino Peral, "lo cierto es que con el progresivo enriquecimiento iconográfico e iconológico de estos espectáculos, y dada la cada vez mayor importancia que se les concedía, fueron surgiendo manuales recopilatorios, enciclopedias, diccionarios, obras que permitían la contemplación para su reutilización de catálogos con fórmulas operativas para artistas y organizadores."[46] Some of these manuals probably helped in the production and circulation of the knowledge on how to construct the iconographical programme for Spanish American colonies, in particular the designing emblems, included Sebastián de Covarrubias' *Emblemas morales.*[47] Andrea Alciato's *Los emblemas de Alciato* and Juan de Solorzano y Pereyra's *Emblemas regio-políticos.*[48] In addition, in the case of New Spain, it seems that the book *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano*[49] guided some of the programmes of *exequias* related to the king.[50]

The iconographical programme usually focused on the particular virtues or features of the monarch that were conveyed through comparisons with well-known stories or narratives. According to Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández, there were two types of comparison: the evident ones and the profound ones. The first were basically the kind of associations that "relaciona semejanzas evidentes, y éstas se encuentran en repertorios de lugares comunes más o menos fijos", whilst the latter, called by this

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[46] Esther Merino Peral, *El reino de la ilusión: Breve historia y tipos de espectáculo: El arte efímero y los orígenes de la escenografía* (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2006), 49.

[47] Sebastián Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610).

[48] Andrea Alciati, *Los emblemas de Alciato: Traducidos en Rhimas Españolas ...* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1549), http://archive.org/details/losemblemasdealc00alci.

[49] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo and Johann Sadeler, *Idea de un príncipe político christiano: Representada en cien empresas* (Monaco, Milan: s.n., 1642), http://archive.org/details/ideadeunprincipe42saav.

[50] In the creation of the iconographical programme, poets made use of different sources. They consulted books such as the previously quoted *Los emblemas de Alciato* and *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano*, which have been found in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, or they used any other *relaciones* available in private libraries. The availability of this emblem literature supports the idea of Juan Pascual Buxó, developed in the context of New Spain, that poets created their own scripts — a funeral story narrative — from the collection of emblems that circulated in their cultural environment, instead of consulting the manuals that came from Europe. José Pascual Buxó, 'De la poesía emblemática en la Nueva España', in *La producción simbólica en la América colonial: Interrelación de la literatura y las artes*, ed. José Pascual Buxó, Estudios de cultura literaria novohispana 15 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Seminario de Cultura Literaria Novohispana, Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, 2001), 90.

This conclusion is partly shared by Morales Folguera, for whom the "programadores [poets] solían escoger con entera libertad los emblemas y mitos más adecuados a la escena que deseaban representar. Sin embargo, hay obras que tuvieron mayor influencia que otras, y, a veces, se utilizó un solo libro para componer los jeroglíficos de un túmulo o un arco de triunfo." The poets were not copying the creations imported from Europe through the books, but they made their own interpretations of the king's life, which they expressed in the images they used. Morales Folguera, 'Mitología y emblemática en el arte efímero novohispano', 286.

author *conceptos* "son resultado de la capacidad ingeniosa que puede penetrar en los aspectos más recónditos de las cosas y hacer conexiones en apariencia lejanas o imposibles; los conceptos no sólo manifiestan esas propiedades ocultas, sino que las ponen en relación."[51] This method allowed the poet to propose a reading of the message through the reproduction of myths or fables of Greek or Roman origin but interpreted from the Christian perspective.

In the *Descripción suscinta*, the director presents four different kinds of handwritten pieces or devices depicted in the four divisions of the description of the iconographical programme inside of the cathedral. The first were the emblems posted on the tumulus, the second were the eulogies from the four parts of the world to the king, the third were the poems and emblems that decorated the church, and the fourth were the emblems that can be called Bourbon emblems, because they address directly the symbols of that royal house. Each one of the sections of the programme had their own an explicit purpose, coherence and continuity, and they used Latin as well as Spanish. This suggests that in the creation of the elements of the iconographical programme associated with the *Descripción suscinta* probably more than one poet participated and that there was relative autonomy when choosing the figures to be depicted, the stories and the fables. Figure 1 in the Appendix , included at the end of the thesis, presents the main characteristics of each of the four sections of the iconographical programme. The emblems were described by Manso y Maldonado using the technique of the ekphrasis, which, in the words of Mary Carruthers, worked for painting "with words alone, making imaginary pictures that never seem to have been realised in what we would consider to be a pictorial way. Such verbal *picturae* are addressed directly to the memory of the reader, for it is in one's own *vis imaginativa* and *memoria* that they are given picture form."[52] Although Carruthers only talks about the ekphrasis as a written method to 'create' images, it also helped writers to describe images that existed.[53]

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[51] Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández, 'De la comparación al concepto: Retórica y poética en las descripciones de arcos triunfales en la Nueva España', in *Teorías poéticas en la literatura colonial* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012), 240. This understanding of the world that finds the source of their own *episteme* in the association of things and narratives was presented by Michel Foucault in *The Order of Things.* Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002).
[52] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 291.
[53] Buxó, 'De la poesía emblemática en la Nueva España', 89.

The description of the material configuration of the first section of emblems, the ones attached to the tumulus, provides information about the handwritten practices and the medium in which they were 'published'. According to Manso y Maldonado, "De estos jeroglíficos de la pena se pondrán solo aquellos que el poco respecto del vulgo codicioso de novedades perdonó a desvelos del cuidado."[54] This emphasises the idea that these objects had an ephemeral existence, like the tumulus and triumphal arches, but also that people saw them as collected objects, meant for another kind of purpose beyond memorialising or keeping a record of the event. As it has been proposed in this chapter, this kind of *exequias* was not common in Santa Fe de Bogotá, so this could have been a reason why the city's inhabitants took the emblems and other elements of the iconographical programme from the walls of the church. The audience was to be attracted by the aesthetic dimension of the handwritten objects, which were in the words of Manso y Maldonado to be depicted with "vivos colores y excelentes pinceles se dibujaba en las tablas".[55]

The iconographical programme constructed for this *exequias* in Santa Fe de Bogotá presented a variety of emblems that derived from the traditional tripartite organization. According to Peter M. Daly:

> the emblem is composed of three parts for which the Latin names seem most useful: *inscription*, *pictura*, and *subscription*. A short motto or quotation introduces the emblem. It is usually printed above the *pictura*, and it functions as the *inscription*. The *pictura* itself may depict one or several objects, persons, events, or actions, in some instances set against an imaginary or real background […]. Beneath the *pictura* comes a prose or verse quotation from some learned source or from the emblematist himself, which functions as a *subscription*.[56]

Furthermore, in some manuals of emblems and *relaciones de exequias* made in Spain, the presentation of emblems follows this tripartite organisation: a motto, the image and the explanation underneath the picture. As can be seen in the following figure from the book of *exequias* made after the funeral of Philip IV in the Encarnación convent in Madrid the motto was located at the top of the image, while the epigram or explanation is found at the bottom (Figure 3.2). The next section of this chapter will show how this *relación* was possibly used as a model for making the *Descripción suscinta*.

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[54] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 9. "Geroglyphicos, emblemas,..."
[55] Ibid., f. 9r. "Geroglyphicos, emblemas,..."
[56] Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 6–7.

ABIIT, NON OBIIT.

Para que vueíba a Reynar
(Equibocando la fuerte),
Medio fus alas la Muerte.

Figure 3.2. Fifteenth emblem, Pedro de Rodríguez de Monforte, *Descripción de las honras que se hicieron a la católica majestad de Felipe IV rey de las Españas y del Nuevo Mundo en el Real convento de la Encarnación*. Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666.

This tripartite structure is rarely found in the iconographical programme of the *exequia real* described by *Descripción suscinta*. The emblems that Manso y Maldonado describes are diverse and they combine different types of texts and images. In the case of the first part of this programme, the emblems attached to the tumulus in Santa Fe de Bogotá *exequias* link the shortness of Luis I's life to the fable of Phosphoros and Hesperus, which were the names the Greeks gave to the planet Venus shining in the sky before dawn and after sunset. This part of the programme, written totally in Latin, a "chronológico" (biographical information about Luis I), which was not repeated in the other sections. However, this was not the only part of the iconographical programme where the use of emblems departed from the traditional scheme. In many of the emblems that decorated the church epigrams and mottos were completely absent and in the Bourbon emblems, the fourth part of the programme, *décimas* took the place of an epigram and mottos.

In the case of the fourth part of the iconographical programme, the Bourbon emblems, the depiction of the fourth emblem states: "Píntose a Nuestro Rey en un trono, de donde la muerte le tiraba a derribar. Y en lo superior se pintó el mismo Rey

vestido de gloria y de grande Majestad."[57] The description of the image matches the simplicity found in traditional emblems, which only depict the king, a throne, and the death. In this case, and as was previously noted, no motto or epigram was written, instead the image was followed by this *décima* (ten line poem):

> Con riesgos de peligroso
>
> vive siempre lo encumbrado,
>
> y siempre lo derribado
>
> se dispone a lo dichoso.
>
> De un ardid bien ingenioso
>
> lo quiso Don Luis valer
>
> para llegar a crecer
>
> a Monarca superior,
>
> caminando a ser mayor
>
> por los pasos del no ser.[58]

Returning to the first section of emblems, the ones attached to the tumulus, these are the closest to the traditional structure with an image, a motto and an explanation, as follows:

> el trono real y en él, el cetro y corona de grande majestad y al lado diestro las reales armas de nuestro monarca porque en lo inferior de la tabla se miraba el sol como marchito en su ocaso y en la parte superior del lado opuesto un resplandeciente lucero esparciendo alegres y dorados rayos.[59]

Along with this image, the following motto was posted:[60] "Regis quia Sol absconditur umbris",[61] and the explanatory text was below: "Lucifer astra regit, quia Sol absconditur umbris, Inde Corona venit, Purpura et index venit, Sic ubi Philipus

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[57] In Spain it was common to have the emblems in the books of *relaciones* engraved and printed, but in Santa Fe de Bogotá they were described in words of Manso y Maldonado. Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 26r.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., f. 10r.

[60] In the *Descripción suscinta*, the author employs the word *emblema* to designate the motto, instead of the whole composition. It was common in the Spanish emblematic tradition to use the word *jeroglífico* instead of *emblema.* Authors like Pedro Germano Leal have invited a rethinking of the graphic and written tradition that links the antique Egyptian hieroglyphic with Renaissance Spain, looking for a better understanding of the emergence of the term *jeroglífico*. Pedro Germano Leal, 'On the Origins of Spanish Hieroglyphics', *Imago. Revista de Emblemática y Cultura Visual* 20, no. 6 (2014): 27–38.

[61] An approximate translation would be: "King because the sun hides in the shadows."

quasi Sol absconditur umbris, Inde Corona venit, Rex Ludovice tibit."[62] This time the motto and explanation were written in Latin, although emblems written in Spanish were also used in *relaciones* made in the Peninsula and in the manuals of emblems at that time; even the emblems of the fourth part of the *Descripción suscinta*, the Bourbon emblems, were totally in Spanish. This suggests that the use of Latin in this part of the programme was deliberate and aimed to address a type of reader educated in one of the schools or colleges in this period.

In some of the emblems employed by Manso y Maldonado, texts (mottos, *chronológicos*, epigrams and poems) were inserted in graphic elements such as fountains or shields. For example, in the depiction of the first emblem attached to the tumulus, the author illustrates that "Pintose también en esta misma tabla varias columnas en el huerto Hesperio a uno y otro lado y varias vasas que servían como de fundamento a los dorados árboles y armas reales y en el medio una fuente amenísima con el cronológico, emblema y epigrama siguiente."[63] In the case of shields, Manso Maldonado employed them, for instance, in the first emblem of the third group, on the *tablas* that decorated the church. According to him, this object was used:

> Para simbolizar la muerte de Nuestro Rey se pintó en alegoría la fábula de Seyx cuando se perdió en el mar, según refiere Ovidio en el libro 11 de sus transformaciones la pintura era un mar en tormenta; en él un navío sumergiéndose, cuyo piloto era la muerte; y a Nuestro Rey en él ya difunto; y un Palacio que caía sobre el muro hacia la parte del mar se veía en una ventana hermosa, pero funestamente aderezada Nuestra Reina, y Señora con algunas damas, en traje funesto, como inclinadas y atentas hacia aquella parte del mar, donde se iba a pique el navío y en el campo intermedio una ave Alcón y al pie una tarja con estos versos de Ovidio en el lugar citado. *Crudelior ipso Sit mihimens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar, Longius, et tanto pugnem superese dolori.*[64]

Not only does the position of the text look odd according to the Spanish tradition of emblems, but the complexity of the image is far from being completely iconographic. The emblems found in manuals or other *relaciones* printed in Spain made use of a small number of graphic elements. As shown in Figure 3.2, the death of the king was depicted as a winged skull with a crown. Another example of this

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[62] An approximate translation would be: "O Lucifer [planet Venus] who governs the sky, when the Sun hides in the shadows, here comes the Crown, the colour purple indicates. In the same way as the Sun, Phillipe hides in the shadows, here comes the Crown, you king Luis." Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 10r.

[63] Ibid., f. 10. "Geroglyphicos, emblemas,..." In this case, when the author talks about *emblemas*, he is addressing which conventionally was known as mottos.

[64] Ibid., ff. 21-21r. "Geroglyphicos, emblemas,..."

disparity can be found in *Emblemas morales* by Sebastián de Covarrubias (see Figure 3.3).[65]

Figure 3.3. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610.

This is the depiction of a single scene in which there are just a few aspects: a man, a dog and a castle, with the motto at the top. According to Covarrubias the epigram of this emblem is "El perro que está atado en la cadena (Quiero que sea el mismo Cancerbero), A ninguna dar enojo, ni pena, Sino se le acercase a su terrero: Tal es Satán, cuya malicia enfrena, quien le evidenció en la cruz, que es verdadero Hércules, y le ató a quien mordiere, Será porque él lo busco y él lo quiere."[66] The explanation of Covarrubias' image is totally different from the style employed in the *exequias* of Luis I in Santa Fe de Bogotá. It can be suggested that both respond to different types of textual traditions, or at least to variations of the same written culture. However, it could be argued that these differences were probably the result of variations in the visual culture originating from the colonies.

Another example that supports the idea that the *Descripción suscinta* employed different handwritten practices when compared to those used in the traditional scheme of the *exequias* is that the texts were displayed separately from the images or emblems. In the words of Manso y Maldonado: "Pusiose tambien en estas cuatro columnas debajo de los elogios unas tarjas bien dibujadas y coloridas cuatro bien sentidos sonetos cuyas letras por grandes y bien formadas se dejaban leer aun de

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[65] Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales*, f. 11.
[66] Ibid.

lejos."[67] Knowledge about painting was clearly being deployed in the textual apparatus of the ceremony. The size of the image suggests that this could not have been handwritten but painted on a canvas or a board (retablo), instead of having been carved or engraved. Hand-painted texts were often found in other objects such as paintings used as ex-votos, where the text describes the image and the favour being repaid. This suggests that writing could have been the responsibility of painters rather than scribes when addressing a general public in large spaces, such as the church. As such, it suggests that the production of handwritten texts in these ceremonies drew upon the tradition of painting as in the creation of the colonial 'art'.

3.3. Simulating viceregal books. The making of the *Descripción suscinta*

This part of the chapter will focus on the production of the book of *relaciones*. As with all the literacy events performed in the city and its churches, the only way to let the Crown know that the debt had been repaid or that a service had been provided was through the publication of the *relación de exequias*. As previously stated, these books were traditionally printed in the viceregal capitals in Spanish American dominions. Manso y Maldonado had the challenge of making a manuscript *relación* that matched in some ways the standards of the printed ones, as a way of promoting Santa Fe de Bogotá as the possible centre of the third viceroyalty.[68] In order to illustrate his intentions, it is necessary to analyse the material dimensions of the book from three perspectives: first, by comparing the *Descripción suscinta* with the printed *relación de exequias* made in Lima following the death of Luis I; second, by examining the characteristics of some elements of the layout of the handwritten text; and third, by looking at the emphasis that the writer and compiler placed on the place of production of the book.

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[67] The remark that these poems were made in "letras grandes" also is important, because many of the depictions of emblems in tumulus found in other *relaciones* show small images. Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 20. "Geroglyphicos, emblemas,...".

[68] This argument is shared by Verónica Salazar Baena. For her Manso y Maldonado "organizó entonces una pomposa celebración luctuosa para acreditar la grandeza de Santafé, recién despojada del virreinato. Él mismo se encargó de escribir una extensa y detallada *relación de fiestas* que envió al Consejo de Indias. Manso Maldonado era partidario de reestablecer el virreinato y resulta muy probable que él mismo, haya deseado ser virrey, de manera que su implicación en las celebraciones haya sido una estrategia de ascenso." Verónica Salazar Baena, 'Fastos monárquicos en el Nuevo Reino de Granada. La imagen del rey y los intereses locales. Siglos XVII-XVIII' (Universitat de Barcelona, 2013), 275, http://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/132967.

The methodological approach adopted in this research seeks to identify the social variables that defined the uses of writing in Santa Fe de Bogotá and Lima. The idea is to insert the written material objects into a social context, illustrating how they were moulded through the written practices that shaped the literacy events that were constantly performed in both cities. From this perspective, the books of *exequias* cannot be understood without examining the ceremonies from which they were born. As was indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the case of *Descripción suscinta* is unusual because most of the handwritten communications sent to the Metropolis from Spanish American cities that gave information about the celebration of the *honras fúnebres* were letters rather than detailed accounts of the ceremonies. Only cities such as Mexico, Lima, Guatemala or Puebla, that had enjoyed access to a printing press before the eighteenth century, produced printed *relaciones* that were then sent to Spain.

Thus, the case of *Descripción suscinta* can be situated between two writing traditions: the manuscript production of a city that did not have a printing press, and the custom of printing the *relaciones de exequias* as part of the protocols of the event. One of the features of printed *relaciones* was the possibility of circulation in different spaces across the Empire and probably among elite networks in Madrid or other cities.[69] For example, in 1666, ten books of Philip IV's *exequias*, entitled *Solemnidad funebre y exequias a la muerte del catolico augustissimo Rey D. Felipe quarto: el grande N. S. que celebro en la Iglesia Metropolitana la Real Audiencia de Lima que oy gobierna en vacante y mando imprimir el Real Acuerdo de gobierno*, were printed in Lima and sent to king, Charles II. One of those ten books is stored in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.[70] The circulation of printed books of *exequias* shows three dynamic features of these objects: they became public declarations of alliance between the specific characters in the colonial order and the Crown;[71] they circulated

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[69] This does not mean that manuscript books could not have had a broad circulation, because the practice of copying allowed them to be shared by different people while increasing the amount of copies. However, this does not seem to be the case in the *Descripción suscinta*, as only one copy of the book is available in the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

[70] AGI, Lima 67, carta 1, Carta en donde se entregan los libros de exequias de Felipe IV, 31 October, 1666.

