



CENTRE FOR
LATIN AMERICAN AND
CARIBBEAN STUDIES

SCHOOL OF
ADVANCED STUDY
UNIVERSITY
OF LONDON

Beyond the Bulls: The Life and Afterlives of St. Francisco
Solano. Unravelling the First Canonisation Process in the
New World

Carlos Piccone Camere

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London

Centre for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS)

Institute of Languages, Cultures and Societies (ILCS)

School of Advanced Study (SAS)

2022

Beyond the Bulls: The Life and Afterlives of St. Francisco Solano. Unravelling the First Canonisation Process in the New World



Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, "San Francisco Solano y el toro," c. 1645. Oil on canvas, 1,57 m x 2,25 m. Real Alcázar, Seville.¹

¹ Murillo was commissioned by the Franciscans of the Convento de San Francisco de Sevilla to paint the images of three saints-to-be; namely Julián de Alcalá, Salvador de Horta and Francisco Solano. His painting "St Francis Solano and the bull," in which Solano is depicted taming the animal, has inspired the title of this thesis, using the term in an ambivalent and symbolic sense. For further information on this painting, see Pablo Hereza, *Corpus Murillo. Pinturas y dibujos. Encargos* (Seville: Instituto de Cultura y las Artes de Sevilla, 2019), 22. See also Manuel Miranda Gallardo, "El milagro del toro de san Francisco Solano en Murillo," *Revista de Estudios Taurinos* 36 (2015): 75–89.

“Blessed be the Lord,
for he has wondrously shown his steadfast love to me
when I was beset as a city under siege”.²

(Psalm 31:21)

“To live is to change,
and to be perfect is to have changed often”.³

(John Henry Newman)

² Throughout this thesis the biblical quotes will be taken from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha. An Ecumenical Study Bible*, ed. Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

³ John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, ch. 1, section i.7 (Illinois: Assumption Press, 2013 [1878]), 33.

Abstract

From a critical historical approach, this thesis examines the phenomenon of sanctity in colonial Peru and its relationship with politics and power, focusing its attention on the process of canonisation of Francisco Solano, OFM (Montilla, 1549 – Lima 1610), the first to be introduced before the Holy See from America. As Solano's reputation for sanctity spread, and after an auspicious opening of his diocesan process, the expectations of his sponsors and devotees increased. In fact, Solano's profile met all the prototypical elements to be expeditiously canonised: he was a Spaniard subject of noble origins, an observant religious priest, a zealous pastor, a tireless missionary, and a mystic granted with thaumaturgical powers; so potentially the strongest candidate for being officially declared as the first saint of the New World. By answering the overarching question of why Solano was not immediately chosen, this study seeks to move “beyond the bulls” — beyond the official documentary sources. By doing so, Solano's process is placed within the context of changes to the criteria for canonisation, highly influenced by the politics of the papacy, Spanish empire, and Creole elites at the time.

Hence, each of the five chapters will illustrate the multi-layered nature of sainthood proposed by the Roman Catholic Church in the early modern period, aiming to show *where* the process of Solano is located in the history of canonisation's landscape (Chapter 1), *which* were his main biographical and hagiographical features (Chapter 2), *how* was the model of sanctity presented by the Catholic Church in his time (Chapter 3), *who* were the protagonists behind Solano's bulls of beatification and canonisation Chapter 4), and *what* could be read between the lines of these official documents (Chapter 5). This study argues that Solano's process of canonisation is an underexplored source that holds a unique opportunity for research to understand both the history of colonial Lima and its wider connections at particular points in time, as well as the importance to the process of canonisation in the interplay of politics at many levels —papal, imperial, and local.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	8
Abbreviations	10
1. Archival sources' abbreviations	10
2. Other sources' abbreviations	11
3. General abbreviations	14
Introduction.....	16
1. Bridging a gap: The thesis' contribution to the scholarship	20
2. The scholarly literature and the <i>status questionis</i>	23
3. Francisco Solano: A reading beyond the bulls.....	26
3.1. Trent: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe	26
3.2. Rome: Changing criteria for canonisation.....	27
3.3. Lima, the Ciudad de los Reyes: An all-pervasive religious environment	29
3.4. Madrid: Processes of canonisation funding	32
3.5. "Assisi": Disunity in the Franciscan Order.....	32
3.6. "Westphalia": Roman Catholicism and the Papal See's crisis.....	35
4. Visualising beyond the bulls: Manuscripts & archival research	37
4.1. Archival research in Rome.....	37
4.2. Archival research in Lima	38
4.3. Archival research in Madrid	39
4.4. Archival research in Seville.....	39
4.5. Archival research in other cities (Montilla, Valladolid and Brussels).....	41
Chapter 1: The process of canonisation of Francisco Solano in the historical context	43
1. Theological premise: Diverse approaches to holiness	47
2. Western fundamental scholarship on the history of sainthood	48
3. The Solanist Hagiographic Question.....	52
4. The processes of canonisation in the Catholic Church: A historical overview	59
4.1. Ancient Christianity	59
4.2. Medieval Christianity.....	63
4.3. Early modern period.....	66
Chapter 2: Francisco Solano: A life in context. Towards the main features of a Solanist profile.....	71
1. First life stage: Family background and geographical roots	72
2. Second life stage: Andalucía's prototype of a Friar Minor	76
3. Third life stage: Francisco Solano, the "Apostle of the Indies".....	79
4. Towards a unitary profile in the multiplicity of narratives?	92
4.1. Diversity of social strata	92
4.2. Diversity of ages	93
4.3. Diversity of provenance and civil status	93
4.4. Diversity of sensitivities	93
4.5. Diversity of miracles	94
Chapter 3: 'St. Francisco Solano': Looking forward to constructing a renewed model of sanctity.....	108
1. The machinery behind the process of beatification	109

2. Milestones in the history of holiness: The early modern age.....	118
2.1. 1588: Sixtus V and the resuming of the causes of canonisation.....	120
2.2. 1622: Gregory XV and the Spanish triumph in Counter-Reformation Rome.....	122
2.3. 1623: Urban VIII and the beginning of the papacy that reformed the processes of canonisation.....	124
3. The renewal of ecclesiastical life and the renewal of holiness.....	126
4. Solano, Servant of God: The apostolic process amid political and diplomatic affairs	129
5. The American continent: From pagan Indies to a promise land of holiness.....	137
Chapter 4: The protagonists and the background behind Francisco Solano's bulls ..	149
1. Pope Urban VIII: The man behind the legislation.....	150
1.1. La vie en Rome: Nepotism and Absolutism under Urban VIII's pontificate.....	152
1.2. The papal dilemma in the midst of the struggle for European hegemony.....	156
1.3. The process of canonisation as a papist-political tool.....	158
2. Philip IV of Spain, the Planet King.....	162
2.1. The Franco-Spanish War (1635–1659) within a divided Christendom.....	163
2.2. The conflict between Urban VIII and Philip IV.....	166
2.3. The Planet King and the cause of Solanus.....	170
3. Rosa de Lima, the first flower of sanctity in Hispanic America.....	181
3.1. Rosa de Lima, the success of an atypical case of canonised holiness.....	183
a) The mystical betrothal: Not only a chaste woman, but a virgin one.....	188
b) A tertiary: Holiness walking down Lima streets.....	189
c) The shadows of alumbriismo dissipate.....	192
3.2. Rosa de Lima, in the (hagiographic) footsteps of Catherine of Siena.....	192
3.3. The (non-spiritual) race towards sanctity.....	197
a) Memory and relics.....	199
b) Memory and family ties.....	200
c) Memory and iconography.....	202
3.4. The typology of Rosa's sanctity as a socialising amalgam.....	202
Chapter 5: When the bulls arrived tamed: Beatification and canonisation of Francisco Solano.....	206
1. The alter Franciscus' hagiographic construction.....	208
1.1. Hagiographic attempts to facilitate the Solanist cause.....	208
1.2. Alter Franciscus' hagiography.....	211
1.3. Alter Franciscus' iconography.....	215
1.4. The alter Franciscus' prototype, an obstacle to Solano's cause.....	218
1.5. Saint Mary: Per Christum praeservata, per Franciscum defensa.....	221
2. The Creole class and its support for Rosa de Santa María's cause.....	224
2.1. Solano's cause in Lima, between popular expectation and Roman setbacks.....	227
2.2. The Spanish-Creole affair and the dispute for power within a humble Order.....	231
2.3. Urban VIII, the unwilling Pope.....	233
2.4. The construction of Solano as a soldier of the spiritual conquest.....	235
2.5. Cordova's Vida: between success, controversy and censorship.....	238
2.6. Salinas' Memoriales: the political instrumentalisation of Solano.....	241
3. The final stretch on the road to Solano's canonised sainthood.....	244
3.1. Beyond Francisco Solano's patronage of Lima.....	245
3.2. Beyond Solano's bull of beatification (1675).....	250
3.3. Beyond Solano's bull of canonisation (1726).....	255
Bibliography.....	267
1. Primary sources.....	267

2. Secondary sources	279
Appendices	311
Appendix 1. Transcripts of the citations in the original language.....	311
a) Introduction —Transcripts	311
b) Chapter 1 —Transcripts.....	312
c) Chapter 2 —Transcripts.....	312
d) Chapter 3 —Transcripts.....	316
e) Chapter 4 —Transcripts.....	317
f) Chapter 5 —Transcripts.....	321
Appendix 2. Francisco Solano’s classic hagiographies in chronological order	324
Appendix 3: Archival sources related to Francisco Solano in the City of Montilla, Province of Córdoba (Spain)	328
a) Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Montilla [APNM] (Notarial Protocol Archive of Montilla) 328	
b) Archivo Histórico Municipal de Montilla [AHMM] (Municipal Historical Archive of Montilla) 328	
c) Archivo de la Parroquia de Santiago de Montilla [APSM] (Archive of the Parish of Santiago of Montilla).....	329
Appendix 4: Original Baptism Certificate of Francisco Solano.....	330
Appendix 5: Letter of Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano.....	330
Appendix 6: Mottos of the Spanish Franciscan Provinces to which Francisco Solano belonged.....	332
a) Motto of the Franciscan Province of Granada	332
b) Motto of the Franciscan Betica Province	333
Appendix 7: Francis of Assisi as the alter Christus.....	334
Appendix 8: Copy of the first page of the bull of canonisation of Francisco Solano	335

Acknowledgements

I owe scholarly debts to a number of professors who have generously contributed with me to translate this project into reality. First, I would like to thank Linda Newson, FBA, OBE, whose commitment to Latin American studies, prestigious academic career, and exceptional personal qualities have made her worthy of various distinctions to the present, but above all the fond affection of her readers and those of us who have had the privilege of doing research under her supervision. Second, I would like to thank Celia Cussen, whose study on the life and afterlife of Martin de Porres has been a source of inspiration, for her patient reading, sharp insights and constructive feedback. It was also an honour to have Perter Burke and Catherine Davies as members of my PhD upgrade panel, who provided me with helpful comments. Finally, my special thanks to Fernando Iwasaki, Fermín Labarga, Alessandra Bartolomei-Romagnoli, Mark Thurner, David Cook, Alexandre Coello, Fernando Quiles, José Ramón Jouve, Carlos Gálvez-Peña, Pedro Guibovich, Ybeth Arias, José Antonio Benito, and Bernardo Molina, with whom time flew by around discussions, suggestions of bibliographical references, email exchanging and cups of coffee (and tea), although the list would be too long to name all the scholars, archivists and librarians who generously gave me their time and valuable support.

