

RECENT WORKS ON THE INQUISITION AND PERUVIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY, 1570–1820*

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This essay seeks to categorize and assess works published since the 1950s on the activities of the tribunal of the Santo Oficio de la Inquisición of Lima and their repercussions on the social history of the viceroyalty of Peru. The studies made of the Inquisition in recent decades, in going beyond a merely descriptive focus or one biased by the old prejudices of the “Black Legend,” have highlighted the exceptional value of the records of the Lima Inquisition for acquainting researchers with interesting dimensions on the level of mentalities, ideas, attitudes, and behaviors—that is to say, in the expressions of the deepest impulses of the human soul. This trend has allowed historians to modify their image of the Inquisition in the Spanish metropolis and in its former colonies in America.

Among the most suggestive new outcomes is the image of the Lima tribunal as relatively inactive and inefficient, detached from vigilance in matters of faith and oriented instead toward promoting the commercial and financial interests of its own members. As in studies of the Mexican Inquisition (see Alberro 1981), scholars have emphasized that the Lima tribunal had no jurisdiction over the mainly indigenous population and, moreover, that the great territorial expanse placed under its authority impeded the Peruvian Inquisition from fulfilling its mission effectively. For these reasons, the Inquisition did not achieve its goal of ideologically unifying all of Peruvian society, limiting itself in essence to correcting “evil” beliefs and customs within the Catholic parishes established in the cities (see Ramos 1988, 95).

During the two and a half centuries in which the Peruvian Inquisition functioned (from 1570 to 1820), some forty autos da fé were held. In these ceremonies, the maximum punishments—“*relajación*” (delivery to secular authorities) or death—were enforced as was forced reconciliation with the Catholic Church. Of the three thousand persons probably tried during the entire history of the Lima tribunal, only 48 were condemned

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to burn at the stake. The classic and always useful *Historia del tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima* first published by José Toribio Medina in 1887 contains a statistical summary of crimes listed most often in the Inquisition records. Heading the list is bigamy (20 percent of the cases); practicing the Jewish faith (17 percent); witchcraft (12 percent); heresy (10 percent); and solicitation by clergymen (7 percent) (see Medina 1956, 2:406–7). The leading position of bigamy can be explained by the great distance, the lengthy separations, and the difficulties in communicating that made the New World a likely setting for the proliferation of marital ties, as evidenced by America's being nicknamed "Muhammad's paradise" (see Castañeda Delgado and Hernández Aparicio 1985a, 243ff).

Regarding the inquisitors, prosecutors, ministers, and lower officials of the institution, recent approaches have gone beyond the merely genealogical interest that dominated earlier studies.¹ Professor Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, for example, has analyzed the operative means used by Inquisition functionaries in their connections with the political agencies of the viceroyalty, demonstrating thus the importance of *clientelismo*, administrative infiltration, and the tactical use of jurisdiction and the power to confiscate (Escandell Bonet 1985). In a complementary manner, the investigations of Gabriela Ramos (1989, 1991) have illuminated the economic ties that Inquisition officials developed with the mercantile and banking world in Lima. Thus scholars today know about the multiple interests and deals that linked these officials to the colonial elite. In this relationship, the benefits offered by the Inquisition's special jurisdiction—its prestige, protection, and extensive access—were exploited intensively.

The procedural activities of the inquisitors have been examined from various perspectives during the inaugural decade of the 1570s. Alvaro Huerga underscores the Illuminati characteristics and compromising ideas in the well-known case against María Pizarro and fray Francisco de la Cruz (1986, pt. 1, 47ff), as well as in the judgments sought against Jesuits Luis López and Pedro Miguel de Fuentes and a series of creole "witches." The same phenomenon of *alumbradismo* (Illuminism) seems to have recurred a few decades later, in the early seventeenth century, in the circle of Lima "beatas" (pious women) who surrounded Sor Rosa de Santa María and explored with her the same spiritual path. Marcel Bataillon's now classic assertion that Francisco de la Cruz was "la víctima más ilustre de la Inquisición limeña" (Bataillon 1965, 321) has been fully confirmed by a plethora of studies dedicated to the Dominican monk and his subversive heresy. The more recent contributions have highlighted this trial's preeminence in the political-religious confronta-

1. Compare Espejo (1957) and the extensive work of Lohmann Villena (1955, 1956), with data on 438 persons who submitted proof of "*limpieza de sangre*" in order to play Inquisition roles as *alguacil mayor* (head officer), *consultor* (advisor), *calificador* (censor), *comisario* (commissioner), *familiar* (associate), lawyer, and *persona honesta* (upright citizen).

tion that developed between Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and the priests influenced by the thinking of Bartolomé de las Casas.²

Mention should also be made of the major complaint brought against the Jewish-Portuguese merchants accused of taking leading roles in the "great complicity" of the seventeenth century, a subject that merited a separate chapter in Boleslao Lewin's study of the evolution of the Inquisition in the Spanish American colonies (Lewin 1950, 135–52). More recent investigations into the trial of the Judaizers in Lima have focused on the international ties of the Sephardim immigrant community and their alliance of interests with Dutch expansion overseas. It has also been remarked that Inquisition officials learned how to take shrewd advantage of the confiscation of goods arising from "*la gran complicidad*" by investing nearly all this income in *censos inmobiliarios* (real estate finances) that helped consolidate its economic status and its role as agent of credit (compare Liebman 1971; Millar Carvacho 1983a; Quiroz 1986). No less interesting is Harry Cross's thesis that the Inquisition was an instrument at the service of monopolistic merchants in Lima, clustered around the tribunal of the *Consulado*, who participated directly in persecuting the Portuguese *conversos*—their competitors in business—and in expropriating their property by taking on honorary functions with the Inquisition (see Cross 1978, 162–64).