[71] It is useful to remember the classification of books exchanged as gifts done by Natalie Zemon Davis: "the dedicated book, that is, the public gift; the book given to others in the course of one's lifetime; and the book bequeathed at death." Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture', 72.

information about the ceremonies and happenings inside the cities; and they disseminated the protocols employed in the fiestas.

The *Descripción suscinta* was the first *relación de exequias* produced in Santa Fe de Bogotá, at least in the form of an independent work, bound and organised as a book. There are also reasons to believe that Manso y Maldonado's *exequias* was the first of its kind since it has been impossible to find any mention of one before it. The lack of people knowledgeable about the practices required by the event may explain the various roles that Manso y Maldonado adopted in the production of the *exequias*. It is possible that these celebrations were done to connect certain spaces to circuits of power only enjoyed in Lima and some cities in New Spain given by their status as the head of a Viceroyalty or having an important role in the viceregal administration. As such, the printing press and its products could be viewed as part of the material conditions and technologies, which allowed those territories to connect to those circuits of power.[72] A comparison between a printed *relación,* such as *Parentación real,* the book of *exequias* made for the death of Luis I in Lima,[73] and the *Descripción suscinta* can provide some information about the intentions of Manso y Maldonado.

The *Descripción suscinta* is a manuscript book of 133 folios.[74] According to the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, the size of this manuscript book is 300 x 210 mm (according to the position of the watermark in the middle of the page, the format of the book would be folio),[75] and it is bound in a red velvet fabric of the same period.[76] It was probably written by a group of scribes under

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[72] The comparison of the dates of the foundation of the viceroyalties and the opening of the printing workshops in each Spanish American city in the colonial period shows some trends. The Viceroyalty of New Spain was founded in 1535, and the first printing workshops were founded in Mexico and Puebla in the years 1539 and 1640 , respectively. Lima became capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542 and the first printing press was built in 1581. The Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was founded for the second time in 1741, while the printing press arrived in 1735 and to Quito in 1759. In the case of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, founded in 1776, printing presses were established in Santiago de Chile in 1776 and in Buenos Aires in 1780. Only the printing presses in Guatemala (1660) and Cuba (1701) show a different trend in the spreading of the printed word. Hortensia Calvo, 'The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America', *Book History* 6, no. 1 (2003): 277–305; Hensley Charles Woodbridge and Lawrence S. Thompson, *Printing in Colonial Spanish America* (Troy, N.Y.: Whitston, 1976).
[73] Torrejón, *Parentación Real*.
[74] Antonio Muro Orejón, 'Manuscritos sobre América y Filipinas de la antigua Real Biblioteca', *Anuario de estudios americanos*, no. 40 (1983): 388.
[75] Unfortunately, the Biblioteca Nacional de España, where this book is archived, did not allow work on the material object because it has deteriorated considerably.
[76] Ministerio de Educación Nacional, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. IX (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1970), 210.

Manso y Maldonado's command between 1725 and 1726.[77] Even though this book does not have a table of contents, it can be divided into three parts: the preliminary texts, a description of the *honras fúnebres* that took place in the cathedral and a description of the religious order ceremonies (Figure 2 of the Appendix). By examining the structure of the text, it is possible to see differences in the balance of sections and contents that reflect differences in the political context in which they were compiled.

The first part, the preliminary texts, consists of the title page, the letter of presentation of the book to the king, or *carta de pésame,* and the dedicatory. This section of the text refers to the production of the book and its intended circulation.[78] It also introduces the people who participated in the making of the object, along with their purposes for making the book, and describes the *honras fúnebres.* In these texts the writer also explains how the news of the king's death arrived in the month of August of 1724 when Santa Fe de Bogotá was celebrating the crowning of Luis I. The same happens in *Parentación real*, where almost the same topics are presented in the *carta de pésame* and introduction, but in a more thorough and profuse form (Figure 2 of the Appendix).

The second section of the *Descripción suscinta* focuses on the description of the *honras fúnebres* conducted in the cathedral and paid for by the Real Audiencia. It is well known that the cathedral was the main ecclesiastical building in cities. It was also the centre of many fiestas related to the monarchy, as in the case of the *exequias*. In this part of the book the author narrates how the main objects of the ceremony were placed in the church; in other words, the tumulus, images, texts and fabrics that were made to provide an environment of mourning and sadness. In these pages, the author describes the emblems employed in the ceremony. Supporting this description was a depiction of the tumulus, which was included as a large page that had to be folded to fit in the format of the book when it was closed. This is the only image contained in the book besides the title page and both were illustrated in watercolour (*aguadas o acuarela*). At the end of this section there is a sermon delivered by the arcediano of the cathedral and archbishop of the island of Española.

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[77] There are two dates in the book: 12 November, 1725, at the bottom of the dedicatory and 12 June, 1726, at the end of the *carta de pésame* of the book.
[78] The presence of a *carta de pésame* could be seen as a formality in the process of this event, but in the cases of the printed books, some of these letters state the number of books that were sent to the Metropolis.

The third part of the *relación* consists of descriptions of the *honras fúnebres* and sermons used in the ceremonies conducted by the religious orders. The orders that participated with a tumulus, a ceremony and a sermon were the Order of Predicadores (Dominicans), Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits, and the discalced Agustinians. Along with them, the convents of the Concepción, the Carmelitas Descalzas, Santa Clara, and Santa Inés also contributed with a tumulus, *honras* and a sermon.

The *Parentación real*, the *relación* for the death of Luis I printed in Lima, and the *Descripción suscinta* followed the similar narrative structure in the depiction of the *honras fúnebres*: first there is a description of the tumulus, the church and the iconographical programme (Figure 2 of the Appendix). However, in the *Descripción suscinta* the *honras* produced in the cathedral closes with a sermon, while *Parentación real* presents an account of the poetry attached to the church, allocating the last part of the book, almost as an entirely independent text, to the publication of the sermon of the Jesuit priest Alonso Messia.

According to Figure 2 of the Appendix, the longest section of the *Descripción suscinta* as a whole is the third, where the religious orders' *honras* were described. At first sight this seems obvious because there were nine orders and convents that participated in the *exequias reales* of Luis I. However, if one compares this *relación* with the one made in Lima, it is noticeable that the *honras fúnebres* produced by institutions other than the Real Audiencia in the City of Kings had a minor role in the description of the *fiesta*. In the case of Lima, the *exequias* done by other institutions are compressed in the third section, "Exequias particulares que se hicieron en la ciudad de Lima", which only has five folios. Meanwhile the main focus of the *honras fúnebres* in Lima centred on the viceregal ceremony, which was described in 126 folios.

In the *Parentación real* the ceremonies promoted by the viceroy occupy the greater part of the book. They show that the *exequias* made in Lima were more complex and had more people involved in the production of different elements of the ceremony than in Santa Fe de Bogotá. For instance, the *colegios* played an important role in the creation of all the literary material, which comprises more than *décimas* or *glosas*, and extends to other types of written material such as *endechas* (elegies about a deceased person), *octavas* (poem of eight lines), or anagrams. Along with these materials the poets of the *colegios* also created some emblems of their own, which are described in this part of the text. The other emblems were attached to the tumulus, as

narrated by Tomás de Torrejón in the description of the first body of the structure. This shows that educational institutions had a stronger presence in the 'publication' of handwritten materials in Lima than in Santa Fe de Bogotá. In addition, traces of this participation in public events by schools and universities will be seen in the *certámenes poéticos* carried out in Lima. It can also be argued that the support of the Church in Santa Fe de Bogotá was decisive for the production of the ceremonies in remembrance of Luis I.

Although the general structure of both *relaciones* is similar, they suggest a different ceremony. While the one made in Lima shows a more elaborate fiesta, with a bigger tumulus and a more complex iconographical apparatus, the one made in Santa Fe de Bogotá only describes briefly the main elements of this type of event: the tumulus, the decoration of the church and the sermons. There is no thorough description of the motives for the ceremony, or how the news arrived the city and was communicated to the inhabitants, or of the names of the members of every governmental body, or the credits to the poets that produced the iconographical programme; the *relación* only provides a few minor details about these topics. Manso y Maldonado reserved a considerable amount of space for accounts of the ceremonies promoted by the religious orders, possibly with the intention of providing a favour to these organisations or else reflecting the limited royal administration in Santa Fe de Bogotá and the relative importance of the religious orders.

Whether manuscript or printed, the *relaciones* have been considered as testimonials of the happenings that actually took place during the funeral ceremonies, and historians have approached them as detailed accounts of the traditions in the colonies. However, Verónica Salazar Baena, following Fernando R. de la Flor and Peter Burke, argues that in the study of these documents historians have to consider that the *relación*

> [...] hace uso de estrategias de selección, ampliación hiperbólica, reelaboración de materiales y en este ejercicio, crea y produce el acontecimiento. En su mayoría los documentos enaltecen la majestuosidad de los hechos y crean la idea, de una total armonía en la celebración y un acatamiento masivo y voluntario en la convocatoria. Por todo lo mencionado, partimos de una premisa básica: las pretensiones de los organizadores de ningún artefacto cultural, coinciden necesariamente con los efectos reales de éste. De ahí que el texto no sea narración de un acontecimiento sino por el contrario, ficción de él, pues la misión no es la verdad del acontecimiento sino la presentación del acontecimiento como verdad.[79]

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[79] Salazar Baena, *Hacer presente al rey ausente. Ceremonias reales en la Nueva Granada, 1739-1810*, 19.

The material presentation of the happening should follow specific protocols if it is to be seen as credible or truthful. In order to convey that idea, the text needed to be produced according to the conventions that made it look like one of these books that were traditionally printed, but in a manuscript production.[80] According to this, a detailed analysis of some of the elements of the layout can provide some insights about the way in which the *Descripción suscinta* was constructed, the practices behind its making, and the people involved.

With regard to the layout, it is possible to divide the text into two parts: the first is the description of the *exequias* promoted by the Real Audiencia, which were described in detail and were celebrated in the cathedral. The second part is the other *honras fúnebres* carried out independently in the churches of the other religious orders. The first part shows variations in the hand, especially in the titles, and there are changes in the layout depending on the type of text transcribed. If we take the title "epigrama" for the tables that describe the images of the first part of the iconographical programme, we can see different styles in its depiction (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4. Different handwritten styles on the subtitle "Epigramma" in the *Descripción suscinta*.

Similar cases can be found with other titles such as "geroglíficos", "emblemas", etc. Only the final few pages of the description of the iconographical programme shows a stable form of handwriting for the titles and layouts. The others

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[80] As G.T. Tanselle argues, "an acquaintances with the styles of bookmaking associated with specific genres or classes of writing at particular times and locations enables one to place a given book in a historical setting and to know something of the way its text was viewed by its producers and its readers. It is in the nature of conventions to be employed and received unthinkingly, but they are not for that reason unrevealing; and departures from conventions are likely to be intentionally emphatic statements, and recognised as such." G. T. Tanselle, *Bibliographical Analysis: A Historical Introduction*, Kindle edition (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 76.

appear to have been made by different scribes or done in a careless way. However, the variety of forms in the titles can also be understood to be the result of the different hands that took part in the production of the objects of the iconographical programme itself, in other words, the images and texts used in the actual ceremony. As Manso y Maldonado stated, he could only give an account of the iconographical pieces that people did not steal from the churches or tumulus, which means that he copied the texts from the boards or *retablos in situ*. Accordingly it is possible that he not only transcribed the text, but also the layout and design of the text that had been displayed in the church. Another possibility is that several hands participated in the writing of the titles, and each of these scribes had a different training in the calligraphic style used in titles.

Texts are not independent from their form. In particular, the practice of copying texts is done under certain conditions that allow texts to keep their meaning and intelligibility. The paradigmatic case of this relationship between form and meaning is with poetry, where a variation in the length of the line can ruin the composition and meaning of the text.[81] This is clear for the cases in the *relación* where the text demands a faithful copy of the original, such as the *décimas* (ten lines poems), epigrams, emblems and glossas. In each case, Manso y Maldonado varied the alignment of the text in the paper, indented some lines and changed from one column to two columns, probably copying the original display that these texts had in the church. It is possible that the same process of copying was done with the titles of the iconographical programme, because the explicit intention of the author was to describe every detail of the disposition of the church. The absence of variations in the rest of the titles of the book, in particular in the third part, where the religious orders *honras* and tumulus were described, supports this idea.

From the beginning of the book, the author's purpose is to convince the reader that the account of the events he portrays is accurate and that the events happened in the way they are described. In the letter sent with *Descripción suscinta*, which was

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[81] A similar case of copying is analysed by G. T. Tanselle for the compositors working in printing workshops. For this author, "any detail of spelling or layout over which compositor had discretion (as opposed to those required by the practice of a given shop or by the typographic custom of a particular locality) are potential tools to distinguish text set by different compositors—and thus for identifying practices not related to compositorial stints, practices that may therefore be characteristic of the underlying copy from which the compositors were setting." Ibid., 33.

also sent with printed copies of other *exequias*,[82] Manso y Maldonado introduces a "breve relación" of the "demostraciones debidas, haciendo ofrecer por su majestad difunta gran número de sacrificios y celebrando *res publica honras* con la mayor solemnidad y grandeza."[83] Similar intentions were conveyed at the beginning of the folio 21, where the author points out that

> En lo restante de la iglesia se colgaron diferentes tablas con muchos jeroglíficos y poesías latinas y castellanas, en que se expresaba con agudos conceptos el sentimiento que tributaba el fidelísimo corazón de los leales vasallos de esta América en la muerte de su Rey, que se irán poniendo en la misma forma, que se colocaron para adorno del templo y suntuosidad del túmulo.[84]

Manso y Maldonado directly addressed the feeling that Santa Fe's inhabitants expressed in the images of the death that posted around the building and this was done in harmony with the other elements of the written and symbolic programme. In them he introduced new kinds of texts and images that were different from the other types he had already depicted. The presence of a group of poets and artisans, that designed and produced the iconographical programme, can be identified from this kind of variation in the visual and textual settings and displays in the depiction of the elements of the iconographical material.

Furthermore, early in the description of the iconographical programme, the author suggests that the work of the poet has ended. According to Manso y Maldonado, "Habiendo el poeta coronado esta obra con esta última tabla, no quiso perder tan buena ocasión de amonestar con un saludable recuerdo al lector, porque a la verdad ningún espectáculo puede mover tanto al desengaño de nuestra vida, como el que se representó en este túmulo."[85] Even if the president only refers here to the ending of the decorative stage of the tumulus, the evident lack of a coherent and unified representation in the *exequias* may have resulted in the transcription of graphic variations into the handwritten *relación*. It is not common to write a book with such changes in the layout of the titles, either in the manuscript or in the printed tradition, because titles and subtitles indicate hierarchies of information and the organisation of discourse.

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[82] Other case of a letter attached to a *relación de exequias* can be reviewed in the *honras fúnebres* produced in Lima for the death of Carlos III. AGI, Lima 693, 1, Carta no 118 de Teodoro de Croix, Virrey de Croix, a Antonio Porlier, secretario de Estado de Gracia y Justicia de Indias, 1790.

[83] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, sec. letter, 2.

[84] Ibid., f. 21.

[85] Ibid., 16.

In the second part of the *relación,* differences in the layout, not only reinforce the idea that the handwritten variations in the first part matched the different displays of the emblems, but also suggests that the book was written by more than one scribe. This part of the book drew on the *honras* and sermons produced by the religious orders and convents in remembrance of Luis I. It seems that each organisation funded its own ceremonies independently and the order in which the religious orders were introduced in the *relación* had to do with their antiquity.[86] These additional texts were not usually part of the books of *relaciones* published in other places of the Empire. Previous *oraciones* and sermons conducted in Santa Fe de Bogotá in *honras fúnebres* were printed independently in the Peninsula and they do not describe or give any account of the *exequias* in which they were involved.

As indicated above, in the case of *Parentación real*, the *relación de exequias* printed in Lima after the death of Luis I, there is an *oración fúnebre* at the end of the book.[87] Before the *oración fúnebre* there is a set of paratexts[88] approving the production of this text in printed form. This is important because the *relación* that precedes it has no paratext of this kind, which suggests that it was probably not subjected to this kind of approval and censorship and that the circulation of books of this kind did not represent a danger with regard to the interests of the Crown and the Church.[89] In addition, it indicates that the type of text 'published' in the *relaciones* probably was not considered as an original oeuvre or the production of an independent mind, contrary to the case of *oraciones* or sermons. Furthermore, the fact that these

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[86] According to the *Descripción suscinta*, "No fue sola en dar muestras de su sentimiento en el ocaso del nuevo sol de las Españas Luis Primero la Real Audiencia de este Nuevo Reino de Granada, siguieronle también con repetidos llantos y sentidas demostraciones todas las sagradas y religiosas familias y monasterios de religiones que todas conformes a su posibilidad se esmeraron en dar muestras de su sentimiento [...] En cuanto al tiempo por irse por sus antigüedades siguieron después de la principal función que fue la de Real Audiencia se siguió la esclarecida religión de Predicadores por más antigua." Ibid., f. 40r.

[87] Torrejón, *Parentación real*.

[88] Paratexts were the certificates and endorsements that censors and readers from Inquisition or the Crown provided to the texts to circulate in printed form.

[89] Traditionally printed books had to suffer a process of censorship to be publish and to circulate in the market. They were subjected to the judgement of readers that look into them for information against the Catholic church, censors that review the printed book to find any difference with the manuscript copy and authorities that granted the privilege of printing to merchants, printers, patrons or authors. Pedro Guibovich Pérez, 'Las herramientas del censor: Catálogos y edictos de libros prohibidos en la Inquisición en Lima, 1570-1754', in *La memoria de los libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, ed. Pedro M. Cátedra and María Luisa López-Vidriero, vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), 839–50; José Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura: La Inquisición española y los libros científicos en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991).

last texts could have circulated in handwritten form without being subjected to the controls placed upon printed books suggests that the handwritten texts may not have been considered as dangerous as the printed texts whose circulation was more difficult to control.