I am aware of the fortune of having been able to carry out my archival research before the covid-19 pandemic greatly limited access to sources. I am grateful for the support of many ecclesiastical archives, in first place to the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano with its long-standing prefect, Mons. Sergio Pagano. Thanks to the efficient procedures of Revd Vincenzo Criscuolo, I was allowed to consult without any restriction the archival sources contained in the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Franciscans Priamo Etzi in Rome, Joaquín Domínguez in Seville, as well as Abel Pacheco and Alejandro Wiese in Lima kindly authorised me to access the archives of their friaries and also guided me through some places where Francisco Solano left traces of sanctity. Likewise, Antonio

Luis Jiménez, a direct descendant of the Solano-Jiménez family and perhaps the most responsible for keeping the memory of ‘el santo’ alive in Montilla, his home town, brought to my attention unfamiliar sources. I cannot fail to mention those who offered me accommodation during my research stays, making me feel at home: bishop Daniele Libanori in Rome, abbess Pilar Montoro in Seville, the Poor Clare nuns in Montilla, Capuchins James Boner in London, Charles Serignat in Oxford, Benjamín Echevarría in Madrid, José Manuel Laseca in Valladolid, José Ángel Echeverría in Pamplona, Miguel Antxo Pena in Salamanca, and the Jesuit Bollandist community in Antwerp. Finally, this research would not have been possible without the generous financial support provided by the Capuchin Province of Great Britain, as well as the School of Advanced Study of the University of London which granted me with an international Travel Bursary.

Last but not least, I thank all those closest to me who have steadfastly sustained me over the years with their friendship and love —most of all my loving parents and sisters, and my beloved wife who along with the soon to be born baby have been both my greatest motivation and have brought meaning to all my pursuits.

Abbreviations

1. Archival sources' abbreviations

AAL	Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
AAV	Archivo Apostolico Vaticano [Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum] (so named since October 22, 2019, succeeding the Archivo Segreto Vaticano [Archivum Secretum Vaticanum], Vatican City
AAV, Riti	Archivo Apostolico Vaticano, Congregazione dei Riti [Sacra Rituum Congregatio], Vatican City
ACCS	Archivo della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, Rome
ACLS	Archivo del Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, Seville
ACML	Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitano de Lima
ACFV	Archivo del Convento Franciscano de Valladolid
ACS	Archivo del Cabildo de Sevilla
AGAS	Archivo General del Arzobispado de Sevilla
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGMAE	Archivo General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid
AHMM	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Montilla, Córdoba (Spain)
AHML	Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Lima
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHNOB	Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Madrid
AHSFL	Archivo Histórico del Convento de San Francisco de Lima

APF	Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Rome
APNM	Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Montilla, Córdoba (Spain)
APSFS	Archivo de la Provincia Misionera de San Francisco Solano, Lima
APSM	Archivo de la Parroquia de Santiago de Montilla, Córdoba (Spain)
ARAH	Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
ASB	Archives de la Société des Bollandistes, Antwerp
ASI	Archives of St. Isidore's College, Rome
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
CVU	Archivo de la Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 'Colección Vargas Ugarte,' Lima

2. Other sources' abbreviations

AAS	Acta Apostolicae Sedis
BB1675	Clement X, "Quemadmodum caelestis Imperator," January 25, 1675, in <i>Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum</i> , vol. XVIII ed. Aloysius Tomassetti, 528–29 (Turin: Vecco & Sociis, 1869), 528–9.
BC1726	Benedict XIII, "Ad fidelium Dei servorum gloriam," December 27, 1726, in <i>Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum</i> , vol. XXII, ed. Collegii adlecti Romae virorum S. Theologiae et Ss. canonum peritorum (Turin: Vecco & Sociis, 1871), 474–77.

- CCS_Positio *Sacra Congregatio Sacrorum Rituum, sive eminentiss[imus] ac reverendiss[imus] D. Card. Chisio. Limana. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Vener[abilis] Servi Dei Fr. Francisci Solani Ordinis S. Francisci. Positio super dubio, An, & de quibus miraculis constet in casu &c[etera]* (Rome: ex Typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicae, 1674).
- CHc1634 Urban VIII, “Caelestis Hierusalem cives” (July 5, 1634), in Urban VIII, *Decreta Servanda in Canonizatione, & Beatificatione Sanctorum. Accedunt Instructiones, & Declarationes Cardinales praesulesque Romanae Curiae ad id muneris congregati ex eiusdem Summi Pontificis mandato condiderunt* (Rome: Ex Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost., 1642), 7–16.
- Córdova_C1651 Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú*, ed. Lino Gómez Canedo (Mexico City: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957 [1651]).
- Córdova_V1630 Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros del nuevo Apóstol del Pirú el venerable P. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patrón de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Cabeça, y Metrópoli de los Reynos del Pirú. Por el P. F. Diego de Cordova Predicador, natural de la misma Ciudad, indigno Religioso de la dicha Orden. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos jura- dos ante los Ilustrissimos señores Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla. Granada, Lima, Córdova, y Málaga, y de otras once informaciones que se an hecho en diferentes villas, y ciudades.*

Dirigida a la C. R. M. de Don Felipe IV nuestro Señor, Rey de las dos Españas, y ambas Indias (Lima: Por Gerónimo de Contreras, 1630).

- Córdova_V1643 Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Peru el Venerable P^e. Fray Francisco Solano de la Serafica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Obseruancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça y Metropoli de los estendidos Reynos y Provincias del Peru. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los illustrisimos Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se an actuado en diferentes villas y ciudades. Y en esta segunda edicion añadida por el P^e. Fray Alonso de Mendieta de la misma Orden Calificador del S^o. Off^o., Comis^o. Provincial de la S^{ta}. Provincia de los 12 Apóstoles del Peru y Procurador general de la Ciudad de los Reyes en la causa de la canoniçacion del mismo Sierbo de Dios Solano* (Madrid: Emprenta Real, 1643).

- Córdova_V1676 Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Perú, el B. P. Fr. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrisimos Arçobispos, y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se han actuado en diferentes Villas y Ciudades. Tercera impression que saca a la luz el M. R. P. Fr. Pedro de Mena, Predicador de Su Magestad, Padre de esta Provincia de Castilla, y Guardian del Convento de N. Serafico Padre S. Francisco de Madrid [...]* (Madrid: En la Imprenta Real, 1676).

- PD_1610-13 Fernando Iwasaki, ed., *Proceso diocesano de San Francisco Solano* (Montilla: Bibliofilia Montillana, 1999 [1610-1613]).
- Oré_V1614 Oré, Luis Jerónimo de. *Relación de la vida y milagros de San Francisco Solano*, edited by Noble David Cook (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998 [1614]).
- Salinas_M1631 Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Peru meritos, y excelencias de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Lima, cabeça de sus ricos, y estendidos reynos, y el estado presente en que se hallan. Para inclinar a la Majestad de su Católico Monarca D. Felipe IV, Rey poderoso de España, y de las Indias, a que pida a Su Santidad la Canonización de su Patrón, el Venerable P. F. Francisco Solano de la Orden de nuestro seráfico P.S. Francisco* (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1631).
- Salinas_M1639 Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial del Padre Fray Buenaventura Salinas y Cordova, de la Regular Observancia de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco, Procurador general de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça de los ricos, y estendidos Reynos del Peru, cuya grandeza y meritos representa a la Magestad del Rey don Felipe III, Catolico Monarca en ambos Mundos, para que pida a Su Santidad la Canonizacion de su Apostolico Patron, el Venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano* (Madrid: [s.p.] 1639).

3. General abbreviations

- Bk. Book
- BV Biblioteca Vaticana

Ch.	Chapter
F.	Folium [page]
Ff.	Folia [pages]
IFEA	Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos
IRA	Instituto Riva-Agüero
No. / N.	Number
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum [Franciscans].
OFM ^{Cap.}	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum [Capuchins].
OP	Ordo praedicatorum [Dominicans]
PUCP	Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
Qq.	Quaestio de quodlibet [Thomas Aquinas' quodlibetal question]
R.	Recto [front side]
SCR	Sacred Congregation of Rites
SI / SJ	Societas Iesu [Jesuits]
V.	Verso [left hand page]

Introduction

The date of July 14, 1610 would remain etched in the social imaginary of early colonial Lima for many decades. In a certain sense, even the liturgical day worked in favour of its being remembered: it was the feast of St. Bonaventure, who became known as the Franciscan Order's second founder.⁴ On that memorable morning, a choir of friars was solemnly singing the psalms during the divine office in honour of *Doctor Seraphicus* when, suddenly, their voices were silenced by the sounding of a bell.

Immediately, an expectant crowd gathered outside the church of San Francisco de Jesús in Lima. A large group of friars left the church in a hurry directing their bare feet towards friar Francisco Solano's cell. Gradually, people outside the friary multiplied. Everyone sought to enter the Franciscan cloisters to learn firsthand if all they had heard about the death of a saintly person was true. 'Saint' was a term shared without any qualms by the numerous witnesses at Solano's diocesan process,⁵ for "he was a saint, and all the people that attended his funeral acclaimed him as a saint"⁶, stated Juan Fernández, one of

⁴ Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221-1274) became known as the Order's second founder for his reforms and great efforts on behalf of the communion within Franciscan. Franciscan Lope de Navia suggested that the fact that Solano died on the day of the feast of St. Bonaventure was an eloquent sign of his miraculous life, because on this same day he professed the Franciscan Rule, and was ordained both as a deacon and as a priest. See AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 325, "Letter by Fr. Lope de Navia to King Philip III of Spain, asking his intercession before Pope Paul V to accelerate the process of beatification and canonisation of Francisco Solano" (April 24, 1612). Throughout this thesis, archive documents will be given a referential name, enclosed in quotation marks, accompanied by the date on which they were written.

⁵ At a first stage, and extensively, a process of canonisation was preceded by an inquiry regarding the good standing and miracles (*de fama et miraculis in genere*) of the candidate. This process was conducted by a delegate of the local bishop; its depositions were recorded by a notary; finally, only the resulting dossier was sent to Rome to be submitted for the consideration of the pope. Fernando Iwasaki edited Solano's diocesan process is based on the document that he found at AGMAE; see *Proceso diocesano de San Francisco Solano* (Montilla: Bibliofilia Montillana, 1999 [1610-1613]), XXIX. However, in this thesis quotations from the texts are taken directly from the AAV.

⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Fernández, soldier" (Lima: August 30, 1610), ff. 1r. Throughout this thesis, all the translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated or deduced by context. For the transcript in the original language, see Appendix 1.

the first witnesses. The crowd wanted to inhale the perfume of holiness that was said to emerge from a holy dead body. Above all, they wished to keep for themselves any available relic from Solano's patched and faded Franciscan habit, while the most impetuous dared to tear a lock of his hair or a piece of his nails.⁷ For that fervent crowd, sacred theft was not a censurable sin, but an expression of their loyal devotion.

The news spread throughout the city of Lima, the Ciudad de Los Reyes, astounding all its inhabitants. In an unprecedented act, breaking with rigid and elaborate protocol, both the archbishop of Lima and the viceroy of Peru knelt to kiss and venerate Solano's mortal remains and participated in carrying his coffin among a multitude of early devotees to the place of his burial. The funeral chapel would become a place of pilgrimage which friar Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova described in exalted terms:

His precious Body and his Sepulchre is the largest and most devout Sanctuary of America, which adorns and enriches it more than the treasures of gold, silver and precious stones that it produces: its ornaments and jewels are shrouds, bandages, girdles and crutches; whereas the music is made of sighs, cravings, tribulations, groans and tears of the blind, crippled, lame, amputee, leper, sad and afflicted people who invoke him, offering silver lamps that burn day and night.⁸

On the same night of Solano's funeral, the viceroy ordered his remains to be taken out of his grave secretly in order to display and immortalise his figure.⁹ His *vera effigies* would serve as an authentic model for the prints, engravings and paintings that were normally produced when those with a reputation for sanctity died in order that their images could be disseminated and their widespread devotion encouraged. The doctors who certified Solano's death were surprised to see that several hours after his death, his muscles were still flexible, his blood was still circulating and his body conserved the heat

⁷ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Iñigo de Ormero, protomedic" (Lima: September 14, 1612), ff. 71r-72v.

⁸ M1639, 6r-7v.

⁹ See AAV, Riti, 1334, "Testimony of Diego de Caravantes, OFM" (Lima: November 5, 1612), f. 730v.; and AAV, Riti, 1334, "Testimony of Tomás de Guadalupe, OFM" (Lima: November 8, 1612), 747r.

characteristic of a living organism.¹⁰ They themselves testified that after his death, Solano's dark and graceless body acquired "another different colour whiter than snow"; likewise, his breath, which used to emanate strong odours during his excruciating illness, was now fragrant; swearing to God "that shortly before he expired, they perceived a sweet smell in the cell".¹¹

The *Cabildo* of Lima would inform King Philip III of Spain about the death of Francisco Solano, introducing him as "a religious man of approved, exemplary and holy life".¹² It seemed that the life of friar Francisco had come to an end. However, it was only the beginning of his new life: his 'afterlives'. Not only because of the transcendental meaning of death according to the Christian faith, nor because Solano's spirit would soon be invoked by the constant supplications of his devotees, but mainly by virtue of the quill pens of his hagiographers who, throughout his canonisation process, would resuscitate his figure of holiness more than once.

With the above in mind, this thesis will focus its attention on a case study that has been relatively neglected, but represents an important source for New World history in general. It centres on St. Francisco Solano (Montilla, 1549 – Lima 1610), the so-called 'Apostle of America', one of the most emblematic members of the Franciscan family in colonial Peru. Indeed, Solano's cause of canonisation was the first one proposed from America and his reputation for sanctity was widespread across the Spanish empire.

Francisco Solano possessed within himself all the typical characteristics required to be promoted into the Roman Catholic Church as an authentic fruit of holiness ripened

¹⁰ See AAV, Riti, 1334, "Testimony of Antonio Álvarez, OFM" (Lima: November 5, 1612), f. 732v.

¹¹ V1676, 234.

¹² AGI, *Audiencia de Lima* 310, "Letter from the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of Lima asking for the intercession of King Philip III of Spain before Pope Paul V, in order to expedite the processes of beatification and canonisation of Francisco Solano" (March 1, 1612).

in the vineyards of the New World –a zealous missionary preacher with thaumaturgical powers. The latter played an important role because, in a society subordinate to the supernatural universe, the worldview was still rich in magico-religious symbolic elements.¹³ If Europe could boast of a prestigious saint of the stature of Francis of Assisi, considered the *alter Christus*, the newly conquered Catholic lands might be safely entrusted to the aid of Solano, the *alter Franciscus* –as will be shown in due course.

During the first two decades after Solano’s death, his canonisation process made remarkable progress, especially because of the abundance of testimonies that attested to his miraculous mediation. Excited and optimistic Peruvians were unwilling to waste this unique opportunity. Indeed, everything suggested that America would soon have its first saint. Nevertheless, his canonisation process was delayed and a series of events would conspire so that the “first flower of sanctity” of the New World became Rosa de Lima, a Dominican tertiary, mystic and ascetic criolla. It took 126 years before Solano was canonised; that is, more than fifty years after the canonisation of Santa Rosa, whose process had begun later. Therefore, one of the goals of this thesis is to explore the reasons behind this remarkable *sorpasso*.

This study’s temporal coordinates encompass Solano’s canonisation from the first interrogations about his virtuous life, just a few days after his death in 1610, to the promulgation of the decree of canonisation by Pope Benedict XIII (December 27, 1726). At the same time, it is framed by three spatial coordinates: Madrid, the new-fashioned metropolis of the Spanish empire; Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru; and Rome, the hub of the Papal States. In each case, there were vested interests to be defended and a

¹³ Some scholars have considered how the baroque imagery of colonial Lima included the idea of the marvellous in order to sustain the theological order of the time, in direct defiance of the rationalist advances of European science; see, for example, Fernando Iwasaki, *¡Aplaca, Señor, tu ira! Lo maravilloso y lo imaginario en Lima colonial* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), 36–50.

series of challenges to be faced. What makes this canonisation process a *sui generis* case worthy of study is that, beyond the official text of the papal bulls, Francisco Solano's cause of canonisation could be a key to deciphering religious policy over a whole century, a preeminent sample of the political instrumentalisation of religion in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, as will be discussed below.

1. Bridging a gap: The thesis' contribution to the scholarship

Discussing the techniques of historical observation, analysis, and criticism, and the reestablishment of historical causation in assessing events, Marc Bloch quoted an old Arab proverb stating that "men resemble their times more than they do their fathers".¹⁴ Interestingly, he did not completely agree with the aphorism. As a founding member of the so-called *École des Annales*, Bloch was a restless seeker for 'total history', a research method which attempted to embrace an interdisciplinary approach when addressing any historical problem.¹⁵ In the same vein, a historian should not renounce the task of presenting saints as children of their times, but also a product of other kinds of factors.

According to this, Solano was a son of Spanish early modernity, but also a 'product' of his hagiographers. However, the fact of being a largely hagiographical construct does not mean that saints are merely abstract projections or utilitarian means in the pursuit of political ends. The objective is not to demystify holiness, but to analyse the political, economic, ecclesiastical and social scaffolding that sustained canonisation processes on a case-by-case basis. Personal holiness should not necessarily be questioned: historical research only seeks to find evidence for human mediations that facilitated or hindered a certain canonical process. It is through facing the contradictory legacy of the saint by

¹⁴Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire, ou métier d'historien* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1949), 9.

¹⁵Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, "A nos lecteurs," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 1, no. 1 (1929): 1–2.

critically exposing his life and his ‘afterlives’, that the reader can be released from certain anachronistic prejudices —tropes, *topoi* or legends (either black or white) —, particularly frequent in the history of the Roman Church in the form of both attacks and apologies.

In the Roman Catholic Church, the *process* of canonisation bore in its name a vibrant symbolic meaning —an act that mirrored a court of law in demonstrating the ‘innocence’ or ‘culpability’ of a defendant, underlining his virtues and faults. The local church in which a person with a reputation for sanctity would have died was called upon to convince the Roman jury about the irrefutable holiness of their defendant, while the Promoter of the Faith (*promotor fidei*) — popularly known as ‘the Devil’s advocate’ (*advocatus diaboli*)— had to object to irregularities, require credible testimonies and detect possible inconsistencies. This atmosphere of confrontation did not favour consensus, rather the bureaucratic itinerary had a strong dose of tension. However, the accumulated tenseness became a liberating joy once the Pope finally announced his verdict: *Roma locuta, causa finita* —Rome has spoken, the discussion is over.

This thesis aims to place canonised sanctity in the context of struggle for power at various levels. In fact, during the history of colonial Hispanic America, the power that came from such formal recognition of sainthood benefited not only the Roman Church, but also the *Patronato regio* of the Spanish Crown.¹⁶ The construction of these social ‘templates’ of sanctity had a historical evolution which mutated according to a series of factors and actors, affecting the processes and pace of canonisation. However, studies in Latin American Church History and Historiography are still scant. A small number of scholars have conducted research on early modern sainthood, scrutinising dossiers of

¹⁶ Both the Holy See and the *Patronato* had an immense economic machinery behind the cult of saints. On this point some postulates of Michel de Certeau about the relationship between history and politics are illuminating; see *La faiblesse de croire* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), 90–94.

beatification and canonisation processes, and examining other sources such as religious chronicles, hagiographic collections and liturgical and devotional manuals. Recent studies have contributed to a historical reconstruction of the colonial era, but theological and ecclesiastical topics usually occupy a secondary position.¹⁷ Similarly, insufficient attention has been paid to the critical study of Peruvian sainthood, with few exceptions.

To bridge this gap in the scholarship, it is necessary to continue a critical debate regarding the nature of the processes of canonisation and their political utilisation in the Americas; a debate for which this thesis intends to be a catalyst. Drawing on a wealth of primary documents and recent research, it constitutes the first systematic study in English on the figure of Solano,¹⁸ as well as the first to consider the implications of his trial for understanding how the canonisation process was dependent on the vicissitudes of political relations at many levels: the manoeuvres by the Pope to outflank the Protestants; the tensions between the Crown and the papacy; the political dynamics in Lima; and the intra-Catholic tensions.¹⁹ The level of detailed analysis that will be shown for each of these spheres, and their interplay, aims to constitute a significant contribution to the field.

¹⁷ The most comprehensive and systematic studies on the history of the Church in Peru have privileged the Republican era; see, for instance, Jeffrey Klaiber, *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985. A Social History* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991); yet, some studies covering viceregal Peru remain essential, such as Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, vol. I* (Lima: Santa María, 1953); vols. 2-5 (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1959-1962); and Armando Nieto, “La Iglesia católica en el Perú,” in *Historia del Perú, vol. XI: Procesos e instituciones*, ed. Fernando Silva-Santisteban (Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1981), 419–600.

¹⁸ The panorama is similar in the studies written in Spanish: the only one that systematically included Solano’s trial was written by Luis Julián Plandolit more than fifty years ago, a carefully documented study, though owing historical criticism and interdisciplinary approaches. Luis Julián Plandolit, *El Apóstol de América San Francisco Solano* (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1963). A second edition has been published on the fourth centenary of Solano’s death (Córdoba: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 2010). All this without undervaluing other studies related to the history of Franciscanism in Peru, such as the relevant contributions of the late Lino Canedo, Antonine Tibesar, Federico Richter, Odorico Sáiz Pérez, Félix Sáiz Díez, and Julián Heras.