Beyond the privileged sectors of ecclesiastics and merchants, at the other extreme of the urban social spectrum, was the lowly sphere in which cases of sorcery, witchcraft, palmistry, and superstitious practices were prosecuted. These crimes became a larger part of the trial records of the Lima Inquisition after 1600. The accused in trials of this kind belonged to the lowest strata of society: they were people of color—mestizos, mulattos, and blacks—especially women working in modest occupations that ranged from midwifery to prostitution (compare Pérez Cantó 1980, 476 and Sánchez 1991, 51–52).

A correct hypothesis may be that the accusations of black magic and witchcraft involved in those trials originated in the mythology conceived by the same repressive organization. Yet the increase in trials for witchcraft in the first half of the seventeenth century coincided with the launching of the campaigns to extirpate indigenous "idolatries" (Mannarelli 1985, 143). This telling fact raises a basic question that remains unanswered, in my opinion. How can scholars explain the chronological coincidence of the apogee of creole intellectual life, the proliferation of saintly behaviors, and increased manifestations of superstitions in the cities, on the one hand, with resurging vigor in traditional practices in the Andean world, on the other?

2. In this regard, see Hehrlein's monograph, which reproduces his doctoral thesis in theology at the University of Heidelberg (Hehrlein 1992, 138–60).

The Lima Inquisition also undertook to control the circulation of printed texts, the goal being to avoid the spread of ideas “pernicious” to religion or morality. The organization’s degree of dedication to this activity seems to have varied over time, given documentary evidence from the sixteenth century of rigorous control over reading during that era (like the data gathered in Guibovich Pérez 1989a, 41–43). The dictates of the Lima inquisitors sometimes even seized the initiative taken by the Consejo Supremo in compiling its index of banned books. During the Bourbon monarchy, in contrast, the abundance of licenses granted for reading banned books suggests a rather liberal Inquisition policy on book censorship (Millar Carvacho 1984, 441). An earlier study by Guillermo Lohmann Villena (1950) focused on the trials pursued in the Lima tribunal against famous creole lawyer Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, accused in 1801 and 1803 of reading banned books, especially French authors of the Enlightenment. For this crime, Vidaurre was merely condemned to a short period of confinement, renunciations, and spiritual penances.³

The private libraries of some of the first inquisitors and prosecutors of the Peruvian Inquisition have been unearthed, thanks to the efforts of researchers interested in the history of viceregal culture. Now researchers can peruse lists of the collections of books that influenced inquisitor Licenciado Serván de Cerezuola (105 volumes), who died in 1583; prosecutor Licenciado Juan Alcedo de la Rocha (116 volumes), who died in 1586; prosecutor Licenciado Tomás de Solarana (100 volumes), who died in 1606; and inquisitor Dr. Pedro Ordóñez Flórez (208 volumes), who was appointed in 1611 to fulfill ecclesiastical assignments outside Lima.⁴ A common characteristic of these libraries is the predominance of works of civil and canonical jurisprudence and of treatises on heresy and the Inquisition. Such holdings show that these were specialized collections gathered to support the professional duties of their owners (compare Guibovich Pérez 1989b, 51; and González Sánchez 1990, 29–30).

In another area, works dealing with Inquisition subjects have provided reasons for discussing the phenomenon of the so-called tropicalization or “*criollización*” of the clergy. Those influenced by the more relaxed customs prevailing in the Indies tended to violate ecclesiastical rules of conduct with uncommon frequency. The problem was first broached in Bataillon’s interpretive essay on the tremendous “creole utopia” envisioned by fray Francisco de la Cruz (Bataillon 1965, 321–22). Subsequently, Maurice Birckel undertook to explain the case of Valencian Jesuit Pedro Mi-

3. As far as I know, no case has been researched in Peru similar to the one presented in Castanien (1954) on the Mexican viceroyalty, which detailed the censorship applied by the Mexican tribunal to one library confiscated in the middle of the seventeenth century.

4. The private libraries of Licenciados Cerezuola and Solarana have been described in my two articles in *El Comercio* (Lima): “Los libros del inquisidor,” 22 June 1987, p. A2; and “Los libros del fiscal,” 11 July 1988, p. A2.

guel de Fuentes, who was punished in 1581 by the Lima tribunal for the crime of amorous solicitation in the confessional (Birckel 1972). Interesting reflections have also been made on the standing of foreigners before the Inquisition in Hispanic America, which viewed them as doubly suspicious for their probable political enmity toward Spain and their incidental proximity to “heretical doctrines” (Birckel 1977, 175–80).

Birckel, a French researcher, is to be commended for reviving research into the financial evolution of the Lima Inquisition. He documented an outline of the financial activities of the Inquisition during its first seventy years, based on the accounts kept by the receiver’s office of the tribunal (Birckel 1969, 1970). This outline has been complemented by René Millar Carvacho’s (1985) study, which traced in broad outlines the economic development of the institution, pinpointing its “years of prosperity” as 1629 to 1721. Chilean historian Millar Carvacho wrote his dissertation and several notable articles on the Peruvian Inquisition during the Bourbon monarchy. He has also studied the many conflicts that the tribunal experienced with other branches of power in the viceroyalty.⁵ The jurisdictional disputes can be explained, at bottom, by the inquisitors’ belief that the institution enjoyed supremacy over all civil and ecclesiastical authorities because its purpose—defense of the faith—was theoretically the worthiest of all the goals pursued by the state (see Millar Carvacho 1986, 127).

The sources for studying the history of the Peruvian Inquisition are scattered in various places. The Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid contains the most valuable information, in the collections of the Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición: sixty-one *legajos* (files of documents) and twenty-seven manuscript volumes of correspondence with the Lima inquisitors, account books of its treasury, summaries of the trials for crimes against the faith, records of *visitas* (inspections), and proceedings on jurisdiction, among other topics. The Archivo General de la Nación in Lima, decimated by repeated lootings and fires, retains only a few dozen legajos with testimony on confiscations of goods, closings of accounts, and bankruptcy proceedings—documentation of interest in reconstructing the administrative and economic life of the Inquisition. Finally, the Archivo Nacional de Chile in Santiago contains an abundant series of some 490 volumes—still virtually unexplored at this point—including original documents on the financial arm of the Peruvian Inquisition (according to Millar Carvacho 1985, 568, n. 60).