The layout used in the titles and text of all the sermons and *honras fúnebres* changes slightly. The major differences seen here are between the text of the *honras fúnebres* and the sermons (see Figure 3.5). The illustration below shows the end of the text of the *honras fúnebres* of the discalced Augustinians religious order (on the left) and the beginning of the *oración fúnebre* or sermon of the same order (on the right). Immediately after the end of the sermon, no blank space was left before a description of the *honra* of the next religious order. Normally there is a space between the *honras fúnebres* and the sermon of the same religious order. In a particular case, in folio 92, two pages are left blank, which probably occurred when the scribe or scribes miscalculate the blank pages between each heading. It is possible that headings were written down before the sermons and descriptions of the *honras*. This means that scribes left a number of blank pages amid those headings based on a previously handwritten draft of the texts. This lack of accuracy can also explain why the *honras fúnebres* of the Augustinians are repeated twice.[90]
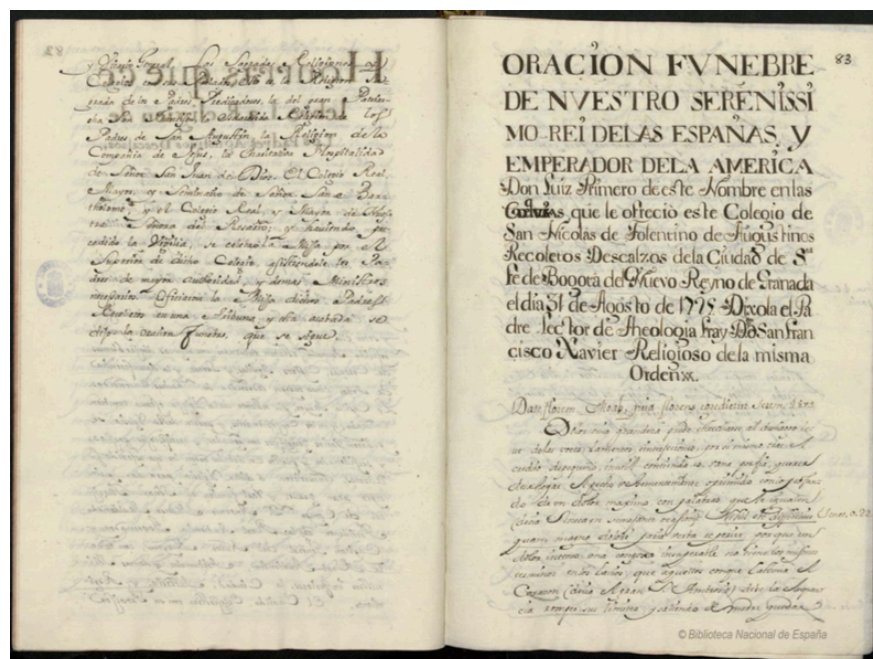
Figure 3.5. Space between the description of the honra fúnebre and the sermon made by the discalced Agustinians order. Manso y Maldonado, *Descripción suscinta*, ff. 82r-83.

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[90] A more thorough explanation of casting off blanks technique, such as the one used here, will be developed in the following chapter. Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, ff. 42–60.

It is worth noting that the *relación* was probably written in an already bound blank book. This required the scribe to take particular care in the management of the space, because the pages he had available for the text were limited. In the case of the writing of this account of the *honras* and sermons of the religious orders, the scribe's struggle to adjust the content to the space is clear. It is possible that Manso y Maldonado might have received help from other people when gathering the sermons published in the churches of the religious orders, leaving him with the task of describing the *honras fúnebres* done by the Real Audiencia. In addition, the *Descripción suscinta* shows minor corrections, which means that a draft or drafts might have been done previously before writing the final document.

Finally, in terms of the geographical context of the production of the book, Manso y Maldonado refers to the importance of the status of Santa Fe de Bogotá. This can be seen in the title page, the description of the four parts of the world and the depiction of the cities in the tumulus. For instance on the title page, the illustrator included highly decorated images that frame the information about the title, authorship and dedicatory, which is unique for the handwritten culture of the period for Santa Fe de Bogotá (see Figure 3.6 right). According to Allo Manero, the image of the title page is a copy of an engraving published also as title page in the book of *exequias* for Philip IV made in Madrid in 1666 (see Figure 3.6 left).[91]

[91] Manero, 'Aportación al estudio de las exequias reales en Hispanoamérica', 128.

Figure 3.6 Title pages of Pedro de Rodríguez de Monforte, *Descripción de las honras que se hicieron a la católica majestad de Felipe IV rey de las Españas y del Nuevo Mundo en el Real convento de la Encarnación.* Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666 and, Antonio Manso y Maldonado, Manso, *Descripción sucinta de las honras y exequias que en la muerte de nuestro Rey D. Luis Fernando el primero, se celebraron en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá, cabeza del Nuevo Reino de Granada* [Manuscrito].

Although the image mimics the composition and organisation of the objects, the characters have been changed and instead of having a representation of Spring and Autumn, the *Descripción suscinta* portrays America and Santa Fe de Bogotá (see Figure 3.7). The elements that introduce the beginning and the end of a life are substituted by images that acknowledge and reinforce knowledge of the place of production. Implied in this is the idea that it is America who speaks in these pages, which is also revealed in the second part of the iconographical programme described by Manso y Maldonado in the elegies of the four parts of the world. On this image he writes:

> Ocupada el primer lugar esta América [in the internal arrangement inside of the church and in the *relación* among the four parts of the world]; porque aunque las demás partes en cuanto a su culto, población y gentes se reputan mayores, pero la América en cuanto a su grandeza, extensión, riqueza, y singularidades, puede no solo competir con cada una de las otras, sino con todas juntas; pues es aquel herario inexausto, que a todas enriquece con los grandes minerales, que contiene de oro, plata, esmeraldas, amatistas, corales, perlas y otras piedras; y de bálsamos, aromas y demás frutos, que tributa a la Europa. También se puso en primer lugar, por ser ella en esta ocasión la que tributaba exequias a la tierna memoria de su Monarca, y señor difunto.[92]

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[92] Manso, *Descripción suscinta de las honras*, f. 17.

The role played by the *relación* in the exchange between American subjects and the Spanish Crown is again reinforced by this importance of the place of production. There is nothing like this in the case of *Parentación real*, which was the *relación* relating to the death of Luis I published in Lima. The latter *relación* contained no description of the four parts of the world (but it can be found in other *relaciones*), suggesting that stating the place of production was not a main consideration in the publication of the book. Manso y Maldonado used this handwritten book that resembled a printed one to introduce Santa Fe de Bogotá into a social sphere only occupied by Lima and México. Through *Descripción suscinta,* the city and their inhabitants are reclaiming a new status inside of the imperial hierarchy.

Figure 3.7. America and Santa Fe de Bogotá depicted in the title page of *Descripción suscinta.*

The analysis of the *relación* has shown how Manso y Maldonado created a handwritten book to match the traditions of printed *relaciones* made in Lima and México. This intention lead him to copy the title page of one of the printed *relaciones* made in Madrid and to try to emulate the particular narrative present in this kind of book. Through the book, it is possible to see his struggle with the limitations of the handwritten text, but it is also apparent that manuscript books can provide information

that is usually lost when the books were printed. This chapter has revealed how, in the handwritten *relación*, it is possible to perceive the contributions of different authors, the miscalculations in the management of space and the text, the freedom for the circulation of certain information that in printed form would have been censored or thoroughly examined, and probably find insights into the visual displays of the writings on the walls.

Chapter 4. Gardens of paper. Poetic production of handwritten materials in a republic of letters in Lima

The previous chapter shed some light on the participation of poets in royal ceremonies conducted in Spanish American colonies. Poets produced the programme for the text and graphic pieces that, combined with other elements in the festive rituals, aimed at creating the feelings of joy, amusement or sorrow, as well as other emotions, depending on the type of occasion. The birth of the heir to the throne, the arrival of the new viceroy, the wedding of the king or the death of an important figure in the monarchy were always opportunities for poets to demonstrate their literary prowess, their closeness to the colonial rulers and to provide services to the Crown.

Lima's scribes and poets were also included in this system of mutual exchange between the colonial powers in America and in Europe. The large number of printed and manuscript records of these ceremonies show members of the colonial elite enjoyed the benefits that came from writing for or on behalf of the king or the colonial rulers.[1] In order to gain an understanding of how poets participated in a colonial system's circulation of goods and services, their social status, their knowledge about writing practices, and their interests in creating literary texts for the colonial authorities should be explored further. In order to address these questions, this chapter

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[1] This is a small selection of these events, based on the poets found in *Flor de academias*: Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, *El cielo en el parnasso: Certamen poético con que la Real Universidad de San Marcos de Lima ... celebró el fausto feliz recibimiento de S.E. en sus escuelas y la relación de la festiva pompa, y solemne aclamacion de su entrada en esta ciudad* (Lima: Imprenta Real, 1736); Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo and Egidio Díaz González, *Relación de la sacra festiva pompa que en reverente accion de gracias de la exaltacion a la cardenalicia dignidad del ....Gaspar de Molina y Oviedo* (Lima: n.d., 1720); Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo and Ignacio de Luna y Bohorquez, *Jubilos de Lima y fiestas reales, que hizo esta ... ciudad ... en celebración de los... casamientos del serenissimo señor don Luis Fernando, principe de las asturias ... con la serenísima señora Princessa de Orleans, y del ... rey christianissimo Luis Decimo Quinto con la serenissima señora doña Maria Anna Victoria, infanta de España...* (Lima: Imprenta ... por Ignacio de Luna y Bohorques, 1723); Jerónimo Fernández de Castro y Bocangel et al., *Elisio peruano: Solemnidades heroicas, y festivas demonstraciones de jubilos, que se han logrado en ... Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, ... en la aclamacion del excelso nombre del ... don Luis Primero n.s. (que Dios guarde)* (Lima: Francisco Sobrino, 1725); Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, *Fúnebre pompa: Demostracion doliente, magnificencia triste, que en las altas exequias y tumulo eregido en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana en la ciudad de Lima capital de Perú al serenissimo señor Francisco Farnese ...* (Lima: Imprenta de la Calle del Palacio, 1728); Peralta y Barnuevo and Díaz González, *Relación de la sacra festiva pompa que en reverente accion de gracias de la exaltacion a la cardenalicia dignidad del ....Gaspar de Molina y Oviedo*; José Antonio Borda y Orosco, *Relación de las reales exequias que a la memoria de la reina madre, nuestra señora, doña Isabel Farnesio* (Lima: Imprenta Real, por Nicolás Urdín y Cevallos, 1768); *Aclamacion y pendones que levanto la muy noble y coronada Ciudad de los Reyes, por el católico y augustissimo rey D. Carlos II...* (Lima: Imprenta de Juan de Quevedo y Zarate, 1666).

focuses on the academies[2] in the viceregal palace of Lima that were recorded in the manuscript book, *Flor de academias que contiene las que se celebraron en el real palacio de esta corte de Lima, en el gavineto del excelentísimo señor don Manuel Oms y de Santa Pau..., Marqués de Castell dos Rius, Virrey, Governador y Capitán General de estos reynos de el Perú, Tierra Firme y Chile, desde el 23 de septiembre de 1709 hasta el 7 de abril de 1710* (henceforth *Flor de academias*).[3]

Every Monday, over a period of nearly six months exactly between 23 September, 1709 and 24 April, 1710, a group of writers met at the viceregal palace with the viceroy, who asked them to respond to a set of literary challenges. Each session demanded compositions made *in situ* or, sometimes, poetry tasks were assigned to be written outside of the academy's meetings. The literary and intellectual challenges illustrate the norms of poetic production and the complexity of courtly ceremonies, which regularly included visual and oral narratives. Along with the reading of handwritten pieces of poetry, music and theatre were performed as part of the meetings. The viceroy constantly mentioned the participation of the musicians of the academy during the sessions. Even before his arrival in Lima the viceroy was already famous for being an aficionado of the theatre. The viceregal palace, under the viceroy, Marqués del Castelldosrius, became a place of cultural production and intellectual debate, probably in response to his cultural and literary preferences.[4]

The system of academies was part of a large history of dissemination of the lettered culture in Europe and in Spanish America and probably played an important role among the colonial elite. Both the organisation of such gatherings and the texts they produced responded to a textual and oral tradition that had been in fashion in Spain, especially prior to the second half of the sixteenth century, and it probably found its origins in the Late Medieval period in places like France, the Netherlands or Germany.[5] Understanding the historical significance of these spaces of sociability and

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[2] The word *academia* refers here to the gatherings of people, generally literate, to discuss, share, learn to produce papers on different sorts of topics and characteristics. A further discussion about the polysemy of this word for the studied period will be introduce in following pages.

[3] Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias que se celebraron en el real palacio de Lima, en el gabinete de D. Manuel de Oms y de Santa Pau [Marques del Castelldosrius], Virrey del Perú [Manuscrito]* (ca. 1713, n.d.).

[4] The Marqués de Castelldosrius was also a playwriter and a poet. He was famous for his play *El major escudo de Perseo* (1708) "in honour of the birth of Luis I", which was performed at the theatre of the *gabineto*. Jerry M. Williams, 'Academic and Literary Culture in Eighteenth-Century Peru', *Colonial Latin American Review* 4, no. 1 (1995): 131.

[5] Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

the production of handwritten books as part of a process of dissemination of texts, demands an awareness of how they are seen in connection to changes in the way ideas and status were conveyed in the early modern period. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman illustrate how academies prospered due to the "technological innovation of the printing press, the establishment of early humanist networks, and the growing impact of classical and humanist ideas, concepts, and forms in vernacular culture. All these developments began or at least intensified from the mid-fifteenth century onwards."[6] This means that academies were a place of production, circulation and consumption of literary products by intellectuals in the early modern period. This chapter seeks to understand the production of handwritten books associated with the practices undertaken in the academies that were conducted inside of the viceregal palace, through situating these gatherings within the long-standing culture of the dissemination of a lettered culture.[7] This analysis will be based on the examination of the handwritten culture inside the academies, the information about the ceremonies inside the meetings, the interaction between the viceroy and the poets, and the production of the handwritten book. Through finding some characteristics of the written culture in Lima that were related to the production of poetry, it will be possible to connect literary production with the pursuit of prestige and fame. As it will be shown, the literary texts produced in the academies were demanded by and commented on by the viceroy, who was in charge of judging the quality of the poetic pieces. In this case, poetic creations made by members of the colonial elite were designed to satisfy the needs of the courtly culture imposed by the recently appointed authorities.

4.1   The viceroy's writers. The ties of Lima's elite and the colonial rulers

This section will discuss the different meanings of the term *academia* for the period studied, the particular characteristics of the academy of the viceroy, Marqués del Castelldosrius, and the kind of members of the colonial elite that participated in these

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[6] Arjan van Dixhoorn y Susie Speakman Sutch, "Introduction", en *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 3.
[7] Academies were also places for the circulation of small handwritten objects. However, this topic falls out of the scope of this dissertation, given the high number of handwritten papers that circulated in the Spanish American cities and which related to establishing status. Libels, *relación de méritos*, letters and other manuscript products can provide other views on how colonial elites sought status for themselves using the tools and procedures available in Spanish America.

literary events. *Academia* in the early modern period referred to different types of collectives. Susana de Beer, researcher on the neo-Latin poetry in the system of patronage in fifteenth-century Italy, studies the polysemy of this word, quoting James Hankins' work on the Neoplatonic Academy in Florence. De Beer shows how the word *academia* referred to different types of gatherings from those taking place inside universities or private schools to meetings of intellectuals and lettered people.[8] Furthermore, for Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the word *academia* – according to Francisco J. Álvarez, Ignacio García Aguilar and Inmaculada Ospina and following the dictionary of Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana y española* – consisted of three different elements: the place in which people of a certain culture or intellectual status met; the participants of those meetings; and the meetings that resembled or looked like the institution of the academy.[9]

Even though institutions played an important role in the historical development of these meetings, the word 'academy' seemed to be more closely related to a set of practices employed in the dissemination of knowledge and information across a selected group of people that shared particular values and manners. In the case of Perú, Pilar Latasa, a historian of the courtly traditions in colonial Hispanic America, introduces in her work "Transformaciones de una Elite: El Nuevo Modelo de "Nobleza de Letras" en el Perú (1590-1621)" the Academia Antártica, which took place during the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first of the seventeenth century.[10] For her, the academy was a result of the transformation of a courtly viceregal culture and the adoption by the Peruvian elite of a new idea of nobility based on the development of a lettered culture.[11] The Academia Antártica is an example of a new system of

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[8] Arjan van Dixhoorn y Susie Speakman Sutch, "Introduction", en *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 3. These uses of the word *academia* are also employed in the *relación* created after the welcoming ceremonies to the Marqués de Castelldosrius by Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo: "Son las Academias y las Universidades el entendimiento, y la voz de las repúblicas, ellas explican en Panegíricos lo que en júbilos conciben las ciudades." Pedro Jose de Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima triunfante y glorias de la América* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1708), f. 51r.

[9] Francisco J. Álvarez, Ignacio García Aguilar, and Inmaculada Osuna, 'Seventeenth-Century Academies in the City of Granada: A Comparatist Approach', in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 309.

[10] Pilar Latasa, 'Transformaciones de una elite: El nuevo modelo de nobleza de letras en el Perú (1590-1621)', in *Élites urbanas en Hispanoamerica (de la conquista a la independencia)*, ed. Luis Navarro García (Sevilla: Secretariado de publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 418, http://dadun.unav.edu/handle/10171/6119.

[11] Ibid., 417.

patronage; it gathered most of the main writers and poets of Lima, some of whom were also known in Spain.

Latasa finds that the Academia Antártica followed, as did the rest of the academies of the period, the classical Italian model.[12] In the gatherings of this academy most of the Italian Renaissance authors, like Francesco Petrarca, Dante Alighieri y Torquato Tasso, circulated, while at the same time the Italian Jesuit painters Bernardo Bitti, Matteo D'Alessio y Angelo Medoro lived in Lima.[13] There was once widespread agreement among historians that the Italian Renaissance was the origin of the system of academies in Spanish America. However, historians have recently challenged this point of view, suggesting that, previously, in late medieval times it is possible to find examples of other types of meetings and groups that fulfilled the same roles. Looking into this kind of gathering will help researchers to understand some elements present in the lettered culture in colonial Lima.

According to the historian Arjan van Dixhoorn, whose works have focused on the lettered and literary cultures in late medieval and early modern periods, there existed chambers of rhetoric prior to the Italian academies. These were collectives of people that, in the words of this scholar, aimed "to elevate the intellectual, communicative, social, cultural, and civic skills of their members. Such a pedagogical program indeed fits perfectly with the role of rhetoric in the program of the seven liberal arts, as well as in the classical tradition."[14] The chambers of rhetoric looked to improve the rhetorical skills of their members and, at the same time, aimed to spread "courteous and gentleman-like behaviour". The same rules that promoted this behaviour also "urged them [the participants] to be obedient and attend meetings, exercises, feasts, and performances [which] were regular elements of confraternity life."[15] In organising the chambers, which were established across different towns and cities and which created a network of readers and writers, people understood that the "chamber-man" was different from the common inhabitant of the city; they had to distinguish themselves through the employment of "civilised" manners.

This education aimed to create an idea of 'citizenship' and manners embodied in the so-called "chambermen" and differentiate them from the rest of the society. The

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[12] Ibid., 418.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Arjan van Dixhoorn, 'Chambers of Rethoric', in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 133–34.

[15] Ibid., 138.

Flor de academias, the manuscript book made after the meetings in the viceregal palace in Lima in 1709 to 1710, does not provide any information about the promotion of similar types of behaviour or manners. However, in the "Noticia proemial" of the handwritten text, the writer specifies the reason for choosing this group of poets for the academy. According to him, this company was "compuesta de aquellos caballeros sus más favorecidos y estimados [by the viceroy], y que más inmediatamente, y con mayor afecto le asistían"; this selection, supported by the proximity and familiarity of the members with the viceroy, had the task of building the "excelso edificio que consagró la fama para templo a la gloria inmortal de tan heróico príncipe."[16] A poet must have had the experience and knowledge of the production of texts like sonnets, *décimas*, anagramas, hyeroghyplics, romances, amongst other forms;[17] and be part of an elite formed by local authorities and functionaries close to the viceregal court.

