

nevers that claimed both cultural and racial continuities between the precolonial ruling class and contemporary leading Creole families allowed Granados y Gálvez to cast the Indian, not the Spaniard, as the defender of the colonial order. If he at one point berates the Spaniard for the useless brutality of the Conquest, the Amerindian also consistently praised the justice and prudence of the Spanish crown in the colonies.<sup>91</sup>

Although Granados y Gálvez seems to have had access to Boturini's impounded collection, the pages on Mesoamerican history in *Tardes americanas* are, in fact, derivative, summaries of Boturini's *Ideas* and Torquemada's *Monarchía indiana*. Granados y Gálvez's only original contribution was to add a few pages on the history of the Tarascan peoples, which he probably collected during his years of parish work in the dioceses of Michoacan. But for all his lack of originality, Granados y Gálvez, a peninsular bishop himself, ultimately helped hammer out the discourse of patriotic epistemology. Along with his contemporaries Echeverría y Veytia and Figueroa y Eguren, he called into question the epistemological value of foreign observers and defended the credibility of the Amerindian and Creole elites. The three scholars maintained that only learned Amerindians and Creoles who had access to the ancient priestly interpretations of ancient Mexican hieroglyphs could be trusted. Granados y Gálvez's scholarship and that of Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1722–1804), archbishop of Mexico, are helpful reminders that, rather than a Creole ideology, patriotic epistemology was a clerical discourse, hammered out by both peninsular and Spanish American Church intellectuals. As will become clearer below, Lorenzana mobilized the considerable resources of his archbishopric to collect, study, and print Amerindian sources. Although he never articulated his own epistemological principles conceptually, Lorenzana, in practice, acted in ways similar to those espoused by Granados y Gálvez. In the next section, we shall see how this discourse of patriotic epistemology developed outside Mexico in the Papal States.

### Creole Jesuits in Exile

Hundreds of Jesuits ended up in exile in the Papal States after the Bourbons expelled them from all Spanish territories in 1767 on the advice of such reformers as José de Gálvez, Granados y Gálvez's relative. The expulsion was part of a larger Bourbon effort to "reconquer" the colonies by reconfiguring the geopolitical, economic, and cultural landscape of America. The reforms sought to rein in the hitherto unchecked military and economic presence of

European rivals, who through smuggling, piracy, raids, and direct colonization had pushed Spain aside in the New World. The reforms also sought to transform the loosely autonomous "kingdoms" of the Creoles into politically and economically dependent modern colonies. Finally, the reforms were part of a larger European trend by which fledgling nation-states sought to curtail the transnational, corporate power of the religious orders. The Jesuits were among the first casualties of these new policies. Hundreds of Creole Jesuits soon found themselves impoverished and banished from their homelands and families. It was in this context of hardships that many of them came across the writings of Buffon, de Pauw, the abbé Raynal, and Robertson.<sup>92</sup>

The extent and depth of the Jesuit Creole reaction to these northern European writings is still poorly understood. Ever since Antonello Gerbi described the Jesuit reaction as part of a larger "dispute over the New World," scholars have concentrated on how the exiled Jesuits responded to European characterizations of the nature and peoples of the New World. But, as we have seen, the writings of Buffon, de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson were not only diatribes against tropical America, but also methodological and epistemological proposals. Besides writing natural and civil histories that denied that America was humid and emasculating, the Jesuits also addressed the methodologies of the Europeans and offered powerful and persuasive critiques of European knowledge of the New World. To do so, they drew on the discourse of patriotic epistemology outlined above. In this section, I study the writings of a handful of Creole Jesuits who participated in the debate.

### Francisco Xavier Clavijero

Before his exile, Francisco Clavijero, born in Veracruz to Spanish and Creole parents, was a leader of curricular reform in the Jesuit province of Mexico, advocating the introduction of types of experimental physics that did not challenge Aristotelian metaphysics, the ultimate foundation of the Catholic Reformation theology and natural law.<sup>93</sup> After its publication in Italian between 1780 and 1781, Clavijero's *Historia antígua de México* was immediately translated into English and German and reviewed widely in European journals, and modern historians such as David Brading, Anthony Pagden, Charles Ronan, Benjamin Keen, Fernando Cervantes, and Enrique Florescano have all applied their critical skills to Clavijero's writings.<sup>94</sup> It is, however, difficult to understand why Clavijero's history became so popular, for, as Ronan has argued, the Mexican Jesuit was derivative and even deceptive. Like Granados y Gálvez, Clavijero made misleading statements to the

effect that he had consulted ancient Mesoamerican texts and sixteenth-century Native American historians. Exile limited Clavijero's research only to published works, including those by Boturini, Eguíara y Eguren, Francisco Hernández, Samuel Purchas, and, especially, Torquemada, whose baroque *Monarchía indiana* (1615) Clavijero rewrote in terms enlightened eighteenth-century European audiences could understand.<sup>65</sup> Clavijero could have studied unpublished Mesoamerican codices stored in Italian libraries but did not. Thus, for example, although the so-called Codex Cospi, a Mesoamerican ritual calendar, was housed in the public library of Bologna, where Clavijero lived, he seems to have consulted it only perfunctorily. Clavijero, it is clear, did not uncover any new primary sources, but rather produced new interpretations of the Mesoamerican past.

Brading and Cervantes have maintained that Clavijero ended the Franciscan interpretative stranglehold on Creole historiography, which for two centuries had given unchecked agency to the devil in Mesoamerican history. Pagden has argued that Clavijero's originality lay in his creative use of the work of Montesquieu. According to Pagden, Clavijero sought to present Mesoamerican civilizations as long-enduring and evolving in splendid isolation, civilizations capable of creating writing systems, architectural styles, calendars, and currencies that, although different from those of the Old World, were equally complex and equally valuable.<sup>66</sup> Be that as it may, methodologically speaking Clavijero's ancient history belonged in the tradition of patriotic epistemology.

Clavijero's history consists of a preface on sources, ten books on precolonial history and the Conquest, and a separate volume of "dissertations." Book 1 is a treatise on the boundaries of the Aztec empire and on the fauna and flora the Europeans most likely encountered upon arrival. Book 2 briefly discusses the cycles of civilizations in Mesoamerica, beginning with the Toltecs and the Chichimecs led by Xolotl and culminating with the migration south of the Mexico. Book 3 describes the complex dynastic histories of the ethnically contested space of the Valley of Mexico after the arrival of the Mexica, including the rise and fall of the Tepaneca of Azcapotzalco. Book 4 is primarily devoted to the ancestors of Alva Ixtlilxochitl, that is, to the efflorescence of the Acuilhua of Texcoco under the leadership of the philosopher-kings Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli. Book 5 describes the consolidation of the Mexica as the dominant ethnic group in the land under the leadership of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina (r. 1440–69) in the Codex Mendoza), the ninth "king" of the Mexica. Building on Torquemada's study of Mexica religion, book 6 is a lengthy encyclopedic description of Mexica

rituals, deities, and religious institutions. In equally encyclopedic fashion, book 7 covers the more secular dimensions of Mexica culture, that is, the legal, political and economic aspects, poetry, rhetoric, games, music, language, writing, and calendrics. Books 8 through 10 deal with the Conquest and the many battles that culminated in the fall of Tenochtitlan and the capture of Cuauhtemoc (r. 1520–24), the last Mexica monarch. The multivolume project concludes with nine "dissertations," essays purporting to correct errors in the histories of Buffon, de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson, which for the most part rework material already covered in the previous volumes thematically and for polemical purposes.

Such encyclopedic study of Mexica history and culture was remarkable for its refusal to indulge in speculation. Whereas Echeverría y Veytia's narrative begins in 1797 B.C.E. with the Chichimecs at Huehuetlapallan, Clavijero's begins around 500 C.E., with the Toltecs, paying almost no attention to the Giants, Olmecs, and Xicalanca that had captured the attention of Boturini and Echeverría y Veytia. Clavijero's history also lacks the standard Creole learned reconstruction of St. Thomas's visit to the New World. Clavijero's surveys of Mexica religion and culture fall under the rubric of national history and lack any broader interpretative framework. It is only in the "dissertations" that Clavijero advances interpretations and seeks to impose meaning on his material. The dissertation on Mexican religion, for example, argues that the Mexica were more pious than ancient Romans and Greeks. The dissertation on human origins in the New World postulates hypothetical land bridges with Africa to explain how tropical fauna and flora might have reached America and speculates that since widely dispersed Amerindian peoples preserved similar historical recollections of great floods, arks, Noah-like diluvian. Clavijero reasoned that inasmuch as pre-Columbian Amerindians had been ignorant of iron smelting and cattle domestication, they must have arrived in the New World right after the Flood. Had these technologies been available to them when they left Central Asia, they would have brought them along, given their obvious utility. But for all the use of hypothetical reconstructions, Clavijero remained cautious, guarding against any "systems," or grandiose philosophical interpretations.

Clavijero's constant refusal to speculate was part of his larger critique of the philosophical method of Buffon, de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson. In the dissertations, Clavijero demonstrates the countless tensions and contradictions incurred by these northern European authors, who, Clavijero argued, had been more interested in building systems than in cataloguing facts. In

his earlier writings and particularly in his approach to reforming philosophy in New Spain, Clavijero had already demonstrated a predilection for the eclecticism and empiricism of Francis Bacon.<sup>97</sup> The encounter with the genre of philosophical histories of America only deepened his commitment to a variety of Baconianism.