The following sections will review a group of modern studies that have helped revise historians’ image of the activities of the Inquisition in Peru. These contributions (books and articles by nineteen authors) have

5. See the unpublished thesis of Millar Carvacho, “La Inquisición de Lima en los siglos XVIII y XIX,” Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad de Sevilla, 1981.

been subdivided into ten thematic categories that cover the procedural undertaking of the Inquisition in Lima and its various repercussions in colonial Peruvian society. Full citations of the publications discussed may be found in the bibliography.

General Works on the Inquisition in Peru

José Toribio Medina's work on the Inquisition in America was analyzed in Bartolomé Escandell Bonet's (1953) interpretive essay. Between 1887 and 1914, the Chilean scholar published a series of eight volumes on the tribunal proceedings of the Inquisitions of Lima, Chile, the Río de la Plata, Cartagena, Mexico, and the Philippines (in addition to two volumes on the episcopal or primitive Inquisition). Medina clearly considered the history of the Inquisition as a means of understanding the contemporary social reality of Latin America, and he did not foolishly attack either Spain or the Catholic Church.

Escandell Bonet subsequently outlined the establishment of the Peruvian tribunal, its cadre of officials, and its trial activities during the reign of Felipe II (see Escandell Bonet 1984). This study made interesting classifications of the 497 judicial cases recorded in the thirty-year period from 1570 to 1600. Escandell Bonet categorized them according to the place of residence and ethnic origins of the accused and also according to the type of crime charged (offensive statements, breaches of the Sixth Commandment, crimes against the faith, superstitious practices, and contempt of the Inquisition court). Escandell Bonet also scrutinized the inspection made by Juan Ruiz de Prado, the life of inquisitor Antonio Gutiérrez de Ulloa, and some of the most significant trials of the era. Escandell Bonet found in the end that the Inquisition in America was a tribunal that focused mainly on customs and social morality.

The thick first volume of the *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América* contains five short contributions by Pilar Pérez Cantó (1984), professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. She concentrated on the activities of the Peruvian Inquisition under the government of Felipe III (1598–1621), establishing connections between and among the trials, sentencings, autos da fé, and disputes over jurisdiction. Pérez Cantó also examined the development of the Lima tribunal during the alleged years of "crisis" in the seventeenth century (1621–1700). In studying the era of the Bourbon kings, she returned to analyzing the legal undertakings of the Inquisition, the typology of crimes, and the incidence of tribunal activity among various social groups in Lima.

Utilizing the records of the Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición, Pérez Cantó also published a study of the 264 trials known to involve the Lima tribunal from 1700 to 1749 (Pérez Cantó 1980). The commonest charges were witchcraft (84 cases), bigamy (70 cases), and heresy (68 cases). The

only person delivered to the secular arm during those years was María Ana de Castro, who was convicted of practicing Judaism. Witchcraft evidently was a crime found almost entirely among the lower classes of society, especially among the “*castas*,” while heresy was detected mainly among the white population of creoles and Europeans. Bigamy occurred among various social groups.

Paulino Castañeda Delgado and Pilar Hernández Aparicio’s *La Inquisición de Lima* (1989) made wise use of the resources of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid in analyzing the organization and functioning of the Lima tribunal from 1570 to 1635. During this initial period, the Inquisition brought charges against 1,046 persons, of which 790 were punished and 29 were condemned to die at the stake. The first part of the book discusses the administrative structure, jurisdictional conflicts, and finances of the tribunal. The second part investigates its legal activities, including jurisdictional problems, the types of crimes charged, punishments and sentences, trials suspended and acquittals, along with some of the most notable cases. This study found that 38 percent of the offenders were punished for blasphemy and heretical ideas and that after the reign of Felipe II, vigilance over matters of faith waned because of the political and economic preoccupations of the Spanish monarchy.

Millar Carvacho used the documentation analyzed in his history of the Lima tribunal in the eighteenth century to explain the basic characteristics of inquisitorial methods of procedure (1983b). He organized his discussion according to several factors: the phase of indictment or inquiry (covering indictment information, evaluation, imprisonment of the offender, hearings and admonitions, accusations); the plenary phase (demurrers, verification and publication of lists of witnesses to be called, defense of the accused, torture); sentencing; recourses (appeals, petitions for reversal, judgments); penalties and penitence. By combining normative precepts with juridical practice, from the perspective of a tribunal outside the Iberian Peninsula, scholars have shown that the American inquisitors enjoyed greater independence in procedural matters than did their Spanish colleagues for reasons that were basically geographical.

The Trial of Fray Francisco de la Cruz

Vidal Abril Castelló has produced an ample series of works on the famous heresy case of the 1570s. His first article (1988) anticipated the finding that there was no political plotting on the part of the Dominicans implicated in the “business” of María Pizarro. Rather, a plot was fabricated *a posteriori* based on erroneous judicial and political interpretation. Abril Castelló concluded that fray Francisco de la Cruz was used as a scapegoat for the viceregal and inquisitorial counterreform organized by Viceroy Toledo to eliminate opposition from Dominicans who were influ-

enced by the ideas of Bartolomé de las Casas. Abril Castelló's second essay (1989a) situated the trial of de la Cruz within the political coordinates of the Peruvian viceroyalty in the 1570s. This study established a parallel between the breakdown of the utopia envisioned by the heretical priest and the "destruction" or administrative reform carried out by don Francisco de Toledo, comparing the Inquisition's activities with the political repression under Toledo. In another article (1989b), Abril Castelló also drew a biographical and ideological sketch of de la Cruz, one of the most notorious sons of the modest Andalusian town of Lopera. This article describes the hallmarks of fray Francisco's utopian thought, especially his self-proclamation as "pope" and "emperor" of the new Christianity to be established in Peru. Abril Castelló named the priest the protomartyr of the Lima Inquisition.