It is plausible that the selection of the members of the academy began on 25 May, 1707, when, as part of the celebration marking the new viceroy's arrival, different pieces of poetry were presented. For instance, two triumphal arcs were constructed over the Calle de Monserrate and the Calle de los Mercaderes in Lima; they were embellished by the inhabitants of this city with paintings and the "poesía en el alma de los jeroglíficos."[18] Other literary events were held for the viceroy in this ceremony, like the poetic *certámenes*, also called *justas*, at the Universidad de San Marcos, which probably reflected the cultural taste of the Marqués.[19] *Certámenes* or *justas* were poetry competitions conducted in public or private ceremonies, in which poets responded to a literary challenge similar to the ones found in the *Flor de academias.*[20] The Marqués had an interest in literary production and by the end of his lifetime he had authored several plays.

According to historian Adrian Pearce, the Marqués del Castelldosrius brought Lima's stagnated cultural scene back to life. In his time as Spanish ambassador in

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[16] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias [Manuscrito]*, f. 11r.
[17] These terms will be explained in the following section of the chapter.
[18] Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima triunfante y glorias de la América*, 39.
[19] According to the writer Peralta y Barnuevo, who was in charge of publishing the account of the ceremonies organised for the arrival of the Marquez de Castelldosrius, "La Real de San Marcos de Lima había muchos días que anhelaba recibir dentro de los sagrados penetrales de sus aulas al príncipe, que había tanto tiempo que tenía recibido dentro de los corazones de todos los sabios que componen su claustro" Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima triunfante y glorias de la América*, 51.
[20] The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1729) defines *certamen* as "Metaphoricamente. Vale contienda, disputa, controversia, lid de ingenios, que se suele tener pública o privadamente sobre varios assuntos controvertibles, que los mas comunes son Poéticos."

Versailles, the viceroy enjoyed literary and theatrical entertainment that he would try to reproduce in the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru.[21] His interest in the cultural production of literary texts and playwrights lead him to create the first academy in Lima in more than a century under the command of a viceregal authority. This academy, established between 1709 and 1710, was comprised of a group of Spanish and Peruvian poets that regularly took part in the sessions hosted in the viceroy's *gabineto*. The group's members included well known authors of the time such as Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo; men with noble titles as well as authors of poetry books such as Luis Antonio de Oviedo Herrera y Rueda, Conde de la Granja; representatives of the Church such as Fray Agustín Sanz, who was also member of the Santo Oficio de la Inquisición; and other men involved in the colonial administration. As it can be seen in Figure 4.1, all the members belonging to the academy enjoyed elite positions in the colonial society, and the majority were natives of Spain.

Figure 4.1 Members of the Marqués de Castelldosrius' academy.[22]

Name	Origin	Job
Juan Manuel de Rojas y Solorzano	Spaniard	Secretary of viceroy
José Eustaquio Vicentelo Tello Toledo	Spaniard	Marqués de Bienes y de la orden de Santiago, presidente, gobernador y capitán general de Tierra Firme y de la Real Audiencia de Panamá
Fray Agustín Sanz	Spaniard	Calificador y consultor del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición por la suprema, Vicario corrector general de la orden de los Mínimos de San Francisco de Paula, y consulto de su Excelencia, maestro en todas las cátedras y superior en todas las facultades
Jerónimo de Monforte y Vera	Spaniard	Worked in the Viceregal Palace
Luis Antonio de Oviedo Herrera y Rueda	Spaniard	Conde de la Granja
Mathias de Angles y Meca	Spaniard	Gentil hombre de cámara del Palacio de su excelencia
Antonio Zamudio y las Infantas	Peruvian	Marqués del Villar del Tajo y general de este mar del Sur
Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre	Peruvian	Doctor en ambos derechos y alguacil mayor de esta Real Audiencia
Miguel Saenz Cascante	Peruvian	Priest
Pedro Peralta Barnuevo y Rocha	Peruvian	Contador de cuentas y particiones de esta Real Audiencia y de los demás tribunales de la ciudad de Lima, corte del Perú
Gonzalo Cayetano de la Torre	No data	

However, not all members of the academy attended meetings regularly. It seems that there was an early selection of members who came regularly to all the meetings,

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[21] Pearce, *Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America 1700-1763*, 27–28.
[22] Ricardo Palma, ed., *Flor de academias y diente del parnaso*, Ed. Oficial (N.d.: N.d., 1899).

and that more poets were involved afterwards. The core group was formed by Juan Manuel Rojas y Solórzano, José Eustaquio Vicentelo, Jerónimo de Monforte y Vera, Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo and Miguel Saenz Cascante. The first three were Spaniards and had jobs in the viceregal administration or had a noble title; the last three were Peruvians, and it seems that some of them were famed as poets and writers and were included in the academy for this reason. For example, Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre and Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo had already developed a reputation as poets in the city. This is clearly seen in their participation in the *certámenes poéticos*, ceremonies and the publication of printed books.

The engagement of Pedro José Bermúdez and Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo in *certámenes poéticos* was stated in the *cartel* for the *justas* in celebration of the arrival of the viceroy Marqués del Castelldosrius to Lima. In that paper Bermúdez was described as someone whose "singulares prendas, aunque ya insinuadas, le hacen siempre digno de mayores aplausos."[23] In this *certamen*, Bermúdez de la Torre was enrolled as a judge, while Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo won one of the prizes from this *certamen* and was put in charge of publishing a description of the ceremonies. It seems that introducing the poets was part of the first part of the protocols of *certámenes* and academies, for instance, in *Flor de academias* the poets of the viceroy were presented in the "Noticia proemial". This text which was located at the beginning of the manuscript of the Marqués del Castelldosrius' academy included the following descriptions of Peruvian poets: Bermúdez de la Torre was presented as an author: "[…] cuyas obras, estimadas aún en distantes climas, excusan mi alabanza cuando para su elogio no puedo valerme de su estilo", while Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo was introduced as a "[…] genio docto, erudito, florido y elegante para hacerse dueño de las voces y de los afectos ha sabido enriquecer la frase española con las hermosuras griegas, latinas, francesas, y toscanas […]."[24] The reputation of Peralta y Barnuevo as being erudite was clear in this portrait of his contributions, but actually he was not the viceroy's favourite poet among the academicians.

The third Peruvian author, fray Miguel Saenz Cascante, was perhaps the poet most esteemed by the viceroy. In several places in the manuscript book the viceroy confesses his admiration for the priest's poetry. For instance in the session dated 19

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[23] Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima triunfante y glorias de la América*, f. 85.
[24] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 12r.

December, 1709, which was dedicated to the celebrating the king's birthday, the viceroy prepared a *vejamen* – which was a text characteristic of the academies (a thorough analysis of the nature of *vejámenes* will be given in the following pages) – in which he referred to members of the academy. When it came to talking about the poems written by Saenz Cascante, the viceroy declared that

> es el señor don Miguel el non plus ultra del Perú el taumaturgo de la poesía, la tarasca de los versificadores, el portento de Lima, el abate que voy y tente que me caigo de los ingenios, el fénix de muchos siglos, el cordovez Góngora ocultó a la inteligencia y patente admiración, el Solis, el Calderón, el Salazar y quien solo puede decir cuando le traen las poesías de todos por un resorte de repercusión con las suyas.[25]

Through equating Saenz Cascante with some of the major figures of the Siglo de Oro, the viceroy locates this writer among the most famous representatives of the narrative style of the period and, in a historical sense, as part of a long tradition of great lettered men. In the first place, being famous or having *fama* was one of the purposes of poetic writing. The word *fama*, according to 1732 *Diccionario de autoridades,* had three meanings, but all of them more or less agree that it was an "opinión común de la excelencia de algún sujeto en su profesión o arte."[26] The interest in the authors' *fama* is also shown in *Flor de academias*, especially when presenting other members of the group.

In the case of Luis Antonio de Oviedo Herrera y Rueda, Conde de la Granja, who suffered from various illnesses during his time in the academy, his introduction as member of the gatherings reads that "aunque no se oyeron continuadas sus acentos en estas ingeniosas diversiones por impedirlos la molesta continuación de sus achaques, se conoció que en cualquier breve rasgo de su pluma se halla dilatado vuelo a su fama."[27] Furthermore, in the case of Miguel Saenz Cascante, the viceroy's "favorito", his "poesías y demás obras han logrado en estos tiempos, ser más conocidas y deseadas, que en otros siglos las de Virgilio y Góngora, tanto que ponen otros más cuidado en copiarlas que él en escribirlas."[28] Virgil, the Roman poet, and Góngora were mentioned to indicate the high quality of Saenz' production. The viceroy was probably trying to include Saenz Cascante in a canon of European

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[25] Ibid., f. 262.
[26] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1732.
[27] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 13r.
[28] It has not been possible to find any printed or manuscript book written by this author besides his work on *Flor de academias* and his participation on the *certamen* in honour of the recently appointed viceroy Marqués de Castelldosrius. This suggest that most of his written production may have circulated in manuscript form in a local network outside of the patronage system. Ibid., f. 12.

narrative production, portraying the priest as a worthy heir of the highest lettered tradition.

The historical function of poetic production is better explained in the book *Arte poética española*, by Juan Díaz Rengifo, which was first published in 1592 but reprinted constantly until the eighteenth century.[29] Díaz Rengifo defined the role of the poet as conveying the stories and songs about the victories of conquerors, in the same way that they had since Roman times. This tradition aimed to disseminate the triumphs of the heroes and enhance the *fama* of warriors and fighters.[30] Díaz Rengifo finds that *fama* can also be achieved through writing poetry: "así también los otros escribiendo y amplificando las victorias de estos y eternizando sus nombres y fama no menos inflamaban los ánimos de los presentes, y venideros a la imitación de sus antepasados."[31] Indeed, he goes even further by stating that poets deserve greater acknowledgement than that received by soldiers, because the handwritten and printed productions made out of the poets works were meant to be read by countless numbers of audiences. Without the poetic texts, the glorious victories of the soldiers and conquerors would only have been known to the witnesses of these military successes.[32]

This discussion about the nature of the *fama* highlights the tension between the text and the author. Should the soldier depicted in the story be remembered or the poet who behind the desk who immortalises the epic warrior? Díaz Rengifo argues that greater prominence should be accorded to the figure of the author; this is likely an example of a lettered culture in which the poet was becoming more important than the subjects or characters of the stories, and a consciousness of the role played by historical narratives in the construction of a republican identity. This author argues that many of the famous conquerors and politicians of the Classical period were inspired by poems and songs, like the Iliad or the Aeneid, in which it is possible to see that "no sirven más a la república los que están en el campo cargados de acero, con la pica en el hombre arriesgando las vidas, que los que están escribiendo sus hechos y eternizando sus nombres fuera de aquellos peligros."[33] As a consequence, he argues

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[29] The last edition archived in the Biblioteca Nacional de España dates 1759. In the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia and Biblioteca Nacional del Perú is possible to consult the editions of 1628, 1644, 1703 and 1759 in the first case, and in the second, 1606 and 1759.

[30] Juan Díaz Rengifo, *Arte poética española: Con una fertilissima silua de consonantes comunes, propios, esdruxulos, y reflexos y vn diuino estímulo del amor de Dios* (Salamanca: Casa de Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1592), 6.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 6–7.

[33] Ibid., 7.

that poets fulfil a task in the historical construction of the republic by exhorting others to follow the old military accomplishments through a history of "memorable" poetical works.

The discussion about the spoken or the written form of the poetic word is also considered in Díaz Rengifo's work on poetry production. For him, poetry comprehends a wide range of narrative genres that did not match strictly with the conditions of written and spoken texts exclusively; this makes it difficult to specify a single form of poetic text. However, exceptions can be found in the case of *villancicos* and *redondillas*. In the first case, villancicos were defined by this author as "un género de copla que solamente se compone para ser cantado, los demás metros sirven para describir, para historia y para otros propósitos, pero este solo para música."[34] In the second, *redondillas* were referred to in this way

> por la uniformidad, que lleva en el canto. Porque como se canta la primera, se cantan las demás: tomando la metáfora de la figura circular y redonda, que por todas partes es uniforme, y de una misma manera. Y aunque en otros géneros de coplas corra esta razón, pero en esta corre por excelencia. O digamos que se llama redondilla, porque se canta en los coros donde bailan, como dice Tempo de sus Redondillas Italianas.[35]

Villancicos (carols) and *redondillas* are examples of how the metre or type of couplet relates to the way in which it was to be "read", circulated or performed. As it will be shown in the following section, the variety of topics and uses for poetry is stated under the production of each poetic type, which possibly brings together topic, metre and practices of reading or practices related to the production of music. This was also the case for written poems that were not necessarily meant to be sung by musicians, but rather read aloud, and, in the context of academies, as a means of sharing the written text. For example, in the gathering on the 10 February, 1710, Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, who was the person in charge of writing the book (or at least some parts of it), declares in the summary of the session that "Antes de leer las obras de los ingenios se leyó el romance hispano latino que hizo el virrey en alabanza de los poetas, músicos, damas y otros concurrentes y de la misma academia."[36] This suggests that one way of sharing the poems produced during the gathering was to read them aloud at the end; however, there is no information about how the reading of poetry was done or if it had specific rules.

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[34] Ibid., 30.
[35] Ibid., 23.
[36] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 340r.

This circulation of poems through the spoken word contrasts with their circulation in written form. The works composed by 'famous' poets probably to be found in the rooms of different courts and palaces across the Empire in printed or manuscript form. Through "networks" created around the Crown and his "ambassadors", poetic texts were produced, funded or circulated in places of power. This illustrates the system of patron-client relations referred to in the previous chapter. In *Flor de academias* it is clear that after the death of the Marqués de Castelldosrius it was necessary to find a patron responsible for circulating the book in places of power, such as royal or viceregal libraries or other courts. Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán reminded Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, viceroy of New Spain at that time, of the duties belonging to the patrons of poets in the dedication of the handwritten book. In this text Rodríguez Guzmán looked to the viceroy for assistance in being the patron of this work after the death of the Marqués de Castelldosrius: "Y siendo tan propio de la soberanía de los príncipes el empleo de patrocinar las obras elegantes de los ingenios que consagran las constancias de sus fatigas a la inmortalidad de sus glorias."[37] Patronage was the system used to fund the material production of books, whether printed or manuscript, but it was also a way to ensure access to courtly places and aristocratic readers. It was a system that may have granted poets access to places of power where the republic of letters was created from different types of texts that circulated among a political and lettered elite.

Rodríguez de Guzmán asked for the protection and promotion of the *Flor de academias* manuscript book arguing that, like Apolo, who gathered the dispersed lights from an infinite chaotic plateau, in "la real casa de Vuestra Excelencia, como en explendida oficina de coronas y púrpuras se hallan recogidas luces de inmensas glorias trayendo consigo su augusta decencia de los emperadores de Roma y Constantinopla; de los reyes de Castilla, Francia, Italia, Escocia, Inglaterra, Aragón y Sicilia […]."[38] Here Rodríguez de Guzmán introduces the idea that the early modern library worked as a collection of literary works that linked its owner to a political tradition. For this period the practice of 'making' a library was similar to creating other types of collections, such as collections of animals or plants. Through building a collection of

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[37] Ibid., f. 2r. *Gloria* in this case could had been employed in the meaning of a "gozo que sobreviene al bienaventurado de alguna cosa que en algún modo le pertenece: como de su Beatificación, o Canonización, nuevo culto, o del bien de los suyos: como el gozo que tendrá el Padre viendo en la Gloria a su hijo." *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1734.

[38] Ibid., ff. 4r-5.

books the *fama* of the collector as a reader of 'good taste' or having refined manners would be enhanced, and at the same time it would reinforce a canon of the Spanish literary production. The act of collecting literary works narrated by Rodríguez de Guzmán accords with the idea that this "library" was formed by a selection of writers that not only defined the literary production of the period but also supported the prestigious image of the collector.

Returning to the complex interaction between the handwritten and the spoken word, this indicates that the limits of the written culture went far beyond the dimension of the printed book. It also involved the participation of poets in ceremonies and literary competitions. As explored in the previous chapter, poets used royal ceremonies to make their literary skills public, as was the case with the *certámenes*. The *certámenes* usually took place during certain celebrations, which José Sánchez, an historian of this kind of events in New Spain, shows were dominated by religious and contemporary events, such as births of princes, marriages of members of the royal family, arrivals of viceroys, amongst other occasions.[39] According to Sánchez, *certámenes* were spontaneous and irregular, while academies had a formal and regular occurrence.[40] The case of Peru appears to be similar to New Spain, where the *certámenes* were done probably in front of a wider audience as they were part of larger ceremonies, while academies functioned behind closed doors inside of the *gabineto* of the viceregal palace. This is the case of the *certámenes* in honour of the new viceroy Marqués de Castelldosrius, which were delivered in the Universidad San Marcos. It is possible to trace the literacy practices when considering these events, and it is surprising to see the large number of poets who participated in the literary *certámenes*. Even though many of them were named and their poems were published in the *relación* of the ceremony, it is impossible to say exactly how many individuals contributed to the *justas* in this case, because only the winners were given a space in the written pages of the book.

As with the academy of the viceroy, the poets competing in the *certamen* conducted as part of the ceremony welcoming the viceroy were scholars, clergymen, printers, or viceregal functionaries, and there does not appear to be any kind of

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[39] José Sánchez, *Academias y sociedades literarias de México* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1951), 12–13.
[40] Ibid., 7.

restriction on anyone participating.[41] None of them, even the most famous and well known writers, such as Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo, lived from the revenues of their poetic work. As such, the reason for seeking publication may not have been economic gain from the sales, since the book market during the period was still underdeveloped and profits were rarely an outcome of publishing endeavours. The main aim could have been to seek acknowledgement of their virtues by a political elite and, in this way, increase their *fama* as skilled poets in that circle. This means it would be inaccurate to consider poetry as a profession or a craft and that it is better understood as a practice or knowledge about writing and/or oral performances, which conveyed values, norms of sociability and created political alliances within a social group through its specific stylistic and narrative rules.

