

MOZAS CRIOLLAS AND NEW GOVERNMENT: FRANCIS BORGIA, PROPHETISM, AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES IN SPAIN AND PERU

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For a historian, it is at once easy and extremely difficult to work with documents and materials from the history of the Society of Jesus. It can be very easy because generally the documents have been optimally conserved, selected, and catalogued from the source itself, given the Society of Jesus's unprecedented awareness of the birth and growth of their "new order." There are thousands of letters, editions, and histories that can tell us a great deal, and offer a wealth of documents, about any given episode in the history of the Society. Very early on—and in a highly modern way, I would say—the Jesuits focused their attention on their own documents: which to conserve and how and which to release and disseminate outside the Society in order to construct a triumphant and dynamic image of the order.

At the same time, it is a very difficult task precisely because the history of the Society has been written and compiled by the Jesuits themselves. As such, it is not easy for a historian to find documents revealing the "other" history of the Society: those episodes that they did not wish to remember, their mistakes and blunders, and all the things that the Jesuits themselves wished to forget. In the traditional history of the order there is a public version that describes how Jesuit spirituality is modeled on Ignatius's pragmatism, removed from any prophetic or messianic temptations and distanced from the many outbreaks of *alumbrado* groups that had been condemned in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas.

Over the course of these pages I will attempt, then, to shed light on some of the dark areas in the history of the Society of Jesus, and identify what I have elsewhere called "the other side of the Society of Jesus," the spiritual project that flourished around the figure of the Jesuits' most distinguished representative of the period: Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandía.¹ By this I mean his more private and contemplative spirituality,

¹ S. Pastore, *La otra cara de la Compañía: Francisco de Borja tra profetismo e Inquisizione in Francisco de Borja y su tiempo. Política, religión y cultura en la Edad Moderna*, ed. by Enrique García Hernán et. al. (Valencia – Rome: Albatros, 2011), and the essays collected there. For more on Francis Borgia, see E. García Hernán, *Francisco de Borja, Grande de España* (Valencia 1999) and M. P. Ryan,

quite different from the active membership model of Ignatius, his prophetic calling—for his own disciples he was the Joachimite tradition's long-awaited “angelic pope”—his numerous problems with the Spanish Inquisition,² and his rather unconventional positions against the “purity of blood” statutes and in favor of the *conversos*.³ All of the above, as well as Rome’s harsh censure of his positions, leads us to infer that a radical religious project sprang up around Borgia, one which was repeatedly condemned by the Inquisition, and was strongly rejected by the Society’s leadership. Quashed by Ignatius himself, Borgia’s prophetic calling (or *alumbrado* calling, I would say) made a comeback during his term as superior general of the Jesuits (1565-72), giving rise to the menacing cases of *alumbradismo* that, from Andalusia to Peru, were at the center of a number of inquisitorial trials. The tendency was later to be repressed and harshly condemned from inside the Society during the great anti-mystical campaign of the new superior general, Mercurian. Nevertheless, it would remain an essential part of the Jesuit spirit and spirituality.

Let us start from the beginning. We know that Borgia, who at the time was an important figure in Spain in his role as the powerful, secular Duke of Gandía—began to take part in the Spiritual Exercises in 1546 thanks to the Jesuit Andrés de Oviedo, and in a matter of months, he secretly entered the Society. At the time it was the Society's most significant and astonishing conquest, a sign that it was truly destined to take on great tasks and was able to achieve lofty goals. The occurrence was also full of symbolic value. The signs of this great victory were kept secret until 1551, when news of the duke's conversion was made public and astutely disseminated to the outside world as a divine and powerful spiritual conquest. It was precisely during these years of silent turmoil and grandiose projects that a fascinating prophetic circle arose.

El jesuita secreto: San Francisco Borja (Valencia 2009).

² On Francis Borgia and the Inquisition cfr. C. de Dalmases, “San Francisco Borja y la Inquisición española 1559-1561,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 41 (1972), 48-135; J. L. González Novalín, *La Inquisición y la Compañía de Jesús*, «Anthologica Annua», XXXVII, 1990, pp.11-55, and, for an up-to-date profile, cfr. S. Pastore, *Francesco Borgia, santo*, in *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione*, ed. A. Prosperi, Pisa 2010.

³ On the relations between Jesuits and *conversos*, see the important essays by E. Rey, *San Ignacio de Loyola y la limpieza de sangre*, in *Razón y Fe*, (1956), 173-204, and F. B. Medina, *Ignacio de Loyola y la limpieza de sangre*, in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao, 1992), 579-615, and more recently, R.A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a ‘Synagogue of Jews’: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, (Leiden 2009).

