Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World

# Diabolism in Colonial Peru, 1560–1750

*Andrew Redden*

Number 3

# DIABOLISM IN COLONIAL PERU, 1560–1750

# Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World

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# DIABOLISM IN COLONIAL PERU, 1560–1750

BY

Andrew Redden


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*For my father*

*Qual è colui che somnïando vede,*
*che dopo il sogno la passione impressa*
*rimane, e l'altro alla mente non riede,*
*cotal son io, chè quasi tutta cessa*
*mia visïone, ed ancor mi distilla*
*nel core il dolce che nacque da essa.*

*Like him that sees in a dream*
*and after the dream the passion wrought by it*
*remains and the rest returns not to his mind,*
*such am I; for my vision almost wholly fades,*
*and still there drops within my heart*
*the sweetness that was born of it.*

(Dante, *The Divine Comedy: Paradiso*, Canto XXXIII, ll. 58–63)

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# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

# INTRODUCTION

> It is a life of pirates, who always rob and pillage. And as there are pirates [...] who roam the seas to rob and kill men; so too there are pirates of the divine, who across the most tempestuous and troubled seas seek to rob the devil of the souls he unjustly rules. What was Xavier if not a heavenly pirate, who [...] stripped hell bare of millions of idolaters [and with them] entered heaven triumphantly in his rich, royal galleon?[1]

Spiritual piracy seems a strange analogy with which to compare the activities of the Jesuit missionaries who left Spain to evangelize the Americas and the Orient. Given the persistent trouble since the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused to the transatlantic Armadas by English, French and Dutch privateers, this choice of comparison would appear to carry oddly negative associations. Yet the cultural popularity in the Hispanic world of what we might now call 'anti-heroes' had already a long tradition; in the sixteenth century many found tales of the infamous *pícaros* highly entertaining.[2] Moreover, chronicles of conquest combined elements of medieval romances and more modern picaresque literature in larger-than-life tales of conquistadors. These originally poor men were considered valiant, won riches and fame, and conquered vast empires. In addition to this tradition, a by-product of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's attempts to centralize and strengthen the crown's administrative control over the Peruvian viceroyalty was the deliberate re-writing of the Andean past to transform the Incas from justly ruling monarchs into usurping tyrants who were legitimately overthrown by the conquistadors.[3]

The greatest and most unjust tyrant, however, was considered to be none other than Satan himself and, as such, the above quotation is revealing of Hispanic perceptions of 'the Indies'. With the optimistic humanism of the sixteenth century a mere memory in the seventeenth, it was commonly thought that, prior to the Spanish conquest, the devil ruled the Americas, keeping the souls of its inhabitants enslaved and destined for eternal torment and misery.[4] 'Soul-pirates', such as the Jesuits and other missionaries, therefore acted legitimately to despoil this tyrant usurper of what he wrongfully held for his own. Yet the war against Satan

was not limited to spiritual pillage on the high seas but was intimately entwined with the systematic urban colonization of the Americas. Every city founded was, in theory, a small if significant victory for the Christian side, in which Lucifer was driven out of territory he had wrongfully usurped from God. This was, in effect, a spiritual *reconquista* in which urban society formed the militant body – strategic outposts under siege in hostile territory.

As with any civil strife, however, this spiritual conflict could never be straightforward. Although colonial Hispanic society perceived itself as essentially urban and Christian, this clear vision is clouded by a close investigation and interpretation of sources dealing with the people who lived on the peripheries of that society – the marginalized of the cities and the rural Andeans. Whatever overarching ideals and perceptions might have existed, for these people everyday reality frustrated straightforward spiritual choices between the so-called forces of good and evil: the hardships that people had to contend with, the violence and passion that was common in colonial lives, even misunderstandings between priests, catechumens and parishioners often generated unorthodox and sometimes quite unexpected responses.

In the study that follows, readers will be encouraged to bear witness to the devil's perceived existence and to his extraordinary metamorphoses in the colonial Peruvian reality. In this attempt, the work exhibits a cross-section of society that tried to defend itself from, wage war against, and even make alliances with Satan. This was the reality in which people lived, a reality in which God, the devil, demons, angels and spirits – and, from an Andean perspective, deities and other supernatural beings – were firmly believed to exist. No matter how mundane people might have considered their lives to be, the supernatural was a firm and tangible reality, and not a bizarre abstraction.

All this was borne out in the day-to-day lives of colonial citizens, by their willing participation in the liturgy and in religious rites (whether Catholic or Andean), and by the juxtaposition of secular and liturgical responses to dilemmas and crises that affected individuals in rural and urban areas, and in the viceroyalty as a whole. The diarist and soldier Josephe de Mugaburu, for example, describes how in the same afternoon of the 7 May 1685, a seven-ship armada was dispatched from Callao to deal with English marauders off the coast of Panama whilst a religious procession led by the Viceroy (Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull – Duke of La Palata) left the cathedral for the fortress of the port to pray for the success of the expedition.[5] On 25 May, a penitential procession was held in Lima for the same purpose.[6]

Such examples demonstrate that colonial reality was one in which any separation of life into 'secular' and 'sacred', was unthinkable. The distance between modern, secular society and that of our early modern predecessors is extremely difficult to span – in fact, the worldview of the Hispanic conquerors and settlers in the Americas was much closer to that of the indigenous peoples whom they

conquered and intermixed with than it is to our own. A useful step in arriving at a better overall understanding of the period is the acknowledgement that, during the colonial period, the Hispanic and the indigenous worlds were not secular and that, consequently, their own particular circumstances and situations necessitated physical responses that were both material and spiritual. This was true whether the historical actor in question was a lowly Andean woman admitting to a Jesuit that she had left offerings to various deities so that she might recover from an illness, or whether the actor was the Viceroy himself ordering a general muster of men to fight English pirates and then leading a votive procession for the success of the military expedition. In such a context, Jesuits could be seen as 'soul-pirates', Christian existence as a war against a diabolical tyrant, and the colonial city as being under spiritual siege.

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> I come from the blind abyss, where unbeaten I triumph, to triumph over man with my power [...] I challenge you to the death, man the enemy [...] My triumphs are increasing until Victory. [...] To arms! To arms most fearsome and harsh spirits! What more do you wait for? Leave now by the Tartar Gates![7]

These rousing words spoken by Lucifer to the demons Asmodeus and Leviathan in the Jesuit play *Il Figlio del Diavolo* aptly depict the early modern belief in the constant state of conflict between the forces of Satan and the divine. United by their hatred of humankind, hostile demonic forces came through the gates of hell in order to lay siege to the City of God. The City of God had no specific geographical location but referred instead to the Christian Body, the source of urban civilization joined together by faith. This besieged collective body consisted of individuals who were, in turn, besieged by the forces of Satan so that he might gain access to the 'interior castles', to use St Teresa of Avila's evocative notion of the individual soul. It was the duty of every Christian, meanwhile, to defend the walls, to raise the siege, and to sally forth spreading the gospel and expanding the territory of the City of God.

The Spanish conquest of the Americas fitted well into this worldview. Here was a clear opportunity to take Christianity into pagan territory by founding new cities and evangelizing from these Christian centres. Moreover, in the New World, cases of possession were as common as they were in the Old. Bodies could be attacked by demonic forces with as much ease as before, despite the apparent inroads Christianity was making into territory believed to be controlled by Satan. In fact, as Stuart Clark writes, the apparently increasing number of demonic possessions during the early modern period indicated that the forces of Lucifer were gathering strength, moving towards the final and cataclysmic apocalypse.[8] Moreover, in the Americas demonic power took on a singular potency

as European magic melded with that of the indigenous peoples and the African slaves.

As we shall see in the second chapter, one expression of such demonic power took place in late sixteenth-century Lima. With the body of a young Creole woman called María Pizarro symbolizing the 'Christian Body', her possession effectively amounted to a micro-siege of the City of God. By apparently taking over the body of this one woman, Lucifer was believed able to delude her exorcists into thinking he was an angel of light, thereby affecting their theological preconceptions with disastrous consequences for all concerned. Satan's power also seemed to undermine the sanctity and unity of the family, the next protective bastion of the faith. Key to this case was the question of discernment and the lack of certainty regarding what was real and what was not, what was true and what was false. The exorcists foundered on their inability to discern that they were being manipulated, either by María herself or by the spirit that apparently possessed her. It was apparent at the time that Satan, through delusion and lies, had broken through the defences of the City of God and brought down María, her family, and influential church figures in the viceroyalty.

Over a century later, the conflict continued – this time in the City of Trujillo. But the siege now took place on a much larger scale. Taking place in the seventeenth century, it involved the demonic possession of a group of nuns in the convent of Santa Clara. Chapter 3 shows how Satan had seemingly broken through again into an inner bastion of the City of God, possessing the bodies of a group of young nuns and servant girls and causing chaos within a cloister that should, ideally, have been a haven of prayer and sanctity and, as such, one of the driving forces behind the city's spiritual economy. Worse still, the diabolical infection appeared to spread outside of the convent and into the city. The citizens of Trujillo took action with liturgical and penitential processions and prayers for the relief of the nuns in an apparent reversal of what was normally expected to happen. They looked beyond the city for the cause of their afflictions: to the surrounding countryside, inhabited by Indians and slaves thought to be in league with the devil. The case is further complicated by a marked tendency in Baroque spirituality to interpret possession as a test from God. The Franciscan spiritual advisor to the possessed ringleaders saw this as a sign of their sanctity. Meanwhile, other Franciscans were preaching in the city that the possession was a punishment from God, not for the sins of the nuns, whom they considered to be innocent and saintly, but for the sins of the townsfolk. God's wrath was further provoked by the spreading of rumours, started by Dominican friars, that the nuns were faking the possessions. A paradox in the Franciscan interpretation was that Satan became an instrument of God, a vengeful messenger to further his divine plan. Whilst the Franciscans (generally) were convinced of the nuns' sanctity, their very presumption appeared to prove Satan's influence. The threat was increased even further when it was considered that a diabolical attack on

lone mystics could, and apparently did, provide the entry point to undermine the entire Christian community.

It was imperative, therefore, to alert the peoples newly incorporated into the Hispanic world to the perfidious ways of Satan. Where language did not suffice, then images might; and paintings that would not look out of place on a Flemish altarpiece, or frescos that might have adorned the walls of Neapolitan churches, were commonplace in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.[9] Art, particularly religious art, in the Hispanic world was, without doubt, internationally Hispanic. Indeed, the very unity of the Hispanic world depended on its internationalism. This unity, in turn, gave strength to human efforts to achieve salvation and for the 'Church Militant' to defend the City of God from diabolical assault. Certainly by the mid-seventeenth century, motifs that would have been recognized by parishioners in Extremadura would also have been familiar to the majority of urbanized Andeans. Similarly, concepts that were being debated in the University of Alcalá de Henares in Spain could be heard being disputed in the University of San Marcos in Lima.[10]

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It is difficult, however, to conceive of the devil in colonial Peru in isolation from evangelization and Christianity as a whole. Questions regarding the success or failure of the Christian enterprise in colonial Peru remain pertinent, ranging, as they do, from outright rejection of and resistance to Christianity, to the successful incorporation of the Andean peoples into the Catholic world.

With regard to resistance to Christianity, some colonial documents do indicate that some practitioners of native religion fled to places inaccessible to missionaries in order to continue with the traditions of their ancestors, free from Christian interference.[11] Nevertheless, such interpretations cannot hope to convey the interaction and reaction of the Andean world to Christianity in its entirety. As Kenneth Mills points out, 'it is not accurate to suggest that the tendency of a few persons to flee was a manifestation of a generalized "culture of resistance" or rejection'.[12] If it is true that Christianity was resisted by certain groups of Andean peoples, there is little doubt that it was accepted and practiced by many others. Manuel Marzal uses the present day as a starting point in order to assert that the contemporary Andean religious system, albeit syncretic, is essentially Christian, with Andean entities subordinated to God and the saints. He hypothesizes that the second half of the seventeenth century encompassed a period of 'crystallization of Andean religion', in which the changing cosmovision of colonial society began to stabilize.[13] This resultant, crystallized religious worldview, he argues, had by this time become wholly integrated within society and was not, as Nathan Wachtel asserts, a mere juxtaposition of two distinct religions.[14] This notwithstanding the fact that certain components of the indigenous religious world, and

others belonging to the Christian one, could not be combined into a single syncretic whole.[15]

In essence, then, it would be a misconception to consider the terms 'Christian' and 'Andean' as entirely antithetical and inherently contradictory.[16] As Luis Millones points out, contemporary Peruvians who attend shamanic curative rituals do not cease to be Catholic. In fact, acknowledging their Catholicism has become for Andeans a definitive manner of expressing their own religiosity.[17] A similar interpretation can be useful when considering religion in colonial Peru, certainly during the period that concerns this investigation (1560–1750). In *Del paganismo a la santidad*, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs demonstrates that even before the beginning of seventeenth century, in the context of religious practice in the Andes, it was and is practically impossible to know where 'Catholic' ended and 'Andean' began. Estenssoro Fuchs constructs an impressive and subtle argument that the initial evangelization attempts in Peru (approximately between 1550 and 1570) were frustrated by a new wave of clergy influenced by the Council of Trent (1545–63) who refused to accept previously more open methods of evangelization and failed to understand the very real Catholicism of the neophyte indigenous population. Sometimes, previously permitted and encouraged indigenous expressions of Catholicism, such as the use of Andean dances in the liturgy or the use of *quipus* in confession, were repressed as idolatrous practices.[18] The fact that indigenous religious rites originally encouraged or even introduced as appropriately Christian during the initial phase of evangelization (1535–67) were progressively condemned as idolatrous through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presented a certain paradox. More and more, Andean religious practices came to resemble Catholic liturgical rites (for in many cases there was clear continuity between these and the practice of pre-Tridentine Andean Christianity) and, as such, they fell more easily into the European category of diabolical parody.[19] Once again Satan was seen to be usurping the worship that was rightly God's, doing it by mirroring the ritual of God's Church on earth, and endangering the souls of the indigenous Andeans in the process.

This is perhaps one of the greatest tragedies of the Tridentine reform as it was implemented in the Andes. Despite the universal necessity of reform in the Catholic Church, in the Andes it created the bizarre situation whereby Andeans who were Christian (in a manner acceptable to the first mendicants) were prosecuted for the sins of idolatry and apostasy. In fact what had changed were the methods and detailed goals of the Tridentine Church. This disjuncture was quickly forgotten and the missionaries or extirpators of the seventeenth century soon saw indigenous divergence from Tridentine Catholicism as diabolic idolatry. Yet the very fact of often living in remote locations but still receiving sporadic missionary visits meant that Andean peoples frequently moved in both the Andean and the permitted Christian ritual worlds. It was commonly understood (although, spo-

radically, not wholly tolerated) that involvement in one did not rule out sincere participation in the other.

As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, Jesuit accounts, meanwhile, happily record that the marriage of Andean and Christian religious traditions in the minds of their congregations was not always felicitous. Preaching against the sin of idolatry often appeared to cause visionary crises of conscience in their spiritual charges, which inevitably resulted in edifying (or perhaps horrifying) accounts of tearful conversion, confession, and re-inclusion into the Christian community.[20] But if crises of conscience could push individuals in the direction of the new Tridentine brand of Christianity, was it not also possible that individuals could be pulled the other way? Personal crises that enabled the imagery of Jesuit sermons, or of Christian paintings and sculptures, to make a marked impact in the tormented dreams and visions of given individuals, could likewise cause people to suffer apparent attacks by their neglected *huacas*. These interior crises were often exacerbated by communal pressures that could range from conforming to the new Christian tradition to maintaining the old indigenous rites or finding some secret compromise between the two.

It is clear, therefore, that the evangelization process was by no means straightforward. Firstly there is the obvious problem of teasing from the weighty Christian imagery a more nuanced Andean perspective. This difficulty not merely confronts scholars of Andean history or even Hispanic colonial history but challenges colonial historians worldwide. Gayatri Spivak, for example, invites researchers (and readers) to think more carefully about who exactly history claims to represent and how it is presented.[21] Essentially, her argument questions the ability of historians to see through the narrative of colonial documents, on the one hand, and the suppositions, worldviews and prejudices of the authors about the people they describe, on the other. Are we, in other words, merely replacing a mistaken colonialist understanding of a silent people with another – that of the postcolonialists?

Nevertheless, in various instances – I have in mind the Jesuit *cartas anuas*, for example – 'subalterns' do in fact speak. They have a voice that can be gauged between the lines, but often also quite explicitly, in the confessions they made to the priests and in numerous accounts describing how congregations reacted to sermons and other didactic missions. It is, of course, true that the meanings implicit in these voices necessarily underwent considerable transformation as they were passed from narrator to narrator and, in the process, traversed different cultures and worldviews. But this should not mean that it is entirely impossible to retrace such transformations and, retrospectively, to reconstruct the cognitive processes that they entailed.

This task, already made difficult by the cultural and temporal distance that separates us from the historical actors, is further complicated by the problem, and even artificiality, of placing any one group of people into a particular histori-

cal category. In the context of evangelization in colonial Peru, for example, one might legitimately ask who the 'indigenous Andeans' actually were. Despite an almost natural inclination to begin our research from the perspective of 'Andean' versus 'European', it quickly becomes clear that such an approach is inadequate for understanding the evangelization of Peru, as it necessarily divides the historical process into a simplistic dichotomy of colonized versus colonizer and exploited against exploiter, even if allowances are made for indigenous leaders (*curacas*) to join the ranks of the oppressors. A model such as this collapses after the most superficial scrutiny. Indigenous nobility and their *ayllu* members had so many intertwining kinship ties that any attempt to separate the two groups into opposing classes is unworkable, even despite the tendency of colonial administrators and chroniclers to do so.[22] It is also impossible to categorize the Andean peoples into two clear groups of Christianized and non-Christianized peoples.

The colonial feast of Corpus Christi is a case in point. Carolyn Dean's detailed analysis of the celebration in Cuzco convincingly shows that Corpus Christi was a celebration of triumph. Primarily, the triumphal celebration was a theological one – that of Christ's victory over death, original sin, and, of course, the devil. This was a victory embodied in the Eucharist and in the affirmation of the mystery of the Mass that, as the Council of Trent made a point of re-emphasizing, relived and re-enacted Christ's death and resurrection throughout history. Dean points out that Corpus Christi was also decreed by Trent to be 'a triumph over heresy', a declaration that sat well with the already existing association of the feast with victory over the Moors. Such victories were commemorated in the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi by mock battles in which the Christians naturally prevailed. When the feast was transferred to the Andes, Dean argues, so too were these associations. Triumphal arches were constructed along the processional route with the Moors being substituted by Andean 'pagans' and their religion as the vanquished satanic component. Elements of pageantry, in which Andean ethnic groups re-enacted historic mock battles against each other, affirmed viceregal authority as the victors and the vanquished alike submitted to the authority of the Crown and the 'defeated' were taken prisoner to the Spanish *corregidor*.[23]

Whilst not disputing that in the Corpus Christi feast Cuzco celebrated a series of multiple triumphs, including the overthrow of 'satanic' paganism, I would suggest that over-emphasizing this can tend towards to a skewed reading of the celebration. The inference that the feast was an annual, visual and physical reinforcement of the subjugation of all Andeans is an easy one to make. Dean is careful not to make this inference herself, writing that 'Corpus Christi constituted a performative metaphor for the triumph of Christianity over native religion, and of Christians over "pagan" Andeans'.[24] However, it is a small step for a reader to misunderstand that those Andeans who were Christian were either grouped alongside those 'pagan' (and defeated) Andeans, or somehow ceased to fall into the 'Andean' category. But a qualification of the interpretation of Corpus

Christi as celebrating the triumph of Christ in the Andes is necessary. Of fundamental importance is the fact that Corpus Christi was a ritual that also enabled Christian Andeans to participate in victory. In effect, the triumph of Corpus Christi primarily belonged to the indigenous peoples, since it clearly signified that they had been liberated by the triumph of the Eucharist and incorporated within the Christian community by faith in the salvific death and resurrection of Christ.

Viewed in this light, Viceroy Toledo's instructions to community leaders in Cuzco to 'take great care with the Corpus Christi celebrations, to teach the newly Christianized indigenous audience [...] the true meaning of the festival that "replaced their idolatries"', is starkly significant. Although Corpus Christi did have a special meaning with regard to the conversion of Andeans from their 'idolatries',[25] the meaning was not intended to be one of triumph over Andeans. Rather it was meant to symbolize the triumph of Christ over Satan and the perceived unholy trinity of sin, heresy, and idolatry – most importantly, the liberation of Andeans from the devil's clutches. From the point of view of Toledo and the Hispanic clergy, if Andeans were able to understand that, then their conversion could, to all intents and purposes, be deemed successful. This is not to suggest that their deliverance was in any way understood to be a liberation from the worldly hierarchy. Quite the reverse: in recognizing and celebrating their liberation by Christ, they were also realizing their incorporation into the natural order of Christian peoples. As such, they could (and should), as members of the body of Christ, legitimately participate in the celebration of the triumph of the Eucharist.[26]

The emphasis on the inclusion of Andeans into the Christian body is further highlighted by the Jesuit *cartas anuas*, which repeatedly recount stories of tearful conversions, confessions and absolutions. In effect, more than the destruction of 'satanic' *huacas* and idols, what the Jesuits celebrated in their letters was the winning over of souls, wresting them, as they would have understood it, from the devil's grasp by force of reason, graphic imagery and, at times, coercion. The real victory was not so much the burning of *malquis* and the scattering of their ashes – though for the purpose of the missionaries this did demonstrate the seeming powerlessness of the idol and hence the futility of idolatry – as the conscious return of individuals to the Christian community and to God. This process was given ritual expression in the Sacrament of Penance,[27] and was proudly recounted time and again in letters sent back to Rome.

In this way, Tridentine Christianity made inroads into the Andes precisely in those areas where it was able to bring about a redefinition of community and the rituals that sustained it. Part of this process of redefinition inevitably involved conflict, as Christian influences and those Andeans under their sway struggled to gain control of the life of the community and shift the religious practices of the population from indigenous to Catholic rites. Those communal rituals that were

formerly centred on the invocation of the patronage of ancestors and natural deities, gradually and without apparent contradiction developed around the Mass, the cult of the saints and other Catholic devotions. *Cofradías* took responsibility for maintaining good relations between their new patrons (the saints) and the community in much the same way as care would previously have been taken to cultivate reciprocal relations between the communities and their *huacas*.[28]

Chapter 5 shows how, for some Andean communities and their deities, there occurred a converse reaction. In proportion as Christianity began to supersede *huaca* worship as the ritual mortar that bound certain communities together, the veneration of the Andean deities was pushed out of those communities into the 'wilderness'. Rather than entire communities participating, these deities often remained in the care of a few individuals determined to keep the ancient traditions alive.[29] A resulting factor of this casting out of indigenous gods was that it was easier for the missionaries to persuade their Christianizing congregations that the *huaca* was in fact demonic. Missionaries seemed only able to understand Andean spirit-deities either as category mistakes and fabrications in the minds of the *huaca* worshippers, or as diabolically inspired illusions or fallen angels. There was no question of the existence of any supernatural or preternatural agencies other than God and the celestial hierarchy (fallen or otherwise).[30] This belief was self-reinforcing, and over time it did in fact spread to a large proportion of the Christianized Andean congregations. The apparent inability of a *huaca* or a *malqui* to defend itself from physical destruction at the hands of missionaries and extirpators was believed by the priests to show how ineffective the diabolically inspired Andean religious practices were against the power of Christianity.[31] As a result, they lost no opportunity to explain such powerlessness graphically to those Andeans who witnessed the destruction of the *huacas*. In some cases, of course, indigenous responses were not always what the missionaries desired. As Nicholas Griffiths explains, 'the true location of the sacred, the repository of the numen [...] could not be shattered even by the physical destruction of the object of worship'.[32] The *huacas* in many cases were able to transcend their material form. However, there is evidence to suggest that such didactically destructive demonstrations did have a significant and long-lasting effect.

Both extirpation trial manuscripts and Jesuit *cartas anuas* document various acknowledgements by indigenous Andeans that the previously secure relationships between *huacas* and their ministers had degenerated into violence and instability. Kenneth Mills suggests that this was a normal consequence of a breakdown in reciprocal relations between the divinities and their worshippers, for 'like other divine forces in the Andes, Supay was only to be dreaded if one had grown slack in one's social and religious obligations'. Andeans, he argues, would have understood this as a perfectly normal response from a spurned or neglected *huaca*. At the same time, Mills notes that, especially from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, indigenous peoples commonly admitted that they

were no longer able to understand the messages of their gods, often asserting that the *huacas* no longer spoke to them as they had done to their elders.[33] This apparent dislocation of Andean religious traditions was inevitably given a new meaning, as the pedagogical response that Christian ministers sought to elicit from their neophytes – namely, that they should take consolation in the fact that, when confronted with Christ's truth, the devil's illusory power would fade away – began to sink into the Andean subconscious. Essentially, Andeans were confronted with the radically new and seemingly inescapable fact that Christianity was causing the apparent disintegration of their worldview at the very same time as it provided them with a uniquely powerful symbolic structure with which to shore it up and redefine its significance. As Griffiths points out, *huacas* had always been ambivalent towards their human subjects.[34] Now, however, Christianity provided an alternative that Andeans could turn to and deploy to reinterpret the ambivalence and apparent powerlessness of their *huacas* in the presence of the new faith.

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The evidence brought together in the following study certainly concurs with Kenneth Mills that the 'mid-colonial Andean "demons" are the enemies of easy summary' and did not always conform, in the minds of indigenous peoples, to the expectations and visualizations of Hispanic clergy.[35] As Estensorro Fuchs has shown, Andeans did, in fact, actively and willingly participate in Catholic liturgy from very early in the Colonial period.[36] As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, as the process continued, in the Christianizing communities, *huacas* were driven from the centre of the ritual world, and their worship was only maintained by individuals (and perhaps their supporters) who often found themselves in conflict with factions that considered themselves Christian. At the same time, the figure of Satan began to take shape as a spirit of the wilderness, impotent before the power of God and the saints, but capable of enticing individuals away from communal ritual practice.

All this does not mean that native religious practitioners simply stopped fulfilling a function that the majority of Andeans understood as essential for the well-being of their particular communities. Yet, the scattered evidence that exists to show that symbolic associations with Christianity were not unknown among Andeans, and of the crises of conscience that they inevitably gave rise to, is clearly indicative of a gradual process in which the respective roles of the *huacas* and the devil became blurred – not just in the minds of the clergy. A Christian Andean who confessed to invoking a *huaca*'s aid would have been invariably encouraged to associate the *huaca* with the devil. This process was aided considerably by the graphic Christian imagery found in paintings and sermons. Paradoxically, therefore, the missionary drive to cast Satan out of his mountain fortress resulted in him gradually gaining a firm foothold in the Andean cosmology. The demoniza-

tion of Andean deities, in other words, did not take place despite the remarkable differences perceived between Andean and European notions of the demonic. On the contrary, the process was in fact aided by clearly perceived similarities in the two worldviews.

At the same time as the idea of the devil began to materialize in the Andes – partly, as a result of missionary efforts to drive him out – religious authorities continued to concern themselves with the presence of Satan in the environs and even within the walls of the Christian body. In chapter 6 we shall see how Inquisitorial trial documents indicate that, no matter how hard catechists and preachers tried to impress upon their parishioners the dangers of dealing with Satan, many ordinary people, especially the most marginalized of society, often saw devils as useful sources of power in the everyday struggle to survive.[37] All the same, just as it is impossible to place the marginalized of colonial Peru into neat racial or cultural categories, so too, the demons these people invoked are often, and not surprisingly, strikingly representative of this blurring of socio-cultural boundaries.

Despite being part of a Hispano-Christian world, the very situation of these social groups in the Americas meant that, in many ways, they existed in an 'in-between space': in-between the Hispanic, the indigenous and the African. The attitudes of many people towards the demons that inhabited these in-between places were as ambiguous as the apparent nature of the demons themselves. Despite being a society under spiritual siege, devils were often invited through the defensive walls.

Given that the vast majority of the urban population, as well as much of the rural one, at various stages existed in these ambiguous social, cultural and religious spaces,[38] an understanding of Satan's perceived presence, the transformations he necessarily underwent as he was seen to cross cultural boundaries, and the strategies that communities employed to defend themselves from his attacks, can give us clear insights into the worldview of the inhabitants of the viceroyalty as a whole. Similarly, an understanding of the devils of the in-between helps to shed a little light on the lives of a vast proportion of the colonial Peruvian population; for, in understanding more about why people sought alliances with an entity that they were told they should consider their mortal enemy, we can glimpse the struggles of the everyday lives of a marginalized yet dynamic population.

# 1 CITIES OF GOD BESIEGED

> I classify the human race into two branches: the one consists of those who live by human standards, the other of those who live according to God's will. I also call these two classes the two cities, speaking allegorically. By two cities I mean two societies of human beings, one of which is predestined to reign with God for all eternity, the other doomed to undergo eternal punishment with the Devil [...] this is their final destiny.[1]

## The Two Standards and the Geometry of God

The two cities, the *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena* of Augustine's seminal work, *The City of God*, had a profound effect upon the self-perception and development of the Hispano-Christian world. Augustine's work is rhetorical, allegorical and constructed upon the aesthetic principle of the harmonization of opposites.[2] His descriptions, as he writes, were not meant to be understood physically but rather in spiritual or mystical terms, and yet over the centuries his invocation of a godly society diametrically opposed to the earthly city of the damned exerted a radical influence on Christian perceptions of the physical world. Even if the majority of sixteenth-century Spaniards in the Americas were not wholly conversant with the specific writings of this Doctor of the Church, Augustine's influence imbued Hispanic society with a particularly urbanized vision of the civilized world.

Augustine wrote the *City of God* in the context of an empire profoundly affected by Alaric's sack of Rome in AD 410.[3] The Roman response, not unpredictably, was to give greater impetus to the strategy of walling cities to protect the citizens and Roman civilization within. In addition, Christian bishops had by that time begun to take on an increasingly important role in temporal administrative functions. As David Nicholas writes, they moved 'into the power vacuum left by the declining municipal senates and provincial governors'. Nicholas adds that 'in 409 the emperor Honorius ordered that the bishop, the clergy and local landowners not of curial rank should join the decurions in choosing the defender

of the city'.[4] By Augustine's time, then, we can already see a growing association between Christianity, civilization and the walled city to defend the citizens from the forces of destruction beyond the walls.[5] During the early Middle Ages this association grew in strength with many bishops holding temporal power over the local populace in addition to their spiritual authority. Bishops and lords fortified their residences, further complicating the network of defences surrounding the city. The symbiotic relationship between these urban bastions and the countryside on which the urban citizens were dependent for food placed these same citizens 'at risk when they ventured outside the walls'.[6] During the later medieval period the real and apparent threat to urban populations in Europe grew stronger:

> As walls were strengthened, moats were widened, towers added at intervals along the circuit, and previously inhabited areas under the walls yielded to swamps; for many cities, needing to clear the suburbs of anything that could give shelter to an enemy, denuded them of vegetation and buildings. Citizens remained outside at their peril.[7]

Castile, as its own name demonstrates, exemplified this tendency in Europe during the Middle Ages to fortify towns against external threats. It was a kingdom of castles and walled fortress-cities built to withstand persistent attacks from the Moors of Al Andalus by acting as bases from which to push back the frontier gradually. Whilst it is now considered that the slow, Christian re-conquest of Spain was not a straightforward religious conflict, involving instead complicated political and economic machinations, at the time it was easy for the rhetoric of *Reconquista* to embody and encourage the 'Christian crusade against the infidel':[8]

> Let it be known to all the faithful that for the amplification of the Church of Christ formerly driven from the Hispanic regions, I, Sancho [...] took care to settle inhabitants in that place [Montemayor] [...] for the recovery and extension of the Church of Christ, for the destruction of the pagans, the enemies of Christ, and the building up and benefit of the Christians, so that the kingdom, invaded and captured by the Ishmaelites, might be liberated to the honour and service of Christ; and that once all the people of that unbelieving rite were expelled and the filthiness of their wicked error was eliminated.[9]

In contemporary politico-religious rhetoric, militant Christianity was depicted as sallying forth from these bastions of Christian civilization to take the fight to the hosts of the 'Antichrist' and force them out of territory that had once belonged to followers of the 'true faith'.

The imagery of besieged Christian fortresses, albeit in a more spiritual form, worked its way into a particular tradition of theological language. In the sixteenth century, for example, Ignatius of Loyola (d. 1556) wrote what have become the most influential spiritual exercises to date within the Catholic tradition.[10] Following Augustine, in the exercise called 'The Two Standards', the faithful are

encouraged to envisage humankind as divided into two camps, one for God and the other for Satan. Lucifer, 'the leader of all the enemy', is described as 'seated on a throne of fire and smoke, in aspect horrible and terrifying' as he 'summons uncountable devils, disperses some to one city and others to another, and thus throughout the whole world, without missing any provinces, places, states or individual persons'.[11] The soldier of Christ, meanwhile, must always guard against these diabolic assaults as Satan and his hordes besiege the soul:

> The enemy acts like a military commander who is attempting to conquer and plunder his objective. [...] The enemy of human nature prowls around and from every side probes all our theological, cardinal and moral virtues. Then at the point where he finds us weakest and most in need in regard to our eternal salvation, there he attacks and tries to take us.[12]

On a similar theme, but gentler note, Teresa of Avila (d. 1582) wrote of the human soul as the 'Interior Castle', made of diamond or glass. Whereas Ignatius imagined what takes place outside the fortress walls, Teresa concentrated almost entirely on depicting its inner spaces. Through its transparent chambers one must journey to the centre, to the dwelling place of God.[13] She nonetheless described how as individuals enter the castle they 'are liable to bring with [them] a whole host of creatures from the insalubrious moat that surrounds the castle – lizards and snakes and so on'.[14] Although her language is not militant and the creatures she referred to symbolized personal habits rather than specifically diabolical forces, the idea that the Christian fortress (whether an image representing the collective body or the individual soul) might be penetrated by external (and disgusting) entities that turn people away from God and prevent them from reaching him, was an important and recurring theme.

Teresa's development of a theology of the soul in which God existed at the centre formed part of a long theological tradition that also defined the position and relationship of the Trinity to the community or the Christian body. In 1603, for example, the Augustinian Jerónimo de Saona published his *Hyerarchia celestial*, which was without a doubt based on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius – both chart how the light and grace of God is reflected down through the nine choirs of angels to humankind. On earth, the heavenly hierarchy is mirrored by a corresponding nine divisions. In line with the Tridentine emphasis, Saona names the celestial hierarchy, the 'Church Triumphant', and the earthly, the 'Church Militant'. With regard to God's existence at the centre of all things, he depicts the Trinity as a circle with the Father as the centre, and the Son, or Divine Wisdom as the circumference. The space in-between is filled by the Spirit, or Reciprocal Love. God's perfection lies in the simplicity of this unity out of which the three persons spill and spread.[15] It seems here that Saona has summarized sections of the *Corpus Hermeticum* attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. The peculiarly Christian Trinitarian reading of the *Corpus* appears to be Saona's own

interpretation of these hermetic texts, which brings to light a certain paradox in the Christian tradition of the 'geometry of God'.[16]

This paradox essentially lies in the metaphysical problem of envisaging God. Necessarily He is the creator of all things and, as the source of all creation, the image of life and grace radiating outwards from God at the centre seems entirely appropriate, especially to those whose thought was influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius, who wrote about 'that outpouring of Light [...] which comes from the Father [...] works itself outward to multiplicity and proceeds outside of itself as befits its generosity'.[17] However, theologians and neo-Platonic thinkers were in agreement that God could not be limited by creation. He stood outside the universe and encompassed it even while he sustained it. Hermes wrote, for example: 'It is Mind, entire and wholly self-encompassing [...]; it is imperturbable [...] containing all things, and maintaining in being all things that are; and it is the light whereby [the] soul is illuminated'.[18] In 1598, Jerónimo de Ore, a Franciscan from the Central Andes (d. 1630), similarly wrote: 'the being of God [is] first, absolute [...] immutable, immense, all-powerful, all-knowing' and 'so God, the great architect continually causes, sustains, and contains the entire world in His fist and in His hand'.[19] In this sense, light, life and grace radiated inwards, from the 'body which encloses all things', rather than outwards from a divine centre.

Of course, just like Augustine's two cities, contemporary theologians would primarily have been talking in spiritual terms and would not have intended their ideas about divine grace and light to be understood in a physical sense, as radiating through space and time whether inwards or outwards. Saona, for example, brushes off doubts about the compatibility of the two theories by merely stating that the Father is at the centre because, in a manner of speaking, the circumference (or the Son) is born out of the Father.[20] Nevertheless, the very physical implications of divine grace for contemporary Christian society could not be so easily dismissed, especially within a worldview that placed the Christian body, or civilization, at its centre.

A more satisfactory marriage of the two theories was implicit in the mystery of the Incarnation, through which God himself had become physically manifest at a particular point in history. Christ was the physical source that radiated God's grace outwards through the Church and the secular Christian hierarchies to the outer reaches of civilization and beyond. The Church's mission was to push back these outer boundaries and to bring inside them as many souls as possible before the end of time. Such a goal was entirely compatible with the Pseudo-Dionysian and Hermetic traditions (both Platonic in origin) that structured cosmology around the themes of stasis, procession and return: God, permanent and unmovable, encompassed all creation (the heavens and earth); His Divine grace emanated through the heavens (inwards or downwards depending on one's geometrical perspective) and, through Christ and the Christian body, radiated outwards from a particular point in earthly history, finally drawing all things back

to God.[21] Liturgical processions throughout the Hispanic world invoked this spiritual movement as the faithful followed a sacred image or the Corpus Christi from the church through the urban space before finally returning to the church, the altar and the presence of God.

In keeping with the theme of God's grace spreading out from the centre in history and through the material world, Erasmus of Rotterdam (d. 1536) provided an illustrative description of the Christian community. He wrote a letter to Paul Volz, a Benedictine abbot in which he introduced his *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (*Handbook of the Christian Soldier*) and, in the words of James McConica, described the Christian community as ranged

> in concentric circles focussing like the rings of a target on the person of Christ [...] In the innermost circle, nearest to Christ, are the priests, bishops, cardinals and popes, and 'all whose duty is to follow the Lamb wherever he shall go'. These must embrace the intense purity of the centre and pass on as much as they can to those next to them. Their neighbours in the second circle are the secular princes, whose arms and laws must be devoted to Christ's service in just war, defence of public peace, or in restraint of evil-doers through lawful punishment. [...] In the third circle are the common people, the 'most earthy portion of this world, but not so earthy that they are not members of Christ's body just the same' [...] Outside this third circle is everything abominable.[22]

Erasmus's model of the Christian community was much more fluid than it would initially appear. He added to his description that he would not object if someone thought that princes should appear in the third circle, 'for if we observe their characters, we shall hardly find Christians more rudimentary than they'.[23] Furthermore, the closer individuals were to the centre, the greater their duties and obligations in radiating Christ's message outwards to those more distant towards the fringes of the circles and towards those closest to the frontiers, beyond which resided those abominable things. He also allowed for an invisible hierarchy, known only to God, whose ranking was dependent on individual holiness. As with Teresa's creatures from the moat, for Erasmus, 'everything abominable' referred to the vices: 'ambition, love of money, lechery, anger, revenge [etc]'.[24] Nevertheless, the distinction between human vices and diabolical influence was never a simple one. In many cases, it was equally difficult to distinguish between the physical and the spiritual, and to separate the geographical spaces in which it was easier to live a life of vice from the places that demons inhabited. As such, spiritual illustrations of the type Erasmus had created could be easily mapped onto conceptual reality. In the Peruvian context, isolated geographical spaces in which indigenous religious customs could and did continue were seen as places inhabited by demons, living far beyond the borders of Christianity and relatively unmolested by the waves caused by the Gospel message radiating out from the urban centres.

Importantly, Erasmus, like Ignatius of Loyola, uses the language of warfare to create roles for individual Christians within the Christian community arguing that 'at baptism [...] all were enrolled in the army of Christ, our general, to whom we owe our lives', and that 'the Christian should prepare for service [...] by putting on the armour of the Christian militia'.[25] It should be remembered that, however militarized his language, Erasmus, drawing on the teachings of Saint Paul, envisioned a spiritual battle against the vices and not a physical battle against non-believers, for the two weapons he considered particularly important to the Christian soldier were prayer and knowledge: 'prayer binds us to the goal of heaven, and knowledge fortifies the intellect with salutary options'.[26]

Nevertheless, the commonality of such theological expression, originally meant as allegory for spiritual guidance, lent itself, with only minor (and often subconscious) changes or misunderstandings, to providing an ideological support for the colonial and missionary project. These contemporary ideas of Christian society merged especially well with the already long-existing ideology of re-conquest and crusade. The foundation of Christian cities in Peru amounted, in the Hispanic worldview, to the foundation of cities in the territory of Satan. Hispanic urbanizations were to be the drops from which Christianity would ripple outwards in rings of ever-increasing diameter as if they were urban representations of the Incarnation. For example, according to the Jesuit chronicler, Bernabé Cobo (d. 1657), at the foundation of Lima on 18 January 1535 Francisco Pizarro proclaimed:

> 'And because the beginning of any *pueblo* or city must be in God and for God, and in his name [...] it is appropriate to begin it in His church.' [...] And after marking out the square he made and constructed the said church, and with his hands laid the keystone and the first wooden beams. [...] 'with hope in Our Lord and His blessed Mother that it will be as great and as prosperous as [they] wish, and that He will perpetually conserve and augment it by His hand, for it is made and constructed for His holy service and so that our holy catholic faith might be praised, spread, communicated and sown amongst these barbarous peoples, who until now have been turned from knowledge of Him, and His true doctrine and service.'[27]

What has been termed the spiritual conquest of Peru, was not envisaged so much as a conquest of pagan souls as a re-conquest of spiritual territory that originally belonged to God but which had been usurped by Lucifer and his fallen angels. In this sense, indigenous souls were believed to be liberated from diabolical captivity, allowing them to begin their long journey back to God. The more territory, or rather, the more souls the missionaries could incorporate within the City of God, the greater would be Christ's ultimate victory:

> Oh happy city! [Cuzco] [...] marked by Christ with the greatest sign of His passion, of our redemption with the greatest instrument; holy novelty amongst gentiles, conceived with miraculous origins [...] This was the news [...] of the triumph of the

> cross, the glory [...] He [Francisco Pizarro] handed over the famous Temple of the Sun of the Indians to the sacred Order of Preachers [Dominicans]. [This] occur[ed] happily, so advantageously; the gold of the sun of Lucifer, [became] the diamond of the star of Domingo.[28]

The intention therefore was to drive Satan out of the land and out of the hearts and minds of those indigenous peoples whom he appeared to hold enthralled. He was faced with exorcism and with the conversion of the people whom the Spanish perceived he had wrongly enslaved in the first place, and was confronted by the construction of a Christian *civitas* structured around the foundation of Hispanic municipalities that sheltered the Christian body. Lucifer, in theory, had no choice but to flee and take refuge in the almost impenetrable mountain fastness of the Andes.

## The Power of Satan

Augustine's writings necessarily came up against the difficult question of why the division between the two territories originally existed, which in the Andean context was apt to be seen in terms of an opposition between Hispanic Christian civilization and indigenous pagan civilization. His answer developed from considering the consequences of Original Sin, whereby Satan was permitted to rule over the descendants of Adam. He writes: 'It is true that power was allowed to the demons, for a limited period, fixed in advance; a power which enabled them to egg on those whom they controlled, and so to exercise their hatred against the City of God in the manner of tyrants'.[29] For Hispanic missionaries engaged in a constant struggle to evangelize the indigenous peoples of the Peruvian viceroyalty this reasoning was of particular significance. The seemingly persistent need for campaigns to extirpate what they perceived as idolatry both by education and by force demonstrated for many the power of the devil and his ability to lead successful counter-attacks against the neophyte cities of God, those newly-established outposts of Christian civilization.

Augustine explained his assertion that God permitted the devil power over humans almost as an extension of his rhetorical principle of the balance of opposites making a more perfect whole. The more power devils were granted, the greater the demonstration of God's glory through saints who managed (with God's help) to break that power: 'It is by true piety that the men of God cast out this power of the air, the enemy and adversary of piety; it is by exorcizing, not by appeasing them, and they triumph over all temptations of that hostile power [...] by praying to their God against the enemy'.[30]

It was asserted by Augustine and by the Church that the release of humanity from Satan's power came about through the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, which

was relived in the liturgy of the Church. In effect, Christ's passion and the sacrifice of the mass were the ultimate exorcisms:

> And so the power is conquered in the name of him who assumed human nature and whose life was without sin, so that in him, who was both priest and sacrifice, remission of sins might be effected, that is, through the 'mediator between God and mankind, the man Christ Jesus' [1 Timothy 2:5], through whom we are purified from our sins and reconciled to God.[31]

Just as the Incarnation caused God's grace to ripple outwards through time (and space), the sacrifice of Christ – perpetuated by the subsequent sacrifice of the Catholic Mass –released Satan's hold over mankind in some way. The Mass, in fact, multiplied the point from which grace radiated, like raindrops on a flat-calm lake, further weakening the devil's power. In the Viceroyalty of Peru Jesuit missionaries carried portable, folding altars (*portátiles*) to sites previously dedicated to indigenous deities, and would there exorcize the area and say mass, even reportedly facing last-ditch attempts by Satan to disrupt the proceedings by attacking those present with sudden and violent storms.[32] Faced with the power of the Mass, Lucifer once again would be forced to retreat.

Contemporaries, however, were faced with the paradox that despite Satan's perceived inability to resist the onslaught of the Christian liturgy, his expulsion from the Andes was not as smooth as expected. That Satan's power was limited by the will of God was believed indisputable; yet his defence of his possession of the Andes seemed resolute and his assaults on the newly established Christian settlements determined. As Spain's recent history had proven, re-conquest was never an easy process – newly conquered borders both expanded and contracted. Hence the prayer to God during the foundation of Lima to, 'guard it [the newly founded city] and keep it safe and free from the dangers of its enemies and from those who might wish to do it evil and harm'.[33] Despite the assurance of Revelation that Satan would ultimately be destroyed at the end of time, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries he was still seen as a considerable threat, and could jeopardize Peru's spiritual conquest by winning back the souls of individuals already wrested from his grasp.

Such ever-present danger imbued the evangelization mission with a sense of urgency. The situation became even more urgent once the indigenous peoples had been exposed to Christianity because it was believed that as soon as the choice had been made to turn away from Christianity they placed their souls in great danger. By refusing to convert, or even worse, by being baptized and then committing apostasy, they were refusing the gift of God's grace and their sin would be equivalent to the first sin of Satan.[34] Unlike Lucifer's choice, however, such a decision for a human was not irrevocable. Hence the importance given by missionaries, in particular Jesuits, to deathbed conversions and administration of the last rites. Added to the perils of a wrongly made personal choice, however,

was the still ever-present danger of Satan moving through the world and tricking individuals to their downfall and damnation.

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Within the Christian tradition, the power that Satan was believed to have varied tremendously. At the other end of the spectrum, the Manichees of the fourth and fifth centuries and Cathars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reached the point of granting him equality with God, or at least with Christ. Although Saint Augustine wrote against the Manichees condemning the deification of Satan, in his later writings against the Pelagians, which included *The City of God*, Satan's power over man, and the individual's helplessness and inability to avoid damnation should God decide not to intervene, became once more apparent: 'Hence from the misuse of free will there started a chain of disasters: mankind is led from that original perversion, a kind of corruption at the root, right up to the second death, which has no end. Only those who are set free through God's grace escape from this calamitous sequence'.[35]

Unless God chooses to save some, then all are doomed. Augustine argued that he was no more obliged to save any than he was to save all. Given our sinful condition it would be only just if God decided not to extend his grace to us, although the Incarnation had guaranteed for Augustine that an elect at least would be granted salvation. Cathar dualism, most prolific in Southern regions of France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, further increased Lucifer's status and power over the world by defining him as the creator of this material world and our material bodies in which we (our spirits) were imprisoned. Lucifer appeared in Cathar doctrine either as the son of God and elder brother of Christ, or as the son of an evil principle, directly opposed to God. It seems a small but tremendously significant step from Augustine's understanding of the flesh as created good but inherently corrupted by the fall, to the Cathar belief that the material was intrinsically evil. Although limited by the efforts of scholastics such as Anselm and Aquinas, the debate about nature and grace was set to continue throughout the early modern period, with the Jansenists, Molinists, and Quietists all using Augustine's writings as a base from which to demonize the flesh and the material world further.

The dualistic heresies of the Cathars and Manichees might seem far removed from the evangelization of Peru, were it not for documents recording the apparent discovery of a similar heresy in the Andes throughout the seventeenth century. In the 1660s, Jesuit letters recount that an alarming doctrine was spreading among Indians near Cuzco. The heresy claimed that a demon *huaca* was the brother of Christ and was the true god of the Indians.[36] Nearly thirty years earlier, in his *Coronica moralizada,* the Augustinian friar Antonio de la Calancha documented a case of an indigenous religious practitioner and committed anti-Christian being informed by his *huaca*, or as Calancha perceived it, by the devil, that he did not

want to cause trouble with the Christian priests because he was Christ's brother and both he and Christ at that time were trying to be friends.[37] Similarly, in his depiction of the demonic usurpation of indigenous worship of Pachacamac, he writes how the devil instructed the Indians that 'it was acceptable to worship both him and Christ because they had united and had reached an agreement'.[38] From an Andean perspective, the upsurge of such doctrines pointed to attempts to reconcile their own belief systems and that of the Christians. The rationale behind such compromise between deities could be simply explained in terms of the desire to put an end to the misery caused by the conflict of two powerful spiritual entities. Such developments were alarming to the Tridentine clergy, for they were seen as further evidence of Satan's determined efforts to be more than he was by portraying himself on an equal footing with Christ. To the seriousness of this crime was added the fact that in the process Lucifer was deceiving people and leading them to their damnation.

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Why then was Satan so set on the destruction of humanity? According to Henry Mayr-Harting, the assumption of a general hostility of angels towards humans, common during the ninth to the eleventh centuries, but also penetrating into the early modern period, can be traced back to the Old Testament and the Jewish Apocryphal texts such as the Books of Jubilees and Enoch.[39] In these texts, Satan was not an angel of darkness, as in the canonical tradition, but instead a personification of the conflict between divine angels and men. Out of envy for mankind's seemingly favoured state in the eyes of God, he seduced Adam (and by extension, all of mankind) into sin causing his fall from grace.[40] The canonical texts did not dispute the belief that Satan was envious of mankind, but interpreted it by attributing this envy to his own fall from grace. This jealousy was compounded by the fact that only humans and not Lucifer were saved by Christ. Furthermore, as he fell without temptation by any exterior agent, Lucifer needed to return to grace unaided, a feat that theologians considered impossible.

Yet the very fact that from the depths of his total alienation from God, Satan was still permitted to move throughout the world wreaking havoc presented a complex problem for Christian theologians. In writing against the Cathar heresies of the Middle Ages, for example, Scholastics struggled to remove the devil's rights over mankind that many had derived from a particular reading of Augustine.[41] Other theories explaining Christ's passion as a ransom paid to Satan were refuted both by Anselm (d. 1109) and Aquinas (d. 1275) who argued that Christ's sacrifice could only have been to God.[42]

Such definitions, simultaneously attempting to limit and explain the power of Satan, could not prevent the recurring tendency for demonology to shift towards a paradoxical combination of dualistic and monistic interpretations, for whilst Satan had been denied any power that he had not been permitted by God he

retained a very immediate power over the world and fallen humanity. Neither Manichaeism nor Catharism was acceptable; the world could not have been created evil by Satan since all nature was created by God and was therefore originally good. Yet Augustinianism emphasized that nature had been distorted and corrupted by the fall. Satan had been temporarily allowed sway over the earth. In effect, as a result of the first sin of Adam, Satan had been granted dominion over his kingdom and his people, provoking the separation of mankind into two, the damned and the godly.

As we have seen, Augustine did not intend his two cities to be thought of as specifically geographical, for he states that they are mystical designations: an allegory describing the spiritual state of man. However, in his study *The Fall of Natural Man,* Anthony Pagden has traced how the notion of civilization, originating in the Latin term *civitas* and following the Greek concept of *oikumene*, became inseparable from the idea of urbanization in the Hispanic world. This concept in turn became intertwined with the Hispanic understanding of Christianity.[43] As the Greeks and Romans thought, primitive, non-sedentary peoples, or simply those who fell outside the boundaries of Greek or Roman society and as such were excluded from the *civitas*, were uncivilized barbarians. With the merging of Christian and Roman culture during the time of Augustine, the same associations were made with regard to non-Christians, or pagans who fell outside the Christian *civitas*, the *civitas Dei*. The need to civilize, urbanize and Christianize the *civitas terrena* was believed to be imperative, just as the demons that controlled it would constantly attempt to undermine and overthrow the *civitas Dei*.

## The Church Militant

Such ideology provided a symbolic framework that would lead to the fusion of geographical conquest and spiritual conquest.[44] The seventeenth-century diarist Josephe Mugaburu, described the festivities in 1659 to celebrate the birth of Prince Felipe Próspero (b. 1657, d. 1661), in a way that leaves us in no doubt about such associations:

> On Tuesday, the 30th of the month [September], at three in the afternoon they began to run bulls, and at four o'clock twelve men, well disguised as Turks and very well ornamented, entered on finely trapped horses, each one with his page dressed in the same manner. After making a tour around the plaza they entered their castle. Then two galleons [floats] entered the plaza from the street of the wine shops. They were well made, looking like those of Spain with their prisoners rowing, and circling the plaza they attacked the castle and forced its surrender [...] They put our [Spanish] flags on the castle, and then the two galleons left [the plaza] from where they had entered. [...] On Tuesday, the 23rd of the month [December],[45] the Indians held their *fiesta*, for which they built a fort in the plaza. The Inca king appeared and fought with two other kings until he conquered them and took over

> the fort. Then the three kings, with dignity, offered the keys to the [Spanish] prince who was portrayed on a float.[46]

By the time the author witnessed these events, Hispanic Christianity had long been militarized. The conceptual incorporation of the conquered Inca territories within this particular religious worldview was under way even by the mid-sixteenth century, as can be shown by reports of divine assistance during the war of Conquest. By the seventeenth century they were widely accepted by local tradition and chroniclers alike.[47] Ramón Mujica Pinilla notes the importance in the early modern period of the Christian militia of kings and knights who would defend the Church and God's kingdom. These were believed in the Middle Ages to have been promised the celestial thrones of the fallen angels, but by the sixteenth century had been subsumed in the roles of the Emperor, his soldiers, and his missionaries. They were the soldiers of a new Catholic empire, fighting against heresy, idolatry, vices and the hosts of the Antichrist.[48] Calancha himself refers to the celestial militia in combat in the Andes, writing: 'If the militia of Spain says "the more Moors there are, the greater our profits will be"; then the militia of Heaven says "the more demon enemies and the more obstinate sinners there are, the greater the victory for God, and the more glorious the honour and prize for the conqueror"'.[49]

The conquest of the Americas, therefore, was of necessity both physical and spiritual. Its purpose was to create bridgeheads into territory controlled by Satan and his hordes and to found 'Cities of God' that permitted further penetration into enemy lands.

Some theologians influenced by Thomism, with their emphasis on the goodness of all nature, might not have been able to support this militant form of Christianity. Deprived of divine revelation, they argued, indigenous Americans could do no more than follow natural law, constructing a religion themselves in their natural attempts to turn towards and worship the true God. This factor undeniably contributed to frequent claims that the followers of the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas persistently undermined the legitimacy of the imperial project. It has even been suggested that in Peru this led to the apparent persecution of Lascasian theologians by imperial authorities such as the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–81).[50] Certainly, Toledo took great pains to substitute the Lascasian version of history with one that justified the conquest as the overthrow of a dynasty of tyrannical usurpers. In 1571, for example, the anonymous author of *Dominio de los Yngas* penned to Toledo a vitriolic attack on the writings of las Casas.[51] He describes him as 'a very good friar but in the things of the Indies very passionate and quite mistaken'. Las Casas, he states, persuaded the Emperor (Charles V), the Council of the Indies and 'all Spain' of the legitimate lordship of the Incas, and all with him never having set foot in Peru, nor spoken to a single indigenous Andean. This, the author writes, is 'the greatest falsehood that he ever

spoke of the Indies'. The Incas, meanwhile, he describes as 'recent tyrants', and their tyranny as 'clearer than the sun'.[52] This new depiction of the Incas as tyrannical usurpers mirrored the growing perception of Satan as the spiritual usurper who had tyrannically enslaved the souls of the indigenous populations.

Even within the more tolerant theological framework set by Thomism, the devil still had a place in the Hispanic American world; for once evangelization had begun, and the choice between the precepts of the Church (God's church) and the human pagan faith systems became 'clear', many Indians still apparently chose to follow their own religious customs. Of course, this panorama is substantially complicated by the fact that some practices introduced and encouraged by missionaries as Christian in the sixteenth century were suppressed in the seventeenth as idolatrous.[53] Yet, if the contemporary clergy assumed that religious instruction had been judged adequate, from a Thomist perspective, the sin of those Indians would be equivalent to Lucifer's. By following their own religious customs they were vainly choosing to look to themselves for salvation. The devil was seen to aid the process by blinding the Indians with lies, confusing them by speaking through their ancient gods, undermining the truths that the priests told them.

The Thomist devil had sinned irrevocably by rejecting God's supernatural gift of grace.[54] His was the sin of pride, and since that moment he had been tormented by rage and despair. He had been left with only his self-proclaimed purpose of turning creation against the Creator and trying to convince humans to turn from God, either by causing them to worship him in the place of God or to think that salvation might be achievable without supernatural grace. Both diabolical strategies were seen to be in play throughout colonial Peru. Firstly, idolatry and devil worship were believed widespread. Secondly, the continuing indigenous practice of what were considered to be vain superstitions appeared to demonstrate that Andeans looked to themselves for salvation instead of submitting to God's church and accepting grace through correct (and ordained) ritual practice.

Thus, the devil was believed to be the head of a mystical body of evil creatures united within his own mystical body, 'unified in alienation', just as the faithful were members of Christ's mystical body, the Church.[55] As we have seen, this notion was projected onto history and geography during the colonial period. The devil's intended purpose in the Americas was to strengthen his own body by attacking the kingdom of God. Conversely, the duty of Christians was to attack the mystical body of Satan by removing individuals, its constituent parts, piece by piece and incorporating them within the mystical body of Christ, the Church. The Christian goal, in effect, was to bring these newly-won converts inside the safety of the walls of the City of God (see figure 1).[56]

Figure 1. St John being shown the walled city of New Jerusalem, the City of God, by an Angel, by the cartographer Christoph Weigel (d. 1725) and artists Caspar Luiken (d. 1708) and Jan Luiken (d. 1712). *Historiae Celebriores Novi Testamenti: Iconibus Repraesentatae et Ad excitandas bonas meditationes selectis Epigrammatibus exornatae* (Noribergae, 1712), p. 108.

## Under Siege

By the sixteenth century, nominalist tendencies had come to have a marked influence on theology. Nominalism's importance to demonology was that it blurred the boundaries that realist theologians had identified to try to understand God's laws. As far as the nominalists were concerned, the laws of nature were unimportant vis-à-vis the individual's relationship with God: 'while faith tells us that

God is omnipotent and supremely free, then it follows that God can command anything, even that man should hate him'.[57]

Fallen nature and the temptations of the flesh were more often than not seen as an impediment to the relationship between an individual and God. In a similar manner to the Cathars, individuals were believed trapped or imprisoned inside these bodies until death brought release. In his hagiographical account of the life and death of Francisco Ruiz, for example, the Franciscan chronicler Diego de Córdova Salinas recounts that, aged eighty-four, 'the bridegroom called at his door. The worthy bride, his blessed soul, left the prison of the body to receive him, clothed by the sun, crowned with stars and walking on the phases of the moon'.[58]

In order to speed such a release from the prison of the body, the denial of carnal desires and mortification of the flesh were methods of channelling the mind away from wicked earthly distractions and towards God. The devil, on the other hand, would do his utmost to augment those carnal and earthly distractions in order to prevent the individual from progressing along the spiritual path. The closer the mystic came to the final step of receiving the gift of God's embrace, the more urgent and violent Satan's attacks would become. Of all mankind, the mystic at the point of union was believed closest to receiving what Lucifer rejected, making his envy all the more bitter and heightening his desire to bring about the mystic's ruin. In Juan Meléndez's account of St Rose of Lima, such was the devil's fury on seeing her served with chocolate by angels that he dragged her around the floor by her habit and on other occasions slapped her to the ground or crushed her in his embrace.[59]

The nominalist influence had a further significant effect on the perceived relationship between God, an individual and the devil; especially since nominalists, following William Ockham's rejection of universals, effectively rejected the idea that this relationship could be defined in terms of the relationship between God and mankind. Instead, the individual was alone before God; at this point, there could be no effective mediation through ritual, communal practice, or reason. God was so omnipotent that the individual had no option but to throw himself at God's mercy. Thus philosophical nominalism led almost inevitably to theological voluntarism, an exaggerated Augustinianism that emphasized the absolute power and knowledge of God.[60] Not only did God know who was damned and who was saved even before their existence, but he could also choose whom he would save and who would be damned. Once decided, there was effectively nothing an individual could do to prevent what had been pre-ordained.

Alongside an all-powerful God who did not hesitate to demonstrate his anger by way of geological disasters, plagues, or meteorological phenomena bringing physical destruction on those who had incurred his wrath, the figure of Satan might be seen to diminish almost into insignificance.[61] The problem of responsibility for evil was one that theologians had grappled with for centuries, especially as they wrestled with the Manichaeist heresies. In denying the power of evil a

primordial existence, they ran the risk of causing people to attribute evil to the will of God. It was extremely difficult to escape from the trap of giving voice to the idea that God, as the ultimate source of existence and even the source of the choice that individuals freely make, must also therefore be the source of the faults or failings that cause evil.[62]

From this characterization of a particularly Old Testament style of God inevitably developed Jobian scenarios; humans at the mercy of God's whims, and a devil, one of God's creatures stripped of all power except that which he was permitted to wield in furtherance of God's will. From being the implacable enemy of God he became nothing more than his instrument, no matter how reluctant, driven to harass humans, thereby increasing their spiritual strength, and to torment them in order to purge their sins.[63] God of course would have known the outcome of these trials even before they began. He would have foreknowledge of whether the individual would overcome the tests that were placed in his or her path; indeed in certain cases without God's intervention, the unfortunate being would have been overwhelmed as Meléndez's hagiography of St Rose of Lima informs us. In one case Rose cried out to Christ asking him why she had been left alone at the moment of a particularly trying temptation. Christ replied to her that he had been with her all the time for, had he not, there was no possibility of her being victorious.[64] Satanic attacks on individuals engaging in prayer were nevertheless to be expected, especially if they were attempting to walk the mystical path. It was the responsibility of the mystics simply to ignore whatever the devil might strew in their way. Córdova Salinas, for example, narrates how the devil one night attempted to distract Sor Ana del Espíritu Santo of Guamanga from reading prayers from her breviary. She ordered him, if he would not leave her, to hold the candle steady whilst she finished praying, at which, by divine permission, the furious demon was compelled to obey.[65] No matter how hard the devil might try, therefore, there could be no victory for him if God had decided otherwise.