On numerous occasions in the *Flor de academias* it is stated that the meetings organised by the viceroy took place in the *gabineto* inside the viceregal palace. It is possible to grasp an idea of what this room looked like in the description of the tenth session. On this occasion, the academy celebrated the king's birthday with a programme different from the regular activities that occurred every Monday. It began with a prologue and dedicatory to the king and introduced the place and type of ceremony done in this occasion. The room chosen to be the setting for the meetings was described as:

> un precioso gabineto o galería de cristales, que en el centro del florido vergel se ostentaba fiel correspondencia del sol, erario de la luz, depósito del día, espíritu del arte, y firmamento de la tierra, donde gloriosamente naufragaban la admiración entre las

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[41] The rules for this *certamen* were: "1. Ninguno podrá llevar más de dos premios, ni ser premiado dos veces en primer lugar. 2. Los que no tiraren al blanco del asunto o faltaren a las leyes de la poesía no acertarán al premio. 3. No ha de pasar el día 12 de septiembre el entregar las poesías al Secretario, de las cuales se han de dar dos traslados uno en papel cerrado y sellado, y otro en tarja pintada para adornos de la Universidad. 4. Seis aventureros se premiarán con dos doblones cada uno. 5. La mejor tarja y la peor poesía tendrán el mismo premio." Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima triunfante y glorias de la América*, f. 83. From these regulations it can be understood that the awards given to the participants were meant to be granted to the largest number of poets, instead of a selected group of writers.

     Although there was a period of almost eight months between the submission of the poems and the ceremony, the ten chosen judges gathered on "el día diesiséis del referido mes de septiembre […] en la casa del señor rector, donde concurrieron los señores jueces que se habían nombrado. Era el doctor lugar de esta gran junta una hermosa cámara que ricamente adornada resplandecía con visos de parnaso y de senado." Ibid., f. 83r. This description of the place in which the jury examined the participants' texts is similar to the depiction of the *gabineto* of the viceregal palace where meetings took place. This probably suggests that the idea of *parnasso*, also continuously used in *Flor de academias*, instead of denoting a physical space constructed exclusively for the literary meetings, referred to the category of the individuals who formed the group. This idea will be developed more thoroughly when talking about the *gabineto*.

dulces confusiones de brillantes luces, fragrantes flores y músicas cadentes que ocupaban todos los espacios del deseo al celebrarse la Real Academia.[42]

More than a physical description of the architecture and objects were contained in this account, it also describes the uses of the space. The *gabineto* of Marqués de Castelldosrius was the place in which to appreciate the "bright lights and aromatic flowers" produced by poets; in other words, to listen to the poems and other kinds of information and knowledge. Although this manuscript book only recorded the poems produced, the meetings were also moments to discuss other topics, such as

el acaso o la controversia de diferentes materias, facultades y noticias, con admirable propiedad en la inteligencia de la filosofía, matemáticas, jurisprudencia, teología, historia, poética y razón de Estado, usando en todo de rara novedad sin que jamás se oyese composición ordinaria o común porque la singular facilidad y actuación de su Excelencia y de los demás ingenios, había hecho usuales los primores más difíciles siendo en lo que continuamente se decía [...].[43]

In the *gabineto*, members of the academy and others who probably belonged to the political colonial elite had access to those discussions and possibly to the handwritten materials and printed books belonging to the viceroy. Viceregal palaces might have been spaces where literary production circulated and was consumed. The *gabineto* in the viceregal palace in Lima was set up in the Jardín Real del Palacio, which reinforces the idea that *gabineto* was not a physical place, but referred to practices, individuals or activities. In fact, the definition of this word, in contrast to *gabinete*, according to the *Diccionario de autoridades* of 1734, was "El Congresso o Junta en que se tratan las materias más arcanas de Estado, en presencia del Soberano, para tomar las resoluciones convenientes al gobierno."[44] The same polysemy can be found in other words during this period, such as *academia*. If terms like *gabineto* or *parnaso*[45] were not physical places but names given to spaces in which certain practices were done by specific people, it is time to analyse what the actions and routines were that made such spaces special.

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[42] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 169r.
[43] Ibid., f. 15.
[44] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1734.
[45] This word was constantly used when addressing groups of poets in Spain and in Hispanic American colonies. According to the *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1737, Parnaso was the mount in which muses lived, and therefore can denote the gatherings of poets. In the meeting of 19 December, 1709, in Marqués de Castelldosrius' academy the viceroy made a description of the *parnaso*, in which every muse guarded under their shadow every member of the group.

'Authors' produced poems *in situ* and outside of the sessions in response to the challenges posed by the viceroy.[46] Only in the first two sessions were poets not required to write a text outside of the academia meetings. Subsequently, the viceroy added tasks in which a written text was to be produced outside of the session and had to be brought to the next gathering. The difference between one and the other practice could have been the particular requirements needed for the production of certain kinds of texts that demanded the consultation of other sources.

Figure 4.2 Types of texts ordered in each session of the academy (23 September, 1709- 24 April, 1710).

Session	Type of texts	Texts produced outside of the gatherings
First session	Sonnet[47]	
Second session	Glosses[48]	
Third session	"Romance loquiserio"[49] in fifteen *coplas*[50]	Riddle
Fourth session	Any metre.	Hieroglyphic about the victory of the king in the battle of Luzzara (1702- war of sucession)
Fifth session	Any metre.	Anagram of Felipe and Gabriela, king and queen
Sixth session	Endechas[51]	Translation of Aesop's Fables in different "metros castellanos"
Seventh session	*Redondillas*[52]	
Eight session	*Quintillas*[53] o *romance*	Gloss from redondillas by MiguelSaenz

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[46] There is still not a clear understanding of how texts were produced during the meetings. There are several cases in which in *Flor de academias* it is stated that poems were read, which probably means that they were written first, but other practices of production of texts were strictly spoken without going through the paper. Could these "readings" be related to oral practices of text production from memory or improvisation instead of handwritten texts?

[47] A sonnet was a small poem of fourteen lines divided into four stanzas: two of four lines, and two of three lines. Antonio Quillis, *Métrica española.* (Madrid: Ediciones Alcala, 1969), 132.

[48] A gloss is a poem with a variable length. It has two parts: the text, which is a short poem, and the gloss, which is a comment on the text. Ibid., 127.

[49] *Romances* were one of the most common poems during the Baroque period. They were an unlimited number of eight-line poems with only the even lines rhyming together. Ibid., 145.

[50] Díaz Rengifo, in his *Arte Poética Española*, defines couplet as "se dijo de copula vocablo latino que quiere decir unión y junta, porque no es una sola copla, sino junta de versos. […] En la copla hay dos cosas: cierto número de versos y cierta consonancia entre los fines de ellos y según la variedad de estas dos cosas, se diferencian y varian las coplas." Díaz Rengifo, *Arte poética española*, 22.

[51] According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732) an *endecha* is a "Canción triste y lamentable, que se dice sobre los difuntos, y en los funerales, en alabanza de los muertos."

[52] *Redondillas* were a "stanza composed of four octosyllables, with assonate rhyme (rhyme of final vowels) usually patterned *abba*." Mary Malcolm Gaylord, 'How to Do Things with Polimetría', in *Approaches to Teaching Early Modern Spanish Drama*, ed. Laura R Bass and Margaret Rich Greer (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2006), 81.

[53] "Su nombre se encuentra ya en las Tablas poéticas de Cáscales, 1617. Para Rengifo, que la designaba generalmente como redondillas de cinco versos, era la redondilla por antonomasia. Al desprenderse de la copla real, la quintilla encerraba ya en sí misma como una unidad métrica una larga y elaborada experiencia." Tomás Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española, reseña histórica y descriptiva* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University, 1956), 247–48.

		Cascante
Ninth session	*Ovillejo*[54]	
Tenth session [celebration of king's birthday. Session with different format]	*Cedulillas, panegírico metro libre, octavas,*[55] *romance,* sonnet, *vejamen*. (Although most seemed to be done prior to the session and read aloud to the crowd that came to this celebration).	
Eleventh session	Nativity representation	
Twelfth session		Glosses to the couplet left by the viceroy on 23 December, 1709.
Thirteenth session	*Romance*	
Fourteenth session	*Romance*	
Fifteenth session	Twelve *quintillas*	
Sixteenth session	*Romance* or *redondillas* of ten couplets	
Seventeenth session	*Romance* in twenty couplets or ten *redondillas*.	
Eighteenth session		To gloss a couplet in four *décimas*.
Nineteenth session	Seven *redondillas* or more	
Twentieth session	Ten *quintillas* or more	
Twenty first session	Sonnet	
Last session	Declamations in honour of the deceased viceroy	

Most texts written in the sessions were *romances* and *redondillas*. It is important to note that some types of poems refer to their immediate and *in situ* production, such as in the case of the *ovillejos*, which, apart from its linguistic definition, also meant "cuando se echan coplas de repente, que en el consonante con que uno acaba su copla ha de empezar el otro la suya, concertando con el primer verso."[56] Ovillejo referred to a particular composition, and a specific way of producing improvised poetry. When ovillejos were composed in the gathering on 25 November, 1709, it seems that the texts were only done following metric principles, because there are no traces of an oral interaction between the writers; and if there had been, there are no further indications of the use of the spoken word. The texts written outside the meetings were hieroglyphics, glosses, translations and anagrams. In the case of

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[54] *Ovillejo* is a ten-line stanza of *arte menor* (lines of eight syllables or less). Quillis, *Métrica Española.*, 112.
[55] Eight-line stanza.
[56] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1737.

hieroglyphics, as has been shown in the analysis of the *relación de exequias* done in honour of Luis I in Santa Fe de Bogotá in the previous chapter, this type of text combined visual representations with a motto and an explanation. In preparation for the meeting on 14 October, 1709, the viceroy requested that the poets make a hieroglyphic about the victory of the Spanish king in the battle of Luzara, during the War of Succession. Miguel Saenz Cascante wrote the following hieroglyphic according to these instructions left by the viceroy:

Pintase un león coronado

con el escudo

de las armas de nuestro rey Philipo Quinto

en la mano izquierda y en la derecha una

espada; a los pies una mujer tendida sobre

una ara con una hacha encendida en la mano;

tres escudos de armas, las de Alemania, Ingla

terra y Portugal, despojos del León.

Y esta letra latina *Vicit Leo*.

Y la castellana que se sigue

Como león triunfante el gran Philipo

campos rompe, rebelde avasalla:

águilas, quinas, rosas lo acreditan

cuando a unas y a otras la venció en Luzara.[57]

It is possible that hieroglyphics or emblems were more difficult to write than other poetic texts due to the need to combine visual objects with the use of Latin in building the text. The employment of images, or possibly the description of them by the writer through the *ekphrasis*, might have followed specific rules, which meant they had to work using additional sources or books. This need for external sources probably belonged to a tradition of visual representation which required more time and tools than the ones available during a session held at the academy. Similar cases include other texts that were to be written outside of the academy, especially glosses and translations. In the case of the translation, they departed from a text delivered during

[57] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 29.

the session in a language other than Spanish, such as several of Aesop's Fables; unfortunately the source does not indicate the language of the original text.[58]

The difference between the times and places where texts were written provides information about the complexity of the labour done by the poet, about the established practices of writing and the knowledge and requirements behind the production of texts. For instance, when the viceroy addressed Marqués de Brenes' work, during the *vejamen* at the tenth gathering, he points out that "fue necesario advertir que la había escrito [the anagram for the fifth gathering] en lunes que si no hubiéramos creído que había sido en sábado pues empieza con Salve y condensando ingenuamente que no entendí tanta tropelía de voces ni la tuve por erudita (sobre tener tantas letras)."[59] It could be the case that Mondays were associated with intellectual practices similar to writing, which could also support the idea that the sessions of the academy were done on these days, rather than on Saturdays, which were probably devoted to other type of activities. As illustrated in the second chapter, the guides for teaching writing to indigenous people in the viceroyalty declared Saturdays as a time for praying and to participate in the preparation for Sunday mass.

Another element to consider in the production of the handwritten material of the academy were the topics proposed for the poems written inside the sessions. As already indicated, the viceroy asked the participants to demonstrate their composition abilities through the production of texts on a wide range of themes related to social events in the city, including religious and royal celebrations. The following figure presents a description of the subjects proposed by the viceroy for each of the texts made in the sessions.

Figure 4.3 Topics delivered by the viceroy to be written inside of the meetings.

Session	Topic	Date
First session	Praise of the music at the beginning of the session	23 September, 1709
Second session	Gloss the following romance: "El pastor sentía, que se ausentase, y también no dejó de llorar, pues vio a su pastora sin fe". f. 20	30 September, 1709
Third session	Write a romance to Narciso	7 October, 1709
Fourth session	Give reasons why Lima's women went down to Chorrillos' beach to watch a whale.	14 October, 1709
Fifth session	Write a description of a woman comparing her with the properties of stones.	21 October, 1709
Sixth session	Write a set of events that could have happened in the guard, "torno, locutorios, y	28 October, 1709

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[58] Ibid., f. 53.
[59] Ibid., f. 237.

	demás lugares de un convento de monjas"	
Seventh session	A text by the lover of a woman using the name of a comedy in one verse of each couplet.	4 November, 1709
Eight session	What was knitted in Penelope's fabric?	18 November, 1709
Ninth session	In a text should be answered the demands of a woman, who would be difficult to please because every gift was a misinterpretation of her words.	25 November, 1709
Tenth session [celebration of king's birthday. Session with different protocol]	The poets were not due to produce a text, in exchange the viceroy wrote a *vejamen* and the poets presented a text in honour of the king in any meter they would like.	19 December, 1709
Eleventh session	Representation of the Nativity in which each member of the academy played a character. According to that character they had to write a text explaining the gifts given to Christ. At the end of this session, the viceroy decided to end the academy. In response some members presented arguments in favour of keeping the academy running.	24 December, 1709
Twelfth session	After the memorials presented in the previous session, the viceroy commanded to gloss a couplet condemning the actions of some members, which was the reason the viceroy almost ended the gatherings.	14 January, 1710
Thirteenth session	Description of a woman in some verses with the title of a comedy, the title of a book, the name of a street in Lima or Madrid and a *refrán*.	21 January, 1710
Fourteenth session	Romance and in each couplet should have been included a text in Latin, *equívocos* (words with more than one meaning), an *eco* (vague memory of an episode or story), and a *paronomasia* (substitution of one letter, generally a vowel, which completely changes the meaning of the word).	3 February, 1710
Fifteenth session	Subject chosen randomly. Answer the question: which would be the biggest fault of poets' women, the stubbornness or the ugliness?	10 February, 1710
Sixteenth session	One *arriero* arrives at an inn and flirts with a waitress	17 February, 1710
Seventeenth session	Describe the sunrise	24 February, 1710
Eighteenth session	Gloss of a couplet by Anatasio Pantaleón (Spaniard writer)	3 March, 1710
Nineteenth session	Write a text about the words that were pronounced on Ash Wednesday and the termination of certain words in Latin.	10 March, 1710
Twentieth session	The miraculous act of the poetic texts made by the academy members which made the deaf listen. This is the case of the Palace guard, who listened to the sessions from a window of the *gabineto*, although he had impaired hearing.	17 March, 1710
Twenty first session	Explanation of why during Christ's birth the night remained in darkness, and in his death the sunlight disappeared at noon.	24 March, 1710
Last session	Viceroy's death	24 April, 1710

An examination of the metric and topics of the texts produced in the gatherings can indicate the purposes of the poetic productions, important dates and events for Lima's lettered elite, and the interaction between poets and the audience. Some meetings of the group were clearly devoted to commemorating or remembering episodes in the religious and royal calendar, such as the king's birthday, the Nativity, *carnestolendas*,[60] Ash Wednesday and Easter. Other gatherings were probably designed to entertain people who came to listen to the comic situations offered by the viceroy. These included the scene in the convent in the sixth session, the misinterpretation of women's demands in the ninth session, or even the circumstances of the sixteenth session, when writers had to produce a text about an *arriero* (a muleteer) flirting with a waitress in a *mesón* (tavern or inn). Other topics that might have interested the audience included religious ones or the internal affairs of the academy, such as the gloss on the twelfth session condemning the actions of the poets in the previous gathering. Theatrical representations were included in the celebration of religious festivities, like Nativity, Ash Wednesday, or the death of Christ, in the activities of the academy. For instance, on 24 December, 1709 the Nativity was celebrated in the eleventh session with a recreation of the night when Jesus was born.

It is worth noting that women were often the topic of writing. Nine cases across the twenty-two meetings of the academy focused on women. For example, in the fourth session, the viceroy asked the poets to explain the reasons why women went down to the beach at Chorrillos to watch the whales, and in the thirteenth session, poets were required to describe a woman and include in the text a title of a book, a comedy, a street in Madrid or Lima, and a *refrán* (proverb). Although no women featured among the list of writers of the academy, in a poem written by the viceroy in the fifteenth session that honoured the academy it is apparent that women were allowed to participate in events, at least as members of the audience. In this text, the Marqués praised "los poetas, músicos, damas y otros concurrentes de la misma [academy]"[61], and in the eight session, in 18 November, 1709, Rodríguez de Guzmán, the secretary of the academy, recorded that "esta noche enviaron unas señoras a la academia una carta en que pedían se escribiese una décima con los consonantes

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[60] As claimed by the *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1729, *carnestolendas* was "Los tres días de carne que preceden al Miercoles de Ceniza, en los cuales se hacen fiestas, convites y otros juegos para burlarse y divertirse, con que se despiden de este mantenimiento."
[61] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 341.

forzados que tienen las dos que se siguen; y que el último pie se hiciese glosando este verso 'Eres tú como eres tú', y que el asunto fuese alabar a una dama de hermosa, airosa y honesta."[62] The interaction between women and poets inside of the *gabineto* of the viceregal palace probably was intense and recurrent. It suggests a constant communication between audiences and poets.

On many occasions, women played a prominent role in the narrative of the poems, some of which were meant to judge their behaviour. For example, when the poets were asked about the reasons women had to go to see the "disforme y monstruosa ballena que varó en la playa de los Chorrillos",[63] there is a suggestion that this sort of action lacked any purpose or interest, or when the viceroy demanded the writers to gloss the following couplet: "Después de mañana, Niñas,/llega de ceniza el miércoles,/y se manda que las damas,/y las carnes se tolenden"[64], addressing directly the traditions of the carnival and the conduct expected during that event. This focus on women, their social roles and participation in the production of the literary texts during the academy could have been related to the ideas of courtly love prevalent across Europe at that time and a recurrent topic in poetic production.[65] The influence of the public on the selection of topics and the production of poetic material by the members of the academy is a topic for future research.

In many sessions, the members also produced texts relating to the academy and its affairs. These were done to defend the value and honour of the academy or as *vejámenes,* which were a common type of text produced in academies in Spain. *Vejámenes* were, in the words of the researcher on colonial Spanish literature Jerry Williams, "a sort of festive and satiric indictment of poets (in gatherings such as academies) or of people of some note, criticizing their defects, actions, and characteristics."[66] They began with an introduction, followed by a series of *cedulillas* and an *oración*. The introduction, from the perspective of Alain Bègue, a scholar of academies in Spain, "obedece, de forma unánime, a un intento de captar la atención del público, al tiempo que se subrayaban las dotes poéticas del secretario."[67] The

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[62] Ibid., f. 128r.
[63] Ibid., f. 50.
[64] Ibid., f. 386r.
[65] Dominique Simonnet and Víctor A. Goldstein, *La más bella historia del amor*, 1a ed (Buenos Aires; México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004).
[66] Williams, 'Academic and Literary Culture in Eighteenth-Century Peru', 132.
[67] Alain Bègue, *Las academias literarias en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII : Catálogo descriptivo de los impresos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007), 26.

purpose of the introduction, in engaging the writers with the audience of the academy, suggests that the production of the poetry during these gatherings was also defined by the type of audience and its interests. The same can be said for the *cedulillas*, which, in the words of Bègue, basically aimed to "captar la atención de los espectadores presentando las circunstancias y/o los contextos reales o ficcionales que generaron la organización del evento, pero siempre a través de un filtro literario."[68] In *Flor de academias*, the *cedulillas* were part of the only *vejamen* recorded in the handwritten book. These were written by the viceroy but were read by Don Gonzalo Cayetano de la Torre, maestre de sala de su excelencia. In five *cedulillas* the viceroy introduced different cases in which the academy, musicians or poets were involved.