Another study by the director of the Instituto de Ciencias Jurídicas of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas offers legal and trial hermeneutics on the case of Francisco de la Cruz, who was accused of moral degeneracy, diabolical heresy, and treason, rebellion, and sedition against the king (see Abril Castelló 1990). Because of his theological and doctrinal pronouncements, the Dominican was labeled a sympathizer with Archbishop Bartolomé Carranza (who had been accused of heresy), a militant opponent of the ideas of Bartolomé de las Casas, and a convert who had gone back to Judaism. Abril Castelló denounced the lying committed by the judges of the Lima Inquisition and revealed details on that "fixed trial," stressing the monistic, all-encompassing, and all-defining nature of the Peruvian Inquisition.

A large part of the records of the famous heresy trial, kept in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, were recently edited by Abril Castelló (1992). The documentary introduction to this volume brings together papers on the inspection of Ruiz de Prado and on the first judicial proceedings against fray Francisco, prior to the case brought against him in 1571. The main section of *Francisco de la Cruz: Inquisición (Actas)* reproduces the accusations made by the prosecutor of the Lima Inquisition, the evidence presented by the witnesses, the interrogatories and written replies of the accused, and his challenges of the inquisitors of Lima. Abril Castelló's verbose preliminary study concentrates on the legal aspects of the topic, advising readers that this fraudulent lawsuit revealed the abuses of power, degeneration of the law, and political manipulation in the name of God that took place in the colonial period.

Jean-Pierre Tardieu's *Le nouveau David et la réforme du Pérou* (1992) analyzed closely the documentation on the case and the mentality of the actors involved in the "matter." He availed himself of psychoanalytic interpretation, presenting Francisco de la Cruz as a paranoid schizophrenic and creole María Pizarro, his "diabolical consort," as a neurotic hysteric. The heterodoxy of this group of visionaries—half mystics, half

libidinous types—was rejected by the Lima Inquisition as well as by Viceroy Toledo, both of whom condemned it as a political plot or subversive heresy.

“La Gran Complicidad” of the Seventeenth Century

Seymour Liebman scrutinized the well-known complaint against the Jewish-Portuguese merchants, who were prosecuted from 1635 to 1639 by the Lima Inquisition after it detected international connections among the immigrant Sephardim community (Liebman 1971). Although Liebman recognized that the inquisitorial documentation does not touch on this point directly, he gathered evidence on the common interests that united the Jewish merchants of Holland, England, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Brazil, the Río de la Plata region, and Peru during the seventeenth century. He thus revealed an active “guild of Jews,” as reflected in original records in archives in Mexico and Madrid as well as in various printed sources. These documents sought to show that the merchants accused by the Lima Inquisition were involved in a huge conspiracy encouraging the Dutch to take over Peru, by which means the Jews would gain freedom in religion and commerce.

Liebman’s *The Inquisitors and the Jews in the New World* (1974) presents summaries of all the trials known to have been pursued regarding Judaism before the Inquisitions in the Americas. The introduction discusses the problems inherent in using Inquisition documentation to study the lives of Jewish individuals or families in colonial society, especially in the viceroyalty of Mexico. The third chapter details those tried by the Lima tribunal for practicing the Jewish religion, 37 of whom were condemned to die between 1595 and 1736. Eleven of them were burned at the stake in the *auto da fé* that culminated the trial focusing on the “*gran complicidad*.”

Millar Carvacho (1983a) has studied the historical background and the monetary significance of the confiscations imposed on the Jewish-Portuguese merchants under this notable circumstance. Using documentary data from the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid and the Archivo Nacional de Chile, he details in the appendices the amount expropriated between 1635 and 1649. Although the total income added up to about 1.3 million pesos, the 70 percent required to pay for the sustenance and debts of the accused must be subtracted from this amount, leaving a disposable remainder of some 400,000 pesos, most of it belonging to the powerful company of Manuel Bautista Peres and Sebastián Duarte. Millar Carvacho concluded that the corporation of the Lima Inquisition managed to take convenient advantage of those gains, investing almost the entire amount in *censos*.

Alfonso Quiroz’s (1986) comparative study of the expropriation

campaigns against the Portuguese New Christians carried out starting in 1635 by the Inquisitions of Lima, Cartagena, and Mexico highlighted the decisive role of Inquisitor-Archbishop Juan de Mañozca y Zamora, who both instigated and coordinated the undertaking. This study focuses on the network of economic ties linking the Jewish-Portuguese merchants in various parts of the Spanish Empire and the Lima Inquisition's interest in appropriating their goods for the purpose of putting its own financial house in order. The study ends by noting that the instances of inquisitorial confiscation were occasioned by a variety of factors that could be individual, institutional, ideological, religious, or political-military. The appendix lists many of the individuals whose property was expropriated in those campaigns (79 persons in Lima, 24 in Mexico, and 14 in Cartagena).

Alumbradas and Witches in Lima

Fernando Iwasaki Cauti's extensive (1990) article examines Santa Rosa de Lima in her family and social setting and within the framework of the model of religious perfection promoted in mystical literature of the Siglo de Oro. Drawing on the records of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, Iwasaki Cauti zeroed in on the group of Lima "beatas" belonging to Santa Rosa's inner circle who were accused of alumbradismo (the belief of a mystic Spanish sect in the sixteenth century whose followers sought illumination and union with God). The "beatas" tried (in connection with the auto da fé in 1625) were María de Santo Domingo, Inés Velasco, Ana María Pérez, Inés de Ubitarte, Isabel de Jesús, and Luisa Melgarejo. Iwasaki Cauti analyzed these women's ties to their confessors, their pious reading materials, and their graphic models of imagination, providing profuse documentary evidence on each topic.

In a subsequent article (1993), Iwasaki Cauti reconsidered many of the ideas and most of the quotations presented in the earlier essay. His goal was to situate the cultural surroundings in which numerous saintly behaviors occurred in Lima in the early seventeenth century by identifying the reading materials, images, and mental representations of these women who were leading mystic lives. The second article concentrates on the influence wielded by Santa Rosa among her contemporaries, mainly in the circle of "beatas" or alumbradas who were punished by the Inquisition. Iwasaki Cauti claimed that all the protagonists of this circle followed the same spiritual path, except that Rosa played a special role as a model: her elevation at the altars was a product of the collective mentality and possibly a result of her early death.