Clavijero's history reveals his painstaking efforts to get the "facts" right. For example, he spent considerable effort determining the original architectural appearance of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan. When Clavijero set out to write his history, there were two iconographic traditions available to represent the temple. The first was introduced by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in Venice in 1550 to go with the written account of the temple by the Anonymous Conquistador (Fig. 4-5a). The illustration surfaced one hundred years later in Kircher's influential *Oedipus aegyptiacus* (Fig. 4-5b). The second tradition was based on a 1580 image of a generic Mesoamerican temple by the Franciscan Diego Valadés (b. 1533) and appeared in compilations of travel accounts such as Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres* (Amsterdam, 1723–28) and A.-F. Prévost's *Histoire générale des voyages* (Paris, 1746–61). The popularity of this tradition was such that the illustration was even reproduced in the 1770 Mexican edition of Cortés's *Cartas de relación* by the archbishop of Mexico, Lorenzana (Fig. 4-6). Based on detailed readings of available eyewitness accounts and careful calculations, Clavijero partially rejected the first tradition and completely rejected the second one. Clavijero worked out his own hypothetical reconstruction and offered his own illustration of the temple (Fig. 4-5c).<sup>98</sup>

Clavijero deployed a similar careful reading of sources to reconstruct many other aspects of Mexico precolonial society. Although he did not have access to any of the documents in the collections of Sigüenza and Boturini, Clavijero did have access to some published indigenous sources. In the seventeenth century, for example, Samuel Purchas and Melchisédec Thévenot had edited a modified version of the so-called Codex Mendoza, and Clavijero knew it. Although Clavijero believed that the historical section of the Codex contained many inaccuracies and reflected only one of many alternate versions of Mexico migrations and dynastic genealogies (something Boturini had already pointed out), he nevertheless used sections of the codex to reconstruct the legal and educational institutions of the Mexica.<sup>99</sup> More impressive, however, was Clavijero's use of another indigenous codex, the *Matrícula de tributos*, a sixteenth-century tributary roll of similar provenance to the Codex Mendoza. Made available in 1770 by Lorenzana, this Mexica logographic and ideographic text was a major breakthrough in European his-

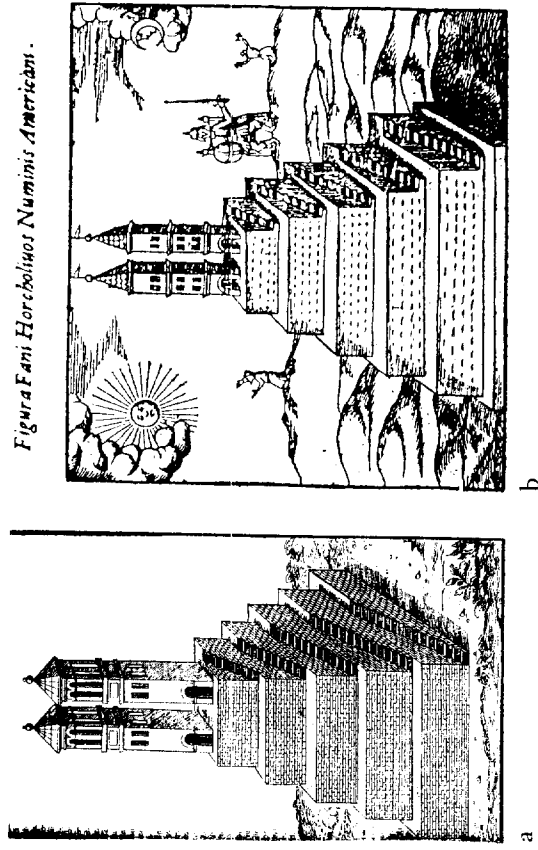
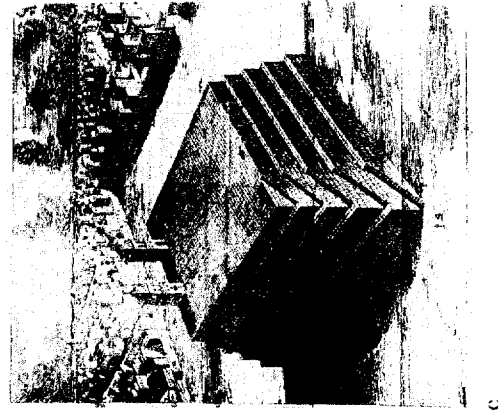


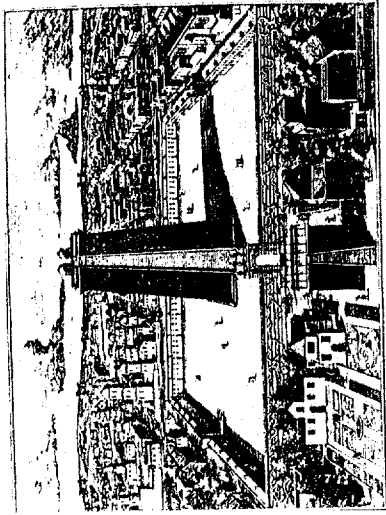
FIGURE 4-5. In *Delle navigationi et viaggi* . . . (Venice, 1556), Giovanni Battista Ramusio depicted the great temple of Tenochtitlan. (a). Courtesy of the Edward Auer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. This portrayal resurfaced as (b) in Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus aegyptiacus* . . . (Rome, 1652–54). Francisco Clavijero subjected these illustrations to a critical analysis through a detailed parallel reading of written accounts by witnesses. Although he concluded that this iconographic tradition was the most accurate, he came up with his own version of the temple. (c), in his *Storia antica del Messico* (Cesena, 1780–81). Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



tography on Mesoamerica, because for the first time a document in indigenous script was published in its entirety with only relatively minor distortions (Lorenzana added putti here and there) (Plates 7 and 8). Clavijero made extensive and creative use of this source to map the geographical boundaries of the Aztec empire. To do so, he first interpreted the meaning of the many symbols that stood for names of towns, a major feat, given the fact that Lorenzana’s edition failed to include many of the Nahuatl glosses in Latin script that in the original spelled out the names (Fig. 4.7a). Such careful deciphering allowed Clavijero to reconstruct the boundaries of the Aztec polity, formulate a natural history of precolonial Mexico, and locate the many ethnic “kingdoms” that had existed in central Mexico upon the European arrival (Fig. 4.7b).<sup>100</sup>

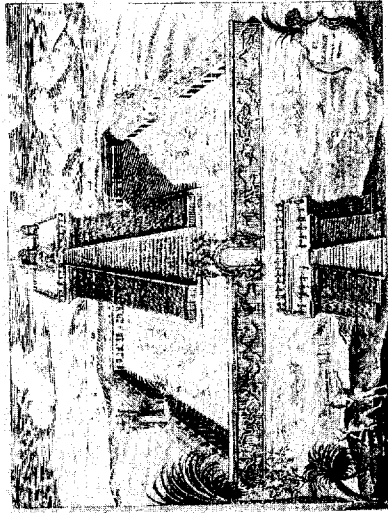
Clavijero’s creative analysis of available European and indigenous published sources was done with a sharp critical eye that deployed traditional humanist techniques of reading. He consistently privileged eyewitnesses over secondhand reporting, even if the chronicler was as learned as José de Acosta. Thus, in books 8 through 10, Clavijero dismissed Antonio de Solís’s narrative of the Conquest as secondhand, biased speculation and privileged Cortés’s letters to Charles V.<sup>101</sup> He repeatedly voiced skepticism about the accuracy of the reports of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, largely because the Spanish soldier had written his recollections at an advanced age, years after the actual events had taken place. Clavijero also weighed the biases and motivations of eyewitnesses. He dismissed some of Díaz del Castillo’s reports of battles on the grounds that Díaz del Castillo had held grudges against Cortés, which colored his narrative.<sup>102</sup> By the same token, Clavijero gave little credence to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo’s ethnographic descriptions on the grounds that Oviedo simply hated the natives.<sup>103</sup> Clavijero considered most accounts by sixteenth-century Spanish witnesses reliable because they were numerous, did not contradict one another, and were “public,” that is, addressed to social superiors who would have not tolerated lies or deception. Cortés’s letters, for example, were trustworthy because the emperor Charles V, to whom they were addressed, would have punished Cortés had they not been.<sup>104</sup> When eyewitness accounts were not available, Clavijero privileged the testimony of those chroniclers who were closer in time to the event and who were most learned.<sup>105</sup>

As with accounts of witnesses, Clavijero subjected narratives of past ages to rigorous critical standards (Fig. 4.8). His treatment of Torquemada typifies Clavijero’s approach to historical sources. In less than two pages devoted to a description of the fall of the Toltecs and the arrival of the Chichimecs in

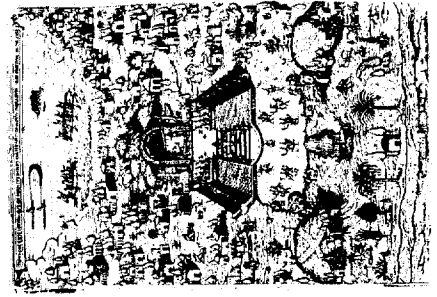


Le Grand Temple de Tenochtitlan dans la ville de MEXIQUE.

a



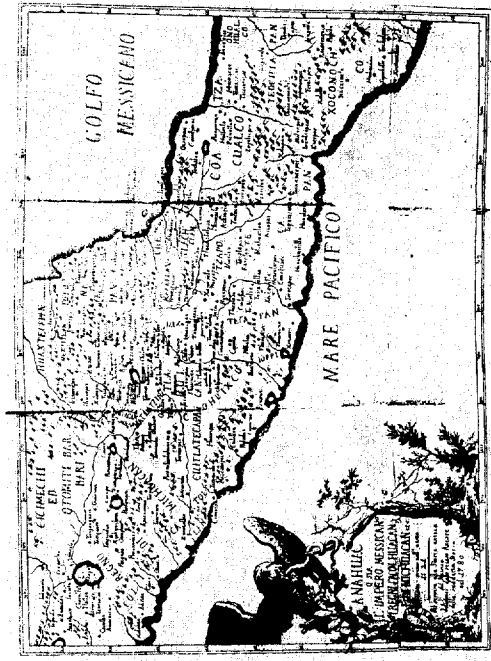
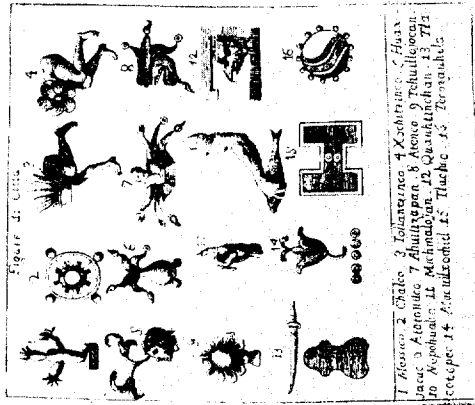
b



c

FIGURE 4.6. The temple of Tenochtitlan as depicted in (a) Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres* (Amsterdam, 1723–28), and (b) Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, in Hernán Cortés, *Historia de Nueva-España . . .* (Mexico, 1770). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library. Brown University, Providence, R.I. Clavijero dismissed this iconographic tradition and argued that it had originated in a generic image of a temple, (c), from Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579).