This tendency to emphasize God's omnipotence and the devil's subsequent powerlessness also gave rise to a corresponding and contradictory uncertainty with regard to the individual's own position. Isolated from the protective familiarity of ritual within the Christian community, the individual was exposed to the raw power of God's will versus that of Satan. Whilst it was a given that God would ultimately prevail, the outcome for the individual was by no means certain. Caught in the middle of an immense clash of titanic proportions, the battle was fought on the field of the person's soul and sometimes even the body. The winner would of course be left in possession of the field. Worse still, whilst God knew the outcome, the individual concerned had no way of knowing. As far as he or she was concerned, the battle still had to be fought to its conclusion, and defeat or victory would be determined by how well Satan was resisted.

These odds might easily have appeared overwhelming and might have caused the individual to give in to despair, thereby playing into the devil's hands. It was a paradox brought about by a theology that simultaneously stripped the devil of power in both ontological and teleological terms whilst augmenting his power with respect to individuals. As long as the individuals were secure in the faith (but never presumptuous) and God willed their salvation, then they would be saved. However, the slightest doubt, the slightest presumption, might be seized upon by the enemy and like a crack in a dam be forced open to cause a flood that washed them away to their perdition. The biblical texts describing the narrow and stony road that had to be walked by the pilgrim were numerous, and imagery depicting the fate of those who fell by the wayside was commonplace. One of the frescos in the church of San Pedro Apostol in Andahuaylillas, for example, depicts well-dressed souls being led by demons down a path strewn with flowers straight towards the flaming city of Hell. Some souls have fallen or been pulled into the moat by a demon with a rope, while others at the road's end are being gobbled up by a hell-mouth. The fresco is balanced by another which shows a few souls, their eyes fixed on the Trinity who watches from the walls of Heaven (represented as a fortified palace). These souls are walking towards the gates along a narrow and thorny path. One is being helped out of the moat by an angel after falling in, but another, closer to the gates, appears to be drowning – pleading for help, but not (yet) receiving it, while the saints and the Trinity look on.

This same uncertainty began to reveal itself in the course of Spanish history. The initial optimism that had accompanied the discovery of the Americas and the Conquest of Mexico[66] had largely dissipated by the end of the sixteenth century and missionaries in Peru realized the enormity of the task ahead of them. God's final victory no longer appeared so immediate. Sometimes it even appeared disturbingly distant. The inability to predict the timing of God's plan fed into a latent and potentially growing sense of doubt about whether or not the Spanish monarchy was doing God's work correctly. Spanish Christians and missionaries could not be certain when the final day would come, and when events seemed to turn against Spain or against certain communities within the Spanish colonial viceroyalties, they could never know whether these misfortunes were the result of God's anger for laxity in proclaiming and living his Gospel or whether they simply presaged the beginning of the end. Not only did natural disasters such as major earthquakes in the Andes inflict the horror and trauma of physical suffering that we associate with them today, but they also carried with them the very real fear of divine judgement. Pedro de Loaysa, for example, described how Francisco Solano's prediction of an earthquake sent by God to destroy Lima due to the religious and moral apathy of the city's inhabitants provoked St Rose into a furious fervour of penitential flagellation in order to save the city.[67] Similarly, military reversals might be taken as a sign of God's displeasure, or in fact of a renewed and vigorous assault by Satan's hordes.

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Apocryphal Christian texts written in the first few centuries after Christ, and Rabbinical texts such as the Book of Enoch, contributed to a clandestine Cabbalist tradition that taught about the nature of angels, demons, and the ritual and magical practices that would channel their power for the magician's use. Increasing suspicion of and hostility towards these practices on the part of the religious authorities meant that 'after Pico [della Mirandola] and [Marsilio] Ficino there [was] much more emphasis on natural magic in all discussions since the threat of the approaching dark age became more and more evident and urgently called for the disavowal of any kind of ceremonial magic that might be denounced as witchcraft.[68] Such practices combined Platonic metaphysics with ritual in what was essentially a scientific process of cause and effect. Although the neo-Platonic hermeticists often knew that what they were doing was considered dangerous, their rationale was simple; they emphasized the scientific utilization of ritual and chemical processes to harness angelic power, something that appeared to be possible within the natural order.

In the Peruvian viceroyalty, perhaps the most famous example of this trend is the Inquisitorial prosecution of the Dominican friar, Francisco de la Cruz, whose exorcisms of María Pizarro using magic circles, pungent smoke and rings of power[69] developed into dialogues with angels who prophesied the coming of a new age, the downfall of the Papacy in Europe and the re-establishment of the Papacy in the Americas. Unfortunately for the friar, there was no question of his being able to convince the Inquisitors of the truth of his assertions, no matter how eloquently argued. They could not possibly think that his prophecies were anything other than diabolical delusion resulting from magical practices that suggested the friar had a demonic pact, perhaps with the very same demon he initially tried to exorcize from María Pizarro.

The case therefore highlights the very fine lines drawn by the Church authorities that should never have been crossed. Neo-Platonic hermeticists walked a spiritual tightrope even more dangerous and unsteady than that walked by mystics.[70] The Church did not dispute the fact that angels existed. It was, however, most sceptical of the ability of individuals to discern whether in fact an angelic apparition was of divine or diabolical origin, if in fact it was real at all. It did not fit with the natural order that a human could command an angel, a superior being, no matter how many circles had been inscribed on the ground or incantations had been used. On the other hand, it seemed perfectly plausible that demons might pretend they were angels bound by these magical rites. As such they might overwhelm the magician with wild delusions and subversive prophecies aimed at the destruction of the kingdom of God, but if that did not prove possible, then the demon would concentrate on effecting the destruction of the magician and those he was able to influence.

From the Inquisitorial point of view, therefore, Francisco de la Cruz was a warning of the cracks that had appeared in the fortifications of the City of God on which the devil would concentrate his assault. This overwhelming diabolical assault on the friar was all the more dangerous, in both secular and religious terms, given the influence and network of religious and secular contacts the friar had across the Peruvian viceroyalty. Aside from those subsequently arrested by the Colonial authorities for their involvement in the diabolical subversion, Córdova Salinas in fact makes reference to the impact his execution had on a visionary Franciscan prioress in Guamanga. He writes that she had been enclosed in her cell for a day and a night, after which she emerged visibly saddened, her face haggard as if she were dead. When asked the cause she answered that she had seen the *auto de fe* that the Inquisition had celebrated the previous day in Lima and she had seen that they had condemned and burned an eminent cleric and teacher who was known throughout the kingdom. According to the chronicler, the news arrived officially much later, once messengers had been able to travel the eighty difficult leagues (approximately 240 miles) from Lima to Guamanga.[71] For historical rather than hagiographical purposes, the timing of the arrival is not as important as the impact that the news had on the Prioress and the other nuns in the convent. Their reaction was indicative of their fear of the long reach of the Inquisition, arguably under the sway of the current Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, which appeared to be focusing its attention on theologians who looked for inspiration in the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas. Perceived by viceregal authorities to be undermining the power of the state, they nevertheless still appeared to have widespread support among religious figures throughout the viceroyalty.[72] More importantly, the reaction to the friar's execution demonstrated a sense of anxiety that the fortress-City of God was not as impenetrable as hitherto believed. If an eminent theologian, who should have been so well equipped to repel a satanic attack could fall beneath his onslaught, then how safe were the rest of the defences?

This sense of vulnerability, was augmented by the complexity of the strategy being played out. In essence, the war that Satan was waging on the City of God could be compared to multidimensional chess, for it was not just a war on a conventional scale, the besieging of one city before moving on to the next. It was a multi-layered war waged just as much against individuals who came together to form this mystical City as against God's kingdom in its entirety. It was a war in which an attack could come from within or without, above or below, on a macro-scale (against the Spanish monarchy and the Church) or on a micro-scale (against one individual). It is in this context that the evocative imagery of Ignatius of Loyola describing Satan besieging the soul and sending out his devils to assault the cities of the world takes on its greatest significance.[73]

The Baroque soul, as Mujica Pinilla writes, was understood as a miniature city of God within which angels and demons constantly battled against each other for possession.[74] The structure of the city might even be thought of in modern

terms as like that of a Russian doll, or a mathematical fractal made up of smaller and smaller constituent parts that each take the form of the larger. The outer shell of the exterior did provide some protection against assault; for example individuals were protected to a certain extent by membership of the Christian body, and the soul was loosely protected from a frontal demonic assault by the very fact of its incorporation within a human body. Nancy Caciola's work on the physicality of possessions in the Middle Ages highlights this perception of the body as a physical barrier to demons which could normally only gain access through bodily orifices and the senses – sometimes referred to as 'gates'. In one particular example, the Ménagier de Paris advised his wife to 'guard the castle door [her mouth], so that the devil cannot enter'. Most importantly, Caciola adds, 'this metaphor of the body as a fortification under siege is made more forceful by the fact that the [Latin] term *obsessio* was used to refer both to demonic possession and to military sieges'.[75]

The besieged body and soul were not entirely defenceless. Aquinas, for example, wrote that a devil could not know our interior thoughts. Unfortunately, he added that it could nonetheless intuit our thoughts by reading our body language.[76] In effect, by preventing a devil from seeing into our minds, the body was perceived to protect the soul of the individual at the same time as leaving it vulnerable; for by manipulating the body's humours (and it was believed he had the power to do this) the devil could cause carnal desire or present images that would cause delusion. A devil seemingly had the advantage of knowing how the soul's fortifications (the body) functioned and was able to use that knowledge against the soul he had besieged. When angels prevailed in this constant battle, then the individual felt interior calm and spiritual well-being. However, when demons managed to break through the soul's defences or, in other words, 'when vices changed into demons and rebelled against the superior faculties of the soul, then the human conscience drowned in storms of tyrannical passions'.[77]

Under this perceived state of siege, the need for vigilance was constant, for if one soul should succumb then the bastion of the communal body might be breached. The diabolical infection of one individual might easily spread throughout the community.[78] The militant Christianity that was brought to Peru from Spain was therefore twofold and aimed to defend the gains that had already been made in the war against Satan, but also to take the war to him, to drive him out of territory that he had long held. The linking of spiritual and temporal authority under the Crown of Spain by the papal bulls of Alexander VI in 1493 and Julius II in 1508 further contributed to this militancy. It helped to combine the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition that the ecclesiastical hierarchy on earth was an imperfect reflection of the celestial hierarchy with a late medieval tradition in which the kings and knights who defended the Church and the Kingdom of God were promised the heavenly thrones of the fallen angels. This combination provided much of the impetus behind the drive for evangelization in colonial Peru.[79]

The foundation of towns and cities in the viceroyalty and the gathering of Indians in urban reductions was an intrinsic part of the process of Christianization and the battle against Satan. These were the bastions from which forays and expeditions into the interior would be led, gradually seizing increasing amounts of territory from the hordes of Lucifer. These were the beacons of Christian civilization from which the light of Christ would radiate outwards to illuminate the pagan barbarians and from which Satan could only turn his face and flee into the ever-diminishing darkness. Of course, what was theoretically expected and what happened in practice could be entirely different. So much depended on the efficacy of Satan's counter-attacks and on the unknown course of God's plan.

## The Battlefield and Lucifer's Strategy

The central importance of the Augustinian notion of the City of God now needs to be tested against the more practical realities of the Andean context. One obvious way of gauging the relative successes of the evangelizing efforts was to consider the devil's response to the process. Commonly, Satan's strategies seemed characteristic of a weaker combatant, one who was intent on hindering the ultimate onslaught rather than pushing for all out defeat of his enemy. Calancha, for instance, describes how the devil incited sorcerers and dogmatizers to undermine the Catholic faith by spreading errors and heresies among the Indian population.[80] As we have seen, however, one of the most reasonable errors (one which was subsequently seen to be the most damaging precisely because it was so understandable) was a variant of the idea that God and the saints were for Christians whilst *huacas* were for Andeans. No sooner had Andeans realized that this compromise was unacceptable to the missionaries than they began to suggest that it might be licit to 'worship both Christ and the devil because they had reached an agreement and were now united'.[81]

The devil in this case was presumably a *huaca* that had been demonized in the minds of the clergy but which, from an indigenous perspective, could readily be used to accommodate the new and extremely demanding Christian god. Although they recognized the power of the Christian deity and the benefits of worshipping him, Andeans were equally anxious for peace between apparently opposed divinities and were prepared to accept that an armistice had been declared and accommodation had been reached.[82] For the Christian commentators in Peru, however, this was worse than outright resistance: it was an insidious and subversive heresy. In an apparent damage limitation exercise, Satan might allow Christianity to penetrate while deadening its impact by corrupting its message.

Although relatively widespread, the belief that the *huaca*s were demons that spoke to their ministers was not universally held as the cause of all idolatry in the

Andes. It is true that the Jesuit extirpator Pablo José de Arriaga, whose treatise on extirpation formed one of the primary sources of Calancha's work, did not hesitate to attribute the speech of *huaca*s to diabolical intervention;[83] but with regard to errors of the faith he was more pragmatic, attributing the cause first and foremost to poor catechesis and the mistranslation of theological concepts. At the same time, Arriaga saw no contradiction in ascribing the more pernicious errors, especially those that were propagated by Andean religious leaders, to the active intervention of the devil.[84] For the purposes of spreading the Gospel, to split hairs over the level of Satan's involvement would have been counterproductive. It was necessary merely to know that these errors existed. Whether the cause was a failure on the part of the missionaries or the spread of false beliefs by Andean religious leaders, either way Satan benefited: both situations resulted in souls being lost and the expansion of the City of God being hindered. As Arriaga's predecessor, the Jesuit José de Acosta, had already observed, there were priests in the Andes who 'held the key to the kingdom of heaven but who would not enter and who prevented those who would from entering'.[85]

Despite common disagreement regarding missionary methods, chroniclers did all concur that Lucifer was active in undermining their work. Bartolomé de las Casas, notwithstanding his insistence that indigenous religions were the expression of the natural yearning of humans for God,[86] still couched his description of the supreme Andean god Pachacamac in diabolical rhetoric.[87] Meanwhile, José de Acosta's *Historia natural* merged the figures of Viracocha and Pachacamac and equated them with the *Ignoto Deo* that Saint Paul discovered in Athens.[88] This, he argued, showed that the Indians had some knowledge of God despite the 'shadows of infidelity obscuring their understanding'.[89] Acosta translated the name Pachacamac or Pachayachachic as 'creator of the heavens and earth'. Yet he somewhat unsatisfactorily stated that in the same temple Indians also worshipped the devil by carrying out their idolatries.[90] This strangely ambivalent tone towards the religious practices of the indigenous peoples of America has been explained as indicative of an increasingly generalized separation between the perceived natural goodness of the Indians and the supernatural evil of their religion.[91] Despite the natural inclination to turn to and worship God the creator, Andean religion was always subverted by the devil and twisted towards evil. Andeans could construct a temple to the supreme creator and yet within it still worship demons.

In documenting this phenomenon Acosta was less than subtle in his critique of indigenous 'demon worship'. Other chroniclers have been more positive in their treatment of the subject. Calancha, for example, following Garcilaso de la Vega, emphatically denied that Indians in general adored the devil by name, or even thought that he was the devil.[92] In fact, he wrote, the Andeans recognized Satan by the name Zupay, and would rather flee and blaspheme his name than worship him. Even if the devil did say that Pachacamac and the God of the Christians are one and the same, he would be speaking the truth, for the name

'Pachacamac Pachayachachic' meant 'master and creator of the world, teacher of men and invisible god'.[93] Thus, Calancha argued, the Andeans' intention in giving the name Pachacamac to the *Ignoto Deo* was to venerate the 'great God who gives life to the universe, just as the name signifies'.[94] Satan, however, was not believed capable of speaking truth without attempting to twist it to his own ends. And so, continued Calancha:

> The enemy had so much power among those infidels that he made himself a god by entering into all that which the Indians venerated as sacred, spoke in their oracles and temples and the corners of their houses and other parts, saying that he was Pachacamac and that he was all those other things to which Indians attributed divinity.[95]

The indigenous peoples were not to blame, therefore. They were not complicit in the deification of Satan. Ultimately they wished to worship God but the devil was able to infuse their sacred symbols and usurp their worship. The crucial aspect of Calancha's portrayal of relations between Andeans and the devil is that, no matter how much the Andeans despised him in the person of Zupay, Satan still had so much fundamental power over the indigenous peoples that he was able to trick them into idolatrous worship. What was important was the evil result rather than the Indians' good intentions. Calancha's account raises sympathy for these Andeans, absolving them of culpability; yet, at the same time, he implicitly condemns them to the devil's power for no greater sin than innocent naivety.

Calancha thus stops short of tackling the difficult theological question of whether people can be condemned for an act that they did not intend. The dilemma was that the worst possible sin was in effect being committed: the devil was actually being worshipped instead of God and the natural order was being subverted. Did the sin lie in the act itself or in responsibility for that act? This was not a question that Calancha felt he should attempt to answer, preferring instead to reserve his outright indignation for those who, he believed, clearly deserved, and often experienced, God's wrath. Such was the case of the sorcerer Charimango from Tauca and Llapo, who preached against Christianity but was struck down by disease.[96]

If we view Calancha's dilemma through the theology of his Order's patron, St Augustine, the problem fades away but is not solved. In the end, we are all condemned unless God in His infinite wisdom and grace decides to save (some of) us. Good, pious practices are indicators of God's grace but cannot assure us of salvation. Idolaters, therefore, showed little indication of God's saving grace in their lives, however good their original intentions might be. Calancha's dilemma cannot even be resolved with recourse to a more positive Thomist theology, according to which the devil could not directly cause others to sin but only do so as a tempter and an external persuader.[97] The indigenous intellect might be impaired by the devil causing delusion and tricking their senses; yet the choice

was still theirs. After all, Satan himself had fallen by desiring a good. His sin had consisted in choosing to pursue that good at the expense of a higher good: that of accepting God's grace.[98]

Aquinas's concept of sin was thus compatible with the idea that individuals, or even communities, might sin by pursuing a good. The same argument that stripped the devil of power by denying evil any ontological existence paradoxically handed power back to him by creating the conditions whereby sin could be committed even whilst pursuing a good. Through trickery and delusion, the devil could convince a community that it was doing something good. Yet the indigenous communities that worshipped Pachacamac, although intending to worship the Creator, were consistently sinning as a result of diabolical delusion.

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Such reasoning affirmed a doctrinal pessimism regarding the impossibility of salvation without the spiritual guidance of the church. This appeared to be a given whether the commentator followed a more optimistic Thomist line or whether he was more influenced by Augustinian thought. If the increasing influence of Jansenism throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further weighted the tenor of theology towards an exaggerated form of Augustinian pessimism, this only increased the urgent necessity of the proper conversion of individuals and nations to Christianity. As Augustine had put it:

> Those first sinners were sentenced to death, with the provision that whatever sprang from their stock should incur the same punishment. For whatever was born from them could not have been different from what they themselves had been. In fact, because of the magnitude of that offence, the condemnation changed human nature for the worse; so that what first happened as a matter of punishment in the case of the first human beings, continued in their posterity as something natural and congenital.[99]

Without God's grace being disseminated by the church throughout the viceroyalty, Satan's power would run unchecked through the Andes – his earthly city. To sally forth from the City of God was to participate in the divine plan to seize and defend as much territory and as many souls as possible from the enemy before the end. Whilst many might fall by the wayside, Christ would ultimately conquer all and the devil would be cast into the lake of fire.[100] The two societies left would remain permanently separated: the one, as Augustine said, to reign eternally with God; the other, condemned to perpetual torment with the devil. 'This' was to be 'their final destiny'.[101]

# 2 THE POSSESSION OF MARÍA PIZARRO

> In Lima there is a girl who says she sees saints, with which she and [her] demons have deceived many serious and learned persons.[1]

The process against the demoniac María Pizarro (d. 1572) in 1571 is a unique example of many of the issues discussed above. The drama described in the testimonies of the witnesses and its tragic end, eventually culminating in the fulmination of one of the principal exorcists, Francisco de la Cruz, at the *auto de fe* of 1578, embodied and exemplified the contemporary doctrinal pessimism concerning individual salvation and the ability of humans to resist diabolical attacks. From the available documentation there emerges a clear perception that an important battle for María's soul was taking place, a battle fought by herself and her exorcists in the first instance, but also by angels, saints and demons in the spaces in and around María's body. Just as her body and soul were conceptualized as a miniature City of God under siege, so too she was feared by many to be in danger of becoming a structural weakness through which diabolical forces might penetrate the greater City of God – the Christian community of which she formed a part.

In 1571 Fray Alonso de Gasco, Prior of the Convent of Santo Domingo in Quito, denounced María, his former charge, for diabolical compacts in a letter to the Archbishop of Quito. She had, he asserted, deceived him and his colleagues, all theologians, and caused them to confuse the diabolical with the divine. Gasco also sent a copy of the letter to the Inquisition in Lima, thereby initiating the tragic closing acts of a gripping drama that entangled numerous high-profile members of the viceroyalty. The consequences of María Pizarro's possession coming to the notice of the religious and secular authorities were to rock Peruvian society, as a network of outspoken Jesuits and Dominicans, all involved in the exorcisms, were put on trial alongside María, and were subsequently removed from the public eye and ear.

The trials came as Francisco de Toledo (Viceroy 1569–81) tightened his grip on the viceroyalty, finally bringing order to a fractious and chaotic colony that had for decades been suffering the devastating effects of conquest and civil

war. The administration was determined to stamp out dangerous opposition by imposing the *Pax Hispana* across the region. It was only a year later (in 1572) that Toledo finally conquered the last outpost of the Inca Empire in Vilcabamba and ordered the execution of the last Emperor, Tupac Amaru. The fact that many prominent clerics opposed Toledo's order did not go unnoticed, and the subsequent proceedings against María Pizarro's exorcists provided an opportunity to send a strong message to all the religious of the viceroyalty: dissent, couched in the symbolic language of divine revelation, could no more be tolerated by the secular administration than by the religious, steeped as it was, in their view, in sedition and insidious error.[2]

Once prosecuted, these clerics were no longer able to voice public criticisms of the Crown and its Viceroy, especially their treatment of the Indians and the Hispanic-colonial community; nor were they able to put forward reforming programmes inspired by the works of earlier missionaries, notably those of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Only two of the principal actors survived the investigation and trials: Alonso de Gasco of the Dominican Order, and Luis López of the Society of Jesus. Yet, both were sent back to Spain, permanently exiled and disgraced, and only narrowly avoided expulsion from their respective orders.

The case itself is not unknown to historians of colonial Peru. Francisco de la Cruz and Luis López are perhaps the best-known actors of the drama. Scholars, to date, have tended to focus on these larger-than-life figures as representative of the clashes between central Spanish authority headed by a ruthlessly efficient Viceroy, and the followers and expounders of a more regionalist, Lascasian philosophy.[3] These clerics, constant thorns in the side of Viceroys such as Toledo, invoked the ideas of Bartolomé de las Casas and persistently denounced colonial authorities for allowing the continued and immoral exploitation of the indigenous peoples. This, they argued, was detrimental to the successful evangelization of the Americas, the only legitimate reason (as far as the most radical clerics were concerned) for the Spanish presence at all.

Alvaro Huerga notes that Francisco de la Cruz's tendency to court political controversy began early in his career, when he was a supporter of the beleaguered Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda.[4] The disillusion and fear felt by Carranza's supporters in the Peninsula after his arrest was to spur Francisco de la Cruz on his mission to the Americas, and to sow the seeds of a radical reformism that combined the teachings of Las Casas with the apocalyptic prophecies currently circulating in Spain and its empire.[5]

The cases of María Pizarro and Francisco de la Cruz bear marked similarities with comparable cases in Spain. Their common denominator was their propensity to make use of divine authority and revelation in order to call for reforms and changes in government policy. Prophecy was not normally viewed as particularly serious, either by the Inquisition or by the Crown, as long as it did not 'openly espouse heretical concepts or ideas' or pose any real political threat to

the established order.[6] A secure government could ignore such would-be prophets as insignificant. However, when undergoing a period of internal and external difficulties, the administration would certainly think more seriously about silencing such criticism, especially as it tended to attract a large popular following at a time when any build-up of anti-establishment public opinion would be considered dangerous. The timing of both the prophecies and the prosecutions can therefore be seen as an indication of underlying social unrest and of the relative threats posed to the colonial and central administration by the various prophets. Whereas the central government of Philip II did not come under severe strain until the late 1580s, the Toledo administration, under pressure from the very beginning to complete and consolidate the conquest of Peru and to bring it firmly under the control of Spain, could not tolerate the separatist, apocalyptic ideas of such an outspoken cleric as Francisco de la Cruz.[7] Nor, under any circumstances, could it tolerate those who seemed to encourage him. What under other circumstances might have been passed off as madness or idiocy on the part of Francisco de la Cruz was prosecuted as a dangerous, diabolical and seditious threat. Given that Peru had only recently been affected by a series of *encomendero* rebellions and that Toledo had only just managed to bring to an end years of internecine strife, these developments are hardly surprising.[8]

Turning to Luis López, it could be argued that his prosecution in 1582 for the solicitation of María and various other young women under his spiritual guidance seems little more than a straightforward case of abuse of spiritual authority.[9] Nevertheless, Armas Asín has re-assessed his trial and subsequent conviction, arguing that López, a high-profile renegade from the point of view of the secular administration, was proving to be a constant thorn in Toledo's side, not holding back from public criticism if he thought it was due, and even directly disobeying Toledo by founding Jesuit colleges without permission.[10] Unlike Francisco de la Cruz, López had been careful to distance himself from any claims that divine revelation provided the justification for his rebellious stance, thereby preventing the religious authorities from accusing him of diabolically inspired sedition. However, his connection to Francisco de la Cruz through María Pizarro (the apparent source of Cruz's seditious discourse) and his outspoken criticism of Toledo and general disregard for the Viceroy's orders, gave Toledo more than enough reason to want him removed. The ambiguous and increasingly confused and contradictory accusations by María Pizarro against him during her own trial – accusations that cascaded into a series of subsequent denunciations by other women – were to become the weapon with which to destroy López. Effectively, argues Armas Asín, López's trial amounted to little more than a politically motivated and deliberate persecution, with the Inquisition, dependent on the Viceroy for financial survival, as the key agent. As in the later trial against Lucrecia de León in Spain nearly two decades later, the Inquisition proved to be the most efficient and least public method of removing controversial and prominent irritations.[11]

Despite the familiarity of the case, María Pizarro remains a somewhat faceless and sidelined figure, and her possession, the catalyst for her own destruction and that of those around her, still appears comparatively insignificant. Huerga provides us with perhaps the most well rounded picture to date, including brief analyses of the actors and their roles in the case. Yet his work focuses on the case as a manifestation of Illuminism in the Americas, a heterodox movement with close links to Spanish mysticism, as part of a series of works on the subject, and it places Francisco de la Cruz at the centre of the group of heretics subsequently persecuted by the Inquisition.[12] María Pizarro and the story of the possession thus tend to be marginalized in the literature. Despite the fact that she was widely believed to be a demoniac, scholars have tended to dismiss her possession as illness, and her affliction has been subsequently explained as epilepsy,[13] religious neurosis, exhibitionism and psychosomatic crisis.[14] Such explanations, logical though they may seem to the modern reader, do not help our understanding of how the case was perceived at the time. The apparent cause of all the afflictions – namely, the devil himself – and the diabolical nature of the case, are emphatically in need of attention.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to draw on the importance of the case's details in order to reconstruct for the modern reader a vision of the beliefs, the rituals and various aspects of everyday life in sixteenth-century viceregal society. The devil and María Pizarro acted as the epicentre of a network of individuals from diverse cultural and social backgrounds and took the starring roles in the drama. Jointly, they became the lynchpin around which these diverse people revolved as the community gathered to witness the struggle, to cure the victim, and to persecute the enemy within. In this way they would shore up the defences of the 'Christian fortress', expelling the demonic forces that had managed to break through and protecting it from further penetration. By investigating how the characters of the case perceived each other, and the destructive aura affecting those involved, especially María Pizarro, the chapter seeks to highlight how easily boundaries shifted between the physical and the spiritual and also how nothing could be certain within a world affected by diabolical delusion.

## The Narrative

The story is not at all easy to piece together. The accounts told to the Inquisitors came from diverse and conflicting sources. Furthermore, María Pizarro, arrested in 1571, was extremely sick during her imprisonment and died in jail on 11 December 1573. Confused, delusory and desperate to be released, she retracted earlier confessions and her increasingly confused accounts even blurred real persons with spiritual entities. Other principal defendants also suffered extreme illness during their captivity: Pedro de Toro, a Dominican and one time Provincial

of the Order in the Viceroyalty (1565–9), for example, died exhausted and broken on 16 January 1576, and was subsequently condemned by the Inquisitors to appear 'in effigy' at the 1578 *auto de fe*.[15] Francisco de la Cruz suffered what the Inquisitors described as a prolonged bout of madness in the years 1574–5, during which he 'spoke revelations, illuminisms [*alumbramientos*], illusions and inventions more pertinent to a madman taken leave of his senses'.[16] After 1575 Cruz recovered but refused to recant and was sentenced to be tortured and then burned at the stake. Other people who might have acted as witnesses named in María's testimony, such as her mestizo friend and her sister Ana had already died by the time María was arrested.

Despite all this, it is possible to piece together an overall picture of events and their background. Since her father's death, María's family had been dominated by the powerful presence of her mother, Catalina Cermeño. She was the mother of five children, two boys, Jhoan (Juan) and Martín, the former married and the latter a Jesuit novice, and three girls, Ana, María and Francisca. We are told she had family and acquaintances in Arequipa, and most importantly, that she was very definite in the way she wished her children to live their lives. Ana had already married a Creole named Juan Blázquez and Catalina was actively seeking funds for the dowry of her youngest daughter, Francisca.[17] For María, however, her mother had decided that she would become a nun, 'because it seemed to her that she would never be a woman who could run a household and serve a husband'.[18]

Intelligent, wilful and aged only twenty-one at the time of her arrest, María bitterly resented her mother's decision to favour her younger sister for marriage. There are hints in the evidence of illicit liaisons and secret meetings with a youth named Diego Martínez. The testimonies develop by transforming the suitor from an enamoured young merchant who promises to marry María and not allow her mother to shut her in a convent, into a demonic figure whom she invoked out of rage and frustration before descending into melancholia, madness and her alleged possession.

The family turned first to the Society of Jesus. Given their links to the family through María's brother, Martín, the Society responded immediately. The Provincial, Jerónimo Portillo, and Luis López assessed her together with Pedro de Toro. They asked Archbishop Jerónimo de Loaysa, who also examined her, for permission to begin exorcisms. María was then carried screaming and writhing to the church of Santa Ana where the exorcisms began in full public view. The spectacle was to no avail, however, and María was taken back to her home where the exorcisms continued day and night. Luis López, the principal exorcist, slept on a mattress in the same room.

These were dark days for María, delirious, tormented and bedridden. Her demons attacked her and refused to obey the exorcists. María's bedroom became a battleground between the demons, the priests and herself, becoming even more intense when a vision of an angel knight, who was referred to as *el Armado* – the

armoured one – and St Dionysius entered the fray attacking the demons with unrestrained fury. Unsurprisingly, such visions bewildered the exorcists, making them wonder whether these new supernatural entities were diabolical or divine. María's afflictions continued, however, and then she seemed to become mysteriously pregnant. Suspicion fell respectively on the young Diego Martínez (a neighbour), the exorcist Luis López, and even the devil himself. These figures became so indistinct in María's testimony that Diego Martínez became the devil and the devil became Luis López, who was then transformed back into the devil as she recanted her earlier denunciation. Indeed, as we shall see, it is not certain whether María herself separated these figures clearly in her own tormented mind.

The pregnancy was abortive. Rumour abounded whether she had taken poisonous herbs provided by an Indian woman who was, in turn, confused in the testimonies with a demon; whether the baby had been murdered immediately after the birth in a sacrificial rite to the devil; or indeed, whether the pregnancy had really happened at all.

The Jesuits broke contact with María, and her mother then turned to the Dominicans for support. Alonso de Gasco and Francisco de la Cruz became her exorcists and entered into regular dialogue with María's angelic protector, the *Armado*, who, after finally expelling the demons, remained with María and spoke through her giving instructions to the Dominicans. María and the two friars began to create a devotion to the angel, who even sent them on shopping errands to buy silks and satins to make altar cloths (corporals), a scapula and other clothing, and instructed them to paint icons. These objects would then be blessed by the angel (through María) and used for disseminating the cult and for curative practices. Gasco, however, plagued by doubts about the divine nature of the spirit, was transferred to Quito before denouncing the whole affair to the Inquisition. Cruz continued to visit María, even when forbidden by his superiors. As rumours that the Inquisition had become involved and that witnesses were being called began to spread, María became increasingly terrified. It was then that she turned to the hapless Francisco de la Cruz for support.

## The Possession, the Community and the Ritual Solution

> Chaos reigned in the town because the entire population went to see the girl: men and women, secular clergy and priests from all the convents. Some went out of curiosity; others were begged by her mother to go and keep vigil and pray for her.[19]

Even allowing for a good measure of artistic licence, the above testimony highlights the public nature of possession. One might imagine that possession was a private affliction; but a possession's external manifestations turned the demoniac's

suffering into the focus of the wider community's attention. In being possessed, demoniacs engaged in a spiritual and physical battle that simultaneously distanced them from the onlookers and placed them at the centre of a public ritual spectacle. Onlookers would act both as witnesses and as occasional assistants in the exorcism. In effect, demoniacs were often seen as the community's sacrificial victims in purgative rituals against their demonic enemy. The possessed were believed to be able to transcend the mundane, daily struggles of the onlookers against the devil, thus transforming it into something dramatically more intense. Those who had come to watch would bear witness to a soul in torment – tangible, real and immediate, but thankfully not theirs. By participating in the ritual battle, the onlookers thus believed themselves to be fulfilling their duty to oppose Satan whilst they remained free from the suffering that such a struggle necessarily entailed. In this process, the demoniacs became invaluable expiatory victims who benefited the whole participating community by giving it a clearly-focused opportunity to cast out the devil and to shore up its collective spiritual defences.

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> [...] as the demon seemed to be more seriously tormented before the Blessed Sacrament, Mass was said in her house and the Blessed Sacrament was on display for as long the exorcism took place.[20]

There is a certain paradox in considering María Pizarro as a eucharistic figure,[21] since the presence of the Eucharist actually seemed to increase her torments. However, her own suffering was interpreted by those around her as the very medium by which to measure the demon's own torment. When confronted with the Blessed Sacrament, the demon was seen by those present to suffer notably, in a clear reversal of the more usual state where the devil was the constant cause of María's affliction. When faced with a battle against the devil, mankind's only hope of victory was to have recourse to the divine, the holy presence. Man unaided was too weak to vanquish an angel. As Pedro Ciruelo had explained, it 'cannot truthfully be said that [a person] has natural power over demons because the angel, be it wicked or good, is of a higher nature than man: and so it is of greater force and natural power than the strongest of all pure [virtuous] men'.[22]

For those involved in the exorcism, the belief in Christ's victory over Satan was made even more potent by the form of the victory. Christ was the ultimate Eucharist, which was why his presence in the consecrated host, displayed in front of the possessed victim, was considered all the more terrible for the demons. The importance of the host as an expression of community to the believing witnesses should also be borne in mind, for, in the words of Eamon Duffy, 'the Body of Christ, [...] is the true "medium congruentissimum", the instrument of harmony'. It was 'far more than the object of individual devotion, a means of forgiveness

and sanctification: it was the source of human community'.[23] In this way, the host united the believers in their belief in the existence of a mystical body with a natural virtue surpassing that of the devil. The power of the centre, already victorious against Satan, thus disseminated outwards and was believed to enable the whole body, of which all those present at the exorcisms were a part, once again to defeat the devil and cast him out of María's tormented body.

But the exorcists' armoury was not confined to isolated displays of the Blessed Sacrament before the demoniac. The actors believed that this single attack on the demon was part of Christ's timeless and ongoing eucharistic victory. Thus, with the Blessed Sacrament exposed and the demon already visibly tormented, the Mass recreated and continued the Passion of Christ. Confined by his own volition in space and time within the body of María, the demon was thereby not only confronted with the divine presence in the host, but also with the recurrence of his resounding defeat on Calvary, ritually transmuted to María's room. This was more than a mere memorial act: it was a continuation and repetition of the eternal battle in ritual form. For those who had faith, the outcome was a given, for the forces of Christ had already won on Calvary and they would continue to do so again and again in the celebration of the Eucharist.

Unfortunately, a further paradox in María's affliction was that, whilst the initial diagnosis suggested a definite case of possession,[24] the prescribed solution, exorcism before the Blessed Sacrament, was itself apt to become part of the problem. Rather than being able to provide a specific cure for María's personal affliction, demonological discourse considered her possession to be part of the universal struggle between the forces of Christ and the hordes of Satan. The problem, therefore, necessitated a generic and unchanging ritual solution, and this subsequently meant that María's ailment needed to fit the therapy that had already been laid down by tradition.

For the actors, such a response was necessary for a number of reasons. The ritual had to be exact so that it could tap the timeless and sacred power of the Eucharist already proven to have defeated the devil. Unless the rituals were followed to the letter, the exorcist and the victim might be in mortal peril of being ensnared by the devil's traps.[25] Pervasive condemnations of superstitious practices during exorcism indicate that deviation from accepted tradition was considered dangerous. Yet the very fact that these practices were so frequently condemned points to their widespread use at the time. Indeed María herself claimed that the Dominican Francisco de la Cruz used magical rituals during his exorcisms, involving magic circles and mysterious words, incense, sulphur and pungent rue, muslin and hay, and wine spat onto a brazier.[26] According to the Dominican, these rituals controlled and tormented the demons, an opinion that places him squarely in the tradition of the many renaissance clerics who engaged in the Neo-Platonic and Hermetic practice of binding angels in order to control them through geometric signs, incantations and other ritual tools.[27] On the other hand, commentators

such as Ciruelo would have argued that these superstitions actually strengthened the demons. Control was a sham, a diabolical ruse to beguile the practitioner into believing in his power over demons and to continue along the slippery slope to damnation. The fear was that each time such a ritual appeared effective, the exorcist would be drawn further into the world of diabolical delusion, a world that the possessed victim already inhabited. The exorcist himself might become obsessed alongside his possessed protégée, pliant to demonic suggestion disguised as divine revelation.[28]

For the society of sixteenth-century Lima, there was no possibility of questioning the absolute necessity of the ritual response to María's problem. She lived in a highly ritualized society where the timeless response to this age-old affliction was well documented. Nevertheless, the Lima of the 1570s was by no means uniform. It was a relatively new society, still in formation – a melting pot of different cultures: indigenous American, African, and Spanish, some only marginally Christianized – where cultural boundaries were less clearly defined and where the prescribed ritual solutions to physical and spiritual problems were less certain to work.

The potential problems for communities existing in such a state of cultural flux whilst attempting to apply such an outwardly rigid intellectual and cultural framework were innumerable.[29] Yet that same society needed fixed cultural reference points more than ever. The more it came into contact with new situations and encountered new influences, the more it needed to refer to precedent – what was known, tangible and fixed – and to reassess what was knowable and acceptable within that given framework. Without such a framework, society would run the risk of falling into chaos; indeed, the viceroyalty had only just emerged from the ashes of conquest, civil wars, and epidemics. In such a context, the ritual responses to everyday experience in sixteenth-century Peru were expressions of an unchanging truth which, in tune with the religious certainties of the age, would be eventually and necessarily accepted by all who were exposed to it.

The ritual, however, did not work. The combined power of the eucharistic host and the Mass failed to drive out the demon possessing María. The next step for the despondent exorcists was to discover what had gone wrong. As they saw it, the fault could not have been with any lack of power in the ritual itself. Then, as the Jesuit Provincial, Jerónimo de Portillo, pointed the finger of blame at María, he successfully managed to make the problem fit into the contemporary intellectual framework.[30] The fault was María's human weakness. The cure was twofold. First, María had to undergo a conversion: to repent of her seemingly ongoing affection for the devil. Second, sacramental absolution would then ritually cleanse her of that sin after a full and sincere confession. Once María had released the devil, he could then be cast out from her by the exorcism. Until that time, argued the Jesuit, aside from limiting the demon's power, exorcism would be practically useless.

It would be tempting to explain the use of such a symbolic framework in order to interpret events and experiences according to a given worldview as evidence of the authoritarian and uncompromising character of the clergy. But it is highly misleading to assert that only clerical authority defined what language was acceptable. In fact, much of the symbolic language and imagery of Christianity, both pre- and post-Reformation, was largely generated by the lay population.[31] In this regard, the Hispanic urban centres of the American Viceroyalties were no exception: lay devotions in charge of *cofradías*, for example, were largely self-sustaining and self-regulating, having recourse to the clergy only to administer the sacraments, to perform certain parts of the liturgy that could be performed only by ordained clergy, and to preach sermons.[32] This is not to suggest that the clergy were not prominent and influential in colonial society, but it should never be forgotten that ordinary lay people also freely and skilfully engaged in this symbolic discourse and were not passive receivers of a language they did not understand and could not use.

María Pizarro, a young and intelligent woman, provides an excellent illustration of this process of symbiosis. As the middle daughter of a family of five children, she had an upbringing fairly typical of her social status. Like many young girls of the higher social classes she had spent time in a convent.[33] Her father, Martín Pizarro, had been a benefactor of the Church of La Merced and was buried there in a side chapel. One of her brothers, also named Martín, was training in the Jesuit noviciate. In the short time the Jesuits had been in Lima the family had to a large extent come under the Society's spiritual protection.[34] María, therefore, was no stranger to Catholic symbolic discourse and she had very good reasons for wishing to use it to her best possible advantage. Not only had she experienced the symptoms of a demonic possession and been carried, screaming and convulsing, first to the Archbishop and then to the church in full view of the public to undergo a series of traumatic exorcisms;[35] she was now also being blamed for the embarrassing failure of the exorcists to cast out her demons. In a fascinating turn of events, just as the exorcists had found a way of remoulding her problem to fit their worldview, so now, in an extraordinary battle of wits, María decided to respond using the same code.

It is perhaps reasonable to assume that María could not have imagined that the exorcists were mistaken. At the same time, however, she needed to make sense of the glaring paradox that they had repeatedly failed to relieve her afflictions. The exorcists had given very good reasons to suggest that she was unrepentant, and this added a further, disturbing element to María's plight: in addition to her need to be relieved from her seizures, she was now faced with the unwelcome burden of the insistent psychological pressure put upon her by the exorcists to repent. Her response was quite staggering, both in its logical clarity and in its psychological ingenuity – proof, indeed, that she had not been slow to learn from the discussions, debates, doubts, confusions, clarifications and theological reaffirma-

tions that she had witnessed with monotonous regularity during the exorcisms and ritual drama carried out for several months in her own bedroom. It consisted in appropriating the authority of revelatory experience by interposing visionary intermediaries to act on behalf, firstly of the exorcists – by continuing their exhortations to María to repent –, and secondly of María herself – by defending her from demonic attack. In this way, these supernatural intermediaries effectively usurped the role of the exorcists. María's sufferings were thereafter able to disembody themselves, taking on the form of ethereal beings that projected María's plight onto the supernatural battle between light and darkness. It is hardly surprising that from now on María's testimonies became increasingly fantastical. She described, for example, how through the door walked an armoured figure carrying gold and white weapons. She referred to the figure as her *Armado* at the same time as she identified him with her guardian angel. Later, she told the gathered exorcists that St Dionysius himself had appeared to her, dressed in full episcopal regalia.[36] Instead of a crosier, however, he carried a lance with which he speared the demons that were present in the room.[37]

To the modern reader, such declarations will inevitably appear confused and contradictory, and therefore unreliable for understanding what actually occurred, or María's actual capabilities, or her experiences during the period of her possession and exorcisms. There is, unfortunately, little reliable evidence to reconstruct the physical day-to-day events and present a trustworthy account of what actually took place. But even if such information existed, it would add little of value to the point of interest here; namely, that however confused and contradictory María's declarations might seem to the modern mind, they make good sense in the intellectual context of the time and what María herself succeeded in making of it. Her heavenly champions, for instance, were skilfully and deliberately portrayed so as to evoke reverence and devotion in those gathered around her bedside. In effect they served as imaginary iconographic devices aimed at stimulating the piety of the exorcists and other onlookers. In a sense, these visions acted as counterweights to the exorcists' persistent accusations that María persisted in making sacrilegious confessions.[38] The fact that she was being defended by angels and saints was acutely suggestive that there might well be a divine purpose behind her protracted possession. If that was the case, then her possession was not merely a case of her being unrepentant. With God 'visibly' aiding her, the exorcists had to think again about the real reason for their repeated failure to exorcize her demons. By her use of the same symbolic code as the priests, in other words, María was able to deflect the attempts of the exorcists to blame her, in a way that left the question of culpability looming over the exorcists themselves.

It is tempting to suspect that María was, in fact, unrepentant and that she was using a cynical strategy to manipulate contemporary imagery to protect her reputation. But such suspicions are highly speculative, and it would be just as reasonable to assume that her response was perfectly sincere. If she *was* confi-

dent of her own innocence, then she would have been at a loss to explain her continued possessions. In that context, visions such as those described above provided the answer that María needed: a release from outside pressure, and some measure of hope. However that may be, the point to notice here is that María's arguments carried considerable weight at the time. There were, of course, many who expressed deep scepticism, just as there were many who were persuaded. But what needs emphasis is that it was difficult for the people of María's close community to demonstrate convincingly that her arguments were either irrational or theologically erroneous. Her use of imagery, in particular, was perfectly in tune with the expectations and sensibilities of the citizens of Lima.[39] Not only was she being defended by an angel (a perfectly natural supposition given the contemporary belief that individuals had guardian angels to defend them from evil), but the angel was also exhorting her to obey her spiritual leaders and social superiors, and urging her to conform to current social norms. Similarly, her vision of St Dionysius coming to her aid as a warrior bishop in princely robes would have been seen by the onlookers as a sign that the full weight of the Church hierarchy, stretching back to the early church, was protecting her. Added to this was the extra authority granted to the image by the saint's open display of the emblem of the Dominican order, long charged with the major share of theological and juridical responsibility within the Catholic church.[40] Additionally, this emblem appeared under the letters IHS, which, as the witness Pedro de Toro noted in his testimony, were the insignia of the Society of Jesus.[41] In this way, the authority of both the religious orders present at the exorcism was represented in María's visionary allegory, one which is as likely to have developed from the culture in which she was bred and nurtured as from whatever she had managed to assimilate and appropriate from her traumatic experiences as a demoniac. In no way could she be described as an outcast from her own cultural tradition.

A similar reverence towards the sacraments and the liturgy was displayed in her visions of her guardian angel.[42] Juxtaposed against the memory of her extremely violent rejection of the sacraments during her possession, and the knowledge that those possessed would writhe in pain in an anxious attempt to distance themselves from the sacred, there appeared a calm, pious image of an angel kneeling in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament.[43] This was not the moment for violence. Indeed, the angel, himself a warrior, had laid aside his weapons and placed his banner before the altar in a gesture of homage. This angel was therefore almost an extension of María herself:[44] at peace and at prayer in homage before the divine presence. In sharp contrast to her demonic seizures, these were among María's most rational and lucid moments; they demonstrated her complete return to the intellectual, symbolic and spiritual framework of viceregal society.

The angel, without his armour, was perceived to radiate beauty and innocence – a clear sign of his divine origin.[45] Moreover, he was described as 'like those that they paint here',[46] which fits in with Pedro de Toro's observation that María's depic-

tion of the eucharistic Lamb on the angel's banner was similar to the lamb painted on representations of St John the Baptist.[47] María's visions of such orthodox and approved symbolic icons placed her firmly within the vividly sensory spiritual tradition in which she lived. It is unlikely that María could have perceived these beings in anything other than their commonly accepted forms. To do so would have been tantamount to challenging the nature of Revelation. To those in a position to assess María's case, God would never have chosen to reveal himself to her in a manner inconsistent with Revelation. Hence by visualizing such well-known figures in such stylized forms, María was once again invoking the authority and protection of a centuries-old and well-attested tradition.

María's visions were not limited to seeing stilted and unmoving icons, such as those in the alcoves of her parish church. They interacted with her and, through her, with the other actors in her room. They brought complex allegory to life, exemplified by her vision of the Eucharistic Lamb that jumped down from the angel's banner and stood next to the Blessed Sacrament until she had consumed it.[48] The little lamb of St John envisioned by María would have been immediately understood by those involved to be a representation of Christ;[49] but the vision also associated the angel's Lamb with the Blessed Sacrament, both spatially – as it jumped down onto the altar and stood next to the host – and temporally – for, as María consumed the host, the Lamb jumped back into her angel's flag. When we consider that the Eucharist was widely believed to be the central source of human community, the one sacrament that most effectively united believers with the mystical body of Christ,[50] María's otherwise apparently disjointed and seemingly unfocused visionary experiences make perfect sense. Contemporaries would have had no difficulty in understanding why, at the very moment when María was physically united with the Body of Christ and her community through the reception of the Eucharist, her vision fulfilled their symbolic unification with impeccable logic. Her vision, in other words, confirmed her conversion and re-acceptance into her physical and spiritual community and helped to explain her 'great contrition' that day.[51]

And yet, it was the very logic in María's seemingly confident response, carefully framed in the symbolic code of contemporary intellectual theological discourse, that threw the exorcists into a further theological quandary.[52] It was clear that María had not responded, as they had probably hoped, with a full and sincere conversion enabling a successful exorcism to follow; instead, María's visions and saintly champions pointed to a possible higher purpose in her possession. This possibility was not easily solved by recourse to precedent and tradition. The signs that they requested from the spirits under exorcism were not forthcoming and control over the appropriate ritual process, which under normal circumstances would have been taken for granted, was cast into doubt as the exorcists were forced to debate what was appropriate and, much more significantly, whether the visions were divine or diabolical.

## Discernment and Control

In any case involving visions or possible possession, it was the question of discernment that needed to be solved before any other. Were the visions or seizures caused by internal or by external forces? If they were judged to be externally influenced, then it was imperative to establish whether they were natural, divine or demonic. In *Lucrecia's Dreams*, Richard Kagan traces how theories slowly developed around the possibility that dreams and visions could be considered media for supernatural influences; but the often insoluble problem was to determine whether they were signs of a divine revelation or of a diabolical delusion – a problem that was further complicated by the almost identical nature of the symptoms that both kinds of dreams and visions invariably presented.[53] The Church fathers, among them Augustine and Gregory the Great, and, later, Thomas Aquinas, drawing from Scripture but also from Aristotelian and Platonic learning, had tended towards extreme prudence when it came to dream and vision interpretation.[54] The general consensus was that whilst it was entirely possible that God or Satan wished to influence people directly through visions, the difficulties of distinguishing between the divine and the demonic were so great that it was a matter best not meddled with.

Such caveats, however, were of little help to those confronted with situations that required immediate action. In proportion as such cases increased, as they did quite noticeably from the late thirteenth century onwards, later commentators were obliged to develop more specific analyses of the problem. Jean Gerson's *De probatione spiritum* and *De distinctione verarum visionum a falsis*, for example, written in the fifteenth century, became 'a *vademecum* no confessor or inquisitor could be without', and directly influenced other widely disseminated works such as the *Malleus Maleficarum*.[55] A portion of Gerson's instructions was also included in the Spanish Inquisition's *Interrogatorio para el examen de revelaciones, visiones, y sueños*.[56] However, the question of the discernment of spirits was never definitively resolved. There was broad agreement based on Scripture and tradition, but certain important details were left dangerously open to interpretation.

The debates after the onset of María Pizarro's seizures by no means indicated a general scepticism towards the possibility of possession; but, in keeping with the contemporary intellectual uncertainties regarding the matter, they were also open to the normal procedure of discernment, and perhaps even hid some measure of scepticism and hostility towards María herself. As news of María's affliction spread throughout the town, therefore, it is not surprising that public opinion was neither inclined to agreement nor to be particularly compassionate in its diagnosis. Some said that she was suffering from a physical ailment; others called her a fraud and even spread gossip hoping to belittle her name.[57] These latter testimonies highlight petty hatreds and jealousies, and the feuds that occurred

between families in sixteenth-century Lima, all of which had an inevitable impact on how the case was received and interpreted.

As we have seen, María's family quickly called on the patronage of the Jesuits to defend their honour by affirming that her possession was real.[58] Ironically, however, the diagnosis made by Luis López was by no means definitive, and it may well have laid the ground for the increasingly contradictory nature of the various explanations preserved in the documentation. Visions, for instance, could be considered spiritual, such as the eschatological visions of St John, or purely imaginary.[59] Moreover, it was commonly understood that the devil could quite easily manipulate the human imagination and passions to his advantage.[60] To make matters more complex, Jean Gerson's writings linked visions and revelations with brain damage, melancholia and other common afflictions frequently brought on by excessive austerity due to extreme piety.[61] Melancholia, a sickness thought to be affected by an imbalance in the bodily humours that gave rise to an excess of black bile, was believed to cause hallucinations and visions, and was also an affliction that women were considered especially prone to. This had in fact been the immediate supposition made by the Archbishop of Lima, Jerónimo de Loaysa, when he was first confronted with María Pizarro.[62] Soon afterwards, however, María's seizures in Loaysa's presence became so violent there could no longer be any doubt that demonic possession might well be a possibility. It was then that Loaysa gave the Jesuit Provincial charge over the exorcisms.[63] The question of the authority to deal with such cases was based on the scriptural teaching of apostolic succession. Pedro Ciruelo, for example, is vitriolic in his condemnation of those who practice exorcism without authority, arguing that power over demons was granted by Christ to the apostles and was passed down to priests in strict apostolic succession. Lay people that practiced exorcism were, therefore, gravely suspect of being necromancers and sorcerers.[64]

Up until this point the discernment process was working well. The exorcists had diagnosed the possession and had referred their diagnosis to the highest ecclesiastical authority. The Archbishop had in turn, after some initial scepticism, affirmed their diagnosis and delegated the responsibility and authority for casting out the invasive presences from María to a group of exorcists who could not, at least at this stage, be suspected of necromancy or sorcery. As we have seen, however, the situation became more highly charged when such duly appointed ministers repeatedly failed to exorcize María's demons successfully. It is understandable that their immediate response to such an embarrassing and potentially destabilizing succession of failures was to insist that their faith in their own abilities to face the challenge remained unshaken. Yet, the recourse they understandably took to the guiding authority of Scripture to shore up their position inevitably led them into further difficulties.[65] Even for accomplished theologians, Scripture could prove to be a minefield. Recognized and approved commentators often provided divergent approaches to Bible passages. When these were lifted

out of their specific theological contexts and applied as normative guides to the more pedestrian moments of everyday life, the results could be exceptionally confusing and contradictory. 1 John 4:1, advised exorcists to test the spirits to see if they were of God.[66] Jean Gerson, whose writings on discernment had practically become canonical by the sixteenth century, subsequently based a practical method on this passage and devised a Latin verse as an *aide-de-memoir*: 'Tu quis, quid, quare, cui, qualiter, under, requiere'.[67] It is important to bear in mind that Gerson's method was designed primarily for examining the truth of revelations by questioning the visionary and not by questioning the spirit under exorcism.[68] In the context of María Pizarro's affliction, this caveat is a subtle but crucial one that her exorcists seemingly failed to consider. They also failed to heed the warning of other cautious commentators such as Pedro Ciruelo, who adamantly insisted that all contact with the spirit was to be avoided in an exorcism. The exorcist should follow Christ's example and limit himself to binding the demon physically and preventing it from speaking. This precaution was taken in order to prevent the devil from influencing the listeners, for, 'as a dragon, he vomits poison into the hearts of those who hear him and causes the perdition of many souls'.[69] Unfortunately, in our case the very demon that María's exorcists should, according to Ciruelo, have commanded to be silent, had also appeared in the guise of an angel. If it really were an angel, treating it as a demon could be considered tantamount to a rejection of God. This predicament could clearly not be solved by a refusal to speak with the spirit.

It was then that the bewildered exorcists thought it appropriate to bind the angel and force it to tell them who and what it was.[70] According to the method laid down in 1 John 4:1 and by Gerson, they had fulfilled the necessary requirements in order to discern properly whether María's spiritual protector – referred to throughout the trial as *el Armado* – was in fact an angel or a demon in the angel's guise. Their experience appeared to support the former. Until then, the angel had seemingly helped to cast out María's demons. If her visions were to be believed, he had lanced them and defended her from demonic attack. Similarly he had scolded her for her disobedience and, like the exorcists, persistently urged her to repent and return to God. Yet, the difficulties in telling the difference between good and evil spirits remained and it is not surprising that Luis López, the principal exorcist, decided to ask for a sign to prove that the angel was telling the truth.[71]

As this battle for clarification was taking place, there began to emerge another, more subtle sparring: the struggle for control of the symbolic narrative and the ritual of exorcism itself. The exorcists, already wrong-footed by their initial failure, were once again found to be indecisive. Above all, they needed absolute faith in their ability to compel the spirit to speak the truth. Yet the angel spoke and López was not satisfied. He demanded a physical sign. Had such a sign been given, López might have been satisfied; but it is clear that he would have been

no nearer the truth. After all, such signs could be given by good and evil spirits alike. As it happened, María's spirit refused to comply with López's request, once again wresting ritual control from the exorcist. Instead, her angel allowed María to be repossessed in order to demonstrate the difference between himself and the demons.

True to the maxim 'divide and conquer', the devil here seemed to have driven a wedge between the exorcists. The Jesuits remained highly suspicious; the Dominicans were more trusting. The Jesuits' suspicions were apparently confirmed when the demons, belying the angel's assurances, returned to María shortly after the group had gone their separate ways. The angel blamed López for giving up, but López remained convinced that the angel was a demon[72] and, like a sixteenth-century Laocoön, soon found that his caveats were falling on deaf ears. The angel's strategy seemed insidiously clever and, in fact, succeeded in reversing the culpability for the situation so that it fell squarely on the shoulders of Lima's Laocoön. It soon became increasingly likely that the angel had not lied when he had said that María was free and the demons would not return; what had happened, rather, was that López had neglected his duty to the girl's spiritual welfare. It was now López who went under a shadow of disgrace, and María and her armoured champion were left holding the field. From that point on, the Jesuits refused to have anything more to do with the exorcisms, leaving María's mother to plead with the apparently more credulous Dominicans for aid.

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Compared to the apparent cautiousness of the Jesuits, the Dominican exorcists, Pedro de Toro, Alonso de Gasco, and Francisco de la Cruz, appeared surprisingly naïve. Not only did they begin by taking on faith that María's armoured apparition was indeed of divine origin, thereby disregarding previous cautions and precedent requiring careful discernment, but, according to the testimony, upon losing their copy of a powerful Franciscan exorcism, they also allowed the angel to dictate another to them.[73]

It is not unreasonable to suspect that by this time María would have memorized the exorcisms practiced on her day and night for months previously. However, for the purpose of this analysis it is more important to envisage the ironic situation of a demoniac literally dictating to three exorcists the very exorcism that they were to carry out in order to exorcize her. Not only had María and her spiritual champion succeeded in unbalancing the exorcists; they had also achieved a complete reversal of the ritual hierarchy and order so necessary to maintain the symbolic framework. Ciruelo's warnings of the dangers inherent in listening to a demon through the mouth of a demoniac could not have been more pertinent.[74]

Having usurped control over the ritual framework, María's spiritual champion proceeded to increase its hold over the exorcists by ingratiating itself with them and setting María up as a figure of quasi-divine authority.[75] The rhetoric María

used drew heavily on the symbolic language of the Eucharist, particularly the notions of the suffering servant and the sacrificial Lamb. The parallels were clear for all to see: María's torments had indeed been expiatory, allowing her to share in Christ's suffering. God had then taken pity on her and intervened just as he had sent an angel to comfort Jesus during his own agony in Gethsemane.[76] Clearly, María was here being deemed worthy of a degree of divine patronage that was far above the one that the institutional Church and her ministers could provide.[77]

In order to maintain and increase this position of authority, at first María had to balance her behaviour very carefully, affecting the humility expected of a young woman under spiritual guidance. She had to continue to endure the exorcisms as her seizures continued, the exhortations to obedience and a number of dietary restrictions such as the prohibition to eat 'things that often induced the demons such as *lúcumas* or other earthly things'.[78] Underneath all this, however, María began to develop a consistent strategy to conquer the minds of the Dominicans. Her strongest weapon was the misplaced pride of the exorcists in their own ability and sanctity.[79] What María said was ostensibly meant to flatter the friars, while at the same time she jabbed sharply at their consciences by reminding them that it was not her they were dealing with, but divine entities who knew far more theology than they could ever hope to know. At the same time, these 'saints' were placing themselves at the very service of the exorcists. Whenever María felt that control was slipping from her grasp, she resorted to this ploy to regain it.

Yet again the exorcists gave ground. Gasco and Francisco de la Cruz were quickly taken with the idea of a readily available source of supernatural knowledge and returned time and again to María's house to bind the angel to give answers to theological questions. The angel did not appear to waste any opportunity to stroke their already inflated egos. On one occasion, for example, he informed them that their own guardian angels were cherubs of the highest order.[80] Here, María's angel was, of course, playing a highly dangerous and risky game. At any moment he could make a serious mistake and alert the exorcists that they had been strung along. The more questions they asked the greater the risk that one of the replies might be flawed. María's angel, however, seemed able to hold his own in a continuing attempt at discernment which drove the Dominicans into ever more intricate theological details. At one point, for instance, they put it to the angel that, according to Aquinas, if a spirit was of divine origin, then they would be left in no doubt as to that fact.[81] The implication was clear: the very fact that they had doubts indicated that María's angel was not of God. And if this was the case, then it was either an invention of María's imagination, or it was diabolical.

