

GOD CAN WAIT

PARISH PRIESTS, *DOCTRINEROS*, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION

DURING SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERU 1620-1670

by

DANIEL RICARDO GUZMAN SALINAS

Bachelor of Arts, 2005

Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos

Lima, Perú

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

AddRan College of Liberal Arts

Texas Christian University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

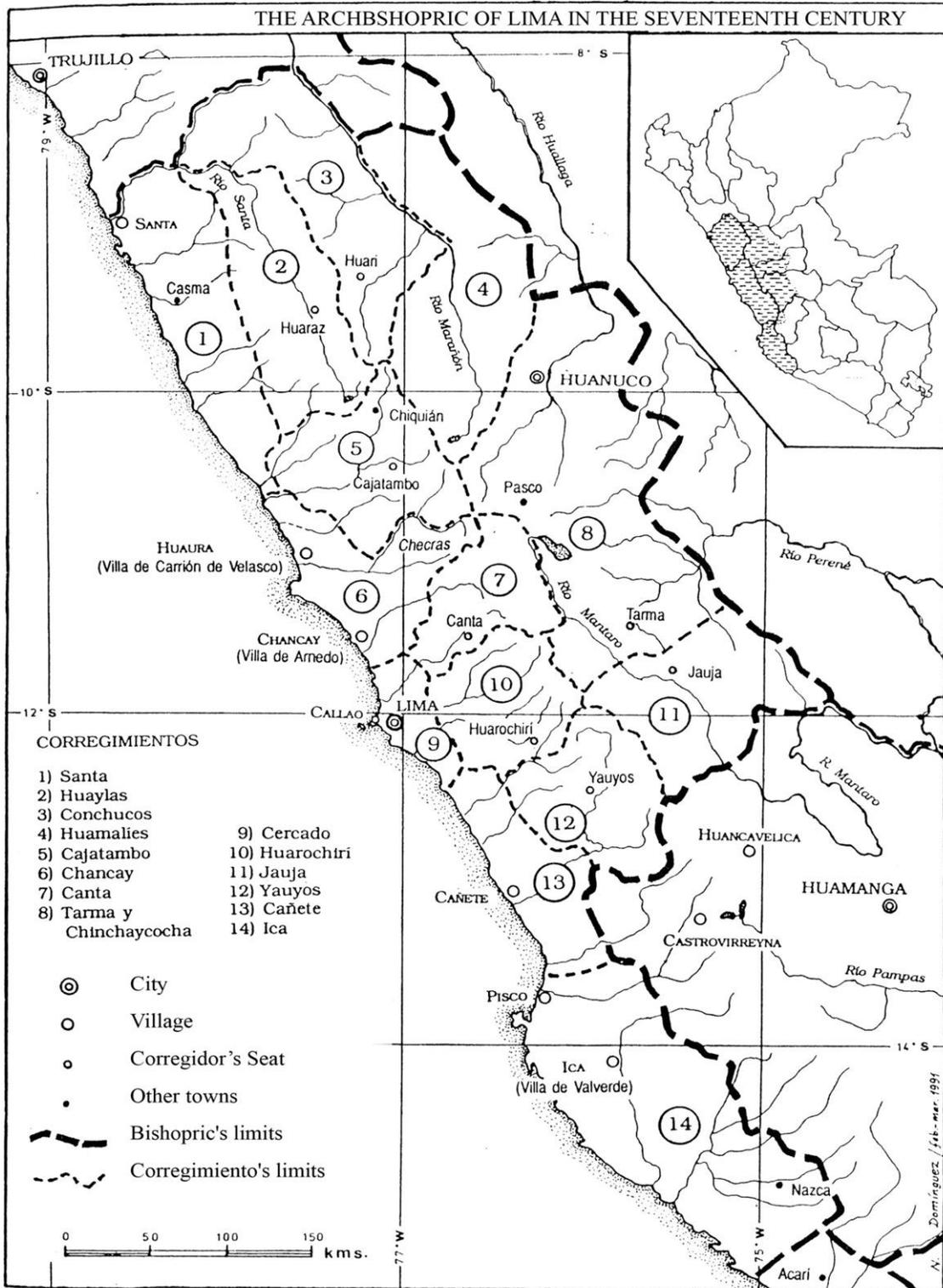
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December, 2010

Table of Contents

Map	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Archbishops of Lima and the Colonial Church Context	11
<i>The basis for an ecclesiastical project: Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero</i>	12
<i>Gonzalo de Campo and an Incomplete Continuation</i>	17
<i>Hernando Arias de Ugarte, Lawyer and Bishop</i>	18
<i>Back to the Beginning: Pedro de Villagómez</i>	22
Chapter 2: Parish Priests, Parishes and the Administration of the Local Church	26
<i>Priests and Pastoral Performance</i>	28
<i>Priests and “Honest Life”</i>	38
<i>Pastoral Performance vs. Career Advancement</i>	43
<i>Parishes and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions</i>	45
<i>Generating Institutional Control? Visitas and its Efficiency Discussed</i>	50
Conclusions	56
Appendix	59
Bibliography	65



Map courtesy of Laura Gutiérrez Arbulú, director of the Archivo Arzobispal of Lima.

INTRODUCTION

Modern studies of the Peruvian colonial church have mostly emphasized the process of evangelization and the extirpation of idolatry during the seventeenth century. Scholars have been successful in analyzing the church's work in particular regions (e.g. Pierre Duviols on Cajatambo), individual priests' experiences (e.g. Antonio Acosta's biographical study on Francisco de Ávila), and the relationship between priests and their parishioners (e.g. Bernard Lavallé on the priests' economic exploitation of native parishioners during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The study of evangelization and extirpation of idolatry developed out of the necessity of understanding how the church functioned at "ground level," because the earliest studies focused on the institutional history of the church and the biographies of the archbishops.¹

However, nobody has studied the connections between the central church (the archbishopric) and the local churches (the parishes) in a period of increasing centralization. During the years 1620 and 1670, four archbishops of Lima attempted to enforce ecclesiastical legislation that aimed at establishing a homogenous, and overall, powerful institution. A study that focuses on this activity would be helpful to understand why such an effort failed. I will show that the church's own institutional weaknesses and the priests' particular interests appeared as important reasons for obstructing the archbishops' policies.

¹ The term "extirpation of idolatry" refers to the colonial church's policies that aimed at fighting local native religion, both physically and ideologically, during the seventeenth century. During the early seventeenth century, the Archbishopric of Lima launched sporadic inspections that aimed to discover and destroy the remaining elements of native religion, such as temples and sacred images. The extirpation policies also entailed the priests lecturing natives about how "wrong" their religion was in contrast to Christianity. The inspectors' reports regarding their findings represent today an invaluable source for studying not only native religion, but also the native social organization, patterns of settlement, cultural traditions, and many more relevant subjects for historical and anthropological research, as well as other related disciplines.

To date, research on evangelization has shifted from the concept of a straight-forward and inevitable process to an inter-cultural dialogue. Thus, historians' attention has also shifted from the evangelization process *per se* to the people whose lives were affected by this process, that is, to the interaction between parish priests and the native populations. The past studies of the church could be summarized as comprising three major schools. The first school comprises scholars writing from a "church framework." Such writings were characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century, as most church historians were priests. This writing is also characterized by being mostly descriptive, largely based on primary sources and often lenient on and supportive of evangelization. The best example of this writing would be Ruben Vargas Ugarte's *Historia de la Iglesia en el Peru* (1953-1962). Historians within this school did not particularly specialize in the study of evangelization, but rather wrote general histories of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, these historians were successful in establishing the two most important aspects of colonial religiosity: the project of evangelizing the natives and the presence of future Catholic saints among urban populations during the seventeenth century.² These historians commonly accepted that evangelization existed to improve the natives' lives. In this school's writings, cultural difference is only mentioned to point out "religious error" and "vices" of the pre-colonial society.

Even though these authors generated biased analysis because of their religious formation, this historiography provides valuable information regarding the church's juridical basis. Valentin Trujillo outlined the legal structure of the church after the Councils of 1551, 1567 and 1582 in *La legislacion eclesiástica en el Virreynato del Peru* (1981). Trujillo's work is his final dissertation for a PhD. in canon law. It remains the only extensive study on the development of ecclesiastical

² Vargas Ugarte, *La historia de la iglesia en el Perú*, vol. 2.

legislation in colonial Peru. Trujillo includes a chapter dedicated to the juridical study of the *doctrinas*.

Anthropologist Manuel Marzal can be considered part of this “church writers” school, even when his subject was not the history of the church. Marzal’s main studies addressed popular religiosity in present-day and colonial Peru. His best known work, *La transformacion religiosa peruana* (1983), included aspects from the evangelization process that, according to him, shaped the appearance of Catholicism in rural communities in twentieth-century Peru. Marzal uses the devotion to the saints to assure readers that colonial natives accepted and embraced Catholicism, generating a religious system he denominates “syncretism.” This syncretism assumes that certain elements of Andean religion such as the cult to the *Pachamama* and the *Apus* survived, but within the logical structures of Christianity.³ I consider Marzal as part of this school as the ultimate goal of these scholars was to present Catholicism as an integral component of Peruvian society. Even when Marzal applied anthropological techniques such as field work and he had experience in source research, he stated, as other church writers, that the religious phenomena that emerged after the evangelization process was eminently Catholic. Through his research in rural communities in the Peruvian Andes, Marzal arrived at the conclusion that the persistence of some of these traditional Andean religious categories became part of Catholicism itself. Thus, even when religious phenomena in the Andes showed pre-Christian imagery, providing a distinct

³ *Pachamama* is a Quechua word that translates directly to English as “Mother Earth.” *Pachamama* was a female divinity of paramount importance to native Andeans because she was the primary provider of life. Andeans paid tribute to *Pachamama* offering sacred plants, such as coca, or camelid blood in order to be allowed to grow their crops. *Apu* is the Quechua term that refers to a local divinity and legendary ancestor of a particular group related by kin. In the Andes, *Apus* were commonly represented by mountains. Both terms, *Pachamama* and *Apu* are still relevant to the present-day peasant communities throughout the Andes.

“face” to present-day Andean religiosity, Marzal proposed that the post-evangelization religious manifestations were eminently Catholic.⁴

A second, more critical approach emerged among scholars who brought a social history perspective of colonial evangelical institutions. These scholars based their studies on rigorous source analysis, which led to reinterpretations of the evangelization discourse, identifying social conflict within the indoctrination process. Representatives of this school, such as Enrique Urbano, emphasized a hermeneutical approach to their topics. Urbano, in particular, identified classic categories such as myth and supreme beings in Andean tradition, showing an influence from the study of religions and writers such as Mircea Eliade and Georges Dumézil. Urbano’s students, such as Gabriela Ramos and Juan Carlos García Cabrera, helped to define the most recognizable feature of this school: the study of Spanish institutions and historical actors.

This school’s new approach brought topics such as ecclesiastical policies, priestly instruction or discourse analysis of the *sermonarios*.⁵ The aforementioned Ramos published research on ecclesiastical tithing and commerce as an issue of social conflict during the seventeenth century (*Diezmos, comercio y conflictos sociales a comienzos del siglo XVII*, 1994). García Cabrera discussed the politics behind the first anti-idolatry campaigns (*Ofensas a Dios*, 1994). Juan Carlos Estenssoro focused on the ideas that circled around evangelization and the priests’ creation of sermons as a powerful conversion tool (*El poder de la palabra*, 1994; *Del paganismo a la santidad*, 2003).

⁴ Marzal, *Tierra encantada: Tratado de antropología religiosa de América Latina*, 200.

⁵ *Sermonario* is a book containing a compilation of a priest’s sermons written and published in Spanish and Quechua, as well as other teachings and examples supposed to serve as moral guidelines for natives. After the 1582 Provincial Council of Lima, the archbishops began requesting that their priests write their sermons in order to use them as an aid for the standard catechism. Sermons commonly featured descriptions and examples related to the Andean reality and the Spanish-perceived history of the Inca as a way to “illustrate” natives about the “errors” of their traditional religion.

Outside Peru, there is productive study that can be considered within this group. Sabine MacCormack has written on evangelization policies in early colonial Peru (*Religion in the Andes*, 1991). Her work focuses on the early Spaniards' analysis of Andean culture – which was based on their own Christian-biased mindset. During the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Spaniards based their interpretation on their own previous observations, failing to understand the cultural reality they had in front of them. French historian Bernard Lavalle published many studies on colonial Andean culture, including evangelization. One particular article, “Las doctrinas de indígenas como núcleos de explotación colonial, siglos XVI-XVII,” (*Allpanchis* 19, 1982) presents the parish priest constantly taking advantage of his native parishioners from his position of authority in front in order to obtain economic benefit, which is a cause for social conflict.

This second school's study of colonial Andean society's actors provided historians with valuable information about individuals within the evangelization process. This trend particularly benefited the reconstruction of the *doctrineros*' careers, thanks to the availability of previously unused sources.⁶ Even high-profile priests such as Francisco de Ávila, a well-known name among those who study the anti-idolatry campaigns, were subjects of intense “rediscovery.” Spanish historian Antonio Acosta provided a valuable biographical study based on judicial trials during Ávila's tenure as the San Damian parish priest in Huarochiri (*Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí*, 1987).

The third school came as a result of the development of ethnohistory and dissolving the boundaries among the social sciences, providing research with an interdisciplinary emphasis.

⁶ *Doctrinero* was a priest assigned to a native parish. Besides the standard tasks for parish priests (who were assigned to Spanish populations), such as the administration of the sacraments and the institution itself, *doctrineros* had to teach the Christian doctrine to the native populations, hence the name (from the Spanish: *doctrinar*).

This school focused also on source interpretation; however, it began taking into consideration the natives' culture as a determinant factor for shaping colonial relationships and society. As an innovation in evangelization studies, this school discontinued the idea of natives as perpetual victims of the clergy's abuse. The ethnohistorical approach argued that Andean culture was well alive and offered different mechanisms of resistance and survival to Christianity's hegemony. Nevertheless, this school also demonstrated awareness of the significance of the cultural impact that the imposition of a foreign religious structure represented for the native culture. Pierre Duviols argued in *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial* (1971, translated to Spanish in 1977) that such an impact was particularly harsh for the natives because Christianity and native Andean religion differed radically. Other works by Duviols, such as *Cultura Andina y Represion* (1986) and its redition, *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrias* (2003), showed natives adapting their religious background to Catholic teachings by interpreting the priests' teachings through their own cultural experience.

Contributions from anthropology are common in this school. Peruvian scholar Luis Millones provides prolific examples of Andean culture's survival throughout the entire colonial period. Millones's articles such as "Religion and Power in the Andes" (*Ethnohistory* 26 (3)) and "*Los rebaños del señor*" (*America Indigena* 39) show that during the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries, the curacas maintained their power as Andean religious ministers.⁷ Frank Salomon has dedicated extensive research in the central Andean region of Lima. Salomon provided an in-depth interpretation of the Andean world, kinship, and ancestor relationships in his preliminary study of the 1991 English edition of the Huarochiri Manuscript. Salomon

⁷ A *Curaca* was an Andean ethnic lord. *Curacas* represented social, political, and religious authority at the local level in the Andes. During colonial times, the Spanish maintained them as a link between the colonial government and the native populations, as *Curacas* still maintained a large amount of legitimacy in front of the latter. Nevertheless, after the conquest, the *Curaca* structure suffered transformations regarding the traditional pre-Hispanic model. For further detail, see Ramírez, *To Feed and be Fed*, chapter 4.

addressed concepts such as *huaca* and *ayllu*, all very helpful for understanding the Andean mindset in many situations, such as the declarations of native witnesses in the extirpation processes.⁸

Irene Silverblatt's research provided historians with a gendered approach. Silverblatt presented a glimpse of the colonial experiences through the women's perspective (*Moon, Sun and Witches*, 1987). The author argued that colonial law stressed male sovereignty over women, denying them access to wealth and prestige within their communities. Moreover, because Spaniards ignored women's roles in the natives' sacred rituals, identifying native women as religious ministers brought the comparison of these women to European witches in the Spaniards' minds.