FIGURE 4.7. Images from Clavijero's *Historia antigua del Mexico* showing him to have been a careful reader of published Amerindian codices: (a) logographic signs for the names of Mesoamerican towns that Clavijero took from the *Matricula de tributos* and Purchas's edition of the *Codex Mendoza*; (b) map of the extension of the various Mesoamerican polities and empires on the eve of the European conquest drawn by Clavijero using the *Matricula de tributos*. Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



central Mexico, for example, Clavijero found at least five major contradictions or errors in Torquemada's narrative. Having found in Toltec annals a monstrous-looking figure embracing a group of Toltec dancers, Torquemada concluded that the devil had been responsible for the ruin of the Toltecs. Clavijero argued that the figure was simply an allegory of the famines and epidemics that had destroyed the Toltecs. Torquemada presented the Chichimec invaders led by Xolotl as cave dwellers but also offered a description of the Chichimec "city" of Amaquemecan. Clavijero zeroed in on the logical impossibility of presenting the Chichimecs as both urban folk and nomadic cave dwellers. Torquemada argued that the name "Chichimec" derived from *techtichimani*, a creature that sucks animals' blood. Clavijero considered this an unwarranted etymology and claimed that the name derived from the group's place of origin, Chichimán. Torquemada maintained that a million Chichimecs had made up Xolotl's invading army. Such a figure, Clavijero argued, was not only absurd from the perspective of the logistics involved but also impossible given the amount of land that it would have taken to sustain a million roaming Chichimec hunters. Finally, Torquemada asserted that the Chichimecs had arrived eleven years after the fall of Iollán. Clavijero maintained that this chronology was preposterous, and that at least a century must have intervened, because the Chichimecs found only ruins when they first arrived in the lands formerly dominated by the Toltecs.<sup>106</sup> For page after page, Clavijero made the inconsistencies and contradictions in Torquemada explicit, finding Torquemada glib and credulous.<sup>107</sup> It is clear that Clavijero was as astute a reader as de Pauw. Like the northern European authors whose accounts they were contesting, patriotic epistemologists such as Clavijero also drew a clear distinction between "internal" and "external" forms of evidence. Clavijero dismissed Torquemada largely using the new European art of reading that de Pauw had helped to popularize.

Clavijero extended this critical rigor to the analysis of indigenous sources. Precolonial records were trustworthy because they were abundant, he argued. The Amerindians had been familiar with many systems of recordkeeping, including hieroglyphs and quipu-like devices, as well as songs and speeches. The sources were also reliable because the Amerindian rulers had instituted laws to punish lying scribes.<sup>108</sup> Clavijero was often willing to bend over backward to believe preternatural accounts in precolonial narratives, such as descriptions of supernatural events, including the resurrection of an Amerindian princess, and signs predicting the arrival of the Spaniards.<sup>109</sup> But he nevertheless detected biases and contradictions in indigenous accounts of the Conquest.<sup>110</sup> He criticized Boturini, for example, not only for his reliance

on overarching philosophical systems but also for his willingness to believe all Amerindian accounts.<sup>111</sup> For the same reason, he criticized Torquemada and even Acosta (whom Clavijero respected most).<sup>112</sup> Clavijero was aware of the politics of ethnicity in central Mexico and how different indigenous groups had manipulated historical memories to suit their own ethnic agendas.<sup>113</sup>

Clavijero's somewhat critical analysis of precolonial and sixteenth-century sources turned into absolute skepticism, however, when it came to later colonial sources. His handling of the *Matrícula de tributos*, the codex Lorenzana made public in 1770, typifies his attitude. Clavijero summarily dismissed the interpretation of the *Matrícula* in the Spanish glosses, which he attributed to the archbishop's aides, and in any case to someone "ignorant of the antiquities and the Mexican language [Nahuatl]." For Clavijero, the danger of the *Matrícula* lay in the fact that the spurious interpretations were validated by the prestige and social standing of the editor, the archbishop of Mexico.<sup>114</sup> Lorenzana said that three Amerindian interpreters had helped him: Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, a parish priest and professor of Nahuatl at the University of Mexico and at the cathedral seminary, who was the author of Nahuatl and Huastec grammars, *Arte novissima de la lengua Mexicana* (1753) and *Noticia de la lengua Huasteca* (1767); Domingo Joseph de la Mota, also a parish priest and a Nahuatl noble, author of *Mes Fructuoso* (1755); and Luis de Neve y Molina, holder of the chair of Otomí at the cathedral seminary and author of the Otomí grammar-dictionary *Reglas de la orthografía, diccionario, y arte de la idioma Otomí* (1767).<sup>115</sup> In the absence of an explanatory introduction by Lorenzana, however, it is unclear what role these three interpreters (who also appear to have helped Lorenzana clarify indigenous terms for his edition of Cortés's *Cartas de relación*) played in his edition of the *Matrícula*, and especially whether they were responsible for the odd omission of many of the original Nahuatl glosses in Latin script. Lorenzana also kept all of the mistranslated original glosses in Spanish, which consistently mistranslated the signs for quantities in the tributary roll (see Plates 7 and 8).<sup>116</sup> Whatever the source of the flaws, later scholars like Clavijero who were familiar with the logographic and ideographic conventions of the Nahuatl concluded that Lorenzana had been misled by his Amerindian interpreters. Although Clavijero did not elaborate on the reasons for the failure of Nahuatl interpreters to understand the Nahuatl glosses, later commentators liked to argue that the changes undergone by classical Nahuatl during the colonial period had rendered late-colonial Amerindian interpreters unable to comprehend the language of their ancestors. Clavijero remained skeptical of the value of

DISERTAZIONE II. 53

la cronologia delle pitture antiche. Non resta dunque altro ripiego, se non quello di dire, che quella celebre capitale si fondò nel 1325; dell'era volgare: e quello fu senz'altro il fondamento del Dott. Sigüenza; perciòchè Gemelli, il quale non ebbe in questo soggetto altra istruzione, se non quella, che gli fu data da quel Letterato mediano, mette tal fondazione nell'anno 1325; qualche dice, fu. II. *Calis.* (b). Se prima fu d'un altro numero, lo cambiò poi accorrendosi, che non s'accorda bene con quel principio certo d'essere stato I. *Acost.* l'anno 1519.

§. III.

Su la Cronologia de' Re Messicani.

E' difficile il mettere in chiaro la cronologia de' Re Messicani a cagione della discordanza degli Aurori. Noi ci fermeremo d'alcuni punti certi per rintracciare gl'incerti. Per dare ai Lettori qualche idea della varietà delle opinioni basterà metter gli occhi su la seguente tavola, nella quale accenniamo l'anno, in cui secondo l'Acosta, l'Interprete della Raccolta di Mendóza, ed il Sigüenza cominciò a regnare ciascuno dei Re: (r)

	Acosta	L'interpr.	Sigüenza
Acamapitzin.	1384.	1375.	3. Maggio 1361.
Huitzilhuilit.	1424.	1396.	19. Aprile 1403.
Chimalpopoca.	1427.	1417.	24. Febr. 1414.
Itzcoatl.	1427.	1427.	1427.
Motezuma I.	1449.	1440.	13. Agosto 1440.
Axajacatl.	1481.	1469.	21. Nov. 1468.
Tizoc.	1477.	1482.	30. Ottobre 1481.
Ahuizotl.	1492.	1486.	13. Aprile 1486.
Motezuma II.	1503.	1502.	15. Sett. 1502.

Acosta.

(b) Abbiamo altrove accennata l'equivocazione di Gemelli nell'aver scritto: l'anno 1325. della creazione del Mondo, in vece di scrivere: dell'era volgare. (c) Gli anni messi nella tavola secondo l'interprete della Raccolta di Mendóza son quelli che si leggono nell'edizione di Tedi Purchas, la quale non abbiamo potuto trovare.