¹⁹ This last aspect is dealt with in detail in a forthcoming work by Simon Ditchfield, kindly shared by the author. See “Exemplary Lives in the Making of a World Religion,”

Another asset of this research lies in its comparative potential. To date, the chronological precedence, with respect to Solano, that was occupied by Rosa de Lima in being declared the first saint of America has been not examined. Lastly, it is almost unanimous that the Catholic Church was considerably instrumentalised by the Spanish Crown to provide moral justification for conquest and colonisation.²⁰ However, this could only be achieved through the moral propaganda that flourished thanks to seventeenth-century Baroque culture and spirituality. Thus, this thesis highlights the nature of political and cultural developments following the encounter between two worlds. By exploring the political, economic, and social contexts that underpinned Solano's way to the altar, his process of canonisation turns out to be a unique key of historical interpretation.

2. The scholarly literature and the *status questionis*

Being one of the greatest protagonists of missionary history in Spanish America, and especially following the successful launch of his canonisation process, the figure of Francisco Solano was the focus of unprecedented biblio-hagiographical production in Peru. Throughout this thesis, these documentary sources will be used. Like any source, each of them had a particular purpose and was published in specific contexts. Suffice it for now to list Solano's main hagiographers, giving their names with the date of publication of their central writings. Heading the list are the pioneering hagiographical works of Diego Álvarez de Paz (1613), Luis Jerónimo Oré (1614), Diego de Córdova y Salinas (1630, 1643, 1676), and Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova (1631,1639). Debtors in great part of the content reported by the cited authors, other important Solanist

in *Making Saints in a Glocal Religion: Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism*, eds. Birgit Emich, Daniel Siedler, Samuel Weber, and Christian Windler [Forthcoming].

²⁰ See John Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest and settlement of America," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. I: Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 161.

biographies were written in the years close to the dates of both Solano's beatification (1675) and canonisation (1725); namely by Tiburcio Navarro (1671), Antonio di Caprarola (1672), Gregorio Casasola (1679), François Courtot (1677), Raimondo da Roma (1726), Juan Rodríguez de Cisneros (1727), Guillaume Cuypers (1727) and Pedro Rodríguez Guillén (1735), as well as summaries of his *Vitae*, such as that by Bartolomé Sánchez de Feria y Morales (1762).²¹

The beginning of Solano's process of canonisation was highly auspicious both at the institutional level and in the context of popular religiosity. However, due to a series of factors that will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, some of the main promoters of Solano's cause preferred to give their support to another canonisation process that had begun later, but was on a better track, seemed more viable, was of local origin and, hence, could potentially appeal to more adherents, that of Rosa de Santa María. Her process of canonisation reveals the ways in which she, a potentially triply marginalised subject — creole, woman, and mystic— obtained popular religious adherence thanks to the promoters of her cause and to her hagiographers who capitalised on the fame she acquired as a mediator of the mystical revelations, but mostly because of her status as an inhabitant of Lima. With a local saint, the City of Kings would support not only the strengthening of the confessional border of the Catholic Church, but also give an accolade to the Creole elite in its fight for social equity. *Isabel* —the name inherited from her grandmother of probable indigenous lineage— would become Rosa; and, subsequently, Rosa de Santa María would become Rosa de Lima, a nominal transition which highlighted her American background while extolling the increasingly promotional City of the Kings.

²¹ For a chronological list of the classic hagiographies on Solano, see Appendix 2.

There are more than four hundred biographies on St. Rosa de Lima.²² By contrast, the study of Solano's life and afterlives have not been so numerous and have been produced mostly for a popular audience. Exceptions include the aforementioned monograph by Luis Plandolit and a number of academic conferences.²³

Some works have aimed to promote the image of Solano as a Christian hero and an apostle of exemplary life.²⁴ There is also devotional literature from northwest Argentina, where Solano has been represented as a militant of the "American spiritual conquest"²⁵ and been invoked as a folkloric patron. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that Solanist devotion is still alive in Montilla, his hometown in Córdoba, Spain. Indeed, when Montilla's inhabitants mention *el santo*, one can assume they are talking about Francisco Solano.

²² Stephen Hart, *Santa Rosa de Lima. La evolución de una santa (1586-1617)* (Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2017), 20. For an updated bibliographic compendium on St. Rosa, see Ybeth Arias Cuba, "Integración de un sistema devocional indiano en la Monarquía Hispánica. El culto de Santa Rosa de Santa María en las ciudades de Lima y México, 1668-1737" (PhD diss., El Colegio de México, 2019), 598–636.

²³ On the occasion of the fourth centenary of Solano's death, sixteen conferences were devoted to him, especially focused on art history; see Manuel Peláez del Rosal, ed., *El franciscanismo en Andalucía: San Francisco Solano en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. XVI Curso de Verano (Montilla, 12 y 13 de julio de 2010)* (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011).

²⁴ See, for example, Elías Pasarell, *Vida admirable de San Francisco Solano* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta de A. Granda, 1904); Pacífico Otero, *Dos héroes de la Conquista. La Orden Franciscana en el Tucumán y en el Plata* (Buenos Aires: Cabaut & Cía., 1905); Ange-Marie Hiral, *Vie de saint François Solano de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs, apôtre de l'Amérique Méridionale: 1549-1610* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1906); Bernardino Izaguirre, *Historia de San Francisco Solano* (Tournai: Desclée, 1908); Francisco Cabré, *Semblanza de San Francisco Solano, apóstol de la Argentina y el Perú: 1549-1610* (Arequipa: La Colmena, 1949); Miguel Rodríguez Pantoja, *San Francisco Solano: Sol de Montilla y luz del mundo* (Madrid: Junta Rectora del IV Centenario del Nacimiento de San Francisco Solano, 1949).

²⁵ See, for example, Luis Alberto Candiotti, *San Francisco Solano en la conquista espiritual de América* (Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1955); and Cayetano Bruno, *Las florecillas de San Francisco Solano* (La Plata: Don Bosco, 1976).

3. Francisco Solano: A reading beyond the bulls

By answering the overarching question of why Solano was not “the chosen one,” this study seeks to move “beyond the bulls” —beyond the official sources. Accordingly, it examines a series of religious, political, social, cultural and economic factors that converged so that the first saint of the Americas was, against all a priori considerations, a laywoman related to a group that aroused the Inquisition’s suspicion.²⁶ The arguments that will be presented in this thesis are clustered around the common thread of holiness, but they consider a range of factors that played differing roles whose emphasis varied at different points in time and in different places. The factors to be explored are: the changing Papal criteria for canonisation; promotion by the city of Lima; financial support for the canonisation process; disagreements within the Franciscan Order; and the crisis within the Papal See. The geographical focus of the discussion of each of these issues shifts between Trent, Rome, Lima, Madrid, “Assisi,” and “Westphalia,” constituting an interwoven context that helps explain why, relatively, Solano’s canonisation took so long.

3.1. *Trent: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe*

Seeking to address various controversies, especially the criticisms of the Reformation, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) had to contend with the internal decay of an outdated ecclesiastical structure.²⁷ Among other things, the council fathers addressed the following

²⁶ The Tribunal of the Holy Office and Inquisition, dependent of the Spanish Crown’s authority, was established in Lima in 1569. It addressed issues of heresy and offences to morality –bigamy, witchcraft, blasphemy and, in its period of decline, the control of prohibited books–, until its disappearance during the transition towards the republican era in Peru. For an overview on the Peruvian Inquisition, see René Millar Carvacho, *Inquisición y sociedad en el virreinato peruano: Estudios sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima* (Lima: PUCP; IRA, 1998); see also Ana Schaposchnik, *The Lima Inquisition: The Plight of Crypto-Jews in Seventeenth-Century Peru* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 30–52.

²⁷ See Paolo Prodi, “Controriforma e/o riforma cattolica: superamento di vecchi dilemmi nei nuovi panorami storiografici,” *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989): 230;

questions: the apostolic and missionary action of the Church, the reform of the theology and its scientific method, the redefinition of the episcopal role, the renewal of the priestly ministry, the Christian education of youth and, in general, the improvement of a number of ecclesiastical structures.

Consequently, the post-Tridentine Church,²⁸ while re-proposing the veneration of the saints, imposed a series of rules that gave greater control to the papacy of both the processes of canonisation and the nature of hagiographic writings. Paradoxically, almost half a century after Trent, the abundance of the miracles attributed to Solano's intercession may have been one of the greatest obstacles to a more expeditious processing of his cause. The latter is but one of the most controversial factors in his complex canonisation process.

3.2. *Rome: Changing criteria for canonisation*

That Solano's canonisation was delayed cannot be taken as a merely incidental event. Between 1588 and 1767, only fifty-five individuals were canonised. Among these, Peter Burke has identified a series of characteristics that could have been considered as criteria for canonical election: men, Italians and Spaniards, nobles, clerics, and members of a religious order. Additionally, a number of roles might be privileged and seen as common denominators: a founder of a congregation, a missionary, a philanthropist, a mystic, a

Wolfgang Reinhart, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 400.

²⁸ In this thesis, the term 'post-Tridentine' corresponds to the period where the whole *ethos* and spirit of the Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation (depending on the historiography) permeated a revitalised and more militant Holy See, which aimed to reshape society according to its own theological and moral criteria; see Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 161. See also Simon Ditchfield, "Of Dancing Cardinals and Mestizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 386–408.

zealous pastor, and a member of a mendicant order.²⁹ Thus, Solano's profile could not be more suitable to meet all the requirements for canonisation of his time: he was a Spaniard subject of noble origins; an observant and fervent pastor; a tireless and altruist missionary; a mystic granted with the gift of prophecy; and a preacher with thaumaturgical powers. In contrast, as stated earlier, Rosa de Lima could barely resemble this format of sainthood.

So, what other criteria were more important in the early modern period than those mentioned above? An accurate, albeit partial, answer has been given by Simon Ditchfield, challenging Burke's parameters. Starting with the emblematic case of Gregory X, whose canonisation was unsuccessful, Ditchfield concluded that the most decisive aspect, rather than the candidates' heroic virtues, was the satisfaction of legal criteria.³⁰ As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, in the case of Solano, the criteria for canonisation changed under Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), who issued decrees that made the processing of canonisation causes more stringent, especially regarding the publication of hagiographies and the regulation of cults. Behind the change was the permanent tension within Christianity: Rome faced virulent accusations of "superstition" and "fake religiosity" from various sectors of Protestantism.³¹ In response, the Counter-Reformist environment opposed superstitious behaviours, such as excessive credulity in the extraordinary and miraculous. In this sense, as far as devotion to saintly candidates was concerned, the hierarchy's sensitivity was far from the feelings of the common Christian.

²⁹ See Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 59.

³⁰ Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 422.

³¹ These terms have been placed in quotation marks to avoid anachronistic use. To contextualise historically these terms, see Michael David Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe. A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 16-17.