The other preliminary component of the *vejámenes*, the *oración*, was done by the president of the academy. *Oraciones* were, in words of Bègue, an "invitación a los participantes a hacer alarde de sus dotes poéticas y va acompañada de música (cuya anotación se recoge asimismo en el impreso), componente este último que adquiere cada vez más relevancia a lo largo del siglo XVII."[69] Music was constantly used in the academies, including that of viceroy Castelldosrius, and was usually employed at the beginning the sessions. This tradition of including music in the academies was similar to the *vejámenes* done in Spain. In the words of Aurora Égido, scholar of Spanish literature, "los vejámenes de grado, que también se 'zarzuelaron' en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII, mostrando una misma tendencia a ser trasladados posteriormente a la imprenta, lo que les permitió sobrevivir al momento efímero para el que fueron creadas."[70] In the *Flor de academias*, little information is available about the music played in the *gabineto*; in this document there are no records of the type of music, the songs that the academy's participants enjoyed or the musicians; only in the first session of the academy is it stated that there was a musical prelude to the gatherings.[71]

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Aurora Égido, 'Presentación', in *Las academias literarias en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII : Catálogo Descriptivo de los Impresos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007), 15.

[71] It seems that the viceroy brought with him musicians from Spain and France, who were paid a year salary, as it is shown in his personal notebook quoted by Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Clinet, Músico de Violón, también se va depreciando 560 pesos que tenía cada año, y aunque me ha hecho entender después inmediatamente, reconocido de su error, que volvería a mi servicio, no he admitido plática, por la desvergüenza, ni le he metido en un zepo por la compasión. En cuanto no hallarse bien en este país, tiene razón, porque es muy diferente para la vida buena del suyo, aunque en él no sé que hallen lo que dejan, sabiendo yo lo que son y lo que tienen, y aunque no tenían que esperar aquí empleos de gobiernos, por ser contas las Reales Órdenes y leyes (menos Ruller que estaba naturalizado por su Majestad), no puede ninguno llamarse a engaño, porque antes de salir de Francia y después en España, les hice notoria

It would appear that the *vejámenes* were done to mark special celebrations inside academies, at least this was the case for the Marqués del Castelldosrius meetings, or in spontaneous or independent circumstances.[72] In *Flor de academias,* the *vejámen* was done to celebrate the birthday of Phillipe V, on 19 December, 1709, during the tenth session, in which the poets participated in the session with texts addressing the king. Contrary to other occasions the rest of the texts from this gathering were written in advance by the viceroy, who took the role of fiscal of the *vejamen*, and by Juan Manuel de Rojas y Solórzano, as secretary of the viceroy. The focus of this session was the *vejámenes*, which were done to mock and satirise the writings of the poets, probably in front of a wider audience when compared to the one that regularly attended the meetings. This kind of text demands a careful approach, because some of the information they include follows the rules of the genre instead of portraying an account of the events that occurred in the academy. However, some information contained in the *vejamen* provides an insight into the reading "taste" of the viceroy, who can be seen as an experienced poetry reader.

The *vejamen* in the *Flor de academias* tells the story of the viceroy's search for the poets of the academy, who took shelter under the statutes of nine muses; in this episode the viceroy tries to bind poetic production in Lima to a history of European literary production and identify the poets of the academy as members of a republic of letters or "Parnaso". In the text, the viceroy seems to question himself and Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, the secretary of the academy, about the elements and clues used to identify the poets of the academy. The fiscal and the secretary distinguished different characteristics of the writers and their poetic work from which it is possible to draw a portrait of what it meant to be a poet at that particular time. Most of the time, the main characters recognise the poet by his own written work, such as in the case of Pedro José Bermúdez, who was hidden behind Clio, which the Marqués

> […] juzgándole divino discurrir que sería el señor doctor don Pedro José Bermudes, pero luego dudé de esta verdad cuando también sospeché y con no menor razón que era el licenciado don Miguel Cascante tan parecidos en todo como lo manifiestan sus obras, que son los atributos que equivocándoles les distinguen, gloriosamente ya en lo cómico

esta indispensable circunstancia, también la de que primero (aún cuando pudiese) había de acomodar a los conquistadores que el Rey me manda, y en arbitrio a los criados más antiguos de mi familia." Guillermo Lohmann Villena, 'El "cuadernillo de noticias" del virrey del Perú Marqués de Castelldosríus (agosto de 1708)', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, no. 1 (1964): 232.
[72] Bègue, *Las academias literarias*, 20.

ya en lo poético humanada la deidad de entrambos, y ya en lo sacro divinizando sus aciertos […].[73]

Distinguishing the poet by his work was probably related to the idea of *fama*, as introduced before, which was sought by the writers through their participation in events like academies or *certámenes*, and probably in handwritten and printed records associated with different poetic events. Readers and audiences of literary events may have developed an idea of the style of each poet after hearing or reading them constantly on several occasions or in books circulating in specific circles. Nonetheless, poets were not only distinguished by their poetic skills, but also by their association with objects that were apparently not related to the practices of writing. This was the case in the argument between the Marqués de Castelldosrius and his secretary in the academy about the possible encounter with Juan Manuel Rojas, secretary of the viceroy, under the shadow of the statue of Calliope. Under the statue of this muse, the viceroy seemed to acknowledge the figure of the writer, but

> […] en qué funda VM, me respondió Rodríguez: fúndolo, le dije yo, en aquella venera de hábito que trae a los pechos con la cual **bisarrea**, juega y luce trayéndola entre los dedos:
>
> […]
>
> Eso es muy bueno para creerle gran caballero, replicó Rodríguez pero para ser buen poeta, quién tal pensara? yo lo pienso, y no lo dudo continue diciendo, como ni tampoco el que haga en fuerza de esta seña, versos con muy buen concierto, y así:
>
> Viéndole con la venera
>
> de un hábito, rica y noble,
>
> dije al instante este poeta
>
> sin duda escribe con orden.[74]

As indicated before, writing poetry cannot be considered as a profession during this period. Instead, it has greater semblance to a practice or knowledge about writing that belonged to a particular social elite that could demonstrate their own skills in events designed to enhance their *fama*. The social status, as a poet's asset, is evident in some of the academy's participants; for instance, in the last quoted text, the *venera de hábito*, a garment worn by members of military orders, provides clues to the viceroy about the identity of the writer and about the quality of his writing. Juan Manuel Rojas

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[73] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, ff. 228-228r.
[74] Ibid., f. 246r.

was an example of this new idea of nobility, which partly subordinated the act of writing to the social status of the writer; he was a Spaniard and effectively a member of the order of Santiago.[75] The same order was granted to another member of the academy, Jerónimo de Monforte y Vera, after the death of the Marqués de Castelldosrius.[76] He probably also had close ties with the Crown given his two leaflets – folded leaves – of poems written to Charles II and the Queen before coming to Lima.[77]

However, there were other poets in the academia that were judged for their own erudition and the stylistic value of their writings. The terms in which the viceroy referred to Miguel Saenz Cascante and Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo, both Peruvians and without a military background, illustrates a different kind of consideration of poetic works and of the figure of the poet. In the case of the first, Miguel Saenz Cascante was a priest and, as it indicated before, the favourite poet of the viceroy. When the Marqués de Castelldosrius found this writer next to the statue of Polimnia, he declares that

> […] aún se entendía en uno de aquellos capaces y sabios cuadros del nicho un maestro que con energía eficacia y suma claridad enseña a diferentes hombres ya proyectos y doctos, lo más arcano y sustancial de las ciencias y luego que le vi, dije que era el señor licenciado don Miguel Cascante, porque otro que no fuese su merced no podía mostrarse tan universal ni más científico.[78]

Miguel Saenz Cascante was identified immediately by the viceroy. In him, the Marqués saw a scholar and erudite, instead of a nobleman or a knight. This priest apparently never published any printed work, but his handwritten texts circulated among readers, as Rodríguez de Guzmán noted in the Noticia proemial of *Flor de academias*. The viceroy was also aware of the virtues of Saenz Cascante. In his praise for the priest, he sees that "A cualquier autor excede/ cuando emprende una comedia/ pues hace grandes jornadas/ porque escribe de carrera."[79] Writing without any pause

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[75] Palma, *Flor de academias y diente del parnaso*, XVII.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Jerónimo Monforte y Vera, *En la dichosa, como deseada, feliz mejoria de … D. Carlos El Segundo…* (N.d.: N.d., 1696); Jerónimo Monforte y Vera, *Dando quenta don Gerónimo Monforte, de la enfermedad, y muerte de la Reyna Madre … a don Lorenzo de las Llamosas* (N.d.: N.d., 1696). Also Rodríguez de Guzmán knew about the poetic work of Monforte y Vera in Europe as it is stated at the beginning of *Flor de academias*, according to the writer of the book, Jerónimo Monforte y Vera was "[…] muy favorecido de las musas festivas que le han inspirado las agradables poesías con que se han visto acreditados sus desvelos en los más plausibles teatros de la Europa y en los más celebres liceos de la América y después de las primeras academias entró también a escribir en las subsecuentes." Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 12.
[78] Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, f. 261r.
[79] Ibid., f. 262.

or rest for a long period of time might have been an ability difficult to achieve, and the Marqués probably used this reference to reinforce the idea that the priest was an exceptional writer. In the case of the encounter with the figure of Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, the viceroy saw it as an opportunity to challenge an author who enjoyed status and *fama* established by the regular 'publication' of printed and manuscript books.[80] Peralta produced books on astronomy, history, comedy, theatre, poetry, among other topics, and he participated in poetry *certámenes* and wrote manuscript *relaciones*. His erudite knowledge might have been the reason the viceroy questioned Peralta on his different abilities, to which the writer answered, in the fictitious dialogue form below:

> Que tengo que ajustar con Vm, una cuentesita aritmética, un cómputo cronológico, y una suputación de tablas, y trescientas cosas más; respondiome: eche, Vm, más melocotones, que para todo hay plata, porque la aritmética la poseo, cabalmente; la cronología, en todo tiempo; en la suputación soy el primero, sin faltar ni en un segundo y para las trescientas ni Juan de Mena dará mejor razón de ella que yo.[81]

The viceroy thus took the *vejamen* as an opportunity to mock the virtuosity of Peralta and probably his character. At the end of the discussion, the author supposedly left the room after he feared censorship by the viceroy. This fictional interaction between the fiscal of the *vejamen,* the viceroy, who played the role of the reader and a kind of a literary critic, provides some information about what the viceroy understood as good poetry writing. The viceroy's inquiries, questions, requests and censorship conveyed his thoughts and parameters about what writing poetry should constitute within the academy. The characters he introduced, which might have been based on the actual writers, were probably not only a strategy to entertain the audience, but also they were employed to explain a "correct" way of writing, or in the words of the academy, to censor the handwritten texts. Rules of writing poetry may also have been applied to the material production of the book. In order to search for these politics of writing it is necessary to try to follow the process of making the handwritten manuscript of *Flor de academias*.

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[80] Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450 to 2000*, 1 edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), sec. 2179.
[81] Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias.* ff. 252-252r.

4.3 Tracing the writers' hands. Handwritten practices in Marqués del Castelldosrius' academy

The *Flor de academias* is a unique manuscript book. It basically recorded the oral events and most of the written poetry exercises done in the viceroy's academy. At first sight, its main purpose may have been to serve as a registry or record of the sessions, but a closer look into the material production of the book suggests different interests that go beyond the initial endeavour of record-keeping. It is possible to analyse the material production of a handwritten book using different methodologies, some of which approach the written material in the search of traces of the techniques used in writing the text. To examine *Flor de academias* this study will focus on the identification of the hands involved and the procedure of casting off blanks, because both methods aid an understanding of the techniques behind the production of a manuscript that involved many writers.

First, the identification of the hands consists basically of examining the different scripts that were used in the document. Although many manuscript books credit one person with the production of a handwritten text, the objects themselves may indicate the participation of more than one scribe. The work of a scribe can be recognised by an analysis of the characteristics of the hand (sloped, upright, cursive) and by the presence of other elements that may be related to the preparation of the page, such as the space of the gutter, the size of the margins, the layout, inclination of the text's lines, the space between lines, etc.[82] In addition, casting off blanks was a process of manuscript book production in which the scribe marked the length of each section by writing the titles before copying the text. The calculation of the number of pages was probably done by looking at the original text that needed to be copied. Most of the time changes in the hand occurred at the end of sections depending on the space left to write the remaining texts. Casting off blanks was usually done as a technique to

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[82] Peter Beal defines hand as it follows: "Handwriting, or 'hand' for short, is any kind of writing on a document entered or inscribed by hand, as opposed to stamped or printed text. Although the term 'hand' is often used as a synonym of 'script', it usually has the connotation of a person's handwriting. Thus the handwriting on a document may conform to a certain script—its style, forms, and general characteristics belonging to a historical period or recognized generic type of writing (court, secretary, italic, etc.)—but it is the hand that has particular distinguishing features and personal idiosyncrasies reflecting the character or identity of the writer as an individual." Ibid.

write manuscripts in *paper books*[83] composed of booklets,[84] in opposition to *seriatim*.[85]

In the case of the *Flor de academias,* it has been possible to identify five different hands, showing how the production of a handwritten book was not always a one-person enterprise. This book may have been written by a group of scribes who copied the poems from the original papers made by the poets or else recorded them from the spoken improvisations during the academy sessions. Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán describes the manuscript preparation of the book in the third page of the dedicatory of the book: "No logra mi atención el obsequio de ofrecer a vuestra excelencia este libro mejorado de letra al beneficio de la estampa por el descaecido desaliento (si ya no última ruina) en que al presente se hallan en esta ciudad los moldes de su perezosa oficina."[86] The expression 'libro mejorado de letra*'* probably referred to the handwritten adaptation of the text into a form ready for circulation in the places of consumption. As indicated before, the absence of a strong printing industry in Lima during the early decades of the eighteenth century and the death of the viceroy before the project reached the printing workshop could have been the reasons why a manuscript book was prepared for circulation instead of a printed book.

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[83] It was the term commonly used in early modern period as an "antonym of 'printed book', to signify simply a pre-bound blank book", also in contrast to the books that were bound from a selection of booklets already written. Gibson, 'Casting Off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books', 209.

[84] Booklet can be understood as "the diminutive form of 'book', 'booklet' simply means a 'small book', generally a thin pamphlet, which is sewn, stapled, or glued. As applied to manuscripts, it may mean a thin unit or sheaf comprising not much more than one or two gatherings." Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript*, sec. 600.

[85] Gibson considers that "The process [of casting off blanks] is in some ways the observe of the 'casting off' of copy in handpress print-shops: that is, the marking up of copy into sections so that pages of type can be set 'by formes' (typesetting for one side of an unfolded sheet) rather than page by page in numerical sequence (*seriatim*)." Gibson, 'Casting Off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books', 206.

[86] Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán continues showing that this manuscript book was not the only "publishing" enterprise he had promoted by New Spain's viceroy: "[…] habiendo extinguido el tiempo la mayor parte de sus caracteres y dilatado el transporte de otros nuevos que se conducen de reinos tan distantes; siendo estas mismas dificultades (que también tienen en prensa a los deseos) las que hasta ahora padece para salir de horno de la estampa a la luz del favor de Vuestra Excelencia el libro de las pruebas de mis conclusiones en la verdadera doctrina de la espada ofendida hasta aquí por la sin consideración ni examen […]" Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Flor de academias*, ff. 3-3r. Rodríguez de Guzmán is probably talking about the argument between him and Francisco Lorenz de Rada published in the printed books Francisco Lórenz de Roda and Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Defensa de la verdadera destreza de las armas: y respuesta dada por el mro. de campo d. francisco lorenz de rada, cavallero del orden de santiago ... a la carta apologetica que le escrivio Diego Rodriguez de Guzman, graduado de maestro de esgrima en la Vniversidad del Engaño.* (México: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón en el Empedradillo, 1711); Francisco Santos de la Paz et al., *Ilustracion de la destreza indiana. Epístola oficiosa,* (Lima: Geronimo de Contreras y Alvarado, impressor real, 1712),

Printed and manuscript books tell different stories, when examining their material characteristics. In the case of the printed books in Lima, the low-quality printing presses and absence of tools and material resources in this period studied here created books defined by the scarcity of resources. This consideration cannot be extended to previous periods, because Rodríguez de Guzmán remembers when printing presses had better times.[87] It is possible that there were periods in which some printing presses had the capacity to respond to complex 'publishing' endeavours but, when they were unable to do so, handwriting practices were an option to ensure the circulation of knowledge and information among members of the colonial elite. Although this approach depicts manuscript culture as a supplementary tool when printing presses failed, the truth is that handwritten 'publication' never came to an end, and it developed its own forms for making a book 'public'. The process of material preparation considered the graphic decoration of the book, the employment of a clear and neat calligraphy, a stable layout for the display of texts and organisation of margins, and a coherent structure of titles, among other things.

The *Flor de academias* was an example of this type of manuscript book that went through a handwritten 'publishing' process. With regard to the elements of this material preparation, it is worth highlighting the aesthetic consistency of the titles, the strict structure of the organisation of the information at the beginning of each session, the legible hands and the elaborate decorations found in a few places in the book, most notably in the viceroy's texts inside the tenth session. It is in the contributions of the Marqués de Castelldosrius that all the elements seem to have been carried out more carefully than for the other authors. The viceroy decided to commemorate the birthday of the king with a special session, which in literary and 'publishing' terms broke all the narratives and rules established for the other gatherings. As explained in the previous section, a traditional *vejamen* was presented instead of the usual literary contest, and on the material side this was associated with a higher quality of production as evidenced by the employment of a distinctive script, the abundance of decorations and a particular layout found nowhere else in the book (Figure 4.7).

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[87] This can also be seen in the examination of the printing press uses by institutions in Lima. Through the examination of the documents called *cartas de censura*, system offered by the Arzobishop's office to people who had their objects missing or stolen, is possible to notice how they went to be mostly printed in the middle of the XVII century to be mainly handwritten by the beginning of the XVIII century.