Theologically, it should have been difficult for María's angel to respond to this argument; yet he deftly sidestepped the argument and returned to the attack by laying all blame at the feet of the exorcists. It was, he claimed, for their own sinfulness that God allowed them to be plagued with doubts. Only when they had succeeded in their task of liberating María completely from the demons would

they be allowed to experience enlightenment.[82] Here, María's angel seemed adept at applying the carrot and stick, besting the Dominicans intellectually whilst still flattering their egos, for as Gasco recounts, 'in these talks we would always be promised [...] that we would be great servants of God'.[83]

The intellectual sparring continued throughout the time María was supposedly in the charge of the Dominicans. Clumsily formed questions such as 'how long before God created the world did he create the Seraphim?' were quickly rebuffed, for example, with responses made all the more scathing by their brevity: 'time did not exist before God created the world'.[84] Better questions that should have given the priests fair indication that they were not dealing with an all-knowing entity of divine origin were rendered useless by their own uncertainty about questioning an entity whom they believed (most of the time) to be sacred. Won over by an intoxicating but deadly mixture of flattery and cleverness, the Dominicans finished up in the grip of María's angel.[85]

Even the threat of scandal and the anger of María's family were not sufficient to alert the exorcists to the danger they were in. María's angel soon began to blackmail them into fetching jewels, rings and necklaces to 'entertain' María and prevent her from giving in to demonic temptation. Such requests did not stop at jewels. The angel also asked for rich robes, satins and silks to make the robes and vestments that María had envisioned the saints wearing and for the friars to paint devotional images of the Immaculate Conception that the angel would later bless.[86] This was the beginning of a production line of holy objects that would be associated with the new devotion that María predicted would spring up around her and her angel and saints.[87] Gasco bitterly related how they pathetically trawled Lima's silk merchants for the requested material. They were ordered not to send others for it but to bring it themselves. Even this ignominy, he laments, did not open their eyes.[88]

Crucially, all these events did not shake the faith of the actors in the validity of their symbolic framework. To the contrary, all that had happened served to reinforce the caveats of the more cautious commentators like Pedro Ciruelo, and to affirm the teachings of Scripture in the eyes of those who cared to look.

## Forbidden Fruit: The Devil, Society and Sixteenth-Century Reality

The struggle for control between María's angel and the Dominican exorcists was not the only dynamic affecting this convoluted case. Initially at least, María's life was not solitary and her social contact was not limited to the spiritual advisors who came to visit her, her mother, and her sisters. The trial transcripts (exasperatingly complex in their twists, turns and overlarge cast list) not only show how a young woman apparently managed convincingly to appropriate the theological

and symbolic discourse of the time, but they also highlight the rich tapestry of life in Lima in the late sixteenth century.

A crucial point to bear in mind is that the complex symbolism that emerges from this case in fact formed a key part of the structural framework by which ordinary people regulated and gave meaning to their daily lives and beliefs. Where the majority of lay people, as well as some members of the lesser clergy, differed from the authorities, was in their comparatively greater receptivity to the symbolic frameworks of other cultures that they encountered. The spiritual frontiers between cultures were by no means closed, permitting a great deal of trans-border traffic between diverse peoples who regularly came into contact with each other in household service, the skilled trades, in the streets, the markets, and other public spaces. As we shall see, interpretations of this inter-cultural, spiritual and social interaction often became intertwined with the ways in which people understood and attempted to defend themselves from Satan's presence.

In María's own household, dominated by the powerful figure of her mother, we can see numerous instances of such socio-cultural and spiritual exchange. The result of the tension between María and her mother regarding her impending enclosure in a convent is a case in point. That parents should insist that a daughter enter a convent was nothing unusual. For a family to have the spiritual support of a religious house, moreover, was no shameful thing. Furthermore, the question of personal vocation was often not even considered necessary. Nevertheless, daughters did not necessarily have to bend meekly to the pious wishes of their mothers. The information provided by María's confessor indicates that she thought that unreasonable pressure was being put upon her to enter. To add insult to injury, her mother forced María to relinquish her inheritance in favour of her younger sister.[89]

It is possible that María's mother had grown impatient with her daughter's apparent unwillingness to comply with the role expected of a member of her class. An outburst to the mother superior of a convent where María was educated for a while is very revealing in this respect. Her daughter, María's mother complained, had never applied herself to a woman's office, but only to reading and playing an instrument.[90] That María in fact had these skills, often considered wasteful and dangerous in a woman, would tally with what we already know of her as a precocious and quick-witted girl. In his study of the Illuminist women of Lima, Iwasaki Cauti notes that in Baroque society,

> women who did not wish to remain perpetually buried by grey domestic routine might find reading a stimulating distraction. Nevertheless, the most dangerous books for a rampant imagination were neither *La Celestina*, nor the adventures of *Amadís*, but rather the theological compendiums and the prayer books, the lives of the saints and the mystical treatises.[91]

The purpose behind describing María's relationship with her mother and younger sister is not to attempt a quasi-Freudian analysis of María's possession – that she was, for example, suffering from a subconscious psychosis brought about by her intensely conflictive relationship with her mother. This may well have been the case, but what concerns us here is the relationship from within the symbolic framework of the time, as the actors themselves would have understood it. As Pedro de Toro related, the fractious family relationship was indeed the primary cause of María's possession. But we need to remember that Toro did not intend this to be understood in a way that would make sense to a modern psychological investigation. What we learn from the available evidence is that María had once been forced by her mother to make a vow, in her father's chapel, promising herself to God and vowing never to marry.[92] As we have seen, she had also been forced to relinquish her inheritance and dowry in favour of her younger sister. Besides, in tune with currently accepted practice, she was also commonly beaten to correct what her mother considered to be her wayward nature. It is hardly surprising, given this evidence, that her melancholy increased and that 'she swore and offered herself to the demons from the bottom of her heart, so that Our Lord allowed [one] to appear to her in a *corral* beneath a fig tree (or so she said publicly)'.[93] What would be misleading, however, is the understandable assumption that María's possession was the direct result of her frustration and anger. In fact, according to the symbolic discourse of the time, the devil's victory over María had much more to do with her apparent disregard the fourth commandment: to 'Honour thy father and mother'. It was primarily this failing that had caused the defences put in place by her Christian upbringing to crumble away, undermined from without by the devil's assaults and from within by María's unfortunately destructive family relations. The most important point for the actors at the time was that the devil did not breach María's bastion in an all-out assault. Instead, it was María herself who finally opened the gates to the enemy by attacking the very fabric of her family-oriented and strictly hierarchical society. To contemporary onlookers, therefore, the cause and effect would have seemed clear: by rejecting God's law, María had violently torn herself away from the protective cocoon of her own society and opened her arms to the devil's embrace.

María's defection was widely perceived to cause her dreadful torments. No matter how willingly individuals went over to the devil, it was accepted doctrine that their souls would still writhe in horror at his presence, a horror that would be combined with the pain caused to the body and soul by their separation from the divine.[94] At the same time, however, María's self-imposed spiritual exile provided her with a perverse comfort: she was now beyond the rules of society and free to disown her mother's love.[95] As she recounted to the Inquisitors, the devil had told her that, with her consent, he would reap vengeance on her mother, an offer that would have not gone unnoticed when part of her mother's house collapsed and a

number of livestock sickened and died soon afterwards, despite María's insistence that she had never agreed to the devil's proposal.[96]

So there appear to be two very different sides to María: one eaten up by rage against her mother, and another showing evidence of the last vestiges of her conscience struggling to return to God. Of course, María's denial that she had acceded to the devil's persistent request that he take vengeance on her mother was made to the Inquisitors at least one year after the fact. Clearly, this could be understood as part of a general stratagem to lessen her culpability. But allowance should be made for the likelihood that the constant work of the exorcists urging her conversion throughout the possession might have had some effect. Indeed, in her testimony, there is plenty of evidence of a bitter battle between María's conscience in the form of her visions on the one hand, and her desire on the other.[97]

Yet again, the inner struggle that María was undergoing here is highly illustrative, not only of the difficulties and frustrations brought about by her family relations, but also of the inconsistencies and contradictions inherent in the spiritual discourse that she had so ably appropriated. On the one hand, her 'saints' were allegedly telling her that, if even Jesus had obeyed his mother, then so should she. On the other, María was aware that, if she followed the advice of her 'saints', her mother would punish her further for taking notice of them. Her conscience was in no mood for sympathetic consolation as her saints brutally pointed out that her rejection of God's law had caused her possession in the first place, and that her impenitence and continued refusal to return to the fold would effectively remove all possibility of benefiting from God's mercy.[98] In a manner almost reminiscent of a cursing, María was in effect told to go to hell.[99]

It is perfectly possible that this bitter argument might have derived from those that may well have occurred between María and her mother, now turned over and over in María's mind in a spiritual projection of her troubles. In her possession, therefore, María could well have become a conduit for projecting interpersonal relationships onto the supernatural world, whilst at the same time enabling the spirits of her tortured visionary world to interact through her with the material world in which she lived. Whilst we are better able to appreciate María's spiritual world if we can grasp the details of her physical environment, paradoxically, analysing her discourse with her spirits in the trial transcripts also permits us to understand a great deal about the relationships she had with the world around her. Just as interaction between people, saints and devils in the sixteenth century was believed to be very much a two-way activity, so too are we able to re-read the daily interaction between María and these supernatural beings in order to comprehend more about the way in which her society functioned.

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As we have seen, María's society understood the devil to be constantly searching for different ways to penetrate, weaken and ultimately destroy it. His attacks,

therefore, were often perceived to be varied and unexpected. It comes as no surprise, in this context, that even as María was thought to be giving herself over to the demonic, the demons also attacked her older sister, Ana. During the last stage of her affliction, María was living in the house of Ana and her husband Juan Blázquez.[100] The closeness between the two sisters courted disaster. On one occasion, for example, as Ana was seated in the window, María felt the impulse to jump from the bed and grab her, catapulting them both out of the unbarred window in each others' arms. According to Pedro de Toro, María had attempted suicide on numerous occasions before.[101] This was the devil's endgame, both the cause and final effect of an individual's total isolation from the surrounding community. It was the ultimate self-excommunication.[102]

But the alleged powers of the devil inside tormented individuals and their fraught relations with close relatives were often just as threatening when these powers were perceived as external forces. In a society thought to be under siege from the forces of evil, those who were not initiates and members were often suspected of being already co-opted or coerced by the devil. There existed a tendency to demonize those who were 'without' based on a reversal of the scriptural precedent 'for he that is not against us is for us'.[103] If we consider that the Christian body existed on various levels[104] the Hispanic-colonial family formed another of these layers, as families came together to form the fabric of society and nurtured and protected the individual. Just as Satan laid siege to individual human bodies, so too he persistently attacked the Hispanic family, attempting to drive it apart and destroy it.[105] The defensive strategies of a Hispanic-colonial family, therefore, mirrored those of Hispanic society as a whole.

One of the greatest dangers to the fabric of a family unit was posed by the Don Juan figure, a threat to the honour and virtue of maidens. Daughters were jealously guarded by fathers and brothers from any amorous approaches by unworthy suitors. Should a girl's honour be tainted, so too would the honour of her family. As Patricia Seed explains:

> Sexual honour, although the preserve of women, also concerned men. A man could be dishonoured by the public disclosure of the sexual activities of a sister or wife [...] Public embarrassment was worse than death. To subject a woman to public shame, moreover, would humiliate not just her but her entire family'.[106]

Don Juan stories were toned-down instances of Satan's tireless attempts to win over individuals with delusions of pleasure, drawing them away from society to their ultimate destruction. In this way, not only would the individual in question be harmed but the individual's family as well. Not surprisingly, the Don Juan figure was also present in María's diabolical drama. Her sister told the priests that a young merchant called Diego Martínez de Baeza was sending her gifts via an intermediary, a woman, variously described as black and mulatta.[107] Given that her mother had decided that María would be a nun, her courtship with Diego

had to be secret. First began the secret messages and gifts. Soon enough, however, Diego scaled the porch, made a hole in the roof to get in to the house, and entered María's room through a window.[108] Then, according to the testimony of María's onetime confessor, Diego slept with her for many nights before she became pregnant and gave birth to a child.[109]

Gasco's testimony twists the tale yet again, with a shocking and macabre allegation: 'because she had offered her firstborn to the demons [...] she gave it to the demons in front of Diego Martínez and drowned it'.

According to María's confession to Gasco there was also present at the time of the infanticide, an Indian friend and the mulatta go-between; the Indian woman had taken the baby away to bury it.[110] The emerging picture is almost that of classic European witchcraft wherein a group of witches (often three) sacrifice an infant before a male demon.[111]

Interestingly, however, the image became particular to colonial Hispanic America as it passed from the imaginations of María and her confessor, for the three female accomplices who allegedly participated in the infanticide, María, the mulatta go-between and her Indian friend, were representative of the three different cultures of colonial Peru; the Spanish, the African and the Indian.[112] Diego, meanwhile, was fast disappearing from material reality, apparently becoming a macabre fantasy in María's own mind. Yet, other witnesses affirmed to the priests that something was going on. On one of their nocturnal escapades, a mestizo pageboy in the service of Juan Blázquez had seen a man crossing the corridor and raised the alarm.[113] Juan, apparently, had rushed out to confront the intruder but could find no one.[114]

It appeared that María's presence in the house cast a dark shadow over the whole family. In tandem with the demonic siege of Hispanic society, here was a family unit under siege. It was against this backdrop of mistrust that the trespasser became progressively shadowy. If he was once real, he fast became ethereal and demonic in the minds of the observers. The process of shifting the frontiers of reality by combining the figures of the devil and María's lover was continued by the Dominican Pedro de Toro, as he recounted María's affair to the Inquisitors. A youth, he admitted, did indeed talk to a mestizo boy and another mestiza who were both from the house, asking them to pass small gifts to María. Toro then placed a particularly diabolical slant on the affair, however, suggesting that the devil had appeared in the form of a local youth and had spoken to the servant boy in an attempt to pass her gifts.[115]

Meanwhile, it transpired that María had taken to amusing herself by peering out of her windows onto the busy streets below, a habit considered morally reprehensible at the time.[116] Indeed, her angel continually scolded her 'looseness' for appearing at the window.[117] She and the traders were visible to each other making illicit liaison perfectly possible. Already inclined to believe that María's suitor

was a diabolical illusion, however, Pedro de Toro was quite happy to accept the accused youth's solemnly sworn oath that he had had nothing to do with María.

Interestingly, this time the victim of the illusion was someone other than María. The conversation had occurred between the illusory subject and the mestizo servant boy. Either the devil's power in relation to María was apparently great enough to confuse those around her, or the real Don Juan was hiding under the devil's cloak. Either way, what is important is the ease with which the person of the lover became a demonic figure in the minds of the actors. Once this transfiguration had occurred, the entire affair could be treated retrospectively with a similar diabolizing process: 'She offered herself to the devil who appeared to her [...], taking the form (she says) of a youth that she well liked'.[118] Once again, what was real and what was ethereal became extremely difficult to distinguish, as innocent conversations with a boyfriend became parlances with the devil, and promises to persuade María's mother to let the pair marry became diabolical delusion.[119] As the courtship gave way to gifts and then to rituals, the boundaries between the material world, fantasy about that material world, and the diabolical dissolved completely:

> Two or more years passed before the demons were discovered [...] Between them there were gifts and presents [...] To him she gave clothes that had been marked with her blood taken from her ring finger, hairs from her head, and a jet ring [...] the devil gave her things to eat, a Castilian pear, a salad, and a potion that an Indian woman had given her.[120]

Together with this diabolization of the lover, we see evidence also of the demonization of other cultures in the form of the indigenous woman who gave María the potion, and the mulatta who acted as a go-between between Diego and María. The Indian, we learn, was María's old nanny, now alleged to have been approached by the devil during María's worst sickness to offer to cure her. She had then taken a purgative to María in the form of a black potion with strict instructions not to bless it nor invoke the name of Jesus as it was taken.[121] Given that the indigenous healer would have prepared the recipe according to her own customs, invoking the powers inherent in the plants and her patron *huacas*, it is quite possible that she might have worried about conflicting invocations of the Christian saints angering the *huacas* which in turn would cause the medicine to fail. This becomes even more likely when we discover in María's testimony that the potion was to induce an abortion.[122] Whilst curative magic might by that stage already have been showing some signs of syncretism, especially in the urban centres, dark magic, poisons and potions to induce harm (including those to bring on abortions) would certainly have been believed to be rendered less effective by invocations of Christ and the saints.[123] However, even if the beverage given to María was merely a herbal cocktail concocted with a specific effect in mind, the indigenous healer, nanny and midwife, by carrying the black drink to María,

became one of Satan's emissaries in Pedro de Toro's testimony. Apparently, the effect of the drink dramatically increased María's demonic fixation. Already suspect as a healer from an alien culture, it was an easy step to place the indigenous woman in the service of Satan.

Toro's testimony proceeds to a description of the way in which María's 'demonic' lover treated her regally. Like an exotic African queen he robed her in rich taffeta and pearls and perfumed her clothes with the smoke of incense from a brazier while demons read from a book and made signs over the clothes as they filled with smoke.[124] Once dressed in the clothes poisoned by perfumed smoke and enchanted by the strange words and signs made over them, María was enraptured by her demonic lover. The entrapment was completed by the demons enchanting María's bed,[125] and the demonization of her illusive lover was completed.

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According to Toro's testimony, the enchanted bed was the one in which María finally gave herself over to the demons that had 'asked for her body', a spectacle that allegedly took place in the presence of visitors to the house.[126] But María now added a further twist to this exasperatingly convoluted story. She recounted her misfortune to the Inquisitors, telling them how her body gave signs of being pregnant after having intercourse with the devil; 'her womb began to swell like a pregnant woman and she felt a creature move inside'.[127] Then the demon, speaking through her, accused Luis López of being the father! Curiously, the accusation came as no great surprise to various people in the household who had for some time suspected the same.[128] After all, López had been continually exorcizing María over a succession of nights. He had bedded down on a mattress placed alongside María's bed so that he could sleep when tiredness overcame him.[129] Yet we also learn that they were never alone in the room; López was accompanied in the exorcisms and nocturnal vigil by a Jesuit companion, and Isabel de Contreras slept in the same bed as María.[130]

María then recounted that she miscarried during an exorcism that made her pass a great amount of blood and water. Apparently, no child was born, and this was grist to the mill of those Jesuits who held that the pregnancy had been diabolically induced. They were able to declare (with the authority of 'objective experience') the news that the affair had been a devilish attempt to damage the good name and reputation of the Society.[131] Nevertheless, their reputation was not secure. As María's imprisonment dragged on, her testimonies became increasingly more explicit as she described how, shortly after she moved to her sister's house, the devil entered her bedroom aptly attired in doublet and hose to hug, kiss and have intercourse with her.[132] In the subsequent hearing in the Inquisitorial chamber, only a day later, María qualified her statement, dramatically accusing Luis López of being the seducer.[133]

Soon enough López the seducer became López the corruptor. María had been terribly compromised by a man supposed to be her protector. She was terrified of the reaction of her mother, brothers, and brother-in-law should they find out. Meanwhile, she recounted to the Inquisitors, she was being blackmailed by the demon to let him lie with her as well. If she refused, then he would reveal to the community the affair between María and López.[134] Now there were three competing suitors, two human and one demonic. The cleric, in theory, was there to protect her from the one that was diabolical, although it was becoming increasingly difficult to tell them apart.

Petrified by the thought of her family's reaction should they suspect that the possession had all been a ruse in order to facilitate her affair with López, María began to think of ways to terminate the pregnancy. She then claimed that the devil brought a glass filled with a black liquid which she drank, at which she was struck by intense pains in her sides that lasted until the evening when her waters broke.[135] María then claimed that a girl called María Morisca took hold of the baby, and then the devil knocked the child out of her hands. They buried the evidence in the *corral*.[136]

In some important ways, María's version of events corroborates Gasco's testimony: that the child, a boy, was born alive and then offered to the devil. Gasco's source of information, of course, was either Pedro de Toro (who received his information from María in confession), or María herself. Effectively then, María was the sole source of contradictory information regarding the birth. As on previous occasions, the process of demonizing material events had the effect of causing the reality of those events to be called into question. But the Inquisitors' credulity was further tested when María retracted her statement about María Morisca, naming another girl, María Mestiza, as the one who helped her through the birth.[137] However, María Mestiza was now dead, as was María's sister Ana, and the story could not be corroborated. It was appearing more and more likely that the episode was the result of demonic delusion. To make matters worse, María now accused the Jesuit Provincial, Jerónimo Portillo, of much the same indiscretion as Luis López.[138] Such a serious accusation could not be substantiated and it only served to place all the other accusations made against Luis López in doubt.[139]

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This bizarre story, drawn out over more than six months, in which the devil developed into a Jesuit exorcist, whilst the two figures almost competed with each other for sexual prowess in María's bed, became even more extraordinary when María, now very sick in the Inquisition jail, began to retract her confessions as the Inquisitors moved towards ratification. She withdrew her statement about Jerónimo Portillo and reasserted her accusations against Luis López.[140] This time she was adamant that López had not lain with her more than twice, whilst the

devil had lain with her on many more occasions. A few days later, the resident doctor called the Inquisitors to her cell. María, it appeared, was dying and they must hurry in order to hear her last confession. Her statement came as a surprise to the Inquisitors.

The story had turned full circle. The demon had been transfigured into the Jesuit and had subsequently returned to his demon state. María transformed her narrative from one that the Inquisitors considered based on demonic delusion, into one that was accepted as based on fact, then back once again into demonic delusion. She claimed she had accused López falsely out of a desire for vengeance, and that the swelling of her womb and the false birth had all been caused by the devil.[141] The Inquisitors, however, could accept only that López was guilty of solicitation, since they could not accept that the devil had the power to effect such physical changes. Indeed, the second charge they laid against María was of believing that the devil could do all the things he had told her he could.[142] In their opinion, María had suffered from demonically inspired delusion, and given her clear repentance of the original pact, she received an extremely lenient sentence; full excommunication followed by complete absolution and re-admittance to communion after her abjuration of her sins.

The Inquisitors, however, would not release María until she had fully clarified whether or not López had been guilty of solicitation. This time she affirmed that López had kept vigil by her bedside and had slept on a mattress beside her bed, but time after time she remained adamant that he was innocent of her original accusations.[143] She would not re-accuse him, despite her failing health, despite her desperation to be set free, and despite the Inquisitors almost presenting her with a vision of freedom if she told the 'truth' about López. However, María was left in a world where she no longer knew what the truth was. She died over six months later in severe pain and still denying López's carnal involvement with her.

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Pilate saith unto him, What is truth?[144]

Ultimately, the story of María Pizarro's possession hinges on the thorny question of truth. Despite the impossibility of establishing exactly what happened from the extremely convoluted and contradictory information that has come down to us, the way in which the story developed and the changes of focus and nuance that can be reconstructed, however vaguely, bring to the fore the central notion that what is true for any given society must always be defined by a symbolic discourse which structures that truth, giving it a clear symbolic framework within which people might construct their lives.

María, like all the other members of her society, participated in its symbolic discourse. She lived in its reality. However, she was able to manipulate that dis-

course in order to escape that reality and create a new one for herself. By becoming an adept at talking in symbolic language she was able to beat the so-called masters at their own game. Yet there was a price to be paid. By removing herself from her society's reality, by 'excommunicating' herself from the body-politic, she cut herself off from the source of that body's life and, according to the rules of the discourse she was manipulating, she became one of those cast-out – an 'other', alienated by her own sin. Those entrusted to bring her back in, however, were not adequate for the job. By her mastery of their symbolic discourse María led them on a merry dance, almost a *danse macabre* on the road to their destruction. The truth was effectively obscured and reality was blurred.

For the actors of the time, the discourse itself was the only accepted means to perceive what was true. It was that which enabled people to understand María's affliction. Her possession had resulted from grave infractions of God's law. One deadly sin had been committed and a commandment wilfully broken. What was worse was that her envy towards her sister and her rejection of her mother were sins that could not be pinpointed to any particular moment. They were ongoing, eating away at her soul, undermining the fabric of her family and constituted an attack on the values of society itself.

As María's world became filled with phantasms, they could not help but spill out into the world around her, affecting those with whom she lived and those who came into contact with her. We see evidence of the process of demonization of outsiders: of cultural others, black and indigenous women; and, in María's case, of those who represented a threat to her family, the microcosm of her own society. Diego Martínez began his part in the narrative as a very real entity, fading gradually from the material world until he became a shadowy demon. López's demonization, however, reversed that process. The figure that assumed López's form began initially as the devil and suddenly became the Jesuit, a transformation surely appearing more believable to the modern reader who would assume that the affair between López and María was real and was demonized in her own mind. That interpretation of events, in actual fact, was also much more believable to the Inquisitors than her subsequent retraction and declaration of López's innocence. The process of his diabolization demonstrated that even exorcists were not exempt from being demonized. His was not a fall like that of the Dominicans. Rather, López's fall was more like that of the fall of Satan himself. He had been transformed into the enemy. María's protector had become the predator, 'the devil, as a roaring lion [...] seeking whom he may devour'.[145]

The grand spectacle that culminated in the fateful *auto de fe* of 1578 ended with the ruin and deaths of the principal actors. It was a tragedy that left its witnesses wondering what in fact was real and what was illusion, and how the enemy could have so dramatically penetrated the bastion-city of God.

# 3 THE DEVILS OF TRUJILLO AND THE PASSION OF THE POOR CLARES

> At the present time this city finds itself surrounded by fears due to the evil spirits that have taken possession of the bodies of twenty three, or twenty six professed nuns, novices and lay women.[1]

The diabolical siege of the Hispano-Christian world outlined above continued throughout the early modern period. Satan's wiles manifested themselves in the material world in attacks on the viceroyalty by Protestant corsairs from Northern Europe,[2] internal strife in the key city of Potosí,[3] involvement in severe earthquakes such as the one that devastated the Cuzco area in 1650,[4] floods, and volcanic eruptions like that of Huaynaputina close to Arequipa in February 1600.[5] Nor were spiritual assaults infrequent, and the increased circulation of hagiographies and spiritual guides made the culmination of the mystical journey – the very place where these assaults were characteristically thought to flourish – appear attainable to many more people.[6] Predictably, however, a large number of these would-be mystics were ill-equipped to deal with the strain that such religious exertion placed on their mind and body, and often they fell foul of religious and social authority as a result of what appeared to be potentially heterodox practices or beliefs through which Satan might gain a hold over the individual, penetrate the community, and undermine Christian society from within.[7]

Such was the case of the demoniac nuns of Trujillo in the 1670s.[8] As chaos reigned at the centre, evidence of the siege mentality discussed above became all the more prevalent. Fear within the community led to outsiders being typecast as in league with the devil and actively seeking to destroy the Christian community of Trujillo. Where better to attack than what should have been one of the most secure, ordered and pious institutions of the city, a spiritual bulwark of the community?[9] As we have seen from the demonization of María Pizarro's indigenous nanny and her mulatta neighbour, the propensity to demonize cultural outsiders was one that existed in the late-sixteenth century.[10] This chapter shall demonstrate that this tendency did not dissipate in the seventeenth. To the contrary,

at times the perceived state of diabolical siege can even be seen to have worsened. We should recognize, of course, that the Trujillo case discussed below was remarkable in its magnitude and that daily life, on the whole, took place without such dramatic spiritual trauma. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that the 'ordinary' in viceregal Peru could not take place outside a context of what we nowadays would consider extraordinary. For, in those days, the spiritual and the material worlds were intermingled in such a way that everyday life was filled with constant reminders of the precariousness of the material and the consequent helplessness of humanity in face of the spiritual.[11]

The process in 1674 against the nuns of Santa Clara opened with a desperate plea from the Commissioner of the Trujillo Inquisition, Juan López de Saabedra, to his superiors in Lima, in which he implored their advice. He claimed to write to them so that order might be restored to the town. The situation seemed at crisis point, for the first city of the north appeared to be besieged by terrors and threats of a demonic origin. The Commissioner's letter conveyed to the Lima officials the palpable sense of hysteria that had spread throughout the population as a result of the possessions.[12] The demonic infection had not been contained within the convent walls.

Cases of possession in the seventeenth century were not uncommon in the European-dominated world. The Inquisitorial process against the nuns of Santa Clara, however, reveals more than just another simple description of malevolent obsession. Firstly, the case is made especially significant by the scale of the affliction. Diabolic possessions of individuals seemed relatively common in the seventeenth century, but it was an unprecedented event in colonial Peru for a large number of nuns in a convent to be affected and for the affliction to spread into the town beyond. It is precisely its rarity and scale that make the case important, placing it in a global context alongside other similarly important European and Hispanic cases of the Baroque period.

The closest known case, temporally and geographically, also occurred in the New World, with the late-seventeenth century 'Demons of Querétaro' in the viceroyalty of New Spain.[13] These two cases present marked similarities. Indeed, whether or not the women were possessed at all was hotly disputed by the various religious orders of the towns involved. In both cases the Franciscan Order defended the possessions as genuine, and in both cases it was necessary for the Inquisition to intervene with the purpose of quelling the ever-increasing public hysteria in the towns and, more importantly, preventing scandal, both among the Christian townsfolk, and among the communities of the newly converted Indian neophytes.[14]

Back in Spain there had occurred a comparable case in the Madrid convent of San Plácido during the 1630s, when a group of nuns was condemned with sentences of varying severity alongside their spiritual advisor, who in fact received the strongest condemnation of them all.[15] Like the Trujillo case, the dynamic between

the nuns and their spiritual advisor was of notable importance. In such situations, often the possessed will have been working through a series of intense spiritual exercises under the guidance of their confessor, in whom they had complete trust. This placed the advisors in a position of great power over their spiritual charges, a practice that could, and did, have disastrous consequences in cases that involved abuse or error. In the Trujillo case, the spiritual advisor and defender before the Inquisition of the two principal demoniacs, Francisco del Risco, appeared to have complete faith in the sanctity of his charges, Luisa Benites and Ana Núñez, thus increasing their self-belief and encouraging them onto further mystical feats.[16]

These Hispanic possessions, however, have been largely overshadowed in history by the infamous story of Loudun, a political tragedy that climaxed with the fulmination of the charismatic preacher Urbain Grandier, accused by the town's Ursuline nuns led by the prioress Jeanne des Anges, of being the sorcerer responsible for their own diabolical afflictions.[17] This key episode has been generally interpreted to signal a turning point in the understanding of such cases of possession. On the one hand it heralded an emerging, empiricist scepticism in the face of apparently derisible evidence;[18] on the other, it is seen to mark a shift in Baroque spirituality, one that drew strength from the ascendancy of Jansenist- and Voluntarist-inspired trends in theology.[19] The apparent scepticism that arose in Loudun, in part due to overt social tensions and direct political influence on the case itself, and in part to changes in scientific method, is qualified by Fernando Cervantes's analysis of the demons of Querétaro. The Mexican Inquisition did not doubt the power of the demons to move within the world. Nevertheless, they were acutely aware of the damage that could be caused by false accusations and charlatanism, for such things would have 'the counterproductive effect of [...] promoting an idea of the demonic that seemed to put into question the very omnipotence of God'. Their intervention was deemed necessary in order that the concept of the devil might retain its credibility.[20] Such an approach appeared to fly in the face of long-established opinion that 'while one should not be too credulous', God permitted possessions in order 'that at least the Atheists should learn from this that which they do not believe, that there is something beyond this world'.[21]

These possessions were situated squarely in a larger theological debate that was taking place throughout Europe. How did such a terrible ordeal as possession fit into God's plan?[22] More specifically, the cases touched on the knotty problem of salvation and predestination, as the spiritual advisors and theological defenders of the demoniacs insisted their charges were possessed despite their innocence. It appeared that, by allowing the possessions, God was delivering a message to the general populace; and it was not sound reasoning to think that God would deliver an innocent soul over to Satan. He would surely only allow devils to possess innocents whom he was certain would have the strength to resist. Such theological reasoning took the Franciscan friars and their charges dangerously close to the

heretical presumption that, as they were innocent and God had allowed their possession, they could assume that God would not allow their souls to be lost.

All of the above cases bore witness to, and in fact resulted from, a theology that emphasized a Jobian relationship between God and the devil on the one hand, and humans subjected to misfortune as part of God's plan to humiliate the devil and purify the demoniac on the other. The torments of Lucifer and his minions became instrumental to the spiritual purgation of demoniacs, thereby helping them further along the path to salvation. This conceptualization of the devil and his torments as a salvific tool is especially apparent in the cases mentioned above and many others in the New World.[23] Similarly, Surin's willing acceptance of Jeanne des Anges's demons in Loudun can be seen as an imitation of Christ's passion for the salvation of others, the ultimate Christian sacrifice.[24] The Trujillo possessions, therefore, and their similarities with these other notable cases, are significant because they place the spirituality of Peru in a wider, international ideological context.

Interest in the demoniac Poor Clares of Trujillo, however, should not be confined to their contextualization in the world of intellectual and theological history. It is also important because it allows historians to piece together a picture of the impact of the possessions, both on the nuns' own community and on the wider secular society of which the convent formed a part. Kathryn Burns's study of convents in Cuzco breaks down common stereotypes of what 'enclosure' meant to the wider community.[25] She develops a concept of 'spiritual economy' and explains how the nuns, despite their physical enclosure, interacted with the wider community on a daily basis, carrying out business transactions at the parlour grill in order to survive. Theirs was a spiritual institution very firmly rooted in the material world.[26] The possessions in Trujillo underline this interaction between the nuns and the community that encompassed and sustained them. In normal society, the secular community supported the convent materially in return for the nuns' aiding the community's spiritual welfare. What happened behind the grill, therefore, also affected those outside, especially when a demonic infection began to spread beyond the cloister. Diabolical spirits were persecuting the city's daughters, sisters and aunts, causing the nuns severe torment and seemingly rendering them incapable of prayer. It was therefore the duty of the community to assist in any way it could:

> With grave penances, with the images of the Holy Christ of Guaman, the Holy Christ of Burgos, Our Lady of the Rosary of Grace, Saint Rose [...] On Friday the seventh of this month [December 1674] is planned another procession that will bring the miraculous image of Our Lady of Guanchaco to the Cathedral to celebrate her feast of the Immaculate Conception and to crown her novena with another general procession and to take her to the convent for the consolation of these afflicted brides of Jesus Christ [in the hope that] their tears and sighs might please his divine mercy so he might pardon the offences we have committed against him.[27]

In a society where religion was essentially communal – indeed, centred on the sacrament of Holy Communion – demons were the problem of the collective body and not merely a private matter. It was the responsibility of the entire citizenry to try to alleviate the suffering of their nuns. Logically, of course, the possessions should not initially be accounted for by the personal sins of the nuns. Those afflicted were, according to the Inquisitorial Commissioner, 'the most virtuous of this convent of Our Mother, Saint Clare'; so it stood to reason that the nuns, the brides of Christ, were suffering for the sins of the wider community as a mother might have stood between an angry father and his wayward children to 'placate the anger of his divine justice'.[28] In this respect, the demonic torment was not only seen as a means for the purification of the nuns; but they themselves were believed to have taken on the Christ-like role of salvific vessels for the wider community. Given the presumption that the citizens were responsible for the nuns' sufferings, it was the public's responsibility to do what they could to alleviate them.

## The Pueblo and the Outsider

The idea that an enclosed order situated in the heart of a busy metropolis could be entirely cut off from the community that enveloped and sustained it, an oasis of prayer removed from the midst of urban bustle, is always undermined by cases such as affected the Poor Clares of Trujillo and the Ursulines of Loudun. Such happenings show that, no matter how solid the dividing wall between the nuns and the secular population might be, the sisters could only exist as a community within a community, not cut off from the world outside. If the convent were indeed to be considered an oasis of prayer, this was because it formed a spiritual focal point for the prayers, petitions and commerce of the patrons, families, friends and acquaintances of those who were enclosed, in an ever-extending network of social contacts.[29] When an event occurred to disrupt this spiritual fulcrum and turn it upside down, it could not fail to affect and concern the citizens beyond the convent walls. Essentially such an event would see the sudden reversal of the long-established spiritual economy discussed by Kathryn Burns. Due to demonic disruption, the sisters could no longer carry out their obligations of prayer for the populace (obligations that were often formalized by contract between the nuns and certain citizens or families) and, it was now the turn of the populace to pray and do penance to alleviate the suffering of their nuns.

News of the possessions would have spread like wildfire through the town, alarming and perhaps morbidly entertaining the population as gossip was passed from group to group. We should not be surprised, therefore, that one of the first individuals to be called in for questioning by the Inquisition was a local barber, Francisco Ruiz, whose Indian assistant had overheard a Dominican friar talking about the case.[30] Of course, via the barber, the news soon spread to others of the

town. Nicolás del Risco, a master silversmith, and Joseph Bonita, a master swordsmith, were both questioned at this early stage.[31] The information provided by these tradesmen did not affect the outcome of the case. However, the fact that these were among the first people to be questioned does indicate that demonic possession was not confined to the realm of speculative theology.

The nature of the tradesmen's conjecture was revealing to the Inquisitors. All that Francisco Ruiz could do was to confess what he had been told – that the Dominicans claimed to have proven the possessions to be fakery – and to proffer his own interpretation of the matter, in effect a summary of the town's suppositions as to the causes of the demons. After recounting to the Inquisitors another version of the Dominicans' own story, he went on to reason that the case was more likely to be due to malefice, given that some of the nuns were afflicted and others not.[32] The barber had put to one side the Dominican dismissal of the case. That was something he could not verify one way or another. To Francisco Ruiz, a representative voice of the townsfolk, it seemed more reasonable to give credence to the very real fear that the nuns were being beset by maleficent attacks, thereby tapping into the deep psychological fear at the time that the Hispano-Christian cities, considered bastions of civilization, were surrounded by hostile forces working towards their destruction.

Anthony Pagden touches upon the theme of siege in his discussion of the European categorization of the Indian:

> For the Christian, no less than the Greek, the barbarian was a specific cultural type who could be characterised in terms of a number of antitheses to the supposed features of the civil community [...] The cities where rational men lived were seen as outposts of order and reason in a world that was felt to be volatile and potentially hostile. Wild men were creatures who lurked in woodlands and mountain passes ready to seize upon the unwary traveller; and they were an ever-present threat to the civilisation of those who lived in the cities.[33]

In Trujillo, the threat not only came from wild men who preyed on unwary travellers. Here, the menace was significantly more dangerous, not merely awaiting its enemies in the desert and mountains beyond the city, but actively seeking the means to penetrate, weaken and destroy the existing *civitas*. The breakdown of order in the Convent of Santa Clara was a sign that this preternatural fifth column was having effect. Who then were the enemies of Trujillo? Francisco Ruiz did not have to look far. All around the city were indigenous reductions, especially to the north, in Lambayeque. Similarly, in the valleys to the north of Trujillo large numbers of black slaves worked on sugar plantations and large agricultural haciendas. In numerous testimonies, Lambayeque and the Valley of Chicama are mentioned at regular intervals, essentially reinforcing the idea that to be 'Indian', 'Negro' or even 'mestizo' was to be outside the Christian *civitas* of Trujillo and a potential threat to society.[34]

The concept of possession being caused by malefice was not unusual, as the accusations levelled at Urbain Grandier of Loudun make clear. In effect, it was often sufficient for a sorcerer to fill an object with malevolent power and ensure it reached the intended victim for the unfortunate person to be overcome by demonic possession.[35] The *Malleus Maleficarum* goes further:

> That an innocent person should be possessed for the slight fault of another is not surprising when men are possessed by devils for their own light fault, or for another's heavy sin, or for their own heavy sin, and some also at the instance of witches.[36]

Kramer and Sprenger go on to cite an example from their own experience wherein a priest came to them and explained how he had been possessed by a devil at the instigation of a witch. The devil had revealed that the witch had placed a charm 'under a certain tree' but would not tell the unfortunate priest the exact location of the tree. Until the charm was removed, he explained, the demon could not be expelled.[37] It was not, therefore, even necessary to ensure that the victim received the charm. In the same way, magic, and more particularly malefice, were potent forces in the everyday lives of Trujillo's citizens, all the more so given that they had to contend with magic from three separate but slowly mixing cultures. An indication of this were the forms that the devils were said to have taken – no longer merely representations of European anthropomorphic horror, such as snakes, cats, black dogs, frogs and spiders, they appeared to the nuns in the form of black men and a ferocious mulatto, but also crabs and monkeys, indigenous motifs commonly represented in Mochica pottery.[38] It stood to reason that so damaging an affliction as that suffered by the nuns might be caused by malevolent magic. Was not Trujillo 'surrounded by terrors' and under siege by its enemies?[39]

Francisco Ruiz had a clear suspect in mind, informing the Inquisition that the likely culprit was an Indian woman from Lambayeque, known as *La Farral*, 'who had a reputation for being a great sorceress and a witch'.[40] Not only was she feared throughout the region but, according to Ruiz's testimony, she had also previously been prosecuted for sorcery by the curate of Lambayeque, Licenciado Gonzalo Jacinto de Miranda; part of her punishment had been to be 'reformed' in the Convent of Santa Clara, where she died only two months before the demonic epidemic.[41] Furthermore, he added, all her instruments, spells and ingredients were burned in a public *auto de fe* in the main square, giving off a pestiferous smoke that suffocated those present.[42] The implication, of course, was that *La Farral* would have had ample opportunity to infect the nuns whilst staying in the convent. More seriously, however, the townsfolk were considering that the plague could have been disseminated throughout the town in the smoke given off at the *auto*, infecting all those who had inhaled the noxious gases. This dramatic event, purposely staged to show the superiority of the Christian religion over 'vain and idolatrous superstitions', had seemingly backfired. The citizens of Trujillo were now discussing whether the *auto* had in fact been the cause of

the demonic plague. The notion had taken hold among the Creole and mestizo population that *La Farral's* indigenous magic was in fact more powerful than the purgative rite of the *auto de fe*.

Accusations were not confined to *La Farral*. Among the possessed women in the convent was a mulatto servant, Isabel González; whilst under exorcism, she had confessed to having visited the Indian *curandero* Juan Christian and his wife María Magdalena in the Valley of Chicama.[43] According to the exorcist's testimony, Isabel had first sought out the *curanderos* in order to obtain herbs and a therapy for love magic. She had later returned to the same couple with her mother, María Barbossa, who was suffering from excruciating pains in the stomach. Before treating the mother, Juan stepped outside the room and spoke with an unknown person whom Isabel could not see; 'she only heard him speak and she knew for certain that it was a demon that he was consulting'. He returned and began treating María, massaging her womb with two stones and, making a small incision in her side, he drew out a living snake 'which she saw with her own eyes'. The treatment concluded with a purgative to expel the enchantment that had been cast to harm María.[44]

Successful or not, here was clear evidence of a demonic pact.[45] She had admitted to consenting that her mother be treated with the devil's help. She herself had confessed to bathing her sexual organs in the herbs given to her by the *curandero*, an entry point for the devil to invade her body and possess her, thereby spreading the infection throughout the convent.

Nevertheless, at this point the Inquisitors took no further action, so the hunt for a culprit had to continue. In a letter addressed to the Inquisitors in Lima, the Commissioner in Trujillo wrote informing them of another potential suspect, a black slave woman belonging to the *Regidor*, Francisco Antonio de Seca, and working on his hacienda in the Valley of Chicama. The Commissioner, impatient for a solution, wrote enclosing the accusatory testimony and asked if the Inquisitors could inform him, should they wish her to be apprehended.[46] According to the Augustinian friar Felipe de Campos, such was her reputation that the woman, christened María de los Ángeles, was otherwise known as *la Madre del Diablo*.[47] One can presume that the significance of her Christian name juxtaposed against her nickname was not lost on the investigators.

Cases such as this complicate and add detail to a common impression that Spaniards dominated a rigidly oppressive hierarchy of power.[48] Colonial history is scattered with apparently anomalous examples like the above, in which a person exists in such a seemingly powerless position in society and yet commands such a fearsome reputation. Felipe de Campos describes María de los Ángeles as '*negra, vieja, esclava*', and yet appears to be attributing to this 'old, black slave-woman' the collapse of social and mental order in one of the principal convents of Trujillo and the diabolical infection of the city itself. It is sharply paradoxical that a historical

figure that should, in theory, have been quite helpless, could have managed to hold such remarkable sway over an entire region.

To the interest of the Inquisitors, this fearsome slave woman was linked by Campos to an indigenous servant at the convent named Juana de la Cruz, who had worked on the same hacienda many years before. Apparently, Juana knew María de los Ángeles personally.[49] This line of inquiry, however, also proved fruitless for the Inquisitors: Juana was required to appear before the Commissioner and admitted nothing that could be used as evidence. She swore that she did not know the old, black slave woman belonging to the *Regidor*, and only admitted to having heard of a woman called *la Madre del Diablo*. As to the nuns' afflictions, she could not possibly presume to guess their cause. For the time being then, this imposing slave woman was out of danger, but she would continue to haunt the anxieties of those city dwellers who feared the insidious evil of the outsider.

Perhaps the most remarkable thread in the web of apparent malefice woven by members of non-Spanish groups took shape in the testimony of fray Francisco del Risco, the Franciscan spiritual advisor and exorcist to Doña Luisa Benites. Attempting to defend himself and his protégée from Dominican charges of fakery and charlatanism, Risco wrote a long, explanatory thesis to the Inquisition.[50] In this thesis, he disclosed that in actual fact, Luisa Benites had suffered successive waves of possessions, the first of which had indeed been caused by malefice.[51] What is remarkable about this particular case is that, according to the voice of the demoniac under exorcism, the spell was not attributed to any one (human) individual. Instead, it had been carried out on the Galician shores by the demon *Sodoquiel* himself.[52] According to the testimony, the demon stole the placenta after Luisa's birth (in Lambayeque) together with her swaddling clothes, burnt the items and made a figure of Luisa by mixing the ashes with wax. He then made a figure of himself from the wax that was left, joined it to Luisa, and carried the two figurines to the Galician shore where, on her twentieth birthday, he pierced her figure with pins. The piercings were particularly symbolic: specifically, the demon pierced the head, the heart, the womb, the lips and the tongue, all bodily organs that can be associated with fundamental humanity as well as sensuality.[53]

After piercing the wax figurines, the demon placed them in the sea and froze the water around the dolls so that it could be carried back as snow to Trujillo. There he disguised himself as a servant girl and presented it to Luisa as a remedy for a terrible irritation she had been suffering around her genitals.[54] Her washing with the snow provided instant relief. As with Isabel González, however, such an action could be easily deemed to have provided an easy entry point for the demon.

The importance of this fantastical narrative lies in the way it universalizes the perceived threat to the nuns and the city of Trujillo. Previously, the town's citizens had speculated about whether the possessions could be put down to malefice; but, after each attempt to apportion culpability, the blame had inevitably fallen

on those who were culturally non-Spanish: indigenous people or black slaves who lived in the environs of the city, or close by in the surrounding valleys, and who threatened its population by their mere presence and persistent cultural difference. Risco's defence, however, had the effect of exploding the ring of encircling hostile forces, simultaneously removing the menace from the immediate vicinity and bringing it inside the community.[55] The threat was no longer culturally 'other', for the blame had been expanded out of the indigenous or black magical domain into a 'fifth-column' within Hispanic culture.

Throughout history, Galicia has been renowned for its magical traditions, and subsequently, its *meigas*, or witches, have been feared and persecuted.[56] The fact that *Sodoquiel's* magical rite took place using traditional European witchcraft on the Galician shore, demonstrates the impact that European magic had on the colonial Hispanic mentality, even as far away as the coastal deserts of Trujillo, especially given the fact that Benites had never left the north coast of Peru.[57]

Risco's Galician narrative had one more important impact. Paradoxically, the threat of malefice was made more immediate by its geographical location in far-off Galicia. Another dimension had been added to the web of hostile forces surrounding Trujillo's citizens. Of course, the menace posed by cultural aliens such as the indigenous and black slave communities, had not diminished. It had instead been augmented by a threat that was culturally internal. Furthermore, the narrative had the effect of removing the source of the malignant attacks from the realms of humanity to those of angels and demons.

This is not to say, of course, that when the urban Hispanic community blamed cultural aliens for malefice the malignant power of Satan and his minions was ever doubted. Nor was it ever questioned that demons persistently did all in their power to bring about the destruction of humanity and the rest of God's creation. However, in searching for reasons why the nuns had been possessed, human wickedness provided a simple answer to the dilemma. If, on the other hand, it was seen that a demon was directly responsible for the sorcery from the moment of Benites's birth, then that particular case was removed from direct human responsibility through the implication that the possession could, in some mysterious way, have been predestined. From the perspective of the devil, in other words, witchcraft could be seen as a straightforward method of entry into the nun's body: a means to an end that allowed the demon and Benites to fulfil their fated purpose.

The implications of such a possibility were terrifying. It was no longer a straightforward case in which the authorities could bring about an end to the possessions by prosecuting a single malevolent human. Now demons could directly carry out witchcraft and possess an individual at will. If, however, theologians disputed that a possession could not be solely instigated by a demon, then this necessarily implied that it took place at the behest, or more correctly, with the permission of a higher being (namely God). Unless the fault of the affected

individual could be established, giving the bystanders a clear explanation for the affliction, such apparently pre-destined possessions would have seemed quite arbitrary given that, apart from snippets gleaned from divine revelation, it was generally accepted that humans could not know God's plan. The biblical warning, 'I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee', began to take on a new meaning.[58] The people of Trujillo could no longer look to the indigenous reductions and slave communities for answers. Instead they had no choice but to turn to God with 'tears and sighs' so that he might 'pardon the offenses committed against him'.[59]

## The Community, God and the Devil

As we have seen, in the early modern Hispanic world there was a strong belief that 'the city was a necessary condition of the civilized life'.[60] This should not be taken to mean that civilization was uniquely dependent on the scale or grandeur of the architecture of a particular metropolis, even though technological skill certainly was an indicative feature of the level of civilization that a particular society possessed. Instead, the crucial factor that designated civilization was the ability of humans to come together in community. It was this that made individuals more fully human and set them apart from the animals. Pagden writes, 'for most Greeks, and for all their cultural beneficiaries, the ability to use language, together with the ability to form civil societies (*poleis*) [...] were the clearest indications of man's powers of reason.'[61]

Hispanic society, therefore, was believed to be a perfection of the ancient understanding of *civitas*, the extension of the exclusive Greek *oikumene* into the *congregatio fidelium*, under which all mankind would finally come together in one community, united in belief in Christ. It was in this manner that mankind would become fully human, one with each other and with God.[62] By extension, the Christian tradition was essentially expressed within and by the community: its rites and sacraments focused primarily on uniting human society with God. The convent was, ideally, a microcosm of the *congregatio fidelium* in which people lived and prayed together, striving for solidarity in the endeavour to live the gospel. Of course, this is not to say that religious communities were devoid of the imperfections of secular society. To the contrary, divisions in the form of personal and factional disputes were commonplace and to a large degree concentrated by the intensity of life within the walls of the enclosure. During the Baroque period any potential atomization of spiritual life within the community was further encouraged by the increasing trend in the post-Reformation period to lay more stress upon the personal relationship between the individual and the divinity. The post-Tridentine church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries strove to supervise and bring uniformity to religious practice[63] and to re-emphasize the

importance of the sacraments and communal ritual in the face of their perceived rejection by Protestant churches. However, this could not prevent the increasing persistence of religious philosophies such as Illuminism and Quietism to re-affirm the importance of the individual's relationship to God.[64] In their most simplistic and exaggerated forms, these spiritual trends rejected the mediation of the institutional Church and denied the importance of communal ritual prayer. As such, tensions between communal spirituality and the personal quest to unify the soul with God clearly existed and were exacerbated as individualist philosophies developed and gained ground throughout the seventeenth century.[65]

Understanding of the devil was profoundly affected by these theological trends. If, as was taken for granted at the time, to be fully human was to be united in communion with God and the rest of mankind, then Satan's role was clearly to drive apart this community and to atomize its constituent parts, breaking up the natural order and causing mankind to descend to barbarism. In the context of the philosophical conflict mentioned above, even if a collective was formed of people with personal quests to unite their souls with God, their goal was still the perfect union. The devil's desire, in this case, remained unchanged. It was still to drive a wedge between God and his creatures, sending the then isolated and hence dehumanized individual spiralling into despair and ultimate annihilation. As the Jesuit José de Acosta put it in a treatise on idolatry in the Americas:

> Another cause [...] is the mortal hatred and enmity that he [the devil] holds against men. Because as the Saviour says, 'From the beginning he was a murderer', and that he has as a condition and inseparable characteristic of his evil [...] He does not cease to invent ways [...] with which to destroy men and make them enemies of God.[66]

From such a perspective, possession in a conventual setting had a dual purpose as far as the devil was concerned. Most obviously, Satan's torments were focused on the perdition of the individual; but a second and more pernicious social dimension to the possessions concerned the devil's determination to undermine and break down the natural order established by God. This, in effect, underlay the demonic abhorrence to the power of the sacraments, for they were believed to be clear reinforcements of the cohesion of the Christian community and invaluable aids to strengthen its bond with the divine. Should the social and religious hierarchy disintegrate, then the devil would be seen to have won a clear victory. Possessed nuns who rejected the sacraments and blasphemed in a general build up of anxiety and anger were incontestable proof of such a victory.

The testimonies of the nuns bear witness to this process gathering momentum. 'Doña Luissa Benites [...] said to the witness [María Meléndez], with the demons apparently present and talking through her: "when will these pigeons [*pichones*] leave?" And the witness responded angrily, "when you go to hell they will happily come out to accompany you!"'[67] Benites's colleague apparently understood the above remark as a demonic mockery of the situation in which the nuns found

themselves. Nevertheless, Benites's question might well have been an attempt to make light of the convent's desperate situation in an effort to engage with her fellow nun and to stimulate a feeling of mutual compassion. Whatever Benites's intention, the bitter and accusatory response that María Meléndez flung back at her serves as an indication of the extent to which a conventual Christian community had disintegrated on account of the possessions. In the Baroque mentality of the Hispanic world it was no light jibe to wish someone to suffer the eternal torments of hell. Such a powerful curse would only be uttered against the backdrop of extreme passion, anger, or fear:

> She [María Meléndez] heard [Benites] say 'all [the nuns] will fall and afterwards they will burn me.' [And] when Doña Francisca López entered, [Benites] told her that she was carrying an embroidered handkerchief and pearls on the buttons of her blouses and this scandalised the community [...] all of which caused the community to become irritated and tell her that these were things that might concern the Inquisition.[68]

Luisa Benites appeared to be showing a flagrant disregard for personal safety, firstly by displaying a complete lack of concern at the idea of being investigated by the Inquisition, and secondly by verbally publicizing the other nuns' flaws and vanities, thereby driving apart the cracks in the convent's social community. Effectively, the nuns were witnessing the breakdown of communal solidarity in the convent to such an extent that they thought it necessary to take recourse to the Inquisition in order to restore order and normality. It was not long before the factional acrimony felt towards Luisa Benites and her posse of possessed nuns by those who deemed themselves free of any demonic affliction reached the Inquisitors' ears: 'A professed nun aged seventy and named María de la Concepción appeared without being summoned. [...] She says and denounces that [...] another professed nun called Doña Luisa Benites [...] who is one of the demoniacs, in fact the longest afflicted, has a pact with the devil.'[69] Yet, even as María de la Concepción accused Benites of having a pact with the devil, when the Inquisitors asked her what opinion she had on the matter, and if she believed they could be involved with the devil, she replied that, 'she doesn't presume to judge one way or the other and that she had always thought that it was the will of God that they suffer'.[70]

The Inquisitors repeatedly asked individual nuns to explain what they considered to be the cause of their affliction. With the exception of María Meléndez, most of the sisters replied: 'the will of God'.[71] Even if the Inquisitors asked leading questions to see if the nuns would in any way react to the idea that the possessions might be due to the malefice of anyone who was culturally non-Spaniard, their response was invariably negative:

> When asked if she knew if outside of the convent there might be any woman of *a low social status, mestizo, mulatto, Negro, or Indian,* who might communicate with anyone of the convent and, out of anger or some other reason, might have caused the evil that they are suffering, she said no.[72]

Those nuns who searched for a positive answer to the question finished their accounts by deliberately discounting their own suggestions as irrelevant. A couple of sisters, for example, remembered an indigenous woman who played tricks with maize grains, seemingly making them move by themselves, to the amazement of the nuns in the kitchen. In fact, what they appear to have witnessed for the first time in their lives was nothing more than the making of popcorn. The nuns themselves admitted that 'the Indian woman who sent the maize to her daughter is not suspicious nor did it have any effect on those who ate it'.[73] In the same way, the one lay woman (albeit a Franciscan tertiary) who had incriminated the slave known as la *Madre del Diablo* to Fray Felipe de Campos as he exorcized her,[74] withdrew her accusation when questioned by the Inquisitors. In the hearing she categorically stated that what she had said was merely 'the devil talking through her against her will'. How then did she explain the possessions? Her reply to the question was simple: 'It is not malefice because she has not harmed anyone nor imagines that there is anybody who would wish her ill. Rather she judges that what she is suffering is the will of God because of her sins.'[75]

Essentially, the nuns, the townsfolk and the Inquisitors were facing an increasingly irksome paradox. Having put to one side the possibility that the possessions could be mere fakery, as the Dominicans were arguing, the actors in this drama were inevitably confronted with the nuns' insistence that Lucifer's momentary victory in causing the complete breakdown of social and spiritual order, both inside and outside the convent, was in fact the will of God.

## God the Gambler

No one could presume to know the mind of God. Those that did walked a fine line between claiming the gift of prophetic revelation and being found guilty of imposture, idolatrous self-deification and apostasy. Nevertheless, through the mediation of the Franciscan exorcist and spiritual advisor Francisco del Risco, word began to spread that the possessions of the nuns, in particular his spiritual charge, Luisa Benites, had a purpose. The demons themselves had revealed this purpose under the pressure of exorcism. As we have seen, the townsfolk were in a state of uncertainty that verged on near panic with regard to the possessions. As Juan López de Saabedra, the Inquisitorial Commissioner in Trujillo, wrote, 'it has not yet been determined whether they are possessed, bewitched or enchanted'.[76] It appeared on the face of it that if the possessions were not due to sorcery or witchcraft, then the sisters had to be suffering the wrath of an angry God. Furthermore,

as the nuns were believed to be brides of Christ, and as no obvious fault on their part had yet been established that would merit such punishment, these demonic afflictions could not have been meant for any sin of theirs. They had consequently to have been allowed by God for the fault of the wider community.[77]

López de Saabedra did not need to arrive at this conclusion alone. His rationale had been seemingly confirmed by the insistence of the nuns that their suffering was due to the will of God. Moreover, the Franciscan exorcists, led by Francisco del Risco, were vehemently proclaiming a message that they claimed to have come from God but which they had in fact extracted from the mouth of the demon: 'God was very angry about the obscurity into which [He] and his precepts had fallen in the world and [the demon] had come to this [innocent] body, [...] so that people would have no excuse and would not be able to say that he had come due to her sins.'[78] Risco's argument thus specifically attacked the suggestion that Benites was possessed through her own sin. Instead, he categorically asserted that she was being tormented as a result of God's anger towards his people for having turned away from Him – in effect a new Babylonian exile, taking place in the tortured bodies of the nuns. This was not the loving and merciful God of the Gospel. This was an angry God, indifferent to explanations and excuses, and convinced that the time had come to give those fickle hearts a taste of what was to come, '[for] the Most High preferred to justify his cause in this way rather than raining fire from heaven'.[79]

Such an interpretation posed some clear theological problems. Aside from the more complex issues surrounding God's role in creation, there was the obvious question of how such a God could be reconciled with a deity whose merciful love of humanity was at the core of the central mystery of the Incarnation. How, in other words, could God the loving Creator and merciful Saviour be one and the same as God the angry destroyer?[80] There can be little doubt that this nagging preoccupation was at the centre of Risco's allegations. 'On many occasions', he claimed, Luisa Benites 'has realised in prayer that Our Lord was greatly angered with Trujillo and had raised the arm of his justice to punish [the city]; at which, with tears and much fervour, she has humbly beseeched him to temper his justice and be merciful.'[81] Here then was an innocent girl suffering God's wrath for the sins of the city. She, of all the citizens of Trujillo, apparently had the quasi-Marian power to intercede to save the city from fire and brimstone. Yet she was no Christ, and her pleas for mercy to ease her own suffering fell on deaf ears: no angel was sent to comfort her in her agony:

> She heard the Lord reply 'I have given you [the city of Trujillo] so many warnings and you do not understand, and in response to my mercy you have made weapons to offend me; then, when I have sent these demons so that, faced with their horror the people might tremble before my justice, they laugh and offend me with gossip and court cases'.[82]

The message was that God's patience was fast running out. Even the torments he inflicted upon the nuns were being mocked.[83] The demons, apparently relishing their role as the heralds of the personal apocalypse of the people of Trujillo, announced that 'they had a decree from God to destroy Trujillo by fire and water for its obstinacy and rebelliousness and for the tremendous stubbornness that they have shown [in not] believing that this is a scourge that God has sent with great mercy.'[84]

The Franciscans insisted that this was the beginning of a terrible scourge of Trujillo, and that God's wrath would be so much more terrifying because of the hesitancy of the population in believing what they had been preaching. Despite the alleged explanation that they had succeeded in eliciting from the demons – that in willing the nuns to be tormented God was in fact showing his mercy by refraining from wiping out the population by fire and flood – the notion that God could mercifully cause or allow innocents to be afflicted would inevitably remain problematic.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Risco and his coreligionists carefully attempting to spread the comparatively reassuring notion that God wished the nuns to play a pedagogic role in the community. They were, after all, his wives: instruments through which the final end could be demonstrated. As far as the believing community was concerned, the nuns' role was salvific. They were suffering in a Christ-like capacity for the sins of the community. And yet the disturbing problem remained that, from the divine point of view (as revealed by the demons), the Convent of Santa Clara had become a living illustration of the book of Revelation and an animated representation of the paintings of the torments of hell that awaited unrepentant sinners.[85]

The eschatological idea that, at the end of time, Satan would be released from his chains to ravage the world was an unquestioned article of faith throughout the Christian world at this time. This imagery, accompanied by a sporadic millenarianism and the increasing tendency to draw a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural realms, helps to explain the remarkable proliferation of dramatic cases of diabolical possession on both sides of the Atlantic throughout much of the seventeenth century.[86] The end of the world was imminent; it was therefore time to repent and do penance. The dramatic affliction of the nuns of Santa Clara served both to illustrate this point and to warn the faithful of the punishment that awaited them if they chose to disregard the warning.