Another feature within this school is that scholars shifted the focus to the late seventeenth century, arguing that studies of evangelization and the *doctrinas* presented different phenomena than the early indoctrination period. Scholars assumed the evangelization project was extinguished after the aggressive anti-idolatry campaigns during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, Kenneth Mills' research showed that the natives' religious expressions existent in the late seventeenth century was quite different from the clergy's teachings. In *An Evil Lost to Sight?* (1994) and *Idolatry and Its Enemies* (1997), Mills presents this phenomenon as "post-evangelization Andean religion." In "The Limits of Religious Coercion in Mid-Colonial Peru" (*Past & Present* 145) and "Bad Christians in Colonial Peru" (*Colonial Latin American Review* 5 (2)), Mills discusses the necessary negotiation over power between natives and clergy, which was required to maintain social stability in the *doctrinas*.

⁸ *Huaca* was the manifestation of the sacred in the Andean world. This manifestation could be found in different material expressions, such as geographical landmarks, such as mountains or lakes, and also in humanly made objects, such as effigies, mummies, oracles, etc. Humans could also be *huacas*. *Ayllu* was the basic unit of social organization in the Andes. Membership of a particular *ayllu* was defined by relations of kinship, as the members of an *ayllu* were said to descend from a common ancestor. See Salomon, 14-22.

Similarly, Nicholas Griffiths argues that the late seventeenth-century *doctrina* required a great deal of power bargaining. Griffiths presents the idea of an “idolatry triangle” where the priest, the *curaca* and the *hechicero* competed for turning the fragile balance of power to their particular interests (*The Cross and the Serpent*, 1996).⁹

Some other contributions to this field of study come from linguists and Quechua scholars, such as Gerald Taylor. Taylor based his research on the study of the Quechua that priests used on their sermons and catechisms. Such studies are helpful, providing information on how Spaniards understood native languages and how they adapted Spanish to a language without writing. We can find some examples of Taylor’s study on evangelization discourse in *Sermones y Ejemplos* (2002), *El sol, la luna y las estrellas no son Dios* (2003) and *Amarás a Dios sobre todas las cosas* (2007). Taylor has also published three Spanish editions of the Huarochiri Manuscript (1987, 1999 and 2008).¹⁰ Similar efforts are found in Cesar Itier’s research, based on colonial and contemporary Andean Quechua culture, including a linguistic study in the 1993 edition of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui’s *Relacion de antiguedades de este reyno del Peru*.

My work builds on the third school because it presents the local churches within a context of continuous dialogue and negotiation among its members (priests and parishioners). Nevertheless it differs in that, while realizing the existence of other factors for the failure of the church’s centralization project – the most important being native resistance – I emphasize the reasons

⁹ Because Spaniards described Andean religion as diabolical, they compared all the native religious ministers with the European version of the “devil’s” servants – witches and sorcerers. Therefore, they used the word *hechicero* (sorcerer) when referring to a native priest.

¹⁰ The Huarochirí Manuscript is an anonymous, handwritten text in Quechua which provides the only known primary source addressing pre-Hispanic mythology in South America. It was probably written between 1607 and 1609 by a native parishioner from the *doctrina* of San Damián (70 miles East of Lima) under the supervision of priest Francisco de Ávila. The Manuscript became critical for the generation of the extirpation of idolatry policies during the seventeenth century, as it supported Ávila’s accusation that natives still had knowledge of their past religion, and that, moreover, the Andean mythology was actively preserved among the native communities. The Manuscript’s possible date of creation caused some historians (including myself) to interpret that Ávila promoted its redaction and denounced it as retaliation for a previous trial that his native parishioners held against him. To this day, scholars have published at least twelve editions of the Manuscript in eight languages.

related to parish administration as critical for causing such a failure. I will present the church as attempting to strengthen its position within colonial society through the provision of ecclesiastic legislation specific for its goals, but ultimately obtaining results different from their original plans. I will feature the priests' particular interests, as well as the conflicts between them and their parishioners as important reasons for the failure of the archbishops' project for the centralization of the church. Other reasons I identify as important for this failure are the distances between the settlement of the parishes and their poorly-defined jurisdictions, which complicated the priests' administration and the church's inability to establish a long-term system of control over the activities of the parish priests. Thus, I present a central church that looked forward to connecting with the local church; but within this project, these issues appeared as obstacles for the implementation of such centralization. Even with the political effort that the archbishops placed on increasing their power in rural areas during the period between 1620 and 1670, the church remained a weak institution.

In order to support my argument, I will present seven priests who through their actions provide examples portraying the way these officials related to ecclesiastical legislation and authority. These cases show in detail how priests understood the functioning of the church as an institution and how they acknowledge the difficulties that the archbishopric had in order to connect with the local church. Even though I realize that the number of priests and trials involving parish priests exceeds my sample, and therefore, I cannot address my interpretation as perfectly accurate, these priests illustrate an ongoing situation of the seventeenth-century church in Peru and suggest that parish priests managed to recognize the archbishops' limitations in enforcing ecclesiastical authority.

This research will use primary sources from the Archivo Arzobispal of Lima (AAL) in order to analyze the priests' interactions with their parishioners. These documents will provide information regarding the church's attempts to control priests who acted against ecclesiastical legislation. Prominent sections containing manuscripts on this topic are *Capítulos*, which features accusations against priests issued by their own parishioners; *Visitas Eclesiásticas*, periodical inspections that the archbishopric ordered to gather information regarding the parishes' functioning; *Curatos*, internal administrative investigations related to parishes; and *Causas Criminales*, which also contains documentation featuring trials against priests. In contrast to the *Capítulos*, the *Causas Criminales* section presents trials against priests who committed crimes against the church itself or against its authorities. Other manuscripts I used in this research are from the *Concursos* section. These documents present information about the priests who applied for assignments to a new parish or *doctrina*. These records are important because here we can identify a priest's professional development, or how active he was in the parish system. I will also be using the articles from the 1582 Council of Lima, the 1613 and 1636 Diocesan Synods, and archbishop Pedro de Villagómez *Carta pastoral de exhortación* (1649) in order to provide background on ecclesiastical legislation during the seventeenth century.¹¹

¹¹ A Provincial Council is a bishops' assembly convened in order to discuss topics related to the administration of the church and Christian doctrine. The assembly entails the participation of the ecclesiastical authorities of the region where it is convened, as well as of its dependent jurisdictions. In the case of the 1582 Council of Lima, the Archbishopric hosted the authorities from the dioceses of Cusco, Charcas, Paraguay, Tucumán, Santiago del Extremo, Quito, Popayan, Panama, San León de Nicaragua and other Central American jurisdictions. For further detail see P. Tineo, *Los Concilios Limenses en la evangelización Latinoamericana*, 245-275. A Diocesan Synod is also an ecumenical assembly, but different from a Council, it is only directed to the ecclesiastical authorities of a single diocese. Here I used the word "article," because it reflects the modern concept of a specific direction that is part of a body of laws, as in a national constitution. However, the final resolutions of the colonial councils and synods used the Spanish term "*constituciones*," which I will use for historical accuracy.

CHAPTER 1

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF LIMA AND THE COLONIAL CHURCH CONTEXT

In this chapter, I will discuss the context for the ecclesiastic legislation between 1620 and 1670, and the four archbishops who created and supported this legislation. This period was characterized as the one with the largest amount of ecclesiastical reforms in colonial Peru. The emphasis that the archbishops placed on the church's institutional establishment among the colonial population and the conversion of natives to Catholicism was largely responsible for this political impulse.

In 1613, Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1609-1622) defined the guidelines that became the basis for ecclesiastical policies during the next five decades. Lobo Guerrero implemented the ecclesiastic inspection policy that his successor, Gonzalo de Campo (1625-1626) attempted to continue. However, de Campo died soon after assuming the office; therefore, he was unable to establish any particular policy. The next archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte (1630-1638), gave more importance to providing legislation directing parish priests' actions instead of dedicating his efforts to the extirpation of idolatry. Such a policy clearly appears in the *constituciones* of the 1636 Diocesan Synod over which he presided. Finally, Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez resumed the archiepiscopal dedication to the campaigns against idolatry, while focusing on strengthening the priests' "moral behavior," which he considered critical in order to achieve the goal of the institutional establishment of the church among colonial populations.

The basis for an ecclesiastical project: Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero

The arrival of Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero in Lima during 1609 signaled the beginning of a new period within the Peruvian colonial church. By the time Lobo Guerrero took possession of the Archbishopric of Lima's seat, the sixty-three-year-old *Malagueño* had established a long and prestigious career as an urban prelate. In 1580, Lobo Guerrero obtained an appointment as *fiscal* (prosecutor) of the Inquisition of New Spain and became promoted to inquisitor three years later. He was appointed archbishop of Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1595, taking possession of the office in March 1599.¹² During his tenure, Lobo Guerrero became acquainted with the process of evangelizing natives, which would become a major concern during his later career. After the death of Toribio de Mogrovejo, Archbishop of Lima from 1579 (he took possession of the seat in 1581) to 1606, the city's *Audiencia* suggested to King Phillip III that, because of his previous experience as administrator and prelate, Lobo Guerrero was the ideal successor.

After travelling by land in Peru for almost a year, the new archbishop realized that the church as an institution did not exist beyond Lima's main square. Mogrovejo had spent most of his tenure on the road, undertaking a general inspection of the people of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹³ Because of the former archbishop's regular absence from his office, Lobo Guerrero noted that the archdiocese's organization was clearly abandoned.¹⁴ The new archbishop identified a most notable problem within ecclesiastical discipline, which was further publicized

¹² Soto Rábanas in Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos*, XXIII.

¹³ McGlone, "The King's Surprise," 69-70.

¹⁴ Soto Rábanas in Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos*, XXVII.

by a young priest named Francisco de Ávila who declared that this issue contributed heavily to the persistence of native religion.¹⁵

Lobo Guerrero considered that in order to consolidate the church as a major colonial institution, its administration had to be centralized. As a result of his urban experience in Santa Fe, the archbishop decided that his government had to be the complete opposite of his predecessor's tenure. Therefore, the office of the archbishop assumed more administrative and political responsibilities within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with the head of the church permanently stationed in Lima, delegating the inspection of the parishes to especially designated officials, the *visitadores*.¹⁶

Toribio de Mogrovejo's tenure as archbishop, however, provided the colonial church with an invaluable asset. The Third Provincial Council of Lima, celebrated between 1582 and 1583, provided a solid outline which became the legislative basis for the South American colonial church.¹⁷ The Council, which built on the 1567 Second Council of Lima's ratification of the Council of Trent, acknowledged the church's need to fight native religion by means of providing natives with a caring evangelization.¹⁸ In order to do so, the third Council established directives that defined pastoral duties, which included not only what priests were supposed to teach to natives, but also some principles that welcomed natives as Christians. As such, priests could not

¹⁵ García Cabrera, *Ofensas a Dios*, 24. Duviols 2003, *Procesos y Visitas*, 58.

¹⁶ García Cabrera, 26. Duviols, 26, 75.

¹⁷ Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense*, 53.

¹⁸ The Council of Trent, convened between 1545 and 1563, was the ecumenical assembly that shaped the Catholic Church until the 1960s. This council was the Catholic Church's attempt to make official its policies regarding recent ecclesiastical and administrative reforms. Such reforms included the reaffirmation of Catholic doctrine and clerical authority over lay people, the validity of the saint's and Marian cults, and the Pope's infallibility regarding religious issues. In Europe, the council had an important role in confronting the Protestant Reformation's theses. As newly founded Catholic provinces, the bishoprics among Colonial Latin America convened their own councils in order to accept the Council of Trent's authority over their ecclesiastical administrations. In Peru, the first two Councils of 1551 and 1567, convened by Fr. Jerónimo de Loaysa, the first archbishop of Lima, accomplished this role. The third Council of Lima, while based on its predecessor, was more focused on establishing the future administration of a proper Peruvian church.

deny sacraments such as confirmation or the anointment of the sick to natives, even when they were considered neophytes.¹⁹ The Council also provided priests with guidelines for their own behavior, prohibiting gambling, and appearing “in the company of women” (even with their relatives), and, of course, concubinage.²⁰ But even more important, the Council’s *constituciones* stated a critical concept not only for the evangelization of natives, but also for ecclesiastical administration – the parish as the basic unit of Christian communities. The eleventh chapter of the Council’s text established that a parish (with a strong emphasis on the native parish or *doctrina*) was to have no fewer than two hundred parishioners or *tributarios* (native taxpayers). According to the Council’s *constituciones*, a priest should not have had more parishioners than he could administer, but fewer than that number would have complicated the economic support of the institution.²¹

While the Council’s *constituciones* certainly were the juridical basis of the colonial church, Lobo Guerrero noted that these guidelines had not been implemented. Therefore, during his early years in the office, the archbishop discussed a way to proceed with the evangelization of natives within an organized ecclesiastical framework. The archbishop found a large amount of support from the Jesuits, who by the time of Lobo Guerrero’s arrival had established some small but important *doctrinas* in Huarochirí and Juli (Puno). Lobo Guerrero and the Society shared common views on how to establish the church’s ultimate goal of converting the native population to Christianity. The archbishop believed that such a goal could only be achieved if the central church was able to control and supervise its own personnel, from canons to parish

¹⁹ Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense*, 133, 137.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 179.

²¹ *Ibid.* 173. In the case of the *doctrinas*, especially the ones within the Andean region, the distances, inaccessibility to certain locations, and the dispersed population within an undefined territory affected the priests’ performance. See Scott, *Contested Territory*, chapter four.

priests.²² Lobo Guerrero's ideal church was based on the supervision of his officials in order to assure that every one of them would dedicate his efforts to an exclusive task.²³ Members of the *cabildo eclesiástico* (ecclesiastical council) were in charge of the government of the ecclesiastical see, while priests were supposed to assure that the church reached the common population.

In order to have his policies made official, Lobo Guerrero convened the Diocesan Synod of 1613.²⁴ This Synod's final *constituciones* established detailed articles on the roles and responsibilities that clergy members must assume in order to consolidate the church as a strong institution among the colonial population. According to the archbishop's notions, the church's institutional presence would be invigorated if priests were aware of and complied with their pastoral responsibilities. The archbishop placed especial emphasis on priests preaching the Christian doctrine to natives and the reinforcement of their parishioners' link with the church through the administration of sacraments.²⁵

Lobo Guerrero largely relied on the priests to implement this project, as priests were in direct contact with the population. As priests were the most visible officials in the eyes of the common people, especially the "neophyte" natives, the archbishop expressed his concerns about the

²² A canon is a priest that aids a bishop in the administration of a cathedral. Usually canon priests are graduate in canon law and become authorities regarding ecclesiastical issues, such as theology or church legislation. Slightly forcing an analogy with civil governments, canon priests could be compared with ministers.

²³ García Cabrera, *Ofensas a Dios*, 26.

²⁴ Duviols 1977, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas*, 187. A synod is an ecumenical assembly regarding a particular church convened in order to discuss issues related to doctrine. Also known as "Diocesan Synod," it requires the presence of the ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese in charge of the assembly. This concept differs from a "Provincial Council," in that the latter requires the presence of the bishop of all the suffragan dioceses of the convening see.

²⁵ For the Catholic Church, the sacraments are rituals, ordered by Christ, that all members of the church (lay and clergy) are required to go through in order to become accomplished in faith. The Council of Trent ruled that receiving the sacraments, along with faith and good deeds, were critical in order to achieve salvation. Such a concept remains a central element of Catholic doctrine to this day. There are seven sacraments: Baptism, Penance (Confession), Eucharist (Communion), Confirmation, Matrimony, Anointment of the Sick, and Holy Orders. Of these seven, two are optional (Matrimony and Holy Orders, the latter reserved only for those who wish to join the clergy) and two can be performed only once (Baptism and Confirmation).

priests' behavior within the Synod's *constituciones*, addressing the matter under two different titles. The first one stated the parish priests' duties. These duties encompassed the administration of sacraments, again with special emphasis on not denying them to natives, and the administration of the Christian cult.²⁶ The second title specifically ordered priests to live "honest" lives. According to these dispositions, priests should not gamble, carry weapons when not travelling, and live with women. An honest life also entailed a humble life, so the *constituciones* required priests to dress in dull colors and remain as quiet as possible. This title also compelled parish priests to live among their parishioners and to serve their parishes personally, not through delegated authority.²⁷

These two issues were critical for Lobo Guerrero's project, as priests were directly involved in implementing the church's plans among the parishes' populations. Nevertheless, ordering priests to appear as role models to their parishioners would not have been effective without a third element as important to the archbishop as the two previous ones – surveillance. Since his experience as archbishop of Santa Fe de Bogotá, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero considered that the *visitador eclesiástico* and the *visitador de la idolatría*, officials in charge of periodical inspections regarding the priests' administration of the parishes and natives suspected to be idolaters respectively, were instrumental in keeping the archbishop informed about events within Spanish and native parishes.²⁸ The *visitadores* also had full authority to punish parishioners or priests who committed offenses against the church's legislation. The *visitadores* accomplished a

²⁶ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos*, 49-70.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 115-125.