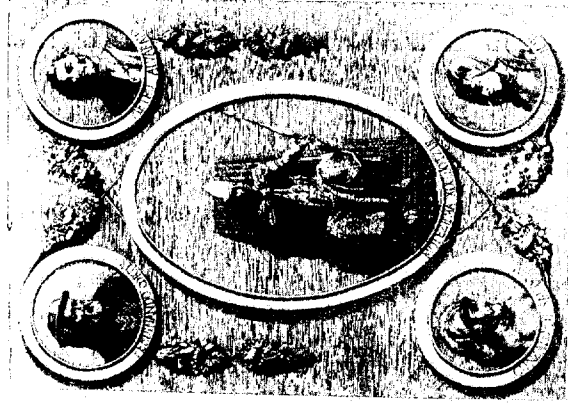
FIGURE 4-8. A page from Clavijero's *Storia antica del Messico* demonstrating his careful reading of Indian and European sources on Amerindian chronologies. Clavijero juxtaposes the dates of ascension of Mexica rulers according to the Codex Mendoza, Acosta, and Sigüenza y Góngora in a single table, seeking to show the contradictions among them. Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

all late-colonial indigenous documents and advised future historians to be "cautious" when drawing information from "modern paintings." He lashed out at Boturini for having given credit to sources produced by ignorant, credulous modern Amerindians that were "popular among the rabble [*vulgo*] of New Spain."<sup>17</sup>

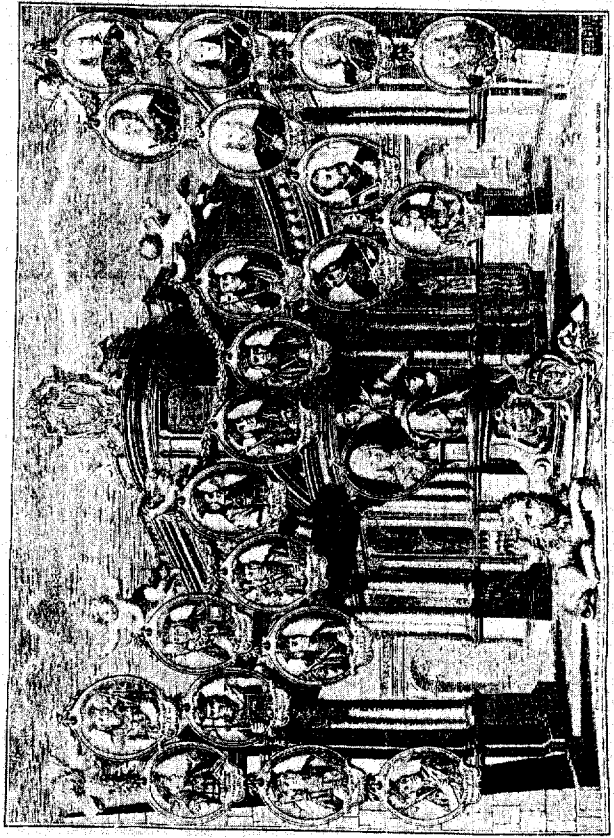
Considering that most "illustrious ancient [Indian] houses" had been forced into miserable conditions and degraded to the level of the most "infamous plebes,"<sup>18</sup> Clavijero — like Echeverría y Veytia, Eguiara y Eguren, and Granados y Gálvez — had reason to mistrust late-colonial sources. Notwithstanding a campaign by Ramón Diosdado Caballero to stop the publication of Clavijero's history in Spain on the grounds that it was anti-Spanish, Clavijero was no critic of the Spanish colonial regime as such. Although he denounced the conquistadors' crimes, he contended that they had been committed by private individuals, and that Spain ought rather to be judged by the behavior of its public representatives, namely, the officers of the crown, who had quickly stepped in to curb private excesses.<sup>19</sup> For Clavijero, the main error of the colonial system lay in policies that had impoverished the indigenous elites.<sup>20</sup>

Like Granados y Gálvez, Clavijero posited racial continuity between pre-colonial Amerindian elites and leading contemporary Creole families and regretted that this type of *mezizaje* had taken place only on a limited scale. His illustrations of the genealogical trees of Mexican rulers and of precolonial and colonial rulers sought graphically to convey the message of cultural and racial continuities between precolonial and colonial Creole elites (Fig. 4.9). It is from the perspective of the growing erosion of indigenous social hierarchies that we can understand why Clavijero considered that histories produced by Amerindians in the colonial era, like the testimony of most commentators, were worthless and unreliable.

Not only did Clavijero call into question the testimony of Amerindian commentators, he was also deeply skeptical of writings by foreigners and travelers, who, he said, peppered their books with fables to dazzle and entertain their audiences and generalized on the basis of isolated observations.<sup>21</sup> Clavijero found the testimony of only two foreign authors worth believing: Gemelli Careri's and Boturini's.<sup>22</sup> For Clavijero, the main trouble with foreign observers was their limited knowledge of indigenous languages. Thus, for example, Buffon's estimate of the number of species in the New World was related to the French naturalist's failure to understand native taxonomies. Had Buffon known Nahuatl and, more important, had he spent time in Mexico, he would have realized that species he placed into a single category



a



b

FIGURE 4.9. (a) Moctezuma, the last Mexica emperor, surrounded by the four leading Spanish conquistadors. Clavijero sought in this illustration in his *Historia antigua* to show the continuity between the Amerindian and Spanish American rulers of Mexico. Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. (b) A historical tableau of Inca rulers and Spanish viceroys of Peru, from Antonio de Ulloa, *Relacion histórica de viaje a la America meridional* (Madrid, 1748). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.



were in fact separate and distinct. Based on facile armchair analogies drawn from the works of Francisco Hernández, the sixteenth-century naturalist sent by Philip II to compile a natural history of America, Clavijero noted, Buffon had reduced the number of species of quadrupeds in Mexico. Unlike Buffon, however, Hernández had spent many years in Mexico and had used the taxonomic categories that the natives themselves had devised.<sup>123</sup>

Clavijero likewise argued that ignorance of native languages was responsible for most of the mistakes made about Mexican writing by foreign authors such as de Pauw, Kircher, and Purchas. To their claims that Mexica script was merely pictographic and childish, Clavijero counterposed the arguments of Valadés, Sahagún, Torquemada, and Acosta, who had lived in America. He concluded that only the testimony of the Franciscan and Jesuit clerics was reliable, because they knew the native language well and had held in their hands far more codices than the few to which the linguistically ignorant de Pauw, Purchas, and Kircher had been exposed.<sup>124</sup>

According to Clavijero, linguistic limitations also bedeviled those who chose to visit the New World instead of speculating at home. For example, Clavijero considered that for all C.-M. de La Condamine's prestige as a scientific traveler, he was not a reliable witness, because he had not spent sufficient time in the Indies and, worse, lacked a working knowledge of Quechua. During his trip to the Andes, La Condamine, like most travelers, had relied on interpreters, and this had led to misrepresentations.<sup>125</sup> Long periods of residence in America and close contact with the natives through mastery of their language were for Clavijero the prerequisites for writing about the New World.

Clavijero's criticism of the value of testimony by travelers and foreign system builders also extended to many Creoles. Clavijero could not deny that many Creoles shared de Pauw's dismal view of the natives as degenerate, effeminate brutes. Place of origin, in and of itself, did not guarantee the reliability of someone's testimony. When it came to assessing the credibility of ethnographic testimonies, Clavijero maintained that the reports of any learned cleric had more value than those of greedy, exploitative colonists.<sup>126</sup> Aware that his ideas were unfashionable, Clavijero deliberately assigned greater credit to the testimony of missionaries than that of lay observers. Learned, otherworldly, disinterested men, the missionaries had assembled valuable testimony about indigenous societies.<sup>127</sup>

The master narrative of clerical-Creole patriotic epistemology is revealed in the way Clavijero formulated and validated historical knowledge. Developing many of the tropes that Eguíara y Figueren, Fcheverría y Veytia,

and Crandales y Gálvez had first articulated, he privileged certain testimonies and excluded others, rejecting the evidence of foreigners, travelers, greedy colonists, and indigenous commoners as untrustworthy but treating that of early colonial native nobles and learned clergy with the greatest respect. This pattern repeated itself in the works of other Jesuits in exile. Juan de Velasco's history of the kingdom of Quito is no exception.

#### *Juan de Velasco*

Like Clavijero, Juan de Velasco, who was born in Quito, sought to reformulate the Jesuit curriculum in line with new developments in experimental philosophy. While working toward ordination, Velasco conceived of the project of writing a natural history of the territory within the jurisdiction of the high court (Audiencia) of Quito, the land that Creoles liked to refer to as the "kingdom" of Quito. In exile in Faenza, Velasco was asked by his superiors to finish the history but fell ill. It was only after other Creole Jesuits such as Clavijero had published histories of their "fatherlands," and after the Spanish crown had offered pensions to exiled scholars who produced works to defend the battered honor of Spain, that Velasco finally completed his history. Although Velasco's history was well received by the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, it remained unpublished until the mid nineteenth century.<sup>128</sup>

Velasco modeled his history on Clavijero's. The first volume, delivered in 1788 to the Spanish minister Antonio Porflier, was a collection of polemical essays against Buffon, de Pauw, Robertson, and Raynal, and a natural history of Quito consisting largely of a catalogue of Quechua terms for the local fauna and flora. The second volume consisted of a history of precolonial Quito and of the Spanish Conquest. Velasco departed from Clavijero and in 1789 introduced a third volume with a history of colonial developments up to 1767, the year of the Jesuit expulsion. Like Clavijero, Velasco presented his history as a measured, critical reading of both indigenous and Spanish sources. Velasco found that the extant accounts of the events that led to the Conquest of Peru were contradictory. He therefore sought to present a synthesis by weighing competing testimonies and assessing the credibility of rival accounts.<sup>129</sup> Velasco also turned his attention to the precolonial period, where multiple and conflicting versions vied for attention.