In this tenth session, the texts composed by the viceroy himself were written in a different form and were tidier and more elaborate than other academy sessions. The difference between the writing of the texts that belonged to the viceroy and the other authors can be seen in Figures 4.4 and 4.5. Figure 4.4 shows the layout and organisation of Miguel Saenz Cascante's *oración académica* written for the tenth session, and Figure 5 corresponds to one of the initial pages of the *vejamen*. The consistent horizontal lines of texts in the last one grabs the observer's attention, while Cascante's lines of text are slightly inclined upward, showing a difference in the methods of writing. It can be seen that the script does not change significantly between the two samples, but the preparation of the *mise en page* is clearly different. On the page of the *vejamen* it is possible to notice the guidelines on the margins and the consistent width of the column. In addition, the changes to the spacing between lines in the Figure 4.4 contrasts with their stability in Figure 4.5. This may be a sign of the different methods used to prepare the page depending on the kind of text and the status of the author.

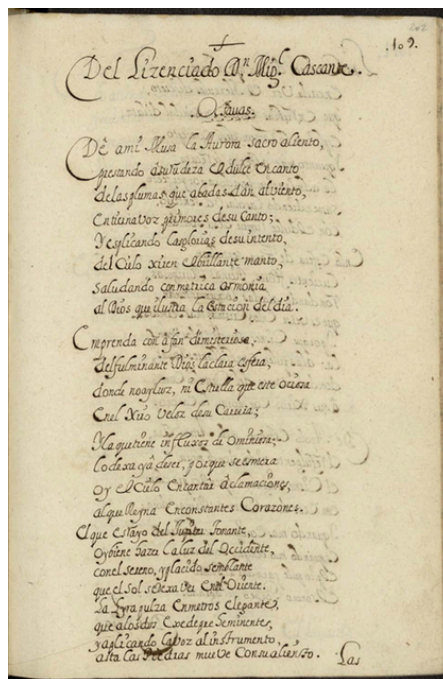Figure 4.4. Sample of the hand employed in Miguel Saenz Cascante's text for the tenth session, folio 109 (on the left).
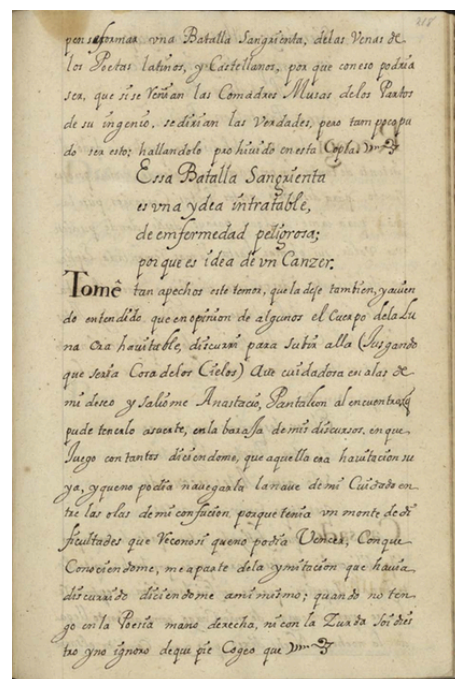
Figure 4.5. Sample of the hand employed in Marqués del Casteldosrius' text for the tenth session, folio 216 (on the right)

The calligraphy was not the only element that was clearly special in the viceroy's text in the tenth session. This part of the book has some decorated titles, and

the section of the *vejamen* dedicated to work by Pedro José Bermúdez begins with a half-page image that resembles the title page of the book (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). In both images the employment of two birds, possibly cranes, suggests that this may have been a symbol in regular use. A similar kind of bird is depicted in Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo's *Relación que hizo de su gobierno D. José de Armendáriz, Marqués de Castelfuerte, Virrey del Perú, a D. José de Mendoza, Marqués de Villagarcía, su successor*.[88] The former viceroy Marqués de Catelfuerte commanded Peralta y Barnuevo to produce a *relación* of his period of office, which was left for the newly-appointed viceroy Marqués de Villagarcía to commission. The title page of this book is well known for the inclusion of two peacocks (Figure 4.8).[89]

Figure 4.6. Decorated title page of *Flor de academias*. It is possible to see the illustrations of two cranes and other animals on this page.

[88] Peralta y Barnuevo and Castelfuerte, *Relación que hizo de su gobierno D. José de Armendáriz*.
[89] Peacocks and cranes were related to practices of patronage and the cultivation of virtues from medieval times. Stephen L. Wailes, 'The Crane, the Peacock, and the Reading of Walther von Der Vogelweide 19,29', *MLN* 88, no. 5 (October 1973): 947–55; Richard W. Barber, *Bestiary. English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 1992).

VEXAMEN.

CLYO, Y EL DOCTOR.

Don Pedro Joseph Bermudez de la Torre.

Passando pues a reconoser Venerando, aquellos Sagrados Nichos dela immortalidad, vi, en el primero dela mano derecha, del Ovalo enque estauan colocadas todas, las dela Erudita Mussa **Clio** que estaua Magestuosamente Vestida de vn Rico Ropage, de Oro y Plata, Coronada de Laurel con vna pluma enla mano derecha que tenía levantada, y la luz quierda q se aseguraua sobre vn tachonado libro de Esmeraldas Sentada sobre otros de historia quele seruian de Cogines

Figure 4.7. Folio 227, tenth session. *Flor de academias.* Two cranes are depicted.
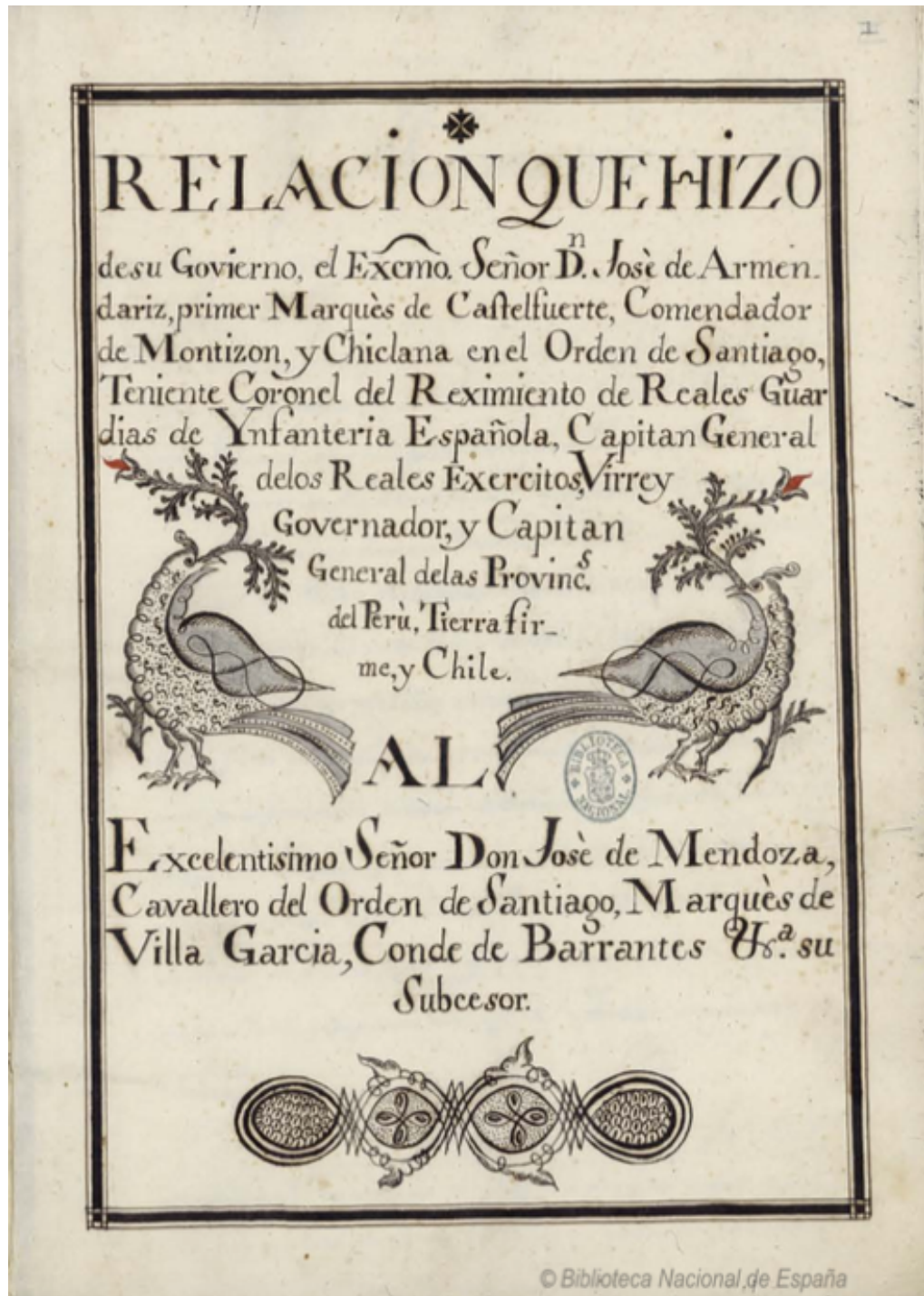
Figure 4.8 Depiction of peacocks on the title page in *Relación que hizo de su gobierno D. José de Armendáriz, Marqués de Castelfuerte, Virrey del Perú, a D. José de Mendoza, Marqués de Villagarcía, su successor.*

Furthermore, in the tenth session of the *Flor de academias* other types of birds were also portrayed, this time at the end of some sections of the *vejamenes* (Figure 4.9). These graphic elements were probably used to fill the blank spaces left between the text and the end of the page, avoiding the need to add more text. This is necessary because the book was done by leaving a number of pages blank to be filled in between each main title (in this case the title of each session) with the original text or a previous

draft. Whenever the text ends, whether it was at the end of a section or a page, there was a need for a type of graphic elements, like birds, or, in the case where the scribe runs out of space in copying a text, a tightening of the spaces between lines (Figure 4.10). In other cases, the handwriting becomes wider and the space between lines becomes larger on the last page of a section, when the text was not long enough to fill the whole page.

Figure 4.9. Birds drawings at the end of the section in the tenth session. Folios 226r and 231r, *Flor de academias.*

Figure 4.10. Compression of lines at the end of folios 48 and 347. *Flor de academias*.

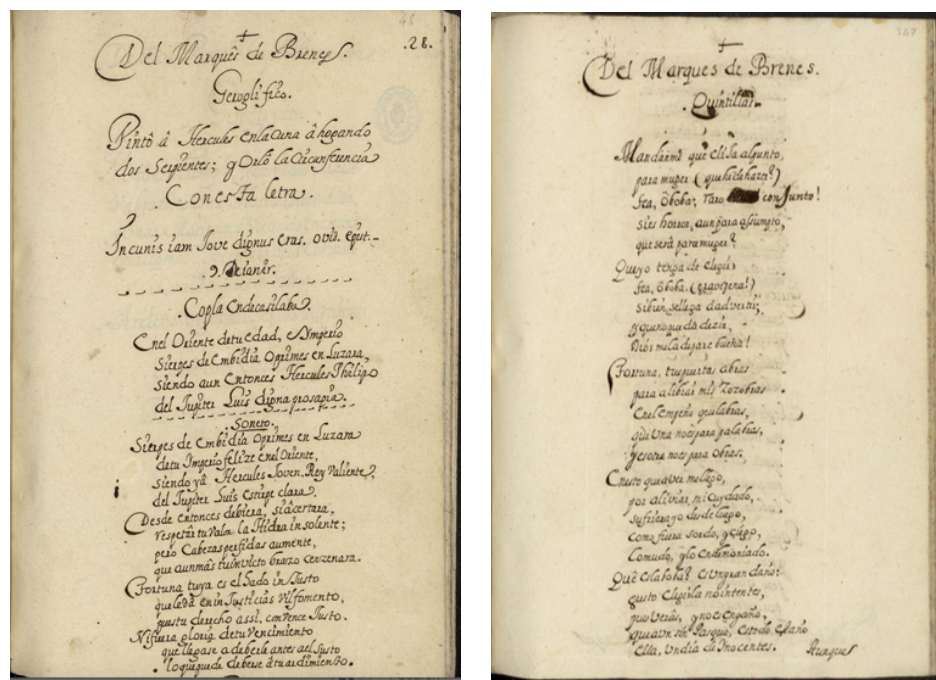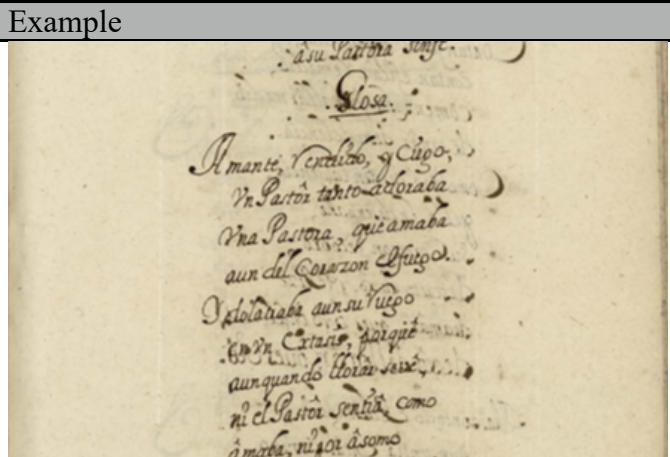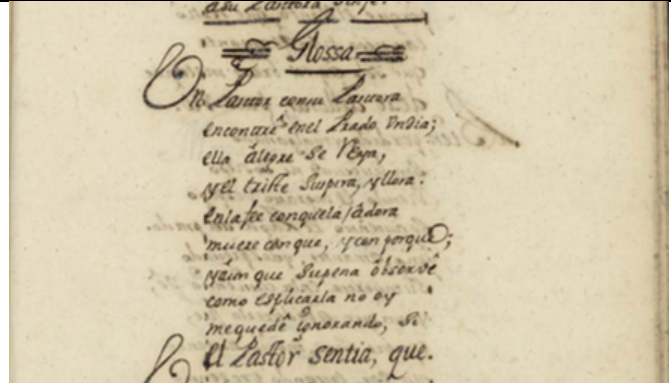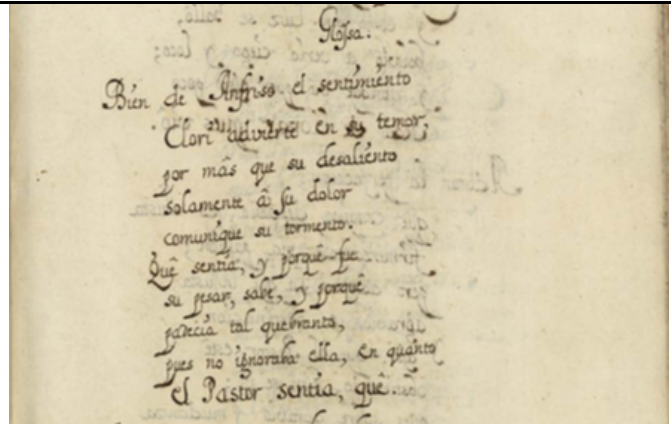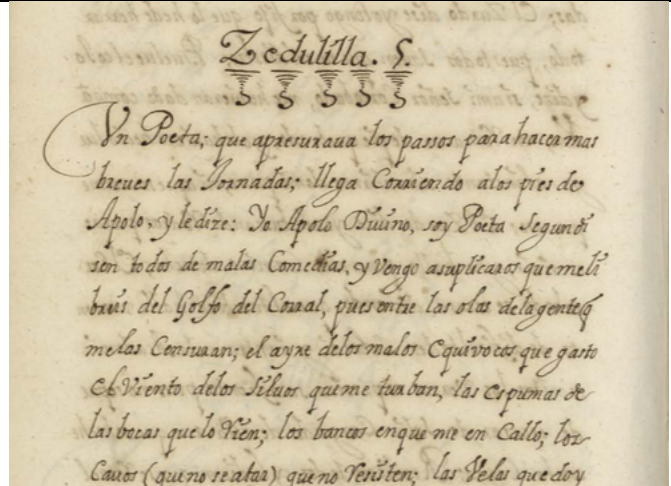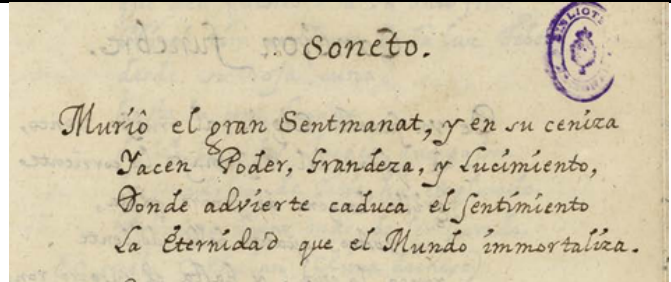It is probable that the final copy of *Flor de academias* was written from original versions of the poems and was done by casting off blanks in an unbound book (in fact, there was a period of three years between the end of the gatherings and the writing of the dedicatory in 4 May, 1713). The signatures at the bottom of some pages

indicate that the book was bound after it was written, which means that casting off blanks was probably done booklet by booklet. The signatures were done in alphabetical order and were written at the bottom of the text every few pages, generally at the beginning of the booklet; they were meant to guide the binder in organizing a booklet at the time the book was made.[90] Given that this was a collective work, in which at least five scribes were involved, it seems likely that the book was written in pieces that were later bound. The five scripts (Figure 4.11) have a random and uneven organisation, not all of them used the same number of pages and some of them appear in specific sessions, which means that this process was done randomly and without any clear organisation with regard to the whole volume. In general terms, hand A was the most commonly used, while B and C were employed for specific poems and each for two sessions that took place at the academy. Also, both of these last two hands were found in the preliminary texts, particularly in the dedicatory and the "Noticia proemial". Hand D was involved in the viceroy's texts in the tenth meeting, and hand E in the last session of the group, when the poets delivered texts in honour of the recently deceased viceroy.

Figure 4.11. Hands in *Flor de academias*.

Hand	Example
Hand A	

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[90] Beal defines the signatures in this way: "In a bibliographical context, a signature is a symbol identifying a particular gathering [booklet or groups of booklets gathered], used to help the scribes, or binders, or compositors to put them in the right sequence. Gatherings are generally distinguished by one or more alphabetical letters (A, B, C, etc., AA, BB, CC, etc.) and leaves by the occasional addition of numbers (A$_2$, AA$_2$, etc.)." Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript*, sec. 4265.

Hand B	
Hand C	
Hand D	
Hand E	

It is clear that the book was the result of a process of copying, improvement and tidying up of the hand, but there are still doubts about how the poems were written during the academy sessions. Did the poets write the texts at separate desks available for them in the *gabineto* or did someone record, with extreme efficiency, the spoken

words of the poets while they presented their pieces? Unfortunately, the *Flor de academias* does not provide precise information about this, but some evidence suggests that the handwriting practices *in situ* were probably the norm. For instance, in the seventh meeting, Pedro José Bermúdez's text includes a comment, probably written by one of the scribes or by Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán, which states that "hasta aquí escribió de repente en la academia las redondillas restantes las continuó el día siguiente por insinuación y gusto de su excelencia."[91] No explicit reasons were given as to why the viceroy stopped the session, but it is worth noting that instead of allowing the texts to be finished at home or outside of the viceregal palace, the viceroy ordered the writing to continue the next day.