The legislation above was retroactive. Therefore, there was no special consideration for causes already initiated under different rules, such as that of Solano. If we add that one of the characteristics which Solano's hagiographers most emphasised was precisely that of possessing thaumaturgical powers, then it can be inferred again why Rome would have had reasons to prioritise other candidates for sainthood.

3.3. *Lima, the Ciudad de los Reyes: An all-pervasive religious environment*

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the capital of the Peruvian Viceroyalty was characterised by a climate of religious effervescence. According to the Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha, Lima had nothing to envy of the great European metropolises with regard to solemn devotions or religious rites.³² Based on a census conducted a few years after Solano's death, 25,434 people lived in Lima; of which, 18% of Spanish men (6,461) were religious or clergy; while 28% of Spanish women (4,359) lived in a convent, counting nuns and their maids.³³ The number of male friaries and female convents were growing at a steady pace, while lay religiosity was not far behind with brotherhoods (*cofradías*) and prayer meetings abounding.³⁴ Within this all-pervasive religious environment, being appointed as a provincial chronicler was an honoured position sought after by many, since writing could become an instrument of self-legitimation and self-exaltation. The chronicles record the evangelising efforts of each congregation, providing brief profiles in which their most celebrated religious were

³² Antonio de la Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú con sucesos egenplares en esta Monarquía* (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639), 245.

³³ See Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú, vol. II* (Madrid: Imp. de Gabriel L. y Del Horno, 1906), 197.

³⁴ See Diego Lévano Medina, "'Para el aumento del servicio de Dios': Formalization of Piety and Charity in Lima's Confraternities during the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *A Companion to Early Modern Lima*, ed. Emily Engel (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 257–67.

heroised.³⁵ From among this gallery of virtuous men, the major religious orders settled in Peru sought to select their best candidates for saints.

Canonising a person who had lived in the Americas was an extremely significant event. In the face of attacks from Protestantism, it was a means of defence on the part of the Catholic Church that could respond to accusations of decay and corruption by showing fruits of holiness. It was also a prize for the city that promoted a cause as well as a pride for the Kings of Spain to count among their subjects a venerated saint. Within the hierarchical system of baroque modernity,³⁶ it was the highest accolade for the religious Congregation to which the saint belonged.³⁷ Thus, having a saint could bring financial and political benefits to the order to which the saint belonged through an increase in alms, royal prerogatives and priestly recruitment. Even though Solano's process of canonisation was the first officially promoted from the New World, it is

³⁵ In his monumental *Coronica*, Diego de Córdova morally heroised legion of priests (bk. 2), among which Francisco Solano stood out (bk. 3); as well as a number of non-priests (bk. 4), nuns, and Franciscan tertiaries (bk. 5); see Córdova_C1651, 293–971.

³⁶ Alejandra Osorio used the term 'baroque modernity' to signify "a space of mixing and subversion of social and cultural structures" in need of baroque political ritual to legitimize its position as hub of the Empire of the Indies. See *Inventing Lima. Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 156.

³⁷ The hierarchy of religious orders was expressed through a series of external signs, such as the churches location (the closest to the *Plaza mayor*, the highest honour) or the order in a liturgical procession (first places were reserved for the pioneer congregations in a given territory); see Michael Schreffler, "Church: Place," in *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, eds. Evonne Levy, and Kenneth Mills (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), 57–60.

important to acknowledge some earlier saintly figures had appeared, including Felipe de Jesús,³⁸ and Sebastián de Aparicio³⁹.

As will be elaborated in Chapter 4, in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the order in which the canonisations were achieved was taken very seriously: the Franciscans began the race by supporting Solano; followed by the Dominicans who promoted the causes of Rosa de Lima, Martín de Porres, Juan Macías and Vicente Bernedo; the Mercedarians selected Gonzalo Díaz de Amarante; Juan de Maldonado was the Augustinian's candidate; whereas the Jesuits initiated the causes of the priests Alonso de Barzana, Juan Sebastián and Diego Martínez. Similarly, the secular clergy promoted the cause of Toribio de Mogrovejo, the second archbishop of Lima. In summary, all the most influential religious congregations wanted one of their own to be proclaimed as the first saint who would inaugurate the era of American holiness. From the selection of the candidates, each order had a particular model of sanctity to promote (from personal virtues to corporate methods of evangelisation); nothing was irrelevant, and the smallest detail could determine the success or failure of a whole process.⁴⁰

³⁸ A Novohispanic Franciscan missionary, Felipe de Jesús (1572-1597) was one of the twenty-six protomartyrs of Japan who were beatified by Urban VIII through the bull *Salvatoris Domini nostri* (14 September 1627). While Philip's beatification took only thirty years, his canonisation was belated. In 1805, some Mexican authorities were still seeking alms to continue with his process; see David Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán, 1749-1810* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 169–70. Eventually, his canonisation took place in 1862, within a politicised context; see Cornelius Conover, *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), XIV–XV. See also Ronald Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002), 143–70.

³⁹ A Spanish coloniser and successful entrepreneur in New Spain, Sebastián de Aparicio (1502-1600) spent the last 26 years of his long life as a lay Franciscan friar. He died in Puebla in odour of sanctity, and his first hagiography was written by the Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada; see *Vida y milagros del santo confessor de Christo, fray Sebastia[n] de Aparicio frayle lego de la orden del serafico padre San Francisco, de la prouincia del Santo Euangelio* (Santiago de Tlatelolco: Diego López Dávalos, 1602).

⁴⁰ All the above does not exclude the fact that it was often the common people who actually determined the election of the candidates of each order. According to a consistent

3.4. *Madrid: Processes of canonisation funding*

To make a cause successful, the support of local congregations and the faithful, though fundamental, was not enough. Indeed, for most processes, a significant factor was funding. In this sense, the economic climate between the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first of the seventeenth century was economically favourable to colonial Lima in view of the extraordinary wealth produced by silver mining, especially in Potosí, which reached its maximum production during those years.⁴¹ Without this economic boom, it would not have been possible to undertake the costly enterprise of financing causes of canonisation. The Spanish Crown exonerated the Peruvian Viceroyalty from certain taxes and disbursed some funds to finance those processes.⁴² The latter included Solano's process of beatification.⁴³ Nonetheless, although there was enough money to fund the initial procedures of Solano's trial, the mining boom lasted less than Solano's process of canonisation, and the decrees of Urban VIII mentioned above forced a restart of the entire costly process and a redo of the minutes containing the depositions.

3.5. *"Assisi": Disunity in the Franciscan Order*

The Order of the Friars Minor was the religious institute that could be established more solidly in Spanish America, reaching 5000 members in more than 700 friaries at the dawn

Roman Church Magisterium, laypeople receive the outpouring of the Holy Spirit by the sacrament of Baptism, along with the *sensus fidelium* or *sensu fidei*, that is, the gift of discernment in matters of faith; see Yves Congar, *La Tradition et les traditions, vol. II: Essai théologique* (Paris: Fayard, 1963), 82–3.

⁴¹ See Carla Rahn Phillips, "The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, ed. James Tracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 83.

⁴² See Carla Rahn Phillips, "Europe and the Atlantic," in *Atlantic History. A Critical Appraisal*, eds. Jack Greene, and Philip Morgan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 261.

⁴³ Emilio Lissón Chávez, ed., *La Iglesia de España en el Perú. Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, que se encuentran en varios archivos, vol. I: Archivo general de Indias* (Seville: Editorial Católica Española, 1943), n. 2351, 172.

of the seventeenth century. By 1630 the Franciscans in Peru had more than 500 active members distributed in 40 friaries.⁴⁴ As such, the Franciscan Order may have seen in Solano's canonisation a great opportunity to 'canonise' its own models of evangelisation, prayer and discipline. The authorities of the Franciscan order aimed to preserve a fraternal life that was lived in austerity, and an inner life nourished with prolonged spaces of prayer, silence and solitude. In this scenario, Solano would have appeared as the most suitable candidate to embody this mixture of action and contemplation.

Nonetheless, as will be shown in Chapter 5, if the Order of Friars Minor lacked something, it was unity. Shared agreements would have greatly facilitated Solano's cause, but he belonged to the Recollects, a reformist branch of the Franciscan Observants founded to avoid more divisions and stop defections within the Friars Minor.⁴⁵ In the Province of Granada, to which Solano officially belonged, the friaries of San Francisco del Monte, San Francisco de Arrizafa and San Luis el Real de la Zubia were places destined to only house the Recollects. During Solano's process of canonisation, members of these friaries provided testimonies to confirm Solano's virtues during the first twenty years of his religious life in southern Spain.

⁴⁴ For a more complete statistical chart, see Pilar Hernández Aparicio, "Estadísticas franciscanas del s. XVII," in *Los franciscanos y el Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVII). Actas del III Congreso Internacional (La Rábida, 18-23 de septiembre de 1989)*, ed. Paulino Castañeda Delgado (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991), 555–91. For comparative statistical data between the main missionary orders in America, see Pedro Borges, "Las órdenes religiosas," in *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (Siglos XV-XIX), vol. I: Aspectos generales*, ed. Pedro Borges (Madrid: BAC - Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso de Toledo, 1992), 214.

⁴⁵ The Recollection was promoted in Spain by Francisco de Quiñones, General Minister of the Observance (1523-1527); see Steven Turley, *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524-1599: Conflict Beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1–10)* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 27–8; and Bernardo Valderrama, *Centuria Bética o Descripción y Colección de noticias de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Regular Observancia de Ntro. Sco. P. S. Francisco desde su erección en Provincia y separación de la de Castilla conforme a otros documentos existentes* (1860 [manuscript]), 306–13.

The Recollects arrived in Lima shortly before Solano returned from his mission in Tucumán, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They brought from Spain a reformist mind-set which was not fully welcomed in Peru. Indeed, having died at age 61, Francisco Solano had spent forty years of his life in Peninsular Spain, and fewer – although intense – years in America. He became known in Lima for his pastoral zeal and for his apocalyptic preaching style.⁴⁶ However, the few years he lived in the City of the Kings were mostly a time of retreat, contemplation and prayer, that is, precisely what the charism of *recollectio* characterises. For this reason, the support of Solano's cause was not unanimous, not even within the Peruvian Province of the Twelve Apostles.

From another perspective, the Franciscan hierarchy was already aware of the consequences that reformist figures could bring with them. In fact, in 1528 the Capuchin Order was founded, and in 1619 they were freed from their dependence on the Conventual Franciscans, becoming an autonomous and flourishing Order that defended the value of contemplative prayer. Capuchins considered mental prayer more profitable than vocal prayer; and were influenced by German-Flemish mysticism and by the spiritual orientation of the *Devotio Moderna*.⁴⁷ In Lima, however, this kind of prayer was beginning to concern religious and civil authorities, because it meant that the faithful could be placed in a direct union with God without the Church's mediation.