This episode was to have a great impact on the spiritual and religious career of the duke, determining to a certain extent his own stances later on. The topic was brought to light by Father Ruíz Jurado in 1972, and years later by the great expert in Hispanic prophetism Alain Milhou.⁴

As mentioned above, it was Andrés de Oviedo who recorded the duke's secret vows in 1546 and initiated him in the practice of the Spiritual Exercises. However, according to another famous Spanish Jesuit, Antonio de Araoz, his practice differed considerably from that of Ignatius (Araoz wrote to Laínez saying in no uncertain terms that Borgia "has not quite understood the ways of the Society"⁵). Andrés de Oviedo was a *converso*, and in Italy he was met with the outright hostility of the Italian Jesuit Benedetto Palmio, who with brazen anti-Semitism stigmatized him for his supposed Jewish appearance.⁶ Between 1547 and 1549, Oviedo, together with the French Jesuit Onfroy, also acted as the leader of a spiritual group that emerged around Borgia, which combined Joachimite prophetism, millenarian temptations, and the history of the new order. The group based the whole of its prophetic beliefs on the visions of the Franciscan tertiary Juan de Texeda, called from Barcelona to the Jesuit school at Gandía by Borgia himself. Texeda, along with Oviedo and Onfroy, identified Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandía, as the much-awaited "angelic pope," the spiritual pope prophesied by the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore, who was to combat the Antichrist and usher in a new golden age. Bear in mind that it was in the midst of this most peculiar atmosphere that Francis Borgia's first and only written work was published in Valencia in 1548, the *Seis tratados muy devotos y útiles para cualquier fiel cristiano* [*Six Very Devout and Useful Treatises for all Christian Believers*], which was severely condemned later on by the Inquisition and included in the *Index of Prohibited Books*.

It did not take long for the news of Oviedo, Onfroy, and Borgia's prophecies and strange beliefs to reach Rome. The founder himself, Ignatius of Loyola, intervened in the matter on several occasions. In 1547, for example, he categorically rejected Oviedo

⁴ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "Un caso de profetismo reformista en la Compañía de Jesús. Gandía (1547-1549)", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XLIII (1974), 217-266 and Alain Milhou, "La tentación joaquinista en los principios de la Compañía de Jesús. El caso de Francisco de Borja y Andrés de Oviedo", *Florensia*, VIII-IX (1994-1995), 193-239.

⁵ "[...]no tiene tan bien entendido el andar de la Compañía".

⁶ R. A. Maryks, "The Jesuit Order as a 'Synagogue of Jews': Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry in the Early Society of Jesus," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 78, (2009):339-416, as well as Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a 'Synagogue of Jews'*, 134-135.

and Onfroy's request to retire to a Carthusian monastery or remote area for six years in order to dedicate themselves exclusively to meditation. He explained that the request was in contradiction to the active and pragmatic vocation of the new order. In 1549, perhaps conditioned by the case of another visionary prophet, Guillaume Postel, whom he had had to dismiss from the Society, Ignatius of Loyola resolved to condemn any Joachimite temptation within the Society of Jesus. He compiled his opinions on the matter in a set of curt and determined instructions sent in July of 1549 to Borgia himself. It is perhaps significant that several copies of this letter have been preserved, including a later Italian translation.⁷ In his instructions Loyola drily warns the duke not to believe in "that spirit of prophecies or emotion, especially regarding the reform of the Church, the angelic pope, etc., which has been going on for many years now. Which should rightfully be considered highly suspicious; as with it it would seem that the devil has taken to mocking all those in whom he finds a disposition to be persuaded by such things."⁸

The distance between the Joachimite group surrounding Borgia, with its tensions and hopes, and the cold pragmatism of Ignatius, could not be greater. With a clearly sarcastic and combative tone Ignatius wrote that in that period alone he could count more than nine angelic popes who had come forth. And, one after another, their prophecies had been proven false by the passage of time. With this letter he sought to put an end to any prophetic whims within the Society. He closed with:

[A]s to Father Francis being the angelic pope, it is possible, and easy for the Lord of all [...] *tamen*, as far as said rank is concerned, until proven by time, it is better to distance ourselves from such thoughts.⁹

Apparently Borgia and Oviedo complied with the will of the superior general. Oviedo was suspended from his position as rector of the Jesuit school at Gandía. And perhaps they were not much surprised when, one year later, when both were in Rome, a handwritten prophetic-messianic treatise began to circulate, which, based on the

⁷ They are in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Instit. 188, ff. 183-193v and Instit. 186, ff. 127-132v (Italian translation).

⁸ *Apud* Milhou, "La tentación joaquinita", 212.