The historiography of precolonial Quito was, to be sure, greatly underdeveloped compared to that of Mexico. The Spaniards had encountered no logograms or pictograms there. Moreover, the European perspective on the history of the Andean peoples had been unduly concentrated on the Inca



past — that is, on the deeds of the Cuzco elites. Velasco asserted, however, that the peoples of the northern Andes had invented quipu-like devices, similar to those of the Incas, and that their past and dynastic genealogies had therefore been reliably preserved. Building on manuscripts by Spanish clerics and colonial Amerindian nobles, Velasco sought to endow the region with a venerable history.<sup>130</sup> He maintained that Quito had witnessed four distinct historical periods, each interrupted by the arrival of an invader. The ancient kingdom of Quito, led by the primitive *Quitus*, had been overthrown by the *Cara-Shyri*, who, after landing on the Pacific coast, had conquered the highlands around 980 C.E. The more advanced *Cara-Shyri* (who in each and every respect appeared as lesser copies of the Incas) paved the way for the arrival of the Cuzco-based polity. The *Cara-Shyri* surrendered in 1487 C.E. to the Incas, but not without first creating blood alliances with the invaders, inaugurating the third era of the kingdom of Quito. The fourth and final era, that of the Conquest, had begun with the capture of the Inca ruler *Aiahualpa* in 1532 by the Spaniards. Velasco argued that the documents available — and therefore the credibility of testimonies — for each one of these four eras was inversely proportional to its historical length: the long-enduring past of the original peoples of Quito was enveloped in a thick fog of fable and myth; that of the *Cara-Shyri*, although partially recorded in "writing," was also surrounded by confusion; and although the records of the Incas were better preserved, they were dwarfed by Spanish accounts of the Conquest.<sup>131</sup> Velasco therefore spent only a few pages on ancient Quito, two chapters on the *Cara-Shyri*, a book on the Incas, and almost a volume narrating the Conquest of Peru and the ensuing civil wars between rival Spanish factions.

Evolutionary views of writing and reliability notwithstanding, Velasco did not share the epistemology of northern European philosophical historians. In Velasco's eyes, prolonged residence in the Indies and religious training rendered an observer credible. Velasco harshly criticized outsiders like Buffon, de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson for having denied that eyewitnesses enjoyed privileged perceptions, as well as for suspecting the testimony of the religious. He cast himself as a moderate, willing to accept even the negative characterizations of some of the animals of America by northern European critics of the continent.<sup>132</sup> Yet, for all his moderation, Velasco chastised the philosophical historians for their love of systems, which blinded them to contrary evidence, for their tendency to generalize from isolated facts, and for their audacity in passing judgment on a continent they had never visited.<sup>133</sup> Like Clavijero, Velasco appended several essays seeking to prove the errors and contradictions of the Europeans' purportedly scientific accounts of America.

Falling back on early modern idioms developed by John Locke, among others, that held that the experience of the marvelous was only relative to the observer, Velasco assembled a catalogue of natural phenomena typical of the kingdom of Quito that in the eyes of Europeans could have been construed as fables.<sup>134</sup> Velasco's natural history sought to dazzle European readers by taking them to task for their exaggerated skepticism, which he considered the mask of a narrow provincialism.<sup>135</sup> It is from this perspective that we need to understand an aspect of Velasco's natural history, not present in Clavijero's, that has puzzled later observers: the apparent contradiction between Velasco's enlightened rhetoric and his "credulity," namely, his constant reference to wonders and monstrosities.<sup>136</sup>

For Velasco, as for Clavijero, the epistemological limitations of outsiders stemmed from their lack of mastery of Amerindian languages. Velasco offered *Quechua* taxonomies to catalogue the flora and fauna of Quito using the same assumptions that had moved Clavijero to introduce *Nahua* taxonomies for Mexico, namely, to show that linguistic shortcomings lay behind the tendency of European naturalists to find fewer species in the New World. For all their philosophical training and experimental instruments, travelers like La Condamine and Antonio de Ulloa, Velasco maintained, were ultimately unreliable witnesses.<sup>137</sup> Short visits to foreign places and linguistic ignorance (although La Condamine and Ulloa had stayed in the Andes for some ten years), according to Velasco, made travelers dependent on informants. La Condamine, who did not know *Quechua*, had failed to realize that the natives liked to tailor their behavior to meet expectations. He thus wrongly concluded that the Amerindians were naturally stupid. Velasco, who was being raised by Amerindian wet nurses when La Condamine visited Quito, recalled how the Amerindians joked among themselves every time they deceived the French. In fact, the Amerindians thought that La Condamine was the naive and stupid one.<sup>138</sup> According to Velasco, La Condamine's ignorance of the language made him easy prey to manipulation, leaving him without the critical tools to weigh the credibility of his informants.

Velasco presented himself as a follower of the epistemology of José de Acosta. The sixteenth-century Jesuit had distinguished his writings from the huge corpus of books on the New World by emphasizing not only his learning but his *long* firsthand acquaintance with the land and peoples that he described, including the knowledge of Amerindian languages.<sup>139</sup> Acosta's emphasis on mastering Amerindian languages and living in close, intimate proximity to Amerindian communities led Velasco to privilege religious over secular clergy (parish priests) and lay observers. Although aware of the

eighteenth-century critique of the biased missionary observer. He thought that only religious observers were reliable eyewitnesses.<sup>140</sup> According to Velasco, the religious were learned and therefore able to fend off the tricks of self-delusion and superstition. They also knew the local languages well and were therefore able to gain the confidence of the indigenous peoples.<sup>141</sup>

Like Clavijero, Velasco held mestizos in contempt and spent more time lashing out against them than articulating a critique of the colonial regime. Any reader of Velasco's third volume, a typically Creole history of the colonial period, with descriptions of prodigious miraculous images and of Creole and Amerindian saintly figures, cannot help noticing its tragic focus on the endless successions of earthquakes, plagues, and rural and urban uprisings that Quito suffered in the eighteenth century, aggravated by the ruinous Bourbon reforms. For all the tragedy, Velasco nevertheless was very timid in his criticism of colonial government and chose to hide his grievances. He criticized the economic reorganization of the empire that led to the crisis of the local woolen industry only when attacking those travelers and foreigners who had presented Creoles as inherently indolent and corrupt. The alleged apathy of Creoles, he argued, was the result of commercial lack of incentives, not an inborn, climatically determined trait.<sup>142</sup> Velasco closed his history of the Conquest by claiming that the riches of the gospel and civilization brought about by the Conquest had offset any Spanish cruelty to the Amerindians. Moreover, like Clavijero, Velasco maintained that all cruel acts had been the responsibility of private individuals, and that the crown had intervened on behalf of the Amerindians.<sup>143</sup> Yet for all his lack of criticism of Spain, Velasco projected his anger onto the mestizos, as if the blurring of racial and social hierarchies had caused the decline of Quito.

Velasco had great respect for the Amerindian and white elites but very little for mixed-blood commoners, for whom he reserved the harshest passages in his multivolume history. He presented the great 1765 urban uprising in Quito as directed against the colonial authorities and the new taxes introduced by the Bourbons as a plot of the mestizo plebees whose anger had fortunately been defused and channeled by the local patrician Creoles.<sup>144</sup> The Amerindians had been corrupted, Velasco alleged, by the disappearance of the native ruling class and the evil effects of contact with urban commoners, particularly *castas*, who had introduced them to their vices, including idleness, alcoholism, and theft.<sup>145</sup> Of all vices, the tendency to lie, in particular, Velasco contended, characterized all mixed bloods. In fact, Velasco's criticism of mestizos was part of a larger critique of the value of the testimony of commoners.<sup>146</sup>

Vélasco and Clavijero followed very similar strategies. Both sought to undermine the reliability of foreign authors and travelers, both emphasized the trustworthiness of religious witnesses, and both focused on the importance of observers knowing the local Amerindian languages. Juan Ignacio Molina, on the other hand, departed significantly from these views.

*Juan Ignacio Molina*

Juan Ignacio Molina (1740–1829), the author of *Saggio sulla storia naturale de Chili* (1782) and *Saggio sulla storia civile de Chili* (1787), stands out among the Creole Jesuits who wrote natural and civil histories of their homelands in exile because he refused to embrace several key aspects of the discourse of patriotic epistemology. Unlike Vélasco and Clavijero, Molina organized his histories of Chile around the testimony of European travelers. He was "not disposed to question the account of respectable writers, several of whom have been eyewitnesses of what they describe."<sup>147</sup> Drawing on his own personal experience, Molina also used the writings of travelers like Amédée Frézier, Louis Feuillée, Antonio de Ulloa, and Lord George Anson (1697–1762) to bolster his own credibility.<sup>148</sup> Molina's surprising departure from the Creole Jesuit critique of the epistemological limitations of the foreign traveler was related to the fact that Chile had traditionally fared well in most European travel accounts. Chile had long been a peripheral colonial outpost, sparsely populated by Spaniards, a land whose climate most learned travelers found benign, and whose original Araucanian inhabitants were portrayed as courageous republican warriors. Unlike Peru or Mexico, Chile received positive reviews from European travelers. The early-eighteenth-century account of the South Seas by the French engineer Frézier typifies this tendency. Whereas Frézier portrayed Chile as an Alpine, temperate land inhabited by heroic Araucanians, he presented Peru as corrupting, a land of concupiscent, paganism, and effeminate idleness.<sup>149</sup> It is understandable, therefore, that Molina did not choose to criticize foreign accounts. In fact, he deliberately cast his book as a learned complement to the early-eighteenth-century natural history of the Minim friar Feuillée.<sup>150</sup> His embrace of accounts by foreign witnesses was, however, tempered by a forceful critique of armchair philosophers and system builders such as de Pauw. Throughout his history, Molina refused to consider "vague conjectures and hazardous hypotheses."<sup>151</sup> Like Clavijero and Vélasco, he decried de Pauw's tendency to generalize from isolated examples, particularly because de Pauw had never set foot in the New World.<sup>152</sup> Molina's contempt for systems caused him to introduce