²⁸ The *juez visitador de la idolatría* (anti-idolatry judge) was a recent development that Lobo Guerrero brought to the colonial church. Just as the archbishop emphasized that the *visita eclesiástica* (ecclesiastic inspection) should be undertaken by specific officials (*visitadores*), Lobo Guerrero also stated that the fight against native religion also required a designated specialist. For that reason, he created the *visitadores de la idolatría* as officials whose only purpose was to search for, find and eradicate pre-Hispanic religious manifestations such as sacred native images, temples, and ritual goods (textiles, sacred plants, musical instruments, etc.). Like the *visita eclesiástica*, the *visita de la idolatría* was periodical, and the *visitador* had extraordinary authority to arrest, try, and punish native religious ministers and other people who could be participating in "pagan" rituals.

critical role within Lobo Guerrero's project. With these designated inspectors' aid, the archbishop could focus exclusively on his see's bureaucratic administration.²⁹

The flourishing of ecclesiastic and anti-idolatry *visitas* characterized Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero's later years as archbishop. The years between 1619 and 1621 also witnessed the emergence of noted *visitadores* such as Pablo José de Arriaga and Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe, whose careers were nurtured within a favorable institutional environment.³⁰ Following Lobo Guerrero's death in 1622, the Archbishopric of Lima remained as *sede vacante* until 1625.³¹ Arriving in April of that year, the new archbishop, Gonzalo de Campo, demonstrated that Lobo Guerrero's policies had a lasting impact after his tenure.

Gonzalo de Campo and an Incomplete Continuation

Gonzalo de Campo, born in Madrid in 1572, showed enthusiasm regarding Lobo Guerrero's project after he took possession of the archiepiscopal seat in 1625. De Campo recognized that in order to establish a strong institution that existed beyond the Synod's attending clergy, the church had to continue inspecting its parishes and *doctrinas*. The new archbishop, however, realized that in order to reach the population, especially natives, the church had to do more than appoint parish priests. The archbishopric needed to educate their priests as much as it needed to educate their parishioners because during his inspections, De Campo noticed that many priests were ignorant of their evangelizing duties.³² During his first year as archbishop, Gonzalo de Campo remained in Lima because of different administrative issues that required his presence,

²⁹ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos*, 76-102.

³⁰ Duviols 1977, 192-193.

³¹ *Sede Vacante* is the period in which an ecclesiastical seat is vacant because of its previous holder's resignation, promotion or death.

³² García Cabrera, 43-44.

such as the reorganization of the ecclesiastical council and the collection of unpaid rents that monasteries owed to the archbishopric. Additionally, the archbishop oversaw the construction of Lima's Cathedral during 1625. In 1626, De Campo began a personal inspection of his archdiocese, along with noted ecclesiastical authorities and *visitadores* such as Fernando de Avendaño and Luis de Teruel.³³ However, Gonzalo de Campo's *visita*, along with his tenure, were cut short by his sudden death in Recuay (present-day Ancash) in December 1626.³⁴

De Campo's brief tenure as archbishop of Lima left more reform proposals than policies implemented. Because of this short term, this archbishop was also unable to provide historians with any major primary sources like his predecessor did. Nevertheless, his inclination toward the improvement of pastoral and evangelization duties, along with his revalidation of the importance of *visitas*, certainly placed him as a potential successor to Lobo Guerrero's policies supporting parochial work as an important way to secure the centralization of the archbishopric's authority over the local parishes.

Hernando Arias de Ugarte, Lawyer and Bishop

The subsequent archbishop of Lima, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, took possession of his seat in February, 1630. Four years after Gonzalo de Campo's death, Arias de Ugarte ended the longest period during the seventeenth century in which the Archbishopric of Lima remained as *sede vacante*. This archbishop presented certain characteristics that set him apart from his predecessors. Hernando Arias de Ugarte was born in Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1561, thus becoming the first creole archbishop of the viceregal capital. In 1577, he began studying canon and civil

³³ Ibid. 42.

³⁴ Ibid. 43. Duviols 1977, 195. According to priest-historian Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S. J., Gonzalo de Campo could have been poisoned by local native lords during his *visita* to Recuay.

law at the University of Salamanca. Unlike previous archbishops, Arias de Ugarte was not ordained a priest until 1607, when he was forty-six years old. Before his ordination, the archbishop-to-be developed an important public career in the colonies as a lawyer. In 1595, he was appointed *Oidor* at the *Audiencia* of Panama.³⁵ He also held the same position at the *Audiencia* of Charcas in 1597, and later, in 1603, at the *Audiencia* of Lima. In 1606, Arias de Ugarte served as governor of Huancavelica and advisor to Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna. Together, they would inspect the *azogue* mines in that region in 1608.³⁶

Arias de Ugarte's first appointment as bishop took place in 1613, when he took the seat of the Bishopric of Quito. Five years later, he would be appointed as archbishop to his home city, Santa Fe de Bogotá. In 1626, Arias de Ugarte returned to a familiar place – Charcas (present-day Bolivia) – this time as head of the archdiocese. Finally, in 1628, the creole archbishop was appointed as the new archbishop of Lima, arriving in the city two years later.³⁷

Hernando Arias de Ugarte was an experienced public servant by the time he took possession of the Archbishopric of Lima. His background as a lawyer and his offices in four *Audiencias* and two ecclesiastical sees provided him with a particular view of the context that surrounded ecclesiastical legislation. The archbishop, as well as his predecessors, recognized the importance of *visitas* as a way of keeping the church's officials under control. Nevertheless, as an expert of the law, Arias de Ugarte believed that the given ecclesiastic legislation was enough for the faithful to remain aware of their Christian duties. According to the archbishop, the 1613 Synod provided a solid juridical basis, so that there was no need to convene another council such as the

³⁵ The *Audiencias* were courts that functioned as the highest judicial body for appealing trials within a jurisdiction in Spain and its colonies. The judges were known as *Oidores*.

³⁶ Soto Rábanas in Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos*, LV.

³⁷ *Ibid.* LVI.

one held in 1582.³⁸ The archbishop still convened a diocesan Synod in 1636 in order to adjust some directives regarding the administration of parishes. While still supporting the applicability of the 1613 Synod to his government's ecclesiastical context, Arias de Ugarte considered that the church's legislation could have required some adjustments in order to fit changing times. Thus, while having retained almost the entirety of Lobo Guerrero's policies regarding the evangelization of natives, even though he believed that idolatry was not an overwhelming problem, the new archbishop focused mainly on improving the priests' administration of their parishes and the sacraments.³⁹

I find most of the differences between the 1613 and 1636 Synods among regulations and directives for the priests. An important difference in Arias de Ugarte's Synod directly related to the improvement of efficiency regarding non-resident priests and parish administration. The 1613 Synod ordered priests to reside among their parishioners; nevertheless, Arias de Ugarte denounced that it was common to see parish priests abandoning their parishes and going to Lima.⁴⁰ The 1636 Synod ordered that non-resident priests should not receive licenses in order to perform duties in places other than their residence (their parishes). Furthermore, any unlicensed non-resident priest was forbidden to say Mass.⁴¹ In this way, the archbishop hoped to force priests to remain in their places of residence, as according to the previous legislation, priests were supposed to assist in some way with parish duties.

Arias de Ugarte's infrastructural and administrative concerns during his tenure are evident in the 1636 Synod, as its *constituciones* addressed an issue that Lobo Guerrero had not considered

³⁸ Ibid. LXXII

³⁹ García Cabrera, 46-47. Soto Rábanas in Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, XCIII-XCIV.

⁴⁰ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, 122-123.

⁴¹ Ibid. 272 on non-resident priests. 277 on masses. The idea behind this direction was that priests' residence was based on the current parish they were holding. Arias de Ugarte tried to prevent priests from leaving their assigned parish abandoned and wandering around the larger cities as idlers.

too much; the situation of hospitals. Arias de Ugarte observed that over time hospitals, especially those in native towns, became “unattended and ruined.” The Synod issued orders for the building of native hospitals and the appropriate maintenance of the same.⁴²

While Arias de Ugarte’s Synod restated the 1613 *constituciones* regarding idolatry without particularly addressing new policies, the 1636 *constituciones* discussed an important problem regarding this issue for the first time. The Synod instructed their priests and vicars to remain vigilant in order to detect and prevent natives’ taking their relatives’ corpses from Christian cemeteries in order to bury them again according to their local native traditions.⁴³

In Hernando Arias de Ugarte we will find a different view from his two predecessors regarding what was needed in order to establish the church as a strong institution within colonial society. His previous experience as a public office holder and his background in law conditioned his government into a more bureaucratic one than Lobo Guerrero’s tenure, who had vast evangelization experience. Nevertheless, we can identify in Arias de Ugarte’s policies an attempt to further institutionalize the church through the reform of its infrastructure and tight control to see that ecclesiastical officials were closely following current legislation. Thus, while this archbishop placed more efforts on administrative tasks than on evangelization, he still supported the notion of an institution that had to become stronger through its own efficiency.

⁴² Ibid. 274-275.

⁴³ A vicar is a priest in charge of a vicarage, which is an intermediate institution between the parishes and the archbishopric. If we compare parishes to cities, vicarages should be compared to counties.

Back to the Beginning: Pedro de Villagómez

Even though Arias de Ugarte strongly promoted the church's institutional strengthening, expecting that his priests were compliant with the current ecclesiastical legislation, this archbishop did not target the idolatry issue, the elimination of which was the colonial church's main objective. This situation changed quickly after Arias de Ugarte's death in 1638. During the time in which the archbishopric of Lima remained as *sede vacante*, Fernando de Avendaño, an experienced idolatry inspector and author of a number of important evangelizing sermons, assumed the post as ecclesiastic governor. Avendaño was in charge of reorganizing a favorable context for the campaigns against native religion. After taking his position as the new archbishop, Pedro de Villagómez would have these campaigns resumed and reinvigorated.⁴⁴

Villagómez, born in Leon, Spain, in 1585, held relevant positions within the Spanish church prior to his arrival in Peru, such as inquisitorial judge and canon priest at the cathedral of Seville.⁴⁵ While in Peru, Hernando Arias de Ugarte consecrated him bishop of Arequipa in 1633. Villagómez would take his seat in 1634. During his tenure in Arequipa, Villagómez directed a general inspection of his diocese, reaching the province of Arica (present-day Chile), where he corroborated the persistence of native religious cults. In 1638, Villagómez convened the first Diocesan Synod in Arequipa, based on the 1582 Provincial Council and Lobo Guerrero's 1613 Synod, where subjects related to idolatry were the top priority.⁴⁶ By the time Villagómez assumed his position as the new archbishop of Lima in 1641, he had accumulated important experience regarding evangelizing and extirpation of idolatry.

⁴⁴ Duviols 1977, 197.

⁴⁵ Villagómez, *Carta pastoral de exhortación*, V-VI.

⁴⁶ Duviols, 1977, 197

Villagómez represented a completely different archbishop type than Hernando Arias de Ugarte. In contrast to his antecessor, Villagómez personally witnessed native religion's existence. Therefore, for the new archbishop, intense campaigns for the evangelization and the elimination of idolatry signaled his tenure's directives. As a result of what would be his archiepiscopal policies, Villagómez focused on writing his *Carta pastoral de exhortación e instrucción sobre las idolatrías de los indios* (1649), a treatise that discussed the causes for "idolatry's" continued existence and the procedures that clergy were required to implement in order to eradicate it.

For the archbishop, idolatry continued to exist for several reasons. According to the prelate, one of the most important was that the Peruvian landscape "contributed with its persistence." As Villagómez mentioned in his *Carta Pastoral*, the great distances between towns and the inevitable sight of objects that reminded natives about their traditional religious practices (the sun, the moon, lakes, rivers, mountains, etc.) contributed to delay the evangelization process.⁴⁷ Also, the archbishop supported the idea that natives kept recurring to idolatry as a result of the devil exploiting their "religious weakness," as natives were "drunk" most of the time, a condition that Spaniards attributed to natives as an inherited vice. That particular thought induced the archbishop to write that he "marveled when seeing a native that was not frequently drunk."⁴⁸

The same way that Villagómez "recognized" a "natural predisposition" toward idolatry among natives, the archbishop believed that the "lack of doctrine" was the main reason for which natives could not overcome their "errors." In his *Carta Pastoral*, Villagómez asserted that the priests were responsible for the evangelization's slow and unsteady progress. The archbishop

⁴⁷ Villagómez, 41-42.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 53.

also denounced priests for dedicating themselves to material issues as soon as they arrived in their parishes.⁴⁹ Therefore, even when Villagómez's *Carta* is essentially conceived as an "idolatry" analysis, most of his observations and directives targeted priests and *visitadores* and their tasks in order to fight native religion.

Similar to Hernando Arias de Ugarte's policies, Villagómez believed that if the ecclesiastical officials obediently followed the given legislation, the project for the church's institutional establishment would have flowed efficiently through the pastoral work within parishes and *doctrinas*. However, in a sharp contrast to his antecessor, Villagómez did not expect that priests would comply with the ecclesiastical legislation just because it was the law. For that reason, Villagómez sought not only priests who were educated regarding catechism and Christian doctrine, but who also had an excellent reputation and unquestionable conduct. As such, the archbishop envisioned that priests, more than only spiritual guides, should be life models for their parishioners, especially for natives. Therefore, the "exemplary Christian life" that priests demonstrated in front of natives was conceived as an important support in order to help natives to abandon their "pagan" practices.⁵⁰ For the archbishop, the best way to eliminate native religion and to assure that the church was working according to plan was through the implementation of *visitas*.⁵¹ As Villagómez based his policies on his priests' work and their personal qualities, establishing an equally efficient and irreproachable control became as important as the pastoral duties he expected from his priests.

In the history of the Archbishopric of Lima, no other period had as much activity and support regarding the implementation of an institutional structure as the period between 1620 and 1670.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 64-66.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 86-88.

⁵¹ Ibid. 25-27.

It will be important, though, that we analyze the application and functioning of these archiepiscopal policies within their field of action. The implementation of these policies regarding the church's institutional establishment among the population and the natives' evangelization required effort on the part of the priests, whether they were parish priests for Spaniards or *doctrineros* for natives. Thus, it will be through these officials' work that we will observe whether Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero's, Gonzalo de Campo's, Hernando Arias de Ugarte's and Pedro de Villagómez's ambitious plans actually had the reception and results they envisioned.

CHAPTER 2

PARISH PRIESTS, PARISHES, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

This chapter will present the obstacles to implementing the church's centralization. While I am aware that this process entails other reasons beyond the ones I will present, this chapter places emphasis on those related to parish administration because scholars have not addressed enough the role of the local colonial church in the disconnection that existed between these institutions (the parishes) and the Archbishopric of Lima.⁵² This part of my analysis emphasizes the involvement of parish priests in the failure of the centralization project, as the analyzed sources suggest that they gave much more importance to their own businesses, careers, or comfort, than to their ecclesiastical obligations. As this evidence indicates, the priests' lack of commitment to their pastoral duties could have also generated the opportunity for the priests to commit a series of crimes against the administration of sacraments.⁵³

Conflicts between the priests and their parishioners appear to provide another reason for priests neglecting their duties. I will show conflicts emerging because of parishioners accusing their priest of committing different types of abuses against them. These abuses could include economic abuses, as in priests not compensating natives for their work, or taking property from their parishioners. Parishioners' accusations also had to do with the priests committing crimes against the sacraments, such as revealing confessions. In response to certain accusations, priests could have denied serving their parishioners. In other cases, *doctrineros* made public their

⁵² Native resistance became one particular aspect for which ecclesiastical authority failed to implement the church's institutional establishment and especially the evangelization the way the archbishops envisioned it. This topic, which historians have discussed widely, remains as an important focus for the analysis of religious phenomena in the Andes and Latin America in general.