⁹ "[...] que el P. Francisco será el papa angélico, cosa es posible y muy fácil al Señor de todos [...] *tamen*, cuanto a la tal dignidad, hasta que el tiempo lo mostrase, es mejor hallarnos fuera de los tales pensamientos". Milhou, "La tentación joaquinita", 212.

revelations of Joachim of Fiore and Ubertino of Casale, celebrated the birth of the Society of Jesus and the success of its ministry around the world as a sign of the arrival of the *novissima tempora*. Although the manuscript, dedicated to the Duke of Gandía, circulated anonymously, certain internal references lead to the unmistakable conclusion that it was written by Andrés de Oviedo.¹⁰ It also reveals a great deal about the desire for reform and the messianic offshoots that arose around the Duke of Gandía and his future role in the order. Borgia was to mark the beginning of the sixth age of the world, the much-anticipated golden age of the Joachimite tradition, which was to put an end to the violence and injustice of the *quinta aetas*, bringing humanity to the state of peace and happiness that would pave the way for the coming of Christ on earth. The Americas and the New World were an essential part of the prophetic treatise. Yet not in the traditional manner: The manuscript was highly critical of the conduct of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in the New World, and saw in an imminent Jesuit evangelization the possibility of moving from the fifth into the sixth *aeta* of the world. A copy of Oviedo's manuscript is held in the National Library of Madrid, and was brought to light in one of Alain Milhou's last essays.¹¹ It begins by covering the common topics of Iberian prophetism, interpreting the discovery of the New World through the lens of a tradition that was well known in the Peninsula. He references the classic passages from Matthew 24 ("It was said by our Redeemer Jesus Christ that before the world ended the Gospel had to be preached in all the world"¹²) and Jeremiah 31. He places particular emphasis on the messianic role of Columbus, who according to the text was aware of his role and carried the secret of his revolutionary voyage with him. He also emphasizes the *annus mirabilis* (or rather, *horribilis*, depending on one's point of view) of 1492, when all indications seemed to point to the world's impending end: the expulsion of the Jews and the longed-for conquest of Granada, the final Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. The year 1492 was also, according to our Jesuit, the year that Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society, was born.

¹⁰ There is a brief and daring analysis of the treatise in A. Milhou, "El manuscrito jesuita-mesianico de Andrés de Oviedo dirigido a Francisco de Borja (1550)", *Caravelle*, 76-77 (2001):345-354.

¹¹ BNM, Ms. 5874 *La exposición del salmo 106 y del Cántico de Habacuc*. Cfr. A. Milhou, "'Hacer un mundo de nuevo'. Mesianismo hispano, mesianismo jesuita", 461-474.

¹² BNM, Ms. 5874 *La exposición del salmo 106*: "Dicho estava por nuestro Redemptor Jesu Christo que antes que el mundo se acabase se avia de predicar el evangelio en el universo mundo".

And no one has been able to understand it till now, and to understand it, one must know that, when the time came in which our Lord wished the Gospel to be preached in these parts ... he himself induced an Italian named Christopher Columbus, who they say learned of this secret from a sailor who was his close friend, who told him, and who died in Lisbon, and though he discussed it several times with King Manuel he was not taken seriously, so he came to Spain to the Catholic Monarchs ... in the year 1492, the year in which they finally expelled the Moors ... and in the same year the same monarchs drove out and expelled all the Jews from their kingdoms of Castile and I suspect, as far as I have been able to determine, that it was in the same year that Father Ignatius was born, the Superior General and founder of the Society of Jesus, because they say that he is fifty-eight years old, give or take.¹³

This last point is quite peculiar, and is a novelty of hermeneutics, in that it brings together the new Society, the discovery of the New World, and the messianic renewal of the world.

Nevertheless, the manuscript does not continue along a traditional course, but rather abruptly adds a gruesome true story to the traditional prophetic rhetoric. Whereas the twelve apostles preached the Law of God in peace and with kindness, the first twelve evangelizers in the New World (Father Martín de Valencia and his companions), and all the Franciscans and Dominicans who followed, merely abetted the ravages and genocide of the conquistadores: They were not apostles of peace, but rather witnesses and accomplices to heinous crimes and an endless ambition and thirst for gold.

Over the dark pages that follow, the Jesuit recalls with remarkable historical precision the first massacre of Native Americans on Hispaniola. He thus affirms that this was not the sweet, gentle conquest of the Gospel and the first apostles, but the terrible massacres and ravages prophesied by Jeremiah.

¹³ *Ibidem*: “Y no se ha podido entenderse hasta agora y para entenderse a se de saver que quando vino el cumplimiento del tiempo en que nuestro señor era servido que en estas partes se pedricase el evangelio... movio el mismo a un italiano que se llamo christoval colon el qual quieren decir que supo este secreto de un marinero su gran amigo que le avia comunicado que murio en Lisboa y hablando sobre ello al rey don Manuel muchas vezes no le dio credito vinose en España a los catholicos reyes [...] el año 1492 en el qual año se acabaron de hechar los moros [...] y en el mismo año desterraron y echaron los dichos reyes a todos los judios de sus reinos de Castilla y sospecho, segun he podido saber que en aquel año nascio el padre Ignacio general y principio de la compañía de Jesús porque dizen que sera de cincuenta y ocho años poco mas o menos”. BNM, Ms. 5874.