To understand the possessions as salvific and pedagogic, however, would necessarily bring to the surface fundamental theological tensions with regard to the doctrine of Providence and its relation to the Catholic understanding of free will. It is true that, for some, these questions were not important. It was enough to know that God was angry with Trujillo's unrepentant sinners and had willed that the 'relatively faultless' nuns should suffer as a sign of his wrath.[87] The potential problem, however, emerged as soon as the pointed question about how the doc-

trine of free will could be reconciled with the affliction of the Poor Clares was asked. The important point was that the affliction was not readily explained as the result of any natural cause. But neither were the Franciscans suggesting that it took place simply as a result of demonic malevolence. Instead they boldly attributed the causal factor of the possessions to God's will. Whereas the citizens of Trujillo were still able to choose whether or not to amend their lives as a result of the dire divine warnings they were witnessing, the nuns themselves had little say in the matter. They had been left with no choice but to act their part in a role that had been eternally predestined. As we have seen, *Sodoquiel* had known the part he was to play in the affair since the day he was cast from Heaven, and so the nuns were expected to submit to God's will and endure their suffering with fortitude, as Christ had done before them.

At first sight, this might appear to leave the devil himself in a rather hopeless position: a mere pawn in a cosmic conflict that God would inevitably win. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the sense of anxiety that most contemporaries still felt in the face of his very real and enormously terrifying power. Whereas the nature of God's love was all encompassing and worked to unify mankind with God, Lucifer's hatred was personal and directed at splintering the community by causing the damnation of individual souls. Permitting the nuns to be possessed and tormented was clearly good if it produced the desired results. Yet the ultimate outcome was still wholly dependent on the strength of the individual sisters not to give in to despair. Despite the Apocalyptic assurances that ultimately the power of Satan would be destroyed, in the short term any soul he managed to wrest away from God's communion signified a very real and disturbing victory. Essentially, God was playing a long-term game with very high stakes – the fate of all mankind – whereas Lucifer's gaming strategy was short-term and with small chips – the fate of individual souls.

The image of an astral game between the celestial powers and the forces of darkness was not lost on Luisa Benites or her spiritual advisor: 'Lucifer said that the reason he had come to this body was because he had asked God to allow him to enter and God would see how he [Lucifer] would make her waver. At which the Lord told him he may enter her.'[88] In contrast to Jesus's rejection of Satan in the wilderness, God, in this instance, seemed quite content with the idea of allowing Lucifer to do his worst with Benites.[89] Furthermore, in order to give credence to her words, Risco presented a similar case to the Inquisitors that could serve as a precedent. In a book, *de scrupulis*, written by a Carthusian friar, Joseph Rosel, he discovered a case of the possession of a nineteen-year-old girl who had never committed a mortal sin.[90] The demon that had possessed her admitted this to all the bystanders and shouted the reason why he had come: 'That he had made a bet with God that he would cause her to fall into sin if God allowed him to enter her. And God told him: "then enter"'.[91]

The image that the Franciscans were trying to invoke was not that of a God who did not permit Satan to test him, but that of an ambiguous God who was seemingly willing to indulge his disgraced angel to the detriment of unfortunate individuals on earth. Here was a picture of 'God the Gamer', apparently willing to use humans as blind instruments in a capricious sport against the devil. The precedent was clearly the Old Testament story of Job in which God allowed Satan to ruin Job's life in order to test his faith. Job came close to accusing God of being far away and uncaring, cruel and hostile, all the while proclaiming his innocence and lamenting the treatment he had received. The lament cut short shrift with God who rebuked Job for presuming to understand God's plan. Point by point Job was reminded of God's omniscience and his omnipotence. He was the all-knowing creator and master of all, which included being master of the forces of evil.[92]

This fundamental message was at the core of the Franciscan interpretation of the possessions of Santa Clara. Risco had clearly described God's purpose as twofold: an expression of anger, on the one hand, and a means to bring about the conversion and repentance of the populace, on the other. His presentation of the case, however, was along the lines of a Jobian game, in which the omniscient God already knew the outcome. Satan, who had never been omniscient, was playing God at a decided disadvantage. If it was true that his fall from grace had impaired rather than destroyed his angelic essence, it was no less certain that without omniscience he could not know the course of the future or the core of the human will.[93] As such his opposition to God was unequivocally deluded and ultimately destined to fail.

When applied to the Trujillo possessions, however, problems immediately emerged as soon as it was considered that God already knew the outcome of what was unfolding in the convent. It went without saying that, despite his omnipotence, God could never directly cause or will evil, as evil and sin were in effect the absence or privation of being. By extension, God could only permit evil as long as it was for an ultimate greater good. This evil could admittedly amount to the suffering and death of a given individual; but the more worrying question was whether God might allow the damnation of an otherwise innocent soul as part of a pedagogical plan to save the souls of others in the town. Given that God already knew the outcome, and given that this knowledge was providentially linked to the cause, it could in some extreme cases be argued that God was in fact the direct cause of the soul's damnation. This was in strict terms a theological impossibility, and it is therefore not surprising that all the interpretations of the Trujillo case were careful to insist that although God already knew the outcome of the afflictions the souls of the nuns would not be lost.

This insistence, however, carried its own dangers. It was in fact to leave the nuns and their Franciscan advisors dangerously open to charges of the equally heretical presumption that they could claim to know who would be saved. As

we shall see, these dangers grew steadily with every step Benites took as Risco attempted to guide her along the mystical path to sanctity.

## To Stray from the Mystical Path

Ignatius of Loyola's memorable depiction of Lucifer as a cunning military strategist besieging his objective was especially germane for those attempting to follow the narrow path trodden by an authoritative line of Hispanic mystics.[94] Satan's central aim to isolate individuals was made notably easier whenever the latter set out on a lonely and difficult mystical quest for spiritual union with God. These were the spiritual counterparts of those citizens who, in the words of David Nicholas, 'remained outside the city walls at their peril'.[95] Poor preparation, poor guidance, and the misuse of reason could all cause the aspiring mystic to take a wrong step and plunge into the abyss.[96]

These dangers were greatly increased whenever a novice sought ill advisedly to leave the bastion of the Christian community and journey alone into the region of the soul – the territory of intellectual beings, of demons and angels. The traveller's fear of being beset by wild men in the forests and hills surrounding the city,[97] was merely transported from the human to the spiritual plain. On this journey, the novice mystic, a lonely traveller in the dark, was at serious risk of being waylaid by prowling devils. This time, however, it was more than an individual life that was at stake; it was the person's soul. Furthermore, the demons were much stronger than those in Loyola's example, as the individual had left the protective haven of the sacramental city walls and had entered unknown and unknowable territory. It was then often a simple task for demons to fill the minds of inexperienced mystics with visions, delights and horrors, and demonic temptations, all with the ultimate aim of deluding them into believing that they were reaching mystical union with God. Ana Núñez, Risco's other spiritual charge, was no exception. According to Risco's apologia, the devil began his assault on her even as she took her first tentative steps onto the mystical path. He wrote that she told him in confession: 'Many days have passed, twenty more or less, in which my soul has been suffering terrible confusion and affliction, and [...] the devils do not allow me to speak of it'.[98]

The demonic strategy was immediately clear. Their primary aim was to prevent Núñez from speaking to her advisor, isolating her from any guidance he might give. However, a seventeenth-century mystic traveller never journeyed entirely alone:

> I asked my angel, if he were of God, to restrain [the demons] so that I might tell your reverence. Then I felt able and told everything and as I spoke of it my soul was liberated from those confusions and suffocations [...] and my heart expanded greatly, and my interior felt much peace, my soul enlightened by godly things, gratitude and humility.[99]

Isolated from human guidance, Núñez had no choice but to turn to her guardian angel for support. Her confession illustrates the immediate problem of all mystics, that of discernment. How could they know whether what they were experiencing was of God or of the devil? As we have seen in chapter 2, this was a difficult and recurring problem with potentially devastating consequences if the wrong decision was made. At first glance it seems that Núñez's decision to step away from reason, the tool granted by God to mankind to aid with the task of discernment, and place herself entirely in the hands of her 'angel', was successful. The impediment to confess was removed and she was seemingly filled with inner grace, 'the things of God'.

Nevertheless, to believe that Satan would give up so easily was to underestimate woefully his tenacity and cunning. Lucifer's ability to delude the human senses with ecstasies and to beguile man by appearing as an angel of light was well attested and widely accepted.[100] Like so many others, Núñez's point of weakness was her apparent inability to discern the demons through their disguise. Nor did Risco, her spiritual advisor, give the devil sufficient credit for being able to work a double strategy on the aspiring mystic. Neither Núñez nor Risco considered the possibility that Satan might first torment and tempt a nun and then mislead her by filling her heart with deluded consolation. Once this had been achieved, it was an easy step to drag the aspiring mystic from the narrow path by filling her mind with theological propositions that would be inevitably judged as absurd and dangerously heretical by any panel of well-informed Inquisitors:

> My soul was illuminated with [...] above all a great certainty that God wanted (through his just judgement) my devils to be subject to la Pacora [Luisa Benites], and that it be her who casts them out and not any priest, and a great strength to battle against the demons who were attempting to obscure this truth [and] to resist the artillery [*baterías*] of the devils who try to convince me of the falsity of what my soul understands is of God through the intervention of my angel.[101]

Although Risco affirmed that he firmly believed in the truth of his charge's assertions, it was immediately apparent to the Inquisitors, and other priests who had witnessed the exorcisms, that Ana Núñez's resistance to exorcism and her insistence that her demons might only be subjected by Luisa Benites (otherwise known as *la Pacora* after the parish of her father) were, if not a mischievous game on the part of the nuns, clear evidence of the demons' hold over Núñez. Here was a young nun claiming angelic authority to elevate another nun (and according to the trial documents, Núñez's closest friend)[102] and grant her more power than that of ordained priests and legitimate exorcists. Not only did such pronouncements demonstrate how Ana Núñez was dominated by Luisa Benites but also how, taking advantage of the chaos and disintegration of the highly ritualized hierarchical order that existed within the convent, these women were able to lay a claim to power that was deemed to be exclusively male and sacerdotal.

As we have seen in chapter 2, such apparently gendered struggles between female demoniacs and their exorcists were particularly prone to occur in instances of diabolical possession, for the latter provided a rare forum for outright rebellion against and usurpation of a masculine ritual order. Paradoxically, however, both the male hierarchy, whose authority had been challenged, and the demoniac women, generally ended up believing that these rebellions were demonically-inspired attacks on, and inversions of, the natural order. It was almost impossible for the demoniacs to use the discourse of possession to their advantage in this way without being ultimately convinced of their subversive potentialities. Their only hope of legitimizing their position was to play on the difficulties of discernment and to appeal to an authority that was higher than the human, that of the angels and the divine.

Despite Ana Núñez's attempt to legitimize her claims through appeals to angelic authority, those investigating the case had little doubt that she had been dragged off the mystical path and that her world had been inverted in classic demonic style; in other words, that she now believed the diabolical to be divine and vice versa. In his early modern thesis, *Il mondo al roverscio e sosopra*, the Dominican Giacomo Affinati D'Acuto had outlined this principle of diabolical inversion, beginning with the Fall and continuing to the present.[103] Clark writes: 'D'Acuto's upside-down world is symbolized by those who, deep in sin and in love with material things, "have their heads planted in the ground, and tread their feet against the sky"'.[104] The case of Trujillo exemplified this logic with great clarity. What Núñez believed to be the voice of God in her soul was understood by the authorities to be demonic delusion; and the opinion of the authorities was seen by Núñez as a clear symptom of demonic resistance to divine truth. As a result, both she and her spiritual advisor were prepared to accept that God had appointed Luisa Benites as the judge of her demons and that only she could control them, in direct opposition to established sacerdotal tradition. In addition to the collapse of social order within the convent that the possessions had brought about, here was a direct challenge to the authority of God's Church on earth and its legitimate priestly representatives. Furthermore, the challenge was couched in the guise of divine, or angelic revelation. It need hardly surprise us that Fray Cristóbal Jaramillo, the Franciscan *Visitador* sent to investigate the occurrences in the convent, had little doubt that he ought to denounce the two nuns and their spiritual mentor to the Inquisition without further delay.[105]

The experience of demonic inversion was not confined to Ana Núñez. According to Risco's apologia, Benites's inversion was all the more dramatic for being entirely physical: 'Father, a long time has passed since the demon began tormenting me by placing my feet in the air and my head down below and he keeps me like that for most of the night in this terrible torment which I suffer with much resignation.'[106] The sense of inversion was made all the more confusing when Risco asked the demon why he did this: 'and [the demon] replied that it

was because she was upside down.'[107] The response was stunning in its simplicity. The demon was merely turning Benites the 'correct way up'. The effect of such a response was intended to disorient the theological equilibrium of those responsible for her spiritual welfare. Who was to say that it would not be more truthful for Benites to be planted with her head in the ground and her feet pointing skyward as described by D'Acuto? Indeed, might the demon not merely be showing reality as it should be? After all, as a daughter of Eve, Benites was a member of the community of fallen humanity, marred and reversed by the Fall and ultimately destined to damnation but for the merciful intervention of divine grace.[108]

Thus, by turning Benites upside down and explaining that he was merely turning her the correct way up, the demon was delivering a very clear soteriological message to those present. But the significance of the demon's action might go even deeper than this. In the context of the Andean world, being turned upside down also signified the onset of a *pachacuti*,[109] a period of terrible destruction after which a new order would be established.[110] It is interesting to speculate whether, as Benites inhabited a space in which both the indigenous and the Hispanic worlds were often bridged, her 'reversal' bridged the two cultural interpretations of being turned upside down. By turning her on her head, the demon was using a particularly significant metaphor that would have been understood using both Christian and Andean symbolic discourse. In effect, he was proclaiming the overturning of the existing order and the beginning of a new, diabolical one.

These particularly dizzying torments subsided, however, after Risco came across an instruction in Girolamo Menghi's *Flagellum Daemonum* to check whether the demoniac had been baptized. It turned out that Benites had been baptized, but in haste by her midwife and not by a priest. Risco acted immediately, re-baptizing Benites in a secret ceremony, after which he claimed that the nature of her spiritual experience changed considerably.[111] No longer was she solely being tormented by the demons but she now began to see the path on which she had to tread:

> I see some wide and delightful paths that I understand are the Vices and another very narrow and difficult one which is Virtue; and the devils [who] want me to go down the wide path grab me with burning pincers of fire to force me that way but with the help of God I do not want to go.[112]

The image created by Risco's defence was one of a hagiographical account of Benites's afflictions. Even before her death they wove a narrative that sanctified her as an innocent girl beset by demonic afflictions that tried to remove her forcefully from the narrow path of Virtue onto the wide and easy road of the Vices. In the name of virtuous humility, the trio Risco, Núñez and Benites, painted a new icon of the re-baptized and renamed Juana Luisa, together with a special rosary devised to be prayed at the foot of Benites's image after her death and presumed ascension into glory:

> Hail Virgin Juana Luisa of Grace. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou in the Kingdom of Heaven. Pray for us now and at the hour of our death. Amen Jesus.
>
> Gloria Patri. To the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit [be] the honour and glory of the grace in which Juana Luisa of Grace found herself.[113]

The severe torments and temptations suffered by Benites and Núñez had thus given way to vainglorious self-sanctification, which in turn was given strength by the misdirection of their spiritual advisor. Between them, and through their possession, they were able to disrupt and invert the social and spiritual order of the convent. During their possessions the sacraments were rejected, the nuns blasphemed, cavorted, and in Núñez's case pointedly refused to obey the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Instead, her demons had announced that they would only obey a special judge chosen by God, her close confidant Luisa Benites, the leader of the demoniac nuns. At the same time, the intellectual, symbolic and spiritual world of the nuns was inverted. Núñez became a prophetess announcing the imminent beatification of Benites, and Benites became a saint, still alive but destined for glory. Additionally, Benites's demon himself proclaimed to Risco that 'this was a case that would resound throughout the entire world and which would be preached from the pulpits'.[114] The demon continued: 'In time all would become clear and would result in the glory of that child and of God'.[115]

In the end the two nuns and their Spiritual director had been thrown from the narrow mystical path, but not with burning pincers of fire, as Benites had envisioned, but with proud delusions of beatification and divine consolation. It appeared that Lucifer had won this round of the game at least.

***

The Trujillo case affords us a glimpse of the city as a collective of communities within the all-encompassing Christian community, perceived by contemporaries as threatened from all sides and even from within by those who were not encompassed within this cultural-religious framework – the indigenous, the black slaves, and the Hispanic witches. At the same time, society was threatened by a spiritual force: natural stresses and tensions were believed to be exploited by demons, the enemies of mankind, in order to render the community asunder and prevent its union with God. Individuals, once splintered away from the community, were easy prey and could be driven to despair by incessant torments and affliction. A conventual community such as the convent of Santa Clara was rendered ineffective and no longer able to perform its function in the spiritual economy of a society that sustained it in return for its prayers.

Such fears ran together with a disturbing theological paradox: that demonic possession was a method of purification along the road to sanctity. The torments of a devil were, in essence, purgative. Furthermore, the possession of the nuns was believed to be both pedagogical and salvific for the wider population. Despite

the fact that the so-called spiritual economy had been inverted, so that now the secular population needed to pray for their religious, still it was the nuns who had incontestably become Christ-like figures, suffering for the sins of the rest. This, in effect, was the ultimate prayer and the most generous rate of exchange the nuns had yet given for the town's spiritual economy.

Ultimately, however, this theology proved disturbingly dangerous to those who professed it. It encouraged an image of an arbitrary God, who was willing to dice with Satan for the souls of his creatures while hinging on the fact that God was gaming with a winning hand. Despite the understanding that no-one could possibly know the mind of God, those who professed this Jobian theology and based on it their explanations of the demonic afflictions, were always in danger of the presumption that they knew that the demoniacs would be saved. Step by step, they edged closer to plummeting into the abyss of heretical vainglory and a belief in their own sanctification. In due course, the devil's final victory over the community of Santa Clara was generally perceived to have been achieved, not through the strength and power of his torments, but through his ability to invert the spiritual and social order.

The Inquisition, therefore, was unequivocal in its response: to remove the ringleaders, Risco, Benites, and Núñez and, to forbid them contact with each other henceforth. All was to return to the way it was before the disruption:

> With all the caution and prudence that it might require [...] place the confessionals back in the church in the manner that they had always been, bricking up the gaps in the walls that they had opened and leaving only the grills [...] and in the same manner order the friars of the convent that they are not to pass beyond the door of the cloister in order to catechize and exorcize the nuns that are said to be possessed, even if they should ask for it.[116]

With the focal points of the possessions removed, the nuns were to be enclosed once again. The Inquisitors' intention was to starve the infernal flames of fuel and oxygen. The walls of Santa Clara that had been broken down in order to exorcize the nuns were to be rebuilt, and the sisters were to be left to face their diminishing demons alone.

# 4 THE SALLY: CHRISTIANITY BEYOND THE WALLS

The state of spiritual siege described in the previous chapters and experienced by Christian communities throughout the period in question was, as we have seen, exacerbated in the viceroyalty by the foundation of new Christian municipalities in what was hitherto pagan territory. In effect, these foundations served as bridgeheads into territory held by Satan, from which missionaries might sally forth to spread the gospel in accordance with New Testament instruction. As with the Erasmian Christological schema described in chapter 1, these newly founded Christian centres, in theory, would act as focal points from which Christianity might radiate outwards in concentric circles, turning souls towards God and removing them from the devil's clutches.[1]

In order to do this, it was necessary for missionaries to convince indigenous Andeans of the truth of their message: that the Christian God was the only god and that all other gods were false, either erroneously conceived or diabolically inspired. To persuade Andeans that their gods, the *apus* and the *huacas*, were diabolical first necessitated that the Christian priests convince them of the existence and nature of the devil. As such, Christianity could not generally be presented to Andeans without also setting in motion a process of demonization of the indigenous gods. This created the paradox that in order to cast out Satan from the Andes, the Spanish missionaries first had to cause his conceptual genesis in the minds of Andeans.[2]

Despite initial setbacks caused by the lack of missionaries and years of chaos and civil war following the conquest, it seemed as if progress was being made. Indians were being baptized. After all, the conquest itself had demonstrated the power of the Christian god over indigenous deities. However, as realization dawned that the Christian god and his saints were not merely to be assimilated into the indigenous pantheon but to replace it entirely, resistance to the Tridentine evangelization process appeared to grow.[3] The Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, for example, christened Diego as a boy in Cuzco and re-baptized in 1568 whilst Inca of the then independent Vilcabamba, continued to practice the Cult of the Sun and

became enraged when the two Augustinian friars allowed into the neo-Inca kingdom tried to interfere in his ritual (and marital) customs.[4]

## Christianity Rejected?

With the discovery of the Taki Onqoy movement in 1564, in which spirits of ancestors and *huacas* allegedly possessed roaming indigenous preachers in what appeared to be a resurgence of Andean religion, any delusions that may have been held about the success and rapidity of the conversion process were shattered.[5] Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuch's brilliant reinterpretation, however, demonstrates the problems inherent in considering Taki Onqoy purely or even primarily as a movement of Andean resistance to Christianity. By building up a detailed analysis of the catechisms that preceded the Third Council of Lima (1583), Estenssoro constructs a vision of a pre-Tridentine and specifically Andean Christianity. He argues that by placing emphasis on certain aspects of Christian doctrine but by omitting others, missionary friars and indigenous congregations participated in the construction of a Christianity that worked with impeccable logic within a Quechua linguistic and cultural framework. The legend of Christ's harrowing of Hell, for instance, which is based on lines in the Apostle's Creed and a popular medieval motif, claimed that when Christ died he descended into Hell and brought out the souls of good people who had died before him. These souls were referred to as *supay* which, in the first (pre-Tridentine) Quechua-Spanish lexicons, such as that of the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás, was translated variously as 'angel' (good or bad), 'spirit', 'ghost' or 'person's shade'.[6] But at no point in the catechisms is any mention made of Christ having taken these newly released ancestor spirits with him after he ascended into heaven; so, it would be quite reasonable to assume that they were left to roam the Andes.

Estenssoro goes on to draw our attention to a likely association between the period of Christ's earthly life – thirty three years, after which he died, descended into hell, released the ancestors and ascended (alone) into Heaven – and the thirty three years that had lapsed between the time of the Spanish (and the Gospel's) arrival in Peru and the discovery of the Taki Onqoy movement (1532–65).[7] The common assumption that those disembodied spirits that seemed to have possessed the bodies of wandering indigenous 'dogmatizers' were *huacas* that had come back to fight the Christian pantheon can, according to Estenssoro, just as reasonably be explained as the perfectly logical culmination of Andean Christianity as it had been taught to and understood by indigenous peoples in the early stages of evangelization. Christ had lived among them for thirty-three years, after which he had released the ancestor spirits and left. The ancestor spirits remained to fill any religious vacuum caused by Christ's departure.[8] As such, Taki Onqoy was not really an organized movement of pan-Andean resistance to

Christianity, but a localized and natural phenomenon that was radically misunderstood and exaggerated by a Tridentine clergy confronted with the complex fruits of their predecessors' labours.

But however much Taki Onqoy's size and potential impact might have been misunderstood, exaggerated and indeed reconstructed in terms of a reactionary Christian discourse, the 1560s and 70s certainly marked a watershed in the Hispanic understanding of Andean religion. Seemingly, the indigenous *huaca*-gods and ancestors (*malquis*) were not going to be easily dislodged from their position in the Andean cosmology. At the same time, the Andean perception of Christianity also underwent a radical change: the careful revision of the catechisms in indigenous languages, the publication of a revised trilingual catechism in 1584, and the instigation of a systematic and intentionally more standardized phase of evangelization following the Third Council of Lima in 1583, made the hitherto alien notion that worship must be exclusively directed to one god and that all others must be rejected as false much more compelling.

Of course, the results were often not those desired by the evangelists. Whereas previously the Christian pantheon had been accepted alongside native gods, aspects of Taki Onqoy appeared to members of the Hispanic clergy to represent the realization of a Pan-Andean alliance of gods against the Christian and an Andean rejection of the Christian tradition rather than its culmination. Steve Stern has noted how Taki Onqoy seemed to be split between more traditional communities who refused to accept the notion of Pan-Andean gods as more powerful and more relevant than their own local *huacas*, and the Taki Onqoy *yanaconas* who allegedly claimed the power to act as physical intermediaries for these gods.[9] Conflict reached such a climax that the cleric sent to investigate the Taki Onqoy phenomenon, Cristóbal de Albornoz, apparently discovered cases where local *huacacamayocs* (ministers to the *huaca*) had been murdered by Taki Onqoy dogmatizers. These outsiders threatened the power of the indigenous ministers as mediators between the community and their deities, and in some cases threatened the *modus vivendi* that some of them had managed to strike with the local priest.[10]

The crushing of Taki Onqoy did not signal the end of these seemingly resistive tendencies in Andean religion.[11] A Jesuit communiqué to Rome of 1592–4, for example, recounts the case of a native religious practitioner renowned throughout the Cuzco region who, aside from continuing to direct indigenous sacrificial rites, confiscated rosaries, religious images, and crucifixes from 'all those he could'.[12] The salient features of this example of the rejection of Christianity are replicated throughout the colonial period. The indigenous practitioner had assimilated basic Christian notions of the exclusivity of religious worship and wished to remove all trace of the opposing religion. Any resistance to Christianity, in other words, was necessarily conditioned by contact with it. Nevertheless, this assimilation of Christian attitudes with the purpose of resisting the encroachments of an alien

religion was fundamentally different from the Christian rejection of the Andean worldview. If it is true that Christian missionaries, Jesuits in particular, believed in the very prevalent danger that Satan posed to human souls and often attributed Andean religious deviance to diabolical inspiration, it is no less clear that their belief in the efficacy of Andean religious practice was usually non-existent.[13]

Nicholas Griffiths has demonstrated how colonial extirpators attempted to disempower indigenous religious ministers by equating their practices with fraud.[14] Similarly, in the *cartas anuas*, Jesuits often regarded the terms *hechicero* (sorcerer) and *embustero* (trickster) as practically synonymous.[15] From the perspective of the *hechicero*, however, confiscating Christian symbols from Andeans was by no means a negation of their power; in fact, such an action was a tacit recognition of the threat these items posed. Although at one level the Christian objection to idolatry as diabolically inspired and gravely offensive to God finds clear parallels with the objections of polarized *huaca* ministers to Andeans carrying Christian talismans because they could cause offence to their *huacas* and incur their wrath, the fact remains that the power of such talismans was rarely called into question. It was the effect they might have – provoking the anger of the *huaca*, for instance, or rendering a shaman's magic ineffective – that was important. However much Andeans might resist (and, following Estenssoro Fuchs's reinterpretation, cases of systematic resistance would have been rare), the balance of power naturally favoured Christianity, since any resistance that Andeans could show was immediately disadvantaged by the implicit recognition of Christianity's unquestioned effectiveness.

In 1617, Jesuits on a mission to la Barranca and Cajatambo, north of Lima, reported a case of religious 'resistance' on the part of native ministers.[16] The Jesuit superior forwarded the evidence to the Father General in Rome, writing that the *hechiceros* were preaching that the law of Jesus Christ was not a good law for Indians; that the law they should follow was that of their ancestors, for that of Christ was for the Spaniards;[17] and that those who visited the *huacas* were not to speak in Spanish or to utter the name of Jesus. All this would have appeared to the Jesuits as a dangerous continuation of the strategies apparently employed by Taki Onqoy dogmatizers[18] – namely, an attempt to rally round Andean religious tradition, rejecting Christianity and, by extension, Hispanic language and culture as fundamentally 'other'. But it is interesting to speculate about the reason for the prohibition of Spanish and the name of Jesus before the *huacas* from the perspective of Estenssoro Fuchs's insights. Of course, it cannot be discounted that the missionaries might have been seeing problems (dogmatizers) where there were none, and that the problem of idolatry was a merely a means used by Andeans to protect and continue their life-sustaining religious practices – after all, one of the Jesuits on that particular mission was Pablo José de Arriaga, perhaps the most vociferous proponent of the Extirpation, who clearly believed idolatry to be a major and sinister problem.[19] However, the above account was particularly

detailed, and this suggests that the information it provided might well have come from indigenous sources. If it was the case that native dogmatizers were prohibiting the use of Spanish before the *huacas* and the use of the name of Jesus, then the information implies a large degree of cultural and religious acculturation by 1617 in the Province of Lima. It is significant that indigenous worshippers were not invoking indigenous *huacas* in their native language, indicating the possibility that, in this region at least, Spanish had either superseded Quechua as the lingua franca or had infiltrated the language sufficiently to worry native purists. It is also possible, of course, that the *huacas* were being invoked by mestizos and other hispanicized individuals; but this only reinforces the point. The discomfort that dogmatizers felt by the use of the name of Jesus by people who worshipped their *huacas* is a clear sign that ordinary Andeans, acculturated or not, saw no contradiction in making the best use (as they saw it) of all the divine power that concurrently existed in the viceroyalty. In fact not to do so would have gone against their most basic religious instincts in such times of dramatic insecurity. In contrast to the Catholic missionaries, therefore, Andean dogmatizers did not stigmatize Christianity on the grounds that it was false and fraudulent. Quite the contrary: Christianity became and remained a potent force in the Andes, even when some Andean leaders engaged in concerted efforts to spurn it as alien. This was the fundamental difference between the two worldviews that would facilitate the natural filtering of Christianity into Andean lives.

The Church authorities had long recognized the problem of 'dogmatizers', and in some cases these not only concerned native preachers. A letter of 1592–4 recounts the unusual story of a mulatto taken and executed in Cuzco for 'preaching among these poor people the ceremonies and superstitions of the Law of Moses'.[20] According to the Jesuit writing, many were 'deceived by his preaching'. Interestingly, the mulatto was not blamed by the Jesuit directly. Instead the fault was laid squarely on Satan who, 'not content with reviving the old rites through the *hechiceros*, incited the mulatto to teach and to preach'.[21]

The idea that a mulatto, most probably (but not necessarily) an escaped slave, could be a Jew might seem quite absurd. But we should remember that in the first four decades of the seventeenth century the mercantile community in Seville waged a relentless propaganda campaign against Portuguese merchant slavers, accusing them of Judaizing and of 'inundating the American colonies with blacks indoctrinated in their own false beliefs'.[22] These beliefs, they argued, had become mixed with African superstitions and were spreading amongst the Indians.

It is hard to believe that the Seville monopolists were more concerned about the evangelization of the Indians than about restricting Portuguese control over the Afro-American slave trade. Their concern for Indian Christianization seemed to lessen markedly after the Inquisition cut through the Portuguese mercantile community in the viceroyalty.[23] In the case mentioned above, it is more likely that the mulatto in question was Islamic rather than Jewish, given the Arabic influ-

ence on the slave trade in Africa. Indeed, in 1560, a mulatto called Luis Solano was executed in Cuzco for preaching the Muslim faith.[24] Whether or not the unfortunate mulatto in the Jesuit's letter was Luis Solano, so distorted over time in the memories of the Cuzco citizens that his Islamic faith had become confused with Judaism, is a moot point; for our purposes the importance of the story lies in its demonstration of an acute concern about heterodox influences entering Peru from without and affecting the Indian population. This is particularly significant given the suspicion of the Seville merchant lobby's apparently cynical propaganda against their Portuguese rivals. There seems to have been 'no smoke without fire' on this occasion. Even if the Seville merchants were cynically attacking their rivals with whom they could not otherwise compete, they did not themselves fabricate the evidence. Instead they played on already existing fears and concerns in the viceroyalty to hammer home their objectives. They seemed only too aware that by the end of the sixteenth century the Hispanic authorities were not merely perturbed by the threat from within presented to them by indigenous dogmatizers, but they were also concerned about dogmatizers that infiltrated and affected the viceroyalty and the Andean religious cosmology from without.

After his general visitation (1570–5), Viceroy Francisco de Toledo proposed that all dogmatizers who had been baptized be 'relaxed' to the secular authorities and that the death penalty administered to them.[25] Fortunately, the Spanish Crown could not sanction such an extreme penalty for Indians it believed still to be neophytes; so in 1575 it ruled that 'idolatry trials that were not criminal belonged to the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical, not civil, authorities; only those whose practices led to death would be judged by the civil authorities'.[26] Nevertheless, in 1610, a Jesuit wrote that two Indians had been burned and another two tortured for witchcraft during the Christmas season prior to his mission to Chachapoyas.[27] Since there is no evidence in the Extirpation documents that the death penalty was ever applied, it is possible that the Jesuit's sources are mistaken; but it is more likely that either the executions were extra-judicial, or that those executed were charged and found guilty by civil authorities of causing death by malefice (presumably poison).[28] The Jesuit did in fact distinguish these individuals, saying that they were witches (*brujos*) rather than *hechiceros*, about whom he continued to talk as if they were a separate category. This was unusual: during the sixteenth century there was rarely a distinction made between the categories of *brujo* and *hechicero*.[29] But this particular Jesuit made a clear category distinction between *brujos*, by which he meant practitioners that specialized in malefice, using a combination of spiritual forces (magic) and poisons (from plant or mineral extracts) to cause serious harm and perhaps death, and *hechiceros*, by which he meant those who attempted to use a combination of magical and natural means, usually to cure but also to accomplish their desires and the desires of those who turned to them.

The above distinctions become more problematic, however, when they are considered in a less European context. In his work *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru,* the Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga noted a series of ten different types of *hechicero* that also included malefice specialists.[30] None of these categories, despite their very specialized nature, can be separated from the ideal and practice of reciprocity with a patron deity. As a result, the extirpators considered all such practices to be idolatrous, notwithstanding their diverse methods. For the Andeans, however, the most important aspect of the work of their ministers was to restore balance in the relationships between individuals, communities and their patron deities.[31] Even those whom Arriaga notes were called *cauchus, laicca* or *runapmicuc*, meaning 'eaters of men', and who most neatly fitted the category of *brujo*, became more complex when considered in this Andean context.[32]

In his discussion of Andean specialists in malefice, otherwise referred to as curse hurlers, Kenneth Mills argues that they 'were part of the religious network to which people turned, both regularly and in times of trouble'.[33] It is important to consider that the same people who could inflict curses on individuals could also lift them and defend people from attack by foreign curses. Once again, the important factor is the restoration of balance in a particular community, and Mills suggests that a curse hurler would be responsible for regulating the conduct of members of the community.[34] Those who incurred the specialists' wrath, or who otherwise upset the spiritual or physical equilibrium of the *ayllu*, would run the risk of being struck down by a curse. The afflicted individual might then seek the help of the specialist in order to have the curse lifted; as a result, balance would be restored. We shall return to the effects of Christianity in shifting the perceptions of community members and causing irrevocable disequilibrium. Meanwhile, the point that needs emphasis is that, so long as communities were not steeped in conflict, even practitioners of malefice appeared to perform a necessary function.

These 'men-eaters' were believed by members of the Hispanic world to have explicit diabolical pacts. Commonly, by the end of the sixteenth century and beyond, the 'devil' they had made a pact with was transmuted into a representation of what had become the Andean god *Supay* (*Çupay*).[35] Demons in general were transformed into *Supaykuna* (*Çupaykuna*), a pluralized version of the demonized spirit-deity.[36] Indeed, the sixth trilingual sermon published alongside the 1584 catechism states that bad angels 'are called devils, demons and *çupay*', and also that 'these bad demons are the ones that talk to the *hechiceros*'.[37] Nevertheless, even if the tutelary deity to whom the 'men-eaters' sacrificed was Supay, he did not easily fit the characteristics of his European counterpart during the early years of evangelization. As Mills explains, 'Supay was an omnipresent force representing a world of coexisting good and evil, simultaneous doing and undoing, growth and decay, birth and death'.[38] The concept of a deity that personified total goodness or total evil could never strictly exist in Andean cosmology. A god who was totally

good or totally evil could never be fully in control of the part of the natural world assigned to it by its Andean worshippers.[39] Theirs was a monistic cosmos that was renewed after undergoing periods of terrible destruction, a *pachacuti* or cataclysm, a term that could also mean 'turning over'.[40] Indeed, the phrase made famous by Guaman Poma de Ayala in his *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno* [1615], when he referred to colonial Peru as *el mundo al revés* (the world upside down), could well have been inspired by an evocation of the *pachacuti* phase of destruction and disorder before renewal and the restoration of a stable social order.[41]

As with their cosmos, Andean deities likewise combined destructive and creative attributes in a single but dualistic whole. Hell, for example, understood by European Christians as the place of eternal torment, was transformed into *ucupacha*.[42] According to Luis Millones, a Quechua speaker would have understood this term as 'evoking the interior world, the world from which life springs forth; springs and caverns are its most visible expression [...] it is the place (and time) in which seeds and the ancestors live, the future and the past, defined as "not present"'.[43]

## Divine Wrath

The powers of regeneration and rebirth, unwittingly attributed to Lucifer and Hell as they were transformed into the Andean *Supay* and *ucupacha*, could only hinder the evangelists' efforts to impress upon the minds of their neophytes the concept of total evil incorporated in one being. It is true that this transmutation did in some ways facilitate Satan's acceptance in the Andes. But, ironically, this naturalization process set in motion an otherwise impossible progression towards the redemption of the irredeemable: Satan was given back some of the positive characteristics he had lost after his fall from grace; his Peruvian naturalization, in other words, granted Satan creative powers that in the Christian tradition could only be born out of and sustained by God's unconditional love. If this irony had not been explained away by the church authorities as yet another example of Satan's cynical attempts to usurp the power that was God's alone, it might have encouraged an image of the fallen Angel on the path to reconciliation with God, a loveless being once again able to love.[44]

One might logically expect the same problems to arise as a result of the missionary presentation of God to the Andean peoples; but this was not the case. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, the official catechism of 1584, which the Third Provincial Council of Lima (1583) required to be learned by heart, made no attempt to present God as the personification of total goodness. Instead, the 'Articles of Faith' required that the Andean Christian believe in only one and all powerful God; that He is Father, Son and Holy Spirit; that he is the Creator; that he is Saviour, and finally that he is glorifier.[45] The Articles extrapolate further, add-

ing that he would come to judge the good to grant them glory, while the bad he would condemn to eternal torment.[46] Other catechisms continue in this vein; for example, the *Catecismo Mayor* asks the question: 'Why did God become so angry with our first ancestors?' The response counters: 'because they broke his commandment, obeying the devil who is envious and fraudulent'.[47] Thus the image of God transmitted to the Andean peoples was not that of a divinity unwilling and unable to cause destruction. Seemingly his creative powers were not 'limited' by any intrinsic goodness. Instead, they were taught about an omniscient, all-powerful judge, who would not hold back when the time for judgement arrived.

Nor were other members of the Christian pantheon ever thought of as weaker than Andean deities due to an inability to cause harm. Even the Virgin Mary had been known to put to one side her more traditional role of a benevolent intercessor before Christ in order to intervene violently in the interests of 'Christianity'. A famous illustration by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts Mary coming to the aid of Spaniards besieged in Cuzco during Manco Inca's Great Rebellion and routing the attacking Incas with hail cast from her hands.[48]

Together with the miracle of Santiago,[49] the legend of Mary's defence of the Spaniards had become widely accepted by the end of the seventeenth century.[50] Santiago also 'rode out' during the Siege of Cuzco to defend the Spaniards from the Incas, just as he had from the Moors during the *reconquista*. According to Guaman Poma de Ayala, he 'fell like a bold of lightening on the Inca's fortress called Sacsa Guaman [...] They say he came seated on a white horse [...] and the armoured saint with his [...] naked sword [caused] great destruction and death to many Indians'.[51] In the process he was transformed into *Illapa* the indigenous god of thunder and lightening, transmuted from Santiago Matamoros (Saint James the Moor-Slayer) to Santiago Mataindios (Saint James the Indian-Slayer). Clearly the Christian saints and divinities were not averse to inflicting damage to further their cause, and the opportunity to express this message was not lost on the Church authorities that commissioned works of art and reinforced such 'histories' in their sermons.[52]

Despite the strict theological view of God as supremely good and the concomitant definition of evil as an absence of good – not, in other words, an entity which could actually exist, but an absence of being – the perception that God and the Saints could be angered and might well vent that anger in the natural world was not a mere invention for the purposes of evangelization in the New World.[53] William Christian has documented the prevalence of precisely such relationships between patron saints and their communities in sixteenth-century Spain.[54] Communities took care not to neglect their patrons' feast days, for if they did they might expect severe misfortune to befall the townsfolk.

As such, it did not seem unusual to Andeans or Spaniards that supernatural or preternatural agents commonly and sometimes violently intervened in the natural world, especially given the vagaries of life in the dramatic and brutal land-

scape of the Andes, stricken by epidemics and natural disasters, which must have enhanced the sense and realization of cosmic conflict and intervention. It should not surprise us that, when disasters befell Andean communities, native religious practitioners were quick to publicize that such disasters demonstrated the anger of *huacas* caused by the encroachment of Christianity. In the *Informaciones* of Cristóbal de Albornoz (1570), for example, dogmatizers apparently connected with the Taki Onqoy movement explained:

> Whilst they performed the ceremonies that the *huacas* had laid down, all would go well for them, they and their children would be healthy and their fields would be productive. But if they did not worship the *huacas* or perform [their] ceremonies and sacrifices [...] they would die and would walk with their heads to the ground and their feet in the air.[55]

In effect, what these Taki Onqoy dogmatizers were describing was the return of a new *pachacuti* that would come about as a result of the *huacas*' anger at having been neglected.[56]

Such reasoning could work both ways, however, as we learn from the *carta anua* of 1576.[57] A Jesuit missionary (Alonso de Barzana) had written to the Jesuit Provincial Joseph de Acosta from Guancor, in the central Andean highlands, recounting the terrible demise of up to forty individuals from the town in which he had based his mission. According to Barzana, they had climbed the mountain in order to 'idolatrize' a *huaca* when suddenly they were swept off the mountain by a tornado and dashed to pieces on the rocks below. The only survivor happened to be an Indian who 'in good faith, had gone there to look for his wife, who was one of the idolaters'. According to Barzana he was flung off the mountain but not killed.

Although the Jesuit was careful to nuance his statement that 'God *allowed* a terrible punishment to befall them', thereby avoiding any direct divine responsibility for the evil inflicted, such finer theological caveats were of little importance amongst the townsfolk to whom Barzana had been ministering. What they noticed, rather, was that the single survivor spread the word of the disaster; thus the link was made (and no doubt further encouraged by the missionary) that 'these are judgements from heaven that show that God has not forgotten about these people'.[58] Given the violence of the demonstration, the people of Guancor might rather have remained in oblivion. But as word of the incident spread, it became clear that this was no longer possible. There was a new god in the Andes, the Christian God, jealous of human worship and prepared to attack violently those who worshipped his rivals.

Nowhere was this divine attribute more in evidence than in incidents of pestilence. In 1599 a severe plague struck the province and city of Lima, galvanizing the city into religious and social action.[59] According to the Jesuit Provincial, even before the plague arrived the religious had been preparing the indigenous com-

munity for the terrible event, preaching sermons that declared how much God loved his creatures and teaching them how to do penance for sins committed. Essentially, it was an exercise in damage limitation, teaching the art of 'dying well' to as many as possible before it was too late. Once the plague did strike, the Jesuit describes how the royal officials donated large quantities of silver so that the Jesuits (and presumably other religious orders) might purchase medicines.[60] Assisted by laymen and women the priests took on the role of doctors to the sick and ministers to the dying, in many ways assuming the role that a native practitioner might well have played in more isolated areas.[61]

As the priests assumed the crucial role of assisting the sick to pass from life into death, they became figures of tremendous power in the community almost by default. Now was the time they could reap the best harvest of souls. As they went from house to house, hearing confessions and, as the Jesuit writer puts it, 'curing sickness of body and soul', Indians of the barrio would bring their children to the doors of the priests, kneeling as they passed, kissing their cloaks, calling them '*padres sanctos*' (holy fathers) and pleading with them to bless them.[62] Whilst moved to compassion by the human suffering caused by the plague, the Jesuit ministers could not help but consider the conversions and confessions they were witnessing and wonder at the 'divine providence [...] and majesty of God that could vanquish sin using the pestilence as his instrument'.[63]

The ambivalent temper of the divine, together with the seeming arbitrariness of life in the Peruvian viceroyalty, was kept ever present in the minds of the population by numerous and often extremely violent earthquakes. On 31 March 1650, for example, Cuzco and the surrounding region were shaken by a tremendous earthquake, which Juan de Córdoba, the Rector of the Jesuit College in Cuzco, believed to be the worst Peru had yet seen.[64] Córdoba ordered the Jesuits to divide throughout the city to console the population and to hear confessions whenever necessary. He reports that, as he wandered through the streets and squares of Cuzco, he saw the 'greatest misfortune, confusion and alarm that could be imagined: women, secular clergy, religious all greatly disturbed and with a clamour that reached the heavens, invoking the mercy of God'.[65] These clamours grew after the arrival of the Franciscan Provincial, who was processing from plaza to plaza with a crucifix, 'exaggerating the gravity of the sins that were causing the indignation of Our Lord to fall on these terrified people'. Other conscientious priests, he adds, were exhorting the people to acts of contrition.

The apocalyptic atmosphere continued in the days that followed, as the people participated in continuous processions both day and night to assuage the divine wrath. The aftershocks continued, however, and the night of the 1 April, Juan de Córdoba writes, was the most formidable he had ever seen and ever hoped to witness. Added to the aftershocks was a dramatic electric storm that grew out of the east almost in response to the people in the squares shouting out their confessions before hastily erected altars.[66] For each lightning bolt that came out of the thick,

black clouds there appeared to be a tremor; that night alone, he records, there were more than twenty-five. The following day was no more hopeful. He said mass at the altar that had been erected in the square and so many people attended that they could only just fit. However, as he was saying the preface, there was another 'terrible quake' that caused two houses in the square to collapse. The net effect of such continuous punishment was that, as he raised the host for adoration, 'there were so many tears, so much beating of breasts, and so much clamour and acts of contrition that, on the one hand, they caused compassion and, on the other, confusion'.[67] In similar vein, the chronicler Diego de Esquivel y Navia wrote:

> They beat their breasts [and] wounded their faces, confessing that the cause of that damage was their sin, and all [were] crying out for mercy [...] The tremors continued for hours, and although they were not as great as the first, they distressed the people, who shouted out their confessions, some standing, others on their knees, causing horror and fright in the hardest heart. [...] To live in this city [was] to die, at the centre of so many terrors and frights, not being able to move a step without putting one's life at risk, nor find a secure place.[68]

For the people of Cuzco, it appeared, their world was ending. Not even the Cathedral or the Convent of Santo Domingo had been spared.

In the missions to the surrounding regions there were few signs to counter the assumption that the end of the world was nigh. From Oropesa, the Jesuit Gaspar Manuel wrote to Juan de Córdoba that as the tremors would not end then neither would the nightly penitential processions.[69] In the coca-growing region of Urumarca two volcanoes were reported to have erupted as a result of the constant upheavals and another near Quillabamba.[70] The earthquakes had caused landslides that dammed rivers causing their courses to change and flood villages. Previously accessible valleys were now cut off. In other places, rivers disappeared into newly opened chasms, severing vital irrigation arteries and leaving dry riverbeds. Mountain slopes had collapsed burying indigenous Andeans and priests alike on their way to their parishes for the Palm Sunday celebrations. The Jesuit narrates that the earth swallowed a mulatto family as it opened up around them. This apparent apocalypse, or even re-occurrence of God's punishment of the world at the time of Noah, was given greater force by the rumour spreading that 'the wild beasts and birds, petrified by the earthquakes had come into the towns to seek protection among men'.[71]

In the town of Oropesa itself the continuing *pachacuti* seemed to be provoking a crisis of faith. News had spread that in a house of the town the devil had appeared in the form of a 'little dancing Negro'. The Jesuit author wrote to the Provincial that at first they ignored the rumours judging them to be a fraud. However, the following Thursday night, as they were gathered in the square, the devil appeared 'visibly' to many Andean men and women in various forms; to some as 'a little

Negro', to others as a bear, and to others a cat. The purpose of such appearances was to persuade the indigenous Andeans not to mention the name of Jesus, for in their fright (and it is uncertain whether it was fright due to the continuing tremors or due to the apparition that so many were apparently seeing), they were repeating it as a protective mantra.[72] The diabolic persuasion was backed up by threats that if they ignored him he would kill them all.

It is possible to interpret the apparition and threats of the dancing devil of Oropesa in a number of ways. Most simply, it could be argued that the vision of a preternatural entity in a community stricken by massive geo-physical, and subsequently spiritual, upheaval should not be considered unusual, especially given the highly charged religious atmosphere that resulted from this collective trauma. But a further dimension to the visions emerges when we consider that the devil appeared to Andeans and was bent on turning them away from Christianity, under duress if necessary.[73] It is by no means surprising that in this time of severe physical and spiritual uncertainty, indigenous peoples might have interpreted the seismic shocks as the angry reaction of jilted *huacas*, lashing out at the population that had neglected them in favour of the rites of the Christian god.

There is a certain tragic irony in the frequent invocations of the name of Jesus by Andeans whose leaders interpreted the quakes as the punishment of the *huacas*. Diabolic apparitions were in effect visual embodiments of the fear and frustration of those members of the indigenous population who feared the consequences of continued interaction with Christianity and the continued invocation of the Christian entities. The danger was so palpable and the potential consequences so severe, that those who continued to anger the *huacas*, thereby risking the demise of the entire Andean universe, needed to be threatened with death. Nonetheless, it was just as natural for a population faced with a geological catastrophe caused by the wrath of Andean deities to seek solace from their 'opposite number', especially when this was the remedy urged by the priests and already being practiced by the Hispanic and black populations of Oropesa. Any solution that would bring the continuous tremors to an end would be a welcome one. The necessary polarization of religious camps as a consequence of the quakes and the nativist implementation of the dictum 'if you are not with us you are against us', had the net result of forcing many to side with Christianity. In their fright they invoked the name of Jesus, and in the process they demonized the personification of the anti-Christian sentiment.

The reaction shows the growing persuasive power of Christianity among Andeans. It is illustrative that, after the various demonic apparitions in the square, indigenous people flocked to tell the Jesuit narrator what had occurred, inspiring him to preach a sermon about the 'great benefits that the sweet name of Jesus brought forth'.[74] According to his story, the devil did his utmost to prevent the sermon from being heard, creating a cacophony of animal noise and 'a great sound of fireworks (rockets)'. If the intention had been to intimidate the congregation

away from the sermon, the noise apparently had the opposite effect, for 'both Spaniards and Indians were terrified'.[75] As a consequence, the priest was able to work the crowd gathered into a fervour, encouraging them with the assertion that the devil was practically defeated. As a result, during the following three nights Andeans armed with slings and stones, and troops of mulattos and blacks patrolled the streets in order to defy him.[76] More significantly, women and children spat and insulted him and repeatedly shouted the name of Jesus into the air. All these actions show that the polarization of nativist sentiment had created the opposite effect to the one intended. The terrified indigenous population was becoming increasingly malleable to the Christian rationale of demonization.

## The Place of Reason

According to the Jesuit José de Acosta, the first step in extirpating idolatry was its removal from the hearts of the Indian people.[77] In the world in which Acosta lived, so clearly defined by God's natural order, the most effective way to persuade the indigenous Americans was to use the power of reason to demonstrate how clearly mistaken they were in their understanding of the universe. Brute force could never be a satisfactory response to the problem of persistent idolatry. Although he did not discount the use of force to compel Christian Andeans to give up their idols, Acosta was well aware of the risks of 'tearing idols from the hands of Indians against their will', for 'they will only be nailed all the more firmly to the soul'.[78] Instead, by the use of three simple arguments, Acosta argued that a Christian preacher should be able to refute idolatry.[79]

To begin, the minister should comment on the very materials from which the idols are made in his reasoning against their divine nature. The very fact that they were made from metal, wood and stone, and fashioned by the hand of men, surely proved that they could not be deities. Men, he asserted, cannot make gods. Celestial bodies and geo-physical phenomena, similarly, could be shown to follow certain natural rules of existence, just as mummified bodies (*malquis*) were unable to feel and were subject to the corruption of death. The second argument centred on the impotence of the idols to defend themselves from destruction: they were powerless to see, to feel and to move. The third, which he thought the most important, centred on divine protection in human affairs and was intended simply to appeal to the Indians' objective experience. Had they not suffered unduly in terms of sickness, war and famine? Yet, what help had they received from their gods?[80]

Despite its clarity and logic, most indigenous people would have found Acosta's reasoning quite difficult to follow. To begin with, the Catholic rites in which the Andeans (and Catholics throughout the world) participated made much use of ostensively man-made objects imbued with sacred power. The cult of the saints

utilized paintings, sculpture, representations and relics of saints in a manner that bore remarkable resemblances with Andean cults centring on *huacas* and *malquis*. There was a fine distinction between 'devotion to' a religious entity and 'worship of' its particular symbol or representation, and in fact such a distinction was currently being violently disputed between European Protestants and Catholics. In order to expound successfully the 'man-cannot-make-gods' logic, therefore, it would have first been necessary to teach comprehensively these fine theological distinctions to the Andeans at a time when they were not fully appreciated by many European Christians.

The logic of the second and third arguments could be undermined with comparable ease. In the experience of the Andean peoples, *huacas* and *malquis* clearly were not as impotent as the missionaries believed. True, their physical manifestations could sometimes be destroyed, but so then could images of saints and crucifixes and other Christian religious symbols. Sixteenth-century responses to the Extirpation campaigns demonstrated how indigenous understanding of their deities developed from that of gods whose nature (massive monoliths, or mountains for example) signified their permanence and power in a transient world, to beings that could transcend their physical manifestations and live beyond destruction. *Malquis*, in their proper environment, were not subject to mortal corruption as Acosta asserted. He himself recognized that fact when he wrote in the *Historia Natural y Moral* that: 'they conserved [the bodies of their lords and kings] so that they remained whole, without smell and decay, for more than two hundred years [...] Seeing human bodies that were so old with such a beautiful complexion and so complete caused admiration.'[81]

For the Andean people, the divinity of the *malquis* was expressed in the way in which their mummified bodies combined the embodiment of the origins of the *ayllu* with complete and uncorrupted permanence as they remained unchanged, preserved by the propitious climatic conditions of the high Andes. It was only when they were brought down from the cold dry altitudes to warmer and damper environments before being burned in *autos de fe* that the decaying process set in. In terms of the Andean symbolic worldview, such decay would have occurred as a result of the rupture of the relationship between the *malqui* and the *ayllu*. This ruptured relationship would have been seen as the central cause of the dramatic end to the permanence of Andean religion that in turn acted as a major catalyst in its adaptation to Christianity.

Finally, the argument that relied on the Andeans' 'objective experience' that their gods were powerless to aid or comfort them in these times of distress also failed to engage in a meaningful dialogue with the Andean worldview. Objectively, Andeans experienced the power of their *huacas* in many different ways, from the germination of crops, to the destruction of those same crops in a freak hailstorm. A *huaca*'s ambivalence was certainly not proof of its non-existence. Rather, Andeans were faced with the reality of new forces moving in the Andes, whose

wrath they frequently suffered and to whom they could appeal for aid, just as they did and continued to do with their *huacas*. More reasonable to the Andeans, in fact, was Acosta's next proposition: that those *huacas* that did show signs of speaking, ordering and even threatening their worshippers were mere tricks of the devil; and that with teaching them the 'true nature' of the devil and his demon cohorts, Andean fear of their *huacas* might be transformed into hatred of Satan.[82] Nevertheless, this rationale relied on the belief that the Andeans' understanding of the devil would not transmute as it crossed cultural boundaries. It also failed to realise the inherent contradiction in the pedagogical goals of asking the Andeans to reject 'their idols as useless things without meaning', on the one hand, and to 'detest the evil they have learned through the cunning of demons', on the other.[83]

An example of such failure of dialogue through reason can be seen in the Jesuit missive of 1610. The author recounts the story of a female Indian neophyte in the northern province of Trujillo who entered the house of the Indian sacristan. The sacristan happened to be making hosts for use in the Mass and so the woman exclaimed: 'look at these Fathers, who make us adore as God something that an Indian makes in such a dirty house'.[84] On another occasion, the same woman witnessed the dressing of a statue of the Virgin Mary, and saw that the image was only a face supported by poles (which were covered by ornate robes).[85] Apparently, she was scandalized by this and began to make fun of the image in much the same way as the missionaries frequently sought to diminish indigenous idols. On both occasions, the very same logic that the missionaries used to attack Andean beliefs and practices was fundamental to the Indian woman's perplexity at the claims of the Christian symbolic worldview.

## Imagery's Inroads

If we are to see how the devil materialized in the Andes it is important, first, to demonstrate the inroads that Christian imagery made in Andean worldviews. For the devil could not be understood without his nemesis; it would be a mistake to assume that Satan could penetrate Andean mentalities in the absence of Christianity. Despite the limitations of rational arguments discussed above, it is clear that Christian imagery, projected to the Andeans through various media, did penetrate indigenous religious sensibilities. As early as 1576 José de Acosta wrote to Rome commenting on his admiration of 'the Indians of Cuzco's insatiable hunger for the word of God', writing that 'they come running eagerly to take their places and listen with a strange attention and devotion'.[86] So many came to daily Mass, he continues, that there were no places left for the Hispanic population, and the young were 'so astute and able that they know both the brief and the long Catechism in their language'.[87] More significantly, these youths went about teaching the Catechism to their elders and, being naturally inclined towards

music, they went about the streets singing religious poetry that they had learned in both Spanish and Quechua.

Of course, this is an unquestionably idealistic view of indigenous society in Cuzco, referring as it does to a small proportion of the population and a part that was under direct and particularly consistent missionary supervision. The account seems filled with the euphoria of the gospels, and in no way considers that indigenous people were in fact obliged to attend Mass and *doctrina*, although not on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the narration does highlight various aspects important to the Christianization of the Andes. Perhaps the most important of these was the persistent dichotomy between urban and rural, civilized and barbarian, Christian and pagan.[88] Intellectual consideration of the town or city as the centre of the *civitas* or civilization, which, as we have seen, in Hispanic terms was Christian, was confirmed by apparently clear evidence that the civilization process was working well within the confines of the town. Indians appeared enthusiastic about attending sermons, *doctrina* and Mass and the youngsters seemingly had little problem in learning the necessary catechesis and had even begun to disseminate it amongst their elders. In the manner of Erasmus's Christological illustration of Christian society as a target of concentric rings, a process of 'de-barbarization' had begun in the Christian centres and was spreading slowly outwards.[89]

Nevertheless, there was a converse side to this. If the urban centres were Christian and civilized and were responsible for spreading Christian civilization to the entire population, the rural hinterlands were believed to act as refuges for pagan barbarism, where the forces of disorder were able to regroup and resist as far as they could the missionary project. Such belief was only reinforced by evidence gathered about persistent idolatry in the rural villages and isolated populations, protected from outside interference by the harsh landscape and huge distances involved in journeying from one place to another.[90]

Although the evidence gathered by Acosta and other missionaries was interpreted to reinforce their own symbolic structure, accounts such as the one above indicate that where access to *doctrina* was regular, didactic methods used by missionaries had a considerable effect. In 1603 the Jesuit Provincial, Rodrigo de Cabredo, wrote to Rome and recounted the story of an Indian woman from Cuzco who was sorely maltreated by her husband of ten years, a poor Indian (*de poca hacienda*). Her misery had reached such levels that she was left shut in her home for three days without food to eat. After the third day, desperately hungry, she waited until nightfall and left the house to search for food. On returning a small and very beautiful boy appeared before her and, while gently stroking her back, asked her the cause of her unhappiness. Rather than offering a solution to her enduring predicament, the boy comforted her and encouraged her to bear her troubles with patience. Then he took out a large loaf of bread and broke it in two, gave her half to eat and told her he was taking the other half for another person in similar need. With that he disappeared. The Indian woman, scared by now, went

into her house after looking for the boy in vain and tasted the bread. She affirmed to her Jesuit confessor that it had the most marvellous taste, such that it exceeded sugar in its sweetness, and that the bread lasted her a further two days, even as she shared it with others who had nothing to eat. Most importantly for her Jesuit confessor – and for Cabredo, who was documenting the story – after eating the bread her soul felt tremendous happiness at being so favoured. In effect, the vision had acted as a particular consolation for the troubles she was suffering.[91]

When analysing this account, so laden with Christian symbolic imagery, it is important to remember that the story had passed from the Indian woman to her Jesuit confessor to his superior in Lima before being summarized in the *carta anua* by Cabredo. As with all such accounts, it is nigh impossible to establish the extent to which the vision transmuted as it passed from the memory of the Indian woman to the understanding of her confessor. Indeed, it is similarly difficult to know how much information the woman volunteered and how much was gleaned through leading questions by the confessor. Compared to equivalent narratives in which dreams and visions, dismissed so easily by confessors as diabolical, show a definite continuum of Andean symbols well into the colonial period and beyond,[92] in the above account the Andean symbolic universe appears to resonate very weakly. Elements of Andean reciprocity exist, as is demonstrated by the Indian woman's sharing out the little food she has with others who are equally needy; and yet this could be just as easily interpreted (and clearly has been by the Jesuits) as an example of Christian charity. In addition, there appears to be little reciprocity between the visionary figure and the woman, the relationship being one of charitable patronage rather than sacrifice to a *huaca* and reciprocation, although one could in fact suppose that apart from looking for food as she told the Jesuit, the woman might have left the house in the dead of night to make a surreptitious offering to the *huaca* to alleviate her suffering.

In the Andean world, an apparition of a young boy was not common. Descriptive accounts of *huaca* patrons were varied and ranged from shamanic totem animals such as condors, jaguars and llamas, to male gallants and old men who were understood to be figures of authority and wisdom.[93] On the other hand, perhaps the most famous Inca idol, *Punchao Inca*, was represented by the golden figure of a child after appearing in that form to Pachacuti Tupa Yupanqui.[94] His cult was based in the temple of Coricancha, Cuzco, and the young sun deity *Punchao* was worshipped during the winter solstice and was invoked by the priests so that he might 'always remain young and brilliant'.[95]

There is certainly scope for an interpretation of the indigenous woman's vision that involves a devotion to the young sun Punchao. According to Guaman Poma de Ayala, Punchao's feast followed the month of harvest that was made possible only by the continued power of the sun.[96] Furthermore, his youthful strength nourished the seeds that would be sown in the months following his festival and he grew in strength and vigour as the crops themselves grew. He was at his most powerful dur-

ing the summer solstice of December, shortly after the crops were harvested. In the above narrative, the young boy not only nourishes the Indian woman physically, the result of a fruitful harvest, but he gives her strength and offers her hope to continue into the future, a good omen for the harvest to come.