⁵³ The concept of a "crime" against the sacraments is based on the legal separation of the Catholic Church from society, as the church is ruled by canon law.

disrespect for their parishioners, suggesting that they did not consider it relevant to indoctrinate natives, thus presenting the *doctrina* and their communities as an annoyance. Even when some of these priests faced different accusations and were sometimes subject to successive trials, some cases show that they obtained promotions and benefits from the archbishopric, even after their sentences. As such, it is possible to say that career advancement for priests was more based on administrative or bureaucratic ability than on the priests' indoctrination of their parishioners.

The composition of parishes could also present a complication for the priests performing their duties, as their jurisdiction was not territorial, but upon a number of people. During the time I propose, a parish was established as a community with no fewer than two hundred *tributarios* (taxpayers) under the spiritual guidance of a priest. As the analyzed evidence indicates, the parishes and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions overall were not well defined; therefore priests could find themselves having to defend the integrity of their jurisdictions against interference from other priests or divisions because their subsistence depended on their parishioner's support. Therefore, I argue that priests considered their personal interests more important than their ecclesiastical duties within the parishes, as their economic support depended on the number of parishioners under their authority.

As mentioned, the archbishops put a large amount of effort into controlling their priests. Through ecclesiastical legislation, the archbishops proposed the *visitas* as the best way to watch over the parishes and *doctrinas*, as well as their holders. Nevertheless, the *visitas* were ineffective because priests would only obey the inspections' orders while the *visitador* was present in the parish or *doctrina*. In order to support this, I will point out priests who were continuously accused of crimes and abuses after receiving sentences for previous altercations.

Also, because of the periodical nature of *visitas*, the church was unable to establish a long-term system of control over its priests.

Priests and Pastoral Performance

Pedro de Villagómez's 1646 *Carta Pastoral* referred to priests who abandoned their ecclesiastical duties as soon as they took possession of their *curatos*.⁵⁴ This situation, which was not new by the time Villagómez mentioned it, generated one of the most important obstacles to the centralization of archiepiscopal authority. Many parish priests and *doctrineros* gave preference to particular "material" issues that benefited them personally, such as administering their own business or developing their careers within the church framework.⁵⁵ Priests encountered the chance of working around ecclesiastical legislation, in part because of the authority gap generated by the physical distances between *doctrinas* and even Spanish parishes within villages and towns outside the city of Lima. Likewise, because of its sporadic nature, the archbishopric's main method of control over parish priests and *doctrineros*, the *visita*, which entailed periodic inspections in order to identify errors and excesses among the priests' practices, could not guarantee a system of long-term surveillance. Therefore, parish priests and *doctrineros* managed to maintain an important amount of independence while establishing their duties and their relationship with their parishioners. The priests' unbound decisions commonly resulted in transgressions against ecclesiastical legislation. For example, in 1620, seven years after Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero's Synod *constituciones* became established as the juridical basis of the

⁵⁴ Villagómez, *Carta pastoral de exhortación*, 66. *Curato* was the colonial general term for a church with a resident priest. Another term commonly found in colonial literature is *beneficio curado*. As such, parishes and *doctrinas* are *curatos*; nevertheless there also existed *curatos* that were not parishes, for example, those within mines and *estancias*. For the definition of *curato*, see Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, 3-4.

⁵⁵ Lavallé, "Las doctrinas indígenas como núcleos de explotación colonial," 151-152.

Archbishopric of Lima, Gonzalo Ortiz de Mena, the natives' general counselor (*procurador general de los naturales*), presented an accusation against Francisco de Estrada, an anti-idolatry *visitador* and *doctrinero* of Mangas (*Corregimiento* of Cajatambo). According to the accusation, after an inspection, Estrada kept for himself some instruments that "belonged to the natives' rituals."⁵⁶

In this case, one could argue that Estrada considered these objects had some value to him, most probably economic, or aesthetic to a lesser extent. In any case, this was a grave transgression against ecclesiastical legislation and to the church's top priority, reflected on the Synod *constituciones* that ordered priests to destroy the "pagan" ritual objects. According to the 1613 dispositions, the idols and other material related to native religion were supposed to be exhibited and publicly burnt if they had no further value. The *constituciones* also ordered that if the material had an actual value, such as gold, silver, cattle or clothing, it should be sent to Lima and included in the public treasury.⁵⁷ This case provides an example of how an appointed official from the archbishopric openly contradicted his specific orders in order to satisfy his own interests. The case became even more notorious because it directly affected the church's paramount goal, the elimination of native religions, which theoretically should have been an important priority for officials such as Estrada.

Other priests' cases help to interpret their interactions with their parishioners as obstacles to the archbishop's project of centralizing ecclesiastical authority over the local churches. A good example of how priests interposed their particular interests and careers before their commitment to the archbishop's policies is that of Juan Arévalo Sedeño. This Spanish priest, born in the village of Arévalo, province of Avila, appeared to have a very tumultuous career in the

⁵⁶ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 3:6, fol. 2.

⁵⁷ Lobo Guerrero y Arias de Ugarte, *Símodos de Lima*, 39-40.

Archbishopric of Lima. During his more than thirty-year tenure in Peru, this priest held four *doctrinas* and parishes, claimed to be an extirpator of idolatry, and became commissary of the Holy Crusade.⁵⁸ While Arévalo Sedeño managed to achieve this much, he also suffered imprisonment in 1626 and 1634; excommunication in 1626, twice in 1649, and 1651; and ecclesiastical courts charged him several fines for his disrespect for the ecclesiastical authority.⁵⁹

It is not clear when Juan Arévalo Sedeño arrived in America, but he stated in 1628 that before becoming interim *doctrinero* of Casma (a coastal town, 228 miles North of Lima), his first parish in Peru, he was a parish priest in Portobelo.⁶⁰ While serving in Casma, Arévalo Sedeño faced his first major ecclesiastical trial. His parishioners accused him of forcing them to work in his alfalfa field and not paying them.⁶¹ Besides the obvious fault of refusing payment to his native “employees,” Arévalo Sedeño directly committed an ecclesiastical crime, as legislation forbade priests from engaging in economic activities that would generate profits.⁶² While the priest defended himself by stating that the alfalfa field supported the church, a witness, Maria de Valdes, declared that Arévalo Sedeño sold his alfalfa to the *tambo*, harming the native economy, as natives were the legitimate providers for the *tambo*.⁶³

Arévalo Sedeño did not receive many complaints about his ecclesiastical duties during his two-year tenure in Casma (1625-1626), but witnesses agree that the priest’s treatment of his

⁵⁸ The bull of the Holy Crusade was a papal concession to Spaniards who voluntarily donated funds for Christianity’s wars against infidels. Those who donated received benefits such as indulgencies and graces. It was first established during the early thirteenth century and it continued to exist intermittently until the twentieth century. It was used to cover some economic necessities from the church.

⁵⁹ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 5:2; Causas criminales, Leg. 9:15, 13:10, 18:14; Visitas, Leg. 19:15, 19:28; Curatos, 20:11, 20:15, 20:17.

⁶⁰ AAL, Concursos, Leg. 1:47, fol. 12.

⁶¹ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 5:2, fol. 13, 19.

⁶² Peña Montenegro, 132-134.

⁶³ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 5:2, fol. 18-19v. *Tambo* was a pre-Hispanic structure that the Inca maintained as road shelters providing supplies. The Inca and his entourage, as well as *chasquis* (messengers) would use them while moving about on the Inca road network. In colonial times, *tambos* would fit the modern concept of “inn,” where travelers and their animals would be provided with shelter for them a fee.

native parishioners was rather violent. During her declaration, Maria de Valdes also stated that she heard Arévalo Sedeño saying that because of the *capítulos*⁶⁴ that natives brought against him, he would not stop until he killed two or three of them.⁶⁵ In answering for these crimes, the priest spent his first time in prison, to which the archbishop's representative, Feliciano de Vega sentenced him on January 21, 1626.⁶⁶ During this time, the priest suffered his first excommunication. Soon after being imprisoned, Arévalo Sedeño began a successful appeal in order to obtain his freedom, which Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo granted on March, 1626. His letter of appeal is revealing, because the priest claimed to be an extirpator of idolatry who had found twelve *huacas* and three-hundred idols "previously unseen by his predecessors." Such a statement made a good impression on the archbishop, who ordered his release and restitution to the *doctrina* of Casma.⁶⁷ In the same document, Arévalo Sedeño proclaimed his feelings toward natives, arguing that they were going to be "idolatrous sinners for life" and that his life was actually in danger among his parishioners, as he feared that natives might poison him.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Juan Arévalo Sedeño was not effectively released from jail until 1628, while the Archbishopric of Lima remained as *sede vacante* after De Campo's death in 1626.

⁶⁴ *Capítulo* was the Spanish word for a judicial accusation against priests. For that reason, an ecclesiastical trial against a priest was usually addressed in the plural form of the word (*capítulos*), as the witnesses provided extensive lists of the priests' transgressions.

⁶⁵ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 5:2, fol. 19-20. "... que el dicho cura decia que porque fuesen ante su ilustrisima a ponerle capitulos deberas no abra de parar asta matar dos o tres indios y que abra de ser peor que el maestro Rubio su antecesor..." *Capítulo* was the Spanish word for a judicial accusation against priests. For that reason, an ecclesiastical trial against a priest was usually addressed in the plural form of the word (*capítulos*), as the witnesses provided extensive lists of the priests' transgressions.

⁶⁶ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 5:2, fol. 57.

⁶⁷ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 5:2, fol. 67. Unfortunately, there is no record of Arévalo Sedeño's *visita*. Furthermore, he did not state the date of this inspection. Thus, it was impossible to confirm or deny such an event, even when the amount of his "discoveries" seem slightly suspicious to me.

⁶⁸ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 5:2, fol. 67. "... y son tan miserables que en toda la vida confesaran pecado que a ydolaria pertenezca..." AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 5:2, fol. 67v. "... porque mi vida esta en grande peligro viviendo como vivo con ellos comiendo y beviendo por sus manos por ser como son tan grandes echizeros y matarse cada dia unos a otros como es publico y notorio y se puede temer no hagan lo mismo conmigo mayormente no habiendo salido con el yntento que con sus capitulos pretendieron."

Other cases involving priests extracting some kind of economic benefit from their native parishioners suggest that these officials did not hesitate in exercising their authority in harmful ways to the people under their care. Francisco Agustín Serrano, *doctrinero* of Pacarán (*Corregimiento* of Cañete), presented such a case in 1621. According to his parishioners, Serrano took tools, boxes, ropes, other valuable objects, and twelve pesos of bread from a native named Francisco Antonio. When Francisco Antonio begged the priest to return his property, Serrano replied that he would not “even if saints came down from heaven.”⁶⁹

Priests’ lack of commitment could become a serious problem for establishing the centralization of the archbishopric’s authority. In April, 1655, general ecclesiastical *visitador* Diego de Sarzoza filed a judicial case against Joseph Ortiz de las Casas, priest of San Cristóbal de Palpa (*Corregimiento* of Ica) since 1633.⁷⁰ According to the case’s witnesses, Ortiz de las Casas was administering his *curato* quite recklessly. From the cases I use in this research, the *doctrina* of San Cristóbal de Palpa presents the particularity of having had Spanish and black populations living alongside native parishioners. Spanish citizens (*vecinos*) presenting testimony against the priest appear to support this observation. In that regard, the priest of Palpa would have had to be quite able to administer ecclesiastical duties according to his parishioners’ diverse necessities. Nevertheless, according to the evidence, Ortiz de las Casas attended all the population with the same degree of indifference. The situation seemed even more complicated because apparently, Ortiz de las Casas was the only priest for the *doctrina*. While it is possible that such a situation could have conditioned the priest’s performance, witnesses such as Diego Hernández, Palpa’s church sacristan, declared that Ortiz de las Casas was highly irregular in

⁶⁹ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 3:9, fol. 1v. “... porque los del dicho Francisco Antonio sastre se los volvio a otro dia quedandosele con petacas, cajones, sogas, [...] y doze reales de pan diciendo que el lo avia menester y que al dicho Francisco Antonio comiera mote y frijoles y no le a dado cossa alguna y pidiendoselo por amor de dios dixo que aunque vajasen sanctos del cielo no se lo daría y se quedo con todo”.

⁷⁰ AAL, Concursos. Leg. 2:25.

performing Mass and that the priest commonly abandoned the *doctrina*.⁷¹ Likewise, the sacristan declared that Ortiz de las Casas had not “explained the doctrine to any of his parishioners.”⁷²

Besides Ortiz de las Casas’ offenses against ecclesiastical policies regarding the centralization of the church through its rituals, witnesses mentioned that the priest used to administrate the sacraments in a harmful way to his parishioners. Hernando de Mendoza, a Spanish *vecino*, denounced the priest as very oblivious to the confession and the anointment of the sick, as he privileged his own comfort over the *doctrina*’s spiritual needs. According to the evidence, Ortiz de las Casas used to ask the population to bring the sick people to his house in order to confess them instead of going to see the convalescent himself. Juana Hernández, the sacristan’s daughter, provided testimony about such a situation, as she went to the priest in order to request him to confess a native woman in her final moments, to which Ortiz de las Casas asked how much they were going to pay him. Moreover, the priest requested that the woman to be brought to him, as her house was half a league away from the town, and he did not want to walk that much.⁷³

The 1636 Synod *constituciones* compelled the priests to assist the sick and terminal patients with the final rituals in their own houses and to not force them to go to the church, or in Ortiz de las Casas’ case, to his private residence. The idea behind this article was precisely to avoid inconveniences that could have led to the death of the affected person without the chance of

⁷¹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 14. “... dixo que aqui no hay mas clero que el dicho bachiller Josephe Hortis de las Cassas el qual no dice missa en todo el año eçcepto los domingos y fiestas y en ellas comete muchas fallas por salirse de la doctrina...”

⁷² AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 15. “Al quarto capitulo dixo que no ha visto este declarante que el dicho bachiller aya ynstruydo a ningun feligres suyo español yndio o negro en la fe ni dandole a conocer quien es Dios ni en particular para que comulguen...”

⁷³ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 18v-19. “... que abra dos o tres meses poco mas o menos que la susodicha vino a llamar al dicho cura para que confesase a una yndia que tenia en su cassa enferma y con mucho peligro y aviendoselo dicho al dicho cura le respondió el susodicho que que sínodo o salario le pagarían para que el fuese alla y que la arropasen en una manta y se la truxesen a su cassa pues estava media legua del pueblo que por no aver ydo se murio sin confesion ni los sacramentos...”

receiving the sacraments.⁷⁴ Additionally, the priest violated another other prohibition when requesting payments in order to administrate sacraments. Likewise, Ortiz de las Casas committed yet another very grave transgression against Catholic rituals: according to the registered testimonies, the church of Palpa usually did not have a supply of hosts in the sacarium (*santísimo sacramento*), so the priest could not be prepared given the eventuality of an emergency case requiring to attend a sick person.⁷⁵ The 1636 Synod, ratifying the 1613 *constituciones*, ordered every main church within parishes and *doctrinas* to have hosts at all times, and such material should be kept according to its importance within the Catholic Church's beliefs.⁷⁶ This order clearly affected San Cristóbal de Palpa, as this church was the main church of the *doctrina*.

Furthermore, Diego Hernández declared that Ortiz de las Casas did not keep a list of his parishioners, something the 1613 Synod required. Therefore, during Lent the priest had no idea of who was able to receive communion.⁷⁷ The Synod's *constituciones* ordered priests to elaborate up to three lists (*padrones*). The first one, which the priest had to renew every year, contained a full record of every parishioner in order to know who had confessed and who had not. As in Palpa's case, this list was a backup, so the priest could know who should participate in the Eucharist. The other two types of list were also applicable to San Cristóbal de Palpa. The second type listed black peoples recently brought from Africa (*negros bozales*) requiring baptism. This list also had to be updated every year. A third list which had to be renewed every two years contained a record of the native population within the *doctrina*, to which *ayllus* they

⁷⁴ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 264.

⁷⁵ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 15. "Al quinto capitulo dixo que [...] supuesto que el dicho bachiller nunca dice missa en los dias de trabajo ni en esta iglesia esta colocado el Santissimo los mas se mueren sin el beatico [sic]."

⁷⁶ Lobo Guerrero y Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 265.

⁷⁷ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 14v.

belonged, their ages, if they were *tributarios*, and if they were single or married.⁷⁸ According to Hernández, Ortiz did not have any of this, so the church officials could not determine how many parishioners were receiving communion without confession.