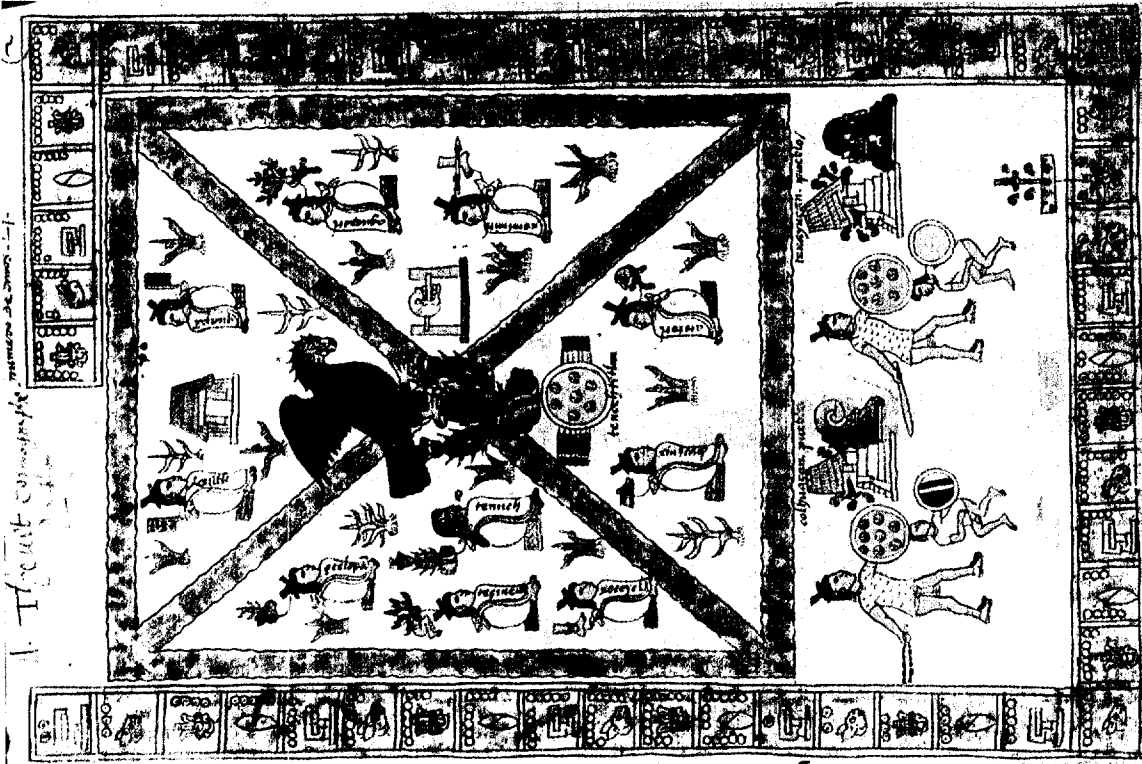


PLATE 12. The founding of Tenochtitlán by the Mexica. From the Codex Mendoza. A portrayal lacking Christian patristic influences. Reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1. fol. 2r. For an explanation of this page, see caption of Figure 2.4 (p. 100).

Linnaean taxonomy into his work only grudgingly, for such taxonomies, Molina argued, were artificial. He followed Linnaean classifications largely because they were popular, not because he thought they were useful.<sup>153</sup>

The genre of natural and civil histories deployed by Clavijero, Velasco, and Molina does not exhaust the repertoire of writings by the exiled Creole Jesuits. Among the dozens of manuscripts that survive, the remainder of this section focuses on the writings of two Creoles from New Spain, Pedro José Márquez and José Ino Fábrega.<sup>154</sup> Although Márquez and Fábrega did not add anything significant to the discourse of patriotic epistemology, their works give us greater insight into the nature of the Creole histories of the Amerindians. They also highlight the vitality and creativity of the Creole Jesuit diaspora in Italy.

#### Pedro José Márquez

Pedro José Márquez (1741–1820) experienced exile while still a young novice and peaked intellectually years after Clavijero, Velasco, and Molina. Unlike his fellow Jesuit exiles, who lived in provincial cities in the Papal States, Márquez was sent to Rome, where he came into contact with the great antiquarian tradition of the city. Before he turned his attention to the study of Mexican antiquities, Márquez published several studies on Roman antiquities and on aesthetic theory.<sup>155</sup> In 1804, he published his only two works on ancient Mexico: an annotated Italian translation of the 1794 Mexican edition of Antonio de León y Gama's work on Mesoamerican calendars and a study of two ruins first described in Mexican periodicals in the 1780s and 1790s.

Márquez sought to demonstrate the depth and quality of the Creole intellect by making León y Gama's brilliant treatise on Amerindian chronology widely available in Italy.<sup>156</sup> Using precolonial Mesoamerican codices stored in Bologna and the Vatican, Márquez supported in parenthetical notes most of the conclusions reached by León y Gama, and in a short essay appended at the end, he argued that Mesoamerican civilization had ancient origins.<sup>157</sup> The great recorded antiquity of the Amerindians, it seems, allowed Márquez to play a role in contemporary European debates on universal chronology. According to the censor of the translation, the Roman cleric Michele Carrega, Márquez was known in Rome for deploying precolonial Mesoamerican codices to bolster the credibility of the Mosaic chronology, then under attack.<sup>158</sup>

The second treatise that Márquez published in 1804 was more clearly linked to the discourse of patriotic epistemology. In a dedication to the "most

noble, illustrious, and imperial" city of Mexico, Márquez argued that Europeans had long been fed misleading accounts of the New World. He also argued that the intelligentsia of Mexico had the responsibility of setting the glorious historical record of their own "ancestors" (*antenati*), the Amerindians, straight.<sup>159</sup> Márquez thought that most written indigenous sources had either been burned or hidden. So to reconstruct the great accomplishments of his "ancestors" the Amerindians, he assembled both eyewitness accounts and descriptions of material remains. One half of the treatise was devoted to the study of two recent archeological discoveries in Mexico. The other half consisted in a compilation of the reports by Cortés and the Anonymous Conquistador on the breathtaking spectacle of the precolonial Mexican cities and architecture taken from the 1565 Venetian edition of Ramusio's *Delle navigazioni et viaggi*.

Building on a serendipitous discovery by a colonial officer who had been charged with eradicating illegal tobacco crops on the Gulf coast of Mexico, Márquez first introduced Italian readers to a pyramid in Papantla (Fig. 4.10). Márquez's description sought to prove the pyramid's many similarities to the architecture of ancient Mediterranean civilizations. The pyramidal form itself, Márquez argued, indicated the descent of Egyptians and Mexicans from common Babylonian roots. The stairs, on the other hand, Márquez maintained, resembled those of Roman and Greek amphitheaters, with the central wider set for seating and the two lateral flights for circulation. Finally, the niches of the pyramid, he argued, were similar to those of the temple of Janus in Rome, a quadrangular temple in which each wall represented a season and had twelve niches to signify the months of the year. Márquez counted 378 niches in the pyramid by adding a hypothetical seventh layer to the original six-story structure. He contended that the niches had been built to house the Mesoamerican calendar's signs for the 365 days of the year, plus the 13 days added at the end of every 52-year cycle to adjust to the real duration of the sun's journey through the ecliptic (365.25 days).

In this treatise, Márquez also included a study of the ruins of Xochicalco made public in 1791 by the Creole polymath José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez (1737–1799).<sup>160</sup> The ruins occupied an entire terraced mountain, which Alzate y Ramírez identified as a fortified "castle," surrounded by a ditch with a pyramid on top (Fig. 4.11). At the base and inside the mountain, there lay a network of neatly arranged tunnels and rooms. According to Alzate y Ramírez, on top of the mound, inside a walled area, there had once been a five-story pyramid, which the owners of nearby sugar plantations had destroyed in their search for stones for mills. Alzate y Ramírez offered a hy-

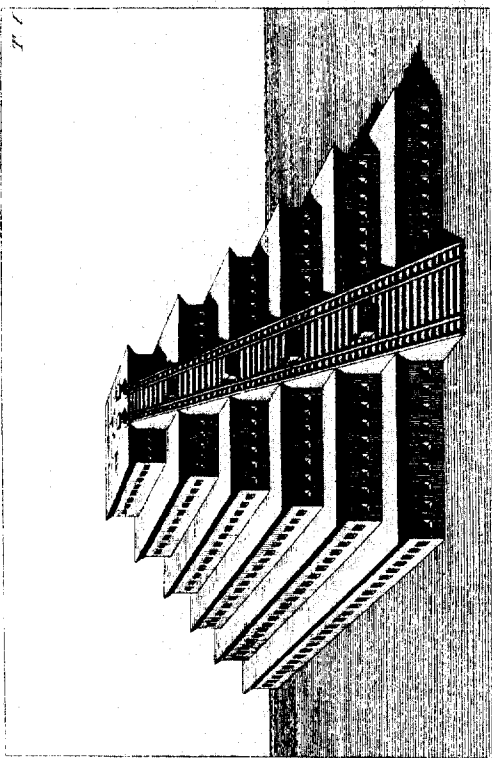


FIGURE 4.10. The pyramid of Papanitla, from Pedro Márquez, *Due antichi monumenti di architettura messicana* (Rome, 1804). Márquez argued that this structure had many similarities with monuments in the classical world, including the temple of Janus, amphitheaters, and Egyptian pyramids.

pothetical reconstruction of the pyramid, drawing on eyewitness accounts. Like Alzate y Ramírez, Márquez argued that the mound and the pyramid reflected the sophistication of Mesoamerican peoples, their knowledge of subterranean geometry, mechanics, and pulleys to move boulders, and their mastery of techniques to build domes and arches, allegedly one of the most important architectural signs of civilized life.<sup>161</sup> Betraying his view of the “original” Amerindian religions as benign, Márquez concluded, however, that the structure was no “castle,” but a temple. His efforts to transform Alzate y Ramírez’s castle into a temple also reflected his skepticism of Spanish accounts of the scale of human sacrifice in late Mesoamerican religion. Márquez agreed with Alzate y Ramírez that the pyramid had originally lacked stairs, but he insisted that it had been built by the long-enduring Toltecs and reflected a stage of religious development in which flowers (thus the name Xochicalco, from *xochitl*, flower), not humans, were offered to the gods, for stairs were used in later temples to fling sacrificial victims down.<sup>162</sup>