The child in the narrative also bears more than a passing resemblance to the later Cuzco (Lauramarca)-based legends of Apu Ausankati, the mountain deity who has been described as having appeared to people in the form of a fair-skinned mestizo child, clothed in white.[97] Apu Ausankati, however, has been and is still closely associated with the Andean-Christian cult of *Qoyllur Riti*. So, rather than trying to disconnect it from any Christian interpretation, this seems to be the long-term context in which the above narrative can be best understood. The legend of *Qoyllur Riti* recounts the tale of a young Andean boy-herder called Mariano. Cruelly treated by his elder brother, he ran away to the snowfields to escape. Almost giving in to despair, he came across a mestizo boy, 'fair and handsome', who befriended him and shared his bread with him.[98] From then on, the two boys became regular playmates, and whilst the mestizo continued to share his bread with Mariano, nourishing him to the extent that he had no need to return to his father's house for provisions, the flock that he was tending for his father also mysteriously grew.

The legend concludes after the friendship became public and the local priest together with the sacristan and the church steward set out to investigate. On the second expedition, they approached the mestizo boy, who appeared to be radiating a blinding light. As the boy moved toward a rock, the priest attempted to take hold of him but found he was left holding a Tayanka bush. On looking up they saw the Crucified Christ, bleeding and in agony, hanging from the tree. The Christian party, dazed and in awe, fell to their knees; but Mariano, believing that the Spaniards had tortured his friend, pleaded with them for mercy. As the Christians came to, they realised that they could see nothing but the bush and the body of Mariano who had collapsed and died at the foot of the tree. They buried him there beneath the same rock to which the mestizo child had moved.[99]

Michael Sallnow documents various differences between the official Colonial version of the story and the Andean oral tradition. Most significantly, the indigenous tradition has the boy (who is and was believed to be the Christ-child), throw away his clothes and enter the rock. The image of his body, weak and broken, was left imprinted on the stone face.[100] This important shift in detail places the Christ-child firmly in an indigenous context. Already linked by the story to the propagation of Mariano's llama herd, on entering the rock the boy became a permanent presence in the Andean sacred landscape. Sallnow connects the *Qoyllur Riti* story to the *tinkuy*, a ritual battle for the propagation of livestock in which the naked body of a fallen warrior 'is interred beneath a rock, its clothes discarded nearby, and is thereafter suspended forever in a liminal state between life and death'.[101]

However indigenous the *Qoyllur Riti* Christ-child might have become in his existence and meaning, for the purpose of comparison with the Jesuit narrative of 1603 the fundamental feature of the legend endures unchanged. Despite being indigenized, the mestizo boy remained the Christ-child for all the groups concerned: Spaniards, mestizos and Andeans. In both accounts marginalized Andeans, abused by others in authority, are befriended and given succour by a beautiful child. Similarly, in the two stories, the child nourishes the actors with the bread that he breaks and shares with them in the manner of the Eucharist. In the imagery of the Qoyllur Riti legend, the link with the Crucified Christ is quite explicit. In the 1603 narrative, however, that same connection is made by the Eucharistic allegory within the story, and by its reference to the comfort the Andean woman received even as she was persuaded to 'bear her own cross' with patience and fortitude, just as Christ had borne his.

Christian imagery continued to make such inroads into indigenous spirituality that Jesuit letters progress from documenting cases of Christ and other Christian saints moving in this world, to ones in which the indigenous actor had been privileged enough to have been elevated to the heavens. The Jesuit *carta anua* of 1632 recounts the tale of Bartolomé Martín, a ten-year-old noble Indian boy from San Pedro de Quilcai, five leagues from the city of Lima,[102] who one afternoon was startled by a vision of his mother who had died seven years previously. She spoke to him lovingly, called him saying, 'Bartolo, Bartolo my son, come with me to heaven'. That night she appeared to him again, inviting him to go with her to heaven for that was what Christ had ordered. With that he lost the power of speech. When they found him the next morning he could utter only a few badly formed words, and these, according to the Jesuit narrator, were all heavenly. Apparently he was able to communicate to those around that he was speaking them from heaven itself. The priest was called together with others from the community who judged him to be delirious. However, the boy resisted all attempts at treatment. After three days practically unable to speak, suddenly the power of speech returned to him and he told them that he had come from heaven having been there for nearly four hours. Until ten days were completed, however, he was not permitted to tell them what he had been shown. Ironically this resulted in the priest and those gathered by the bedside to judge for a second time that he was crazy (*frenético*) and they tried once again to apply remedies for madness. To the surprise of his family, once the ten days were complete on the feast-day of Santiago, Bartolomé rose from his bed and began to tell the story of his visionary journey.

The Jesuit asserts at this point that the turns of phrase he uses to describe certain events within the narrative are the boy's own, an affirmation that shows the writer's sensitivity to the charge of undue direct influence on the boy's story. The declaration acted as a crude rhetorical device designed to distance the author from the events he is reporting but one that could work effectively only if the

reader were already inclined to take the writer's statements at face value. In the event, the Jesuit writing assures the reader that the phrases used belong to the boy (not himself) and switches into direct speech in the first person. He intended that the letter be transformed from a Jesuit account of remarkable events into a testimony by the primary actor.

Bartolomé 'in his own words' began with the explanation that his journey had not been corporeal, rather that his soul had gone with his mother, as 'the body, I [he] left in the bed'.[103] Following his mother's footsteps he saw two paths, one smooth and easy, the other burning (*flagroso*)[104] and strewn with thorns and other difficulties. The boy, he claims, naturally wished to travel the easy path but his mother prevented him with the words: 'my son have no faith in the deceptive ease of that road because I tell you it is the one taken by bad people deceived by its false appearance'. With that she guided him along the more difficult road and within a short time they had arrived in heaven.[105]

Heaven, 'the boy' describes, was represented to him as a beautiful palace in which he saw choirs of virgins crowned with flowers, together with an orchestra of angels who together sang praises to God.[106] He approached Christ's throne (and here again the Jesuit distances himself from the narrative by pointing out that it was, in the end, the same as in many other similar imaginary visions), a bench of the purest gold, on which Christ was seated together with 'the glorious Saint Joseph' and his mother Mary. Whilst this might appear to follow an almost standard visionary pattern, what is worthy of comment is that Mary, as the mother of Christ and the wife of Saint Joseph, was seated in the centre. Given that ritual position in colonial society was of such fundamental importance (hence the very many disputes over precedence and position in religious processions in which *cofradías* and dignitaries vied for position), it is significant that the Virgin might take precedence over Christ.

Two immediate possibilities for interpretation of the vision exist. On the one hand, the vision might be indicative of an extreme Marian devotion on the parts of both the boy and the Jesuit narrator (who fails to note anything particularly remarkable about the positioning). On the other hand, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not the visionary seating arrangements merely sacrificed orthodox theological details (if indeed a ten-year-old boy could ever be expected to understand the correct ranking of the Heavenly hierarchy) to the demands of aesthetic symmetry. The Virgin, the prominent female figure, was balanced either side by two male figures, their rank being of little importance as long as the tableau was symmetrical. The prominence of the Virgin Mother in the vision also becomes clearer when we consider that the entire visionary experience began with the apparition of the boy's own mother who had been absent from his life since he was three years of age.

Returning to the visionary tableau, on either side of the trio were seated (also on golden seats) the 'holy apostles' whom the Jesuit states that Bartolomé

called 'the great saints'.[107] Of these the boy recognized many saints, including the Patriarchs of the church and the founders of religious orders, and significantly, two of Bartolomé's own brothers who had died young, a detail that removed the image from the realm of general baroque iconography and placed it once again in the very personal consciousness of this noble Andean boy.

Although the Virgin mother was the central figure of the boy's visionary representation, it was between Bartolomé and Christ that the dialogue and action took place, reaffirming the Christ figure's authority as ruler and judge over the boy and the rest of his community. Jesus ordered Bartolomé to kneel before him, to kiss his feet and hands, and subsequently to do the same before the entire gathering of saints, a laborious demonstration of devotion and humility before their authority. Nevertheless, such apparent abasement should not be considered a manifestation of the boy's interiorization of imposed cultural stratification, as a native Andean prostrating himself before colonial Hispanic saints. Such veneration of saint's images was extremely common in the religiously charged Hispano-baroque world. The Jesuit author wrote of the boy's veneration that 'it was a ceremony worthy of coveting', demonstrating that in the religious framework of the time, were the boy to be believed, then he had in fact been granted a tremendous privilege in being allowed to kiss the feet of Christ and the saints, even if it were merely a visionary experience.[108] To confirm this, we learn that in return for the boy's veneration, the Saints 'happily thanked him and granted him a thousand blessings'.[109]

After the ceremony had been completed Jesus spoke to Bartolomé again. The first part of the speech simultaneously acted as a divine affirmation of the catechesis that the boy and his community had received from the missionaries, and as an order to reinforce that teaching. He was ordered to return to his community and tell them all to fear God and keep his law; that there was no more than one true God and that idols were demons and *hechicerías* were tricks of the devil. Significantly, the second part of the divine ordinance extended the boy's mission from one that focussed internally on his own community to what amounted to a vocational pilgrimage to the Jesuit College in the *Cercado*, Lima. He was instructed to take with him four named companions of his own age from his community and with permission from their parents to journey to the *Cercado* to the house of the Jesuits, where they would 'learn the mysteries of the faith'.

While the Jesuit narrator marvelled at the manner in which God worked through the 'small and the humble' – for the boy was able to get the permission of his parents and the parents of the other four boys, and face and pass an examination on the vision by 'persons of great doctrinal knowledge and experience' – the subtext of Bartolomé's vision suggests an already very strong Jesuit influence on the boy's imagination. The imagery of the vision incorporated much classic Christian rhetorical and visual allegory: the easy path of vice against the difficult path of virtue; the central tableau with the enthroned Holy Family (despite its somewhat unorthodox re-arrangement) flanked by the saints and entertained

by a choir of virgins and orchestra of Angels; Christ's doctrinal commandments to the boy that repeat the central pedagogical themes of the viceroyalty's anti-idolatry campaigns. However, what should also be noted is that the boy was the son of indigenous nobles, his companions were named in the vision, and he was directed to the Jesuit College in the *Cercado*, conveniently the location of a Jesuit school for the sons of Indian nobles, founded in 1619. The boy's vision, so rich in Christian rhetorical symbols, gave divine sanction and even impetus to a Jesuit and viceregal pedagogical policy and successfully overrode any potential resistance on the part of Bartolomé's parents or the community's elders. At this point it becomes difficult to separate what might well have been considered a divinely inspired vision in the boy's mind and in the minds of those who examined him, from a vision inspired by sermons, catechesis and paintings and, possibly, even a realization of duty – the obligation to leave behind his community and travel to the *Cercado* alongside his companions for education in the Jesuit school.

For the missionaries and congregations of the time, such separation might not even have been necessary. The Jesuits as a group certainly did not hold back in their conviction that they were doing God's work and saving souls, and employed as many rhetorical devices as they could in order to impress their message on Andean minds. They were not averse to using material and sometimes morbid props should the occasion warrant it. In a letter from the Andean town of Ocros, two priests, Sebastian Valente and Juan de Aranzeaga, wrote to Lima describing how, whilst on a mission to Cajatambo, they had preached a sermon in the local language.[110] During the sermon they took out the skull of a pre-Columbian Indian that had been removed from a burial mound and began a dialogue with it.[111] They asked the skull who he was (or more to the point, who he had been), where he was from, and most importantly, why he had been condemned to hell. Not surprisingly, the skull responded that he had been sent to hell for having worshipped *huacas*, stones, *conopas* and *malquis*. Whilst such devices might bring to mind a darkly comic ventriloquist's act, according to the Jesuit 'ventriloquists' their performance had exactly the desired effect. It hammered home the concepts of eternal damnation for the sin of idolatry. By using the skull of an indigenous ancestor who spoke from the grave as a *malqui* might have spoken to a *malquipvillac*, moreover, those consequences were quite firmly placed in the Andean historical context.[112] The penalty for idolatry, or in other words, normal Andean religious practices, would have been understood by all the Andeans present, as the link between the ancestor's practices and those of the contemporary congregation was unbroken. The result of the sermon and its Hamletesque dialogue was to provoke the gathered *ayllus* into a frenzy of denunciations, one against the other, something that the Jesuit author explained as the result of the rivalry between neighbouring *ayllus* and towns, but at the same time celebrated as having 'served Our Lord to move their hearts' against their 'idolatrous practices'.[113]

For their impact on the indigenous imagination, rhetoric and stage props could not surpass the power of painting to carry the visual image of the torments of hell and the terrifying reality of the Christian demonic tradition to the Andeans. A painting such as 'The Torments of Hell' in the Church of the Society (La Iglesia de la Compañía) in Quito, Ecuador, would have been seen by Spaniards and indigenous people alike. It holds back neither in graphic detail of demons torturing sinners nor in its vivid red colour evoking fire and blood.[114] Roughly a generation earlier than Hernando de la Cruz was painting in Quito, another Jesuit, Bernardo Bitti was travelling around the central Andean highlands decorating the Jesuit churches with similar devotional and pedagogical motifs.[115] In the Jesuit church of Cuzco, for example, he painted the 'Torments of Hell' and linked them specifically to those sins that indigenous Andeans were believed to commit, 'as the Indians are greatly moved by paintings and much more than with numerous sermons'.[116]

In the jungles of Andalapao in 1634, a Jesuit missionary wrote to his superior in Lima that the Indians assigned to his religious tuition were no longer prone to drunkenness after a sermon that had been preached to them on the pains of hell.[117] So traumatized were they by the memory of the sermon that they considered it taboo, or, as the Jesuits interpreted it, 'a great sin', even to mention hell's name. Significantly, they had pleaded with the Jesuit to cast the painted representations of demons, hell and the torments suffered by the damned into the river, clearly understanding the horror of the images but not understanding that the reason why the Jesuit possessed them was purely pedagogical. Instead they attributed to the images the same malevolent power that the priest wished to be attributed to the demons themselves. Their presence in their community could only bring them misfortune and they wanted the river to carry them and their evil far away.[118]

Perhaps the most telling example to demonstrate that devils had entered the Andean cosmology and were becoming progressively more European in their one-sided malevolence (or rather that Andeans were becoming progressively more fearful of their apparitions) took place in a small village called Pitantora, near Potosí in 1700. The case also clearly demonstrates the Jesuit missionaries' ability to exploit almost any phenomenon in their sermons.[119] The Jesuit Provincial, Diego Altamirano, wrote to Rome that two missionaries had arrived in the town and were reprehending the lukewarm enthusiasm of the inhabitants in preparing themselves for receiving the Eucharist, when suddenly the gathered crowd witnessed the 'Malignant Spirit' fly out from the communal ovens in various forms and come to rest on the heads of those who were outside the chapel in the manner of a diabolical Pentecost.[120] Altamirano writes that this caused such horror and fright that those who were outside threw themselves into the church crying out for mercy and crushing those inside in their tumultuous panic to reach the altar and Crucifix standing on top.

After the repeated invocation of the names of Jesus and Mary, the fearful visions disappeared and the congregation returned to calm. The Jesuit missionaries, however, could never waste such a perfect opportunity and changed the subject of their sermon from the Eucharist to a consideration of the terrible Day of Judgement and the pains of hell. They were able to work the congregation into such a state that the moans of those crying and pleading for mercy interrupted the sermon and it was only with difficulty that they managed to regain silence.[121] There could be no doubt that by the time the Jesuits had left the people of Pitantora, images of Lucifer and his minions had well and truly entered their worldview.

## Consciences Afflicted

It is easy to imagine how the population of an Andean community might be frightened by images that were being reinforced and dramatized by the clever rhetoric of a Jesuit preacher. However, once the Jesuits had left, it is only logical to wonder how much long-term impact their sermons, dramas and paintings had on the Andean worldview. Did things merely revert to the way they were before the Jesuits arrived?

In the *carta anua* of 1599–1600, the author recounts the tale of an indigenous woman in Cuzco who every Sunday left the town to make sacrifices before a *huaca* and then returned in time to go to Mass.[122] Such practice, viewed as an abomination by the clergy, was only natural for Andean peoples caught between two opposing worlds of jealous gods. The evident necessity to placate both pantheons, at least to the point of paying lip service to Christianity due to obligation, or even due to sincere belief in the power of both cosmologies, caused many Andeans to attempt to reach a personal compromise with their deities. It is significant that the woman made the offerings every Sunday, which was the Christian day of worship *par excellence*. For the Hispanic clergy, however, this was a mere further demonstration of Satan's diabolic mimicry of Christ's church on earth.

The unfortunate woman was late one week in sacrificing her guinea pigs. The Jesuit recounts that by the time she had returned home, the *fiscal* was already waiting for her to escort her to church. She did not even have time to wash the blood from her hands and was, one might say, caught red-handed. Nevertheless, the *fiscal* did not denounce her, from which we can only imagine that in his view it was more important to get her to church than to prevent her from performing a necessary act of sacrifice to the community's *huacas*. Instead, she entered the church, the blood of her sacrifices still on her hands, and began to pray to Christ. That night, however, her sleep was troubled and she was disturbed by a waking dream in which Jesus appeared to her, 'beautiful and resplendent with anger'. He reproached her with sharp words demanding to know how she could commit

such great treason against her God and creator whilst being a baptized Christian. The woman broke down before the vision, as 'Jesus made known to her the great punishments and torments that have been set aside for wicked Christians who worship stones instead of their God'. She pleaded with Christ for mercy, and as she did so the vision changed and she saw herself confessing before the Christ-child rather than Christ the Judge. He gave her a shining crucifix and instructed her that to be saved she should venerate it, with which she awoke. The Jesuit narrator recounts that despite looking, they found no evidence of a golden crucifix, although they did find another that was finely worked.

The story is representative of the crises of conscience that many Andeans suffered as a result of the penetration of Christianity into their lives. By obligation the woman was a churchgoer, and by her own admission she sacrificed to a *huaca* outside the town. Yet her Christianity clearly amounted to much more than mere compliance with the rules. The fact that she could suffer such a vivid visionary reproach suggests that there was a profound religious transformation taking place in her mind.

Against a backdrop of disease, violence and death in the colonial Andes, visionary experiences proved to be important sources of consolation for individuals, comforting them in times of distress and providing a cosmological superstructure into which inexplicable occurrences could be placed so that they could be understood more easily. Conversely, these visionary experiences might place heavy demands on an Andean's conscience, making clear to the individual that there was a high price to pay for such understanding.

In 1610, in the northern coastal province of Trujillo, a case was recorded that combined all these phenomena.[123] An indigenous woman, badly mistreated by a man, was fortunate enough to receive a vision of Christ one Maundy Thursday, in which he informed her that he had noted her affliction and he had come to console her. Such consolation took a rather more sinister form than that offered by the Christ-child to the Andean woman of Cuzco. Apparently, he showed her a parchment on which she understood (in her soul, because she could not read) was inscribed the life and sins of the man who maltreated her. At the bottom of the paper there was only a small amount of space left indicating that the man only had a short time to live, after which he would be severely punished and she would be free.

Consolation for the woman and implied vengeance on her abusive partner did not come without a price. Despite the fact that the imagery appeared to be drawn from an almost entirely Christian tradition of rewarding forbearance and judging personal accountability for worldly actions after death, the indigenous reciprocal symbolic structure shaped relations between the indigenous woman and her Christian divinities. She was expected to pay a heavy price for her consolation and revealed knowledge. The narrator recounts that she was subject to another vision, this time of Mary, who demanded that she give up her six-year-old daughter. The woman pleaded with Mary that she was asking for her only daugh-

ter, to which the saint turned a deaf ear, incredulously asking if the woman was refusing. At this point Mary's tone seemed imperious and almost accusatory, at once ringing with the power to cause harm should her will be thwarted and at the same time implicitly referring to the fact that she similarly had given up her only son for the benefit of mankind. It was perfectly just that she should have the right to demand the lives of mankind's children as and when she pleased, especially in return for personal favours. The poor woman had no choice but to tell the Virgin that she could take her daughter, from which point on she began to prepare the young girl 'for her journey to heaven'. Within a few days, the girl had become sick and died in her mother's arms holding a cross and some holy water.[124]

Despite the hagiographical nature of the woman's visions and despite the fact that they are being reported second, perhaps third-hand by Jesuit authors, they can still shed light on the seventeenth-century religious experiences of indigenous peoples in more Christianized areas of the viceroyalty. The content and direction of the imagery is extremely Christian, yet Andean influences are still discernible. What is significant is that the indigenous woman was interpreting and understanding events through a symbolic framework that was for her, and for her Jesuit confessors, recognizably Christian. Furthermore, in her times of need, whether or not she still appealed to indigenous deities, she did not feel that it was inappropriate to engage in dialogue with Christian supernatural entities. In this sense, there was no contradiction that the imagery appeared Christian whilst the reciprocal exchange was naturally Andean.[125] In an environment in which infant mortality was extremely high, and where disease abruptly shortened the lives of many people, the Virgin's demand gave meaning to the death of the woman's only daughter, enabling her to understand her very personal loss in a universal context.

It was in fact at the point of death that Christianity and the diabolical were able to make the most important inroads into Andean society. As we have seen, the Andes were commonly perceived by Hispanic missionaries as one of the last battlegrounds between the forces of light and those of darkness, but nowhere was this more true, or the battle perceived to be more crucial, than at the deathbed of an individual. In his history of religion and religious practice in pre-reformation England, Eamon Duffy documents the widespread belief that at the point of death the devil would attempt by various means to seize the individual's soul and drag it down to hell.[126] He writes that during the late medieval period the devil's attack was believed to be fivefold:

> The devil would try to make the dying person sin against faith by slipping into heresy, superstition, or infidelity, to sin against charity by becoming impatient under their sickness, refusing to accept it from God and abusing those who tended the deathbed, to forfeit salvation by trusting in their own good deeds rather than solely in the merits of Christ, and finally to reject Heaven and the eternal world by clinging to the goods and relationships of the present world.[127]

That same battle, the macro-struggle between good and evil played out on a micro scale, was believed to be fought at the bedside of persons throughout the Catholic world, and here Peru was no exception.[128] In 1603, Rodrigo de Cabredo narrated the story of an indigenous *curaca* from the province of Lima, who until the point of death had been resistant to previous exhortations to make a full confession.[129] As he was dying, the priest was called to hear his confession and administer the last rites before the death vigil began. Suddenly, some time later, his eyes opened wide with fright and he began to shout and whimper with fear, exclaiming: 'I will confess it, I will tell him, don't torture me so much'. He shouted for the priest to hurry so that he might be freed from the torment he was suffering, at which he was asked to describe what it was he was seeing. He told the Jesuit that four burly men had surrounded him, dressed as pilgrims, and they regarded the moribund *curaca* for a few moments with expressions of anger on their faces. Then they asked rhetorically if he wished to go to hell without making his sins known and informed him that they would force him to confess even against his will. At this they took out some rope and wrapped the pieces around his limbs twisting it tighter and tighter in the manner of an Inquisitorial torture. The unfortunate *curaca* told the priest that since he had arrived they were tightening the ropes even further and they were ordering him to confess. And so he began his confession for a second time, interspersed with howls of pain and pleas to his tormentors to relent from their torture while he confessed. Once he had finished, the Jesuit writes, the *curaca's* face became so serene and he died with such peace, that the priest was convinced the vision had not been induced by delirium but rather from a 'singular favour' that God had done for the *curaca's* soul.[130]

This account appears to diverge from the traditional medieval accounts of devils, angels and saints struggling for the soul of the dying individual, as the Jesuit narrator made the somewhat unorthodox declaration that, in his mind, the soul must have been predestined for salvation.[131] There was no battle in the strict sense, rather the pilgrims that tormented the *curaca* were merely messengers sent by God to ensure that he fulfilled all the necessary requirements for his 'predestined salvation'.

The Jesuit Provincial Antonio Vázquez recounted a similar tale in the *carta anua* he wrote to Rome in 1655.[132] In this case, however, there was no mention of predestination, and the anonymous pilgrims sent by God in the previous story had by this time been unmasked as clearly demonic presences. A priest was called urgently to confess a dying Andean, and as soon as the confession was over and the Jesuit had left the house, the Andean was surrounded by an army of demons who, aside from frightening him by their very presence, began to attack him physically, inflicting such pain and damage that he lost the ability to see. The family called back the priest to help the man with his battle against the demons and the Jesuit found him bathed in tears and pleading with him to hear his confession once again. He explained that the demons were tormenting him because he had

kept one particular sin a secret for nearly thirty years, and in that time, as a result, he had made many sacrilegious confessions and communions. God, however, had seemingly taken pity on the unfortunate Andean and freed him from hell by enabling him to make a full confession. Once again, the demons were instrumental in the conversion of the Andean, who in this case survived beyond the date the letter was written. It would appear that, far from battling to turn the souls away from God, demons were instrumental in ensuring their salvation. In this case it is not entirely clear whether this is reflective of the overall futility of demonic resistance to God's omnipotence, or whether in fact demons still ironically formed an intrinsic part of the Heavenly host, performing necessary functions that truly heavenly beings could not, or should not, in theory carry out. Certainly, the problem of divine omniscience made an evenly matched struggle beside the deathbed appear impossible. It did not take a huge leap of the imagination from that point of departure to consider that demons, like all created beings, were nothing more than instruments in God's divinely ordered plan.

This somewhat sensitive but apparently very popular theological line was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in a case documented in 1634.[133] According to the narrator, a man from Lima was living such a depraved lifestyle that, no matter how hard his confessor tried, he could not persuade him to repent.[134] One night however, he was presented with a vision of himself standing trial before God's tribunal. Remarkably, the prosecuting *fiscales* were demons and were making considerable progress in putting the charges against the defendant. So good was their case for the prosecution that God was, apparently, on the verge of declaring the sentence of eternal damnation against him. Acting for the defence, however, was Mary, Queen of the Angels, who implored the supreme Judge (her son) not to consider the sins of the defendant. Instead, she pleaded, he should take into account the prayers of his servant, the Jesuit confessor who was on his knees praying for the sinner's soul.

As it happened, the defendant was extremely lucky to have such an influential and passionate advocate. Despite having such an apparently weak case, on the basis of Mary's intercession the man was allowed to waken from his vision and to go straight to his confessor to begin a renewed life. Such a successful case for the defence demonstrates the ever-present faith throughout the Catholic world in Mary's intercession, the power of prayers for the dead and ultimately in God's own compassion.

The defence's case was not atypical, however, as it was common practice to pray for the souls of the dead, and it was a common hope represented in religious art for many centuries that Mary, as Christ's mother and surrogate mother of all mankind, would intercede for each human soul as it stood ready for final judgement. Nor was it abnormal that devils would be represented by monstrous images waiting to seize the souls as they were cast down into hell, gleefully dragging them away to their eternal torment, as is portrayed, for example, by numerous Flemish,

Italian and colonial Latin American triptychs, paintings and frescos. Nevertheless, the above case demonstrates that by the seventeenth century demons were no longer waiting in the sidelines for the scraps that God cast to them. Instead, inasmuch as the vision's imagery reflected existing viceregal bureaucracy and colonial life, these devils as prosecuting *fiscales* were clearly seen as part of the established divine order, appointed by the Supreme Judge to perform a necessary administrative and legal function.

In the process of sallying forth and taking Christianity beyond the city walls it would appear that a good number of the besieging diabolical hordes had changed sides, either through divine compulsion or through their own mercenary nature. In many places, they now seemed to be aiding the Christian effort to drive Satan from the walls back into the wilderness before taking the fight to his Andean mountain fortress.

# 5 SATAN'S FORTRESS: THE DEVIL IN THE ANDES

## The Huaca-Devil Dynamic

Much of the evidence analysed so far has made it clear that a central aim of the Christian missionaries in the Andes was to instil the certainty amongst their neophytes that any communication from *huacas* and other Andean deities was the result of either pure fabrication or demonic delusion. Meanwhile, the deliberate process of demonization of Andean divinities was paralleled in the Andes by the paradoxical process discussed at the end of the previous chapter, whereby the spiritual forces of subversion were effectively given a role in the divine administration. Ironically, in the process the Christian missionaries effectively encouraged a process of co-option in which the *huacas* were transformed into negative entities with an important role to play in the new religious system.[1]

There is, however, an important distinction between the two processes. Whilst the process of co-option brought Satan's cohorts in from the cold and placed them as functionaries within the established order, the process of demonization separated them from the Andean people and drove them out into the wilderness, thereby winning back Satan's Andean bastion for God. After this, to use Ignatius of Loyola's analogy, the devil could only besiege the newly reclaimed citadel from without; he was only able to attack at its weakest point.[2]

Of course, what the missionaries intended was often very far from what they actually achieved. In his discussion of the phenomenon of the demonization of *huacas*, for example, Kenneth Mills argues that in many cases such attempts largely failed and that Andean 'demons' refused 'to be essentially diabolic' in a strictly European sense.[3] Similarly, he shows how fragments of information gathered from colonial documents demonstrate that *huacas* did not lose their significance among large sections of the indigenous population.[4] The picture that emerges is one of a devil in transition, difficult to pin down and categorize as entirely universal, and who takes on diverse cultural traits that depend on the worldview of the particular narrator and the stage at which the story is being narrated. A char-

acteristic example is that of the demon that commonly appeared in dreams to Hernando Caruachin and others of his community in the forms of a donkey, a horned beast, a lion, a condor and a fox. As Mills points out, these forms are characteristic both of European demons and of Andean totems.[5] Throughout the seventeenth century, many descriptive accounts continued to show a dual interpretation depending on the viewpoint of the particular actor. The purpose of the following accounts is not to contradict this perception on a general level, but rather to demonstrate that, in some cases, the phenomenon of demonization did in fact build up momentum among certain groups of Andeans as the seventeenth century progressed.

The frequent instances of Andean reluctance to accept Tridentine Christianity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries[6] were unlikely to have been generally understood by the Andeans themselves as a symptom of diabolism. Even in cases where missionaries were convinced of the devil's involvement, Andeans often continued to think of their *huacas* in purely indigenous cosmological terms. This can be demonstrated by a particular exchange in 1613 between a *Visitador* to the Huancavelican pueblo of Chupamarcu, an Andean woman, and her *huaca* called Apu Huamanilla.[7] The *Visitador* ordered the woman to bring the *huaca* she kept to him so he could examine it. According to the narrator, as she entered the doorway, the devil greeted her in Quechua, saying, '*hamuy cumac ñusta*' or 'welcome beautiful princess'. Apparently the *Visitador* fell into a dead faint with shock and the good-natured woman tried to revive him, telling him not to be afraid. Crucially, she explained further, 'look Father, this stone is *our* God!'. Her explanations were to no avail, however, and the narrator documents that they smashed the stone into many pieces (presumably once the *Visitador* had recovered) which they burnt so that the idol could no longer be worshipped.[8]

In 1600, after gathering information during confessions, Jesuit missionaries in Cuzco organized an expedition to hunt down and destroy a *huaca* named Ancocagua.[9] According to the account the *huaca*, a silver llama, was situated in a cave at the summit of a rock in which the devil gave answers to whatever questions he might be asked. In this way, according to the Jesuits, Satan deceived the local inhabitants with 'a thousand tricks', telling them that they would be freed from pestilence, that their livestock would increase and that their farms would prosper. In return, the Andean worshippers brought offerings of livestock, woollen cloths and other produce. The Jesuits removed the *huaca*, exorcized the spot and sealed up the cave, remedying, as they optimistically saw it, many souls in the process. Despite their preaching of the great offence caused to the divine by such idolatry, and despite their exhortations to the people to penitence, there is no evidence in the account to suggest that these Andeans ever did internalize the Jesuit association of Ancocagua with the devil. The cult appeared to be entirely autochthonous in its nature, both in terms of the focus of worship (for good harvests and fertile

livestock and general health and well-being) and in the manner of worship, the offerings they left and the animal sacrifices they made.

Nevertheless, in that same year, while pestilence ravaged the region, another account suggests that the demon-*huaca* association was beginning to take effect. One woman, sorely afflicted by the pestilence, was carried to the top of a mountain by her husband in order to sacrifice some guinea pigs in return for her health.[10] When this failed to work she turned to another 'demon' in the form of an Indian who made her purchase and sacrifice a llama. He told her that once this was done she would not die because the llama had died in her stead. Of course none of the Andeans at this stage seemed to believe in the involvement of Satan. The 'demonic' Indian could have been nothing more than a native religious practitioner whom she had consulted in order to regain her health. Nevertheless, as her sacrifices consistently failed to take effect she was approached by a member of the local indigenous *cofradía* who, noticing the 'ministers of the devil had treated her so badly', asked her why she did not seek out a minister of God?[11] This she did and made a tearful general confession of her entire life. This time, however, the priest did not try to convince her that she could be cured of her illness. Instead, his priority was to prepare her soul for death, which came a few days later. Even if the woman and her husband had not made the required association between Satan and Andean idolatry, if we can believe that the *cofrade* really did speak to the woman in these terms, then we can see that, as early as 1600, the demonization process of Andean *huacas* and their ministers had begun and, as we might expect, had affected those Andeans most closely connected with the Church.

Just a decade later, Jesuits documented a case where they discovered an old *hechicera* curing an indigenous boy with traditional Andean fasts.[12] According to the narrator, the woman declared that she invoked the devil, who appeared to her in the form of a bull or a monkey with long nails and eyes like fire that left her senseless when he looked at her. The demon spoke to her and answered her questions, but he also mistreated her, biting and scratching her body. Of course it is doubtful that the woman believed she was invoking the devil rather than her ancestral *huaca*, to whom she ministered and turned in order to cure the illnesses of people who sought her help. Crucially, however, when the *huaca*-demon attacked her, she defended herself with a crucifix that she carried on her person. Whilst she may not have recognized the supposed demonic nature of her tutelary deity, she had already interiorized the opposition between Christianity and the *huaca* in its malevolent manifestation, and was quite prepared to use the power of the cross to defend herself from its attacks in just the same manner as she would if she believed it really were a demon.[13]

In 1613 missionaries detected a disturbing phenomenon among the indigenous people of the Central Andean highlands. According to the confessions they summarized, the devil had been appearing to numerous Andeans inviting them to join him in hell.[14] With this aim in mind, he urged them to believe that the priests

were lying when they preached on the torments of hell, and insisted instead that hell was a land of plenty in which there was much to eat and drink. Nevertheless, the invitation came with the advice that they would not be able to travel with him bodily. In order to enjoy themselves there, all they had to do was hang themselves. The trip even came with the assurance that they could easily return to this world if they so wished. He threw an Andean woman who refused to go with him to the ground with tremendous violence and began to drag her off until she cried out the name of Jesus. At this invocation he released her and disappeared.[15]

Beneath the surface of this story once again lie various Andean images disguised in Christian form. It is possible to interpret the narrative in entirely autochthonous terms. Rather than the devil, the figure that appeared to the Andeans would have been perceived as their *huaca*, who, in return for their continued obedience, would regale them with food and drink, in the manner of a pre-Columbian *curaca* reinforcing the bonds of reciprocity between himself and his people.[16] Hell, understood as *Ucupacha*, the underworld, was also, as we have seen, a place from which new life germinated, hence a place from which people may well return.

Nevertheless, the story dramatizes a breakdown in the system of reciprocity between the *huacas* and their people, and depicts the despair of the Andeans as they faced continued exploitation, famine, pestilence and the collapse of their world.[17] A rift opens up in the narrative between the tutelary deity and the community it was supposed to protect. Instead of supporting the whole *ayllu* in life, the deity appears to splinter loyal individuals from their *ayllus*, driving them to despair and suicide, something that translated very easily as a diabolical phenomenon in a Christian context. On an individual level, the fact that the indigenous woman was mistreated for refusing to go with the apparition by killing herself, testifies to a breakdown in relations between the woman and her patron deity. Even if the Christian translation of the phenomenon into diabolical destruction was not initially understood by the Andean people, it would certainly have been considered by them as detrimental to their own communities. Such suicides only increased each individual's subsequent labour and tribute burdens and effectively drove many *ayllus* to the brink of collapse. The missionaries lost no opportunity to hammer home the fundamental hatred that Satan bore for humanity, and such occurrences provided them with the perfect example of his homicidal tendencies. Arriaga, after documenting similar occurrences in his treatise on idolatry, in which he refers to one youth who hanged himself after a fiesta and another *hechicero* who hanged himself from the lintel of his front door, wrote that, as an example to the rest of the community, they dragged the bodies out of the village by their feet and burned them so that nothing remained.[18] The horror of an individual's suicidal despair was magnified by such treatment of the body. By his own actions, the victim cut himself off from the community, both spiritually and physically, condemning himself (as the priests continually asserted) to eternal suffering rather than feasting and drinking, and condemning his *ayllu* to

an increased labour and tribute burden. The casting out and incineration of the bodies were powerful symbolic gestures to emphasize that fact.

It stands to reason that in the remotest areas seldom reached by missionaries, attempts to diabolize long established religious practices would have had little long-term effect. By contrast, the impact of *huaca* – demonization by missionaries was regulated, and indeed exaggerated, by Andeans' close proximity to the local missionary centres. In the 1640 missive to Rome, the Jesuit Nicolás Durán described the circumstances surrounding the illness of a young indigenous lad who was so attached to the Jesuit College in Cuzco that 'he hardly ever left the house'.[19] As he visibly began to sicken, losing weight and colour, his confessor asked him if he knew the cause. The boy replied that day and night he saw the devil beside him. On frequent occasions Satan would grab him and squeeze him so tightly that he was unable to breathe. When asked why this might be happening, the youth replied that although he knew he was a great sinner he could not explain such terrible punishment. However, after some probing, the boy explained that his parents, whom he described as 'idolaters that had still not completely forgotten their gentility', had offered him to the devil when he was a small child, dedicating the boy to Satan's service. The lad told his confessor that now he felt that the devil was coming to claim his own and pleaded for the aid of Christ and the Jesuit priest.

The Jesuit told his charge that, as God's creature, the boy's parents could not hand him over to such a wicked master. Moreover, since he had been 'purchased by Christ', he explained that the devil had absolutely no right to claim him. He gave the boy a certificate on which he had inscribed 'Saint Ignatius, defend me from the devil', with instructions to carry it with him always. The following day, Satan, we are told, appeared to the boy once again. This time, however, he appeared constrained and unable to approach. His confessor instructed him to take communion regularly. With that, over time, the youth was healed.[20]

This case is particularly revealing of changes in Andean beliefs and practices over the space of a generation. There can be little doubt that the youth's parents, Christian neophytes according to the boy's testimony, had dedicated him to a local *huaca* rather than to Satan as the Jesuit confessor seemed to believe, perhaps in the hope that he would grow up to be the *huaca's* minister after an apprenticeship period. Their son, however, had interiorized the demonization of his parents' *huaca* and of native deities in general. In his mind, Satan and the *huaca* had entirely converged and had become one being. As he perceived it, he had been dedicated to the devil at birth, and he feared the consequences as Satan appeared to claim his own. By appealing to the Jesuits, with whom he spent so much time, and by placing himself under the protection of their patron, Ignatius of Loyola, the youth was able to distance himself from the demon-*huaca* and, by extension, from the religious practices of his parents' generation, effectively banishing his life-draining apparitions into the wilderness.

In this sense, the youth's story is symptomatic of the generational and communal conflict that Christianity and demonization generated throughout Andean society.

## Communal Conflict

As we have seen, an established part of the Hispanic missionaries' categorization of Satan was the hatred he bore for humanity and his desire to draw souls away from God, thereby separating them from the Christian communal body.[21] Ironically, in communities that were believed idolatrous, the missionaries' aim necessarily mirrored that of the devil. It was their duty to reverse Satan's hold on the community, converting as many as possible and removing the most influential elements that resisted conversion. As Christianity took hold, a certain polarization within those communities was inevitable, with new religious antagonisms adding to those that may have already existed, widening chasms between political and social factions and fuelling existing hatreds, generating exactly the kind of conflict that the missionaries blamed on Lucifer, the ultimate sociopath. As far as the missionaries were concerned, it was all the more important to isolate and compel those resistant elements of society to conform to the new Christian body before Satan caused the conflicts to grow and the budding Christian society to disintegrate. For many Andeans, however, what was needed was to find a balance between the continuation of the old ways and the implementation of the new. Yet, communal strife centred on religious practice would continue for as long as there were those who would not compromise.

In 1606 Jesuit missionaries travelling around the region of Cuzco had word of a famous *huaca*, or 'shrine to the devil' as they referred to it.[22] They described it as a huge white rock naturally supported by four others that appeared to form the shape of a hand. From afar, the rock resembled the head of an animal so ferocious that it caused fear in those who saw it, so much so that the narrator describes how passers by refused to look at it, fearing the *huaca's* wrath. The priests were particularly concerned that the rock was so close to a well-used path and that, given its great size, it was impossible to hide it from view. So they gathered together the local indigenous communities and processed from the *doctrina* to the *huaca*, where they ceremonially erected a Cross. During their sermon on the futility of fearing a *huaca*, they began to stone it, inciting the gathered Andeans to do the same. The Jesuit narrator happily recounts how the Andeans lost their fear of the *huaca*, cursing it as they cast their stones. He then goes on to say that it was 'worthy of praising the Lord to see so many souls that had been deceived for so long being cured of their blindness'.[23] One Indian, he reports, had shown himself to be a coward by his reluctance to participate in the stoning of the *huaca*, but

those Andeans already compromised by their involvement obliged him to do the same.

Of course, what the Jesuit describes as cowardice was more than likely sagacity on the part of the persecuted Andean who had not been convinced by the missionaries' sermonizing. Reasonably, he refused to participate in what he could only have perceived as a foolhardy action designed to antagonize a powerful local *huaca*. Clearly he still believed in the *huaca's* power and most likely invoked it in worship. The communal nature of Andean worship, however, could not permit an individual to go against a communal decision to reject a particular *huaca*. If the individual was afraid of offending the *huaca* named *Mochana* (which the narrator translates as 'thing worthy of admiration') then, ironically, the community was just as afraid that this individual might be the only one not to have caused offence. Their obliging the individual to stone Mochana was less likely to be the result of their being convinced of the correctness of their actions than of their conviction that, rather as in Lope de Vega's famous play, *Fuenteovejuna*, if all offended, then it would be harder for the *huaca* to take vengeance on the entire community.[24] Punishment is easier to bear when all are suffering as one. Solidarity gives strength to a suffering community. Thus, in the event of the *huaca's* wrath, the entire community could seek protection from the Christian God. If on the other hand, there were dissenters in the ranks, then the *ayllus* would not only have antagonized a powerful local *huaca*, but they would also be risking the anger of the Christian God who might refuse to protect them.

As we can see, the missionaries and their Andean congregation were speaking at cross purposes. The Jesuit missionaries had formulated their rhetoric on the premise that the gathered communities feared the *huaca*, a powerful local deity, but that they were no longer to be afraid of it because it had been shown to be both a mere rock and a satanic shrine. But the reactions outlined above suggest that the Jesuits' insistence on the powerlessness of the rock was largely lost on the Andean congregation. The impact of the sermon seems rather to have forced the communities violently to 'cast out' the *huaca* despite their continuing fear of its retribution. The ritual stoning had taken them beyond the point of no return, after which the *huaca*, like Satan, became the enemy of the community. It is no surprise, therefore, that those few Andeans who refused to attack the *huaca* should have been forced to conform. According to the new dynamic, by refusing they would risk expulsion along with their deity. The case therefore illustrates how easily lines of conflict were drawn within communities, as on occasion it became no longer possible to compromise between the two competing pantheons. With the arrival of the missionaries, communities were publicly forced to choose and to risk the consequences that such a choice entailed.

The dilemma became all the more extreme when the preservation of native rites turned homicidal. As we have seen, the indigenous *runapmicuc* most closely fitted

the European stereotype of the killer witch.[25] When considered in an Andean context, however, they were more properly native religious practitioners responsible for restoring and preserving the balance between the community and its deities. As Christianity became more influential and its demands for sole rights to worship became more widely understood, however, the *runapmicuc* began to take it upon themselves to address the situation, turning against members of their own community. They might attack any of the *ayllu*'s leaders and their families who might have supported the Christian suppression of idolatry or who openly participated and encouraged Christian worship to the detriment of the *huacas*. Such attacks would convert these 'men-eaters' into enemies of the Christian community, facilitating the missionaries' demonization of their *huacas* and encouraging their own depiction as ministers of Satan.

In 1617, whilst on a mission to the region around la Barranca and Cajatambo north of Lima, the Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga, wrote of the disturbing discovery of a group of what seem like vampirical *hechiceros*.[26] According to the account, the devil would appear to them in various forms, sometimes as an extremely poor man in ragged clothing and on other occasions as a lion, a tiger (a jaguar) or other ferocious animals. These *brujos* as he calls them, would maintain their diabolical pact by killing children and youths, usually male. According to the testimonies, the *hechiceros* would gather together and use certain trance-inducing ointments to summon a vision of the devil, with whom they would enter into the house of the chosen victim, steal his soul and force it into a piece of meat. The women present would then prepare the meat and they would all eat the stew consuming the boy's life in the process. The boy would sicken and die within the space of two or three days, 'so thin and consumed as if they had sucked his blood'.[27]

Another confession from one of the imprisoned *hechiceros* described how the devil had granted them sleeping powder that they would blow into the faces of the guard dogs and cause the household to sleep soundly as they entered. Then they would physically suck the blood from their chosen victim, which they would take back to their ritual centre to cook and eat. The boy would awaken the next morning covered in bruises and would die shortly after in agony and screaming the name of the Indian who had sucked him dry.

It is difficult, of course, to know exactly how much of the evidence given in the testimonies was the result of the dark fantasies of the extirpators. At times, the account degenerates into a depiction of what seems to be a witch-finder's vision of a classic European Sabbath, with the devil ordering them to 'mix indiscriminately, men with men, and women with women or men with women in a sodomitic manner'.[28] It is important to consider that whatever the Jesuits may have thought, these *hechiceros* did not direct their worship at the European Satan, for we learn that before they anointed themselves with the trance-inducing ointment they 'invoked the Sun calling him creator and maker'.[29] Two aged *hechiceros* confessed that the Sun had taught them these rites directly, coming down from

the sky dressed as an Inca from Cuzco and giving them a powder with which they could transform themselves into animals. Another confessed that he had learned the art of preparing and using the powders from other family members.

Despite the fact that the *hechiceros* themselves were continuing with traditional Andean rites, in the communities they afflicted there was no longer a belief that they were restoring equilibrium to an otherwise unbalanced community. One priest reported to the Jesuits that in his own community between sixty and seventy youths, aged between twelve and sixteen, had died in the space of four months as a result of these attacks. Whether or not the numbers are exaggerated, and whether or not the deaths were in fact due to illness (a possibility denied by Arriaga), is a moot point. What is significant is that indigenous communities attributed the deaths (relayed to the Jesuits by the priest) to these *runapmicuc*, now no longer believed to be working for the community, but for its destruction. Significantly, one of their number who had fled before the arrival of the *Visitador* was captured by a group of indigenous people and 'died' in their custody before he could be questioned by the priests.[30] In this case at least, the native religious practitioner was regarded with a great deal of hostility. Another important factor to consider is that the target group for these ritual assassinations appeared to be teenage boys, precisely those who were also targeted by the Jesuits and other missionaries for the most intensive catechesis. Furthermore, it was this age group that should have been learning the traditional Andean rites so that they could be continued into the next generation. Instead, what we see is evidence of serious intergenerational and interfamilial conflict as communal compromise between religious practices became more and more elusive.[31]

An especially illustrative case of such intergenerational conflict was documented in the *carta anua* of 1639–40.[32] The author wrote to Rome describing the success of their schools for the sons of Indian *caciques* in Cuzco and the *Cercado* in Lima. Some boys, he added, became disconcerted and developed delinquent behaviour as a result, but never, he insisted, with regard to idolatry. He then cited two cases in which boys, after leaving the school, led missionaries to Andean *huacas*, permitting them to be destroyed and crosses to be erected in their stead. Another teenager returned to his pueblo and was approached by the minister to the communities' *huacas* who informed him that as the son of the *curaca* it was his duty to learn the office so that, as the Jesuit author explained, he might be ordained priest of their idols. For the Andean minister this was normal practice; after all, the *curaca* had always been the physical and spiritual mediator between his people and those entities, both human and divine, to whom the community owed allegiance. The boy's reaction, however, was quite unexpected; even the Jesuit author considered it to be 'slightly rash'. Apparently, he was so angry that the minister did not consider him a 'true Christian', that the following night he set fire to the minister's house, 'hoping to burn them alive as the Inquisition does with heretics and obstinate apostates'.[33] The Jesuit narrator states that, happily,

the old man and his wife escaped the blaze with their lives, but he notes that they watched their entire possessions burn to ash in the space of a few minutes.

The battle to win over the *curacas* and their families was believed crucial to the missionary project and indeed to those determined to resist it. Nicholas Griffiths describes how factions that supported a successful priest or those supporting Christian contenders for the *curacazgo* utilized the Extirpation campaigns as a tool to remove unpopular *curacas* and replace them with candidates more favourable to their own faction.[34] On the other hand, nativist *curacas* and their supporters might well resort to traditional Andean ritual practices in order to bolster their position. It is true that many *curacas* were forced to act as mediators between these factions, continuing to conduct the necessary Andean religious ceremonies while, at the same time, complying with their Christian ritual obligations. As the above example shows, however, serious polarization did take place; in many communities *huaca* worship was in fact demonized in the minds of those *curacas* and their families that had been 'successfully' educated within a Christian environment.

In contrast to the above case which involved two individuals, the noble youth and the Andean minister, the *carta anua* of 1690 describes a similar conflict in the highlands to the north of Lima that extended throughout the entire community. Whilst on a mission to the towns and villages surrounding Huanuco, the Jesuits Jerónimo de Ore and Fernando de la Concha were disappointed to find that their sermons were having little effect. For ten days they preached without a single Andean coming to confess, during which time, the inhabitants of the village and the priests witnessed a powerful earthquake that broke off the tops of the surrounding mountains and caused the river to burst its banks. The Jesuits of course interpreted this to be God's anger at the obstinacy of the Indians. The Andeans on the other hand, perceived it to be the latent anger of their *huacas*.[35]

Realizing the futility of their mission, the Jesuits resolved to leave the town but were detained by the onset of the rains. Just at this time they learned that, shortly before their arrival, a group of Andeans from the community had made sacrifices at night at the base of the mountain in the presence of the new *curaca* to give thanks for the old *curaca's* removal, after 'false accusations' were made against him to the judicial tribunal (*audiencia*). Apparently, prior to this, the community had 'used up' two parish priests already; the first, Don Cristóbal de Saavedra, who became embroiled and disgraced in a legal suit, and the second, Don Joseph Canseco, who died of poisoning by his 'perfidious and apostate parishioners'.[36] The missionaries notified the Viceroy, the Duke of la Palata (1680–9), who deposed the new *curaca* and reinstated the old, 'a good Christian, zealous of the honour of the true God' according to the Jesuits. After his reinstatement, with the help of the Jesuit missionaries and his loyal sup-

porters, he began the work of exterminating the idolatry of the faction that had deposed him.

Such narratives illustrate the conflict between nativist and Christian factions in indigenous communities. In them, the demonic component of such conflict is somewhat obscured by the fact that nativist factions encompass those community members who rejected the demonization of their *huacas*. Nevertheless, the devil, as the enemy of the Christian community, did appear to begin to make his presence felt once the missionaries had passed through, even in those communities that continued to worship their *huacas* openly. In 1675, for instance, a Jesuit mission passed through an Andean community near Cajatambo, where they discovered a communal house which housed five idols to which the community sacrificed regularly.[37] According to the missionaries Sebastián Valente and Juan de Aranzeaga, the walls of the house were covered in blood from the sacrifices and, on occasion, when the community was gathered there, the devil (*huaca*) appeared, well dressed and mounted on a white charger.[38] Typically, he instructed the gathered worshippers never to confess to the priests when they visited.

The Jesuits discovered that an ancient priestess had charge of maintaining the idols and ensuring that the demands of the *huacas* were completed. Not surprisingly she had fled the building on her arrival, but they found her hiding in the corner of another house in the town, so thin and wasted that she seemed nothing more than a bag of bones. They nevertheless began to harangue her to confess. Despite her frailty, she resisted their exhortations, replying: 'what have I to confess?'.[39] According to the missive, they confiscated the personal charms that she kept hanging from the head of her bed, so as to burn them together with the idols, and they left her lying there impenitent. That night she died, still having refused to confess.

Over the next few days, they pulled down the shrine and burned all that was combustible. In its place they erected a large cross. Given that the ancient priestess held so much sway over the town, and that the missionary report suggests that *huaca*-veneration was very much still a part of the community's ritual life, subsequent developments seem somewhat surprising. According to the missionaries the inhabitants of the town testified that since that day, the spot had been haunted by such a terrible shrieking that they were all afraid to pass through the neighbourhood. The missionaries' actions had caused the transformation of the central ritual site and its minister from important physical entities within the community, into malevolent spirits to be avoided at all cost. In effect, they had been demonized.

## Into the Wilderness

The diabolization of the priestess, her *huacas* and the temple site, however, could not be complete without a narrative that effectively enabled the Jesuits to exorcize the *huaca*-apparition in the minds of the Andean population. This was fulfilled by the testimony of one of the inhabitants who told them that the well-dressed apparition mounted on a white horse had informed them that, whilst the Jesuits were in the parish, he could not come in response to their 'enchantments' and invocations.[40] Their presence effectively rendered the *huaca* powerless when confronted with the apparent spiritual might of the Christian church, a fact that could not fail to be registered by the population, especially given the unhappy demise of the *huaca's* priestess, the idols and the shrine itself. While the Jesuits were there, he could not come to the village, but once they were gone, his return was something to be feared and his once venerated site should be avoided. He was cast out and condemned to roam the shrine by night with his priestess, shrieking and howling, transformed into the enemy.

Similar examples appear in the documents as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, for the common denominator was always a strong clerical presence in the community. In Julí for example, Jesuit missionaries wrote of an *hechicero's* conversion after a sermon preached on the sins of superstition.[41] The *hechicero* gave up his instruments and took the missionaries to his house where he showed them a shrine in which he burned a lamp day and night in honour of 'the devil' (his *huaca*) who spoke to him on many occasions. The *hechicero* confessed, however, that no matter how much he befriended the *huaca*-demon, the spirit never spoke to him in the pueblo, only when he went into the mountains. When the practitioner asked him why this was so, the *huaca* responded that it was unable to enter the town because of the priests that live there; but, as soon as he was outside, the *huaca* would be able to communicate with and him and help him with all his needs. In this case, of course, the *huaca* did not become malevolent like the spirit on the white charger and his priestess. To the contrary, the Julí *huaca* still promised to aid the *hechicero* as long as he sought help beyond the boundaries of the town. Nevertheless, in the testimony of the converted *hechicero*, the *huaca* is rendered powerless by the presence of the priests in the town. In other words, the *huaca* had been forced by the spread of urban Christianization to seek refuge in the unpopulated mountains. Like Satan, the *huaca* had become a pariah.

The sense of urban Christianization versus rural pagan and idolatrous demonization was affirmed, in the same letter, by descriptions of the Jubilee of *las cuarenta horas.* According to the Jesuit narrator, Esteban Páez, it appeared as if all the Indians of the region had come in to the town for the festivities. The church's decorations, he writes, were admirable and, at the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the building resounded with a fanfare of bells, shawms and trumpets.

Following this, two choirs, each with thirty singers and two organs began to sing the office of Prime. The feast continued in much the same vein whilst a constant procession of Andeans and Spaniards confessed and took communion. Such massive ritual could only add to the sense that Christianity had its strongholds in the urban centres from which it had cast the Andean *huacas*, exiling them definitively to distant villages and frozen peaks.[42]

It was these distant summits that were believed by the missionaries to be the last satanic fortresses from which Lucifer would make his final stand. Once again, returning to the 1675 account written by Sebastián Valente and Juan de Aranzeaga, we can read a description of the storming of one such stronghold.[43] At the summit of a mountain called Guacaulla was placed a shrine that overlooked the pueblo of Santo Domingo de Guasta from where the rising sun was worshipped. The shrine was so well situated and inaccessible that the missionaries described it as the castle-rock of the common enemy, Satan's fortress. The entrance was by a series of well-hidden stone doorways that led into a patio in which was a child-sized idol of human form, before which his worshippers left offerings and sacrifices. Alongside the shrine was another summit that had been split in two. Into this gap the 'Demon Angel of Light' placed a fiery axe to light the way for those who were coming to make sacrifices.[44]

They destroyed the idol and began to say Mass, re-enacting and continuing Satan's ultimate defeat. However, the devil was not about to surrender his fortress without a fight. The Jesuits write that at the point of raising the host a sudden storm blew up pelting them with hail, whirling mini-tornadoes around them and frightening all those present – missionaries, mestizos and Andeans alike. To the clergy and the other Christians present, there could be no doubt as to what was happening. With nowhere left to go, this was Satan's final stand. The nominally Christian Andeans gathered there might well have considered the same of the site's *huaca*. Crucially, however, the storm highlighted the opposition of the mountain spirit to the priests and the Christian ritual, and of Christianity to the *huaca*. Even more significantly, the priests, battling against the elements, were able to complete the Mass despite the storm's best efforts and once they had done so, the letter states, the storm abated. They continued with the veneration of the cross, and a canticle accompanied by instruments they had brought for the occasion. Once again Satan had been cast out and the narrator unashamedly confessed to shedding tears of joy at their victory.[45] The Andeans gathered on the summit had witnessed a ceremony that placed the local *huaca* in stark opposition to Christianity. For the time being at least, they had seen Satan expelled from his mountaintop stronghold despite the valiant resistance of his *huaca*.

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In 1739, the trial of Fabiana Sánchez, a mestiza, began in the Province of Cajamarca.[46] She was accused of an explicit pact with the devil and formal idolatry. Significantly, the primary denunciation came from an indigenous woman who had accompanied her to the cave in which she carried out her rites. Their group had been led to the mouth of the cave by Sánchez where, at midnight, they ate herbs (presumably hallucinogens) and where Sánchez began to dance and invoke her deity, exclaiming: 'Father and Lord [...] permit that all goes well for me and come to my aid'. According to the indigenous witness, a reply came from within the cave saying, 'Here I come to give you the favour you asked for'.[47]

After this, Sánchez gave them all a drink made from a plant called *gigantón*[48] and they scattered maize flour of various colours around the cave. The witness describes how at this point there appeared a deer with terribly deformed fiery eyes and a voice began to negotiate with Sánchez the terms of mutual service. Once the deal was struck, a star appeared in the cave and transformed into a serpent adorned with necklaces that slithered out from the skirts of one of the participants. The indigenous woman was so frightened by this that she invoked the name of Jesus causing the participants to scold her that she would cause the serpent to flee. The reproach came too late, however, and the snake disappeared, much to the chagrin of Sánchez and the other participants who set upon her beating and kicking her ferociously.

They tied her up and one of the women present drew out a dagger and plunged it into the ground before her, exclaiming that the blade was her god and she should prepare herself for death. Meanwhile they pleaded with the spirit to reappear, promising it the life of the indigenous woman in return for its forgiveness. To this effect they continued to make offerings of maize flour and, fortunately for the captive woman, to drink the potions they had prepared, eventually falling senseless to the cave floor. The witness managed escape the cave, having persuaded the indigenous girl set to guard her to loosen her bonds. With the girl in pursuit, she ran as fast as she could to the neighbouring farm of San Ignacio. On hearing the distraught woman's tale, the farmhands organized an immediate expedition to the cave and caught the group as they slept.[49]

The above narrative illustrates the many shadows of Satan in the colonial Andes by the eighteenth century and the transformations his character underwent through time and place. There can be no doubt that, in the minds of the Spanish Inquisitors and the Spanish farmhands who captured Fabiana Sánchez, the group in the cave was plainly engaged in idolatrous diabolism. However, the rites that Sánchez, a mestiza, was practicing, appeared to diverge little from the reciprocal religious rites of pre-Conquest Andeans, involving the imbibing of hallucinogens, the making of offerings, and the asking of favours from a tutelary deity. Similarly, the spirit's apparition and the forms that he took were not out of the ordinary in an Andean religious context.

Nevertheless, the tenor of the worship had changed significantly. Rather than being a public ceremony for the benefit of the entire community, the rites were surreptitious, subversive, and performed for the sole benefit of the few individuals who took part, hidden in a cave, far from the local populace. All present recognized that the rites would fail on the invocation of the name of Jesus, implicitly recognizing the eternal enmity between the Christian deity and the god they were worshipping in the cave. On his invocation, and the disappearance of the spirit, the rite was transformed from a typical Andean ceremony for personal well-being into the prelude of an entirely abnormal and violently destructive human sacrifice. The unwilling victim, an indigenous woman, instinctively invoked Christ's name for protection and had no delusions about what would happen to her if she could not escape. Both she and the Spaniards, in other words, were in full agreement that the group in the cave was involved in diabolism.

# 6 THE BREACH: DEVILS OF THE IN-BETWEEN

The ambiguous nature of the devil in the world of Fabiana Sánchez and her unfortunate indigenous victim highlights a common trend in the perceived interaction between human and diabolical entities in colonial Peru. It is especially significant that Fabiana Sánchez, a mestiza, pictured Lucifer with quite indigenous characteristics, while the Andean woman's depiction of him was much more stereotypical. The devil had clearly become a figure that transcended cultural boundaries in much the same way as historical actors frequently crossed the ill-defined borders of cultural and symbolic worldviews. In fact, rather than crossing frontiers, these actors existed and interacted in what have been termed 'contact zones', a concept which, according to William Taylor, suggests 'spaces and times of meeting and interaction between groups, institutions and ideas that combine undefined experiences and limits, rather than two islands connected by a bridge'.[1] In effect, these people and spiritual entities existed together in in-between places, on the outer circumference of the Erasmian Christian body, neither solely belonging to one symbolic structure nor another but often having to contend with and negotiate the conflicting spiritual requirements of both.[2]

Providing a forum for a complex and ambiguous interaction between diverse peoples, these in-between places embodied the heart and soul of the varied and ever-changing associations between the multiple hierarchies of the viceroyalty. In colonial Peru, such interaction was determined by everyday communication among social equals of different cultures, all of whom lived within and beneath what appeared to be a rigid but overarching Dionysian power structure that descended from God, through the celestial hierarchies and Christ, to the earthly institutions of the monarchy and the church and which spread outwards in an ever-extending Christian body.[3]

## Beyond the City Walls

Despite its concerted efforts to regulate and control social, cultural and symbolic relations between individuals in colonial Peru, viceregal authority did not appear

to have a marked influence upon the product of contact between ordinary people. Behaviours seemed to adjust in relation to authority without that authority having a conspicuous effect upon the way people behaved towards each other. The social and symbolic worlds of precisely those people who lacked authority still managed to come together and to interact with each other. Thus, the products of their respective worldviews developed into something that was at the same time recognizably new and still firmly rooted within the Catholic symbolic framework of their own daily lives.[4]

The tensions between the horizontal contact zones at the very base of the colonial social structure and the vertical hierarchy that towered above them become particularly clear when one compares early modern intellectual understanding of communal identity with everyday reality in the cities, towns and rural outposts. As we have seen, in the Hispanic world the Christian community – or body, to use a less anachronistic notion – was considered synonymous with civilization which, in turn, was essentially metropolitan.[5] By contrast, non-Christian barbarians would live predominantly in rural areas, away from any civilizing and Christianizing influence.