The prophecy is an inevitable corollary to a story that cannot be ignored, and which once again supports the prophetic theories of the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore. Namely, the conquistadores and the first evangelizers in the Americas, who were more interested in the Native Americans' gold than in the salvation of their souls, were the incarnation of the fifth age of the world prophesied by Joachim, the age of the sword and of blind violence based on the prophesies of Isaiah and Jeremiah and the grim remarks of Habakuk:

[A]nd in this period in which, though the idols were toppled, the same ones whom God sent as preachers and conquerors aimed the care and love and purpose of this preaching and conquest not at seeking the souls of these wretches, like the apostles and their successors, but rather at stealing and plundering from them their gold and worldly possessions at the expense of lives and of anything they could get their hands on and they neither wanted nor desired nor sought anything more than that.¹⁴

Yet the age of violence precedes a new and triumphant age of the spirit, and it is here that the Society of Jesus's messianic role comes back into the picture. If their founder was born in 1492, then his companions were the true personification of the new spiritual men called upon to completely renew the Church and initiate a new age of the spirit. Their arrival in the Americas would thus represent the final phase of the Joachimite process.

The force and radicalism of the Spiritual Exercises are, according to the Jesuit, the starting point, the key to unlocking the new age of the spirit. The Exercises, an incredibly powerful meditation, a revolutionary roadmap for the world's spiritual path, are strong enough to radically change man, to profoundly transform him.

So much so that a man who is transformed by the Exercises is the spiritual man prophesied by Joachim of Fiore, a perfect, impeccable man, ignited by the divine breath.

This is an important point that places the Jesuits within a narrative of messianic exaltation. This has been the subject of a great deal of debate and discussion in the history of the Jesuits and anti-Jesuitism: the call to perfection through a system of

¹⁴ “[...] y en este tiempo en el qual aunque fueron derribados los idolos, los mesmos que enbiava Dios por predicadores y conquistadores llevavan el afecto y amor y fin desta predicación y vencimiento no en buscar las almas destes miserables como los apostoles y sucesores dellos sino en robar y saquearles el oro y bienes del mundo que tenian a costa de las vidas y de todo de lo que se pudiese ofrescer ni querian ni deseavan ni buscavan principalmente sino eso”. BNM, Ms. 5874, f. 42.

meditation that can be extended to laypeople and women, and the aspiration to sinlessness that this entails.

It is clear that it is the Spiritual Exercises that are capable of creating new spiritual men and bringing about the beginning of a new age. A man through whom this new spiritual practice passes is a completely transformed man who contains within himself the spirit of God, and who is by God inspired.

A perfect man, then, and—though not made explicit in the manuscript, it is a consequence implicit in the idea of perfection—without sin.

This was the radically heterodox idea enclosed within the practice of the Exercises in the eyes of its detractors. A text that, according to Melchor Cano, reeked of *alumbradismo* and promised sinlessness “to simple men and poor little women.”¹⁵ A “show of magic,”¹⁶ in the words of another Dominican who was a staunch detractor of this practice, and who in the 1570s would denounce the close relationship between the practice of the Spiritual Exercises and the new outbreaks of *alumbradismo* in Andalusia and Extremadura.¹⁷

At this point I would like to point out how this alternative spirituality, with deep roots in prophetic movements and visions and clearly heterodox traits such as the doctrine of individual perfection and impeccability, produced experiences that were openly condemned and censured within the Society, and which nevertheless—regardless of what Jesuit historiography might say—Borgia and the Jesuits in his close

¹⁵ “a hombres rudos y mujercillas”; Cano’s censures can be found in Fermín Caballero, *Conquenses Ilustres: Melchor Cano*. On Cano and the Spiritual Exercises cf. T. O’Reilly, *Melchor Cano and the Spirituality of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, in Plazaola (ed.), *Ignacio de Loyola...*, 369-380; O’Malley, *I primi gesuiti...*, 42-58, in part. 49-52, and 321-326; I. Iparraguirre, *Historia de los Ejercicios de san Ignacio* (Roma – Bilbao: 1946), II, 91-102 and A. Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, (Madrid 1902), I, 321-340. Very important, about the relationship between Cano and the Jesuits, R. García Cárcel, *Las relaciones de la monarquía de Felipe II con la Compañía de Jesús*, in *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, Vol. II: *Los grupos sociales*, Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (Ed.) (Madrid, 1999), 219-241 and M. Olivari, “Le facce diverse di Melchor Cano”, in *Il piacere del testo. Saggi e studi per Albano Biondi*, ed. A. Prosperi (Roma: 2001), 149-176.