But how to account for the disappearance of such splendid civilizations? The answer for Márquez, as well as for Clavijero and Velasco (and Alzate y Ramírez), lay in the transformation of societies that had once sported splen-

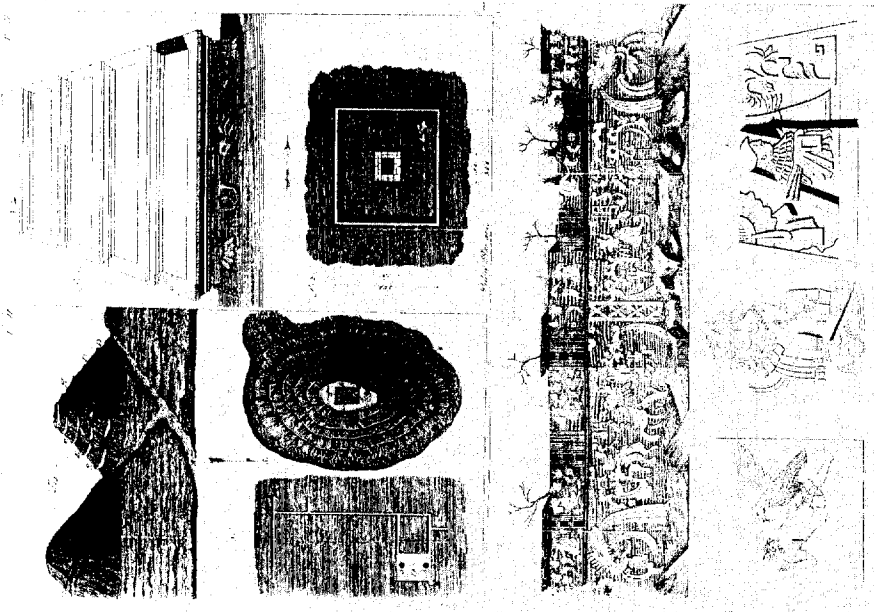


FIGURE 4.11. The ruins of Xochicalco, from Pedro Márquez, *Due antichi monumenti di architettura messicana* (Rome, 1804). Márquez copied the illustrations from José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez’s study of the ruins published earlier in Mexico. The pyramid on the upper right is a hypothetical reconstruction by Alzate y Ramírez based on eyewitness accounts; only the lower base of the pyramid survived. Márquez maintained that the complex was a temple from earlier stages of Mesoamerican religious development because it did not have a flight of stairs, which allegedly were only needed to fling sacrificial victims down. Alzate y Ramírez studied the ruins and concluded that the structure was a fortified “castle.” He also refused to speculate on the meaning of the carved hieroglyphs.

did courts, books, and scholars into societies of commoners," destined to represent in the great comedy [that is, theater] of the world the plebe."<sup>165</sup> Drawing on a well-worn trope already used by Clavijero (and Alzate y Ramírez), Márquez compared the transmutation of the ancient Mexicans into the pitiful contemporary Amerindians to that of the Greeks under the Turks. The fact that there was a gap between the greatness of classical antiquity and the purported wretchedness of contemporary Greeks served Creoles to bolster the credibility of their historical accounts, for, to be sure, no one called into question the achievements of ancient Greece.

Márquez's writings on Mesoamerican antiquities somewhat modified the discourse of patriotic epistemology by introducing the study of archeological sites and material remains as a complement to interpretation of indigenous writings. Márquez did not, however, relinquish the use of indigenous written sources. In fact, like Boturini, Echeverría y Veytia, Sigüenza, and many others before him, he used indigenous documents to bolster the credibility of the Bible. This latter aspect of the Creole patriotic epistemology was most clearly articulated by José Lino Fábrega, another young novice at the time of the Jesuit expulsion.

#### *José Lino Fábrega*

Like Márquez, José Lino Fábrega lived close to powerful clerical circles in Rome. Sometime in the 1780s, Fábrega came under the protection of Cardinal Borgia, who gave him *carte blanche* to study a precolonial codex in the cardinal's private library, a *tonalamatl*, or sacred-ritual calendar, known ever since as Codex Borgia. Under this auspicious patronage, Fábrega scoured Roman libraries, with impressive results. In the Vatican, he unearthed another precolonial ritual calendar, the Codex Vaticanus 3,776 (of similar provenance to the Codex Borgia), and a sixteenth-century colonial compilation of indigenous rituals and migrations with Italian glosses known today as the Codex Ríos (or Vaticanus 3,738) (the document Lorenzo Pignoria had used in the early seventeenth century to point to the doctrinal similarities between Mexico and Egypt). In the holdings of the cardinal's library, Fábrega also identified a rare copy, by the Italian painter Antonio Basoli, of the Codex Cospi, yet another ritual calendar, of the same family as the Codex Borgia and the Codex Vaticanus 3,776. The original of this was housed in the public library of Bologna and had been cited but not studied by Clavijero. Single-handedly, Fábrega managed to identify an entire col-

lection of related precolonial sources. With such a wealth of sources, he then set out to gloss his patron's codex, the most complete *tonalamatl* available.

Fábrega's study of the Codex Borgia, penned between 1792 and 1797, has to my knowledge failed to attract any scholarly attention, but it is an extraordinary document.<sup>166</sup> Fábrega followed two Creole tropes, namely, that Mesoamerican civilizations were ancient polities that had evolved in splendid isolation, and that Mesoamerican religious beliefs and rituals resembled Christian ones. He brought these two themes together without postulating satanic influences or apostolic visitations. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (and Echeverría y Veytia), among others, had long offered solutions to a tension inherent in the twin but contradictory theses of ritual resemblance and the long-enduring isolation by suggesting an early apostolic visitation. Other authors, such as Torquemada and Gemelli Careri, had explained the religious similarities as the product of mocking satanic inversions. Clavijero had dismissed both theses and focused exclusively on the theme of long-enduring isolation to highlight the creativity of Mesoamerican polities. Fábrega built on Clavijero's insight.

According to Fábrega, the Codex Borgia, a "masterwork of the Mexican genius," was an extremely accurate calendar. It demonstrated that the Mesoamerican peoples had not only identified within minutes the exact duration of the sun's movement through the ecliptic but also a host of other planetary and stellar cycles of 1,040, 1,460, and 3,380 years each.<sup>167</sup> In fact, according to Fábrega, the codex revealed that the natives knew that 12.5 days had to be intercalated in every 52-year cycle (not 13 as Boturini, Echeverría y Veytia, Clavijero, and Márquez had suggested) and that 7 days had to be deducted every 1,040 years, because a tropical year lasted not 365.25 but 365.243 days. The codex also revealed a knowledge of the story of Creation; the fall of Lucifer; the immortality of the soul and its ascent (or descent) through cosmic levels (that is, purgatory, limbo, and the many circles of hell); the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and the origins of human mortality, sinfulness, and ascetic self-mortification; the Great Flood; future deliverance by a new Savior; and the final apocalyptic conflagration.<sup>168</sup> These echoes of the Bible, Fábrega contended, were not the result of apostolic visitations or demonic manipulations but of the perpetuation of knowledge bequeathed by Noah to those of his progeny who eventually migrated to Mexico.<sup>169</sup> The Codex Borgia thus stored a "complete set of the historic and prophetic traditions" that went back to the Flood.<sup>168</sup>

Although Fábrega said that to avoid repeating the mistakes of conjectural

Raynal, who, he said, "instead of either publishing the already known indigenous documents or searching for new ones have relied on anonymous accounts by those who are little accurate or by those biased by the ridiculous system [hypothesizing] the degeneration of nature in America."<sup>173</sup> Operating within the clerical-Creole discourse of patriotic epistemology, Fábrega privileged precolonial indigenous documents. Confronted with these "inescapable monuments" predating the Conquest of Mexico, Fábrega maintained, "the authority of any other historian who says otherwise is nullified."<sup>174</sup> Fábrega was deeply skeptical of all writings by sixteenth-century Spanish authors on Mesoamerican religions, because they had drawn misleading analogies between Mexican and Old World deities, on the assumption that the Mexicans were descendants of Chaldeans, Egyptians, or Greeks, and had assumed the satanic origins of Amerindian religion.<sup>175</sup> European sources were problematic because most authors had used commoners or interpreters, not the keepers of Amerindian religious knowledge.<sup>176</sup>

I have only scratched the surface here of the vast scholarship put forth by the Creole Jesuits in exile. My intention has been solely to draw attention to the way they created and validated historical knowledge by bringing the discourse of patriotic epistemology to maturity. In the concluding section of this chapter, I study late-colonial representations of the Amerindians and how these representations, although seemingly ambivalent and contradictory, can be accounted by the same ancient régime logic that governed the discourse of patriotic epistemology.

#### Manco Capac: The Ultimate Sage

Those seeking to understand representations of the "Indian" in colonial Spanish America cannot help but be puzzled, for these representations are deeply ambivalent, often oscillating between apparent respect and outright racism. A recent study by William Taylor has sought to make the contradictory character of these late-colonial representations explicit.<sup>177</sup> Strict hierarchical views of society allowed the Creole clergy simultaneously to depict Amerindians as wretched and as the creators of great ancient polities. To understand the connections between the values of the ancient régime and these contradictory representations, we need to turn to the Bourbon reforms and the debates they engendered in the eighteenth century about the nature of the Indian.