In 1985 María Emma Mannarelli published a suggestive analysis of the social position of the *hechiceras* in the colonial urban context of Lima. Her basic information came from accounts of the cases tried by the Inquisition in Peru during the second half of the seventeenth century, includ-

ing some sixty trials for witchcraft, most of them brought against women. The accused were living on the fringes of conventional "sociability" due to various factors: their use of coca and invocations that were part of the Andean ritual world, their use of incantations to limit the power of men, and their reputation as loose and immoral women. Hechiceras came from diverse racial backgrounds but commonly belonged to the lowest classes of society.

Ana Sánchez (1991) also investigated (without using or citing Manarelli's study) Inquisition cases against superstition and witchcraft during the seventeenth century. Sánchez combined information from the Lima tribunal with testimony given in the trials of indigenous "idolatry," kept in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. She established the premise that many of the attributions of magic and witchcraft arose from the inquisitorial mentality or mythology itself. She also substantiated significant assimilation of beliefs of pre-Hispanic origin into colonial society (including the attribution of supernatural powers to coca) and verified the marginality of women accused of demonic practices. Witchcraft was practiced largely by prostitutes and procurers, midwives, and street vendors, who were treated with relative tolerance by the inquisitors.

Cases of Bigamy, Heresy, and Solicitation

Paulino Castañeda Delgado and Pilar Hernández Aparicio (1985a) explored the development of bigamy trials over the two and a half centuries of the Lima tribunal. They pointed out considerations of a canonical nature in the treatment of marriage and polygamy by the Catholic Church, above all during the Counter-Reformation. These authors demonstrated that double marriages were more common in the Indies than in Spain, a phenomenon readily explained by the distance, lengthy stays, and difficulty in communicating from the New World. Like the witchcraft trials, the number of bigamy cases increased progressively in the jurisdiction of the Lima Inquisition. Between 1700 and 1820, these two misdeeds represented almost half of all cases tried.

Birckel (1972) examined at length the trial of Padre Pedro Miguel de Fuentes, a Valencian who was one of the first Jesuits living in Peru. He was accused in 1579 of amorous solicitation and heretical ideas. Although the evaluators and inquisitors in Lima considered Fuentes to be inclined toward alumbadismo, his sentence emphasized the charges of solicitation: the Jesuit was condemned to ten years of hearing no confessions from women, a year of confinement, and lesser penances. Birckel relates this trial to a vengeful campaign directed by Viceroy Toledo against Jesuit priests but suggests in the end that the facts are better explained by the "tropicalization" of the clergy in America. Birckel's appendix features a chronology of the trial and an index of persons named in the proceedings.

Birckel also examined the trial of maestro Diego Corne, a native of Paris and professor of Latin at the Universidad de San Marcos, accused in 1582 of making heretical pronouncements (Birckel 1977). Corne was imprisoned and his property was sequestered, but he was sentenced lightly to recant and was permitted to resume his teaching activities. This case reflects the precarious standing of foreigners before the Spanish American Inquisition, which was suspicious of them because of their proximity to "heretical" doctrines (whether ancient or modern) and as probable enemies of Spain. Foreigners frequently fit into the "body alien to the Catholic Church" that was persecuted by the Inquisition.

In another study, Birckel examined the life of Francisco de Aguirre, an associate of Francisco Pizarro and Pedro de Valdivia. Named to serve as governor of the province of Tucumán, Aguirre has been considered to be an early example of awareness of *americanidad* or psychological *criollismo* (see Birckel 1979). Birckel studied both trials brought against Aguirre on charges of heresy and superstition. The first trial began in 1566 before the Bishop of Charcas, Domingo de Santo Tomás, in the context of the episcopal or primitive Inquisition. The second suit was tried, starting in 1571, before the tribunal by then operating in Lima. Birckel's study established that in both instances, the intervention of the Holy Office was motivated by political considerations: centralizing forces identified with the interests of the Spanish Crown sought to censure Aguirre's free-thinking tendency to go his own way in thought and habit.

Finally, my 1988 article outlined the heresy trial of Dr. Agustín Valenciano de Quiñones, a lawyer in the vicinity of Cuzco, which began in 1574. Quiñones was convicted of heretical ideas and sentenced to public confession at an auto da fé, the loss of all his goods, and four years of imprisonment. In 1595, however, the Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición revoked this sentence and declared Quiñones posthumously absolved of the charge of heresy. Among the trial documents is the inventory of his library of 354 volumes, reputedly the largest collection of books in Peru at the time. The complete bibliography of the collection shows that more than half of it consisted of works on jurisprudence.

The Inquisition and the Censuring of Books

Original documentation on the restricted circulation of printed works within the sphere of the Lima Inquisition during the Bourbon monarchy was explored by Millar Carvacho's (1984) study. It describes the usual methods of controlling reading, highlighting the special facility of the Peruvian Inquisition for repressing the circulation of texts on its own initiative. Millar Carvacho analyzed the judgments against fifteen persons charged by the tribunal with consulting forbidden works. This group included such well-known figures as creole intellectuals José Joa-

quín de Larriva, Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, and José Baquijano y Carrillo, as well as the Baron of Nordenflicht, a scientific promoter. The study shows that the readers of banned books, individuals with university educations and members of the highest strata of society, were particularly interested in access to ideas arising from Jansenism and the Enlightenment. The appendix lists 51 persons who obtained permission between 1738 and 1817 to consult banned works.

In analyzing the case of Hipólito Unanue, Pedro Guibovich Pérez studied the procedure and capacity of licenses for handling banned texts, which were granted by the Inquisition (see Guibovich Pérez 1988). Unanue requested such a license on two occasions: in 1805 before the Lima tribunal and in 1815 before the Consejo Supremo de la Inquisición in Madrid. The inventory of the library of the national leader verifies that he indeed owned works by some banned authors. This appendix corroborates the academic and intellectual merits of Unanue invoked in his petition of 1805.