¹⁶ “ensayo de arte mágica”

¹⁷ The Dominican in question is Alonso de la Fuente. His deeds and accusations are discussed in A. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, I: *Los alumbrados de Extremadura (1557-1582)* (Madrid, 1978), *passim*. But see also A. Weber, *Demonizing Ecstasy: Alonso de la Fuente and the Alumbrados of Extremadura*, in *The Mystical Gesture: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Spiritual Culture in honor of Mary E. Giles*, ed. Robert Boenig (Hants, 2000), 147-165. For a more on the relationship between Jesuits, Spiritual Exercises and the second wave of Spanish *alumbradism*, I have examined the topic in depth in S. Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada. L’Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460-1598)*, (Rome: 2003), 404-439 and in S. Pastore, “La “svolta antimistica” di Mercuriano: i retroscena spagnoli”, *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 1 (2005): 81-93.

circle never fully left behind.

In his *Eferemerides*, written in Latin and intended for a highly select public, Nadal made a point of recalling how, years earlier, he had spoken at length with Borgia about Texeda's visions. As if it were a more-or-less well-known matter within the company's inner circle, he said simply that the visions were "*de papatu*."¹⁸ Likewise, for centuries a prophecy attributed to Francis Borgia circulated among the Jesuits, the prophecy of the "Society of the Perfect," according to which all Jesuits were guaranteed salvation and perfection merely by having entered the Society.¹⁹

This prophetic and utopian spirit—the certainty of having been chosen by God himself for an extraordinary mission of individual perfection and worldwide conversion—finally had its moment when Francis Borgia, as superior general and head of the Society, was granted permission in 1567 to send a group of Jesuits to evangelize in Spain's American territories.²⁰ He himself chose twelve Jesuits, after the twelve apostles. Who is to say whether the spirit of Oviedo's exalted prophetic treatise did not circulate among them, with its call to the perfection of the new man, best expressed for the spiritual men of the Joachimite tradition through the Exercises and through their messianic mission of evangelization in the Americas? A spirit which, upon coming into contact with the reality of Peru, transformed into a grandiose utopia that was ideologically, socially, and politically subversive. Something similar took place in the case of Father Luis López, who was very close to Superior General Borgia, and was the author of fervent, exalted accounts of the Jesuits' first activities in the Americas.²¹ He was to become involved in Peru's most interesting prophetic and millenarian phenomenon, which arose around the visionary Friar Francisco de la Cruz. It is perhaps the best-known case of prophetism from this period of Peruvian history.²²

¹⁸ MHSI, Nadal, II.

¹⁹ A. Prospero has drawn attention to the 'Prophecy of the Perfect' in his masterful, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, (Torino 1996), 442. The ex-Jesuit Miguel Mir, in his *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús*, condemned the prophecy as one of the Society's deepest secrets, which guaranteed Jesuits' salvation and perfection on the one hand, and their loyalty to the Society on the other. Cfr. M. Mir, *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1913, II, 44-45.

²⁰ F. Mateos, "Primera expedición de misioneros jesuitas al Perú (1565-1568)", *Misionaria hispanica*, 4 (1945):41-108.

²¹ See, for example, the letters sent to Francis Borgia from Lima on December 29, 1569 (MHSI, Peruana, 324-336), January 21, 1570 (MHSI, Peruana, 361-371), and the letter sent to Borgia from Cuzco on October 12, 1572 (MHSI, Peruana, 489-493).

²² The history of this Peruvian utopia has been well examined, from the first perspectives of J.

At the center of the incident are the visions of María de Pizarro, described in the documents as a “creole girl.”²³ In 1571, a letter sent from the convent of the Dominican prior of Quito is the first to denounce what has already become a well-known case in Lima: María’s visions of “saints” and “demons,” which have fooled “many learned people.”²⁴

María is first exorcized by the city’s best confessors, Dominicans and Jesuits alike, but it is only the long and repeated exorcism performed by Father Luis López that is able to rid her of the demons. López is well-received by María’s family, and by María herself. He is the only person who can calm her in her most difficult moments, and the only one to whom the demon will speak. For in addition to a demon, there is an angel as well, “the armed one,” fighting inside María’s soul, an angel who later reveals himself to be the archangel Gabriel. Along with Saint Dionysius, he begins to prophesy and to reveal great secrets.