In the wake of the Bourbon reforms aimed at reviving Spain's moribund colonial empire, the bodies and minds of Native Americans were scrutinized

historians, he had shunned all speculative reading of the images of the Codex Borgia,<sup>169</sup> he in fact at every step advanced bold interpretations, as seen in Plates 9–11. He read the image shown in Plate 9 as depicting the Fall of Man, triggered by failure to heed the injunction to keep away from the Tree of Wisdom. The image in Plate 10 prefigured the Savior as a "sacrificial lamb." The symbol of running water next to a temple in Plate 11 stood for the Flood; the temple itself was the Ark; the individual crouched within the temple was Noah; and the smoke coming out of the temple represented the origins of religious sacrifice. The zodiacal sign of Scorpio next to the temple indicated, moreover, that the Flood had occurred in autumn.<sup>170</sup>

These prophetic and historic traditions had, however, been distorted and manipulated almost beyond recognition owing to the nature of the medium that Noah chose to transmit his teachings, namely, figurative writing. Thus, for example, the figure of the heart, which had originally been used by Noah to represent the abstract concept of sacrifice, was later construed literally, paving the way for human sacrifice. Innate human passions had also promoted literal readings of the original patriarchal hieroglyphic symbols.<sup>171</sup>

Although Fábrega explained the religious resemblance between Christian and Amerindian religions that had haunted Creole scholars in the past negatively, as the failure of the natives to transmit Noah's original dispensation, his account of the consequences of long-enduring isolation was far more positive. Ever since the migrations triggered by the destruction of the Tower of Babel, Fábrega argued, the peoples of the New World had remained isolated, with the continent becoming a place of social curiosities, where Europeans upon arrival encountered "all the types of government imagined by man" and "polities established since time immemorial on fundamental and sage laws." Fábrega maintained that the Incas, for example, had developed a form of "communal economy" not to be found anywhere else in the world. He also contended that the ancient civilizations of America had built sumptuous buildings and bridges, and created outstandingly accurate calendars without recourse to iron tools, beasts of burden, telescopes, or any other instrument "known to us," and without any outside help. In a single stroke, Fábrega turned the logic that had motivated the skepticism of authors such as Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson upside down. Whereas northern Europeans thought that the absent technologies called into question the verisimilitude of Spanish accounts, for Fábrega, the absences indicated that in their isolation, the peoples of the New World had followed alternative paths of development, different from those sanctioned by philosophical historians.<sup>172</sup>

Like other Jesuit authors, Fábrega criticized de Pauw, Robertson, and



much as they had been by sixteenth-century European colonists and missionaries. It began to be asked, among other things, whether the old mechanisms of labor coercion were appropriate to the nature of the Amerindian. One institution in particular attracted attention, the *repartimiento de mercancías*, in which magistrate-entrepreneurs advanced credit and marked-up goods to the natives in order to force them to sell their labor for cash. This institution, along with the infamous system of forced rotational labor (*mita*), had long been sanctioned on grounds that the natives were lazy by nature. For a while, the thesis of the naturally lazy native and the need for forced distribution of credit and goods triumphed in the eighteenth century, particularly in Peru. But when the great pan-Andean uprising led by José Gabriel Condorcanqui, Tupac Amaru II (1740?–1781), rocked the viceroyalty of Peru in 1781, the colonial authorities had no choice but to abolish the *repartimiento*. With the abolition, the debate over the nature of the Amerindians acquired new urgency.<sup>178</sup> Alejandro Malaspina (1754–1810), the leader of the largest expedition sent by Spain to its colonial possessions, wrestled, for example, with the all-consuming question of how to involve the Amerindians in the newly emerging commercial circuits. He wanted not only to use the Amerindians for cheap labor but also to expose them to the alleged civilizing effects of commerce. Malaspina concluded that the crown could not afford to dismantle its baroque religious institutions in the colonies, because the Amerindians' religious practices were their only tenuous link to the market, where they bought candles, images, and other religious paraphernalia.<sup>179</sup>

As in the past, the debate over the nature of the Amerindian body and soul was closely related to historiographical discussions. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the staunchest defenders of forced labor systems linked the alleged natural laziness of the Amerindians to the statecraft of their ancient rulers. The Jesuit José de Acosta and the jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereira (1578–1655) argued in 1577 and 1629–39 respectively that the rulers of Mexico and Peru knew the debased nature of their subjects and legislated accordingly. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin and Manco Capac, Acosta and Solórzano y Pereira maintained, had been able to transform degenerate Amerindians into the citizens of great polities because they gave their subjects no respite. To prevent them from slipping back into their preferred state of laziness, they had even made them pick one another's lice.<sup>180</sup>

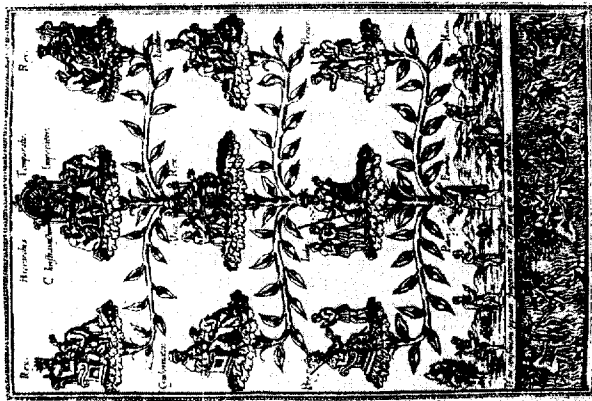
These views did not go away with the Enlightenment; in fact they were repeated by philosophers such as Montesquieu and Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764) (the popularizer of Newton in Italy). Drawing on Aristotle's insight to the effect that good magistrates needed to tailor their laws to the climate of

the land they ruled, Montesquieu argued that rigorous rulers who would not let people slip into indolence were needed in humid climates. "There are countries," he argued, "where the excess of heat enervates the body and renders men so slothful and dispirited that nothing but the fear of chastisement can oblige them to perform any laborious duty." The "spirit" of the Inca and Aztec "law" indicated that the ancient rulers of the Americas, who like those of China had had lazy subjects, had devised the appropriate legislation, according to Montesquieu.<sup>181</sup> In 1755, in an essay evaluating the great civilization that Manco Capac and the Incas had created in the Andes, Algarotti maintained that Manco Capac had succeeded despite the degenerate character of the natives. Based on the testimony of La Condamine, Algarotti argued that the Amerindians of Peru were stupid and indolent by nature. How, then, could Manco Capac and the other Inca rulers have created a great civilization with such material? According to Algarotti, Manco Capac's success proved "the miracles that legislation can bring about."<sup>182</sup>

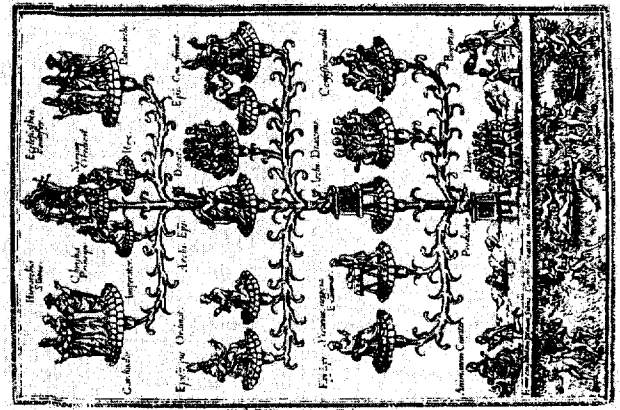
The debates over the character and nature of the Amerindians that Spanish America witnessed in the second half of the eighteenth century drew upon the same principles. An anonymous report written during Malaspina's visit assessed the effect on Peru of the abolition of the forced distribution of credit and goods after the Tupac Amaru rebellion and suggested that to halt the decline of entire branches of industry and commerce, forced distribution should be revived in a new form, under the control of the crown in order to avoid abuse. Moreover, to bring Amerindians into the commercial circuit, baroque worship also had to be stimulated. As Manco Capac had long ago realized, the writer maintained, forced labor was the only thing that could persuade the indolent Peruvian natives to engage in market transactions. To oblige the Amerindians to work, Manco Capac had therefore devised institutions such as the *mita* and public floggings, which had made the Incas prosperous and civilized.<sup>183</sup> Antonio Pineda, a member of Malaspina's expedition, came to similar conclusions in the case of Mexico.<sup>184</sup>

José Hipólito Unanue (1755–1833), one of the leading figures of the Enlightenment in the viceroyalty of Peru, approached the Amerindians of Peru from much the same perspective as Acosta, Solórzano y Pereira, Algarotti, and Malaspina. The sublimity of the Andean landscape paralyzed the natives, Unanue argued, and their excessive sensitivity made them melancholic, but if the Spanish authorities would only follow the example of the Incas, a great, civilized society might nonetheless be created. Unanue accordingly recommended "therapeutic" floggings to cure the Amerindians of their indolence.<sup>185</sup>

How could it be, however, that although the natives were degenerate, their former rulers, who had been Amerindian too, after all, were models of statecraft? The answer to this paradox lay in the same logic that gave coherence to the discourse of patriotic epistemology. Creole antiquarians similarly derided the credibility of contemporary Amerindian evidence but simultaneously held precolonial and early-colonial Amerindian sources in the highest esteem. The difference between these two types of evidence, they argued, was that the former came from commoners and the latter from the aristocracy. Under the ancien régime, the gulf between the two classes was deemed so immense that they were sometimes thought to belong to different races. As Paul Freedman (1999) has recently shown for the late Middle Ages, the discourse of social estates contemplated immense bodily and mental differences between peasants and nobles. The application of a comparable logic in colonial Spanish America (see, for example, Fig. 4.12) both enabled the exclusion of the precolonial native rulers from the stereotype that Amerindians were lazy degenerates and gave coherence to the discourse of patriotic epistemology.



a



b

FIGURE 4.12. To teach Amerindians about the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies in European societies, the Franciscans used images like these, neatly encapsulating the values of the ancien régime in colonial Spanish America, which was organized in terms of corporate privileges based on socio-racial estates. From Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579).