The 1636 Diocesan Synod ordered that priests were not to receive license to administer the sacraments to anyone but their parishioners. The reason behind this order was to attach parishioners to their priests, as well as to force the priests to remain among their parishioners. Nevertheless, Hernando de Mendoza mentioned that Ortiz de las Casas used to marry native *forastero* couples without license from these peoples' *doctrineros*. This meant not only that the *doctrinero* of Palpa had no problem with disrupting other jurisdictions, but also that the sacrament he was administering was invalid.⁷⁹ Priests like Ortiz de las Casas would have found it economically beneficial to perform such a ceremony anyway, as the couple was required to pay the parish's rights in order to be married.

Conflicts between parish priests and their parishioners provide other reasons for which the former could have neglected or even rejected performing their duties. The natives from the *doctrina* of Ámbar (*Corregimiento* of Cajatambo) registered such a case against their priest, Martín de Mena Godoy, in 1630. This priest was subject to an extensive case with multiple accusations, which included severe transgressions against different aspects of priesthood. In one accusation, Mena Godoy's native parishioners declared that the priest refused to confess sick people, even at their deathbed. According to the witnesses, the priest refused to administer the

⁷⁸ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 52-54.

⁷⁹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 20. During colonial times, *forastero* referred to a person, native in most of the cases, who abandoned his place of birth and circulated around other settlements, usually getting employed as workforce in *haciendas*, *obrajes*, or mines. *Forasteros* could represent a problem to the state, as they developed a lifestyle outside the reach of colonial legislation, avoiding the payment of *tributos* and assistance to the *doctrinas*.

sacraments to natives because of a previous judicial case that they had filed against the *doctrinero*.⁸⁰

Martín de Mena Godoy's case provides information about a priest whose patronizing views on natives, combined with the lack of control from ecclesiastical authority over his pastoral duties, led him to disregard his parishioners and to live his priesthood in a very laid back way. Witnesses for this case mentioned that Mena Godoy had reasons to hold a grudge against natives, as they had indicted the priest a year before for having his mother and nephews living with him at his house.⁸¹ As such, when his parishioners required the priest to assist a native named Francisco Binchus with the final rituals, Mena Godoy replied that "may the devil take him and the rest of the Indians who accused him."⁸² This is an example of how the relationship between priests and parishioners could have seriously conditioned the former's performance. The 1613 Synod's *constituciones* established orders regarding how priests were supposed to address situations requiring assisting natives to "die well." Regarding the anointment of the sick, the Synod pointed out that priests were required to be specially vigilant over natives and black peoples, because these could not "properly understand" Christian doctrine, so their souls were in greater danger than those of the Spaniards.⁸³

To make things worse, natives began avoiding confessing with Mena Godoy after the priest publicly revealed Felipe Quispechagua's confession. Alonso Runamarque, a native from Ambar,

⁸⁰ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 4. "... y despues que se bolvio de Guaura el dicho cura murio otro yndio tributario sin confession llamado Francisco Binchus aylo tomao. Y aunque embio a llamar al dicho cura para que le confessase mas no quiso yr diziendo mas que el diablo se lo llevase a el y a los demas yndios porque eran capitulantes y assi murio sin confession ni recibir el biatico estando en el pueblo el dicho cura."

⁸¹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 26. Such a situation harmed native the economy, as ecclesiastic legislation required parishioners to provide their priests with foodstuffs (*camarico*) and Mena Godoy was abusing this right by having the native population feeding his irregular tenants.

⁸² AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 4. "... y despues que se bolvio de Guaura el dicho cura murio otro yndio tributario sin confession llamado Francisco Binchus aylo tomao. Y aunque embio a llamar al dicho cura para que le confessase mas no quiso yr diziendo mas que el diablo se lo llevase a el y a los demas yndios porque eran capitulantes y assi murio sin confession ni recibir el biatico estando en el pueblo el dicho cura."

⁸³ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 45-46.

declared that Quispechagua, under orders of Gaspar Rodríguez Quispe, the town's governor, slashed Fernando Allauca in the face with a knife. Remorseful because of this action, Quispechagua went to Mena Godoy to confess what he had done. However, according to the witness, Mena Godoy and the governor were enemies, so the priest used Quispechagua's confession to have Rodríguez arrested. Moreover, Mena Godoy blackmailed Quispechagua's wife into testifying against the governor, telling her that if she did not comply, he would have her husband hanged.⁸⁴

While Mena Godoy's administration of sacraments at Ambar was questionable, his pastoral work on the other three towns that comprised the *doctrina* of Ambar was completely neglected. After the archbishop ordered Diego Felipe de Escalona, priests of the neighboring *doctrina* of Gorgor, to go to Ámbar for thirty days so he could confess the population, he reported that from Ámbar's population of 707, Mena Godoy has only confessed 175.⁸⁵ As presented in the trial, Mena Godoy had never been present at the rest of towns even though the distance between them was less than three leagues, which was a reasonable distance for travelling.⁸⁶ Similarly, Alonso Runamarque and Alonso Guaman, among other witnesses, declared that Mena Godoy never preached the Gospels to natives. Furthermore, whenever the priest stood at the pulpit, it was not for teaching Christian doctrine, but to tell natives that they were "drunkards, sorcerers and

⁸⁴ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 31-31v.

⁸⁵ AAL, Capítulos. Leg 6:1. Fol. 7v-8.

⁸⁶ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 4v. "Yten se le haze cargo al dicho cura de que no vissita los pueblos de su doctrina como tiene obligacion porque ay quatro pueblos en ella con el pueblo principal llamado Ambar donde asiste el dicho cura y los demas se llaman San Marcos de Ayllon, San Cristobal de Tomao, y San Juan de Siscay a donde yban los demas curas que an estado en la dicha doctrina a dezir missa a sus feligreses y confessarles por estar de uno a otro distancia de dos tres leguas y el dicho cura no a vissitado una bez tan sola peor ser tan remisso en las cossas tocantes a su oficio y careçen en los dichos pueblos de la administracion de los sanctos sacramentos."

idolaters, and he would burn them alive because of their accusations,” and that “in his *curato* he was the pope and the king.”⁸⁷

Mena Godoy’s declaration provides a good example by which to analyze the church’s inefficiency in establishing itself as a strong institution. Here, the *doctrinero* seemed to have acknowledged that within the community, he was the authority. It is highly improbable that the priest ignored the procedures regarding the administration of sacraments. Through the examples of Mena Godoy’s revealed confession and “sermons,” one can interpret the lack of authority from the archbishopric at the local level. First, the case presents what perhaps constituted the gravest transgression against the sacrament of penitence. Second, instead of using the pulpit to spread Christian doctrine, the priest used the stage on which he should have “educated” natives to proclaim his scorn for them. Furthermore, Mena Godoy’s declaration of his “authority” over the *curato* may actually reveal the concept that parish priests and *doctrineros* had about the poor control that the church attempted to exercise over them.

Priests and “Honest Life”

Priests also created contradictions between the church’s *constituciones* and their own behavior regarding the concept of “honest life.” The archbishops’ ecclesiastical policies established that priests should serve not only as spiritual guides, but also as models of Christian life for all parishioners, both Spanish and natives, but especially for the latter. Because of the

⁸⁷ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 4v-5. “Yten se le haze cargo al dicho cura de que los domingos y fiestas no predica a sus feligreses por su negligencia si no muy raras vezes se pone el el pulpito no para predicar la palabra de Dios ni explicar su sancto evangelio sino para dezir a sus feligreses que eran hechizeros ydolatras y que los quemaría vivos por aberle puesto capitulos porque el era el papa y el rey en su curato.” AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 27v. “... dixo este testigo sabe como el dicho padre no a predicado en la doctrina jamas y que quando que quando alguna bes lo asia no era para predicar la palabra de dios sino para desilles que son unos borrachos echiseros que no a de parar hasta enterrallos. Y esto lo sabe por aberselo oído desir al dicho padre y esto responde a esta pregunta.”

lack of permanent surveillance over parishes and *doctrinas*, priests found the opportunity to participate in actions that certainly would contradict their priesthood. Probably the clearest case of such a situation appears when we find cases of priests involved in illicit romantic relations (*amancebamiento*), which by itself constituted one of the biggest public scandals from the seventeenth-century moral perspective.⁸⁸ The case could be even more complicated if these illegitimate relations produced offspring, as happened to Martín de Mena Godoy, who conceived four children with a mulatto woman named Lorenza de Balboa.⁸⁹ As we will see, even though ecclesiastical authority attempted to correct these relations, social and gender limitations embedded in the colonial mentality would commonly generate more severe punishments for women, even in cases such as this, where the involved man was a cleric. Such a relationship, which apparently started in 1622, was very scandalous not only because it represented a gross violation of Mena Godoy's priesthood, but also because he held it very publicly. According to witness Alonso Guaman, Mena Godoy took Balboa with him even when he performed mass, slept in the same room and sat together at the same table while eating, so there was little doubt about the nature of their relationship.⁹⁰

Ortiz de las Casas' parishioners also had a great deal to say about the priest and his concept of "honest life." The declarations against this priest revealed very curious situations because of the manner in which they challenged not only the ecclesiastical legislation, but also the concept of the temple as a sacred space among the church members. One can also interpret that Joseph Ortiz de las Casas' behavior was not only uncomfortable for his parishioners, but also offensive

⁸⁸ Mannarelli, *Pecados Públicos*, 101-102.

⁸⁹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1, fol. 4v.

⁹⁰ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 26v. "... dixo que sabe que de ocho años a esta parte, asiste en compañía del dicho cura Lorenza de Balboa mulata con la qual esta amancebado el dicho padre en la qual tiene quatro hijos... la qual mulata bibe en la casa del dicho cura y tienen las camas en un mesmo aposento por lo qual y por ir juntos el padre y la dicha mulata a la yglesia quando ba a desir misa da muy grande escandalo y mal exemplo a los dichos indios y que sabe que comen juntos en una mesa, todo lo qual sabe por aberlo bisto y allado..."

against them, as it could be considered inadmissible for priest and common people alike. Not in vain did Hernando de Mendoza declare that Ortiz de las Casas was a “very dishonest priest because of his way of speaking, as all of his conversations are superfluous and lewd.”⁹¹

As Diego Hernández declared, Ortiz de las Casas was engaging in solicitation from his position of confessor. According to Hernández’s testimony, the priest denied confession in the church to four women who requested it. Instead, the priest told them to look for him in his house. When the women went to Ortiz de las Casas’ house, they found him lying naked on his bed.⁹² Since the Council of Trent, the church had reinforced the notion of celibacy among the clergy members. The Provincial Council of Lima of 1582 had also prohibited priests from living with women in order to “prevent priests from breaking their commitment and from being exposed to the people’s mockery.” Likewise, the Council recommended bishops not to assign parishes or *doctrinas* to priests suspected of “incontinence.”⁹³ Furthermore, the 1613 Synod recommended that priests avoid company of women in order to eliminate suspicions regarding romantic involvements (*malas amistades*).⁹⁴ However, within the church’s framework, solicitation could be considered a larger transgression than simply engaging in intercourse because priests sought it through the sacrament of penitence. In Ortiz de las Casas’ case, solicitation did not occur in the confessional, as was common, but the priest tried to consummate it in the privacy of his own

⁹¹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 18. “... es un sacerdote muy deshonesto en su modo de hablar porque todas sus conversaciones son de livianidades y deshonestidades...”

⁹² AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 16. “A la veinte y seis dixo que este declarante oyo decir que agora este año en la pasqua queriendose confesar con el dicho cura unas mugeres nombradas Maria Magdalena y Clara Hernandez y Maria [nuera] deste declarante y muger de Cristobal Hernandez y de la otra no se acuerda su nombre no las quiso confesar en la yglesia y las hiço venir a su cassa donde el susodicho estaba desnudo en la cama bueno y sano y las hiço entrar y supo este declarante por haberselo dicho la dicha Clara Hernandez su hija una de las susodichas que las avia confessado y este declarante vio que el dia siguiente se reconciliaron con el dicho cura y resivieron el santissimo sacramento.”

⁹³ Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Provincial Limense*, 179-181. During colonial times, the church and society in general described persons that lived their sexuality outside the accepted standards (sexual intercourse out of wedlock, promiscuity, engaging in intercourse for reasons other than procreation, etc.) as “sexually incontinent.” This term assumed that a person was unable to control his or her own sexuality.

⁹⁴ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 117.

house. Regarding this accusation, I interpret it as the lack of institutional presence from the church because even in a highly irregular case – confession in a particular house – the parishioners went to see the priest. As an additional note, we should remember that solicitation constituted the Inquisition’s most observed priest-committed crime in Lima.⁹⁵

According to both main witnesses in the case, Joseph Ortiz de las Casas committed a major sacrilege – urinating on the altar after finishing the mass. As mentioned in the declarations, this happened in front of the parishioners who were present in the church, including Spaniards and natives. Hernando de Mendoza said also that among the present were Alonso Fernández Guerra, lieutenant *Corregidor*, and Juan Sánchez Tostado de Montemayor, chief justice (*justicia mayor*) of the valley of Palpa. Likewise, the sacristan declared that he was shocked because, as far as he knew, the priest was not suffering from any kind of disease, so such a transgression was more likely to correspond to Ortiz de las Casas’ “dishonest” life.⁹⁶

Another accusation against this priest mentioned that he used to smoke tobacco from a pipe before mass.⁹⁷ Regarding this topic, the 1582 Council strictly forbade priests from consuming tobacco in any way, not even with the excuse that it was a medicine.⁹⁸ Even though the Council’s *constituciones* did not provide any detailed explanation, Peña Montenegro argued that tobacco

⁹⁵ Museum of the Inquisition and the Congress, Peru. <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/museo/inquisicion/histo-inq-catecismo.pdf> . According to the museum’s record, between 1569 and 1820, 101 priests were indicted for solicitation (6.83% from all the Inquisition’s sentences).

⁹⁶ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 18. “... y de alli se fue para el altar mayor adonde se puso la casulla y puesta se also las faldas y se puso a mear en el mismo rincon que hace el altar mayor al lado de la epistola en cuya [...] se hallaron presentes el capitan Alonso Fernandez Guerra theniente de corregidor y justicia mayor de aquel valle el capitan Juan Sanches Tostado de Montemayor y Benito Medes de Adali y otros muchos con que causo grande nota y escandalo los que lo bieron y no sabe este declarante que el dicho bachiller este enfermo de la orina porque no lo esta, sino bueno sano y gordo, y quando lo estuviera pudiera muy salir aparte decente u no hacer una acción tan torpe a vista de todos los españoles e yndios que quedaron escandaliçados.” AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 14-14v. “... y estando diciendo missa, ha visto este declarante que desampara el altar que a vista de todo el pueblo y levanta las faldas y se orina en el y no save este declarante que el susodicho tenga mal de orina, ni otra ninguna enfermedad porque esta bueno y gordo faltando con esto en la honestidad decencia al sacrificio de la missa que excerce y lugar sagrado en el que la esta diciendo.”

⁹⁷ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 14. “... y save por haberlo visto que antes de decir missa toma tabaco en humo con unos cañutos largos que tiene...”

⁹⁸ Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense*, 183.

consumption could make the user “lose his mind,” which would impede the priest from performing his tasks; therefore consumption could be considered a deadly sin.⁹⁹

But Joseph Ortiz de las Casas’ public scandals were not limited to the church’s context. The last accusation against him claimed that the priest went everywhere armed with a dagger and a sword “as if he was a soldier from Flanders.”¹⁰⁰ As mentioned, the 1613 Synod forbade priests from carrying weapons unless they had a “legitimate reason,” such as travelling. Ecclesiastical legislation required priests, if they had to carry weapons, to do so in a most discreet way, which was clearly not the case of the priest of Palpa.¹⁰¹

Gambling represented another important infraction against ecclesiastical legislation. The 1613 Synod prohibited priests from possessing game materials, such as playing cards or dice, under the penalty of banishment for a year and a fine of thirty pesos.¹⁰² Nonetheless, priests such as Álvaro Alonso managed to break this article. In 1621, this priest was subject to an administrative trial not just for gambling, but also because he was gambling his parishioners’ money. Furthermore, the case against Alonso stated how the priest managed to obtain that money by making his parishioners sign up for paid masses that never took place and retaining the alms from his parish in order to use them for his bets.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, 198.

¹⁰⁰ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 20v.

¹⁰¹ Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 116.