These ideas invariably filtered into the urban mindset and affected the way individuals from the city regarded outsiders. But the Peruvian viceroyalty could never have functioned with any degree of adequacy if wide channels of communication had not remained permanently open between the towns and the countryside. A quick, rather impressionistic picture of the complexity of the different levels of cultural interaction can be gauged by picturing a sample of obvious day-to day activities. Urban landlords travelling to their estates and haciendas in rural areas were invariably accompanied by households composed of slaves, or hired mestizo, black and even Spanish servants, moved and exchanged as and when it seemed fit and constantly communicating between households. Rural and urban indigenous communities often forged vital links to protect their interests and to fulfil more easily, or perhaps even avoid, their obligations to the state.[6] The *mita*, together with the obligation to earn sufficient funds to pay the communities' tribute, often compelled Andeans to journey to the cities either in an attempt to escape these obligations or, in the case of some skilled workers, to raise funds for their respective communities whilst still supporting themselves and their families.[7] *Curacas* and their representatives often travelled for legal or economic reasons, either engaged in disputes or having entered into business with mestizo or Spanish entrepreneurs. A constant flow of agricultural produce was necessary from the countryside to the cities; in addition to the need to move produce destined for export such as silver from Potosí (needing mercury to be transported to Alto Peru from the central highlands) and sugar from the northern coast, a complex network of muleteers, merchants and agricultural hauliers was required to transport goods to market from countryside to city. Even though families of slaves might be split apart by the ownership of one or more of the family members by differ-

ent owners, efforts were often made by partners and spouses to keep that contact alive, even if that meant breaking night curfews or escaping for short periods.[8] Slaves resident in the city had regular and personal communication with others in the countryside, either directly or through third parties. Clearly, whilst the rural world might have been regarded in intellectual and elite circles with a great deal of hostility and suspicion, in practice it was impossible for links between urban and rural spheres to be severed.

The figure of the devil, always shadowy and ambiguous to begin with, was perceived to profit particularly well from the tensions between the hierarchy and ordinary people. The fact that the boundaries of these contact zones rippled far into the countryside undermined the utility of the physical and spiritual protective barriers that had been erected in the towns.[9] As we have seen, Christianity's presence in Peru was very much defined by the relationship between the town and the countryside, with missions spreading out from the urban centres into the rural areas in the hope of driving out the devil into the wildest and most isolated regions. This was a war against Satan that required military strategy and purpose. Lucifer, on the other hand, was perceived to strive ceaselessly in order to retake what he had lost by probing these urban Christian centres for weaknesses and entering their fortifications by stealth.

The intellectual perception of Satan's spiritual siege was not lost on the majority of the urban population, no matter how much contact they had with the rural environs surrounding the town. As chapter three has demonstrated, the demonization of the countryside and its inhabitants tended to be especially acute when the city was believed to be suffering a spiritual attack. Events surrounding the possession of the Franciscan nuns of Santa Clara in Trujillo in the 1670s serve as a clear example of how the besieged townsfolk, in their desperation to understand the chaos emanating from the convent, were more than ready to lay the blame at the feet of dark and mysterious 'others' who were working towards the destruction of the Christian body.[10] Nevertheless, despite Trujillo's lay population believing itself to be under attack by external forces in league with the devil, the sense of being under siege did not prevent individuals from consulting these same apparently hostile agents in times of need. Even believing that these practitioners had made diabolical pacts did not prevent them from soliciting love potions and charms to protect them and bring them good fortune, and even poisons and amulets with which to attack their enemies.[11]

For the people of the in-between, the devil's purpose was apparently not as destructive as that of the Satan envisioned by more privileged sections of society, although relations with him were still largely governed by fear. Nor do trial records suggest that he often appeared in the middle ground as an instrument of God, sent as a scourge to torment the population for their sins, as the Franciscans of Trujillo had insisted.[12] In 1639, however, a Jesuit letter to Rome describes the fearful confession of a black man who had gambled away an icon of the Virgin of Copacabana. On

returning to his house he saw coming to greet him a number of demons, disguised as huge black men, twisted and deformed in death. According to the account, he could not even cry out for fear, understanding these apparitions to be 'ministers of divine justice coming to execute his final punishment'.[13] In this case the penitent's vision tapped into a peculiarly baroque phenomenon, in which the devil and his minions, rather than being enemies of God and mankind, appear to be acting under divine orders by carrying out those tasks that would have been distasteful to a fundamentally good God. These tasks, such as torment and punishment, were nevertheless perceived to be necessary in the context of the time: corrective procedures given divine sanction to drive people back onto the straight and narrow. This particular case is paralleled by similar Jesuit accounts of deathbed conversions, including those of Indians, as we have seen, where, rather than an ethereal battle taking place between saints and demons for the moribund person's soul, demons are in fact employed by the divine powers to torment the unfortunate individual into making a full confession and, in the process, saving his soul.[14]

Trial accounts, however, reveal a different shadow cast onto the in-between by the prince of demons.[15] From these emerges a picture of Satan generally believed to act as an independent power, a specialist in his own right, suitable for aiding people (at a price) with certain kinds of needs that the Christian God did not or would not help alleviate. Given the Christian idealization of chastity and poverty as virtues, those requiring assistance in the arts of love, or to augment their material wealth by trickery or good fortune, logically looked for alternative patronage. This patronage they often found in the ambiguous figure of the devil, as the contact zones blurred the boundaries between him and transcontinental pagan gods. In 1610, for example, Jesuit missionaries blocked a spring called *cuyana*, which they poetically translated as the 'fountain of love'.[16] From one side of the rock bubbled water that people believed would cause an individual to fall in love and from the other sprang water that would cause someone to despise another. The Jesuit narrator corrects himself as he refers to the spring as holy water, and describes how many of the Indians who came to leave offerings and take away those 'cursed waters' had been sent by their Spanish mistresses. Even if it might be argued that the Indian servants had not by that stage fully internalized the Hispanic demonization of their own divinities and natural elements, the same could not be said of the Spaniards who employed them. Satan had clearly breached this particular frontier.

## Lucifer the Sun God

A certain association of the devil with pagan gods had endured since the very earliest days of Christianity. However, a shift in theological emphasis from the Seven Deadly Sins to a more scriptural interpretation of morality based on the

Decalogue during the early modern period raised the profile of idolatry from what was considered mere superstition and ignorant anthropomorphism to the status of the most serious offence that could be committed against God.[17] The act of according to another created being the veneration that rightfully belonged to the Creator, it was believed, could only be diabolically inspired. Even if the intended recipient of that worship was not Satan, but another idol or natural phenomenon, it was still considered that Lucifer benefited by default. Any intellectual trend, however, took many years to filter down to a largely uneducated population. Yet this was precisely the forum where such associations could indeed take place, for, under constant pressure from above, common aspects of Indian, African and Hispanic customs merged together as people from all these cultural backgrounds continued to attempt to improve their lot.

In his book, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism*, Michael Taussig identified the relatively common occurrence of slaves in New Granada crying out their renunciation of God whilst suffering a flogging.[18] Taussig argues that by renouncing God at the moment the lash bit into their backs, they appropriated their enemy's enemy. For them he became a figure of solace and power.[19] Fernando Cervantes notes a similar occurrence in New Spain, but with an important distinction. In the case of inquisitorial trials of slaves for diabolism, he argues, few were ever found guilty. Rather it was much more common to find that the slaves had invented the story in order to be transferred from the extremely arbitrary justice of the slave master to the much more rigidly regulated jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[20] The Peruvian viceroyalty was no exception to this phenomenon. In 1590, a ladino slave from Portugal called Mattheo Negro was thrown into the stocks after being found drunk and 'making mischief' in the house of his wife's master. At this indignity he yelled that he renounced God and all his saints, commending himself to the devil.[21] Similarly, when his master moved to whip him in 1592, Vicente Negro, a slave from Guinea, shouted that the devil was his friend and that he loved him much more than he did the Virgin or the Saints. These he categorically renounced along with God.[22]

In cases such as these, it is indeed debatable whether the unfortunate slaves were actively attempting to appropriate the power of the devil, their enemy's enemy. Whilst being whipped by her master, Catalina Negra, for example, renounced the devil first. When this did not have the desired effect, she followed by renouncing God as well.[23] By blaspheming in such a manner, these unfortunates momentarily were able to control the terrible situation in which they found themselves and appeared able to stop their tormentors from continuing their beating. Given the relatively common occurrence of such blasphemy it is less likely that the beatings were halted due to shock of the witnesses than because once uttered and witnessed the individual was considered to fall under the immediate jurisdiction of the Inquisition. In effect, the prisoner became 'untouchable' until the case had been processed.

This strategy for halting beatings was not limited to slaves. Although comparatively few in number, cases involving non-slaves also occurred. One such trial was that of don Pedro Palomino, a sixteen-year-old son of an elite Creole family and a collegiate at the Jesuit school in Lima. According to his own testimony, he was about to be whipped by the Jesuit charged with enforcing discipline. To avoid the beating, presumably because he had witnessed slaves doing the same, he shouted at least twice at the priest that he renounced God. The shocked Jesuit admonished him for his blasphemy but nevertheless thrashed him even harder.[24]

The pattern formed by comparing these cases of blasphemy does not precisely conform to that of a momentary seizure of the devil's power in a defiant act of rebellion. Rather they tended to be more demonstrative of the immediate desperation of quite powerless individuals, who in last-ditch attempts to avoid inevitable and painful suffering would seize the only recourse left to them. Whilst providing immediate relief, such attempts invariably ended in ultimate failure. Pedro Palomino, for example, was not only beaten by the Jesuit master of discipline but found himself obliged to appear before the Inquisition. The slaves, on the other hand, may have escaped beatings at the hands of their masters, but even admitting to the Inquisition that they really had no intention of renouncing God and the saints failed to save them from the statutory punishment for blasphemy, one or two hundred lashes through the city streets.

Desperation and failure commonly categorized popular involvement with the Prince of Darkness. For example, in the late 1570s, the young Dominican Fray Antonio de Ribera became involved in an illicit exchange of correspondence with a woman in Cuzco.[25] After arranging to meet her, disguised as a lay person, he realized that he could not escape the high walls of the monastery. Even if he did, he was sure he would be quickly missed. In his frustration he called on the devil, offering to him his body and soul and his lifetime obedience if he would only help him meet the woman. He insisted to the Inquisitors, however, that in his heart he always maintained the intention of repenting and reneging on the pact once he had achieved his ends. Needless to say, Lucifer did not appear when Ribera called, and typically the unfortunate youth's brief sojourn into diabolism ended in consummate failure – failure to meet the woman, failure to trick the Lord of tricksters, and failure to obtain absolution for his sin prior to appearing before the Inquisition.

The idea that the devil might be tricked into helping the helpless, who would then repent after obtaining their desires, was a relatively common one. Their intention, those prosecuted almost invariably assured the Inquisition, was never to desert the Catholic faith, but rather to exploit the devil and make a quick getaway with the profits, many of them not realizing that the seriousness of their offence would require them to self-denounce before the Inquisitors. This was a treacherously dangerous game to play against the Prince of Darkness, the divine hierarchy and the viceregal authorities, and in terms of the analogy of the besieged city,

would equate to a starving street urchin opening the sally port in order to receive a piece of cake. Of course the urchin might well have been planning to slam the gate shut as soon as he received the cake but the siege commander would certainly have other ideas. As such, the entire weight of this formidable triumvirate (Satan, God, and the viceroyalty) appeared to be stacked against such deals.

In 1696, a sixteen-year-old Creole servant, don Pedro Espinosa de los Monteros, found himself mired in debt. Tired of his poverty and desiring a speedy resolution to his problems, he left the city for the countryside on various occasions in order to invoke the devil's aid in return for his soul.[26] It is of course impossible to separate the fact that he went into the countryside to prevent his invocation from being overheard by neighbours or passers-by and that he left the city for those isolated places precisely because that was where it was believed the devil could be found. He approached Satan on his own ground because supposedly that was the only safe and efficacious thing to do. Once there, he called out 'Demon, devil, help me. Give me money and I will give you my soul', and again, 'Lucifer, send me a demon to aid me and give me all the money I ask for'.[27] As with his fellow diabolists, he insisted in the hearing before the Inquisitors that he had called on the devil only with the intention of betraying him later. Pedro claimed he had the intention of repenting once he had been given the money he had asked for. In a somewhat skewed assessment of long-term risk versus short-term gain he admitted that he carried out his plan wanting the devil to appear, even though he knew God would punish him as a result. He presumably figured that, given he was going to repent, thereby scoring a double victory for Christ by having tricked the devil out of his money and his soul, his punishment would be relatively light when weighed against the large financial gains he would make by escaping with Lucifer's silver.

Like his fellow diabolists before him, Pedro's own plans were frustrated by the much farther-reaching strategies of the other players in the game. Lucifer, of course, refused to appear and Espinosa became angry, crying out in frustration that he renounced God, the Virgin and the Saints. On arriving home, he vented his anger by beating and spitting on a crucifix and crushing a medallion of the Virgin between two stones. To the crucified Christ, Espinosa exclaimed that he too wished to punish him for not handing him over to the devil, whilst to the Virgin he ranted that she must likewise be against him for not giving him to Satan. Furthermore, he added in a fit of pique, he renounced her and exclaimed that she could not be the mother of God, for 'such a wicked woman could never be in heaven'.[28] In essence, Espinosa believed that the divine hierarchy were refusing to permit him to do a deal with the devil, so he attacked their images in the hope that they might release him from his perceived bondage to them. This release, he considered, might have been brought about either by provoking their anger or perhaps even their compassion.[29]

Examined by the Inquisitors on his intentions and blasphemy, Espinosa attempted to temper the severity of his crime by insisting once again that he never wished to worship the devil as a deity, nor did he ever have any intention of deserting the Catholic faith. Rather, he wanted to trick the devil into granting him his desires. With regard to the blasphemy, Pedro pleaded that, although he did feel his words and actions deep in his heart, he said and did them only in order to oblige the devil to appear before him and give him money.[30] The crucial term in the statement is of course 'oblige', for it highlights the perceived relationship between the devil and Pedro Espinosa. No matter how potent the devil might have appeared to be, with the power to take and torment people's souls, inhabitants of colonial Peru still believed they could oblige Lucifer to appear by the use, or rather misuse, of religious objects, and swindle wealth and fortune out of him whilst still ultimately managing to save their souls. Despite their desperation, people were canny enough to realize that to enter into such an important bargain on a weak footing would be foolish. It was this brazen approach to diabolism that characterized many of the failed individual attempts to strike a deal with Satan.

From the trial testimonies, however, it would appear that Satan was perceived to be as canny as those who wished to trick him. Not surprisingly, he too was reluctant to bargain from a position of weakness and seemed only to appear as and when it suited him, rather than the other way around. Fear was more likely to weigh in the devil's favour. In 1580, two opportunistic treasure hunters appeared before the Inquisition having taken the advice of an Indian woman to go divining for treasure at the foot of a mountain called Guainacava.[31] The divining rods, made from the wood of a pomegranate tree and conjured in the name of Jesus, the Almighty God, the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary, together with the saints, failed to work, pointing instead to the summit of a snow topped mountain. Diego de la Rosa told his companion Melchor Moreno that they should summon a demon, and with that rashly yelled at the top of his voice 'Lusbel come!'[32] Suddenly a fierce wind arose from nowhere and a terrific black cloud seemed to grow on the summit of the mountain. Both men apparently realized the enormity of what they had done and before things could get worse, fled the scene terrified. Despite Diego's rash invocation, there was clearly a deep-seated fear of the devil in the minds of the two men; but, like many others, they had associated his patronage with rapid material gain.

That the divining rods pointed to the top of the mountain is significant for two reasons. Firstly, they indicate the belief that the devil ultimately had power over his own instruments, for no matter how many holy names were mentioned in the initial invocation, the rods failed in their intended purpose. Instead they pointed the two treasure seekers toward what was believed to be the devil's lair and implanted in their minds the idea of invoking Lucifer himself. Secondly, they show the association in the minds of the two men between Satan and indigenous sacred places.[33] From the summit of Guainacava, an indigenous *Apu* or powerful

mountain deity, came a dramatic and violent response to a summons of the Prince of Darkness.

In addition to his propensity for appearing in a manner that might overwhelm those who called on him, he was believed to patronize those who really believed they had nothing more to lose (aside from their souls) in aiding his bondsmen to escape from gaol, for example. Perhaps the earliest such case in the Lima inquisitorial records, is that of Pedro Hernandez Riso (1574), from Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, who frequently escaped from state prisons, even though they shackled him with collar and chain.[34] On one occasion after loosening his chains and walking out of his cell, he entered the room where the governor of the gaol was sleeping, and in picaresque fashion woke him up with a cheery goodbye, disappearing before the governor could recover from his fright. Rumours abounded that his escapes were due to the devil's art. The Inquisitors, however, remained unimpressed and, after apprehending him, carried out their own ironic observational study on the efficacy of his jail-breaking pact. 'Up till now', they dryly noted, 'he has not escaped'.[35]

Over a century later, however, Lucifer was apparently still aiding young down-and-outs to escape from jail. In 1721, a young deskmaker named Pedro de Ábalos appeared before the Inquisition, denouncing himself for becoming a slave to the devil five years previously.[36] According to his testimony, Ábalos, aged only twenty-one, was being held prisoner for homicide in the municipal jail of Quito, when he received a visit from his indigenous mistress. She offered him a drink that she said would solve all his problems. After he had drunk it he realized that his mistress had entered the cell even though the door appeared to be closed. They had intercourse, after which she disappeared and he suddenly realized that he was upside down, helpless.[37] A man appeared in the cell, and informed Ábalos in his dazed state that, as a result of having had intercourse with this woman, he now belonged to him. As Ábalos was now his bondsman, however, the demon-man reassured him that as soon as he renounced the Catholic faith, he would be given assistance.[38] To this effect, once the drug-induced fog had cleared, Ábalos cursed the Trinity and the saints, declaring that if God really did exist in the world he would free him from his imprisonment. To add to the blasphemy he taunted a painting of the crucified Christ in much the same way as the Roman soldiers at the foot of the cross, saying: 'they say you are powerful and perform miracles', adding in a rage that, as he refused to release him, he certainly could not be God. At this he smashed the board on which the icon was painted.

Despite being a Spaniard born in New Granada, and despite being ostensibly raised in a faith that taught the rejection of Satan, at this point of severe crisis in his life and close to death, Pedro de Ábalos felt more affinity with Lucifer, the outcast angel, than he did to a God who was upheld and praised by a social order that was about to have him executed. God seemingly refused to help him in his hour of need, so for aid he turned to Satan, who was inextricably linked to Ábalos's

illicit lover and her indigenous magic. According to his testimony, unlike so many others who had turned to Lucifer in their desperation, he was not disappointed. At about ten o'clock that same night, without opening the door, the devil, apparently disguised as an indigenous friend, appeared in the cell and told him he had come to keep his promise.[39] A stunned Ábalos followed the figure out of the jail and into the central plaza in Quito where the devil apparently explained to him that on this occasion he had appeared in that particular form so as not to terrify him and that so long as he kept to his side of the bargain, always rejecting the faith of Christ, he could always call on him and he would always be favoured.

Pedro made his way down through the Viceroyalty of Peru, staying briefly in the cities of Cajamarca and Trujillo until he arrived in Lima. Finding himself in poverty he took a toadstone, set it in a ring and called on the devil to aid him and infuse the ring with power.[40] After that, he testified, he was able to acquire all the women he desired, and through use of the ring he was able to convince merchants he had already paid for the goods that he inspected in the marketplace. Furthermore, he was able to set up in business selling an 'expensive perfume' that he had concocted from dark sawdust mixed with animals' blood, which he poured over the toadstone whilst calling on the devil. Apparently, that was enough to make the mixture seem like scented musk, and by the time the unfortunate buyers had reached their homes and realized they had been conned, they had forgotten who it was that had sold them the concoction in the first place.[41]

Nevertheless, for Pedro de Ábalos, Satan's aid came at a price. As his powers centred on illusion, so the wealth that Pedro was able to accumulate also appeared to be illusory, and he admitted to the Inquisitors somewhat pathetically that he had subsequently lost his entire fortune. Furthermore, as time went by, the relationship between the two partners in crime began to deteriorate badly, for Satan refused to appear in any form but his own and seemed to grow angrier each time Ábalos pleaded with him out of fright to take human form. So progressively horrified was he by the form of his demon master that, by the time he was taken prisoner by the royal justiciars, he claimed he no longer had the will to call for his aid and longed to make a full and proper confession.

The Inquisitors did not seem particularly concerned about whether or not the devil had released him from gaol and whether or not he had invested the ring with power. Instead they concentrated on two main issues – those of idolatry and apostasy. There was no question, of course, that Ábalos was an apostate; he had admitted as much in his testimony. They pressed him therefore on the number of times he had formally committed apostasy by renouncing the faith. His answer was surprisingly candid. Three times he admitted: the first in Quito to escape from prison, the second and third in Lima as he made and utilized the ring. Each time, he confessed, he had intended to deny God, to reject the Catholic faith and make himself a slave of Satan. Most crucially, however, they asked him if he believed that the devil was God and whether he worshipped him as such. His

reply was especially revealing of relations between Satan and the marginalized people of the viceroyalty. Ironically, it was Pedro's honesty, both to Satan (by not intending to betray him when the contract was agreed) and to the Inquisitors, that appeared to be his saving grace. He answered that since the devil rather than Christ had released him from the gaol in Quito, it logically seemed to him that Satan was more powerful than God so, yes, he did worship him as God. Here, there was no ambiguity. In the end it was Lucifer and not God who had won through and saved the life of a desperate reject from society. In the daily battle for survival it appeared that it was immediate results that counted. Religious worship was often expected to conform to the rules of reciprocity. Thus proper veneration of a particular saint or representation of Christ would be accorded in return for the granting of a particular petition. Such reciprocal patronage, common to both the indigenous Andean religions and traditional Catholic piety, only seemed fair and just. For those who had nowhere left to turn, more often than not individuals from the contact zones, Lucifer was just another power who might offer patronage in return for worship and, more traditionally, in exchange for a soul.

Perhaps the case that best encapsulates the relationship between the devil and the marginalized of the viceroyalty was that of the young mulatto slave Joseph de la Cruz.[42] The son of a Spanish priest and a mulatto slave, he was donated as a child to the hospital of Santa Ana, where he worked as the sacristan to the hospital's church. Denounced by witnesses for having created a wax idol and for writing a pact to the devil, he escaped from the hospital and then the Inquisition gaol after they apprehended him. On his recapture he was brought before the Inquisitors and began with little prompting to confess his incredible story. His descent into diabolism began after he had read a section about the life of Mohammed (*Maoma*) in a book called *Historia Pontifical* (*Pontifical History*), in which was explained how Mohammed had created false gods out of bronze and wood and how he had created a cult that had spread throughout the world.[43] The point of the semi-fictional biography was presumably to highlight the perceived falsehood of Islam. Joseph, then aged only nineteen, failed to appreciate the author's intention, however, and dwelt instead on the idea that he too could start an idolatrous cult that might spread throughout the world.

In so doing, he would be raised from a lowly slave to someone highly esteemed all over the globe. Consequently, he decided to create a cult that was specifically opposed and contrary to God's commandments as he understood them, just as he understood Mohammed had done, and fashioned an idol out of wax, placing it in a niche in the church sacristy. The idol he named Phoebus, for elsewhere he had read that the gentiles (meaning the classical Greeks and Romans) called the Sun god by the same name, and for four days, morning and evening, he lit candles before the idol and burned incense. On the fifth day, however, as he was worshipping the idol, an image of Christ that was hanging in the sacristy appeared in his mind and caused him to panic. In his fright he tried to incense the idol more

vigorously hoping the image would go away, and even wore a priest's hat to infuse his ritual with more power. Nevertheless, he could not stem his growing sense of dread and in the end removed the idol from the niche.

His repentance was short-lived. He fashioned another idol that he placed in the niche and wrote a letter that he folded neatly and placed next to it saying:

> Friend Lusbel, it weighs heavily on me that I unmade the idol and now I repent of having done so. I return to you and will be in your company; for there are friends in your Hell and you shall be mine so that you will give me what I asked for previously [...] and I give you the soul that I own as the price even though I will suffer perpetual torment.[44]

Perpetual torment of the soul was seemingly a small price to pay for relief of the anguish caused by loneliness and powerlessness. Joseph considered that he, a slave in an unjust society, might strike up a friendship with Lucifer, a fellow outcast. What is even more remarkable is that this friendship between the slave and Satan resulted from a Spanish account of the life of Mohammed, developed into an idol named after the Sun God of Classical mythology (although quite probably fashioned primarily due to indigenous Andean influences on his perception of pagan worship), and culminated in a written pact with the devil.

It is in the context of this trans-cultural Peruvian devil that the invocations of the Franciscan friar Gerónimo de Ortega, four years later (1705), which attempted to infuse a combination of traditional Hispanic and indigenous magic with the dark power of an African Demon-Lord, are to be understood: 'Demon of Africa, Lord of Africa; by your power aid us and grant us fortune [...] and we invoke you henceforth and detest the aid of God.'[45] Here was the real devil of the in-between; unifying continents and transcending culture, religion and history. He was patron to those desperate enough to call on him, cannier than those who would attempt to trick him, and an apparent friend to the powerless and the lonely.

## The Queen of Hell and the Demonization of Saint Martha

> Martha, Martha, not the worthy or the saintly, as you raise demons from the dust of the earth, so with Barrabas and with Satan raise *Fulano* for me, and bring him to me tamed, contented and bound, prostrated at my feet.[46]

Sufficiently exacerbated states of individual marginalization existed in colonial Peru to cause people to search for alternative ways to alleviate the burdens of everyday life. If the saints and divinities of the Catholic faith had, for whatever reason, decided to withhold their patronage or protection (and for certain requests considered morally dubious it would even be expected for them to do

so) then individuals had no choice but to look elsewhere to spiritual patrons who would support and uphold their petitions. As we have seen, the search for substitute patronage led to a significant blurring of boundaries between the alternatives as indigenous rites mingled with African and Hispanic magic. Furthermore, as they intermingled, and especially because they were sought after for favours deemed unacceptable by Church authorities, these alternative patronages gradually became arrayed in opposition to the orthodox spiritual hierarchy. In essence, they became diabolized not merely in the eyes of the authorities but also in the perception of those who sought their aid. Indeed, their very utility lay precisely in their demonization.

Within groups of marginalized individuals there will always be degrees of marginalization. So if the contact zones can be seen as a focal point for the marginalized in viceregal society, within these zones women came together in their attempts to seek relief from an environment of deprivation, violence and extreme insecurity.[47] Just as men sought diabolical aid to release them from their debts, from gaol, even from slavery, or for fortune in gambling and for aid in the arts of seduction, so women looked for assistance in winning the affections of men, to anchor them in a secure relationship, temper their violence and, in fact, dominate them by magically reversing the patterns of their otherwise unequal and quite destructive relationships.[48]

Despite the growing preoccupation with sexual misdemeanours in the Hispanic World, the inhabitants of the in-between places of the Peruvian viceroyalty appeared remarkably, and often tragically, lascivious, with partners frequently deserting dependants for other more attractive liaisons. Nor was this the sole preserve of men.[49] In 1597 for example, Doña Francisca Maldonada, born in Seville, married to Joan de Morales and currently resident in Potosí, was brought before the Inquisition alongside a group of female accomplices of various ages and races, accused of superstition and sorcery, casting spells so that men would love her well.[50] Among the superstitions the women had been accused of was the use of a prayer to Saint Martha, which had to be said kneeling before a burning candle and a statue of the saint, followed by the *Pater Noster*. Rather than objecting to the prayer itself, the Inquisitors' main objection was the women's belief that, so said, the prayer would enable the petitioner's dreams to be realized. In fact, the prayer was a wonderful example of popular mystical piety:

> Lady Saint Martha, worthy are you saint of my Lord Jesus Christ, dearly beloved by the Queen of the Angels; their invited guest – Lady Saint Martha, blessed are the eyes with which you looked on my God, and the arms with which you held him, the mouth with which you kissed him, and the feet with which you searched for him.[51]

Despite the prayer's apparently innocent beauty, it is not difficult to see the implicit sensuality behind these words that set the saint as patron of all those

women who were suffering from having loved a man that for whatever reason had later deserted them. The power of the prayer is in its eloquent evocation of yearning for the lover, of Martha's love for Christ, bringing to mind King Solomon's Song of Songs. It was not long, however, before the love expressed in the prayer to a saintly Martha was sacrificed for a much more violent approach to an apparently Janus-like spiritual being. In 1625, a slave called María Martínez was prosecuted for sorcery. She was testified against for having invoked Martha, but as the words of the invocation tell us, 'not the worthy, nor the saint, rather she whom the devil enchants'.[52] Within two generations, Martha's saintly love for Christ had been transformed into a diabolical infatuation.

The invocations listed in the 1597 trials were all the more significant by illustrating the existence of a canon of spells and prayers for the purpose of amatory magic and specifically to enable women to seize control of their relationships in quite a violent, albeit magical, manner. Subsequent trials demonstrate various fusions of the canon entering oral tradition such as Martha's demonization mentioned above. Francisca's prayer to Martha may have been pious even as it eloquently intimated passion. However, there was none of that piety in the *Prayer of the Stars*, essentially a pagano-diabolic fusion that followed the invocation to Santa Marta:

> I say to you, the three highest stars in the heavens [...] enter the woods and cut three rods of the black holly bush in the molars of Satan [...] With the first, strike *Fulano's* head so he remembers my pain. Strike his back with the second so he remembers my words. With the third strike his heart so he remembers my passion. [...] *Diablo Cojuelo* go. Look at *Fulano*: If he his sleeping, wake him. If he is eating prevent him. If he is playing forbid him. Make that without me he cannot function and wherever he may be drive him to seek me out.[53]

The meaning behind the invocation was to torment the unfortunate male to the point where he could not find relief – in essence, to the point where he could no longer live without seeking out and finding the woman who recited the incantation. The magical violence continued with the *Spell of the Face*:

> With two I see you. With five I tie you. Your blood I drink, your heart I seize. I bind you like a man, I tie you like a donkey. You have the head of a pig, a dead man's heart. I have the eyes of a lion, the royal crown of the Emperor, so I can tie you and bind you. I bind your eyes so you cannot see other women.[54]

At which point the scribe noted: 'and so she continued to bind all the other parts [of his body]'. Of course, the essential point of the entire canon of incantations was to enlist preternatural assistance in controlling a male partner and to prevent him from straying. The more forceful the invocations, the more efficacious they were believed to be, for the more violently he would be rendered helpless and incapable of resisting and doing violence in return. At the time of Francisca

de Maldonado's trial, each prayer or spell was quite separate and their efficacy depended very much on a correct ritual context that had to be carried out at the appropriate time. By 1655, however, the trial of Doña María de Córdoba, who, incidentally, asserted to a somewhat sceptical inquisitorial panel that she was the daughter of the ex-Viceroy, the Marquis of Guadalcázar (1622–9),[55] brought to light an expanded canon that had also synthesized the previous incantations:

> I invoke you my Coca with Barrabas, with Satan, with the *Diablo Cojuelo* [...] My Martha, just as you dragged back the dragon [demon] tied by his kidneys, so bring me *Fulano* tied by the lungs, the heart, the kidneys *and other dishonest names* [scribe's note], and by all his joints, jumping and dancing like a he-goat.[56]

By this time, the particularly Hispanic rituals of Francisca de Maldonado had become naturalized to the extent that the indigenous and anthropomorphized Coca had taken a central role alongside a diabolical trinity and Martha. Martha's power and violence, however, had increased to the extent that she was no longer enchanted by the devil, but was a demon conqueror, in the same way that today one might use the expression 'a man-eater'.

In 1664, the scribe documenting the trial of Ana María de Ulloa, a mulatta from Potosí, wrote down a more revealing transcription:

> Santa Marta, not the worthy nor the saintly, she who walked on the banks of the river, she who subdued the strong dragon, subdue for me *Fulano*, by his balls, by his member, by his lungs, by his brain, by his heart, and bring him to me reduced, vanquished, bandaged, on his knees, giving me all he has, telling me all he knows, being repulsed by all other females he sees, all seeming to him born bitches, skinny cows and smutty sows.[57]

By this time Saint Martha, like Satan before her, had become a particularly paradoxical figure. She was a saint, but certainly not saintly. Originally renowned for her passion for Christ, she had by then a powerful reputation as a violently sexual conqueror of demons.[58] As a result, Martha was appealed to as a protector and patron by women who had no choice but to exist in exceptionally violent times. Doña Juana de Vega, a Spaniard born in the town of Arahal in central Andalucia and companion of Ana María de Ulloa, invoked Santa Marta and a legion of demons to accompany her to:

> Enter into *Fulano's* body and give him such a battering and such torment that you tear out his heart and cast it into the mouth of Barrabas' volcano. Turn him so many times, make on him such war, batter him so hard that smothered and burning with living flame bring him tamed, contented, and vanquished to me.[59]

By this time, even the violence of the already aggressive *Prayer of the Stars* had been refined:

> Highest and most beautiful star in the heavens, to the enchanted woods you will go. Three rods of black elm you will cut, and in the incisors of Barrabas you will sharpen them. [...] The first, thrust into the eyes of *Fulano* so he will remember my rage, thrust another in his arms so he remembers my suffering, and the other into his heart so he remembers my love.[60]

Yet, given the sharply focused magical violence against the potential male partners of these women, the incantations really reflect a much broader societal violence committed against and by the marginalized people of colonial society irrespective of race or gender.[61] Ana María de Ulloa, for example, cast fortunes with other women in order to discover whether or not her husband would be hanged by the municipal authorities and to magically impede the Judges from ordering his execution.[62] In 1689 María de Castro Barreto y Navarrete, a freed slave resident in Callao and currently employed as a cook and a snow-seller, was prosecuted for sorcery that, among other things, had involved divining the whereabouts of a female client's lover.[63] When they had discovered that he was spending the night with another woman, supposedly by means of the divination, María persuaded her client to accompany her to the house. They waited in a *chichería* opposite the house until daybreak when the man's mistress crept out of the house. As soon as María saw her, she picked up her stick, went across the street and thrashed her. The client was afraid that the unfortunate woman's lover would come out to defend his mistress but María was confident he would do nothing. Conceivably his inactivity was a result of fear, or perhaps shame, but at that point María was most definitely and forcefully in control of the entire exchange.

The ability to survive and master this extreme societal violence is perhaps best exemplified by the case of Luisa Ramos, a thirteen-year-old slave girl from Callao, the port of Lima. In 1629, Luisa managed to pre-empt five witnesses, including her half-sister, María de Castro (aged thirty), who were about to testify against her for practising amatory sorcery.[64] By appearing before the Inquisitors herself, admitting to what she knew was considered illicit and pleading the ignorance of youth, she was released, once the other witnesses had testified, with no more than an admonition on the part of the Inquisitors. Soon after she had been released she returned to her home in Callao and confronted her sister, screaming at her, 'the dead don't talk!' At this she pulled out a knife and slashed her sister's face from ear to throat. The Inquisitors lamented that María de Castro died before she could ratify her testimony and, not surprisingly, no other witnesses came forward to testify against the thirteen-year-old Luisa. So infamous was she, that when she was sentenced to two years confinement and community service in the Hospital de la Caridad, the administrator appealed on the grounds that the girl could have a detrimental effect on the 'very many sick, married, honourable and virtuous Spanish ladies who were having to live there without their husbands'.[65]

As we have seen, the women of the in-between were prepared to enlist and combine the help of Saint Martha and the Satanic triumvirate – Satan, Barrabas, and the *Diablo Cojuelo* – against this backdrop of extreme violence, tragic passion and uncertainty.[66] By the mid-seventeenth century, there was also a clear indigenous influence on the canon of invocations, as alongside these Hispanic entities appeared Incas and Inca princesses together with an anthropomorphized Mama Coca. In 1664, for example, Ana María de Ulloa, her daughter Úrsula de Ulloa, and other women also prosecuted as accomplices, threw wine three times over a porcelain bowl in which they spat saying: 'Inca I baptise you, I wish to baptise you with Barrabas, with Satan, with Lucifer'.[67] Similarly, in 1655 Luisa de Vargas, an accomplice of María de Córdoba, was testified against for having invoked the Coca, the Inca and his followers together with the principal demons: 'Coca mía, yaya mía, my dear, my love, I invoke you in the name of (*Fulano*) [...] I conjure you with the *Diablo Cojuelo* [...] Coca mía I conjure you with the Inca, with all his vassals and followers, with Lucifer, Barrabas, Bercebu and Satan.'[68]

In her study *Inquisición y mujeres*, María Manarelli argues that the association of Incaic symbols and personalities with the devil was as much an intellectual association as it was a popular one. Nevertheless, she continues, the indigenous Andean images present in these invocations gave urban witchcraft a particular identity: an alliance with the devil and the Inca signified a double threat, since both were considered the enemies of Christianity.[69] If this was the view of those prosecuting the women, this was most likely not how the women of the in-between understood their relationship with these preternatural entities. Rather than wishing to threaten Christianity, they merely turned to spiritual forces more appropriate to assisting them with their very specific needs, marginalized as they were in an extremely violent society where the battle for survival was paramount.[70] In effect, any rejection of Christianity that a diabolical pact entailed was merely a pre-requisite of patronage and was not normally done out of a consummate desire to despise Christianity. Rather, this apostasy was understood more as a part of the terms and conditions of contract. Christianity, restricted by an intricate web of morality, could not help them take control of sexual relationships, nor did its passive response to violence and suffering seem particularly appropriate. Instead, these people felt an active need to respond to violence with violence, and to naked power by seizing power themselves. The diabolical, married with the indigenous cosmological system, provided them with the key to making such an aggressive response.

Nor was this seizure of power always typical of vassals seeking patronage from their Lord. At times it appeared that even the principal demons were believed susceptible to violent blackmail. María de Córdoba confessed in 1655 that one method of winning back an ex-lover was to pack a stocking with cotton wool densely, tie it at the mouth and place it beneath her skirts whilst squeezing it fiercely, chewing coca and saying: 'The wife of Barrabas is pregnant and until you

bring me (*Ticio*) placated, docile, and his anger dissipated she cannot give birth'.[71] The obvious implication of the incantation is that by torturing his wife, inducing labour but preventing the birth, the woman can render the terrifying demon Barrabas powerless and subject to her will. Barrabas in turn, would have no choice but to reduce her lover once again to her will. In essence, Barrabas was being blackmailed. Not only did the contact zones have the effect of bringing the devil 'in from the cold', in a manner of speaking, by providing him and his demonic cohorts with a utility in everyday society; additionally, the transferral of human relationships onto these extreme personalities made them all the more accessible to the local populace. The brutality of these human relationships, in other words, merely reflected the lives of those who invoked the demons in the first place.

In 1625, for example, María Martínez, who had narrowly survived an attempted contract killing on account of jealousy, was testified against for telling other women that the devil was omnipotent, just like God, and that she had invoked Lucifer, the prince of demons, together with Lucifer's wife, the entire hierarchy of devils and, of course, St. Martha. In fact, she maintained, she held such confidence with Lucifer that she had descended into hell, lived as his concubine and been given power to rule there. Since her return she had maintained regular correspondence with the Queen of Hell and her husband.[72] Not surprisingly, her cordial relations with this diabolical royal family established for her a fearful reputation in Potosí that could only work to her advantage, even after her imprisonment. For, as the Inquisitors discovered, even incarcerated, she still managed to play host to a stream of female visitors requiring magical remedies in exchange for silver, and to hire an 'Indian and a Negro' to supply her with ingredients for malefice.[73]

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> Mama Coca, dear mama, my beauty [...] bring me luck and happiness. I invoke you with the devil of the scribes, the devil of the rag-and-bone men, the devil of the merchants, the devil of the hat makers, the devil of the silversmiths, the devil of the storekeepers, the devil of the tailors, the devil of the innkeepers, the devil of the carpenters, the devil of the labourers. [I conjure you] by the devil of Potosí, by the devil of Guancabelica, by the devils of Trujillo, by the devil of the fishwives, by the devil of the *oidores*, by the devil of the chicken sellers, by the devil of the blacksmiths, by the devil of the sailors, [...] by the devil of the fruit sellers, by the devil of the button makers, by the *Diablo Cojuelo*, and by all these devils I ask you. As they brought to their feet Christ on his knees, so bring me *Fulano* kneeling at my feet.[74]

The above invocation taken from the trial testimony of María de Castro Barreto y Navarrete at the end of the seventeenth century forms part of the expanded canon of invocations aimed at conquering straying men. Despite its gender-specific contextual application, the invocation serves as a useful demonstration of the

relationship between Satan and all the people that inhabited the contact zones of colonial Peru. The incantation, in essence, acts as a role-call for the devils of this 'in-between place' where channels of cross-cultural communication enabled the diabolical to assume a multifaceted and ambiguous character, becoming 'all things to all men', in a manner of speaking. Practically each guild in the invocation had been allocated its own patron devil to be called on in times of need, for financial advancement, for sexual prowess, or simply at times of extreme duress when individuals had nowhere left to turn. Lucifer had been humanized in many respects by a process of familiarization and even 'familialization',[75] and indigenized by association with 'dear Mama Coca', 'Father Inca', Indian lovers and friends, and mountain-top *Apus* such as Guainacava. As a result, he was able to appear as a friend to the marginalized, a liberator to those held captive. Yet this relationship commonly reflected the tragedy of many human relationships at the bottom of this social ladder, for a significant number of those who invoked him thought that he could easily be swindled or even violently blackmailed. Similarly, Satan's response to those who called on him was ambivalent at best, and often characterized by the individual's fear of impending violence, betrayal, and horror at the forms he took.

The people of the contact zones, often finding themselves on the margins of mainstream colonial society, took in the outcast angel and gradually made him their own. The alliance at times did appear to function, despite the best efforts of the colonial authorities, and despite the recognized threat this represented to society as a whole. His demons allocated to each and every guild appeared to have breached and overrun the City of God: 'the devils of the corners where the shops were found, marked the urban topography given that they were often held captive by the crosses on the corners of the houses'.[76] Ultimately, although many individuals recanted in the audience hall of the Inquisition, having apparently realized how destructive their relationship with Satan was or might well have become, the presence of the devil remained a pervasive shadow cast on the colonial Peruvian landscape.

# CONCLUSION

> Noi pur giugnemmo dentro all'alte fosse che vallan quella terra sconsolata: le mura mi parean che ferro fosse [...] Io vidi più di mille in su le porte da ciel piovuti, che stizzosamente dicean: 'Chi è costui che sanza morte va per lo regno della morta gente?'[1]

Dante's approach to the gates of Dis, the fortress that controlled the entrance to the regions of Hell beyond the Styx, is a mirror image of the demonic siege of the city of God. Alone but for his guide, the poet Virgil, Dante almost gave in to despair when the demon horde defending the gates ordered Virgil to leave him so that he might find his way out of Hell unaided. By comparison, the demonic advances toward the Christian bastion were often stealthy, but they, unlike Dante, in no way lacked confidence. As we have seen in the cases of María Pizarro and the possessed nuns of Santa Clara, once the fortifications had been breached, the demons wasted no time in wreaking the havoc expected of a besieging army inside the walls.

The anger of the demon sentinels at the gates of hell was directed against a man who had dared to push so far into their territory. In the end, an angel sent from Heaven forced the demons to open the gates and allow Virgil and Dante to pass.[2] In the same way, despite a defiant defence by the demons, Christian missionaries in the Viceroyalty of Peru aimed to push deep into Satan's territory with God's help, breaking the siege around the Christian body and forcing the fallen angels to take their final refuge in the mountain fastness of the Andes.

His pre-destined defeat foretold by Revelation was nevertheless a distant goal, and in the depths of hell Lucifer's wings continued to beat, driving malevolent winds throughout the world.[3] As chapters 1, 2 and 6 have shown, these winds were perceived to carry Satanic influences that were able to penetrate the Christian body in Peru, suggesting to some inhabitants of the viceroyalty, especially among the marginalized, that demonic alliances might well be profitable. In 1724, for example, a slave called Francisco Pastraña was prosecuted for malefice and a diabolical pact. He had fashioned a wax doll in which he placed pins in order to avenge himself on a female enemy, and invoked the devil saying: 'Angel

of knowledge, you who call yourself the wisest in the world, how can you not hear me now when I need your aid and protection?' Within a fortnight the unfortunate woman had died an agonizing death. Believing his malefice to have worked, Pastraña took further advantage of his pact with the devil to aid his escape from a ship that was carrying him to be sold in Pisco. He fashioned another doll from the clothes of the boatswain and stuck it through the hip with a pin. The boatswain, in terrible pain, was obliged to turn the ship around and return to the Port of Callao, and Pastraña escaped in a skiff one night whilst the crew were sleeping. Unfortunately he had no idea how to pilot a boat; but he called on the devil again and, in the prow of the boat, there appeared a figure dressed as a sailor who rowed him to shore 'in an instant'. The sailor jumped ashore and took hold of the slave's hands, freeing him from his shackles, pointing him in the direction he had to go to escape. More than a league along the way, he came across a rider who told him he was going the wrong way to reach the city. Like the sailor, the horseman took hold of his hand and Francisco found himself unexpectedly close to Lima where he remained at liberty until he was caught whilst stealing from a church.[4]

Francisco Pastraña's story is characteristic of the marginalized of colonial Peru, those of the contact zones where people and cultures intertwined, who turned to the devil for help in their darkest hours or simply to help them in the daily struggle for survival. The details of such cases are significant for other reasons: aside from demonstrating the mutual relationships formed between these individuals and Satan, on a more human level they point to the existence of an undercurrent of subversion that persistently undermined the colonial order. In Pastraña's case, if the sailor and the horseman that helped him escape existed at all, who were they and why did they aid him? In the end, it is only possible to speculate as to their human origins. But in the contemporary mental context, the tendency to associate these subversive undercurrents with the demonic had a logic that modern perspectives often fail to notice: to undermine the colonial, Christian order was part and parcel of an overriding diabolical plan to penetrate and bring down the defences of the city of God.

The demonic counterattack carried by the malevolent winds from hell also undermined the missionary push into the Andes. As we have seen, even if the missionaries did not recognize it, there was an inherent paradox in causing Satan to materialize by convincing indigenous Andeans of his existence before attempting to cast him out. Their appeal to reason did not always work, sometimes lacking sufficient logic to convince Andeans of the truth of the gospel message. At times, indigenous people were able to assimilate the arguments of the priests and use them to defend their own religious practices. Furthermore, from the point of view of the missionaries, Lucifer had various ways of retaking territory that had been won from him; for a lack of vocation, or corruption, on the part of a local parish priest often caused as much damage as a diabolically inspired native religious practitioner. In the years between 1714 and 1725, Don Juan Enríquez

de Iturrizaga, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge of the Mountain and Royal Mercury Mine of Santa Bárbara, Huamanga, became embroiled in a bitter factional and jurisdictional dispute that exposed him to an Inquisitorial investigation for a diabolical pact and leading a scandalous life. According to the witnesses, he consulted *curanderos* and had an indigenous sorceress as his consort whom he called 'mother, so that he might avail himself of her diabolical arts to further his ecclesiastical career'. More disturbingly still, as the witnesses told the Inquisitors, the Indians of his parish regularly called him *Layca Padre*, meaning 'Father Witch'.[5]

Clearly the Andeans of Santa Bárbara, Huamanga, would have received very mixed messages about the nature of Lucifer with regard to their *huacas* and their religious and medicinal practices. The case serves to highlight the difficulties facing a missionary project that tried to associate previously unconnected supernatural entities and world-views. These difficulties became especially acute when frontline clergy were relatively tolerant of Andean practices, or simply uninterested in teaching and living out the rudiments of Catholic doctrine. Iturrizaga protested and the Inquisition accepted that he never consorted with witches; moreover, in his parish, he claimed that witches were persecuted. Yet the reality of the case may well have been different, for in many parishes Catholic clergy, often the only Spaniards for many leagues, either had to find an acceptable status quo between indigenous practitioners and the requirements of their office, or face stiff, and sometimes fatal, resistance.

Despite the difficulties, as we have seen in chapters 4 and 5, Christian imagery did make inroads into the Andes, affecting the consciences and the imaginations of the newly incorporated Christians. As indigenous deities and practices were gradually demonized, the presence of the devil and the vigour of his resistance became self-evident as communities were riven by factional and intergenerational conflict. Missionaries, therefore, were at pains to emphasize the powerlessness of the devil before God's church and his sacraments, and to demonstrate that his, or the demon-*huacas*', promises were empty delusions aimed at the ultimate destruction of humankind. In this the missionaries were aided unintentionally sometimes by the *runapmicuc*, the 'eaters of men' and protectors of the balance between Andean communities and their patron deities. These *runapmicuc* assassinated Christianized youths who would otherwise have been future Andean leaders and who, they presumed, would have caused a definitive rupture between the Andean past and present. Such a rupture represented the disintegration of the non-Christian Andean world and, for some, spelled disaster. At the same time, however, by protecting their Andean worldview as they had always done, they contributed to their own demonization and alienation from the community (or at least that part of the community that was experiencing the executions of its children).

The process of demonization was at times further aided by the despair of individual Andeans who, unable to cope with the pressures of colonial exactions,

local abuses or cultural dislocation, were persuaded by what many would have called diabolical delusion to kill themselves and free themselves from the burden of life. Such individual action only further increased the burden of an *ayllu* already struggling to meet tribute and labour requirements, and demonstrated how destructive Satan's intentions could be both to individuals and to communities. Missionaries, using sermons and illustrations, wasted no opportunity to depict graphically the torments that would be suffered by people who gave in to despair, listened to Lucifer and ended their lives.

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The despair of those unfortunate Andeans, so alienated from their own communities, was the same despair that Dante so nearly gave in to when confronted by the demon horde with his complete and utter isolation, totally cut off from the Christian body 'in this nether hell'.[6] His lonely journey mirrored that taken by the Christian mystics of the early-modern period, including those of colonial Peru. The difference was that Dante was journeying towards the depths of hell, whereas the mystic, in theory, was on a spiritual journey towards God. As we have seen, however, in the lonely world of the mystic, appearances could be deceptive, and Satan would do his utmost to lead the mystic off the correct path onto a downward spiral towards damnation.

Mystical theology and praxis in colonial Peru and across the Hispanic world gave rise to a number of paradoxes with regard to the nature and power of Satan. A parallel tendency began to emerge at a time when Christian imagery was making headway in the Andes, the process of *huaca*-demonization was gathering momentum, and missionaries were attempting to convince Andean communities of the devil's destructive and hate-filled disposition. This tendency emphasized the powerlessness of Satan, and began to convert demons into spiritual enforcers apparently working for the divine. It was a trend that was especially prevalent in Hispanic communities but which also began to filter into the Andean worldview, with, as we have seen, demons being sent to force proper last confessions from dying individuals or acting as divine prosecutors in visions of the last judgement. The possession of the Poor Clares of Trujillo, unprecedented in the viceroyalty in its scale and impact, without a doubt exemplified both fallen mysticism and the tendency for demonic 'heavies' to do divine work. These practically faultless nuns, argued the Franciscan friars, were possessed by the demons on account of God's wrath at the moral laxity of the citizenry. Furthermore, the demons had been allowed to enter the convent as a Jobian lesson of God's omnipotence and a demonstration of the apparent sanctity of the nuns.

The general populace, meanwhile, were not entirely convinced by these explanations and searched for other, more reasonable causes of the plague that had struck one of the spiritual centres of their city. Such was the force of the demonic disorder inside the convent that it was even spreading beyond the walls in a dia-

bolical reversal of the Dionysian-Erasmian emanation of Christianity from the centre. Here, then, we face another paradox: from a theology that emphasized the absolute power of God over creation and the relative powerlessness of the devil, there developed a drama that appeared to demonstrate how powerful Satan actually was. He had, after all, gained access to a spiritual centre well inside the city and wreaked havoc within.

Whilst the populace did what they could to restore order, holding penitential processions to plead with God for mercy, they participated in the same process of demonization that was under way in the rural Andes. As far as the general public was concerned, such horrific possessions could only be the result of malefice, and there were enough suspects in the rural villages surrounding the city to give credence to such an explanation. Suspicion fell on indigenous religious and medicinal practitioners as well as an 'old, black, slave woman' reputed to have considerable occult powers. This is not to suggest that all indigenous people and all blacks were demonized as a result. Francisco Indio, a barber working in the city, for example, was questioned and opined just as any other Hispano-Christian might have done. Those who fell under suspicion were isolated individuals existing apart from the municipal body in remote, uncivilized places; they were culturally alien to the majority of urban citizens.

An additional dimension to the case was revealed when the principal actors explained that the possession had, initially, been caused by malefice, but that the malefice had been carried out by a demon. Such a declaration further empowered demons by giving them the wherewithal to enter a body at will. The potential enemies were no longer merely the cultural aliens outside the city walls; there was now a new and more dangerous threat, a presence inside the walls against which little could be done. The statement vocalized the fear of a demonic fifth column, impossible to discern until it was too late; it seemingly belied the conviction of the powerlessness of demons when confronted by the Church. All the possessed individuals could do was hope that God did not intend the demon to be victorious and allow them to give in to despair and be damned.

The question of discernment was fundamental to all cases of possession, and María Pizarro's was no exception. In fact, her exorcists found discernment such a difficult task that they were all eventually broken by the experience. As with the Trujillo case, in María's we saw a similar demonization of the cultural alien, the indigenous wise-woman and the black go-between. However, María Pizarro's possession dramatically highlights the early modern propensity to demonize even those closest to the individual concerned, bringing the so-called 'fifth-column' right inside Hispanic culture and even within the demoniac's household. This was a world in which devils battled with saints, and in which lovers became demons and demons became lovers. It was a world of uncertainty in which a person's defences were anything but secure.

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The preceding chapters have shown how analysis of human interaction with the demonic in the Hispanic colonial world can provide historical insights that afford us a better comprehension of viceregal Peruvian society. By understanding the devil's place within that society, as a destructive, atomizing element, and by watching how that element was able, on occasion, to cause the disintegration of the community, it has been possible to piece together an impression of how the community functioned before and during its atomization; what and who the collective really feared, how it was held together, and how it tried to remedy the inherent threat to its structure.

For the newly converted Andeans, the materialization of Satan in the Andes was a painful process, often involving social and cultural dislocation, incomprehension and even violent extirpation. For individual Hispanic Christians, Lucifer's presence and penetration of their defences could also be excruciatingly painful and destructive. It therefore necessitated persistent attempts by the religious to sally forth and drive him from the community's spiritual walls back into his mountain fortress. The terrain in colonial Peru, however, was such that any campaign would never be straightforward. Many people inhabited ambiguous physical and cultural regions conceptualized here as contact zones and in-between places. The battle to raise the siege and to take Satan's fortress was never going to be easy. In the daily struggle to survive, the marginalized sought alliances other than those sanctioned in order to improve their lot. And even as the authorities set sentinels, the gates of the city of God were continually being opened to the devils of the in-between.

# NOTES

## Introduction

1. 'Aprobación del Señor D. Francisco Lelio Levanto, Arcediano de Niebla, Dignidad de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla', in A. Serrano, *Los Siete Principes de los Angeles, Validos del Rey del Cielo. Misioneros y Protectores de la Tierra, con la Práctica de su Devoción* (Brussels: Francisco Foppens, 1707). This and, unless otherwise stated, all other translations are my own.
2. Among the most famous examples of picaresque literature are the anonymously authored *Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*, M. Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* [1599–1604] and *El Buscón* [1604] by F. de Quevedo.
3. Toledo was Viceroy of Peru from 1569 to 1581. His replacement (Martín Enríquez de Almanza (d. 1583)) was appointed in 1580, but did not reach Peru until April 1581. For Toledo's re-writing of history, see below, pp. 24–5, 170, note 52.
4. Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs has shown how these more militant attitudes only started to become prevalent after the Council of Trent (1545–63) and were hotly debated during the years following the Second and Third Councils of Lima (1567–8 and 1583 respectively). Prior to the First Council (1551) in fact, little mention was made of hell in the catechisms for indigenous Andeans and translations of concepts like the devil were ambiguous in meaning. In a very simplistic summary, the humanist idea of salvation by implicit faith (being a good person and able to be saved even without being formally or fully Christian) was defended by the Dominicans (as represented by the sermons of Francisco de la Cruz), whereas the Jesuits (represented by the writings of José de Acosta) took a much more militant post-Tridentine line, rejecting the idea of implicit faith and insisting on frequent (at least once a year) confessions and communion. After the Third Council the post-Tridentine line became progressively more widespread. See J. C. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532–1750* (Lima: IFAE, 2003). See pp. 47–311 *passim*, especially pp. 64–8, 168–9 and 184–93.
5. Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull was Viceroy from 1681 to 1689.
6. J. and F. de Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640–1697*, ed. and trans. R. R. Miller (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), pp. 290–3.

7. Anon., *Il Figlio del Diavolo*, unpublished and undated (but most probably seventeenth-century) manuscript, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), Opera Nostrorum (Opp. NN.) 404, ff. 97–120, (f. 98r–v).
8. S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons: Early Modern Witchcraft* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 413.
9. Some of the most famous examples of representations of heaven and hell can be found in the colonial churches of San Pedro Apostol in Andahuaylillas, near Cuzco, and Carabuco in Alto Peru (present day Bolivia). See T. Gisbert, 'El Cielo y el Infierno en el Mundo Virreinal del sur Andino' in N. Campos Vera (ed.), *Barroco y fuentes de la diversidad cultural: memoria del II Encuentro Internacional* (La Paz: Viceministerio de Cultura, Union Latina y UNESCO, 2004), pp. 35–48; and T. Gisbert, J. de Mesa and C. M. Rúa Landa, *Restauración de cuatro lienzos monumentales. "El Purgatorio", "El Juicio Final", "El Infierno" y "La Gloria": serie de "Las Postrimerías", Templo de Carabuco* (La Paz: Viceministerio de Cultura, 2005).
10. The University of San Marcos was founded by royal decree in 1551. The foundation was confirmed by a papal bull in 1571. As an example, one theological controversy that raged for many years in both Europe and the Americas was the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (not confirmed until 1854). Despite Philip IV having sworn to defend the doctrine at his accession to the throne in 1621, Mugaburu recorded as late as 1662 how the Dominicans only very reluctantly agreed to celebrate the feast under pressure from the population of Lima: (22 December) 'During this time the bells in Santo Domingo did not peal or move, though the crowd [...] went twice to the corner'; (23 December) 'the [...] procession went to Santo Domingo [...] The bells pealed many times, and all the people of the city were happy. If they had not been, it would have weighed heavily on the Dominican Fathers' (*Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, p. 75).
11. See for example F. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *La nueva crónica y buen gobierno* [1613?], ed. L. B. Gálvez, 2 vols (Lima: Editorial Cultura, 1953), vol. 2, p. 147, cited by I. Silverblatt in *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 197. Thus, chapters 9 and 10 of Silverblatt's study present a case for the theory of resistance and rejection; pp. 159–210.
12. K. Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 112–13.
13. M. Marzal, *La transformación religiosa peruana* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988), pp. 45–7, 61.
14. N. Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes 1530–1570* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), p. 156.
15. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 245.
16. Carolyn Dean makes this same point in *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 219, Introduction, endnote 3.
17. L. Millones, *Dioses familiares: festivales populares en el Perú contemporáneo* (Lima: Ediciones del Congreso del Perú, 1998), p. 33.
18. Estensoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 47–311 *passim*. For the use of dance in the liturgy, see pp. 146–50, 169–72 and for their condemnation by José de

Acosta, see p. 192. For the introduction and then later repression of the use of *quipus* in confession, see pp. 223–8.

19. Ibid., p. 237.
20. For an example from the Cuzco region see the *Carta Anua* of 1599–1600, ARSI, *Peruana Litterae Annuae* (hereafter *Peru: Litt. Ann.*), Tomus I 1567–1604 (hereafter I), f. 160r. The *Cartas Anuas* contain many more such examples.
21. G. Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 217–313. For a summary of this article, see G. Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak' in B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (eds), *The Post Colonial Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 24–8.
22. Paul Charney considers the social structure of Indian society in much closer detail in *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima, Peru, 1532–1824* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001). See especially chapter 3, 'Indian Leadership and the Community', pp. 79–111.
23. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, pp. 8–9, 12–14, 14–15, 20–1, 41.
24. Ibid., p. 32.
25. Cited in Dean, *Inka Bodies*, p. 31.
26. This argument is not intended as an antithesis to Dean's. It merely wishes to place more emphasis on the triumph of Andean Christians and to underline that the triumph was not simply one of Hispanic Christians over things Andean. Dean herself goes on to discuss the change in signification of Andean symbols resulting from Andean conversion rather than subversion of Christianity (ibid., p. 111).
27. Also now known as the Sacrament of Reconciliation. In 1551 the Council of Trent re-codified the Sacrament decreeing that 'Penance is a sacrament instituted by Christ; that [...] the three acts of the penitent are contrition, confession of all serious sins in number and kind, and satisfaction; that absolution is reserved to priests alone; and that the priest must have jurisdiction, since absolution is a juridical act. *Doctrine on the Sacrament of Penance*, Session XIV, 1551 cited by R. McBrien in *Catholicism* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), p. 840. Estensorro Fuchs notes an important paradox caused by the Jesuits placing so much emphasis on confession. Creating a need for the sacrament among indigenous Andeans and being unable to satisfy that need gave rise to parallel practices within the Andean communities themselves (Estensorro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 216).
28. I do not wish to suggest that the maintenance of a good working relationship between the community and its saint was specifically Andean. This system of patronage was long established in the Christian world. William Christian discusses at length the phenomenon in early modern Spain in his book W. A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); see especially pp. 55–69. Peter Brown links the European search for supernatural and hierarchical patronage to its beginnings in Imperial Roman society in P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1981), pp. 33–41, 60–8. With regard to the Andes, it was a practice that made sense both to Andeans (due to the reciprocal relationship communities had with their *huacas*) and to Europeans (due to the historical precedent for seeking patronage, something that was also, in effect, a reciprocal relationship).