In another study, Guibovich Pérez (1989a) presented the biography of fray Juan de Almaraz, an Augustinian from Lima, prior and provincial of his order as well as a professor at the Universidad de San Marcos. The study analyzes his efforts as one of the first censors of the Lima Inquisition. Documentary references verify the intense undertaking that Almaraz carried out in pursuing books that were forbidden or suspected of heresy. For example, the censor went on record in 1582 against the circulation of *Il Cortegiano* by Baldassare Castiglione and in 1583 against an anonymous work entitled *Consuelo y oratorio espiritual*, in which he identified traces of alumbradismo. Guibovich Pérez stressed the severe control of texts exercised by the Lima Inquisition—at least in the early years—in impeding the spread of religious and moral dissent in the Indies.

Culture and Wealth of Inquisition Officials

Using documentation in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid, Escandell Bonet (1975) examined in detail the expenditures of Lima inquisitor Licenciado Antonio Gutiérrez de Ulloa, as shown in the use of some private accounts between 1577 and 1580. The account books reveal Ulloa's ordinary domestic expenses, including entries for buying poultry, wine, candles, and soap. More interesting are the entries on the copious "extraordinary expenses" (voluntary and incidental) of this inquisitor, of which clothing, food, and housing are the most prominent categories. This source of data allows knowledge of diverse aspects of Ulloa's private life: his commercial transactions, his retinue of relatives and followers, his sumptuous wardrobe, and his pastimes and love affairs.

Gabriela Ramos presented in 1989 a study of the economic ties between Inquisition officials and the business sector of Lima at the end of

the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. Making good use of information from notarial records, she focused on the activities of inquisitor Dr. Pedro Ordóñez Flórez and his circle of relatives and associates, who belonged to the highest social and financial levels of the viceroyalty. Ordóñez Flórez tried by various means to remedy the financial predicament of the Lima Inquisition and managed to amass a notable fortune of his own by participating in diverse commercial ventures. When he left the Lima tribunal to take over the Archdiocese of Bogotá in 1611, his estate was valued at 184,225 pesos. Ramos covered in less detail the economic interests of other Inquisition officials during that period.

In a somewhat complementary work, Guibovich Pérez (1989b) focused on the personal library of the same inquisitor, a collection of 208 volumes that was appraised at 1,347 pesos when Ordóñez Flórez left Lima in 1611. Guibovich Pérez found mainly commentaries and monographs on civil and canonical jurisprudence as well as treaties on heresy and the Inquisition. In view of this finding and the complete absence of light reading, Guibovich Pérez concluded that this collection was a working library that had been selected with care. Accompanying the study is an inventory that identifies each title.

Carlos González Sánchez made good use of a will and posthumous inventory of goods found in the Archivo General de Indies to scrutinize the material possessions and intellectual tastes of Licenciado Juan Alcedo de la Rocha, a prosecutor of the Lima Inquisition who died in 1586 (see González Sánchez 1990). These documents describe the decorative objects in his house and all his personal property, valued at 66,504 pesos. Business deals and contracts in the Indies were the source of the fortune amassed by this priest. Most of his estate was bequeathed to his relatives in Castile. González Sánchez analyzed carefully the prosecutor's library of 116 volumes, primarily works on jurisprudence, his area of scholarly training.

Administrative Relations and Disputes over Jurisdiction

The events occurring during the far-reaching inspection of the Lima tribunal made by inquisitor Dr. Juan Ruiz de Prado (which lasted from 1587 to 1594) have been studied in detail by Castañeda Delgado and Hernández Aparicio (1984). The Spaniards' monograph focused on four aspects: the review of trials carried out by the inspecting inquisitor; the accusations made against Licenciado Gutiérrez de Ulloa and other ministers of the tribunal; the reports and recommendations issued by the *visitador*; and the consequences of his inspection. The study ends by indicating the need for an integrated study of the performance of Inquisitor Ulloa, a towering figure who dominated the Peruvian Inquisition during the sixteenth century.

Castañeda Delgado and Hernández Aparicio (1985b) delved into the controversy surrounding the debate over which jurisdiction applied to charges of bigamy in the Indies. This issue arose in the middle of the eighteenth century after a royal proclamation in 1754 declared that crimes of double marriages had to be investigated and punished by the civil courts. From that time forward, the Inquisition could interfere only in these bigamy cases involving deviations from the faith or "*malas creencias*." The new disposition gave rise to a lengthy and complex debate, recorded in a series of briefs, opinions, and decisions now found in the archives in Seville and Madrid. The conflict over jurisdiction was finally settled by another royal decree in 1788, which affirmed that the crime of bigamy was the exclusive domain of civil courts, although the decree authorized magistrates of the Lima Inquisition to render parallel judgments of subordinate and cumulative value on the subject.

From another angle, Escandell Bonet (1985) formulated a description of the inquisitorial bureaucracy in Lima in functional terms. Once again concentrating on the period from 1570 to 1600, he identified three stages: an early relationship in which the Lima Inquisition was subordinate to the viceregal magistracy under the rule of Toledo; then a confrontational relationship to this magistracy under the rule of the Conde del Villar; and finally a distancing relationship between the two powers that was more lasting. Bureaucratic effects of this dynamic were the privatization of jurisdictional practice and the Inquisition's tendency as an institution toward hegemonic autonomy, especially vis-à-vis the supreme political power represented by the viceroy.

Millar Carvacho's (1986) article offered broad analysis of the jurisdictional disputes that the Lima tribunal got into in refuting regular ecclesiastical jurisdiction and civil jurisdiction as well. These conflicts arose over disagreements about the trials dealing with religious faith, the privileges of ministers (and their dependents and slaves), the collection of cancelled sinecures, the administration of foundations, and related issues. Four phases can be distinguished in the Inquisition's ongoing struggle: the formative stage (1570–1598), the reaction by the state (1598–1621), the apogee of inquisitorial authority (1621–1700), and its decline (1700–1820). The plethora of conflicts generated by the Inquisition, tenacious defender of its prerogatives and its jurisdiction, can be explained by the institutional conviction of its undeniable supremacy over all civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the viceroyalty.