When López begins to say Mass or perform an exorcism, black devils come out of María’s body and set upon her, landing on her tongue and sending intense pain through her head. López is the savior, and María often sees the words “IHS” shining above his head.²⁵

María is to have two children with him; although she wishes to have an abortion, the Jesuit will not allow it. Firm in his theological and demonological methods, he assures the girl that he can convince her mother that it was the evil demon who had

Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del santo oficio de la Inquisición de Lima* (Santiago de Chile: 1887), to the insightful pages of Marcel Bataillon, “La herejía de fray Francisco de la Cruz y la reacción antilascasiana”, in *Estudios sobre Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Barcelona, 1976), to the documents compiled in A. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados: III. Los alumbrados de hispanoamérica* (Madrid, 1983), to Abril Vidal’s notable albeit somewhat confusing edition of the proceedings (Vidal Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz, Inquisición. Actas I: anatomía y biopsia del Dios y del derecho judeo-cristiano-musulmán de la conquista de América*, Madrid, 1992; Vidal Abril Castelló, Miguel J. Abril Stoffels, *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición, actas II-1: del mito bíblico a la utopía indiana y andina*, Madrid, 1996; Vidal Abril Castelló, Miguel J. Abril Stoffels, *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición, actas II-2: Derecho y moral. Teología y política en el trasplante a Iberoamérica del Santo Oficio español (La Junta magna de 1568 y la política indiana de Felipe II)*, Madrid, 1997), or Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Le nouveau David et la réforme du Pérou. L’affaire Maria Pizarro–Francisco de la Cruz (1571-1596)*, Bordeaux 1992; P. Castañeda and P. Hernández’s chapter in *La Inquisición de Lima, Vol. I (1570-1635)*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 295-336 and A. Redden, *Diabolism in Colonial Peru, 1570-1750*, London, 2005, pp. 37-65.

²³ “moza criolla”; in addition to the works cited in the previous note, and in particular Tardieu, see *Le nouveau David et la réforme du Pérou*. About María, see also R. Millar Carvacho, “Entre ángeles y demonios: María Pizarro y la Inquisición de Lima (1550-1573)”, *Historia*, 40 (2007):379-417. The proceedings from María’s trial can be found in AHN, Inquisición, leg. 1647/1.

²⁴ “muchas personas en letras”; *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición, actas I*, p. 385.

²⁵ Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal*, p. 61, p. 69

possessed her and filled her belly, and he convinces her to go through with the pregnancy. Of these two boys, the children of María and her Jesuit confessor, we know nothing. The fact that María probably killed the two babies does not seem to be of much interest to the inquisitors. We do know, however, that María tries to defend López to the very end, until her death in prison on December 11, 1573.

It is a different child who catches the eye of the tribunal: Gabriel, whom María, or rather the armed angel of her vision, calls “Gabrielico.” The angel tells María that he has placed the boy under his protection, and relates how, when he was born on Saint Dominic’s day, the angels celebrated by eating sweets and drinking wine.²⁶

The child, who is found to be the son of Doña Leonor, the wife of a rich Lima merchant, and her confessor, Francisco de la Cruz, is the “remedy,” the predestined liberator of Peru. The friar explains to the inquisitors in great detail—recalling even the small boy’s blue and white garb—how the boy, too, will enter the Dominican order and one day become a great preacher and servant of God, Spain, and Peru. He will one day convert many men, becoming a “new Job, new John the Baptist,” and another “Elijah.”²⁷ And, just like another Elijah, persecuted by a corrupt Church, he will announce God’s imminent punishment, his father Francisco de la Cruz’s naming as the new pontiff, the fall of Rome-Babylon and all of European Christendom at the hands of the Turks, and the founding of a new Church of the spirit in Peru. He claims that numerous passages in the Apocalypse announce the coming of Gabrielico.²⁸

The inquisitors are particularly frightened by the bellicose intentions of María de Pizarro’s angel, and of the revolution dreamed of by Francisco de la Cruz:

[...] who, as though prophesying, had declared to many people that in order to establish his new sect, a boy must be born in Lima, destined to be a saint and a great servant of God, priest of our Lord and a new Job in his patience, a monk of Saint

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 1593.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 579.

²⁹ “[...] que, como profetizando, habia declarado a muchas personas que para poder plantar su nueva secta, habia de nacer en Lima un niño, destinado a ser santo y grande siervo de Dios, capellán de Nuestra Señora y otro Job en paciencia, fraile de santo Domingo y remedio del Perú; y que siendo Cruz padre del dicho niño, habiéndole habido engendrado en el pecado, pretendía hacer de él otro san Juan Bautista; Que el angel le habia enseñado a él y a sus cómplices lo que practicarían para curar tantas cosas malas como se notaban en las ciudades y monasterios, poniéndoles a él en Lima, a otro en el Cuzco, y a otro en Potosí y a otro en Quito, para descubrir entre los hombres y mujeres los grandes misterios del dicho su ángel; y que dentro de un año se habían de juntar todos para que publicamente los predicasen, defendiendo el ángel cuantos soldados habia y otros que se le habían ofrecido con sus vidas”. Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal*, pp. 61-62. And also *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición, actas I*, p. 658.