29. N. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman, OK and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), p. 23. Of course, once again we come across the same interpretive problem. This phenomenon was very much dependent on the effect evangelization had on the population in any given area, and would inevitably vary from region to region throughout the colonial period, depending on the frequency and the quality of evangelization and the receptiveness of the congregations.
30. For a discussion of the distinction between the terms 'supernatural' and 'preternatural' in the early modern period, see Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 152–6.
31. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 202.
32. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 188.
33. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, pp. 233 and 91, footnote 49.
34. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 210.
35. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 240. Gerald Taylor makes a similar point when he states that the devil that was seen everywhere by the first Spaniards [in the Americas] did not necessarily correspond to the same concept in the spirit of the ancient Peruvians. See 'Supay', *Amérindia: Revue d'ethnolinguistique amérindienne*, 5 (1980), pp. 47–63; p. 63.
36. See Estensoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 146–59.
37. Laura de Mello e Souza argues the same point in her study of the devil in colonial Brazil. See *O diabo e a terra de Santa Cruz*: *feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial* (Saõ Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989), pp. 17, 153–226.
38. For example, in 1635, Doña María de Córdoba, described by the notary as possibly the daughter of the Marquis of Guadalcázar – Viceroy from 1622 to 1629 – was prosecuted by the Inquisition for sorcery. See below, p. 151.

## 1 Cities of God Besieged

1. St Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, trans. H. Bettenson, intro. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1984), p. 595 (XV.1).
2. Clark, *Thinking With Demons*, p. 45.
3. J. O'Meara, Introduction to Augustine, *City of God*, pp. x–xiii. O'Meara suggests that Augustine was less profoundly affected than St Jerome by the sack and that his reaction 'was compensated by a greater optimism' and that for him it marked 'a stage in the conflict between Christianity and paganism' (p. xiii). Interestingly, he notes that Alaric's Goths were in fact Christian–Arian, setting up an implied comparison between the Goths and the still largely pagan Roman populace (p. x).
4. D. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 17.
5. See below, p. 23, for Anthony Pagden's thesis linking Greek and Roman theories of civilization to Christianity, urbanization and subsequently to the Hispanic municipality.
6. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City*, pp. 89, 210.
7. D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City 1300–1500* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 73.

8. See J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 3–4, 7–22.
9. Sancho I Ramírez, king of Aragón and Navarre (1063–94), quoted by O'Callaghan, ibid, p. 8.
10. All the Jesuits who travelled to the Americas or who were ordained there would have been required to work through the exercises and, from reading the Cartas Anuas (annual letters written to Rome), there is a clear sense that these exercises pervade their perceptions of mission. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for Jesuit spiritual advisors to work through the exercises with members of the laity.
11. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. G. E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, Chicago, 1992), pp. 65–6.
12. Ibid., p. 125.
13. See R. Williams, *Teresa of Avila* (London: Continuum, 1991), pp. 108–42.
14. Ibid., p. 115.
15. H. de Saona, *Hyerarchia Celestial y Terrena y Symbolo de los Nueve Estados de la Iglesia Militante, con los Nueve Choros de Angeles de la Triumphante* (Cuenca: Cornelio Bodan, 1603), p. 24. The title translates as *Celestial and Earthly Hierarchy and Symbol of the Nine States of the Church Militant, with the Nine Choirs of Angels of the [Church] Triumphant*. Saona does not specify who Mercurio is, but on the following page he cites Hermes (Trismegistus).
16. This was especially acute when authors attempted to re-synthesize early Christian ideas, informed by Greek philosophy and mysticism, with hermetic texts and contemporary thinking about astrology and mathematics (which in turn were informed by revisiting the classical works of Greek philosophy – Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras). Despite Saona's Christian distortion, the Divine geometry is there in the *Hermetica*. Hermes tells Tat, his pupil: 'I told you, my son, that there is a body which encloses all things. You must conceive the shape of that body as circular; for such is the shape of the universe' (*Excerpt VI: From the Discourses of Hermes to Tat*, in *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus*, ed. and trans. W. Scott, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), vol. 1, pp. 411–13). In *Libellus I: The Poimandres*, he writes: 'from the Light there came forth a holy Word [...] "That Light", he said, "is I, [...] the first God [...] and the Word which came forth from the Light is son of God"' (ibid., p. 117). *Libellus X* continues, 'The divine forces are, so to speak, radiations emitted by God' (ibid., p. 203).
17. Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* in Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid (London: SPCK, 1987), pp. 145–6.
18. *Hermetica*, p. 143.
19. L. J. de Ore, *Symbolo Catholico Indiano, en el Qual se Declaran los Mysterios dela Fe Contenidos en los Tres Symbolos Catholicos, Apostolico, Niceno, y de S. Athanasio* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1598), pp. 7, 11.
20. Saona, *Hyerarchia Celestial*, pp. 24–5.
21. Pseudo-Dionysius began his *Celestial Hierarchy* by writing: 'Every good endowment and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights [...] Inspired by the Father, each procession of the Light spreads itself generously toward us, and, in its power to unify, it stirs us by lifting us up. It returns us back to the one-

ness and deifying simplicity of the Father who gathers us in' (*The Complete Works*, p. 145). This movement is most famously described in Dante's *Comedia* as he journeys into hell away from God's grace, spirals upward through Purgatory and into Paradise until he is standing before God.

22. J. McConica, *Erasmus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 49, 61–2. In 1518 this letter also appeared in his treatise on theological method, the *Ratio verae theologiae*.
23. Ibid., p. 61. Despite a general hardening of attitudes after Trent and the implementation of more a militant Christianity (sometimes even involving the persecution of humanism's proponents), Erasmus's writings demonstrate that later perceptions of what was taking place in Peru were part of the international culture that came out of Renaissance Humanism to which the Hispanic world belonged. In the library of Francisco de Avila, for example, were five of Erasmus's works. See T. Hampe-Martínez, *Cultura barroca y extirpación de idolatrías: la biblioteca de Francisco de Avila – 1648* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos 'Bartolomé de Las Casas', 1996), p. 208.
24. McConica, *Erasmus*, pp. 61–2.
25. Ibid., p. 49.
26. Ibid.
27. B. Cobo, *Fundación de Lima* [1639], in *Obras del Padre Bernabé Cobo: Vol. 2*: *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 92*, ed. F. Mateos (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1954), pp. 289–90. See also R. L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven, CN, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 169 and J. G. Doering and G. L. Villena, *Lima* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), p. 53.
28. J. Mogrovejo de la Cerda, *Memorias de la Gran Ciudad del Cusco* [1690], ed. M. del Carmen Martín Rubio (Cusco: Rotary Club Cusco/Cervecería del Sur del Peru, S.A., 1983), pp. 63, 65.
29. Augustine, *City of God*, p. 401 (X.21).
30. Ibid., p. 402 (X.22).
31. Ibid., pp. 402–3 (X.22).
32. See below, p. 133.
33. Cobo, *Fundación de Lima*, p. 290.
34. The classic topos is T. Aquinas, *On Evil*, trans. R. Regan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 456.
35. Augustine, *City of God*, p. 523 (XIII.14).
36. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 226.
37. A. de la Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada del Orden de San Augustin del Peru, con Sucesos Egenplares en esta Monarquia* (Barcelona: Pedro de Lacavallería, 1639), ff. 628–9.
38. Ibid, f. 379.
39. H. Mayr-Harting, *Perceptions of Angels in History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 11–12.
40. Ibid., p. 12.
41. It is important to bear in mind that Augustine, Anselm and Aquinas were in fundamental theological agreement. It is easy to exaggerate their opposition given that they were addressing problems at opposite ends of the theological spectrum. Augustine

was writing against the Pelagians and therefore emphasized man's powerlessness and absolute need for divine grace when faced with the ultimate question of salvation or damnation. This had the effect of making the figure of the devil into an extremely powerful entity compared to humankind. Aquinas was writing against Cathar dualism, and hence needed to emphasize the goodness of nature and the body.

42. J. B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 203.
43. A. Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 20–4. Richard Kagan develops this idea and talks of the distinction, but also the symbiosis, between *urbs* (the physical structure of the city) and *civitas* (the abstract organism made up of human community). These, he explains, stood in opposition to *rusticitas*, or *rusticus*, which 'referred to a society or to an individual devoid of the virtues associated with urban life' (Kagan, *Urban Images*, p. 27).
44. This was a process that had been considerably enhanced in Spain by the many years of war with the Moors before the final culmination of the *Reconquista* in 1492. Kagan, for example, states: 'the city played a crucial 'civilizing' role in the struggle by Christian rulers to rid the peninsula of Muslim rule [...] the town not only served as the lowest tier of royal government but also as the institution through which monarchs took possession of lands over which they had legitimate claim. In addition, the town served as the means of populating, and thus christianizing, new lands' (Kagan, *Urban Images*, p. 26).
45. According to Mugaburu's diary (*Chronicle of Colonial Lima*) the festivities were ongoing from September to December, with different guilds and groups of people being responsible for successive spectacles.
46. Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, pp. 50–2. It is noteworthy that the indigenous pageant depicted Inca conquests that were subsequently offered to the Spanish monarchy as if they had chosen to take their place in an apparent natural order.
47. This is notwithstanding the importance of the disjuncture highlighted by Estenssoro Fuchs between pre- and post-Trent approaches to the Christianization of the Andes (See *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 47–311 *passim*). Juan de Betanzos, for example, describes the timely intervention on behalf of the Spaniards of the Virgin Mary during the siege of Cuzco. Interestingly, his account attributes the sighting of an armed man on a white horse who rode out at the head of the Spaniards to the ghost of Francisco Pizarro dressed in the livery of the knights of Santiago rather than to Santiago himself (Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y Narración de los Incas*, ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2004), p. 343). By the early seventeenth century, however, the apparition had unambiguously become *Santiago mataindios* (lit. Saint James Indian-slayer) and from playing a passive role, protecting the Church from fire-arrows, the Virgin Mary participated actively, driving off the attacking Andeans by casting hail at them. See for example the famous sketches and account of F. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, ed. J. V. Murra and R. Adorno (México D.F: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992)., pp. 374–7 (or ff. 402[404]–405[407] in the online manuscript facsimile at http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/indices/indice-en.htm) and Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, ff. 113–14. These examples should help to demonstrate the intellectual continuities and cultural

unity of the Hispanic world throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the disjunctures that also existed. This Hispanic cultural homogeneity carried on well into the eighteenth century.

48. R. Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal*, 2nd edn (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), pp. 113–25.
49. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, f. 627 – note the interesting lack of clarity between the idea of spiritual merit and the spoils of war, both types of profit that could be gained from *reconquista*.
50. See F. Armas Asín, 'Los comienzos de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú y su contexto político y religioso: la figura de Luis López', *Hispania Sacra*, 51 (1999), pp. 573–609. Also, see below, p. 37–8.
51. Anon., *Dominio de los Yngas en el Perú y del que su Majestad Tiene en Dichos Reinos* in *El anónimo de Yucay frente a Bartolomé de las Casas: edición crítica del parecer de Yucay (1571)*, ed. I. P. Fernández O.P. (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1995), pp. 112–71.
52. Ibid., p. 114. The author uses the term *muy engañado* which more elegantly translates as 'quite mistaken'. However, in the context of the subtle diabolic influence referred to by the author, the translation could easily read 'totally deceived'; p. 117 – *indio de esta tierra*, lit. 'Indian of this land'; pp. 138, 145. Despite establishing a discourse of Spanish heroes righteously toppling Inca usurpers, these attempts by Toledo to portray the Incas as tyrants were never entirely successful. Toledo himself (like Francisco Pizarro) was accused of tyranny and regicide following the execution of the last Inca emperor Tupac Amaru in 1572 – Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala laments: 'Oh, don Francisco de Toledo, having so much ability [...] wished to be greater than a king and judged the king of Peru! ... And to punish his pride don Francisco himself was decapitated' (Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), p. 878 (or f. 937[951] in the online manuscript facsimile). In fact, Toledo died of ill-health at his home in Oropesa less than a year after he returned to Spain, after which began a long investigation into his alleged embezzlement of funds (See A. F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo: Fifth Viceroy of Peru 1569–1581* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 274–8). About the execution of Atahualpa, Guaman Poma writes: 'So you see how an emperor was lost due to pride. How could a knight judge his king? And if he was not killed, all th[ose] riches would still belong to the emperor' (Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), p. 363 (or f. 391[393] in the online manuscript facsimile).
53. See, for example, Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 223–8.
54. Aquinas, *On Evil*, p. 456.
55. Russell, *Lucifer*, p. 203.
56. A copper etching of St John being shown the walled city of New Jerusalem, the City of God (Revelation 21). Note the Source of Light radiating from the centre and the Angels that can just be seen guarding the gates. The etching was published in Nuremberg by the cartographer Christoph Weigel (d. 1725) and artists Caspar Luiken (d. 1708) and Jan Luiken (d.1712) and is part of a book of such images and four line meditations illustrating the New Testament in the library of Lima Cathedral (C. Luiken, J. Luiken and C. Weigel, *Historiae Celebriores Novi Testamenti: Iconibus Repraesentatae et Ad Excitandas Bonas Meditationes Selectis Epigrammatibus Exornatae* (Noribergae (Nuremberg): 1712), p. 108.

57. This was the conclusion reached by the nominalist Dominican and disciple of William of Ockham, Robert Holcot as summarized by D. Knowles in *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Longman, 1988), p. 300.
58. F. D. de Córdova Salinas (OFM), *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú* [1651] (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), p. 950.
59. I. Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias en la Historia de la Gran Provincia de San Iuan Baptista del Peru del Orden de Predicadores* (Rome: Nicolas Angel Tinassio, 1681), pp. 328–31.
60. For a more in-depth discussion, see F. Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 17–25.
61. See, for example, Calancha's description of the destruction of the town and mountainside of Anco Anco, which God's wrath sank into hell, leaving only a twelve-year-old girl who had petitioned the Virgin Mary for protection as a survivor (Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, ff. 513–15).
62. Most colonial commentators resolved the issue in their own minds by insisting that evil was permitted by God but not caused by him. As such it must be a part of God's ultimate plan and they, as his creatures, had no right to demand explanations of him.
63. This issue is analysed in more detail below, pp. 80–9.
64. Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos*, p. 333.
65. Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana*, p. 843.
66. David Brading creates a strong case for considering initial Franciscan optimism at the time of the discovery of Mexico as millenarianism based on the interpretation of the prophecies of the twelfth-century Cistercian, Joachim de Fiore. See D. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 108–10.
67. Cited in R. J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity 1600–1810* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), p. 77.
68. P. Zambelli, 'Scholastic and Humanist Views of Hermeticism and Witchcraft', in I. Merkel and A. G. Debus (eds), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (London and Toronto, ON: Associated University Presses Inc., 1988), pp. 125–53; p. 129.
69. See below, p. 44. See also V. Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición, Actas*, 2 vols (Madrid: CSIC, 1992–7), vol. 1 (*Anatomía y biopsia del Dios y del derecho judeocristiano-musulmán de la conquista de América*), pp. 321–2, 324, 328, 333, 595, 599, 625–6.
70. For the dangers faced by Trithemius and Cornelius Agrippa, two of the most famous conjurers of angels, see pages 56–63 of Bruce Gordon's essay, 'The Renaissance Angel', in P. Marshall and A. Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 41–63.
71. Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana*, p. 844. Whilst Córdova Salinas does not specify the exact date of the vision, and nor does he mention Francisco de la Cruz by name, the date of Sor Ana del Espíritu Santo's death in 1589 places the prioress as a contemporary of Francisco de la Cruz. Given that his execution was the most widely publicized and shocking execution of a viceregal cleric at that time (for such execu-

tions were extremely uncommon), it is reasonable to assume that it was the execution of Francisco de la Cruz to which the prioress referred.

72. See below, pp. 37–9.
73. See above, p. 15.
74. Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, p. 130.
75. N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 42–3.
76. Aquinas, *On Evil*, p. 492.
77. Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, p. 135.
78. See below, pp. 67–8.
79. Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, p. 113.
80. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, f. 378.
81. Ibid., f. 379.
82. In colonial Mexico, the Dominican Diego Durán documented a similar phenomenon that has become known to scholars as *nepantlism*, meaning 'to be in the middle', in which the Indians, according to Durán, maintained, 'they were still neutral and held on neither to one law nor to the other [...] that they believed in God but at the same time they reverted their old customs and rites of the devil'. See Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 56–7. Such pan-American similarities in indigenous religious practice certainly indicate that contrary to the wishes of the missionaries, *nepantlism* began to emerge as the rule rather than the exception in the process of religious conversion.
83. P. I. de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1621), pp. 18, 21. Cieza de León also attributed the speech of *huacas* and *malquis* to the intervention of the devil. See S. MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 85–98.
84. Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, pp. 38–9, 47.
85. J. de Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* [1576] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987), p. 13. According to Estenssoro Fuchs, Acosta's censure was a pointed condemnation of pre-Tridentine evangelization practices that encouraged indigenous expressions of faith as opposed to the ministration of the sacraments. Specifically, it was a virulent attack on the theology of implicit faith, as defended by the unfortunate humanist Francisco de la Cruz (see Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 188–93).
86. B. de las Casas, *Apologética Historia Sumaria*, ed. E. O'Gorman, 2 vols (Mexico City: 1967), vol. 1, p. 539, cited in Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, p. 31.
87. Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, p. 241.
88. J. de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Seville: Juan de León, 1590), p. 307. See also Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, p. 241, in which he cites A. Oliva's *Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú* (1598).
89. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, p. 306. In his own description of Viracocha Pachayacháchic, Bernabé Cobo follows Acosta, asserting that 'at the centre of the dark shadows of their ignorance, the light of reason did not cease to work in these Indians; because enlightened by it they came to realize and believe that there was one God, [the] Universal Creator of all things and Supreme Lord'. B. Cobo, *Historia del*

*Nuevo Mundo* [1653], in *Obras del Padre Bernabé Cobo: Vol. 2*: *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 92*, ed. F. Mateos (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1954), p. 155.

90. Ibid., p. 307.
91. Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, p. 34.
92. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, f. 374: David Brading argues that, in general, Calancha rejected Garcilaso's essentially naturalistic explanation of indigenous religion, preferring instead to pinpoint the sources on the teachings of Saint Thomas, or conversely on the interference of Satan (*The First America*, p. 326). However, on his descriptions of and opinion regarding Pachacamac and the demonic subversion of Indian worship, Calancha specifically and on various occasions states his source to be Garcilaso ('Hasta aquí es de Garcilaso' – to this point is [taken] from Garcilaso (*Coronica Moralizada*, f. 411)).
93. Calancha, *Coronica Moralizada*, f. 366.
94. Ibid., f. 410.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., f. 470. Significantly, Calancha noted at the end of Charimango's history that he was unable to verify if his particularly nasty death was the result of God's punishment or of the prayers and petitions of the local priests and religious.
97. Aquinas, *On Evil*, pp. 13, 502–13.
98. Ibid., p. 456.
99. Augustine, *City of God*, p. 512 (XIII.3).
100. Revelation 20:10.
101. Augustine, *City of God*, p. 595 (XV.1).

## 2. The Possession of María Pizarro

1. Letter from Fray Alonso de Gasco to the Archbishop of Quito, 21 July 1571. A copy was also sent to the Inquisition in Lima. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, Legajo (hereafter AHN, Inq., Leg.) 1641/7, Expediente 1 (hereafter Exp. 1), f. 1r. For an abridged version of the trial testimonies see chapter 5 of J. Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1569–1820)*, 2 vols (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J. T. Medina, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 63–114, and *passim*.
2. As an example of the impact of the prosecutions and, more specifically, of the execution of Francisco de la Cruz as far away as Guamanga, see Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana*, p. 844 – also discussed above, p. 31.
3. Estenssoro Fuchs has given theological depth to this political argument as he discusses how Francisco de la Cruz, as a representative of pre-Tridentine evangelization methods, was prosecuted for heresy and attacked intellectually by the Jesuit José de Acosta (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 184–93).
4. Á. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados: [Vol. 3] los alumbrados de Hispanoamérica (1570–1605)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), pp. 49–51. Carranza was arrested by the Inquisition under his rival Melchor Cano in 1559 for favouring a more conciliatory line towards the Lutherans, believing, in fact, that there was much to be gained by avoiding an irrevocable schism. Even though his work was

later approved (in 1563) by the council of Trent, he was still held by the Inquisition first in Spain and later in Rome (1567) facing charges of Lutheranism until he was cleared only eighteen days before his death in 1576.

5. A comparative but slightly later Spanish example (1587) is that of Lucrecia de León who formed part of a group of prophetic critics of the foreign and domestic policies of Philip II. See Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams; Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
6. Ibid., p. 99.
7. For interpretations of the utopian socio-political teaching of Francisco de la Cruz, see Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición, Actas*, especially vol. 2, parts 1 and 2 (*Del mito bíblico a la utopia indiana y andina: (¿Papa emperador de Israel y de las Indias y del Universo Mundo?)* and *Derecho moral, teología y política en el trasplante a Iberoamérica del Santo Oficio español (la Junta Magna de 1568 y la política indiana de Felipe II)*).
8. The most serious *encomendero* uprising was led by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548 followed shortly after by another in 1553 led by Francisco Hernández Girón.
9. For such an assessment, see F. Iwasaki Cauti, *Inquisiciones peruanas* (Seville: Editorial Renacimiento, 1997), pp. 17–26. For Spain, a good study is A. Sarrión Mora, *Sexualidad y confesión: la solicitación ante el Tribunal del Santo Oficio (siglos XVI–XIX)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994).
10. Armas Asín, 'Los comienzos de la Compañía', pp. 573–609, especially pp. 584–5.
11. See Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, pp. 86–113; especially p. 100. Lucrecia's trial took place between 1590 and 1595.
12. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* gives the following explanation for Illuminism: '[it] appeared in Spain in the sixteenth century and [its followers] claimed to have direct intercourse with God. They held that the human soul can reach such a degree of perfection that it contemplates even in the present life the essence of God and comprehends the mystery of the Trinity. All external worship, they declared, is superfluous, the reception of the sacraments useless, and sin impossible in this state of complete union with Him Who is Perfection Itself. Carnal desires may be indulged and other sinful actions committed freely without staining the soul. The highest perfection attainable by the Christian consists in the elimination of all activity, the loss of individuality, and complete absorption in God.' *Catholic Encyclopedia*, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/16046a.html (accessed 17 September 2007). Such a simplistic definition as this, however, does not marry well with the complex nature of the trials.
13. Armas Asín, 'Los comienzos de la Compañía', p. 589.
14. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. 3, pp. 67, 139.
15. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 114. Toro had befriended the Jesuits in Panama en route to Lima and initially gave them accommodation in the Convent of Santo Domingo as they were establishing themselves. He declared to the Inquisitors that he often accompanied Luis López the principal exorcist and Jerónomo Portillo the Jesuit Provincial when they went to exorcize María (AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 85r). On other occasions he went with other Dominican companions.
16. Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz: Inquisición, Actas*, vol. 1, p. 169.
17. P. de Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 97r.
18. Ibid.

19. Testimony of Fray Alonso de Gasco, AHN, Inq, Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 3r.
20. Ibid., f. 5r.
21. By 'eucharistic', I am referring to the sacrificial nature of María's situation, offered up by the community as a scapegoat.
22. P. Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones y Hechicerias* [1530] (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones Hispanófila, 1978), p. 113.
23. E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 92–3.
24. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 3r.
25. See, for example, Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, p. 111.
26. Testimony of María Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg.1641/7, Exp.1, f. 178v.
27. See above, p. 30. One of the most famous Neo-Platonist clerics was Giordano Bruno, burned in Rome in 1600 for recalcitrant heresy. For further information on Giordano Bruno see F. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964). For Bruno's writings on magic and the binding of spirits, see G. Bruno, *Cause, Principle and Unity and Essays on Magic*, ed. R. J. Blackwell and R. de Lucca (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 105–76. For a consideration of Francisco de la Cruz, Hermeticism and Cabbalism with regard to angels in the Peruvian viceroyalty see Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos*, pp. 24–7. See also Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición, Actas*, vol. 1, pp. 321–2, 324, 328, 333, 595, 599, 625–6, 784–7.
28. Such was the case in the Loudun possessions of the 1630s when the Jesuit exorcist Jean-Joseph Surin became possessed in the process of freeing the Ursuline prioress Jeanne des Anges from possession. Surin apparently felt the devil leave her and enter him. M. de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, trans. M. B. Smith (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 205–8.
29. In *The Possession at Loudun*, Michel de Certeau's central theme draws attention to the phenomenon of possession as occurring in a society in a state of flux. The difference between the two changing societies is that, as he argues, in Loudun the tension was between faith, those who believed in the possession, and new scientific method, those who refused to accept it. What was knowable through faith was being replaced by a belief in what was considered to be scientifically verifiable (pp. 109–18, 132–7). By comparison, in María Pizarro's time and place, Lima in 1570, Christianity was in the ascendancy and dominated other existing worldviews.
30. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 5r.
31. See for example Christian, *Local Religion*, *passim*; and part 1 of Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, *passim*.
32. See Charney, *Indian Society in the Valley of Lima*, pp. 113–45; J. Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 203–60; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 11–52.
33. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 94v.
34. The first Jesuits to arrive in Peru disembarked at the port of Callao in March 1568 and arrived in Lima in April They were quick to establish themselves and by January 1569 already had two novices, one of whom was Martín Pizarro, María's brother.

'Doc 57 – Lima 21 Ianuarii 1569, *Pater Didacus de Bracamonte Patribus ac Fratribus Societatis Iesu*', *Monumenta Peruana*, 1 (1565–75), pp. 245–78; pp. 246, 253.

35. 'The archbishop said to take her to her house and the next morning they took her to Santa Ana and the entire route they [the demons] tormented her terribly, and the Father Provincial and her brother Martín Pizarro went with her carrying the book of exorcisms [...] and her sister, doña Ana and the widow doña Isabel Martínez.' AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 174r.
36. The apparition of St Dionysius is noteworthy. It is not possible to ascertain whether there was an image of the saint in the Jesuit church of San Pablo (now SS. Pedro y Pablo) in Lima, which María frequented, for the church was damaged by successive earthquakes and rebuilt during the seventeenth century. The Jesuit College of San Pablo was not officially founded until 1581 but one of the earliest Jesuit letters sent back to Rome, written by Diego de Bracamonte, states: 'Tenemos hecha una iglesia prestado [*sic*]' (we have constructed/borrowed a church) ('Doc 57 – Lima 21 Ianuarii 1569', p. 249). Significantly, Dionysius (the Areopagite, or Pseudo-Dionysius) was, and is still, considered the primary authority on angels; see Pseudo-Dionysius, 'The Celestial Hierarchy', in *The Complete Works*, pp. 143–91. His apparition to defend María places her and her exorcists' worldview firmly within the Dionysian tradition outlined in chapter 1. St Dionysius had a large popular devotion during the Middle Ages and there is no doubt that Francisco de la Cruz, who wrote his own angelology, was directly influenced by him. It is highly likely that this link between St Dionysius and angelology was transferred to María, notwithstanding the likelihood that she already was a devotee of the saint. Despite being condemned by the Inquisition as heretical, and despite Francisco de la Cruz being burned at the stake, a copy of an angelology called *Conosimiento de Dios* apparently written by Francisco de la Cruz, found its way into the hands of the demoniac nuns of Trujillo (see below, p. 189 note 50). Dominican investigators denouncing the nuns as fraudulent insisted that when they questioned the nuns about the names of the demons and their orders and hierarchies, the answers appeared to have been memorized from this particular book (AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 2r).
37. Pedro de Toro AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 85r, 87r–v.
38. i.e. confessing and repenting certain sins while knowingly hiding others from the priest giving absolution.
39. Visions (albeit given their extraordinary nature) were relatively common in Lima at that time. For example, F. Iwasaki Cauti begins his article, by writing: 'One phenomenon of colonial Peruvian history [...] is the singular coincidence in Lima of a large number of saintly figures in the short period between 1580 and 1620' ('Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 73:4 (1993), pp. 581–613; p. 581). In this same period a relatively large number of women were also prosecuted for Illuminism, all of whom appeared to be acting in accordance with the instructions of their spiritual advisors. Iwasaki Cauti notes the irony that the spiritual advisors of St Rose were the same spiritual advisors who 'sent another six women to the dungeons of the Inquisition' (p. 582).
40. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 87r–v.
41. Ibid., ff. 86r–v. This was Toro's, not María's, observation.

42. Ibid., ff. 9r–v.
43. 'This penitent could never adore the Blessed Sacrament because when it was lifted [the demons] tormented her terribly'. Ibid., f. 174r.
44. For guardian angels as an extension of the self see Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, p. 51. Brown expounds the teachings of Plutarch explaining, 'The men of the second and third centuries had an acute sense of the multiplicity of the self and of the chain of intermediaries that reached, yet further still, from the self to God [...] The self is a hierarchy, and its peak lies directly beneath the divine. At that peak, late-antique men placed an invisible protector. Whether this protector was presented as the personal *daimon*, the *genius*, or the guardian angel, its function was the same: it was an invisible being entrusted with the care of the individual, in a manner so intimate that it was not only the constant companion of the individual; it was almost an upward extension of the individual'. Conversely, in the Dionysian order an angel forms part of the self only inasmuch as it reflects downwards the light and grace of God. Both describe the same platonic system albeit viewed from opposite starting points.
45. Pedro de Toro AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 88v.
46. Ibid.
47. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 9r–v.
48. Ibid.
49. Iconography of John the Baptist traditionally depicted him alongside a lamb that represented Christ following the scriptural tradition that attributed to him the direct association of Jesus and the sacrificial Lamb. John 1:29 (KJV): 'The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, "Behold! The Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world!"'.
50. See above, p. 44.
51. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 9r–v.
52. Ibid., f. 10r.
53. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, pp. 38–42. Andrew Keitt's analysis of the trial of Eugenia de la Torre and her confessors (1639) also centres on the problem of discernment and the contemporary insistence by authorities and commentators on a systematic and indeed scientific approach for assessing the nature of apparent supernatural, preternatural and natural phenomena; see 'Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (2004), pp. 231–50. Keitt writes: 'as the intermediary realm between the natural and the supernatural, the preternatural was contested ground in the conceptual skirmishes that characterized the period and consequently the subject of intense debate' (p. 240). Given the later date of Eugenia's trial, inquisitorial scepticism is more pronounced (although it is still clearly present in María's case and Lucrecia's). Overall, however, Keitt's study demonstrates the relevance of analyses of cases such as María's and indeed the nuns of Santa Clara of Trujillo (to be examined in the following chapter) to scholars interested in the question of understanding, discernment and perception in the Baroque world.
54. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, p. 39.
55. Ibid., p. 40. The importance of Jean Gerson's writings for discernment continued throughout the next two centuries. He is directly cited, for example, in Francisco de Cubillas's translation of Nicolás Causino's *Padre Espiritual: Tratado de su*

*Govierno, según el Espiritu de S. Francisco de Sales. Sacado de sus Obras y Enseñanzas* [...] *Traducido y Ampliado por el Licenciado Don Francisco de Cubillas Don Yague. Van Añadidas al Fin unas Reglas para Discernir el Interior Aprovechamiento de un Alma, con una Breve Instruccion de Confessores, que Rigen Espiritus Singularmente Favorecidos de N. Señor; y unas Maximas Espirituales Sacadas de la Obra del mismo Santo* [...] (Zaragoça: por Pedro Contreras, 1705), p. 296, a copy of which is held in the library of Lima Cathedral.

56. Ibid.; AHN, Inq., Libro (hereafter Lib.) 1226, ff. 787r–812v.
57. María Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 198v and Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 3r.
58. Ibid., f. 3r.
59. For a discussion of these distinctions in much greater detail, see D. Elliott, 'The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality', in P. Biller and A. J. Minnis (eds), *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press 1997), pp. 141–73.
60. Ibid., pp. 146–7.
61. Ibid., p. 153.
62. María Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 174r. Loaysa was named Archbishop of Lima by Charles V in 1540. He died in 1575.
63. Ibid.
64. Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, pp. 108–9.
65. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 6v.
66. The passage reads: 'Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world'.
67. 'You should seek who, what, why, to whom, what kind, from whence'. P. Boland, *The Concept of Discretio Spirituum in Johannes Gerson's "De Probatione Spirituum" and "De Distinctione Verarum Visionum A Falsis"* (Washington DC: n.p., 1959), p. 30, as cited in Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, pp. 39–40.
68. He goes on to explain the verse: '*Who* is it to whom the revelation is made? *What* does the revelation itself mean and to what does it refer? *Why* is it said to have taken place? *To whom* was it manifested for advice? *What kind of life* does the visionary lead? *Whence* does the revelation originate?', cited in D. Elliott, 'Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc', *American Historical Review*, 107:1 (2002), pp. 26–54; pp. 42–3. The overall tenor of Gerson's writings on discernment was extremely sceptical towards those who claimed to have undergone visionary experiences (ibid., pp. 28–44 *passim*). I am grateful to Anke Holdenried for drawing this to my attention.
69. 'The good and Catholic exorcist should order [the demon] to be silent in the name of Jesus Christ [...] only saying these, Christ's words: *Ob mutesce immunde spiritus et axi* [*sic*] *ab omine*' (Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, p. 111) – approximately 'be silent unclean spirit and come out of the man (*omine* = *homine*[?])', from the Vulgate Luke 4:35 'et increpavit illi Iesus dicens *obmutesce et exi ab illo* et cum proiecisset illum daemonium in medium exiit ab illo nihilque illum nocuit' (KJV – 'And Jesus rebuked him, saying, *Hold thy peace, and come out of him.* And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.').
70. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 7r.

71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., f. 11r.
73. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 11v. The implications of the Dominicans's failure to discern María's spirits correctly echoed through the following centuries. For example, in 1595 the Jesuit Martín del Río published his *Disquisitiones Magicae* which was frequently reprinted until 1747 and was undoubtedly one of the most influential treatises on magic in early modern European historiography. In it, he cited Acosta who wrote about the case (see P. G. Maxwell-Stuart's translation, *Investigations into Magic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 150). Del Río's example, in turn, was cited in 1705 by Francisco de Cubillas in his rules on discernment. Mentioning Acosta directly, Cubillas describes how 'a woman, so prodigious in common estimation, and so adept at fakery, either through the devil's art or natural process performed apparent miracles and faked ecstasies with such exactitude, that she managed to persuade one Doctor of Theology – a venerable man, and held as the most serious in that kingdom – not only to believe her spirit, but also to commit grave errors [heresies]' (in Causino, *Padre Espiritual*, pp. 297–8).
74. '[...] the more it speaks it will always mix lies in with the truth. And it is a very dangerous thing for Christians to listen to the words of a demon that speaks through the mouth of the demoniac' (Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, p. 114).
75. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 12r.
76. Luke 22:43.
77. In this, María's case demonstrates considerable continuity with a particular trend of female medieval religiosity that can be traced back to Brigit of Sweden and Catherine of Siena. Like María's visions, those of Brigit and Catherine were also criticized by influential members of the medieval clergy. In fact, María's exorcists would have done better to have paid closer attention to Gerson who wrote in *On the Examination of Doctrines*: 'Another warning follows on behalf of Superiors and especially for Doctors who are in charge of the lowly, particularly ignorant and illiterate silly women. They should be careful to whom such persons are given for oversight and example, lest [these directors] easily approve, by word or deed, the doctrines, miracles, or unusual visions of such women [...] [Gregory XI] told them to beware of those (either men or women) who speak about the visions of their heads under a pretence of religion'. See Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, pp. 277–91, especially p. 289.
78. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 13v. The *lúcuma* (scientific name – *Pouteria Obovata Baehni*) is a sweet gourd-like fruit native to Peru. It is often dried, powdered and used as a flavouring and colouring for desserts. Aside from its luxurious taste (potentially linking it to the sins of gluttony, covetousness and/or lust) I cannot suggest why it should be considered to induce demons. The *lúcuma* is not hallucinogenic. Nancy Caciola notes the medieval association with ingestion of food in general (through the mouth – an entry gate into the fortress of the body) and demonic possession (Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, pp. 40–3). Interestingly, in her study of the writings of Isabel de Jesús, Sherry Velasco notes a converse association – that of nausea and vomiting (the physical rejection of food) – with perceived demonic possession or obsession (*Demons, Nausea and Resistance in the Autobiography of Isabel de Jesús 1611–1682* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. 38–9, 43–4).

79. She informed them, for example, that the saints had told her that, as the friars were educated, they did not listen; they showed arrogance in assuming that they did not need the assistance of the saints (Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 14r).
80. Ibid., f. 24r–v.
81. Ibid., ff. 16v–17r. See also the testimony of Francisco de la Cruz in Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición, Actas*, vol. 1, pp. 501–2. It would appear that the argument of the Dominicans was taken from a section of the *Summa Theologica*: 'Prima Pars; (111:1) How an angel acts on man by his natural power: Can an angel enlighten the human intellect?' In his reply to the third objection, Aquinas states, 'Intellectual operation and enlightenment can be understood in two ways. First on the part of the object understood; *thus whoever understands or is enlightened, knows that he understands or is enlightened because he knows that the object is made known to him*' (my italics). It is likely that the italicized passage is the one interpreted by Francisco de la Cruz. See the 2003 online edition, *Summa Theologica*, 2nd edn (1920), trans. the English Dominicans, www.newadvent.org/summa (accessed 17 September 2007).
82. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 17r.
83. Ibid., f. 31v.
84. Ibid., f. 34r.
85. The point, of course, is not to suggest that María's command of theology was exceptional for her circumstances – at least no more so than for any intelligent young woman raised in a Hispano-Baroque culture – but that her intelligence and shrewd use of normal Catholic discourse allowed her to deflect the more difficult theological questions that she could not answer and thereby wrong-foot the exorcists into asking questions that were flawed and easily re-buffed. María's knowledge of theology was *not* exceptional; rather, hers is an exemplary case of a lay person in late sixteenth-century Lima making fluent use of a discourse that was as much of the laity as it was of the clergy. In fact, rather than María's theological knowledge being exceptional, the exorcists' use of theology and Catholic discourse was flawed.
86. Testimony of Francisco de la Cruz (Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición, Actas*, vol. 1, p. 765).
87. Richard Kagan tells of a similar production line of blessed scapulars worn by devotees of the cult that was growing up around the dreams and prophecies of Lucrecia de León (Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, pp. 126–7).
88. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 21r–v.
89. P. de Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 97r.
90. Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 95r.
91. Iwasaki Cauti, 'Mujeres al borde de la perfección', p. 596.
92. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 95r.
93. Ibid., f. 97v.
94. Elliott, 'The Physiology of Rapture', p. 155.
95. Gasco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 35v.
96. María Pizarro, AHN Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 199v.
97. Ibid., ff. 171v–172r.
98. Ibid., f. 172r.

99. 'They told her that if she did not wish to obey them then she should stay with the devils, for whosoever disobeys God's law will remain with them' (ibid).
100. Ibid., f. 173r.
101. Toro, AHN Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 94r.
102. Indigenous suicides were often interpreted in much the same manner, as we shall see below, pp. 124–5.
103. Luke 9:50. For an excellent discussion of European perceptions of the 'other', civilization versus barbarism with regard to the Americas, see A. Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Resistance to Romanticism* (New Haven, CN, and London: Yale University Press, 1993).
104. Society as a whole consisted of and protected individuals, whose bodies, in turn, protected their souls. See above, pp. 31–2.
105. Again, Nancy Caciola has documented a similar tendency in medieval possessions, noting, 'in severe cases of demonic infestation, family members were made wretched as well as the victim' (Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, p. 45).
106. P. Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 63.
107. Gasco, AHN Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 38r.
108. Ibid., ff. 38r–v.
109. Ibid., f. 38v. Given María's continually severe abdominal pain it is possible in fact that María suffered from an acute ailment that nowadays could be diagnosed and perhaps even cured. Nancy Caciola has nevertheless noted that the extreme physicality of demonic possession in the medieval period gave rise to a phenomenon in which female demoniacs suffered 'spiritual pregnancies' (Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, pp. 40, 47, 200, 218). This is another of the continuities that María's case appears to demonstrate with medieval tradition.
110. Gasco, AHN Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 38v.
111. See, for example, the painting by F. de Goya, *Witches Sabbath.* Although painted in the early nineteenth century, the image conveyed is a very traditional one in European culture, dating back to medieval times. Certainly the image would have been familiar to contemporaries of María Pizarro and her Inquisitors.
112. For a discussion of caste relations and especially how blacks, mulattoes and mestizos often acted as mediators between Spaniards and indigenous people in the practice of magic in Colonial Mexico see L. A. Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power Witchcraft and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003).
113. Gasco, AHN Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 38r.
114. Ibid., f. 38v.
115. Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 91r.
116. For a comparable example see Peter Cherry's discussion of Murillo's painting *Dos mujeres a la reja de una ventana*, in P. Cherry, 'Las escenas de género de Murillo y su contexto', in *Niños de Murillo* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2001), pp. 54–5.
117. Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 91v.
118. Ibid., ff. 95r–v.
119. Ibid., f. 95v.
120. Ibid., ff. 95v–96r.

121. Ibid., f. 99r.
122. Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 196r.
123. See the example of F. Sánchez, below, pp. 134–5.
124. Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 96r. Smoke was commonly understood to be a medium for transmitting enchantment. The possessions of the Trujillo nuns, for example, were believed by some to have been caused by the burning of magic herbs and potions belonging to an Indian sorceress at an *auto de fe* in the main square. According to witnesses the smoke given off was pestiferous and drifted straight into the convent. See below, pp. 73–4. Pedro Ciruelo mentions 'the wicked men [whom] the devil has taught certain words and ceremonies: of sacrifices of bread, wine and food: of incense and smoke of diverse herbs and perfumes'. Similarly, he states, 'the devil [...] infects the person they want to harm with poisonous things; only the smell or vapour of which corrupts the humours and causes sickness in the flesh and nerves' (Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, pp. 48, 94). Interestingly, the use of smoke (*sahumerios*) was also common in Morisco and North African magic. I am grateful to Mayte Green for mentioning this to me.
125. Toro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 96r.
126. Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 194r; Testimony of Diego Martínez, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 163–4. It is significant that Diego Martínez could be present with other bystanders to witness María's demonic intercourse, suggesting that he was a neighbour or close family friend in whom the family confided.
127. Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, f. 196r.
128. Ibid., f. 192v.
129. Ibid., f. 195r.
130. Ibid., f. 193r.
131. Ibid., f. 193v. In fact, this fits extremely well with the not uncommon notion of 'spiritual pregnancies' noted by Caciola and mentioned above. Although it is difficult not to see the Jesuit response as slippery rhetoric designed to cover up the appalling abuse of a vunerable person under their spiritual charge, there was, for contemporary Lima society, a clear historical precedent in their defence. Nevertheless, as the subsequent trial of López and the effective disgrace of Portillo show, contemporary society – and most importantly, the Inquisitors – did not have to accept their argument.
132. Ibid., f. 195r.
133. Ibid., ff. 195v–196r.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Pizarro, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1641/7, Exp. 1, ff. 196v–197r.
137. The confusion between the two Marías is noteworthy and, as well as giving us a clear picture of María Pizarro's confused state of mind, highlights the racial mix evident in the viceroyalty at the time.
138. Ibid., f. 198r.
139. Ibid., f. 200r.
140. Ibid., f. 202v.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid., f. 203r.

143. Also see Armas Asín, 'Los comienzos de la Compañía', for a differently argued defence of López's.
144. John 18:38.
145. 1 Peter 5:8.

## 3 The Devils of Trujillo and the Passion of the Poor Clares

1. Letter from Juan López de Saabedra, Comissario of the Trujillo Inquisition and Canon of Trujillo Cathedral, to the Inquisition in Lima, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 1r.
2. St Rose of Lima's hagiographers make it clear that she saw the Dutch naval blockade and assault on Callao as 'a religious challenge to Catholic orthodoxy' (Morgan, *Spanish American Saints*, p. 91). As we have seen, extracts from Josephe Mugaburu's diary (*Chronicle of Colonial Lima*) show that viceregal responses to incursions by protestant corsairs combined military action and liturgy.
3. See L. M. Glave, *De Rosa y espinas: economía, sociedad y mentalidades andinas, siglo XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1998), pp. 153–7, 185–94.
4. Satan was not held responsible for this earthquake, rather he was believed to be taking advantage of the chaos in order to provoke a crisis of faith. See below, pp. 102–4 and ARSI, *Peruana Historia* (hereafter *Peru: Hist.*), Tomus II 1628–81 (hereafter II), 1650, ff. 110–18.
5. An anonymous Jesuit wrote that 'such was the noise of the thunder, lightening and the flames that it clearly seemed to be the work of devils' and he described the confessions and penance of the inhabitants: 'the hermit who resides here came out naked from the waist up, with a cross in his hand and a stone in the other striking himself hard on his breast. So many people were following him [doing the same as him] with such shrieking and crying that it seemed like the world was ending' (Arequipa [?] 3 de marzo 1600 – Document 3 in the *Monumenta Peruana Vol. VII (1600–1602)*, ed. A. de Egaña and E. Fernandez (Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1981), pp. 6–18; pp. 9–10). See also T. Bouysee-Cassagne and P. Cassagne, 'Volcán Indien, Volcan Chrétien: A Propos de l'éruption du Huaynaputina en l'an 1600. Pérou Méridional', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 70 (1984), pp. 43–68. According to the authors, the eruption was interpreted by indigenous communities as the Apu's rage at being neglected and at the encroachment of Christianity. The indigenous volcano Omate had spoken with the volcano closest to Arequipa (Misti) in order to make an alliance to destroy the Spaniards. However, Misti had responded that he would not rebel because he had been baptized with the name San Francisco. Omate went ahead with his plan alone (p. 56). The Christians interpreted the eruption, which took place during Lent, as a result of the wrath of God and the coming of the apocalypse (pp. 52–4). The remainder of Lent in Arequipa became a hunt for the devil in order to expel him from the land (p. 55). The eruption is also mentioned in M. del Río's *Disquisitiones Magicae*, where he cites another Jesuit letter: 'Everyone fell down at the feet of the priests [...] they gave them no peace and burst into their bedrooms in order to make their confessions [...] But Satan did not neglect his opportunity. For the pagan Indians who lived next to the fires went to their magi-

cians [...] and hurried to the volcano. There they performed their wicked chants and made their wicked sacrifices. But the flames devoured the magicians and some of the people standing next to them. Everyone else suffered condign punishment too, some, filled with despair, hanging themselves and others committing suicide in other ways' (see Río, *Investigations into Magic*, pp 169–70).

6. For example the *Libro de la Vida* by St Teresa de Jesús, first published in 1588 six years after her death (11th edn (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1997), p. 72) and the *Libro de la Oración y Meditiación* by F. L. de Granada, first published in 1579–80 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1994), p. 13). The immediate devotion that arose in Lima after the death of St Rose in 1617, her beatification in 1668, and canonization in 1671, also gave encouragement to people wishing to emulate her extreme form of ascetic spirituality. Readers interested in the dissemination and censorship of literature throughout colonial Peru might wish to consult T. Hampe-Martínez, 'The Diffusion of Books and Ideas in Colonial Peru: A Study of Private Libraries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 73:2 (1993), pp. 211–33, and P. Guibovich Pérez, *La Inquisición y la Censura de Libros en el Perú Virreinal (1570–1813)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000).
7. Fernando Iwasaki Cauti describes how after St Rose's death a number of women (mainly Rose's disciples) were prosecuted by the Inquisition for Illuminism, whereas in effect they were trying to achieve the same sanctity as Rose. See F. Iwasaki Cauti, 'Santos y alumbrados: Santa Rosa y el imaginario limeño del siglo XVII', *Los Dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo: Actas del III Congreso Internacional (Granada 10–14 septiembre 1990)* (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991), pp. 531–76. He also notes that St Teresa's works were available in Lima from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that the women prosecuted had read Granada's *Libro de la Oración y la Meditación.* Iwasaki Cauti, 'Mujeres al borde de la perfección', p. 597.
8. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6.
9. According to Diego de Córdova Salinas, the convent, 'house of God, His throne, receptacle of His gift [and] garden of His delights', was founded in 1587. Despite Córdova Salinas's description being evocative of a new Eden, we also learn that in 1595 the convent was relocated because the original site was 'humid, unhealthy and lacking in water' (*Crónica Franciscana*, pp. 872–4).
10. See above, pp. 60–1.
11. In 1619 the convent had to be rebuilt after an earthquake destroyed the city 'in punishment for our sins' [...] and [the nuns] would have been left without hope in the world were it not for the providence of Heaven and the alms that the Catholic monarch has given to them as their patron' (Córdova Salinas, *Crónica Franciscana*, p. 873).
12. María Tausiet investigates a comparable case in the Pyrenees (in Huesca) and cites a similar letter from the clergy of two villages to the Inquisitorial Tribunal in Zaragoza in 1639: 'All is shock and bewilderment at the great calamity, especially [among] the parents who may count among the afflicted thirty or more maidens yet to be married'. See page 236 of 'Patronage of Angels and Combat of Demons: Good versus Evil in Seventeenth-Century Spain', in Marshall and Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World*, pp. 233–55.

13. See chapter 5 of Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 125–48.
14. The Franciscan priest fray Juan de Hidalgo noted: 'it seems this case was giving rise to scandal among ignorant people and among the recently converted Indians'. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 81r.
15. The spiritual advisor was condemned 'as vehemently suspect of heresy' and the nuns were required to recant publicly (*abjurar de levi*). J. C. Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo* [1961] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997), pp. 232–3.
16. Iwasaki Cauti notes a similar dynamic in his study of the women prosecuted for Illuminism in Lima during early decades of the seventeenth century. Comparing them to St Rose of Lima, he writes: 'these women also acted obeying their spiritual directors. The curious thing is that in both cases [that of St Rose and the Illuminists] the names of the priests coincide, to whom corresponded the dubious accolade of having raised one of their female disciples to the altars and of having sent another six to the dungeons of the Inquisition [...] Were they all taken advantage of? It seems persuasive to imagine those ignorant women, totally at the mercy of the crude superstitions of those clerics. But they [the priests] did not abandon them [the women], for after the sessions of torture they went to [the women] to comfort them and to discover the latest revelation.' (Iwasaki Cauti, 'Mujeres al borde de la perfección', pp. 592, 596). Despite the terrible precedent of María Pizarro's case then, it appears that these spiritual directors acted in a manner little different to that of Francisco de la Cruz and Alonso del Gasco.
17. The affair did not end with the death of Grandier. It was necessary to bring in a Jesuit exorcist, Jean-Joseph Surin, before the possessed nuns were declared free. In the event, the scandal grew when Surin himself became possessed, having taken Jeanne des Anges's affliction onto himself. See Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*. See also 'Jean-Joseph Surin; La Mystique Orthodoxe dans sa Phase de Déclin', chapter 7 of L. Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Église: La Conscience Religieuse et le Lien Confessionnel au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, n. d), pp. 436–91.
18. Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, pp. 109, 113–18.
19. Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 111–12.
20. Ibid., pp. 135, 137. Rubén Vargas Ugarte mentions the Trujillo case very briefly, indicating a similar scepticism on the part of the authorities. His assessment of it, however, is limited to an acceptance of the opinion of the bishop, Don Antonio de León, who wrote four years after the inquisitorial investigation began, 'the noise of spirits and demons has been trickery of theirs or [was] due to poor sustenance: that is the truth'. In effect, the bishop was taking the line of the Dominicans. Vargas Ugarte agrees with the bishop that 'what was lacking in the convent of Santa Clara was spiritual direction and appropriate sustenance' (*Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols (Lima/Burgos: Imprenta Santa María/Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1953–62), vol. 3 (1640–99), pp. 345–6). Nevertheless, there is a great deal more that can be said about the case, as not everyone was in agreement with the bishop or the Dominicans. Furthermore, as we shall see, these events in no way occurred due to a lack of spiritual direction, but due to too much of a very dangerous type. Importantly, even erroneous and dangerous spirituality can tell us a great deal.
21. From a treatise on angels and demons published in 1605 by the Jesuit theologian Juan de Maldonado, cited by R. Briggs, in 'Dubious Messengers: Bodin's Daemon,

the Spirit World and the Sadducees's, in Marshall and Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World*, pp. 168–90; p. 173.

22. In the mid-seventeenth century, for example, the Benedictine Francisco Blasco Lanuza published a work describing a mass possession in Sandiniés and Tramacastilla, Huesca. María Tausiet reads this within a context of the Catholic struggle against heresy. She writes, 'the episode should be viewed as an opportunity for demonstrating God's final victory in combat against an enemy whose power grew with its ability to inflict harm. Furthermore, for Blasco Lanuza, divine greatness and superiority were linked with the power of the Catholic Church to expel demons by means of its exorcists, something which should serve to enlighten heretics and atheists' ('Patronage of Angels', p. 249). As can be expected, the Trujillo case bore both similarities and differences, both places being situated, as it were, on a spiritual frontier. In Huesca, the Satanic enemy faced was witchcraft combined with protestant heresy from France, whereas in Trujillo it was believed to be witchcraft and idolatrous heresy from neighbouring indigenous and African communities. As we shall see, the Franciscan friars of Trujillo added further Jobian and purgative dimensions to the possessions.
23. Ellen Gunnarsdóttir's biography of the *beata* Francisca de los Ángeles (1674–1744) presents a counter-example, demonstrating the tensions created in a spiritual life immersed in Jobian theological world yet unable or unwilling to accept its full implications: 'Francisca dutifully followed these guidelines regarding the devil and, like many of her fellow sisters in religion, welcomed the extreme tortures that the Lord visited upon her through him. Nevertheless, it was beyond doubt against her active and optimist nature to allow herself anywhere close to demonic possession. That was not God's plan for her since she was after all an evangelist put to good use among the thousands of Indians in Texas. Indeed, Francisca was simply incapable of embracing a theology that so detested human nature and the body and allowed the devil such free rein in his attack upon the senses' (*Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Ángeles, 1674–1744* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), p. 121).
24. Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Église*, p. 457.
25. K. Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000).
26. E. Lehfeldt's work, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) demonstrates a similarly vigorous exchange between the secular and conventual worlds in Spain, arguing, 'if the cloister walls were "the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds", then it was a lively frontier that saw the constant movement of individuals leaving and entering this sacrosanct precinct. In fact, the designation of frontier is particularly apt since it suggests a certain wildness and fluidity with uncertain boundaries' (p. 217).
27. Letter from Juan López de Saabedra, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 1r.
28. Ibid.
29. See especially Burns, *Colonial Habits*, pp. 146–54 and also N. E. Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: the Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 49–55, 104–6.
30. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 8r and 93v.

31. Nicolás del Risco in fact went to the Inquisition without having to be summoned. It was his testimony that indicated to the Inquisition that the barber might know something more. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 5r.
32. Ibid., f. 9r.
33. Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, pp. 20–1.
34. Crucially, though, this stigma appeared to be cultural rather than racial: for example, Francisco Ruiz's indigenous assistant, Francisco Ramos, is described as *yndio*, but there is none of the fear and otherness associated with the label (AHN. Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp.6, f. 93v). Essentially, Ramos was Christian and working in what was considered to be a civilized (i.e. European) trade. Despite being *yndio* he was not 'other'.
35. Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo*, pp. 226–7.
36. H. Kramer and J. Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. M. Summers (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 130. I use the *Malleus* as an example because it was one of the most influential texts on such matters in the early modern period. Nicholas Griffiths disputes the fact that Inquisitors of the period referred to it (see Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 75). However, even if the Inquisitorial authorities did not use the *Malleus* to inform their judgement on cases of possession, Fray Francisco del Risco, the confessor, spiritual advisor and principal exorcist to the leader of the demoniac nuns, did use it to try and understand her affliction, and subsequently referred to it in his defence to the Inquisition (despite confusing the authors with Girolamo Menghi, a Franciscan friar, who wrote the *Flagellum Daemonum*, to which he also made substantial reference). As such, the *Malleus* was influential to the case as it unfolded, even if it did not persuade the Inquisitors. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp.6, f. 35r.
37. Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus*, p. 131.
38. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp.6, ff. 40v–44v. The majority did take the form of snakes, although among other forms there were also spiders and alligators (*lagartos*), black men, and a ferocious mulatto. According to Risco's testimony, the monkey (a Principality) was called Baruel (f. 41r) and two crab demons were called Lasibocol (a Cherub) and Sobedquiel (a Throne) (f. 41v). See also L. Blanco, 'Las monjas de Santa Clara: el erotismo de la fe y la subversión de la autoridad sacerdotal', in L. Millones and M. Lemlij (eds), *En el nombre del Señor: shamanes, demonios y curanderos del norte del Perú* (Lima: Biblioteca Peruana de Psicoanálisis, 1994), pp. 184–98; p. 190. The museum of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo contains a collection of anthropomorphic Moche pottery. The crab in particular is especially striking with a human head and a mouth filled with pointed teeth bared in an horrific grimace. In the Moche culture, this voracious anthropomorphic being was said to devour the dead in a representation of material decay. It is certainly an apt form to be envisioned as a demon by a seventeenth-century Creole nun.
39. Ibid., f. 1r.
40. Ibid., f. 9r.
41. Ibid., f. 9r. I have chosen to translate *hechicería* as 'sorcery' as this is a normal rendition of the Spanish term. It does not, however, convey the indigenous understanding of the rites practiced by *La Farral*. Whether for curing or for harming individuals or for restoring balance in communities' relations with each other and their deities, the degree to which indigenous religious practices were affected by Christian concepts

varied from community to community and even from individual to individual. See below, chapters 4 and 5, *passim*. For a useful definition of *hechicería* as opposed to *brujería* see Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 11–12, 68–9. See also Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, pp. 101–36; compare with Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las Supersticiones*, pp. 94–6, 100–7.

42. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp.6, f. 9r.
43. Testimony of Fray Pedro de Arrieta, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 6v–7v and Isabel González, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp.6, ff. 163r–164v. There is a certain irony in the fact that two indigenous *curanderos* had such Catholic names, although the names change according to the testimonies (Isabel names them as 'Juan Cristal Bizarria' and 'Juana María'). Steve Stern draws attention to a similar phenomenon during the Taki Onqoy movement in his study *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). He suggests that in the case of Taki Onqoy the assuming of Catholic names such as 'Mary Magdalene' was a deliberate attempt to harness the power of the Christian pantheon (pp. 66–7). In the case of these Chicama *curanderos*, it is much more likely that they had been baptized with Christian names but had merely continued their traditional native religious and medicinal practices.
44. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 164v.
45. Unfortunately we do not find out whether or not the mother was successfully cured.
46. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 70r.
47. 'Mary of the Angels', alias the 'Mother of the Devil'.
48. The Archivo Regional de la Libertad (Trujillo) contains numerous criminal trials of escaped or rebellious slaves. One particularly relevant example is the trial in 1623 of Juan Caballero for having given *chamico* to the warder of the city jail in an attempt to murder him (ARL Corregimiento: Causas Criminales, legajo 242, expediente 2351 – 19 abril–13 mayo 1623, Truxillo, *Luis González, Alcaide de la cárcel de esta ciudad contra Juan Caballero, negro cimarrón por haberle dado chamico intentándolo matar*). *Chamico* (datura stramonium) is a hallucinogenic and highly toxic plant that grows particularly well in the northern coastal region of Peru. It is commonly associated with indigenous *hechicería*. In carefully controlled (i.e. non fatal) doses the plant can cause long-lasting and sometimes permanent damage to neural pathways causing sudden trance-like and irrational behaviour reminiscent of stereotypical enchantment. Its use for this purpose is still feared today.
49. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 71r. When she gives her own testimony, Juana is noted as being *ladina* (hispanicized Indian). She is not the only Juana de la Cruz to make an appearance in the tale. Sor Juana de la Cruz, the renaissance founder of the convent of Santa María de la Cruz in Cubas, south of Madrid, was one of the role models for Luisa Benites, the principal demoniac of the convent. The Franciscan *visitador*, Cristóbal de Jaramillo, sent to investigate events at the convent, testified to the Inquisitors that Benites took the name Juana at her 'second baptism' and he thought that the name 'referred to the Venerable Sor Juana de la Cruz [because] Luisa Benites held her in great devotion' (ibid, f. 14v). Throughout his defence of Benites, her spiritual advisor, Francisco del Risco refers to A. Daza's *Historia, Vida y Milagros, Extasis, y Revelaciones de la Bienaventurada Virgen Santa Iuana de la Cruz, de la Tercera Orden de Nuestro Serafico Padre san Francisco* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez,

1610) as a historical and spiritual precedent for events in the Trujillo convent. The book was intended to be used as a moral guide and example to readers and devotees and, as a result, there were numerous editions, including: (Çaragoça: Luis Sánchez 1611); (San Francisco de Valladolid: Ian Godinez de Millis, 1611); (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1614); (Lérida: Luys Manescal, 1617) and, in a prologue to the 1617 edition, Bishop Fray Francisco de Sosa talks about this book 'reprinted so frequently in such a short time' (fol.1v). The Franciscan spiritual devotion to Sor Juana de la Cruz was widespread throughout the Hispanic world. For a study that places Juana de la Cruz within a broader context of religious life in renaissance and early modern Spain, see A. Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e Intenciones de Mujeres en la Vida Religiosa de los Siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Mujeres en Madrid/Dirección General de la Mujer, 1995), pp. 83–103, 114–18, 179–91.

50. Among the charges of fakery laid against the Poor Clares by the Dominicans was that the nuns' knowledge of demonic and angelic names, orders and hierarchies, rather than being told to them by the demons that had supposedly possessed them, appeared to have been memorized from a book called *Conosimiento de Dios* written by 'Francisco de la Cruz of the Order of Preachers' (AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 2r). The fact that an angelology by this theologian was apparently still in circulation nearly a century after he was burned for heresy can be seen as testament both to the continuing influence of his (Dionysian) theology despite the best efforts of his detractors and the difficulties that the Lima Inquisition faced in order to correct or definitively prohibit works that it considered heretical. It is of course possible that the angelology in question was by a different Dominican Francisco de la Cruz, but I would tentatively suggest that this coincidence, given the particular circumstances of both cases, is less likely. For the censorship of books and intellectual activity during the period 1635–96 see P. Castañeda Delgado, P. Hernández Aparicio and R. Millar Carvacho, *La Inquisición de Lima*, 3 vols (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1989-98), vol. 2, pp. 503–39.
51. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 42r–43r.
52. According to the exhaustive testimony of Risco, Sodoquiel was the captain of a legion of demons then possessing Luisa. The possession, and the manner and timing of its ending had (the demon recounted) been decreed from the day he was cast from heaven and fell into hell 'out of which he came when she [Luisa Benites] was born'. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 72v.
53. Lourdes Blanco's interpretation and excellent summary of the Trujillo case focuses on the erotic, sensual nature of the possessions and the relationship between the two nuns Luisa Benites and Ana Núñes. Interestingly, she sees Núnes rather than Benites as the psychological leader of the spiritual rebellion (Blanco, 'Las monjas de Santa Clara', pp. 184–98, *passim*). The numerous apparitions of demons in the forms of snakes and alligators documented by Risco are also suggestive of sensuality. The edacious alligator came to symbolize the sin of lust in colonial Latin America – for example in the Carta Annua of 1655–60 from New Granada, the Jesuit Hernando Cabrero describes how a man who refused to repent of 'living in sin' was eaten by a caiman 'which [...] served as a lesson for many others, who learned from his punishment the importance of repentance' (ARSI, *Provincia Novi Regni & Quitensis* 13.1, *Litterae Annuae* (1655–93); 1655–60, f. 15v). Interestingly, the supporting but-

tresses of Trujillo's convent Church of Santa Clara (rebuilt on various occasions due to earthquakes) are capped by grotesques in the form of alligators.