No less significant a topic is the relationship between the Lima Inquisition and its institutional counterpart dedicated to repressing traditional rituals and beliefs in the Andean world: the Extirpación de las Idolatrías. Iris Gareis (1989) highlighted the ways in which establishment of the extirpation campaigns in the seventeenth century represented a satisfactory solution for both the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the interests

of the colonial state. In pursuing their goal of guaranteeing control of the indigenous communities, the inspections in search of idolatries were complemented by the founding of a school for sons of *caciques* and a shelter in Lima for reforming “*los dogmatizadores*.” Clearly, the judicial and punitive proceedings of the Lima Inquisition served as models for the *visitas de idolatrías*, despite the fact that mutual incomprehension between the judges, the accused, and witnesses created a basic difference: in these trials, at least two separate discourses or levels of communication coexisted.

The same set of issues was broached in a recent essay by Nicholas Griffiths (1994), who stressed the ideological inconsistencies within the extirpation system. For example, the equating of Andean religious leaders with simple “*hechiceros*” (sorcerers) shows the flagrant inability (or unwillingness) of the inspecting judges to comprehend indigenous rituals and beliefs in their own context. In the end, it becomes evident that the Inquisition model did not turn out to be the most appropriate one for combating native religions because one system or the other ended up having to deal with different societies and cultural norms.

The Finances of the Peruvian Tribunal

Maurice Birckel (1969, 1970) set forth a documentary description of the treasury of the Lima Inquisition during its first decades, from 1569 to 1642. These two articles drew on the accounts and correspondence of the receiver’s office, located today in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Birckel began by discussing the informational strengths and weaknesses of this kind of financial documentation and then presented an overview of the evolution of the Inquisition’s wealth. The study’s internal structure reflects the structure and availability of the archival materials. This two-part study provided no details on the confiscations related to charges of “*gran complicidad*” made against the Portuguese Jews nor did it draw conclusions, promising to accomplish these tasks in a subsequent study (of which I am not aware). The appendix presents brief documentation on the income and expenses of the Inquisitions of Seville and Murcia.

In another worthy effort at synthesis, Millar Carvacho (1985) sketched a panorama of the financial development of the Lima tribunal over the two and a half centuries that it operated. This article details the circumstances surrounding its major categories of income and expenses, including fiscal subventions, income from sinecures, fines, and penances, confiscation of goods, levies and revenues from stipends, consignments sent to the Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición, salaries of inquisitors and lower-level ministers, maintenance costs of houses and prisoners, and administration of foundations. Millar Carvacho examined the interrelationship between economic phenomena and other aspects of inquisitorial

activity, such as the trying of crimes against the faith. He presented a suggestive outline of the Inquisition's financial evolution in three stages: its difficult times (1570–1629), its prosperous years (1629–1721), and its period of decline (1721–1820).

The Social Significance of the Peruvian Inquisition

Escandell Bonet's (1972) essay noted the peculiarly American characteristics of the Peruvian Inquisition, drawing on the records generated by the inspection of Ruiz de Prado of the tribunal in Lima. Escandell Bonet focused specifically on the charges brought by the Consejo Supremo against inquisitor Gutiérrez de Ulloa, classifying them according to their content. Escandell Bonet came up with three aspects or kinds of distinguishing characteristics: those pertaining to indictments, which were manifested in illegal proceedings and breaks with formal procedure; sociological peculiarities (evident in the presence of Jewish converts within the ranks of the Inquisition); and psycho-human oddities manifested in the privatizing of the inquisitorial jurisdiction. Escandell Bonet thus evaluated a complex transformation in values in Hispanic American society.

By utilizing the Inquisition papers held in the archives of the Consejo Supremo de la Inquisición, Escandell Bonet's (1980) essay addressed questions about mental representations and the social groups that produced them. His conclusions emphasize the significance of the Lima Inquisition documents as an exceptional source for analyzing the facts of the so-called third level made up of attitudes, ideas, mentalities, a source capable of illuminating the formative impulses that are the primitive irreducible core of the human soul. Moreover, Escandell Bonet has demonstrated by citing various examples the acculturation going on in colonial society and pointed out the pronounced secularization of members of the clergy in America.

Gabriela Ramos's (1988) article was based on the "relaciones de causas de fe" (summaries of trials for committing crimes against the faith) of the Lima tribunal between 1605 and 1666, which add up to 366 trials. Ramos divided them into seven categories of offenses: blasphemies, pronouncements opposing the authority and doctrine of the Catholic Church, bigamous marriages, misdeeds by members of the clergy, practice of Judaism, witchcraft and sorcery, and Lutheranism and Calvinism. Ramos's study demonstrates that the Peruvian Inquisition persecuted in particular those who claimed to be "Old Christians" and that most of its activities were dedicated to examining and correcting deviations from the faith and from proper conduct within Catholic parishes. The tribunal also made extensive use of public humiliation as a means of undermining the desire for upward social mobility of Iberian migrants, most of them from humble rural sectors in Spain.