¹⁰² Lobo Guerrero y Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 116. Peña Montenegro, 125-126. The author argued that gambling itself was not a transgression or a sin. Nevertheless, because players are pressured for winning, gambling could lead to anger, hatred, and fights. Another problem within gambling was cheating. In that regard, the church forbade priests from gambling. The Third Council of Lima also mentioned this subject, stating that gambling should be eradicated from clergy. Nevertheless, the Council’s constitutions made an exception if the games involved only entertainment and “edible bets” not exceeding two pesos. Ver Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense*, 179.

¹⁰³ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 3:10.

Pastoral Performance vs. Career Advancement

Another reason for which parish priests and *doctrineros* could neglect their pastoral duties was, ironically, because they could be giving more importance to administrative duties that could have eventually helped them to obtain a better position within the archiepiscopal bureaucracy. This included the promotion to higher ranked jurisdictions, ideally having access to a Spanish parish.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, primary sources suggest that the priests' pastoral experience could not necessarily assure a speedy climb through the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Juan Arévalo Sedeño's case suggests that such a situation was entirely plausible, as he was a priest who during his career within the archbishopric of Lima was promoted from *doctrinero* to holder of the most important Spanish parish in the *Corregimiento* of Ica, San Jerónimo, even though he had very troublesome experiences in his previous *curatos*.

After his release from jail, Arévalo Sedeño applied for a position in the *doctrina* of Humay (*corregimiento* of Ica), 392 miles away from Casma, in July 1628.¹⁰⁵ He failed to obtain that office, but later that year the priest received another *doctrina*, El Ingenio (24.5 miles northwest of Nazca). Later, in 1642, Arévalo Sedeño declared that he also held the office of vicar of Nazca.¹⁰⁶ This priest's most notable transgressions against the administration of sacraments and ecclesiastical legislation occurred during his tenure in Ica. In 1634, Arévalo Sedeño was involved in the obstruction of the arrest of a *chino* slave (offspring of a mulatto and a native) for which the ecclesiastical court ordered him to remain "within the city of Ica as his prison" while the investigation took place. This case represents Arévalo Sedeño's first act of serious defiance against ecclesiastical authority, as he left the city in order to appeal his case before a superior

¹⁰⁴ Karen Spalding proposed this idea during a lecture as visiting professor at the University of San Marcos in Lima, 2004.

¹⁰⁵ AAL, Concursos. Leg. 1:47.

¹⁰⁶ AAL, Concursos. Leg. 3:8, fol. 13.

court in Lima. However, the ecclesiastical court could not rule on such an appeal and ordered the priest to return to his prison in Ica under the penalty of excommunication.¹⁰⁷

After almost a decade of quiet performance at El Ingenio, Arévalo Sedeño reappeared among the church's criminal records in 1643 for having a couple married without pronouncing the bans of marriage. Since the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church required priests to publicly announce the bans of marriage in order to prevent invalid unions. While he was not subject to prosecution because of this case, this transgression of an ecclesiastical norm became the starting point for the most tumultuous stage of Arévalo Sedeño's career. From the 1640s up to 1656, when he disappears from the records, Juan Arévalo Sedeño's career appeared to be on the rise, as he not only obtained the most important parish in the *corregimiento* of Ica, San Jerónimo, in 1647, but he was constantly applying for prestigious parishes in Lima. After fifteen years of service at El Ingenio, this priest applied to the *doctrina* of Nazca in 1643, along with Bernardo de Noboa, a priest who in the 1650s would become *visitador general de la idolatría*, although neither obtained the office.¹⁰⁸ The next year, Arévalo Sedeño, claiming to have health issues, requested that the archbishop Villagómez switch his office with the one of Lucas Domínguez, priest of San Jerónimo. Even though his petition was denied, as he had to apply to the parish of San Jerónimo again in 1646, his declaration at the application process suggests to me a provocative interpretation. Arévalo Sedeño attempted to prove that his trajectory within the Archbishopric of Lima deserved an award, which would be the Spanish parish. To back up his proposal, the priest mentioned his then sixteen years serving in the *doctrina* of El Ingenio, plus his two years in Casma, including his time as *visitador de la idolatría*. Nevertheless, he conveniently left unmentioned his imprisonments in 1626 and 1634, as well as his

¹⁰⁷ AAL, Causas Criminales. Leg 9:15, fol. 2.

¹⁰⁸ AAL, Concursos. Leg. 3:28

excommunication in 1626.¹⁰⁹ I would say that this priest either acknowledged that the darker side of his career could certainly complicate his professional advancement or considered that his encounters with ecclesiastical justice were irrelevant when contrasted to his mentioned achievements as extirpator of idolatry. In either case, this evidence also suggests that regarding promotions within the parishes, the archbishopric could have focused more on administrative tasks such as the organization of the parish's income or the donations than the priests' performance as spiritual guide.

Parishes and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction

During the seventeenth century, the Archbishopric of Lima's vast jurisdiction encompassed more than 160 parishes and *doctrinas*. While it is difficult to establish an accurate number because some parishes were divided or merged over time, some accounts as Bernabé Cobo's *Historia de la fundación de Lima* (1639, published in 1882) stated that during Arias de Ugarte's tenure, the archbishopric was comprised of 185 parishes. From these, clerics attended 114 and friars 71.¹¹⁰ Quoting Roberto Levillier's *Organización de la Iglesia* (1919), Kenneth Mills stated that in 1664, the archbishopric's jurisdiction encompassed 162 parishes and *doctrinas*, administered by 108 clerics and 67 friars.¹¹¹ Interestingly, primary sources and modern researches present the number of attending priests as approximately matching the number of parishes. Nevertheless, the archbishopric established that parish priests required to be assisted by auxiliary priests (*cura*

¹⁰⁹ AAL, Curatos. Leg. 20:11, fol. 1. "El licenciado Juan Arebalo Sedeño cura del Yngenio de los balles de la Nasca, digo que a tiempo de diez y seis años que soy cura del dicho beneficio después de averlo sido dos en las Casmas y bisitador de la ydolatria en que e serbido a entrambas [sic] majestades con el cuydado y bigilancia que me a sido posible meresiendo muy grandes aprobaciones de mis prelados y bisitadores que me an bisitado sin que en todo este tiempo aya avido capitulos ni quejas de mi proseder..."

¹¹⁰ Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, 204-205.

¹¹¹ Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*, 9.

inter).¹¹² As such, the actual number of active priests during the period that Cobo mentioned could have been higher. The records of priests applying to parishes and *doctrinas* between 1620 and 1670 show a list of 403 active priests, with a noticeable generational change of priests during the 1640s.¹¹³ It is still difficult to determine an exact number of priests working in parishes because these institutions did not have an established number of auxiliary priests. Some priests such as Joseph Ortiz de las Casas in Palpa had no assistance from other priests at all.¹¹⁴ In Ortiz de las Casas' case, the archbishopric appeared to ignore that no other priest served in Palpa with the *doctrinero*, which suggests that the central church had problems keeping a record of priests other than parish priests.

Controlling the priests represented an additional challenge for the archbishops because of the rugged terrain of this land, where travelling involved not only the great distances, but also the difficult roads and the weather.¹¹⁵ Even in flat territories such as Lima's coast or the *Corregimiento* of Ica, which is comprised mostly of deserts, travelling from Lima could have taken several days. For example, to get to the town of Nazca, 284 miles to the southeast of Lima, would require four days of travel in perfect weather. Even though mountains are mostly absent in this region, the coast of Ica presents strong winds up to forty miles per hour, which could have presented a problem for land travelers especially because of the risk of sandstorms.

In the mountainous regions of the Archbishopric of Lima, such as the *Corregimientos* of Cajatambo or Conchucos, travelling could also be affected because of the rain, flooding of the roads, or an increase of the water levels of the rivers. As such, not only the priests' presence in the parishes and *doctrinas* became jeopardized, but the parishioners' presence at the church as

¹¹² Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, 8.

¹¹³ See appendix.

¹¹⁴ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 15:7, fol. 14.

¹¹⁵ Scott, *Contested Territory*, 76.

well. Pedro de Valderas' case will help us to visualize such a situation. Valderas, the owner of an *estancia* named Uchupatai (*Corregimiento* of Conchucos), requested a special dispensation from the archbishopric of Lima so he and his family would not be forced to go to the *doctrina* of San Andrés de Llamellín in order to attend to mass. According to Valderas' petition, the road from the *estancia* to the *doctrina* was very dangerous, especially because of a river that increased its water level during the rainy season.¹¹⁶

Distances and problems regarding the lack of communication seemed to complicate because of the way ecclesiastic legislation defined the parishes' jurisdictions. As mentioned, the 1582 Provincial Council stated that *doctrinas* were required to have at least two hundred *tributarios*, and no more than four hundred.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the parishes' jurisdiction was established not over the territory, but over the parishioners. The evidence about this situation points out that because of the dispersed layout of rural populations and the irregular number of towns that could be found within the same *doctrina*, it was not always easy for the authorities to precisely determine which towns were under which *doctrina*'s jurisdiction. Recently, Miguel Pinto Huaracha published documentation regarding parishes and *doctrinas* from the archbishopric of Lima, unfortunately without references from the archives and sections where these documents came from. The author, while wrongly associating the term "jurisdiction" with "territory," manages to identify an existing difficulty in determining the ecclesiastical jurisdiction's actual reach, which created disputes between priests over the same parishioners.¹¹⁸ Likewise, the determination of ecclesiastical jurisdictions over the number of community members and not the territorial extent generated situations for debate, such as the one that took place between the priests of the

¹¹⁶ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 10:11.

¹¹⁷ Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense*, 173.

¹¹⁸ Pinto Huaracha, *Linderos y reducciones*, 7, 13-14.

doctrinas of San Damián and Sisicaya, *Corregimiento* of Huarochirí, and the civil authority represented by *Oidor* Andrés de Vilela in 1641.¹¹⁹

In this case, Alonso Ortiz de Cervantes and Ignacio de Urdanibia, priests of San Damián and Sisicaya respectively, were opposed to Vilela's proposal of dividing each *doctrina* in two. The *Oidor's* argument for the division mentioned that the towns within the *doctrinas* were too distant from each other.¹²⁰ The *Oidor* thought it convenient to implement the division, because during the *visita* he conducted, he arrived at the conclusion that the correct administration of the sacraments was difficult for the priests because of the distances between towns. Ortiz de Cervantes argued that the *Oidor's* attempted division responded to "misinformation" regarding the sacramental tasks. Moreover, the priest of San Damián declared that the four towns that comprised his *doctrina* (during the case only three are mentioned) were separated only by six leagues in total (from the first to the last), so taking the Christian doctrine to the people was not as difficult, and that in his *doctrina*, "everybody knows it."¹²¹

The priest of Sisicaya, Ignacio de Urdanibia, goes further in his defense of his *doctrina's* integrity.¹²² According to this priest, the *Oidor* had neither the knowledge nor the experience regarding native towns' distribution because he had just arrived from Spain. In this case, Urdanibia appears to suggest that the ecclesiastical administrative organization in the colonies is different from the universal Catholic Church's organization.¹²³ The priest reminded the *Oidor*

¹¹⁹ AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 9:12.

¹²⁰ AAL, Capítulos, 9:12, fol. 1

¹²¹ AAL, Capítulos, 9:12, fol. 8. The towns mentioned are San Damián, San Francisco and San Juan de Chaucarima. The towns in this region are arranged following the narrow valleys. As such, in cases as San Damián and Sisicaya, the towns present a relatively linear layout.

¹²² The *doctrina* of Sisicaya in 1636 was comprised of the towns of Sisicaya, Santiago de Guamassica, San José del Chorrillo, Santo Domingo de los Olleros, San Pedro de Matará, San Cristóbal de Chatacancha and San Francisco de Calaguaya.

¹²³ Peña Montenegro pointed out in his 1668 treatise that an essential requisite for establishing a parish was that such institution had to "possess a district," without mentioning the number of parishioners. This definition came

that for the archbishopric of Lima, the towns' location had never been really important, as a single *doctrina* could have comprised more than ten towns, if each town had a small population. This way, Urdanibia considered that the division of the *doctrinas* was not convenient because its support depended on the number of *tributarios* it possessed.¹²⁴ After this, Urdanibia defended his position of maintaining his *doctrina* intact, based on the 1582 Council's *constituciones*. According to the priest, the town of Sisicaya had only ten *tributarios* and the *doctrina* had just over two hundred in total.¹²⁵

Urdanibia made a revealing declaration after his juridical defense of the *doctrina*. The priest mentioned that, above all, such a division could not take place because he received the grant of the *doctrina* of Sisicaya as a *beneficio*.¹²⁶ Thus, the *doctrina*'s integrity should not be altered, as this would affect the priest's privileges. I argue that this defense provides an example of priests holding parishes as a source of revenue.

from pope Dionysius, twenty-fifth pontiff (between the years of 259-268). Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, 3.

¹²⁴ AAL, Capítulos, 9:12, fol. 6. "... ademas de que el dicho señor oidor como es publico y notorio vino de los reynos de España sin haber tenido conocimiento ni esperiencia de la distribuçion que los pueblos de los yndios tienen los beneficios y curatos y abiendo salido a la vista luego que entro en el primer beneficio le parecio necessaria la division y necessario en cada pueblo un cura lo qual moralmente hablando es imposible. Porque en muchas partes de este reyno y principalmente en este arçobispado se allan ocho, diez, doçe y catroçe pueblos en distancia de otras tantas leguas y mas que no pueden por el corto numero de los yndios por la falta de mantenimiento y por otras causas sustentar mas de un sacerdote?."

¹²⁵ AAL, Capítulos, 9:12, fol. 6v.-7 "... y se confirma lo primero con que el dicho beneficio de tiempo inmemorial a esta parte con mas de seisçientos tributarios no a tenido mas de un cura y en todo este tiempo en que las visitas an sido casi tantas como los años todos los principes ecclesiasticos y sus bisitadores an juggado suficiẽte provision la de un sacerdote para dotrinar a los feligreses en el copioosso numero referido y al presente se alla la mitad menos de los tributarios en los pueblos anejos y en el principal de Sisicaia apenas se allan diez.

Confirmase lo segundo con que la creccion [sic] de nuebo beneficio conforme al Concilio Provinçial Limense se requieren por lo menos ducientos tributarios y ay pocos mas son los que tiene al presente todo el beneficio."

¹²⁶ AAL, Capítulos, 9:12, fol. 7v. The concept of a parish or *doctrina* as "beneficio" is based on the right by the priest to receive the *sínodo* (his salary), *primicias*, and other privileges for performing "divine work" (parish work and administration of sacraments). See Peña Montenegro, 11.

Generating Institutional Control? Visitas and their Efficiency Discussed

The church recognized offenses against parish duties as a serious problem regarding ecclesiastical administration. Out of 154 criminal accusations made by parishioners against their priests between 1620 and 1670, almost half of them (72) reported transgressions against ecclesiastical duties for which the archbishopric sent *visitadores* to undertake the official investigations.

Table 1: Capítulos against parish priests between 1620 and 1670

Type	Number	%
Physical punishment	10	6.49
Illicit enrichment	21	13.63
Economic abuse against the natives*	28	18.18
Against the sacraments	28	18.18
Against honest life	23	14.93
Against the parish priest role**	21	13.63
Debts (including outside the parish)	18	11.68
Parishes' jurisdictions	5	3.24
Total	154	100

Accusations related to ecclesiastical duties appear in bold.

* Economic abuse entails the priests taking advantage of the natives' work and obtaining some benefit from it, but not necessarily profits. This could be achieved through denying compensation to natives performing domestic chores, services at the parish church (e.g. sacristan), or harvesting crops for the priests to eat.

**This included priests abandoning their parishes without license, not having lists of their parishioners, not performing Mass, not indoctrinating their native parishioners, etc.

When the cases against parish priests and *doctrineros* came from an ecclesiastical official inspection, we are dealing with more objective information from the church's point of view. The investigations that *visitadores* held against priests allow us to analyze actions that the church effectively considered transgressions. According to the 1613 Synod's *constituciones*, the *visita* started with the arrival of the officer in charge, the *visitador eclesiástico*, who after having determined the church's physical and aesthetical state, should start inquiring about the moral situation of the parishioners, the priests and their pastoral performance.¹²⁷ It was during the *visita* that parishioners could present their complaints against their priests, who during that stage of the inspection should have left town in order to allow the people to speak freely.