Dominic and remedy of Peru; and Cruz, being the child's father and having begotten him in sin, sought to make him into a new Saint John the Baptist;

And the angel had shown him and his accomplices what they would do to cure all the evil things that can be observed in cities and monasteries, stationing him in Lima, another in Cuzco, another in Potosí and another in Quito, to reveal to the men and women the great mysteries of said angel of his; and that in one year's time they were all to come together to preach this in public, with all the soldiers and others who had offered their lives, and defend the angel.²⁹

What is the Jesuit's role in all this? López is the “bad guy,” the specter who is always cropping up in the background of the most intricate and dangerous of cases. Of all the friars and priests who latch onto María de Pizarro, he is the one with the soundest, most proper theological background: the surest, and the most shameless. He is the only one capable of placating María's demons, the one who can tell all the penitents and lay sisters who come to seek his advice that they should not have said anything to the inquisitorial tribunal since there was no need, as he could fix everything in sacramental confession.³⁰

From 1571 to 1573, he runs the school at Cuzco. He stays out of Lima during the months of María's trial (though in any case she tries not to get him involved). According to Toribio Medina, with a bit of prudence he could have avoided being tried himself.

However, he publicly questions the Inquisition and the inquisitors of Lima, saying that in the case of Friar Francisco, they have made a heretic out of a lunatic. Then, he publicly scoffs at an edict they publish against the *alumbrados* sect.³¹

²⁹ “[...] que, como profetizando, habia declarado a muchas personas que para poder plantar su nueva secta, habia de nacer en Lima un niño, destinado a ser santo y grande siervo de Dios, capellán de Nuestra Señora y otro Job en paciencia, fraile de santo Domingo y remedio del Perú; y que siendo Cruz padre del dicho niño, habiéndole habido engendrado en el pecado, pretendía hacer de él otro san Juan Bautista; Que el angel le habia enseñado a él y a sus cómplices lo que practicarían para curar tantas cosas malas como se notaban en las ciudades y monasterios, poniéndoles a él en Lima, a otro en el Cuzco, y a otro en Potosí y a otro en Quito, para descubrir entre los hombres y mujeres los grandes misterios del dicho su ángel; y que dentro de un año se habian de juntar todos para que publicamente los predicasen, defendiendo el ángel cuantos soldados habia y otros que se le habian ofrecido con sus vidas”. Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal*, pp. 61-62. And also *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición, actas 1*, p. 658.

³⁰ The proceedings of Luis López's trial have not been preserved. A long summary of the accusations can be found in AHN, Inqu., Book 1027, ff. 118v-130. It has been partially published in Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal*, pp. 99-109.

³¹ “It has likewise been attested that, concerning Friar Francisco de la Cruz's sentence, he said that

When the inquisitors decide to put him in jail and search his cell for compromising documents, the judges find a fiery pamphlet full of accusations against the policies of Philip II and the new viceroy of the Indies, Francisco de Toledo. The king, López declares categorically, has no rights over the Indies, and the Indians are endlessly subjected to all manner of abuse; the Republic of Peru should be governed differently than Spain.³² López's ideas are clear and to the point.

The rebellion of Peru, and the curing of all evil by men and soldiers supported by María de Pizarro's angel, may indeed have been nothing more than Francisco de la Cruz's hallucinations. López's accusations, however, are extremely concrete and precise, forcefully rejecting the Crown's policies in Peru: "A new government was coming, according to many,"³³ he writes in a letter falsely dated in Rome.³⁴

The viceroy, Francisco, alarmed by the danger of the situation, writes the king about the matter to report this attack. López, however, has protectors in high places, and the considerable friction between the viceroy and the Jesuits works in his favor. And whereas the superior general of the Society of Jesus, at risk over the accusations and charges in the Luis López case, orders his immediate dismissal from the Society,³⁵ General Inquisitor Gaspar de Quiroga asks the Lima inquisitors to exercise tact and consideration with the friar, of whom many had spoken highly.³⁶

His case is a mystery. He ends up in Andalusia. The Inquisition sentences him to confinement in a Society house in Trigueros, where he is barred from hearing the confessions of women. The Jesuits' internal documents reveal how Father López, seen as a victim of the viceroy, was given a hero's welcome, and how his charisma and authority won over a great many Andalusian Jesuits. After two years he is set free and returns to his spiritual daughters and lay sisters, his desire for perfection, his belief in his own impeccability, and many, many "temptations."³⁷ He even defends his stances in

said Friar Francisco de la Cruz was crazy, and, though he was crazy, they had made of him a heretic." AHN, 1027, f. 118r. Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal*, p. 101.

³² *Capítulos hechos por el maestro Luis López, de la Compañía del nombre de Jesús, en deservicio de S. M. y del gobierno del Virrey y Audiencias*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España*, Vol. XCIV (Madrid 1889), 472-525.

³³ "venía gobierno nuevo, pues así lo afirmaban muchos"

³⁴ AHN, Inqu., L. 1027, f. 124.

³⁵ Acquaviva's incensed letter can be found in MHSI, Peruana.