Unmediated revelations involved the risk of having other moral standards or, even worse, a parallel 'magisterium' or religious authority. Their camouflaged ability made

⁴⁶ See Diego Álvarez de Paz, *De exterminatione mali, et promotione boni, Libri quinque, operum tomus II* (Leiden: apud Horatium Cardon, 1613), 1445v-1446r. In this theological-mystical work, Solano was proposed as a model of the virtue of poverty through a synthetic account of his life that constitutes one of the earliest bibliographical testimonies on Solano's *fama sanctitatis*. Lope de Navia, *Procurador* of Solano's cause, attached it along with the dossier that was sent to Rome; see AAV, Riti, 1328, 2106r.

⁴⁷ See Vincenzo Criscuolo, ed., *I Cappuccini: fonti documentarie e narrative del primo secolo (1525-1619)* (Rome: Curia generale dei Cappuccini, 1994), 278–80.

them extremely dangerous, hence highly feared and persecuted.⁴⁸ The figures of *beatas* Luisa de Melgarejo and Angela de Carranza show how menacing any form of ‘Illuminism’ (the Spanish ‘*alumbrismo*’, the heresy of false mysticism) was for the Inquisition and how it might have affected the regular pace of beatification and canonisation processes.⁴⁹ Their cases fell within a broader framework that pertained to Lima where during the early decades of the seventeenth century a group of *beatas* was prosecuted for teaching false revelations;⁵⁰ and later in the century a supposed mass possession of nuns by the Devil was reported.⁵¹

3.6. “Westphalia”: Roman Catholicism and the Papal See’s crisis

The Roman Church had to face three areas of internal crisis in early modern Europe: the religious schism caused by the Protestant movement, a mortal blow that would bring down the unity of once-powerful Christendom; the persistent but always incomplete reformist attempts; and the progressive debacle of the Papal States. The latter reached its peak with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), where the absence of the Holy See in geopolitical affairs was an eloquent sign of a new mentality.⁵²

⁴⁸ See Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit. Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 204.

⁴⁹ On the *beatas* in colonial Lima, see Nancy Van Deusen, *Embodying the Sacred: Women Mystics in Seventeenth-Century Lima* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 6.

⁵⁰ See José Ramón Jouve Martín, “En olor de santidad: hagiografía, cultos locales y escritura religiosa en Lima, siglo XVII,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 13, no. 2 (2004): 181–98.

⁵¹ In 1674, in the northern Peruvian city of Trujillo, a large group of nuns of the convent of Santa Clara declared that they were victims of a demonic possession; see René Millar Carvacho, *Santidad, falsa santidad y posesiones demoníacas en Perú y Chile, siglos XVI y XVII: estudios sobre mentalidad religiosa* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009), 400–33. Forty years before, in 1634, the most famous case of collective demonic possession occurred at the Ursuline convent in Loudun, a small commune in western France; see Michel de Certeau, *La possession de Loudun* (Paris, Julliard, 1970).

⁵² See William Reginald Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), 34–41. On the context of the Thirty Years’ War and its aftermath, see Daniel Nexon, *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern*

Beyond these challenges, the Church had to face an emerging threat to the validity of its traditions, including the continuity of its doctrinal and biblical interpretations. Theology had long been considered the highest expression of *scientia*, but the new notions of science had a direct impact in relativising its value. Catalysed by secular knowledge, everything could be up for review. Galilean heliocentrism was only a partial symbol for a whole worldview's transformation.

Nonetheless, if the Church lost influence in the political sphere, it was not willing to relinquish its spiritual power. The Holy See sought to resume the functions that had previously been delegated to the Iberian monarchies for the evangelisation of the New World through the *Patronato regio*.⁵³ On the feast of the Epiphany, 6th of January 1622, Gregory XV established the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* as the central and supreme body responsible for the spread of the Roman Catholic faith.⁵⁴ *Propaganda's* creation contributed to consolidate the Counter-Reformation, marking a step forward in the papal strategy of strengthening Rome's primacy that was claimed to be rooted in the apostolic tradition.⁵⁵ Since Solano was a subject of the Spanish Crown, his cause did not appear useful, *a priori*, to enhance the intended Counter-Reformation Roman centrality.⁵⁶

Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 265–300.

⁵³ See Gregory XV, "Inscrutabili" (June 22, 1622), in *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide: seu decreta, instructiones, rescripta pro apostolicis missionibus*, vol. I/3 (Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta, 1907), 4.

⁵⁴ Its twofold purpose was to try to achieve union with the Protestant and Orthodox Churches as well as to promote and organise missions among the non-Christians. See Josef Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV," in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum: 1622-1972*, vol. I/1, ed. Josef Metzler (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), 79–111.

⁵⁵ See Philippe Boutry, "Gregory XV," in *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*, vol. II, ed. Philippe Levillain (London: Routledge, 2002), 669.

⁵⁶ As will be shown in chapter 3, the election of the first saints of the seventeenth century was programmatic. In 1622 Gregory XV canonised Isidro Labrador, Philip Neri along with three early modern Spaniards whose fidelity to Rome was unquestionable: Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.

4. Visualising beyond the bulls: Manuscripts & archival research

All the factors considered so far played but a small part in the intricate course of Solano's cause. The breaking point was the changing criteria for canonisation and the critical context that the Church endured during the early modern period. However, as stated, beyond these factors, it is necessary to consider a more comprehensive panorama to explain the reasons why a cause of canonisation as promising as Solano's was delayed until it came to occupy a secondary position. Therefore, this thesis aims to extend this intriguing theme "beyond the bulls," that is, beyond the hagiographical literature (which recalls the alleged miraculous episode of a bull being tamed by Solano, quickly echoed by hagiographers and by the genius of Murillo), and beyond the official documents. *Beyond*, but not *without*, because frequent reference will be made to archival sources that include documents in Latin, Spanish and Italian, as seen below.

4.1. Archival research in Rome

Four Roman archives were important for this thesis. The first was the *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*, in the section of the *Sacra Rituum Congregatio* [AAV, Riti]. In fact, AAV, Riti, 1338–1340 contain documents from the oldest testimonies collected in Lima (AAV, Riti, 1338) to the most recent interrogations of the Second Apostolic Process in Córdoba translated into Latin and Italian (AAV, Riti, 1333), that is, from 1610 to 1699. The documents show the initial enthusiastic climate for canonisation and complement (or correct) some biographical gaps of official Solanist hagiographies. The second archive in order of importance is the *Archivio della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi* [ACCS], attached to the Vatican Secret Archives. It contains documents related to bureaucratic requirements, from the *Positio* of Solano's cause to the beatification and canonisation

bulls, including the *ad hoc* cardinals' judgement, as well as the votes of theological and medical committees involved in the causes.⁵⁷

4.2. Archival research in Lima

The *Archivo Arzobispal de Lima* contains some files relating to Solano's process of canonisation that complement the procedural documentation located in the Vatican Secret Archives. Despite the deterioration of the manuscripts, it was possible to recover worthy testimonies from 1610 to 1640,⁵⁸ along with a section of 'Important Papers' regarding seventeenth-century Lima society.⁵⁹ Closely related to this repository, the *Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitano de Lima* provided documentation from the *Cabildo* meetings on such key dates as 1629, the year in which Solano was declared patron saint of Lima.⁶⁰

The archives of the Franciscan Order in Peru were also essential for this study.⁶¹ In 1907, a second Franciscan Province was erected as the Missionary Province of St. Francisco Solano.⁶² While both constituencies have rich historical archives, the *Archivo Histórico del Convento de San Francisco de Lima* is a mine of letters, files and reports of varied content, from generic letters signed by the King of Spain on the situation of the Franciscans in Peru⁶³ to specific notes on the progress of Solano's trial.⁶⁴ Finally, among the manuscripts kept at the Archive of the University Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the letter

⁵⁷ Being the repository of all causes for canonisation from the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites by Sixtus V in 1588, it contains documentation from Diego de Alcalá, OFM, the first modern saint.

⁵⁸ AAL, San Francisco Solano, 1–5.

⁵⁹ AAL, Papeles Importantes, 1559-1924.

⁶⁰ ACML, "Acuerdos Capitulares," A,4, ff. 176–189 (1603–1637).

⁶¹ The Franciscan Province of the Twelve Apostles of Peru was founded in 1553; see Federico Richter Fernández-Prada, *Presencia franciscana en el Perú en los siglos XVI al XX* (Lima: Editorial Salesiana, 1995), 29–33.

⁶² On the Archive of the Province of St. Francisco Solano, see Julián Heras, *Provincia Misionera de "San Francisco Solano del Perú"* (Lima [n.p.], 2008), 226–8.

⁶³ AHSFL, 1-I,2; AHSFL, 1-I,3a.

⁶⁴ AHSFL, I-6, 1; 27, ff. 71-72; AHSFL, I-6,1; 38, ff. 100–102.

signed by Alonso Cueto, Franciscan Commissar of the West Indies, addressed to the marquises of Priego seeking their support in Solano's cause is noteworthy.⁶⁵

4.3. *Archival research in Madrid*

The *Archivo Histórico Nacional* sheds a good deal of light on the subject,⁶⁶ through documents related to the religious policy of the Spanish monarchy in the first half of the seventeenth century, a period of constant tension between the papacy and Spain. Likewise, documentation located in the *Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia* was also relevant for this thesis; particularly a manuscript written in 1786 by Pedro González Agüeros, on the evangelising work of the *Propaganda Fide* College in Ocopa in Peru.⁶⁷

4.4. *Archival research in Seville*

The documentary exchange between Lima, Madrid and Rome from the end of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth century was generally mediated by Sevillian officials. Thus, many sections of the *Archivo General de Indias* cherish prized files, starting 'Audiencia de Lima' which preserves correspondence between the ecclesiastical *Cabildo*, the viceroys of Peru, the kings of Spain and the *procuradores* of Solano's cause.⁶⁸ Other sections also contain valuable information, such as the costs of canonisation processes;⁶⁹ the foundation of new towns giving them the name of 'San

⁶⁵ CVU 985 PV/11/17, ff. 183r–184v. The archive of this Jesuit university guards the personal collection of Peruvian historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte, SJ (1886-1975).

⁶⁶ The historical funds of the *Archivo General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación* have been transferred to *Archivo General de Simancas, Archivo Histórico Nacional* and *Archivo General de la Administración*.

⁶⁷ Pedro González Agüeros, *Colección general de las expediciones practicadas por los religiosos misioneros del Orden de San Francisco, del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Santa María...* (Madrid [manuscript], 1786).

⁶⁸ See particularly AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 47, 310, and 325.

⁶⁹ AGI, *Panamá*, 238,16, 171v–173v; 248v–250v.

Francisco Solano',⁷⁰ as well as the naming of ocean-going ships;⁷¹ and, finally, Solano's election as patron saint of Lima.⁷²

In the *Archivo del Cabildo de Sevilla* there is documentation related to the cult of saints during the seventeenth century, especially of the saints-to-be sponsored by the archbishopric,⁷³ as well as saints historically closer to Solano, such as Rosa de Lima and Toribio de Mogrovejo.⁷⁴ Minor in importance, but equally noteworthy is the *Archivo General del Arzobispado de Sevilla*, in which there is documentation about the Franciscan Province of *Los Ángeles* (Extremadura), from 1500 to 1800.⁷⁵ Likewise, located on the outskirts of the city of Seville, the most important manuscript in the *Archivo del Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto en Sevilla* is a memorial by Francisco de Angulo (1784) on the history of the Franciscan friary of Loreto,⁷⁶ in which Solano lived during the years he studied philosophy and theology until he was ordained a priest; and the chronicles by Manuel Iñíguez (1860), about the history of the Province of Andalucía.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ AGI, *Guadalajara*, 232.9, 64r–65r.