During these inspections, the archbishopric, through the *visitadores*, could determine whether priests were undertaking the project of the centralization of the archbishopric's authority or not. As such, during an inspection to the parish of San Jerónimo of Ica in 1649, general *visitador* Francisco Calvo de la Cámara noticed that parish priest Juan Arévalo Sedeño was absent even before the *visita* started. The parish priest would be absent for a total of forty days without license.¹²⁸ In another case, Martín de Mena Godoy used to leave his *doctrina* to go to the coastal village of Huaura, even during important dates for Catholicism, such as Lent.¹²⁹ During the time this priest spent in Huaura, his native parishioners declared that two persons died without confession. Parishioners could have reasons to be worried about their priests abandoning their *curatos*. According to the ecclesiastical legislation, parishioners could only receive the

¹²⁷ Lobo Guerrero y Arias de Ugarte, *Sínodos de Lima*, 76-87.

¹²⁸ AAL, Visitas. Leg. 19:25.

¹²⁹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1, fol. 4.

sacraments from their own parish priests or *doctrineros*. Likewise, parish priests and *doctrineros* had authority over their jurisdiction only.¹³⁰

Even though in many cases we acknowledge juridical investigations addressing priests' transgressions against ecclesiastical dispositions and the administration of sacraments through information recorded during *visitas*, we can discuss these inspections' real efficiency as a system of control, especially because of their sporadic nature. The archbishopric's inspectors were absent from the parishes most of the time, indicating that the central authority of the church was not really implemented throughout the system of parishes. As such, while the archbishopric attempted to implement strong policies conducive to an effective centralization of authority over its jurisdictions, it lacked the institutional strength required to succeed.

Based on primary sources, I arrive to two conclusions regarding *visitas*. First, sanctions as an outcome of the inspections did not really represent a corrective measure for transgressor priests. I think that Juan Arévalo Sedeño's case could represent clear evidence to support this idea. As mentioned, Arévalo Sedeño left his parish after the *visita* edict was published. As if leaving his ecclesiastical duties without license was not enough, Arévalo Sedeño left another priest, Pedro Hernández, as interim.¹³¹ This decision broke two ecclesiastical rules, as priests, even provisional ones, such as Hernández, were supposed to apply to parishes via *concurros*.¹³² Arévalo Sedeño had no authority to designate a replacement. Furthermore, Arévalo Sedeño not only allowed Hernández to administer sacraments without a license from the archbishop, but also allowed him to administer sacraments to women, which was forbidden for priests who, like Hernández, were

¹³⁰ Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de indios*, 2. However, the 1613 Synod allowed *doctrineros* to administer some sacraments to Spaniards and mestizos living at mines or in places without a priest. The only exception was the sacrament of matrimony. For this clarification, see Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte, 65-66.

¹³¹ AAL, *Visitas*. Leg. 19:25, fol. 1.

¹³² Peña Montenegro, 8.

under forty years old.¹³³ During his appeal in March 1649, Arévalo Sedeño failed to present his license to leave the parish. Thus, Calvo de la Cámara, rejected the appeal, fined him thirty pesos, imprisoned the priest until the full payment of the fine, and declared him, again, excommunicated.¹³⁴

After Arévalo Sedeño recognized his fault and requested his absolution, Calvo de la Cámara not only had him released from jail, but also annulled the fine and the excommunication.¹³⁵ While the priest came out relatively unharmed, this experience did not persuade him to comply with the ecclesiastical dispositions or to avoid confrontation with the authorities. The same year and during the same *visita*, Arévalo Sedeño had a major altercation with the vicar of Ica, which earned him his second disciplinary review at Calvo de la Cámara's hands.¹³⁶

While the archbishopric lifted Arévalo Sedeño's excommunication in May 1649, he managed to get involved in an even more complicated case, which ended with his second excommunication that year. During the election of the majordomos for two *cofradías*, held at San Jerónimo's church, Arévalo Sedeño had a major conflict with the vicar of Ica, Diego Fernández de San Agustín, who was presiding over the session. The vicar stated that electing a new majordomo for the *cofradía* of the Souls of Purgatory was absolutely necessary, as the rest of San Jerónimo's priests were constantly complaining about the previous one, Pedro de Salazar Torrego.¹³⁷ Arévalo Sedeño, who strongly opposed such a proposal, replied that the vicar only wanted to replace the majordomo out of ill-will, for which vicar Fernández decided to expel the parish priest from the meeting, stating that he was agitating the people. The discussion escalated to the point that Arévalo Sedeño provoked the vicar into a fistfight when he disrespectfully

¹³³ AAL, Visitas. Leg. 19:25, fol. 2v.

¹³⁴ AAL, Curatos. Leg. 20:15, fol. 36-37.

¹³⁵ AAL, Curatos. Leg. 20:15, fol. 36-41.

¹³⁶ AAL, Curatos. Leg. 20:17. AAL, Causas Criminales. Leg. 18:14.

¹³⁷ AAL, Curatos. Leg. 20:17, fol 1-2v.

suggested that the vicar should resign from his office, so they could “understand each other later,” meaning that he was willing to fight the vicar.¹³⁸ As the parish priest continued his verbal attack on the vicar, as the latter insisted that the former should leave the church, both men charged each other for the second time, but this time Arévalo Sedeño managed to cut the vicar in the head with a concealed knife.¹³⁹ Some of the interviewed witnesses, such as Sebastián Lorenzo de Heredia and Hernando de Arenas, priest of the *yanaconas*, declared that Arévalo Sedeño had planned to attack Fernández from the beginning because of the personal enmity between the two.¹⁴⁰ Francisco Calvo de la Cámara, who was present at the election, ordered both of them to be excommunicated the day after the events (December 29), but after the parties apologized, the *visitador* annulled the sentence on December 30.

Martín de Mena Godoy also provided a case where he ultimately defied the archbishopric’s authority. After the archbishop issued the order for him to exit the town of Ámbar so the investigation into his transgressions could take place without inconveniences, *visitador* Antonio Rodríguez Galindo noticed that the priest still had his relatives living illegally in his house. The archbishopric’s orders requested Rodríguez to remove those persons and Lorenza de Balboa, who was also living in Mena Godoy’s house. Regarding Balboa, the archiepiscopal order stated

¹³⁸ AAL, Curatos. Leg 20:17, fol 2-2v. “... se levanto el dicho Juan de Arevalo Sedeño del lugar donde estava sentado con mucha colera y enojo y se paro en medio del cabildo y dixo que no se avia de elixir otro mayordomo porque el que lo era lo hacia muy bien y que el dicho vicario lo hacia porque le tenia pasion a lo qual respondió el dicho vicario no lo hace sino muy mal y muy mal me haga dios si yo le tengo pasion alguna... y bayase con dios señor licenciado y no venga a alborotar esto; a lo qual respondió el dicho cura el es el que lo alborota y replico el dicho vicario si yo no fuera vicario no me hablara de ese modo y respondió el dicho Juan Arevalo Sedeño pues haga dexacion luego de la vicaria ante el señor secretario que después nos entenderemos y aviendo pasado lo susodicho se yvan a enbestir y vuestra merced y las demás personas se metieron en el medio y los apasiguaron.”

¹³⁹ AAL, Curatos. Leg 20:17, fol. 2v. “... y viendo el dicho vicario que no queria obedecer a vuestra merced le volvio a decir que se fuese de alli que no alvorotase al pueblo a lo cual respondió el dicho Juan Arevalo Sedeño disiendo que no se queria yr que aquella era su yglesia... y el que alvorotaba al pueblo era el dicho vicario... con que se alvorotaron todos y se enbistieron y el dicho vicario lo arrimo a un banco y el dicho licenciado de hecho y caso pensado saco una nabaja de la faltiguera [sic] que yo la tenia prevenida porque en la ocasion antesedente metio la mano a la faltiguera [sic] y le tiro a cortar la cara y le dio una herida arriba de la oreja en la cabeza que corto cuero y carne y salió mucha sangre causando con esto mucha nota y escandalo por ser dentro de la yglesia...”

¹⁴⁰ AAL, Curatos. Leg 20:17, fol. 2v, 8v.

that she had to go to prison in Lima at the priest's expense.¹⁴¹ The latter sentence suggests to me that the archbishopric's efforts to correct this priest, while recognizable, could be considered mild in the best case scenario because this "punishment" actually affected Balboa more than Mena Godoy himself. The disproportionate punishment issued to Lorenza de Balboa demonstrates the importance of maintaining the male-dominated order among colonial institutions. As this case points out, *amancebamiento* could be more severely punished among women, aggravated by being from *castas*, even in front of clergy members who, obviously, committed the same "crime." This case, as well as Arevalo Sedeño's suggests to me a second conclusion: if priests were complying with the *visitadores*' recommendations and orders, they did so only while the official was present in the parish. Apparently, priests felt no need to subject themselves to the archbishopric's authority while this was absent, as it was most of the time.

¹⁴¹ AAL, Capítulos. Leg. 6:1. Fol. 7. It is difficult to determine exactly what does Feliciano de Vega's order refers to when he mentions that Lorenza de Balboa must go to prison at the priest's expense. Regarding the Archbishopric of Lima's ecclesiastical context during the seventeenth century, "prison" could have referred to a house of *recogimiento*, a nunnery, or other type of house for female reclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

The four archbishops of Lima during 1620 and 1670 hoped to consolidate the centralization of the Archbishopric of Lima's authority over the local churches. In order to achieve this goal, these prelates (with the exception of Gonzalo de Campo because of his death the year following his arrival) generated policies aiming to create a specifically adapted legislation regarding the Peruvian Catholic Church. These policies entailed two aspects within the ecclesiastical context: the conversion of natives to Catholicism and the maintenance of the Catholic community through the church's rituals, such as the Mass, the sermons and the administration of sacraments.

The church's centralization project during the seventeenth century, however, failed, as the priests – the officials in charge of implementing it among the population – appeared as obstacles to the fortification of the church on the local level. The examples I have studied suggest that the church, presenting a weak institutional framework, was unable to compel its priests to perform their duties according to the ecclesiastical legislation. As such, the priests' activities to secure their personal and professional well-being contributed to the disconnection between the central church and the local churches. Priests could be found looking for a way around the legislation in order to secure their personal interests, which appear to be a higher priority for them than their pastoral duties.

Furthermore, emerging conflicts between the priests and their parishioners became another relevant cause for the priests neglecting their ecclesiastical responsibilities. Cases such as the one featuring Martín de Mena Godoy not only make his animosity against native parishioners

evident, but also suggests that priests had the decision of whether they developed the archiepiscopal project or not. The abandonment of ecclesiastical duties represented a grave violation of the main task that the archbishops entrusted to parish priests and *doctrineros*. As seen, priests that had a conflict relationship with their parishioners, or gave more importance to their administrative careers within the church's framework, could find themselves neglecting such duties. Regarding the latter, primary sources suggest that ecclesiastical authority favored the priests' administration of their parishes or the possession of bureaucratic offices (such as ecclesiastic or anti-idolatry *visitador*, or secretary of the Inquisition or the Holy Crusade) in order to obtain promotions within the church. Juan Arévalo Sedeño's case provides a good example of this, although this priest was imprisoned three times and excommunicated four, he was still being considered for better parishes in the *Corregimiento* of Ica and applying to the most important parishes of Lima. The church's difficulty in asserting control over the priests generated the opportunity for these to also break the ecclesiastical legislation regarding not only the administration of sacraments, but also the concept of "honest life."

The jurisdictional delimitation of the parishes, while defined by law as two hundred *tributarios* under the guidance of a priest, presented some difficulties, as the Andean population lived scattered through the rugged landscape. Therefore, it was complicated for the priests and the civil authorities to determine the limits of such jurisdictions. Also, for officials unfamiliar with the ecclesiastical realm, as the case of the *doctrinas* of San Damián and Sisicaya exemplifies, civil authorities could have a different opinion of what was required in order to adequately administer these jurisdictions. Furthermore, this divergence of opinion calls into question whether if parish priests were actually able to manage these unclear jurisdictions or just defended them because parishes represented an important source of revenue.

Finally, according to the 1613 and 1636 Diocesan Synods, the *visitas* or periodical inspections of the *curatos* were the most adequate way to regulate the priests' compliance with archiepiscopal disposition. As primary sources point out, in practice, *visitas* were not effective enough, as *visitadores* were subject to the same difficulties of distance and accessibility to the *curatos* as priests were. Furthermore, the archbishops were unable to control the priests, as *visitas* were sporadic and relatively brief, compared to the time the priests remained without supervision. The cases presented suggest that priests could receive successive sentences that would not prevent them from committing the same offenses (or new ones) after the *visitadores* returned from their inspections. Therefore, the evidence shows that the effectiveness of *visitas* was limited to the time the *visitador* was present in the parishes or *doctrinas*.

APPENDIX

ACTIVE PRIESTS BETWEEN 1620 AND 1670 (Source: *Concursos* Section, AAL)

A

Agustín de Aller
Agustín de Luzen
Agustín de Oruña
Agustín de Vega
Agustín Félix Pedraza
Agustín Morán de Villalobos
Agustín Ortiz Serrano
Agustín Sarmiento de los Salvadores
Alberto Mora y Figueroa
Alfonso de Cáceres Farfán
Alonso Corvacho de Zárate
Alonso de Hinojosa y Zúñiga
Alonso de Miranda y Cabrera
Alonso de Quesada
Alonso de Rivera y Mendoza
Alonso de Trebejo
Alonso Hernández de Sifuentes
Alonso Mejía de Estela
Alonso Menacho
Alonso Ortiz de Cervantes
Alonso Osorio
Alonso Pérez de Urasandi
Alonso Torres de Llanos
Alvaro Bernardo de Quiroz
Álvaro de Escalante y Mendoza
Álvaro de Salazar
Amador Caro de Mazuelos
Andrés de la Cueva Navarrete
Andrés de Mojica
Andrés de Uriondo
Andrés Fernández Serrano
Andrés García de los Ríos del Águila
Antonio Alonso Garcés
Antonio Barba de Albornoz
Antonio Bartolomé de Cuadros
Antonio Calderón de la Barca
Antonio Cuadros
Antonio de Andrade Colmenero
Antonio de Arratia

Antonio de Balladares Solano
Antonio de Cerda
Antonio de Cuadros
Antonio de la Cerda
Antonio de la Vega
Antonio de León Garavito
Antonio de Loayza
Antonio de Molina
Antonio de Perea
Antonio de Tejada
Antonio Domonte y Robledo
Antonio Girón de Villagómez
Antonio López de Herrera
Antonio Luis López
Antonio Martínez Clavero
Antonio Novia de las Mariñas
Antonio Vinuesa
Atilano de Anaya Machuca

B

Bartolomé de Alarcón
Bartolomé de Uribe
Bartolomé Delgado
Bartolomé Guerrero de Sifuentes
Bartolomé Jurado Palomino
Bartolomé Requena
Bartolomé Rodríguez
Basilio Cortés
Benito de Campos
Bernabé de Torre
Bernabé Guadalupe Hinojosa
Bernardo Armaolea Irraraga
Bernardo Barreto de Figueroa
Bernardo Castellanos de Góngora
Bernardo de Arenas
Bernardo de Novoa
Bernardo González de la Madrid
Blas de Aguinaga y de la Roca
Blas Francisco Báez de Quezada

C

Cosme de Guzmán y Tovar
Cristóbal de Vargas Garrido
Cristóbal López de la Fuente
Cristóbal Martínez de Urueta
Cristóbal Mojica
Cristóbal Tello de Sotomayor

D

Damián de Goriz
Damián de Montellano y Goiris
Diego Barreto de Castro
Diego Bernardo de Quiroz
Diego Cano Gutiérrez
Diego Cortés de Rejas
Diego de Alva
Diego de Cabrera Villarroel
Diego de Carbajal
Diego de los Ríos del Águila
Diego de Medina
Diego de Torres
Diego de Ulloa
Diego de Vargas Carvajal
Diego de Vega
Diego de Vergara y Aguiar
Diego Felipe de Guzmán
Diego González de Alba
Diego Hernández Machón
Diego Machón
Diego Tello
Domingo de Olivares
Domingo Francisco del Castillo

E

Estanislao de Vega Bazán
Estanislao de Vega y Ulloa
Esteban Alonso Prieto
Esteban de Aguilar
Esteban de Paredes Guevara
Esteban de Serpa
Esteban Paredes
Esteban Rodríguez de Granda
Eusebio Garay