A lot has been said hitherto about the production of the poems by the members of the academy, but little has been said about the exchange of texts or the circulation of papers between the poets. When an interruption of the meetings happened after the representation of the Nativity in the eleventh session, a series of exchanges of papers and roles became evident. According to the description of Rodríguez de Guzmán, several tasks were commissioned from the poets. This was done through a ballot system in the following way:

> Por el motivo de haber determinado por votación que saliesen los oficios que habían de tener entre los concurrentes de tres a tres meses y habiéndose excusado don Gerónimo de Monforte de ejercer ningún cargo se dieron a todos dos votos o cedulillas que el que contenía una N negaba y el que echaba la B concedía: entraron en cántaro y se hallaron tres N N N habiendo sido solo uno el que negaba y aunque se hicieron diligencias por descubrir a los dos agresores no se pudo más que conocer a uno el cual fue don Juan de Rojas quien confesó su delito.[92]

The viceroy reacted with anger to what he considered a betrayal of his trust and confidence, because immediately he took the decision to end the academy for good.

Only Juan de Rojas, secretary to the viceroy, came forward and regretted his behaviour, but the second culprit remained silent. Poets of the viceregal palace tried to persuade the viceroy not to end the meetings by writing *memoriales* which described the situation the group was facing. It seems that this extraordinary occasion was the only moment in which handwritten papers were written and read outside of a gathering, because the Marqués de Castelldosrius had to call Don Diego Rodríguez de

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[91] This comment was written in the inner margin of the book close to the binding. If the book was bound only once, as seems to be the case with *Flor de academias*, the place in which this comment was done supports the idea that the book was written before it was bound.

[92] Ibid., fol. 297.

Guzman to deliver his decision that the academy would be re-opened. One day, between the 23 December, 1709 and the 14 January the following year, the news of the reestablishment of the gatherings was announced to the members of the academy through "una copla para que glosada esta en cuatro décimas concurriesen el lunes 14 de enero de 1710 a su gabineto donde se han de continuar las academias."[93] This announcement was another example of the circulation of handwritten papers or communications inside the academy.

Perhaps the most relevant information about the exchange of papers among members of the academy can be found in the *vejámenes* presented by the viceroy. For instance, when don Diego Rodríguez de Guzmán and the viceroy discussed the possible identity of Pedro José Bermúdez, they mistook him for Miguel Saenz Cascante; the confusion was explained when Rodríguez de Guzmán pointed that "mírele Vmd y desengáñese de que es él, viéndole que tiene entre sus manos aquellos cinco papeles que está leyendo con tanta aplicación."[94] Those papers were considered at first sight as the "cédulas de devotos", apparently pieces of paper with texts for saying prayers or for other religious practices that the Predicadores asked Bermúdez to write or copy. However, a closer look at the documents revealed they were precisely the "papeles de las poesías que ha escrito sobre los asuntos que le dieron en las cinco primeras pasadas", which the poet was reading aloud. The viceroy invited Rodríguez to listen to the first *cédula,* the one previously devoted to praising the music of the academy, to start pointing out its faults and mistakes.[95]

The term *cédula* or *cedulilla* can help to trace the types of papers that circulated among writers inside the academy. One definition of the term *cédula* found in the *Diccionario de autoridades,* published in 1729, described them as "papel o papeles, que se presenten en las Academias, en que van escritos diferentes asuntos."[96] However, in a broader sense, a *cédula* was the name for any "hoja, o tira de papel escrita, o por escribir. Puede tambien ser de pergamino, o otra materia para escribir en ella; pero usual y comunmente se entiende por la de papel."[97] This definition suggests that the term referred to the object and material on which writing was done, without much concern about the kind of text or content written on it. *Cedulillas* also show that

[93] Ibid., f. 306.
[94] Ibid., f. 229.
[95] Ibid., f. 229r.
[96] *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1729.
[97] Ibid.

writing could take place on materials other than paper, although in Santa Fe de Bogotá and Lima in the period studied here there are no traces that other materials were employed in writing other than paper or wood, as in the case of the *retablos*.

This chapter has examined the role played by poetic handwritten texts in conferring fame and status to poets living in Lima. Even though *Flor de academias* was meant to be a printed book, the death of the viceroy and the lack of a strong printing press industry in the city made the printing of the publication of the book in Lima difficult. However, Rodríguez de Guzmán did not look to print the book in Spain, instead he opted to produce a handwritten book that aimed to project the prestige of the Palace Academy. This shows that handwritten books were also able to provide authors with the same status that the printed script enjoyed. Through this book, aristocratic readers might have rewarded the efforts of poets by raising their names to the pantheon of the republic of letters.

Chapter 5. Seeking status. Colonial elite handwritten culture and the aesthetics of prestige

This thesis has shown how between 1700 and 1750 colonial elites in Lima and Santa Fe de Bogotá used handwritten books to enhance their social standing. This research has focused on the production of manuscript books inside religious educational institutions, in viceregal ceremonies, and in courtly literary events. In the case of the textbooks made in schools and universities, students produced manuscript books following the requirements for earning a degree. In the third chapter, the colonial elite in Santa Fe de Bogotá made a manuscript book to record the ceremony of *exequias* of Luis I in order to demonstrate a favour to the Crown. They looked to enhance the prestige of the city at a time of political turmoil and portray Santa Fe de Bogotá as the capital of a new viceroyalty in the same way that Lima and Mexico had been for centuries. In the fourth chapter, the viceroy Castelldosrius founded an academy in the viceregal palace in Lima to promote the cultural environment of the court. The manuscript book, written from the literary pieces that were produced in sessions held at the academy, sought to enhance the fame of the poets. These books made visible the different ways of establishing status through education, political networks and literary production.

Manuscript books were not restricted to local places of consumption. Some of them, such as the *Descripción suscinta* or the *Flor de academias*, travelled long distances through networks of power that linked the courts within Spanish American colonies. Others remained in educational institutions' repositories for the use of students and scholars of the religious orders. Although the handwritten production of books was not necessarily an obstacle to the wider dissemination of information, the circulation of these objects did depend to a greater extent on the purpose of these objects, which were attributed to them by members of the colonial elite. Furthermore, these objects enabled lecturers, poets, priests and other producers of texts, who did not have connections with the print industry, to circulate them in places of power and in libraries. This doctoral dissertation has shown that manuscript books provide a wider vision of cultural production in Spanish American colonies. For instance, they provide insights into the visual culture beyond paintings and sculptures, which have been the traditional sources for the study of image production. The conclusions here will gather

the information from the preceding chapters that focus on the material production of manuscripts, patronage practices and the technologies of book production.

The manuscript books discussed in this thesis exhibit a series of characteristics that reveal how they were intended to be used to enhance the status of writers. These include the presence of illustrations decorating the titles and subtitles, the continuous and stable layout and the employment of legible and tidy hands. In most cases, the manuscripts are the result of a process of 'editing' drafts or compiling documents from different sources. For example, the notebooks or manuscript books delivered by students at the end of their studies represent the final stage of production, resulting from several drafts based on the *apuntes* taken in classes. The *Flor de academias* is an example of the compilation of texts made by different scribes. On each page of this book it is possible to observe the handwriting of probably five scribes, who were charged with making a final version of the texts out of the drafts delivered by the writers or from the transcripts taken from the oral delivery of the poems. Tracing the practices of 'manuscript publishing' can provide more information about how texts were produced in courtly environments, the interaction between the script and the speech, the literacy practices in places of power, and the stages in the production of handwritten books.

The term 'manuscript publishing' constitutes an alternative process by which a text can be made public. Publishing is generally taken to be the process of making a text available to wider public through printing. However, the purpose of making the manuscript books analysed in this dissertation was not to reach large audiences but rather just a small group of readers who held a privileged position in the political and religious colonial hierarchy. The preparation of the text needed to match this 'reading taste' in terms of format and content, according to the handwritten protocols of different narrative genres, as evident in this study of *Flor de academias*. In this book, the viceroy acted as a reader of the texts produced by his poets. His comments reflected the voice of the court and probably the requirements of new poetic styles that were fashionable in Paris. A similar trend can be seen in most notebooks made in the classroom by students, which share common features such as layout, subtitles and divisions formats. This dissertation has illustrated how these types of preparations of manuscript books and texts for circulation inside of religious educational institutions and viceregal courts provide an understanding of the literary and graphic features of the books were created with the intention of establishing status.

'Manuscript publishing' also entails the work of skilled scribes who probably also had some knowledge of illustration and book decoration. Each one of the objects analysed in this dissertation is the result of different scribes working together. As indicated above, scribes were in charge of recording speeches and poetry and, in the second stage, responsible for copying parts of the text into a blank book. Constructing a manuscript book was a project that involved several people and stages: first, they needed to record the 'original' versions of the texts, which could have been speeches such as sermons, lectures or poetry. In some cases, creating an 'original' was also a long process involving working on previous drafts made by the 'author' or other 'authors.' This is the case with most philosophical and theological treatises that circulated in colonial educational institutions in the form of notebooks written by students. These manuscripts contained the commentaries of colonial scholars on the works of Medieval and Renaissance philosophers and theologists.[1] Chapter Two showed how note-taking practices could have been a way of circulating narrative formulas and concepts that were repeated constantly by authors during this period. These formulas were eventually used in the production of sermons and other types of religious texts.

Second, the transcription of 'original' texts into a manuscript book for circulation was done by first writing down the titles and subtitles of each one of the texts. The *Descripción suscinta,* introduced in the third chapter, and the notebooks examined in the second chapter show the adjustments scribes had to make when they miscalculated the blank space intended for the content. The final stage was the act of adding illustrations and graphic decoration to the books. Many books designed to enhance individual or group status included decorated title pages, frontispieces and illustrations. Most of these graphic elements could not be produced by a printing press because of the high costs of using more than two inks and the engraving techniques demanded for book printing.

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[1] The idea of an 'original' text for Spanish America should be revisited. The process of writing 'new' texts was related more to the idea of collective collaboration whilst originality was probably not linked to innovation. Instead, originality was defined as a new reading of texts that had circulated widely or as recovering the work of others. *Genealogías del Nuevo Reino de Granada* by Juan Flórez de Ocariz and *Historia General de las Conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada* by Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita are examples that illustrate the borrowing and appropriation of ideas and texts between authors. José Luis Guevara Salamanca, *la fábrica del hombre: Historias de viajes y usos de los libros del Nuevo Reino de Granada en el siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2015).

This dissertation has showed how, through the efforts put into the preparation of the manuscript books, the objects were created with the aim of portraying an idea of prestige which is reflected in their material characteristics and contents. The production of literary and religious texts aimed to demonstrate the literary prowess of the inhabitants of the city or the intellectual life of the educated community. Books like the *Descripción suscinta* and *Flor de academias* looked to promote Santa Fe de Bogotá and Lima as dynamic intellectual and cultural places worthy of an important position in the colonial administrative hierarchy. This illustrates how literary production depended on the political interests of the colonial elite and local authorities. Furthermore, the system of patronage enabled the control of the cultural practices and products by the people in power by allowing the circulation and production of certain texts based on the opinion of the patron. As it has been shown, most authors of the period considered literary production to be a form of entertainment as well as a path to increase their social standing, a tool for creating a collective memory of the achievements of the Republic, and a way to join the networks of colonial power. This dissertation has illustrated how, apart from promoting events and rituals, patronage also funded the production of handwritten books.

This study has analysed examples of handwritten books belonging to genres that have traditionally been published by printing presses. The cases of the books of *exequias reales* and viceregal academies show how the handwritten book replaced the traditional printed form. The focus on the history of printed books in Latin American colonial history has portrayed the idea that the printed form was the only one involved in the circulation of books in Spanish America. However, this dissertation suggests that diverse traditions of handwriting coexisted alongside the printing presses. Furthermore, traditionally it has been considered that the emergence of the printing press made certain uses of handwriting obsolete. This dissertation has shown that even in contexts where printing was locally available, handwriting was still utilised to produce books. This preference for manuscript production was sometimes related to the absence of material resources for printing, such as in the case of *Flor de academias*, but in other cases it was regarded as a traditional and acceptable method of creating books that were not intended to be printed, such as the notebooks made in educational institutions. The selection of one technology over the other most likely does not only respond to the material and economic needs, but also to the purposes and uses each form of the book helped to fulfil.

It is clear that authors generally hoped to print their books. It is possible that the printed book enjoyed of a higher reputation and level of trust given that it was usually backed up by viceregal or metropolitan institutions through the processes of censorship and authorisation. Furthermore, the production of a larger number of copies might have been another reason to prefer print instead of handwritten script. However, this research has shown that it was not always necessary to print large numbers of copies of a book in order to acquire status. The handwritten book might have been able to achieve similar results by using the particular tools and resources found in manuscript production, such as certain uses of calligraphy, layout, decoration and illustrations. In addition, although print production might have been able to reach larger audiences, handwritten books that addressed courtly audiences, authorities and religious institutions most likely conferred status on their authors by conveying prestige through the material characteristics of these mostly unique objects.[2]

Handwritten materials produced in Spanish American colonies provide insights about the state of book production overseas. The young printing industry located in a few centres of power was not strong enough to supply the necessities of colonial writers. Even the transatlantic networks that circulated manuscripts to be printed in Europe were probably reserved only for a few members of the colonial elite. This context made handwritten production of texts relevant for members of the colonial elite and other social groups who benefit in some way from the penmanship. Although this thesis focuses only on the pursuit for status by members of the colonial elite, it aims to contribute to a wider understanding of a field of study that remains mostly untouched. The analysis of the variety of uses during the colonial period, that could portray a different image of the circulation of information and knowledge and revisit the idea of Spanish American colonies as places of cultural reception exclusively.

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[2] Their material dimension as unique objects can be understood from different perspectives. For instance, Arjun Appadurai's 'singular' and 'homogeneous' commodities and Fred Miller's concept of 'density'. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*; Miller, *Materiality*.

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Appendix

Figure 1. Description of the iconographical programme of the *Descripción suscinta.*					
Emblema section	**Main characteristics**	**Main topics**	**Language**	**Fable**	**Resemble with the traditional setting**
First. Attached to the tumulus	- There were sixteen boards. Divided in two groups of eight. - The first group was posted in the right side of the church and the second one on the left. - All of them had an emblem (in this case the word emblem refers to the motto) and an epigram. - Four of them had a *chronológico* and two of them had an epitaph.	- Monarchy - Government - King's wisdom on military strategy. - King's knowledge on global geography and population. - King's mathematics knowledge.. - King's alliance with the Catholic Church. - The death and the king.	Latin	Phosphoro and Esphero	- These emblems keep the traditional tripartite organisation of these objects. Only a few of them have a *chronologico* or epitaphs. - However, some of the images depicted were too complex for the traditional emblem.
Second. Elegies by the four parts of the world	- Four boards with depictions of the four parts of the world. - Each one of them were represented by a woman that allegorically referenced Africa, Asia, America and Europe. - This was done with the dresses and elements that surrounded each woman. - Manso y Maldonado describes in detail each image and its elements. - The four parts of the world were not technically emblems, but a form of representing the different people and spaces which prayed alliance to the monarchy.	- Alliance between the people and the king. - Importance of America in the presentation of the gift.	Latin and Spanish	Not applicable	These were not emblems.

Third. Attached to the church	- There were 7 emblems in this section. - All emblems were presented with epigrams. - Three of them had mottos. - One of them had an anagram - One had a quotation. Although some of the mottos act as quotations. - This is the most diverse group of emblems. - Manso y Maldonado describes the objective or purpose of each one of them. - The last three emblems could be understand as a prelude for the next, they depict the *fleur de lis*.	Death of the king. - Mistake of Felipe V when he abdicated. - Hope in God. - The goodness of the king. - Fleur de Lis.	Latin and Spanish	Fábula de Seyx when he got lost in the sea Fábula de Atlante	- There were diverse. Manso y Maldonado only describes four of them, but only two of them seem to keep the simplicity of a traditional emblem. - The other two are more complex and depict more intricate images.
Fourth. Royal or Bourbon hieroglyphics	- There were eight emblems in this section. - These are emblems specifically related with the symbols of the monarchy. - Seven of them have only a *décima* (ten line poem), which was transcribed in the *relación* in two columns. - Only one had a *cuarteta* (four line poem) with a glosse. - Glosses and songs were depicted along the emblems. - Some of the mottos were presented inside of the images.	- Monarchy symbols, like the crown, the throne, the king. - The death and the king.	Spanish		- Most of them follow the traditional depiction of the images, but not the tripartite organisation of motto, image and epigram.

Figure 2. Comparison between the structures of the *Descripción suscinta* and *Parentación real.*								
Structure *Descripción suscinta*				Structure *Parentación real*				
Section	**Folios**	**Parts**	**Images**	**Section**	**Folios**	**Parts**	**Images**
Preliminar pages	5	Portada	1	**Preliminar pages**	22	Portada	0
		Carta de pésame				Carta de pésame	
		Dedicatoria				Introducción. Motivos para realizar las honras fúnebres	
Second section. *Honras fúnebres* **of the Real Audiencia**	40	Pésame y forma en que se dieron	1	**Second section.** *Relación*	126	Llegada de la noticia	1 (túmulo)
		Noticia de la muerte del Rey				Carta del rey anunciando la muerte de su hijo	
		Forma y disposición del túmulo				Día de pésames	
		Día de las hornas				Fábrica y descripción del túmulo	
		Jeroglíficos, emblemas y epigramas con los que se adornó el túmulo				Descripción del primer cuerpo del túmulo con todas las imágenes y textos que lo decoraban	
		Elogios al difunto rey católico tributados por las cuatro partes del mundo				Descripción del segundo y tercer cuerpos del túmulo con todas las imágenes y textos que lo decoraban	
		Varias poesías castellanas con las que se adornó el templo				Día de vísperas	
		Jeroglíficos dispersos a lo largo del templo				Día de las honras	
		Sermón padre Francisco de Mendigana				Poesías fúnebres	
Third section	93	Honras fúnebres de la orden de Santo Domingo	0			Poesías del Colegio Máximo de San Pablo	

	Honras fúnebres de la orden de San Agustín
	Honras fúnebres de la orden de San Francisco
	Honras fúnebres de la Compañía de Jesús
	Honras fúnebres de la orden de los Agustinos Descalzos
	Honras fúnebres del convento de la Concepción
	Honras fúnebres del convento de las Carmelitas Descalzas
	Honras fúnebres del convento de Santa Clara
	Honras fúnebres del convento de Santa Inés

		Poesías del Colegio Real y Mayor de San Felipe y San Marcos		
		Poesía del Colegio Real de San martín		
		Poesías de ingenios seculares		
Third section.	5	Exequias particulares que se hicieron en la ciudad de Lima	0	
Fourth section	10	Conclusión de la obra	0	
		Peroración		
Fifth section. Oración fúnebre a las reales exequias del rey N. S. Don Luis I	34	Paratextos	0	
		Oración fúnebre		

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