⁷¹ AGI, *Escribanía*, 119c; AGI, *Contratación*, 1474; AGI, *Contaduría*, 1616.

⁷² AGI, *Patronato*, 249, R. 22, 1/73–11/73; AGI, *Patronato*, 249, R. 22, 59/73–73/73.

⁷³ Ferdinand III, King of Castile (ACS/1-VIII.3), Fernando de Contreras (ACS/1.VIII.4), Francisca Dorotea (ACS/1.VIII.5), Manual Padial, SJ (ACS/1.VIII.6) and Miguel de Mañara (ACS/1.VIII.6).

⁷⁴ Rosa de Lima (ACS, Fondo Capitular, Secretaría, Autos capitulares, 0719, b. 71, f. 22r–31r) and Toribio de Mogrovejo (ACS, Fondo Capitular, Secretaría, Autos capitulares, 07110, b. 62, f. 86r).

⁷⁵ The Province of Los Angeles was the cradle of the Franciscans Recollects in Spain; see AGAS, 1.II.7.

⁷⁶ Francisco de Angulo, *Libro memorial de la fundación y cosas memorables deste convento de nuestra señora de Lorete, y novicios que se han recibido y de las visitas que en él se han hecho. Historia del Principio y fundación deste convento de Nuestra Señora de Lorete, y de su reformation, hasta el año de ochenta y cuatro, en que lo compuso el padre fray Francisco de Angulo, predicador y morador en este dicho convento* (Seville [manuscript], 1784).

⁷⁷ Manuel Iñíguez, *Centuria Bética o Descripción y Colección de noticias de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Regular Observancia de Ntro. Sco. P. S. Francisco desde su erección en Provincia y separación de la de Castilla conforme a otros documentos existentes* (Seville [manuscript], 1860).

4.5. *Archival research in other cities (Montilla, Valladolid and Brussels)*

First, for a biographical reconstruction of an image of Solano closer to the sources, three archives of his hometown are important: The *Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Montilla*; the *Archivo Histórico Municipal de Montilla* and the *Archivo de la Parroquia de Santiago de Montilla*, primarily useful for documenting the Solano-Jiménez family. Second, located in the province of Valladolid, Castile and León, the Archivo General de Simancas provides a substantial epistolary exchange between the Holy See and the diplomats at the service of the King of Spain, on issues ranging from economic aspects to specific interests for the causes of potential Spanish saints.⁷⁸ Finally, the Archive of the *Société des Bollandistes* contains two manuscripts that describe Solano's beatification ceremony, as well as a letter from Fr. Matthew of Pareta, OFM General Minister informing about the granting of indulgences on the occasion of the canonisation of both Francisco Solano and James of the Marches on June 21, 1727.⁷⁹

In this way, by answering the overarching question of why Solano was not “the chosen one,” this study seeks to move “beyond the bulls” –that is, beyond the official documentary sources. By doing so, Solano's trial is placed within the context of changes to the criteria for canonisation, highly influenced by the politics of the papacy, Spanish empire and Creole elites at the time. Hence, each of the five chapters will illustrate the

⁷⁸ AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3015; AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3038; AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3042; AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3043; AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3044; AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3078; AGS, Secretarías Provinciales; AGS, Gracia y Justicia.; AGS, Guerra y Marina.

⁷⁹ ASB, 175; ASB, 177. The Bollandist Society is the sole institution in the world whose exclusive aim is the critical study of hagiography. In 1607, when Jean Bolland SJ, initiated the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the cult of saints was the target of Protestant scorns. Instead of apologetic defences, Bolland decided to edit critical editions of the lives of saints and to apply the historical critical method to the manuscripts and texts. This tradition of critical research passed down from generation to generation so that, four centuries later, Bolland's successors have continued to be a point of reference in the field of hagiography; see Robert Godding, et al., *Bollandistes, saints et légendes : quatre siècles de recherche* (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 2007), 23–43.

multi-layered nature of sainthood proposed by the Roman Catholic Church in the early modern period, aiming to show *where* Solano's process of canonisation is located in the history of canonisation's landscape (chapter 1), *which* were his main biographical and hagiographical features (chapter 2), *how* was the model of sanctity presented by the Catholic Church in his time (chapter 3), *who* were the protagonists behind Solano's bulls of beatification and canonisation (chapter 4), and *what* could be read between the lines of these official documents (chapter 5). Considering the above, this study argues that the canonisation process of Francisco Solano, as an underexplored source, holds a unique opportunity for research that demonstrates the complex and powerful connections that link colonial Lima to Europe in the early modern period.

Chapter 1: The process of canonisation of Francisco Solano in the historical context

In July 1610, Ana de Mendoza received the news that her eight-month-old son was about to die. During twelve days, the baby had been presenting high fevers and refusing to breastfeed. Ana had gone to many doctors, but no medicine proved effective in restoring the health of her son.¹ Nonetheless, despite this unfortunate scenario, Ana's mother had a strong reason to ask her daughter not to lose hope.² In fact, while the baby was hovering between life and death, Lima's inhabitants were commenting about the death of a sixty-year-old Franciscan friar who enjoyed in life such a reputation for holiness that deserved the recognition from the most distinguished personalities of the colony.³

Solano's name was still unknown to many, but the elderly priest was already popularly known as "the holy friar."⁴ The massive attendance at his funeral was seen by many as a providential signal: "It was amazing that without having warned any person, the whole city went to the burial."⁵ The multitudes that were striving to obtain a relic from the friar could not be contained neither by religious nor by the guard of the viceroy:

[There was] so much concurrence of people as it has ever been seen in this city. All kinds of people – ecclesiastics, lay people and religious – [were] so eager to touch him [in order to] have some relic of his habit or hair that, without any respect, the guard of the viceroy and the religious could not resist this crowd.⁶

Unheard-of news from the north of the country also arrived in Lima, referring to a man who had managed to extinguish a great fire in a cane plantation only by throwing on

¹ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of doña Ana de Mendoza" (Lima: January 19, 1611), 324v-325r.

² See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of doña María de Farfán, widow of Martín de Mendoza and mother of Ana de Mendoza" (Lima: January 19, 1611), f. 325r-327r.

³ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Fr. Agustín de Vega, OP" (Lima: September 18, 1610), ff. 15v-17r.

⁴ AAV, Riti, 1328, "Testimony of Antonio Pérez" (Lima: March 17, 1611), f. 1308r.

⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of friar Juan García, OFM" (Lima: November 9, 1610), ff. 116r-118r.

⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Fr. Francisco Daza, SJ" (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 139r-140r.

it a piece of the habit of “the holy friar”.⁷ It was especially this case that ended up convincing María de Farfán that there was still hope to see her grandson healthy again, because she personally knew Diego Gómez, the beneficiary of this extraordinary event. But only when Maria realised who the aforementioned friar was, could Maria confidently tell her daughter to have faith. Indeed, Solano was not an unfamiliar character for mother and daughter, since they had both known him during the years he spent in Trujillo.

That night, faced with the agony of her little son, Ana made a vow to father Solano, adopting him as her baby’s advocate: “My father, blessed *fray* Francisco Solano, pray to God that my son may live until the morning that I may go to visit your holy body so that God heals him”.⁸ Some months later, when Ana and María would have the turn to testify about the successful healing of the baby, the notary would sign for them since they could not read or write. However, despite being illiterate, these women were able to understand the deep nature of holiness, according to Catholic doctrine: the saints are not those who perform miracles; their role is limited to intercession before God.⁹

The testimonies of Ana de Mendoza and María de Farfán were only a small sample of more than 200 witnesses who were summoned by the mixed ecclesiastical and civil commission in charge of carrying out the Diocesan Process of Francisco Solano in Lima. Since the death of this Andalusian Franciscan friar in July 1610, the alleged miracles that the faithful obtained when they prayed before his grave were public knowledge.¹⁰ Reports

⁷ AAV, Riti, 1334, “Testimony of Sebastián de Pereira, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1612), f. 717v.

⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of doña Ana de Mendoza” (Lima: January 19, 1611), ff. 324v-325r.

⁹ The concept of miracle is easily susceptible to theological-doctrinal error when it is taken to the sociological field. Here God is deprived of the central role giving it to mere intercessors, that is, to saints; see Paolo Parigi, *The Rationalization of Miracles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 29.

¹⁰ AAV, Riti, 1334, “Testimony of Diego Polanco, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1612), f. 724v.

of extraordinary incidents related to the relics quickly spread by word of mouth to all social strata. The most coveted relics were fragments of the habit of Solano, but also samples of his hair and nails that some devotees managed to tear out during his wake and funeral.¹¹

Numerous witnesses were sure that they had been cured from severe headaches or heart problems just by placing a relic on their sick bodies;¹² gout sufferers were healed of their arthritis pains;¹³ patients with abscesses certified that their infections suddenly drained and disappeared.¹⁴ Other witnesses testified that the scraps of the habit of Solano were so powerful as to cause asthmatics breathe easily,¹⁵ the deaf to hear,¹⁶ the dumb to speak,¹⁷ and the blind to see.¹⁸ Even the oil that day and night lit up the tomb of Solano was for many a precious liquid that, charged with faith, was also an effective remedy against bone injuries and joint injuries.¹⁹ However, the wonderful power of relics was not

¹¹ A sacred relic consists of a wide range of samples, from physical remains (first-class or primary relics), personal effects (second-class or secondary relics) to any object that could have been in contact with the previous ones (third-class or tertiary relics); see Alan Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Ana: A Saga of Secular Relics," in *Relics and Remains*, ed. Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 227. On relic devotion in sixteenth-century Europe, see John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13–5. For ample evidences on relic devotion in colonial Mexico, see Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 23–4.

¹² AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Sedaño, OFM" (Lima: November 6, 1610), ff. 108v-110r.

¹³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Antonio Donado, OFM" (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 94r-98v

¹⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Diego de Vargas, OFM" (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 104v-106v.

¹⁵ AAV, Riti, 1334, "Testimony of María de Prado Mancilla, unmarried" (Lima: January 20, 1629), f. 1086r.

¹⁶ AAV, Riti, 1328, "Testimony of María Magdalena Salinas, nun of the Monastery of St. Clare" (Lima: December 20, 1610), ff. 457v-458r.

¹⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of don Fernando del Pojo" (Lima: June 7, 1611), f. 225r.

¹⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Luis de Guadalupe, OFM" (Lima: February 19, 1611), f. 233r.