Based on her findings in notarial and Inquisition testimony in the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima, Ramos (1991) proposed a basic reinterpretation of the role of the Inquisition in colonial Peruvian society. Given the fact that the tribunal had only a limited sphere of activity, which was restricted to correcting the morals and customs of the population of European origin, the functionaries of the Lima Inquisition dedicated themselves to making the most of their duties—and of the corresponding power to confiscate that went with it—for the benefit of their own interests and deals. Her study confirms that the inquisitors, prosecutors, secretaries, commissioners, advisors, and general functionaries of the institution together formed a tightly interlocking group within the ruling class of the viceroyalty. Ramos cites the example of the Gutiérrez de Quintanilla family, a dynasty of inquisitorial officials and prominent businessmen from Huamanga. Her appendix lists commissioners of the Peruvian Inquisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In 1991 I published an essay surveying the most important recent contributions on the evolution and activities of the Peruvian Inquisition from beginning to end (Hampe-Martínez 1991). It summarizes the founding and internal organization of the tribunal, describes the judicial procedures used to punish heretics and immoral persons, and comments on the various categories of crimes, indicating some particular cases. This essay also discusses the role played by the Inquisition in colonial Peruvian society in its vigilance over religion and customs as well as the circumstances of its extinction in 1820.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since Bartolomé Escandell Bonet began to explore the papers of the Consejo de la Suprema in Madrid in the 1950s,⁶ a lengthy series of contributions have touched on various aspects of the history of the Inquisition in Lima. But they have not yet achieved the depth of the studies of the Spanish Inquisition. A long list could be compiled of authors who in recent years have examined the trial activities of the tribunals operating on the Iberian Peninsula as well as those investigating the Inquisition's relations with various marginal groups in the metropolis, including "alumbados," Jews, gypsies, and witches.⁷

6. The first fruit of Escandell Bonet's work was his doctoral thesis, "La vida en el Perú en el siglo XVI, a través de los papeles de la Inquisición de Lima," Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1951.

7. Important recent contributions on related topics have been made by Juan Blázquez Miguel (on the Inquisitions of Albacete and Murcia), Jaime Contreras (the Inquisition of Galicia), Jean-Pierre Dedieu (the Inquisition of Toledo), Ricardo García Cárcel (the Inquisition of Valencia), Haim Beinart (on the Inquisition and Jews), Mercedes García Arenal (on the Inquisition and Moorish converts), María Helena Sánchez Ortega (on the Inquisition and gypsies), Gustav Henningsen (on the Inquisition and witchcraft), Rafael Carrasco (on

In the colonial territories in South America, the Inquisition clearly exhibited from its early days a marked inclination toward autonomy and sociopolitical hegemony. This tendency was reinforced by the greater independence and broader discretionary powers granted to the magistrates in Lima and Cartagena in comparison with their Spanish counterparts because of the difficulties created by geographical distances (see Millar Carvacho 1983b, 154). It seems inaccurate, moreover, to try to draw chronological parallels between the evolution of the peninsular tribunals and those in the colonies of the New World. While the “crisis” of the Spanish Inquisition was unfolding between 1621 and 1700 (years corresponding to the rule of the weaker Hapsburg kings), that same period witnessed growth in the Peruvian Inquisition in terms of administrative relations and financial ties with the viceregal ruling class (see Pérez Villanueva and Escandell Bonet 1984, chap. 4, 996ff).

Another differentiating factor was the human context, the population among which the repressive activities of the Lima Inquisition were carried out. The control exercised preferentially over the rural areas of the Iberian Peninsula contrasted with the vigilance exercised in the Americas over minority sectors of urban populations. Given this difference, the Peruvian reality does not fit into the argument that the Inquisition was welcomed because its punitive code signified the logical expression of the prejudices prevailing in society, or at least in most of it. This argument was made by Henry Kamen in reference to Spanish society (1965, 294).

Even with the limitations noted, it would be foolish to deny the impact wielded by the vigilance of the Lima magistrates over religion and customs. The Inquisition’s field of observation encompassed all kinds of crimes against morality, the Catholic faith, and ecclesiastical discipline that were committed in Peruvian urban society (see Hampe-Martínez 1991). The cases tried in Lima reveal at bottom that the Inquisition constituted “a tribunal predominantly [of social customs], of social morality, of vigilance and imposition of the ethical model of the established traditional society,” as Escandell Bonet observed (1984, 924). In sum, analysis of the trial activities of the Lima Inquisition—which were not numerous but steady—ends up confirming the longstanding judgment made by José Toribio Medina in 1887 (see Medina 1956, 1:7–8). He perceived in the molding intervention of this institution the origins of the “sociability” or modern social life of Latin America. Without doubt, if the effort at moral control and ideological repression made by the Inquisition had not taken place, the characteristics of the colonial legacy in this subcontinent would be different.

the Inquisition and sexual repression), Antonio Márquez (on the Inquisition and culture), Sagrario Muñoz Calvo (on the Inquisition and science), and Virgilio Pinto Crespo (on the Inquisition and ideological control).

In terms of historiographical lacunae that should be filled by future research, the ways in which the trials were handled for certain marginal groups in colonial society should be examined. In particular, studies of bigamists, fornicators, pimps, and homosexuals should reveal intriguing facets of the colonial mentality and human behavior during that era.

Regarding the economic role played by the corporation of the Lima Inquisition, modern studies have given primacy to analyzing the charges of “gran complicidad” against the Jewish-Portuguese merchants in the seventeenth century, also essaying general schematizations of the development of Inquisition holdings. For the future, it would certainly be desirable to analyze more closely the Inquisition’s roles as landlord, landowner, and credit agency, along with its handling of income, foundations, and charitable institutions. Scholars must investigate the ways in which the institution combined the task of moral vigilance with its interests in the financial sphere. Will the attention of the inquisitors—and of their extensive circle of relatives and collaborators—prove to have been focused above all on promoting business deals?

The economic issue brings up the subject of the role of the Lima tribunal in the conflictual exercise of power that took place in colonial society, a matter that requires reinterpreting the Inquisition’s frequent jurisdictional disputes with other bureaucracies and studying its influence on the political course of the viceroyalty. Regarding the social repercussions of the Lima Inquisition, a complementary study could inquire opportunely into the curious assimilation and sincronicity that can be noted—as much in rituals as in superstitious practices—between the countryside (a vital space in the Andean communities) and the cities of Peru (populated by inhabitants of European origin). The abundance of sources available and their informative possibilities transcend a focus that is merely institutional or anecdotal, like those in most earlier works. As recent contributions have demonstrated, the Inquisition was an organization central to Peruvian social life, one that functioned in the bosom of daily living and human relations.

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