54. Ibid, ff. 29r, 42v–43r. The idea of snow in Trujillo, a near equatorial city on the desert coast of Peru, adds to the surreal nature of the story. However, snow sellers (to provide ice for drinks – or indeed as in Luisa Benites's case to provide relief for inflammations) did in fact do business in the coastal cities of colonial Peru. In the years 1689–93 a Samba called María Castro Barreto y Navarette was prosecuted for divining, sorcery (*hechicería*) and a pact with the devil. The scribe noted her employment as a cook and snow seller (*vendenieve* [*sic*]). AHN, Inq., Libro 1032, ff. 380r–384r. Despite knowing that it was done, unfortunately I have no information as to *how* it was done – the distance from the Andean snowline to Trujillo is quite considerable and would have been an extremely time-consuming journey over hot and difficult terrain. The journey from the snowline to Lima is less great but still arduous.
55. Given that Risco's defence was a rhetorical device, but based on the confessions of Luisa Benites's demon under exorcism, it is difficult to establish whether the narrative belonged to Benites or to Risco. A safe assumption might be that the narrative began with Benites, but was rhetorically polished by Risco for presentation to the Inquisition.
56. Even today Gallegos still talk about the *meigas* of Galicia. See for example R. Martínez de la Riva Labarta, *Bruxas, meigas e meigallos en Galicia: o numinoso galaico no século XX* (Vigo: Asociación Galega para a Cultura e a Ecoloxía, 1993). Early modern persecutions of Galician witches have been immortalized in folksongs, which are now being transmitted by musicians like Carlos Núñez (for example the song *Maria Soliña* describes the tragic story of a woman apparently executed in 1617 for witchcraft). It is important to note that such persecutions were normally instigated by secular authorities and, if instigated at all by the Spanish Inquisition, were never on the scale of the witchcraft persecutions of northern Europe. More frequently the Inquisition deliberately prevented northern-European style civil persecutions and tended to dismiss witches as ignorant tricksters, more concerned with whether or not the individual witch believed in her (or his) demonic pact. After investigating the Inquisitorial archives in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Carmelo Lisón Tolosana found only one case where a woman was condemned to be burned at the stake in Galicia and says that, taking into consideration the witch-craze that was spreading across Europe, Inquisitorial punishments against witches in Galicia, and generally throughout Spain, were markedly light. C. Lisón Tolosana, *Brujería, estructura social y simbolismo en Galicia* (Madrid: Akal, 1983), p. 16. See especially pp. 19–20 for examples of Inquisitors suspending trials begun locally. See also Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 75.
57. According to her testimony, she was born in Lambayeque, the illegitimate daughter of the Curate of la Pacora and Morrope with Doña Anna Domonte y Robledo. She was then adopted and legitimized by Captain Diego Benites and Doña María de Argüelles in order for her to be accepted by the convent as a novice. She was brought up by the convent nuns from the age of three. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 97r.
58. Revelation 3:3 (KJV) reads: 'remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.'

59. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 1r.
60. Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 71.
61. Ibid., p. 16.
62. Ibid., p. 19.
63. Christian, *Local Religion*, pp. 162–75; E. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women*, pp. 175–87, 215.
64. For Molinos and Quietism see 'La Mystique Condamnée: Le Quiétisme', chapter 8 of Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Église*, pp. 492–566. Also for an annotated and biographical publication of Molinos's work see M. de Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, ed. J. I. Tellechea Idigoras (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca and Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976).
65. On this see Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Église*, *passim*.
66. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, p. 305.
67. Testimony of Doña María Meléndez, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 74v.
68. Ibid., ff. 76r–v.
69. Testimony of María de la Conçepción, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 168v.
70. Ibid.
71. For example, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 123r, 128r–37v, 149v etc.
72. Testimony of Doña Joana de Quirós, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 151r. '*debaja condiçion, mestissa, mulata, negra o yndia*' [my italics]. The association of malefice with low social status and the culturally or racially non-Spanish is noteworthy.
73. Ibid., f. 151v.
74. See above, pp. 74–5.
75. Testimony of Clara Finoco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 107v.
76. Ibid., f. 1r: 'no acaba de conocer si son endemoniadas, o maleficiadas o enhechizadas'. The distinction between *maleficiada* and *enhechizada* (both meaning bewitched) is a difficult one to draw. If a distinction can be made it is likely that malefice, in the form of poisons, herbs and powders, was administered orally through food or drink, whereas enchantment was believed to be carried out through the manipulation of demonic familiars and vapours. In many cases, however, such a fine distinction is not helpful, as different types of practices were often mutually interlinked.
77. Ibid., f. 1r.
78. Testimony of Francisco del Risco, AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 40r.
79. Ibid.
80. This was a problem that concerned the religious throughout the Hispanic world. In 1699 in Queretaro, for example, Francisca de los Ángeles wrote of a vision that had greatly troubled her: 'She had seen a young girl sitting on his divine majesty's knee drunk with His love as He breathed on her face. But strangely, as He continued to bathe her in His breath, the girl took on an ever more intense expression of suffering, ceasing to move until Francisca assumed she was dead. Then a great number of demons came to the Lord's side; He gave the lifeless girl to them and ordered "let fire consume". The demons then worked their tortures on the peaceful girl while God watched contentedly. Afterward, he ordered them to bring her to Him. Taking her in His arms again and tormenting her with His own hands he permitted her to experience the "suffering and wounds of His Passion"' (Gunnarsdóttir, *Mexican Karismata*, p. 120).

81. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 57v.
82. Ibid.
83. Principally by the Dominicans who challenged the very truth of the possessions.
84. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 44v.
85. Such paintings were relatively common throughout the Catholic world. The Peruvian Viceroyalty was no exception. See, for example, J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2 vols (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1982), vol. 2, figures 543–5 and S. MacCormack, 'Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments and Last Judgement: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru', *American Historical Review*, 93:4 (1988), pp. 960–1006; pp. 996–7.
86. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 332.
87. As we have seen, the nuns were perceived by some, including the Commissioner to the Inquisition, as being relatively faultless in comparison to the general populace.
88. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 44v
89. Luke 4:12 (KJV): 'And Jesus answering said unto him: "It is said, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God".
90. The reference Risco gives is f. 93, cap. 15.
91. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 45r.
92. Job 40:6–14
93. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 162.
94. 'The enemy acts like a military commander who is attempting to conquer and plunder his objective. [...] The enemy of human nature prowls around and from every side probes all our theological, cardinal and moral virtues. Then at the point where he finds us weakest and most in need in regard to our eternal salvation, there he attacks and tries to take us' (Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 125). See above, p. 15.
95. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, p. 73. See above, p. 14.
96. Teresa of Avila harshly criticized those spiritual directors with insufficient learning to guide their charges properly, and John of the Cross warned against rejecting reason in the process of discernment. See T. Merton, *The Ascent to Truth*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Burns and Oates, 2002), pp. 58–62.
97. See above, p. 72.
98. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 24r.
99. Ibid.
100. 2 Corinthians 11:14; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 166.
101. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 24r.
102. Ibid., ff. 22r and 27v.
103. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 70–1.
104. Ibid., p. 71.
105. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 21r.
106. Ibid., f. 50v. A couple of decades earlier in a fantastical and triumphalist account, one exorcist of the women of Pyrenean villages noted a similar occurrence. In the words of María Tausiet, 'the demons [...] caused six possessed women who had tried to confess to be thrown into the air, flown out of the church door, and then hanged from the tips of their toes "from the highest crags and peaks of those Pyrenean mountains", being left "as though their feet were their heads, and their heads feet"' (Tausiet, 'Patronage of Angels', pp. 241–2).

107. Ibid, f. 51r.
108. Augustine, *City of God*, p. 523 (XIII.14). See above, p. 21.
109. Lit. 'a turning over'. See below, pp. 98, 100, 102 and 196, note 40. Also, see MacCormack, 'Pachacuti', pp. 984–5.
110. Frank Salomon, in his introduction to the Huarochirí Manuscript, writes, 'Pacha [...] clearly admits change, even cataclysm [...] the manuscript tells us how this can happen [...] Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world [...] Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence'. *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religon*, trans. F. Salomon and G. L. Urioste (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), p. 15.
111. The unorthodoxy of such an act itself gave the Inquisitors cause for concern.
112. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, f. 51r.
113. Ibid., f. 61v.
114. Ibid., f. 40r.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., f. 122r.

## 4 The Sally: Christianity Beyond the Walls

1. See above, pp. 13–19.
2. For the missionaries this paradox would not have occurred, as it did not matter to them whether or not the indigenous peoples knew he existed and was manipulating them; they believed he did and was, and it was their job to make the indigenous peoples realize this. This paradox is also the reason why this particular chapter will consider demonization of Andean *huacas* alongside the Christianization of Andean people. See also Estenssorro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, *passim* and especially pp. 84–137, 274–97.
3. Nancy Farriss has noted a similar tendency among the elite Maya of Yucatán, describing it as a reluctance to adhere to the 'Christian doctrine of exclusivity'. See N. M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 302.
4. See J. Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1993), p. 310 and pp. 306–14, *passim*. Titu Cusi's own account mentions nothing of this dispute, although this is not surprising given that the narrative was heavily manipulated by the Augustinian friar Marcos García who recorded it. In a signed testimony following the account, Titu Cusi affirms, 'since I am unfamiliar with the phrases and modes of expression used by the Spaniards in such writings – [I] have asked the reverend fray Don Marcos García and the secretary Martín de Pando to arrange and compose the said account in their customary ways of expression' (D. de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru by Titu Cusi Yupanqui* [1570], trans., intro. and anno. R. Bauer (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), p. 136). Inevitably the account is styled from the perspective of a committed

(albeit recent) Christian. It is quite probable this was due to the Augustinian using 'familiar modes of expression' so as to produce an account that might edify the work of his Order, but it is also possible that by writing in this manner Titu Cusi, together with the Augustinian scribe, was attempting to head off all-out conflict between the still independent but vastly reduced Inca state and the newly established and almost consolidated Peruvian viceroyalty.

5. Nicholas Griffiths has drawn attention to Gabriela Ramos's thesis that the Taki Onqoy was as much a construction of official Hispano-Christian discourse as it was a significant anti-Christian uprising, in *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 13, endnote 17. It is perhaps significant that this religious rebellion was discovered in the same decade as the Diego de Landa idolatry trials on the Yucatán peninsula. See I. Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and coincided with discoveries of caches of indigenous arms in previously loyal Jauja. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, p. 71. Such 'discoveries' certainly gave urgency and legitimacy to the Crown's effort to finally consolidate its power in the Andes that finally culminated in the conquest of Vilcabamba and the execution of Inca Tupac Amaru in 1572.
6. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 104. It was only over the course of the later sixteenth century, as concerns grew about the meaning of particular translations, that *supay* became exclusively a demonic term of reference. See also Taylor, 'Supay', pp. 47–63 *passim*.
7. Estensoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 126–37.
8. Ibid., p. 133.
9. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, p. 65.
10. Ibid.
11. Of course, if Estenssoro Fuchs is correct, then the suppression of Taki Onqoy in the manner that it was carried out was all the more tragic.
12. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* I, 1592–4, ff. 74–127 (fol.78r).
13. For the danger to man by Satan see rules 12–14, I. Loyola, 'Rules for the Discernment of Spirits', in Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, pp. 124–5; for the devil as the cause of Andean idolatry see chapter 1 of Book 5 of Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral*, pp. 303–5. See also above pp. 33–6.
14. See Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 247–50, 257.
15. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1592–4, f. 78r.
16. This interplay of resistance to the colonizer despite necessary adaptation to the dominant colonial structures forms the central theme of Stern's *Peru's Indian Peoples*, and is also discussed in his later book, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th–20th Centuries* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).
17. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*., Tomus III (1613–27) (hereafter III), 1617, ff. 48–71 (f. 53r).
18. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, p. 53.
19. Pablo José de Arriaga, author of *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1621).
20. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1592–4, f. 78v.
21. Ibid.

22. F. P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524–1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 34.
23. For an account of the persecution of Portuguese 'judaizers' see chapters 14 and 15 of C. Delgado, H. Aparicio and M. Carvacho, *La Inquisición de Lima*, vol. 2, pp. 387–475.
24. Bowser, *The African Slave*, p. 251. Once again the date of Solano's execution coincides with a decade of widespread anxiety in the Hispanic community resulting from continued guerrilla attacks from the Neo-Inca state in Vilcabamba, combined with the discovery of a 'rebellious conspiracy' by previously loyal Huanca Indians in Jauja and, of course, the so-called Taki Onqoy movement. It is difficult to know whether the anxiety facilitated these discoveries or whether the discoveries fuelled the disquiet.
25. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 31.
26. Ibid., p. 32.
27. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. Tomus II (1606–12) (hereafter II), 1610, ff. 74–95 (f. 77r).
28. Before these laws were codified in 1575, *hechiceros*, especially those involved in malefice, were sometimes executed. See for example the story of Doña Inés Yupanqui who hired an *hechicera* to cast spells on her husband Don Francisco de Ampuero. This case came to light during the investigation of another in which a black slave had contracted an *hechicero* to kill his master. The slave was garrotted, the *hechicero* flayed, and the *hechicera* burned at the stake. Bowser, *The African Slave*, p. 252.
29. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 70.
30. Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, pp. 17–23.
31. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, p. 105.
32. Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, pp. 17, 21.
33. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 133.
34. Ibid., p. 130.
35. Also spelt 'Zupay' in some chronicles. See above, pp. 34–5.
36. See for example the 'Catecismo mayor, para los que son mas capaces', Concilio Provincial, *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instruccion de los Indios, y de las mas Personas, que Han de ser Enseñadas en Nuestra Sancta Fé* (Ciudad de los Reyes Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1584), p. 33. See Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 103–10 for the lexical transformations of *Supay* during the sixteenth century.
37. Translated from the Spanish – the Quechua reads '*Chaycan aucaçunactam, Diabloñinchic, çupayñinchicay*' and '*chaycan çupaycunamari umucunahuan rimanacuc*'. Sermon VI, *Tercero Cathecismo y Exposición de la Doctrina Cristiana por Sermones* [1585], ff. 34v–35r (also renumbered as pp. 416–17) in *Doctrina y Catecismo para Instrucción de Indios*, Corpus Hispanorum de Pace, vol. 26 (2), ed. L. Pereña (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985). As already noted, Estenssoro Fuchs shows that during the first half of the sixteenth century *Supay* was a term used to refer to both good and bad angels. Good angels were *alliçupay* and demons *manaalliçupay* (lit. 'not good angels') (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 103).
38. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 231.
39. Fernando Cervantes has noted the same of the Mesoamerican response to the concept of a totally good god emphasizing that 'such a being would have lacked the essential power to disrupt in order to create. Likewise, an evil devil would have lacked

the power to create that would enable it to disrupt' (Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, p. 42).

40. See above, p. 88, for an interesting Christian parallel of 'the world upside down' and see also Frank Salomon's definition of *pacha*: 'Pacha [...] clearly admits change, even cataclysm [...] the manuscript tells us how this can happen [...] Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world [...] Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence' (*The Huarochirí Manuscript*, p. 15).
41. See MacCormack, 'Pachacuti', *passim*.
42. 'Catecismo mayor', Concilio Provincial, *Doctrina Christiana*, p. 26. See also Sermon VIII of the *Tercero Chatecismo [...] por Sermones*, f. 49v (p. 445) which states, '[Jesus Christ in judgement] will condemn the wicked to the pains of Hell' – in Quechua – '*Mana allicunactā cana ucupachamā carcuspa vinyaypac ñacarichinca*'. See Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 110–14 for the sixteenth-century transformation of *Ucupacha*. Interestingly, he shows how the meaning in the name was relative to the physical position of the speaker and the listeners. *Caypacha* meaning 'this world/earth' was used by missionaries to mean the earth, *hananpacha* (lit. 'the high world/the world above') to refer to heaven and *ucupacha* (lit. 'the world below/the underworld) for hell. For angels in heaven, however, *caypacha*-'this world' would mean 'heaven' and *ucupacha*, either earth or hell.
43. L. Millones, *Dioses familiares: festivales populares en el Perú contemporáneo* (Lima: Ediciones del Congreso del Perú, 1998), p. 164.
44. For the presumption and jealousy of Satan in the Americas, see Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, pp. 303–5.
45. 'Artículos de la fe', Concilio Provincial, *Doctrina Christiana*, p. 4.
46. Ibid., p. 5.
47. 'Catecismo mayor', Concilio Provincial, *Doctrina Christiana*, pp. 33–4.
48. See above, p. 169, note 47. See also Guaman Poma de Ayala, 'Conquista: Milagro de Santa Maria', in *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), p. 374 (or f. 402[404] in the online manuscript facsimile).
49. See the 'Milagro del Señor Santiago Mayor' in ibid., p. 377 (f. 404[406] in the online manuscript) and 'Santiago Mataindios, Sunturwasi' (Museo Regional, Cuzco). See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzquena*, vol. 1, figure LIX. See also C. Dean, 'The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture', in D. Fane (ed.), *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1996), pp. 171–82; p.172.
50. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, p. 28.
51. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), p. 377 (or f. 404[406] in the online manuscript facsimile). Juan de Betanzos interpreted the apparition as the ghost of Francisco Pizarro in the livery of Santiago. See above, p. 166, note 47.
52. For example, in the late seventeenth century, Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo, Bishop of Cuzco commissioned a pair of paintings commemorating those same miracles of Mary and Santiago during the Siege of Cuzco. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, p. 28.

53. For more on medieval definitions of evil, see above, pp. 19, 21–3, 35–6, and also see Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 18–19.
54. Christian, *Local Religion*, pp. 33–42, 58–9.
55. C. de Albornoz, 'Informacion de servicios (año 1570) ff. 25–149 (ff. 108–10)', *Las informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz: documentos para el estudio de Taki Onqoy*, ed. L. Millones (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1971), 2/109. See also MacCormack, 'Pachacuti', pp. 984–5.
56. Despite Estenssoro Fuch's persuasive argument summarized above, and despite the clear and perhaps deliberate misinterpretation of Taki Onqoy by certain members of the Hispanic clergy, it still seems reasonable that Andean religious practitioners would be concerned about the potentially devastating consequences of the increasing neglect of their *huacas*. What became known as Taki Onqoy, therefore, could well be a mixture of the Andean Christianity described by Estenssoro Fuchs and the consecutive manifestation of numerous localized preoccupations regarding religious neglect.
57. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1576, ff. 18–31 (f. 21r).
58. Ibid.
59. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1599, ff. 146–65 (ff. 146r–150r). For the impact of disease on colonial society see N. D. Cook's works, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *passim*.
60. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1599, f. 146r.
61. Ibid., f. 147v.
62. Ibid., f. 146v.
63. Ibid.
64. ARSI, *Peru: Hist.* II, 1650, ff. 110–18 (f. 110r).
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., f. 110v.
67. Ibid., f. 111r.
68. D. de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas de la Gran Ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. F. Denegri Luna, 2 vols (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), vol. 2, p. 91.
69. Ibid., f. 115r.
70. There are no volcanoes currently known to be active in these areas, but the fact that the Jesuit author mentioned them is pointedly indicative of the feeling of doom that was so widespread in the region. It might also be considered that such a violent earthquake in the Cuzco region could set off any number of contemporarily active volcanoes (after all, the whole Andean region is a volcanic mountain range). With the world seemingly collapsing all around, distances must have seemed very relative. The chronicler Diego de Esquivel y Navia quotes, for example, 'the entire province is ruined with the most indescribable loss and desolation that has ever been heard of [...] the earth opening, the mountains pulled apart, a great number of people and animals buried, volcanoes bursting with fire, rock, sand and water of different colours and terrible smells, roads cut and rivers damned' (Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas*, p. 91). See also the above accounts of the eruption of Huaynaputina in 1600 (p. 183, note 5).

71. Ibid., f. 116r.
72. Ibid., f. 115r.
73. It is noteworthy that the devil was reported to have appeared to Andeans as a 'Negro'. This demonstrates the general tendency of colonial communities to demonize other cultural groups and, that this tendency was not merely a Hispanic means to demonize indigenous society.
74. ARSI, *Peru: Hist.* II, 1650, f. 115r.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., f. 115v.
77. Acosta, *De Procuranda*, p. 263.
78. Ibid., pp. 260–1.
79. Ibid., p. 267.
80. Ibid.
81. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, p. 317.
82. Acosta, *De Procuranda*, p. 269.
83. Ibid.
84. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* II, 1610, f. 76v. Estenssoro Fuchs interprets this example slightly differently. He suggests that the indigenous woman had so internalized the notion that the power of the sacred was reserved for the Hispanic clergy that she was unable to comprehend that something sacred could legitimately be made by an indigenous Andean (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 296).
85. Ibid.
86. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* I, 1576, f. 20r.
87. Ibid., f. 20v – Acosta is referring to the 'Catecismo breve para los rudos y occupados' and the 'Catecismo mayor para los que son mas capaces', in the *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo*. Estenssoro Fuchs sees accounts such as this as evidence of the success of certain aspects of the primary phase of evangelization that the Jesuits subsequently built on (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 304–5).
88. See above, pp. 14–19, 71–2 and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, pp. 15–26.
89. See above, p. 17.
90. Once again, Estenssoro Fuchs presents evidence to suggest that even in rural areas Andean-Christian devotion was sometimes misinterpreted as idolatry. He outlines the prosecution of Francisca Tunqui in 1669 for idolatry after coca, herbs and half-burned sacred images were found in her house. It is easy to imagine the conclusions that those prosecuting her jumped to. Nevertheless, she denied being an idolater, using coca or *hechizos*, and said she participated regularly in the sacraments (every six months). The reason for them finding so many sacred images was apparently that her husband was a painter; the fact that they were charred was because they had been damaged in a house-fire and since then she had not been able to replace them. Crucially, although the setting was rural, Estenssoro Fuchs admits that her settlement, 'Rinconada de Late', 'was not very far from the city' (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 291). So the case appears to fit the Christological landscape radiating outwards from the urban centre.
91. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* I, 1603, ff. 321–52 (f. 326v).

92. See for example, B. Mannheim, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', in B. Tedlock (ed.) *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 132–53.
93. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 126–8.
94. D. Cahill, 'The Inca and Inca Symbolism in Popular Festive Culture: The Religious Processions of Seventeenth-Century Cuzco', in P. T. Bradley and D. Cahill (eds), *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 85–162.
95. C. de Molina, *Relación de las Fábulas y Ritos de los Incas* [1573], ed. H. H. Urteaga (Lima: Imprenta y Librería Sanmarti y ca., 1916), pp. 26–7. Note that Guaman Poma's drawing of the solar deity during the June (winter) festival has an adolescent face (Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), p. 221 (or f. 246[248] in the online manuscript facsimile). See Dean, *Inka Bodies*, pp. 33–6.
96. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica* (ed. 1992), pp. 219–21 (or ff. 244[246]–247[249] in the online manuscript facsimile).
97. M. J. Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cuzco* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), pp. 211–12.
98. Ibid., p. 208.
99. Ibid., p. 209.
100. Ibid., p. 210.
101. Ibid.
102. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.*, Tomus IV (1630–51) (hereafter IV), 1632–4, ff. 23–54 (ff. 33r–34r).
103. Ibid., f. 33v.
104. From the old Spanish '*flagrar*' meaning 'to burn like a flame'. *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Edición electrónica, Versión 21.1.0 (1995) (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1992).
105. As well as being a common motif for sermons, this imagery is reminiscent of the frescos decorating the walls of the church of Andahuaylillas in Cuzco (see above, p. 29). It is likely that the boy will have seen other paintings or frescos of this sort. From his arrival in 1575, the Jesuit Bernardo Bitti painted churches throughout the Jesuit province, and Estenssoro Fuchs also notes the presence of a Flemish artist who painted a Franciscan Church in Jauja (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 287–9).
106. He uses the term '*tropas de ángeles*' giving the image a rather military overtone. However, as they had 'many instruments' and with the virgins were 'singing praises to God', it seems that 'orchestra' rather than 'army' or 'troop' is closer to the intended meaning.
107. 'Los santos maiores'.
108. 'esta digna de ser embidiada seremonia'. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. IV, 1632–4, f. 33v.
109. Ibid.
110. ARSI, *Peru: Hist*. II, '1675, 29 Junii, Ocros's, ff. 174–9 (f. 174v).
111. This pedagogical theatre was commonly used in the Italian *Mezzogiorno* by the Jesuits of Naples (see J. D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot and Rome: Ashgate/IHSI, 2004), p. 213) and, according to David Gentilcore, was adopted by Redemptorist preachers even as they tried to move away from a Jesuit style of evangelization that focussed

on fear of death and the Final Judgement (*From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 69, 74–5). Despite the kingdoms of Naples and Peru being complementary regions in the early modern Hispanic world, the intellectual and physical links between the Neapolitan Jesuits and those who lived as missionaries in the Americas have largely gone unnoticed by historians. Recently, Jennifer Selwyn has argued that José de Acosta's model for evangelization 'made a significant contribution to' Neapolitan missionary practice as the Jesuits in Naples adapted his work for their own local use (*A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, p. 118). Similarly, the writings of the Roman Jesuit Paolo Segneri were widely read in Naples and the Americas – seventeenth-century editions of his work can still be found today in libraries in Peru and Mexico (for Naples, see Selwyn, p. 147 and Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*, pp. 69, 74). The Neapolitan Jesuit Anello Oliva lived as a missionary in Peru and wrote the influential 'Historia de los Varones Insignes de la Compañía de Jesus del Perú' (a manuscript – dated 1631 – of the first of four books can be found in the British Library: Add. 25327).

112. *Malquipvillac*: 'he who speaks with the *malquis*': Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, p. 18.
113. Or more appropriately, against the idolatrous practices of their neighbours – ARSI *Peru: Hist* II, '1675, 29 Junii, Ocros's, f. 174v.
114. The painting was located in the final chapel of the nave and faced another that represented Judgement Day. The originals were painted in the early seventeenth-century by the Jesuit coadjutor Hernando de la Cruz (d. 1642) but, unfortunately, was somewhat spoiled in the nineteenth century (*desgraciadamente retocados* – lit. unfortunately or disgracefully re-touched, meaning 'painted over' or 'touched up' – J. Gabriel Navarro, *La iglesia de la Compañía en Quito* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes, 1930), p. 50.
115. Bernardo Bitti was born in 1540 and died in 1610. Hernando de la Cruz was born in 1592 and died in 1646.
116. An anonymous Jesuit chronicler (*c.* 1600) cited by Estenssoro Fuchs in *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 287.
117. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. IV, 1632–4, f. 32r.
118. See also Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 290. He points out that the reality produced by images such as these would have had greater impact on indigenous populations the more isolated and the less familiar they were with Christian iconography.
119. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*., Tomus VI (1678–1718) (hereafter VI), 1700, ff. 219–31 (ff. 225r–v).
120. It is, of course, impossible to know exactly what the population did witness that day. What is important, however, is that it frightened the crowd enough that they stormed into the church, enabling the Jesuits to capitalize on their fear by a sermon on the pains of hell. The narrative is indicative of the fact that the discourse of the demonic was having an impact in the region, as firstly, the population sought protection in the church, and secondly, that once calm had been restored, the Jesuits were able to work the congregation once again into a state of fear by preaching a sermon about hell.
121. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. VI, 1700, f. 225v.
122. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1599–1600, f. 160r.

123. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. II, 1610, f. 76v.
124. Ibid.
125. Of course the system of reciprocal exchange is not exclusively Andean and had formed a part of Christian votive tradition for centuries. The idea that a Christian saint might help an individual in return for a sacrifice on the part of that individual was an entirely normal part of the Catholic tradition. Such sacrifices might involve a promised pilgrimage, almsgiving or a votive offering left in the shrine of the patron saint. See, for example, Christian's *Local Religion*, pp. 92–7.
126. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 316.
127. Ibid.
128. See also P. Marshall, 'Angels around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English art of Dying', in Marshall and Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp. 83–103, *passim*. Whilst Marshall's study refers to early modern England, these deathbed battles were universally accepted in the Christian world, as the Jesuit Cartas Anuas and, indeed, the battles fought over María Pizarro's bed (see chapter 2, pp. 41–2, 47) show for Peru.
129. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* I, 1603, f. 323v.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*., Tomus V (1651–74) (hereafter V), 1655, ff. 11–25 (f. 17r).
133. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. IV, 1632–4, f. 26v.
134. Unfortunately the narrator does not distinguish whether the person in question was Spaniard, creole, mestizo, black or indigenous.

## 5 Satan's Fortress: The Devil in the Andes

1. Estenssoro Fuchs looks in detail at this process during the sixteenth century (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 120–37).
2. See above, p. 15 and Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 125.
3. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, p. 240.
4. Ibid., pp. 237–42.
5. Ibid., p. 240. It is interesting to compare this cultural mixture of indigenous and European forms that appeared to Hernando, an indigenous Andean, with the European and indigenous forms that the devils of the Creole nun, Luisa Benites, were said to have taken in Trujillo (see chapter 3, p. 73, and p. 187, note 38). If Andean *huacas* were gradually becoming demonized and Europeanized, it would appear that a converse transformation was taking place in the demonic imagery of Hispanic Peruvians.
6. See above, pp. 91–5.
7. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* III, 1613, ff. 1–47 (f. 41r).
8. Ibid.
9. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1599–1600, ff. 146–65 (f. 160v).
10. Ibid., f. 146v.
11. Ibid.

12. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*., Tomus II (1606–12) (hereafter II), 1610, ff. 74–127 (f. 77v).
13. Ibid.
14. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. III, 1613, f. 39r.
15. Ibid.
16. On the importance of reciprocity to the Incan State system, see M. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially pp. 36–47.
17. Nicholas Griffiths has noted a similar pattern in the idolatry trial documents; tutelary deities treating their devotees violently, refusing, or being unable to provide protection and sustenance. See Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 129–31.
18. Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, pp. 35–6.
19. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.*, Tomus IV (1651–74) (hereafter IV), 1639–40, ff. 157–74 (f. 168r–v).
20. Ibid., f. 168v.
21. See, for example, Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, p. 305.
22. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. II, 1606, f. 12v.
23. Ibid., f. 13r.
24. *Fuenteovejuna*, a Golden Age play by Lope de Vega about a crime committed in a rural village to which the whole village confessed so that individual villagers would not be punished.
25. See above, p. 97.
26. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. III, 1617, ff. 55r–v. He describes the same story in his *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, adding that the discovery was made in his presence by the Extirpator Hernando de Avendaño, pp. 21–3. Interestingly all reference to sun-worship mentioned in the *carta anua* was left out of his published work, which instead directed all blame at the devil.
27. Ibid., f. 55r.
28. Ibid., f. 55v.
29. Ibid., f. 55r.
30. Of course it is possible that he was killed so as not to incriminate anyone else, but it is just as likely that those who hunted him down and killed him were those who believed they had suffered deaths in their families as a result of his ritual practice and were now his enemies.
31. This does not preclude the fact that in many in other localities, youngsters were often apprenticed to native religious practitioners in order to continue the old traditions.
32. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. IV, 1639–40, ff. 157–74 (f. 168v).
33. Ibid.
34. Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, pp. 152–84.
35. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. VI, 1688–90, ff. 117–63 (ff. 127r–128r).
36. Ibid., f. 128r.
37. ARSI, *Peru: Hist.* II, 1675, f. 176v.
38. Perhaps in the manner of representations of Santiago-Illapa.
39. ARSI, *Peru: Hist*. II, 1675, f. 177r.
40. Ibid., f. 176v.
41. ARSI, *Peru: Litt*. Ann. II, 1610, ff. 20r–v.

42. It must be remembered, of course, that these forbidding and inaccessible places had always been sacred places in Andean cosmology.
43. ARSI, *Peru: Hist.* II, 1675, ff. 175r–176r.
44. The name 'Lucifer', Satan's angelic name before his fall, means 'bringer of light'.
45. ARSI, *Peru: Hist*. II, 1675, f. 176r.
46. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5346, Exp. 2, ff. 192r–202r.
47. Ibid., f. 193v.
48. A local name for a hallucinogenic cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) that grows in the north of Peru. Today it is more commonly known as *San Pedro*. Other names include *Agua Colla*, and *Huachuma*.
49. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5346, Exp. 2, f. 195r.

## 6 The Breach: Devils of the In-Between

1. W. B. Taylor, 'La Iglesia entre la jerarquía y la religión popular: mensajes de la zona de contacto', in B. F. Connaughton (ed.), *Historia de América Latina, Vol. 1: la epoca colonial* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), pp. 177–226, p. 186. Richard White's notion of the 'middle ground', defined by him as 'the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages' is also potentially useful in this context (*The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. x). The term seems singularly apt to analyse the spaces in which religious and cultural exchange took place as the diverse peoples of colonial Peru interacted on an everyday basis. It is true, however, that the term was originally intended to have a very specific meaning – a place where political, religious and cultural negotiation occurred in the region of the Great Lakes of North America, mediated by the supreme authority of French and British colonizers. This does not always fit neatly into the Spanish American reality, where there was no such clear-cut mediation of the transformations taking place in the proscribed rites and invocations by authorities who, by comparison, seemed to find these developments particularly concerning. In fact, in the case of Spanish American religious practices, negotiations and transformations took place among marginalized people despite concerted efforts by the colonial authorities to stop them. Nevertheless, the 'middle ground' as a term to define the conceptual space where these transformations took place remains useful.
2. See for example, K. Mills's study *An Evil Lost to View: An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru* (Liverpool: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, 1994), pp. 91–5, 104–17.
3. See above, pp. 17–19.
4. See Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 419. He writes: 'despite the texts having a Spanish origin or the manner in which objects are manipulated being indigenous, the new magical rituals are [...] a new product. The indigenous characters [individuals referred to in certain invocations] do not come from the magic of one field or another, they appear thanks to the *hechiceros* who recover references to the pre-Hispanic past from Catholic discourse and from their own experience'.
5. See above, p. 14–19, 23–6, 31–3.

6. A tragic example of this constant exchange between town and countryside can be found in the diary of Juan Antonio Suardo, whose entry for the 4th of February 1634 states that a man from the countryside was killed in Lima for having called in a debt of twelve *reales*. This example also gives the reader insight into the violence of colonial life. J. A. Suardo, *Diario de Lima (1629–1639)*, ed. R. Vargas Ugarte, 2 vols (Lima: Universidad Católica del Perú, 1936), vol. 2, p. 10.
7. For the transformation in indigenous methods of production and migration as a result of colonial rule see A. M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), especially Chapters 4–6, pp. 74–149.
8. See for example Bowser, *The African Slave*, pp. 254–71.
9. See above, p. 15, for St Ignatius of Loyola's example in which Satan is depicted as laying siege to an individual as a military commander might lay siege to a town, encircling and studying it and attacking at its weakest point. See also Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 125.
10. See above, pp. 71–7.
11. See above, p. 74 and also see the testimony of Fray Pedro de Arrieta. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 6v–7v; and Ysabel Gonzales. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1648, Exp. 6, ff. 163r–164v.
12. See above, pp. 80–5.
13. ARSI *Peru: Litt. Ann*. IV, 1639–40, ff. 157–74 (f. 168r).
14. See above, pp. 117–20. For a description of such death-bed battles in pre-Reformation England see Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 310–17, especially p. 316. For examples of deathbed conversions of indigenous Andeans, see ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. I, 1603, ff. 321–52 (f. 323v) and ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann*. V, 1655, ff. 11–25 (f. 17r).
15. Of course, by this we cannot infer that the characteristics revealed in the trial testimonies were necessarily more common than Lucifer's more surprising role as divine dogsbody, torturer and general executioner. Instead, we can only be aware that belief in the efficacy of these particular characteristics and attempts to utilize them to one's own advantage was considered criminal.
16. ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann.* II, 1610, ff. 74–95 (f. 77v).
17. For an analysis of this theological development see Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, pp. 17–25.
18. M. T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 42.
19. Ibid., p. 43.
20. Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*, p. 79.
21. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1028, f. 9r.
22. Ibid., ff. 269r–v.
23. Ibid., ff. 268v–269r.
24. Ibid., ff. 279r–280r.
25. AHN, Inq., Leg. 1649, Exp. 49. He was aged twenty-six at the time of his confession.
26. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 3, ff. 185r–187v.
27. Ibid., f. 185r.
28. Ibid., f. 185v.

29. Estenssoro Fuchs compares the legalistic way in which colonial diabolists wrote formal pacts with the similarly legal way in which devotees would sign certificates of slavery to a particular saint. These certificates even existed in Quechua (Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 408). He continues, 'to establish links with Heaven or hell from this world supposes a real and exclusive compromize, the obedience to a master and the belonging to one group or guild'. Thus Espinosa resorted to mistreating the religious images so that they would release him from his bondage to them.
30. Ibid., f. 186r.
31. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1027, ff. 134r–149v.
32. The use of the name *Lusbel*, *Lucifer*'s name before the fall, when he was still an angel of light, is particularly illustrative of this in-between world.
33. Estenssoro Fuchs points out that 'in a city like Lima, the diabolic presence takes shape in a landscape where the topographical reference points are huacas, [which] at the same time [are] pagan cemeteries, remains of temples of idolatry and places of hidden treasure'. See Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 395.
34. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1032, ff. 6r–7r. Escapes from jail were not all that uncommon, with or without the devil's aid. See for example Suardo's entry for 18 August 1629, in which he records the escape from jail of a black man who, having feigned illness for eight days, dressed himself in a petticoat and shawl and walked out through the door 'in full view of the governor and many others' (*Diario de Lima*, vol. 1, p. 21).
35. Ibid., f. 7r.
36. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 6, ff. 47v–52r.
37. In this respect the drink showed similar effects to a shamanic beverage made from the plant *ayahuasca*. Note the parallel between this, Luisa Benites's experience of being turned upside down by the demon that possessed her (see above, pp. 87–9) and the implication in the indigenous context of *pachacuti – the world upside down*. Perhaps then the effects of the drink signified a new beginning, a renewal for Ábalos.
38. This case highlights an ambivalence in the pattern suggested by Estenssoro Fuchs (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 408) in which Satanic pacts appear to represent the exact inverse of relations of power and submission inherent in certificates of devotional slavery. What becomes most apparent in this case is that the devil only appears as a master willing to help his apprentice when necessary. Ábalos became Satan's bondsman rather than the other way around. More generally, the devil's appearances or lack of appearance (in many cases) should have demonstrated that such pacts were entered into on the devil's terms or not at all. He, in this sense, held the balance of power. Even cases where people thought they could trick the devil (as in the cases of Fray Antonio Ribera or Pedro Espinoza mentioned above) suggest a picaresque relationship whereby the human is the *pícaro* and the devil is the influential partner. This becomes more complex when we consider the belief that the devil could be bound and obliged to act in certain ways by the ritual use of sacred objects. Nevertheless, the devil's perceived obligation to Espinoza was primarily based on legalistic trickery rather than the direct coercion of a subordinate (an analogy would be a dishonest – and in this case rather incompetent – lawyer trying to ensnare a wily patron). Satan's failure to appear would have demonstrated the inadequacy of the terms of agreement and also, perhaps, the diabolist's inability to free himself from his bondage to Christ,

Mary or some other Saint. As we shall see below the pact-relationship sometimes became familiar even to the point of 'friendship' or more aggressive to the point of blackmail. But such friendships always inferred a patronage of sorts and blackmail was a weapon that could be used to coerce a more powerful individual.

39. Of course the escape might also tell us much about relationships between poor Spaniards and indigenous people. Whilst in prison his mistress did not desert him and between herself and an indigenous friend hatched a plot to break him out. These were lives that were inextricably linked; accomplices, friends and lovers bonded by the desperate battle to survive against the odds.
40. A toadstone is said to be taken from the body of a toad (presumably a calcium deposit) and believed to have special powers. Ábalos said he learned about the toadstone in a book, took it from the head of a toad, and it was yellow in colour. Once it had been set in the ring and once the devil had refined it, it took on a multicoloured sheen.
41. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 6, f. 48v.
42. Also known as Joseph de la Concepción, and Joseph Ramírez de Saabedra. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 3, ff. 144r–149r. See also Estenssoro Fuchs *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 403.
43. Ibid., f. 145v. The book referred to is G. de Illescas, *Historia Pontifical y Catholica en la Qual se Contienen las Vidas, y Hechos Notables de todos los Summos Pontifices Romanos: Con el Discurso de la Predicacion Apostolica. Y el Estado de la Iglesia Christiana Militante, dende* [*sic*] *que Christo Nuestro Senor nacio, Hasta Nuestros Tiempos. Con mas una Breve Recapitulacion de las Cosas de Espana. Y de la Descendencia de los Reyes della. Dende Halarico Primero, hasta don Philippe Segundo Nuestro Senor* (Barcelona; Madrid: [...] 1595). The work was republished and added to by subsequent authors and copies were widely circulated throughout the Americas. For example, a 1652 edition (Madrid: por Melchor Sánchez) can be found in the Library of the Franciscan Convent of the Descalzos in Lima. In 1583, eight copies were ordered to be shipped from Spain to Lima (see L. A. Irving, 'Bestsellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22:1 (1942), pp. 5–33; p. 27) and, one entire collection was destined for Cuzco in 1606 (see L. A. Irving, 'On the Cuzco Book Trade, 1606', *Hispanic Review*, 9:3 (1941) pp. 359–75; p. 367). Illescas narrates how Mohammed was sold as a slave when he was just a boy and how, through a mixture of good fortune and shrewdness, he managed to become heir to his master's fortune. Illescas continues by describing how after Abdomanoples (his master) died, the young (and perverse) Mohammed used witchcraft to seduce the aged widow Cadiga who 'was dying for his love' thereby gaining total control over the inheritance. Meanwhile he was said to have constructed a religion based on the idolatry of his father (a gentile), the Judaism of his mother, and the 'diabolical poison' of a Christian heretic monk called Sergio, astutely combining the three traditions and 'tricking the entire world'. Parallels with Joseph de la Cruz's case are noteworthy, and it is not difficult to see why he might have felt an affinity with Mohammed, especially given Illescas's description of how, as a boy, Mohammed was sold into slavery, only to rise to become a world leader. According to the trial testimonies, Joseph used witchcraft to try to make women attracted to him (AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 3, ff. 146r, 147v) just as Illescas's Mohammed does with Cadiga, and Joseph also tried to construct a religion from the religious traditions of various cultures. Interestingly, however, Illescas

does not mention Mohammed making or worshipping idols. Rather, he states that Mohammed combined the religion of his father (a pagan idolater) with that of his mother (who was Jewish) and that of the heretic monk Sergio. Given Joseph's boyhood aptitude for making wax figures (ibid., fol 146r) it is not difficult to see why he might have thought Mohammed did the same after reading Illescas's account. See Illescas, *Historia Pontifical y Catholica*, ff. 92r–94r.

44. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 3, f. 146r. The veracity of Joseph's statements here were subsequently thrown into question when the Inquisitors showed him both idols and he was forced to admit that he did not in fact destroy the idol Phoebus (f. 148r). Of course this highlights the problematic nature of trial testaments as historic texts. Of primary importance here is that Joseph definitely made the figures, although given the discrepancies in his testimony we can be less sure about his specific intentions. Nevertheless, along with the figures he was also shown the pacts that he had written and which he admitted were in his handwriting. He also admitted that as a boy he frequently used to make wax figures 'for his altar' (f. 146r). It is possible that the two figures he was presented with in his trial were not the only ones he had made. Given the existence of the idols and the written pacts, the argument still stands that his marginalization, loneliness, desires and needs caused him to look on the devil as an ally, patron and friend of sorts.
45. Invocation from the testimony of Fray Gerónimo de Ortega (1705–6). AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 3, ff. 178v–182v (f. 179v). See also Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, pp. 416–17.
46. Invocation from the trial testimony of Juana de Vega (1664). AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, ff. 531r–536r (f. 534v). *Fulano* is the term used in trial documents to refer to any man, the equivalent of [*name*] in legal documents and literally meaning 'so-and-so'.
47. Estenssoro Fuchs notes that, on the whole, women came together to ritually chew coca. They rarely did so alone: 'Coming together to chew coca is also an occasion to meet new accomplices and learn from them in complete confidence, thanks to the discretion that the clandestine nature of their act imposes' (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 400).
48. Extreme violence on the part of husbands towards wives was not uncommon. For example, Josephe Mugaburu wrote in his diary: 'José de Armendáriz kills his wife: [the murder] happened at five in the afternoon on Saturday the 23rd of January of the year 1683, in his house and garden at *Cercado*. Without the dead woman being guilty of anything, he stabbed her more than twelve times with a wide dagger [...] and then he disappeared. It was a great shame to see her cut to pieces and leaving four children' (Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, p. 273). There are other examples scattered throughout the account. Juan Antonio Suardo documents various cases of a similar nature; for example, that of a carpenter who stabbed to death a woman 'his friend' out of jealousy, and that of a slave who tried to kill his mistress but on failing to do so ran into the square and stabbed an eighteen year old mulatto girl 'who had a very pretty face' (Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 60).
49. In her comprehensive study of urban witchcraft in Peru during the seventeenth century, María Manarelli indicates that accusations of sorcery and witchcraft were inevitably linked to accusations of sexual depravity. Nevertheless, she adds that it is important to consider the reasons why these magical practitioners were sought out,

from which it is possible to realize the important social function they performed, especially for women. *Inquisición y mujeres: las hechiceras en el Perú durante el siglo XVII* (Lima: Centro de Documentación Sobre la Mujer, 1987), p. 16.

50. Of course the whereabouts of her husband were not mentioned. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1028, ff. 502r–504v: Her accomplices and accusers included Francisca Ximénez of Trujillo (Spain); Mariana Clavijo from Potosí; Doña María de Aguilar, a mestiza from Cochabamba and the wife of the *procurador* in Potosí; Constanza Ordóñez of La Ciudad de la Plata; Luisa de Ocampo, the wife of a merchant sailor; Francisca de Spinoza, a mestiza from Trujillo, Peru and the wife of a blacksmith; and Catalina de Mena, a widow from Seville. Estenssoro Fuchs notes how little the prayers changed over time and space, especially considering their wide diffusion (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 391).
51. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1028, f. 502r.
52. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1030, ff. 480v–484v (f. 481r).
53. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1028, f. 502v. The *Diablo Cojuelo* is translated as the 'Crippled' or 'Lame Devil'. However, implicit in the Spanish are sexual connotations that are not rendered by the English. As a result, the Spanish will be used throughout. The *Diablo Cojuelo* entered the European literary tradition after Luis Vélez de Guevara wrote a novel of the same name in 1641. The novel was adapted by the French dramatist Alain Lesage in 1707 and, as a result, became well known throughout Europe. These sixteenth-century invocations of the *Diablo Cojuelo* show that the origins of this particular demon can be traced back much further than Vélez de Guevara.
54. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1028, f. 503v.
55. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, ff. 374v–377v (f. 374v); the scribe notes: 'what is certain is that she has been abandoned', once again demonstrating how even the lives of the highest in the realm affected and were affected by the most marginalized.
56. Ibid., f. 376r.
57. Ibid., ff. 527r–531r (f. 529r). The last phrase of the spell gains force from its reliance on rhythm, rhyme and alliteration: '*perras paridas, vacas flacas y puercas salidas*', which allows for the use of a little artistic licence in the translation. '*Puercas salidas*' is otherwise difficult to translate. '*Salidas*', coming as it does from the verb '*salir*' – meaning 'to go out' – is suggestive of looseness or prostitution. The phrase is also extremely animalistic: with this in mind, '*Mangy* bitches, skinny cows and smutty sows' might also work well.
58. It would appear that the prayer of Saint Martha originates in a legend from medieval Provence that attributes to her the taming of a ferocious dragon known as Tarasconus (said to be the progeny of Leviathan) as she journeyed between Arles and Avignon. She used holy water and a cross to subdue the beast then tied it up with her girdle. The violence in the legend occurred only after she had tied it up when the people killed it using stones and lances. It is not difficult to see the correlation between this and the ritually violent subduing and binding of men, although the implications for our understanding of gender relations in the early modern Hispanic world are quite staggering – that for magical purposes, men were likened to the offspring of a ferocious biblical sea-demon and could therefore be dominated by violent invocations of Saint Martha. This underlines the fact that in the Peruvian Viceroyalty women's defence against the often physical violence of men commonly lay in ritual, magical violence. The story

is documented in J. de Voragine's *Aurea Legenda* (*The Golden Legend): Readings on the Saints*, trans. W. Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) which was reprinted throughout the medieval and renaissance periods (see vol. 2, pp. 23–4). In this account the legend is certainly not sexualized and it seems that must have occurred in the process of oral transmission through medieval magical practice. Iconography represented her standing on top of the dragon holding a long cross diagonally across her body that pressed into the dragon's head. To my knowledge surviving representations of this kind are extremely rare. There is one such baroque painting by Andrea and Nicola Vaccaro (completed 1670) in the Church of Saint Martha (*Chiesa di Santa Marta*) in Naples. The Church was founded in 1400 at the wish of Margharita di Durazzo, Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem who was originally from Provence. Unfortunately the church of Santa Marta in Arequipa (originally an indigenous *doctrina*) founded in the sixteenth century has been destroyed and rebuilt so many times that nothing remains of the colonial paintings and it is impossible to ascertain if there were any such icons. The origin of the prayer (and reference to the legend) in colonial Latin America appears to have been the port of Seville where in fact there was a Hospital dedicated to the Saint founded in 1385.

59. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, ff. 531r–536r (f. 535r).
60. Ibid., f. 535v.
61. There appears to be an important gender difference in demonic invocation. Whilst pacts made by men tended to be individualistic and juridical in nature, much more stereotypical Faustian contracts in the context of Christian renunciation, diabolical invocations (both those that were explicit and those that were considered diabolical by the authorities) by women were more often communal, liturgical and often interspersed with invocations to saints and indigenous deities. Nevertheless, the primary purpose of the invocations crossed the gender divide, being spoken in order to achieve specific ends and alleviate specific traumas associated with everyday life.
62. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, f. 529v.
63. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1032, ff. 380r–384r.
64. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1030, ff. 473r–477v.
65. Ibid., f. 477v. Luisa's case is particularly significant for it provides evidence of extreme violence between women (sisters even), so often absent from historical documents. For further examples of this broad and extreme cross-gender, cross-racial violence that provided a background for colonial life, see the diaries of Juan Antonio Suardo and Josephe Mugaburu, whose pages are replete with killings. One spectacularly violent example (and Mugaburu describes it as 'the greatest atrocity in the world') was that of a black man who went on a killing spree with a machete and a halberd in July 1649. He managed to kill a black woman, one indigenous man and woman, and one mestizo and seriously, perhaps fatally, injure a priest, another indigenous woman, a house owner and his wife and a twelve-year-old girl and a man (who presumably tried to stop him) with a halberd (which the maniac later used to kill the mestizo) (*Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, p. 26).
66. Although on occasion Satan and Lucifer are perceived to be different entities, as are Lucifer and Luzbel, and on occasion Bercebu (Beelzebub) is also mentioned as a member of this unholy trinity. The naming of these demons, like the legend and prayer of

Saint Martha, once again places the roots of this magic firmly within the biblical and early medieval European religious traditions and demonstrates the remarkable continuity between medieval and early modern demonology in Spain and the Americas, notwithstanding the process of gradual indigenization that took place. An illumination from the Silos Beatus (AD 1109) from the monastery of Santo Domingo of Silos, for example, depicts Saint John casting four demon princes, including Bercebu and Barrabas into Hell. (British Library, Add. MSS. 11695, f. 2r. See also J. Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1977), figure 34). Barrabas, meanwhile, seemed to be particularly active throughout the colonial period in Peru, possessing María Pizarro in the 1570s (AHN, Inq., Leg. 1647/1, exp. 1, f. 4r), acting as ally to the marginalized who invoked him, and even, as we shall see, being the victim of blackmail.

67. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, f. 529v.
68. Ibid., ff. 382r–387r (f. 383r).
69. Manarelli, *Inquisición y mujeres*, pp. 12, 14.
70. Estenssoro Fuchs presents a more complex analysis that argues, in effect that the women were in fact, appropriating these incaic symbols, personalities and objects already demonized by post-Tridentine clerical attitudes and by baptizing them they were, in effect, redeeming the pre-Hispanic past within their own Catholic context (*Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 435).
71. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1031, f. 376v – *Ticio*, in this case, is used in place of *Fulano*.
72. AHN, Inq., Lib. 1030, f. 480v.
73. Ibid., f. 483r.
74. The devils of the in-between; invocation of María de Castro Barreto y Navarrete (1689–93) AHN, Inq., Lib. 1032, ff. 380v–381r.
75. 'Familialization' perhaps might be used as a term for the process of attributing a family to an otherwise alien individual.
76. Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 407.

## Conclusion

1. 'We got right into the deep moats entrenching that unhappy city, whose walls seemed to be of iron [...] I saw above the gates more than a thousand of those [fallen angels] rained down from Heaven, who cried angrily: "Who is this that without death goes through the kingdom of the dead?"' (Dante, *The Divine Comedy: Vol. 1, Inferno*, trans. J. D. Sinclair (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 114–15 (Canto VIII.76–8).
2. Ibid., pp. 122–5 (Canto IX. 64–99).
3. Ibid., pp. 422–3 (Canto XXXIV.46–51).
4. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5345, Exp. 6, ff. 75v–80r (ff. 76r–77r).
5. AHN, Inq., Leg. 5435, Exp. 6, ff. 40v–47r (ff. 41r–v). See also Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, p. 404, note 110.
6. Dante, *Inferno*, pp. 114–15 (Canto VIII.73–96).

# GLOSSARY

*Apu*: Lord. In colonial times the term was used as a title for powerful gods or spirits, often the peaks of high mountains or volcanoes.

*audiencia*: A regional governing body and court.

*auto de fe*: Known in English as the *auto-da-fé*, is a penitential ceremony in which those tried and condemned by the Inquisition or religious authorities publicly recanted and were granted absolution, punished, or were burned as recalcitrant.

*ayllu*: An Andean community consisting of an extended familial network.

*beata*: A lay woman who has devoted herself to religious life but without entering any specific Order or convent.

*brujo/a*: A witch. The distinction between *brujos* and *hechiceros* is not always clear. However, if a distinction is possible, *brujos*, in the Andean context generally were considered to be specialists in malefice, using a combination of spiritual forces (magic) and poisons (from plant or mineral extracts) to cause serious harm and perhaps death, to their chosen victims. In the European context, a *brujo* invariably would be considered to have a pact with the devil.

*cacique*: A Caribbean term meaning 'tribal chief' that entered the Spanish language and was used throughout the Americas to designate indigenous noble leaders. In Peru the term was synonymous with the Quechua *curaca*.

*cauchu*: A Quechua term used synonymously with *brujo*. See *runapmicuc*.

*carta anua*: An annual report written by the Jesuit provincials of each province to the Father General in Rome after receiving letters from all the Jesuit missionaries.

*Cercado*: A walled district in Lima where the indigenous inhabitants of the city generally lived. It was intended by the Hispanic colonial authorities that it would be an exclusively indigenous district. Of course, in reality, the barrio was far from being exclusively Indian.

*chamico*: *datura stramonium*: a highly toxic and hallucinogenic plant that grows well in the northern coastal region of Peru.

*chicha*: Maize beer.

*chichería*: The Peruvian equivalent to a traditional tavern, or indeed the Mexican pulquerías (which sold pulque), where *chicha* was (and still is) sold.

*cofrade*: A member of a *cofradía*.

*cofradía*: A confraternity or Christian guild attached to a particular parish and usually responsible for the maintenance of the cult of one particular saint. They often performed various social and charitable functions within the local community.

*conopa*: A household or personal deity.

*corregidor*: A royal representative and district administrator.

*curaca*: The Quechua term for an indigenous chieftain or noble leader (also spelt *kuraka*). During colonial times the term was considered synonymous with the word *cacique*. The position was usually hereditary (during the colonial period) but sometimes for various reasons *curacas* might be removed and others appointed by the Spanish authorities.

*curacazgo*: The office of indigenous leader. As the Spanish consolidated their hold over Peru more and more *curacas* were appointed by the viceregal authorities.

*curandero/a*: A native religious practitioner who used indigenous rites and an extensive knowledge of plants and minerals to heal or harm. Such practices were not generally separated from the indigenous religious world-view and often required invocations of specific deities.

*doctrina* (1): Obligatory catechesis.

*doctrina* (2): The equivalent to a modern day parish although, in the Andes, *doctrina* boundaries could stretch for many leagues over difficult terrain.

*embustero*: A trickster or fraudster. Native religious practitioners were often encouraged by the colonial authorities to expose themselves as *embusteros* rather than admit to having a diabolical pact.

*encomendero*: A holder of a royal grant of Indians (an *encomienda*) who would pay him the tribute they were otherwise obliged to pay to the Crown. An *encomendero* was responsible for the spiritual welfare of his Indians. Some *encomenderos*, such as Diego Maldonado in Peru, fostered good relations between their Indians and themselves. However, the *encomendero* privilege was polemical and marred by years of often terrible abuses. As a result, it was abolished by the New Laws of 1542, a perceived injustice that, in the 1540s and 1550s, gave rise to successive *encomendero* rebellions in Peru.

*fiscal*: An official of the Church or the Law, for example, it was the term applied both to Inquisitorial prosecutors and to the equivalent of churchwardens.

*fulano*: The term used in trial documents to refer to any man, the equivalent of [*name*] in legal documents and literally meaning 'so-and-so'.

*gigantón*: also *San Pedro*: a hallucinogenic cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) that grows in the north of Peru. Its affects (especially the resultant hallucinations) appear to be quite similar to those caused by the *peyote* cactus of Mexico (*Lophophora Williamsii*).

*hacendado* –The owner of a *hacienda.*

*hacienda*: A large country estate or ranch.

*hanan* and *hurin*: The Andean 'upper' and 'lower' divisions: together they form a complete whole. In the pre-Colombian Andean world, these divisions were applied ubiquitously. Most commonly *ayllu*s were (and still are) divided into *Hanan* and *Hurin*.

*hechicería*: The art or practice of 'sorcery' or, in the Andean context, of healing or harming using indigenous knowledge of plants and minerals and indigenous rites. See *curandero.*

*hechicero/a*: Literally translated as 'sorcerer'. See *curandero.*

*huaca (guaca or w'aka)*: A local or regional god often associated with the foundation myths of particular ethnic groups. The term was also applied to pre-Columbian temples and burial mounds.

*ladino/a*: A hispanicized indigenous person.

*laicca (also layca, or laica)*: Another Quechua term used synonymously with *brujo*. As the colonial period progressed the term became exclusively negative and associated with malefice. See also *runapmicuc*.

*malqui (or mallqui)*: An ancestral mummy often worshipped as the founder and protector of particular *ayllus*, or indeed the mummified body of an Incan Emperor.

*malquipvillac*: Literally translated as 'he who speaks with the *malquis*'. A *malquipvillac* was a minister to the *malqui* and was responsible for the maintenance of its cult, acting as a mediator between the community and the god.

*meiga*: A Galician term meaning 'witch'.

*mita*: The Quechua term used to describe the Incaic system of corvée labour that was appropriated by the colonial Hispanic administration and incorporated into the tax and tribute requirements for indigenous Andeans. The *mita* was especially relied upon to exploit the mercury mines of Huancavelica and the silver mines (though to a lesser extent) at Potosí.

*ñusta*: An Inca princess.

*pachacuti*: A Quechua term meaning 'turning over' or cataclysm. The term was used to refer to a period of destruction before new life could begin.

*pícaro*: A mischievous rogue or a thief immortalized by the early modern Spanish genre of picaresque literature, for example *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554).

*pulque*: Fermented cactus juice.

*pulquería*: A Mexican tavern selling *pulque*. The name was also applied to taverns in the Peruvian viceroyalty.

*punchao Inca*: The morning sun. Also a youthful manifestation of the Inca Sun god, worshipped at the winter solstice in June.

*Qoyllur Riti*: An Andean festival celebrating the apparition of the Christ-child to an indigenous shepherd.

*quipu*: an Andean mnemonic device made of rows of coloured and knotted strings

*Reconquista*: Is the name commonly used to describe the slow, Christian re-conquest of Spain from the Muslims of Al Andalus. The term is charged with religious symbolism, but the *Reconquista* was not a simple religious conflict, rather it involved complex feudal and economic politics.

*regidor*: A member of the municipal council.

*runapmicuc*: Meaning 'eater of men'. Originally these feared native religious practitioners were responsible for restoring balance in the Andean world carrying out both a destructive and a regenerative function. However as the colonial period progressed, they became more and more associated with malefice and destruction, especially as to restore balance to the Andean world their attacks were apparently aimed at Christianized Andeans, especially the young.

*San Pedro*: (lit. 'Saint Peter') a large cactus native to the north of Peru from which a hallucinogenic drink can be made (see also *gigantón*).

*Supay* (also *Çupay* or *Zupay*): A god of the central-Andean highlands that possessed both destructive and regenerative qualities, but was demonized by Christian missionaries and came to represent the Quechua 'devil'.

*ticio*: synonymous with *fulano* also used to designate [*name*] in legal documents and meaning 'so-and-so'.

*tinkuy*: A ritual battle for the propagation of livestock often fought between the *hanan* and *hurin* moieties of a particular community.

*ucupacha*: A Quechua term meaning 'the interior world from which life springs forth, the place (and time) in which seeds and the ancestors live'. Because missionaries understood that it refer to the underworld, they appropriated the term to translate hell.

*vende[r]nieve*: A snow seller.

*visitador*: An inspector or high-ranking investigator (literally, 'visitor').

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