³⁶ Cfr. Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, Vol. III.

³⁷ See the letters from 1592 in ARSI, Hisp. 134, ff. 157-159 and 251-253v, which report López's relationship with various lay sisters, and describe the efforts made to separate them.

a bold letter to Superior General Acquaviva.³⁸ He dies in Seville, shortly after the turn of the century. Father Juan de Santibáñez, author of a history of the “illustrious men of the province of Andalusia,” reserved for him this vivid portrait:

His life was that of a saint, his zeal that of an apostle, his work clearing the brush from yonder jungle and planting faith, religion, and the fear of God, immense. For several years he took part in the work of that great apostle Father Alonso de Barzana. In a letter he says to Luis López Barzana: to my Father Luis López, all the time I spent with him, for I saw in him nothing that was not in keeping with a faithful and prudent servant of God; and if ever I saw him enraged, it was against sin and against ingratitude. Such great tribute! But greater still was his own patience enduring persecution and toil. It was on account of this that he returned to this province....³⁹

Could he have had something to do with the new outbreaks of *alumbradismo* in Seville, with the visionary and prophetic air that hung around the Immaculatist circle in Granada, in which the Jesuits must have had a hand? It is just a hypothesis. However, I think that it is worth following up on this incident, where prophetism, *alumbradismo*, and a longing for a state of sinlessness travel from the Old World to the New World, then back again to the Iberian Peninsula, newly enriched and transformed.

There is plenty of room for thought and reflection in this story which, at least as far as the Peruvian episode is concerned, is well documented. It is a fascinating tale of prophetic dreams but also, on a more mundane level, of unsatisfied women, of friars who, weeping in the inquisitorial prison, recall the child they were never able to enjoy, but whom they have transformed into a new messiah, liberator of Peru, and of “possessed creole girls” who nevertheless surrender their body and soul to a Jesuit who fools them with ease.

For my part I would just like to underscore the Jesuits’ involvement in the story,

³⁸ I found it in ARSI, Hisp. 134, ff. 247-249.

³⁹ “Fue su vida de santo, su celo de Apostol, sus trabajos en arrancar malezas de aquella selva y plantar la fe la religion y el temor de Dios inmensas. En los de aquel grande apostol el Padre Alonso de Barzana fue por algunos años compañeros. En carta suya le dice a Luis López Barzana: a mi padre Luis Lopez todo el tiempo que lo traté, porque no vi en el cosa que no fuese de siervo de Dios fiel y prudente; y si alguna cólera vi fue contra peccados o contra ingratitud. ¡Gran testimonio! Mayor fue el de su paciencia con que sufrió persecuciones y trabajos. Dio con esta ocasion la vuelta a esta provincia [...]”. Juan de Santibáñez, *Varones ilustres de la provincia de Andalucía [Centurias 1,2,3]*, ff. 55-56: 56.

which has often been overlooked, by focusing on three points that the Jesuit version has often silenced.

First of all, I think that even from the present overview, which is just a quick sketch, a clearer picture has emerged of the Society of Jesus's prophetic and messianic vocation. Despite being repeatedly erased from the official history, it did in fact play an important role in shaping Jesuit spirituality, and motivated both the spiritual conquest of the New World and its sometimes heterodox offshoots. From Gandía to Rome, the messianic dreams surrounding the charismatic ex-duke —of a Christendom renewed through the influence of the new Society — tie together the curial palaces of Rome with the New World and far-off Peru.

But alongside these dreams and hopes there is a tendency toward radical reform. This tendency was already apparent in the “*pro-converso*” positions of the spiritual group surrounding Borgia, with their fierce opposition to the discrimination against the *conversos* taking place in the Iberian Peninsula. Later on, Peru afforded it a new opportunity to surface. The loose-leaf pamphlet seized from Luis López by the inquisitors, which he admitted to having penned, quite radically rejected both the viceroy's policies toward the Indians and the colonial system imposed by Madrid.

It is this last point—i.e., the role of the Spiritual Exercises in shaping a heterodox Jesuit spirituality, one that is often misunderstood and yet constitutes an integral part of the phenomenon of the *alumbrados* in the Iberian Peninsula and Iberian America—which could be the key to finding a common reading for phenomena that on the surface might appear isolated and distinct. New men in the Pauline model, the spiritual men of Oviedo's treatise, regenerated and transformed through the practice of the Exercises, are men who dream and who build a new world. The spirit of the law cannot touch them, the temptations of the flesh do not scare them; on the contrary, they should be embraced and sought out, as Ignatius said in his Spiritual Exercises, along with many ‘*alumbrados*’ convicted by the Inquisition not long before his time.

Perfection, impeccability, religious and political radicalism, messianic dreams, and the Exercises all mix together in the Peru of the poor creole girl María de Pizarro, in a way that is as disturbing as it is fascinating.