F

Felipe de Medina
Felipe de Pradera

Felipe de Rivero Zavala
Felipe de Venegas
Felipe de Venegas de Realejo
Felipe Sáenz de Medina
Felipe Venegas
Fernando Bezerril
Fernando Carrión Cabeza de Vaca
Fernando de Avendaño
Fernando de Carrión
Fernando de Céspedes y Cárdenas
Fernando de Guzmán
Fernando de Lara y Avendaño
Fernando Mejía
Florián Sarmiento Rondón
Francisco Ambrosio
Francisco Bernal
Francisco Cabello
Francisco Calvo de la Cámara
Francisco de Alloza
Francisco de Alvarado y Valverde
Francisco de Arguinao Ayala
Francisco de Callana
Francisco de Carbajal
Francisco de Estrada Beltrán
Francisco de Godoy
Francisco de Guevara
Francisco de la Llana
Francisco de las Heras Pantoja
Francisco de Ledesma
Francisco de Mendoza
Francisco de Otaola
Francisco de Pereda
Francisco de Quiroz
Francisco de Rivera Samanez
Francisco de Tordesillas
Francisco de Villalobos
Francisco de Zúñiga Morales
Francisco Doria
Francisco Félix de Guzmán
Francisco Gallegos de Aparicio
Francisco Gamarra
Francisco Gómez Bravo
Francisco Jornete
Francisco Juárez de Monroy
Francisco Lupercio de Zurbano
Francisco Martínez
Francisco Mejía de Carbajal

Francisco Negrón de Luna
Francisco Perea
Francisco Pérez de Tordesillas
Francisco Pérez Rico
Francisco Quintero
Francisco Ramírez
Francisco Sedeño Fariñas
Francisco Viruez

G

Gabriel de Cueva
Gabriel de Guzmán
Gabriel Meléndez de Coca
García de Solórzano y Velasco
García Galiano
García Verástegui Salazar
Gaspar de Arce
Gaspar de Espinoza
Gaspar de Herrera Escobedo
Gaspar Ortiz de Espinosa
Gaspar Pérez de Molina
Gaspar Román
Gonzalo Cano Gutiérrez
Gonzalo de Mendieta
Gonzalo Guerrero de Luna
Gregorio Arce de Sevilla
Gregorio Arce de Sevilla y de la Vega
Gregorio de Campo Rebolledo

I

Ignacio Barreto de Figueroa
Ignacio de Monroy
Ignacio de Torres y Solís
Ignacio de Urdanibia
Ignacio Diez de Ledesma
Ignacio Pérez de Tordesillas
Ignacio Torres y Solís

J

Jacinto Fernández de Añasco
Jacinto López
Jacinto Ramírez de Guzmán
Jacinto Tafur de Valenzuela
Jacinto Villegas
Jaime Alloza Menacho
Jaime de Alloza
Jerónimo Berrio

Jerónimo Cansino
Jerónimo de Cantoral Cornejo
Jerónimo de Noboa Sotelo
Jerónimo de Santa Cruz y Padilla
Jerónimo Hurtado del Águila
Jerónimo Minaya
Jerónimo Telles Maldonado
José Calvo de Sandoval
José de Argüelles
José de la Rea
José de Prado
José de Utrilla Velasco
José de Vargas Argüelles
José del Pino
José Laureano de Mena
José Martínez de Andrade
José Montenegro
José Navarro Montesinos
Joseph Carrasco del Saz
Joseph de Ojeda
Joseph Niño de Frías
Joseph Ortiz de las Casas
Juan Arévalo Sedeño
Juan Baptista Ramírez
Juan Bautista de Illescas
Juan Bautista Tufino
Juan Benítez Páez de Medrano
Juan Bernabé de la Madrid
Juan Bonifacio y Serrano
Juan Carrasco del Saz
Juan Cavero
Juan Celis de Padilla
Juan Claros
Juan Cosca de Críales
Juan Dávila Falcón
Juan de Acuña
Juan de Aparicio
Juan de Ávila
Juan de Bustamante
Juan de Castromonte
Juan de Cueto y Cárdenas
Juan de Dios de Verastegui
Juan de Escalante y Mendoza
Juan de Escalona y Agüero
Juan de Espinoza Campo
Juan de la Barrera
Juan de Loayza y Quiñones

Juan de Mansilla y Acuña
Juan de Miranda Cortés
Juan de Montalvo
Juan de Navarro de Ayala
Juan de Noboa Valdez
Juan de Otalora Bravo de Lagunas
Juan de Peralta
Juan de Salazar
Juan de Salcedo
Juan de Santisteban
Juan de Tamayo
Juan de Valdés Maldonado
Juan de Valverde y Mercado
Juan del Cerro
Juan Delgado
Juan Domonte
Juan Enríquez de Abreu
Juan Escalante y Mendoza
Juan Espinoza Campo
Juan Fernández de Padilla
Juan Flores de Montoya
Juan Francisco Márquez
Juan Fuster
Juan Gallegos de Aparicio
Juan González de Ozerín
Juan Gutiérrez de Aguilar
Juan Hidalgo
Juan Hurtado de Vera
Juan Ignacio de Torres y Solís
Juan José Fajardo de Campoverde
Juan Joseph Tamayo
Juan López de Alarcón
Juan López de Medina
Juan Mejía de Mendoza
Juan Morales
Juan Ortiz de la Vera
Juan Ortiz de Noriega
Juan Pedrero de Santiago
Juan Rojo Mejía
Juan Rosel
Juan Ruiz Dávila
Juan Suárez Donis
Juan Vaca de Salazar
Julián de los Ríos del Águila

L

Leandro de Valencia del Infante

Lorenzo Campi de la Roca
Lorenzo de Alarcón y de la Roca
Lorenzo de Alcocer y Alarcón
Lorenzo de Carvajal
Lorenzo Farfán
Lucas de Escuer y Ríos
Lucas de Monsalve
Lucas de Mudarra
Lucas de Palomares
Lucas del Pino
Lucas Domínguez Rubio de Ayala
Lucas Mejía de la Estela
Lucas Rangel
Luis Alfonso Villafañe
Luis de Arriaga de la Roca
Luis de Chávez
Luis de Landeras Godoy
Luis de Mora y Aguilar
Luis de Morales
Luis de Ordóñez
Luis de Segarra de Guzmán
Luis de Villavicencio
Luis Durán Cañete
Luis García de Zurita
Luis Mejía de la Estela
Luis Ordóñez
Luis Sánchez de la Madrid
Luis Sánchez de Montoya
Luis Sánchez Jiménez
Luis Segarra de Guzmán
Luis Severino de la Reinaga Salazar

M

Manuel de Esquivel Salcedo
Manuel Tamayo
Marcelo de Aramburú
Marcos Cano
Marcos Fernández Cortés de Saavedra
Marcos Gutiérrez de Aldana
Marcos Ramírez de Arellano
Martín de los Ríos
Martín de Mena Godoy
Martín de Velasco y de Molina
Mateo de Ayala
Mateo Díaz Beltrán
Mateo Flores
Matías Sáenz

Melchor de Alcázar Monsalve
Miguel del Valle Ozores
Miguel Rubio de Acevedo

N

Nicolás de Berrazoeta
Nicolás Martínez Pardo
Nicolás Ochoa de Aranda
Nicolás Pardo
Nicolás Segarra

P

Pablo de Paredes
Pablo Rezio de Castilla
Pedro Bermúdez
Pedro Calvo
Pedro de Balmaceda
Pedro de Contreras
Pedro de Cuba
Pedro de Cuesta
Pedro de Herrera y Castilla
Pedro de la Cruz
Pedro de la Cuesta
Pedro de los Ríos del Águila
Pedro de Ortega Sotomayor
Pedro de Pineda
Pedro de Porras
Pedro de Quijano Cevallos
Pedro de Rienda
Pedro de Saravia
Pedro de Soto Alvarado
Pedro de Valderrama
Pedro de Villavicencio y Cisneros
Pedro del Campo
Pedro Fernández de Castro
Pedro Madueño
Pedro Pérez de Cabañas
Pedro Pinedo

Pedro Quijano Cevallos
Pedro Ruiz Garfias
Pedro Sánchez Badillo
Pedro Saravia
Pedro Tinoco de Alfaro
Plácido Antolínez

R

Rodrigo de Segura
Rodrigo Durán Martel
Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe
Rodrigo Solís
Rodrigo Tello

S

Salvador González
Salvador Niño
Salvador Niño de Guzmán
Salvador Sánchez de la Haba
Salvador Sánchez de la Parra
Sancho Pardo de Cárdenas
Sebastián de Cabrera y Betanzos
Sebastián de Mendoza
Sebastián de Rojas Sandoval del Aguija
Sebastián López
Sebastián Ponce de León
Simón de Rojas

T

Tomás Cabello Miraval
Tomás de Ayala
Tomás de Meza y Ortega
Toribio Ruiz de Sierra

V

Vicente Severino

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL)

Capítulos

Causas Criminales

Concursos

Curatos

Visitas Eclesiásticas

Álvarez, Bartolomé. *De Las Costumbres y Conversion de los Indios del Peru. Memorial a Felipe II (1588)*. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1998.

Charles, John. "Unreliable Confessions: *Khipus* in the Colonial Parish," *The Americas* 64 (1), 2007: 11-33.

Cobo, Bernabé. *Historia de la fundación de Lima*. Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1882.

Cussen, Celia L. "The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru: Linking Extirpation and Beatification," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 85 (3), 2005: 417-448.

Duviols, Pierre. *La Destrucción de las Religiones Andinas*. México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1977.

_____. *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII*. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos / Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003.

García Cabrera, Juan Carlos. *Ofensas a Dios: Pleitos e injurias. Causas de idolatrías y hechicería., Cajatambo, siglos XVII-XIX*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1994.

Griffiths, Nicholas. *The Cross and the Serpent. Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

- Griffiths Nicholas and Fernando Cervantes, eds. *Spiritual Encounters. Interactions between Christianity and native religions in colonial America*. Birmingham: The University of Birmingham. University Press, 1999.
- Hampe Martínez, Teodoro, “El trasfondo personal de la ‘extirpación’: la carrera y la formación intelectual de Francisco de Ávila y Fernando de Avendaño,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 8 (1), 1999: 91-111.
- Haskett, Robert. “‘Not a Pastor, but a Wolf’: Indigenous-Clergy Relations in Early Cuernavaca and Taxco”, *The Americas* 50 (3), 1994: 293-336.
- Hennessey Cummins, Victoria. “Imperial Policy and Church Income: The Sixteenth Century Mexican Church,” *The Americas* 43 (1), 1986: 87-103
- Hyland, Sabine Patricia. “Illegitimacy and Racial Hierarchy in the Peruvian Priesthood: A Seventeenth-Century Dispute,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 84 (3), 1998: 431-454.
- Lavallé, Bernard. “Las doctrinas de indígenas como núcleos de explotación colonial, siglos XVI-XVII,” *Allpanchis* 19, 1982: 151-171.
- Lisi, Francesco Leonardo. *El Tercer Concilio Limense y la aculturación de los indígenas sudamericanos. Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima 1582 y 1583*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990.
- Lobo Guerrero, Bartolomé and Fernando Arias de Ugarte. *Sínodos de Lima de 1613 y 1636*. Madrid and Salamanca: Centro de estudios históricos del Consejo Superior de investigaciones científicas / Instituto de historia de la teología española de la Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1987.
- Mannarelli, María Emma. *Pecados Públicos. La ilegitimidad en Lima, siglo XVII*. Lima: Centro de la mujer peruana Flora Tristán / Heinrich Böllstiftung, 2004.
- Marsilli, Maria N. “‘I Heard It through the Grapevine’: Analysis of an Anti-Secularization Initiative in the Sixteenth-Century Arequipan Countryside, 1584-1600,” *The Americas* 61 (4), 2005: 647-672.
- Marzal, Manuel María. *Tierra encantada: Tratado de antropología religiosa de America Latina*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002.

- MacCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes. Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991
- McGlone, Mary M. "The King's Surprise: The Mission Methodology of Toribio de Mogrovejo," *The Americas* 50 (1), 1993: 65-83.
- Meiklejohn, Norman. *La Iglesia y los Lupaqs de Chucuito durante la colonia*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas" / Instituto de Estudios Aymaras, 1988.
- Millones, Luis. "Los rebaños del señor: mecanismos de poder en las comunidades andinas, siglos XVII y XIX." *América Indígena*, vol. XXXIX, 1979.
- _____. "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas in the Central Sierra," *Ethnohistory* 26 (3), 1979: 243-263.
- Mills, Kenneth. *An Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-Colonial Peru*. Liverpool: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1994.
- _____. "The Limits of Religious Coercion in Mid-Colonial Peru," *Past & Present* 145, 1994: 84-121.
- _____. "Bad Christians in Colonial Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 5 (2), 1996: 183-218.
- _____. *Idolatry and Its Enemies. Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Peña y Montenegro, Alonso de la. *Itinerario para párrocos de indios en que se tratan las materias más particulares tocantes a ellos para su buena administración*. Madrid, 1771.
- Pinto Huaracha, Miguel y Antonio Urbano San Martín. *Linderos y reducciones en Lima. Visitas eclesiásticas 1627-1820*. Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina – UNMSM, 2008.
- Powers, Karen Vieira. "The Battle for Bodies and Souls in the Colonial North Andes: Intraecclesiastical Struggles and the Politics of Migration," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 75 (1), 1995: 31-56
- Ramírez, Susan Elizabeth. *To Feed and be Fed: the Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

- Reff, Daniel T. "Contextualizing Missionary Discourse: The Benavides 'Memorials' of 1630 and 1634," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 50 (1), 1994: 51-67.
- Salomon, Frank and George L. Urioste, trans. *The Huarochirí Manuscript. A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.
- Tibesar, Antoine. "The King and the Pope and the Clergy in the Colonial Spanish-American Empire," *The Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1), 1989: 91-109.
- Tineo, Primitivo. *Los Concilios Limenses en la evangelización Latinoamericana*. Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A., 1990.
- Trujillo Mena, Valentín. *La Legislación Eclesiástica en el Virreynato del Perú*. Lima: Lumen, 1981.
- Vargas Ugarte S.J., Rubén. *Historia de la iglesia en el Perú*. Volumes II-III. Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1953.
- Villagómez, Pedro de. *Carta pastoral de exhortación, e instrucción contra las idolatrías de los indios, del Arzobispado de Lima*. Lima: Imprenta y Librería Sanmarti y Ca., 1919.

VITA

Personal Background

- Daniel Ricardo Guzmán Salinas
- Born July 20th, 1981
- Son of Héctor Guzmán Iturbe and María Esther Salinas Rodríguez

Education

- Bachelor of Arts (History). Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005

Experience

- Teaching Assistant, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2004
- Adjunct Archivist, Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima, 2008 – 2009
- Researcher, National Institute of Culture, Lima, Peru, 2009
- Research Assistant, Texas Christian University, 2009 – 2010
- Graduate Assistant, Texas Christian University, 2010

Honors

- Full scholarship, M.A. and Ph.D. programs, Texas Christian University, 2009 – 2013
- Full member, Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society, Inc., 2010

Publications

- “Los usos del poder. Conflictos e intereses en la doctrina de San Ildefonso de Recuay, 1720”.
Cuadernos Interculturales 5.8 (2007): 51 - 696. Viña del Mar: Universidad de Valparaíso

ABSTRACT

GOD CAN WAIT
PARISH PRIESTS, *DOCTRINEROS*, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION
DURING SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERU 1620-1670

by Daniel Ricardo Guzmán Salinas, M.A., 2010

Department of History
Texas Christian University

Thesis Advisor: Susan E. Ramirez,
Professor and Neville G. Penrose Chair of History and Latin American Studies

From 1620 to 1670, four archbishops of Lima attempted to enforce ecclesiastical legislation that aimed at establishing a powerful homogenous institution. Nevertheless, parish priests' particular interests and conflicts between them and their parishioners appeared as reasons for the failure of the archbishops' project for the centralization of the church. Other important reasons for this failure are the distances between the settlement of the parishes and their poorly-defined jurisdictions, which complicated the priests' administration and the church's inability to establish a long-term system of control over the activities of the parish priests. Thus, I present a central church that looked forward to connecting with the local church; but within this project, these issues appeared as obstacles for the implementation of such centralization. Even with the political effort that the archbishops placed on increasing their power in rural areas during the period between 1620 and 1670, the church remained a weak institution.