¹⁹ PD_1610-13, "Testimony of don Juan Martínez" (Lima: February 8, 1611), 257–59. The alleged powers of lamp oil, candle wax or tomb dust was a fairly widespread belief

limited only to cure physical diseases: cloistered nuns recovered their faith after lengthy periods of spiritual disquiet and inner desolation;²⁰ carnal temptations disappeared when people tied around their waists a piece of the Franciscan cord used by Solano.

Many other events, considered to be of supernatural origin, aroused amazement among the learned and ignorant; rich and poor; Spaniards, Creoles, mestizos and Indians. However, for many witnesses, the emotional sermon given by the “holy friar” from the top of a table of merchants in the main square of Lima was one of the most memorable deeds he performed during his life.²¹ That afternoon, the old priest became a sort of re-creation of the prophet Jonah, a famous Old Testament character, who threatened the inhabitants of Nineveh with the destruction of their city if they did not repent their misconduct. According to many testimonies, Solano warned the people of Lima – new Nineveh – in the same way.²² The preaching of the barefoot priest was soon followed by an earthquake that shook the foundations of Lima on October 19, 1609; a doomsday event that was interpreted as a heavenly endorsement. The results followed swiftly: enemies became friends; couples who had premarital relations got married in church; theatres stopped offering licentious works; and an immense number of penitents packed all the churches of the city asking the priests to give them absolution for their sins.²³

Given the overwhelming number of testimonials, within a few weeks of Solano’s death, ecclesiastical and civil efforts would be deployed to generate official information

among medieval Christian pilgrims; see Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 183.

²⁰ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of doña Mencia de Guzmán, nun of the Monastery of La Encarnación” (Lima, November 19, 1610), ff. 135r–136r.

²¹ AAV, Riti, 1334, “Testimony of Antonio Perenna, OFM” (Lima: February 9, 1629), ff. 1066r–67v.

²² AAV, Riti, 1336, “Testimony of María de Rabanal, widow” (Lima, April 18, 1611), f. 251r.

²³ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Bartolomé Menacho” (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 122v–122r; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Rev. Hernando de Guzmán, Rector of the Seminary St. Toribio” (Lima: December 14, 1610), f. 260r–261r.

in order to meet the Roman standards for a canonisation process. But, what were these requirements in the early seventeenth century? In this first chapter it will be important to consider three fundamental aspects: the scholarship on the history of sainthood, the uninterrupted historical evolution in which it should be placed, and the hagiographic question that had its origin in this process of presenting a saintly figure.

1. Theological premise: Diverse approaches to holiness

Over the centuries, immediately after confessing their faith in the Holy Trinity, Catholic believers proclaimed their adherence to the *unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam* holy Church. From a Roman theological perspective, the Church is *sanctam* not only as the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit, but also *sancta in sanctis suis*, that is, holy by virtue of the life of the saints. However, the notion of holiness is not exclusive to Roman Catholicism; it is also intimately related to diverse creeds and cultures. The term ‘saint’ was used in non-Christian language to designate the gods of the polytheistic religions in Greece (*ἅγιος*) and Rome (*sanctus*). In the Greco-Roman world, religion was not only closely interwoven with society; it was officially recognised as part of a civil order.²⁴ Likewise, in ancient cultures ‘saint’ was an adjective applied to people who were called to give a high example of morality, often occupying a political position.²⁵ Finally, still in a profane setting, ‘saint’ was also applied to certain objects closely linked to the cult of the pagan divinities.

When the term ‘saint’ was incorporated by the hagiographers into the sacred text of the Bible, it was originally reserved only to designate God. Being unmentionable, God

²⁴ See Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: B. Eerdmans, 2003), 182.

²⁵ Including the holy vestals, symbol of ritual purity and female morality; see Meghan DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar: Priestesses in Republican Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 143.

was the only one who deserved the three-fold repetition of His holiness,²⁶ which, by extension, becomes shareable: both the abode of God and the beings who eternally sing his glory were also considered holy. Holiness is a divine gift, not acquired but granted.²⁷ Conversely, a remarkable shift can be noticed in the New Testament, where the term acquired a polyvalent meaning: Firstly, it is used as the most suitable trinitarian adjective²⁸. Secondly, it is used to identify the members belonging to the proto-Christian communities, as evidenced in some *incipit* of the Pauline epistles;²⁹ being probably ‘the saints’ the first name which the Christians applied to themselves³⁰. Lastly, it was also referred to the Patriarchs and Prophets.³¹ Thus, although biblical sources do not furnish a monolithic view of sainthood, they concur in representing it as an all-regulating virtue.³²

2. Western fundamental scholarship on the history of sainthood

The saints occupied the place that heroes of national independence occupy today in many countries. Beyond the religious dimension, they helped to create an *esprit de corps*, reinforcing the bonds of national belonging and corporate identity. Despite the critical challenges to the cult of the saints, hagiography continued to flourish in Renaissance Europe being “energetically revived in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

²⁶ Isaiah had a vision in which the angelic host was singing “kadosh” (holy) three times before God; see Isaiah 6:3.

²⁷ See Hans Urs Von Balthasar, *The Word Made Flesh. Explorations in Theology*, trans. A.V. Littledale and Alexander Dru (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 62.

²⁸ Although it rarely refers to God the Father, it is often attributed to Christ, the Archetype of sanctity, and its bond with the Third Person is almost inseparable; see Yves Congar, *The Mystery of the Church*, trans. A. V. Littledale (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1960), 7.

²⁹ See, for instance, Ephesians 1:1; and Philippians 4:21–22.

³⁰ See Karl Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith. An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*, trans. William Dych (New York: Crossroad, 1978), 336.

³¹ See Matthew 27:52; Luke 1:70; 2 Peter 3:2.

³² See 1 Peter 1:15–16. See also Leviticus 11:44; Leviticus 19:2; Matthew 5:48.

because it served a wide range of cultural needs”.³³ Fasting, penance, harsh disciplines and spilled blood were only part of the hidden routines that heroes of faith had to undertake for tempering their souls and keep them well calibrated throughout the spiritual combat. The history of holiness is more than a simple counterpart to the history of sin.³⁴ The more sophisticated the systems and structures of sin, the greater the effort of the Catholic Church to promote models of holiness and to popularise their figures among the faithful: a saint always has to reflect the values that the Catholic Church regards as a priority at a particular historical period.³⁵ Nevertheless, the hierarchy of values might vary according precise times and places: the values of a particular saint might decrease over time or even become counter-values.³⁶

Once an exclusive domain of religious intellectual and Church historians, the history of sainthood has become part of a particularly fertile area of the recent interdisciplinary scholarship. The works of Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629) and Jean Bolland (1596-1665) could be seen as a noteworthy antecedent.³⁷ However, the valorisation of canonised sainthood as a subject of scholarship has only recently been

³³ Katherine Elliot Van Liere, “Preface,” in *Sacred History. Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, eds. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), XII.

³⁴ *Mutatis mutandis*, this was the logic stated by Michel Foucault: the history of madness was more than the counterpart to the history of reason; see Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie à l’âge classique* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1972), 397.

³⁵ See John Mecklin, *The Passing of the Saint: A Study of a Cultural Type* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 87.

³⁶ For instance, the extreme mortification with which the saints subdued their bodies contrasts with the current focus of the Catholic Church on the integrity of the body and its proper care and preservation; in addition, women’s self-censorship is at the antithesis of the leading role that women are called to occupy in the contemporary Church.

³⁷ *Les Légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1905) by Hippolyte Delehaye marked a milestone in the history of sainthood. This Bollandist stated that the majority of the hagiographers in the Early Church belonged to a priest class elite that used saintly figures to impose a series of moral behaviour patterns; see Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), 12–28. For the modern Bollandists, see Bernard Joassart, *Hippolyte Delehaye : Hagiographie critique et modernisme*, 2 vols (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000).

recognised.³⁸ Pierre Delooz (1962) asserted the importance of unravelling holy people's lives to shed light on the society that supported their causes.³⁹ A starting point in the historiography of the cult of saints would be Stephen Wilson, whose work contains, inter alia, a translation of Delooz's classic essay.⁴⁰ These works, among others, were a catalyst for three of the most influential studies on canonised sanctity in the 1980s:⁴¹ those by André Vauchez (1981),⁴² Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell (1982),⁴³ and Peter Burke (1984).⁴⁴ Vauchez's study considered the pre-Tridentine era, from 1184 to 1418, while that of Italianists Weinstein and Bell complemented this research extending it until the

³⁸ It has been argued that modern history was created by two societies devoted to research on canonised sainthood; namely the Bollandists and the Maurists; see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Foreword," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), IX.

³⁹ Pierre Delooz, "Pour une étude sociologique de la sainteté canonisée dans l'Église catholique," *Archives de sociologie des religions* 13 (1962): 19; based on Jules Baudot and Léon Chaussin, *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier: avec l'histoire des fêtes*, 13 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1935-1959).

⁴⁰ See Stephen Wilson ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁴¹ The Second Vatican Council (1962-65) promoted the development of disciplines that entailed a critic revision of the lives of saints –such as Philology and Church History–, propitiating a theological redefinition of holiness itself. On some Church history's fundamental studies, see Roger Aubert, "Les Nouvelles frontières de l'historiographie ecclésiastique," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 95, no. 3 (2000): 757–81.

⁴² André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981). Vauchez' research was preceded by F. Graus and contemporised by P. Brown; see František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger; Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965); and Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981).

⁴³ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints & Society. Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

⁴⁴ Originally published as "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and society in early modern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), 45–55. Republished as "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48–62; "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 129–42; and "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Reformation. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, vol. IV*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2004), 153–64. Throughout this thesis, at the author's suggestion, references will be taken from Burke's *Historical Anthropology*.

end of the seventeenth century. Finally, Burke introduced a new hagiographic category: the ‘Counter-Reformation saint’.⁴⁵ As stated in the Introduction, being a member of a religious order and having a Mediterranean background could increase the chances of being officially recognised as a saint; conversely, unlike other times, being a martyr seemed not to matter. These data allowed Burke to conclude that saints are a sort of socio-cultural indicators, and “may be studied as a kind of litmus paper sensitive to the changing relationship between the church and the rest of society”.⁴⁶

On the other hand, an important spur to the development of colonial Latin American studies was made by a number of notable Hispanicists and Americanists who considered

⁴⁵ Throughout this study, the term ‘Counter-Reformation’ will be used to express the continuity of the ongoing process of transformation of Catholicism in early modern Europe that arose from the sixteenth century onwards, reinvigorated by the Council of Trent. However, the term itself is still a debatable historiographical category in most scholar circles. Some scholars prefer to use ‘Catholic Reform’, since ‘Counter-Reformation’ might place the reform efforts of the Roman Church as a consequence of the Protestant movement and not as a proactive plan of its own design; see Alexandra Bamji, Geert Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2013). The Counter-Reformation was developed in parallel to the Lutheranism, and had the ecclesiastical reform in the Spain of cardinal Cisneros (1436-1517) as a precedent. On the so-called ‘Spanish prereform’, see Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l’Espagne. Recherches sur l’histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin (Genève: Droz, 1998 [1937]), 1–71. On the appropriate nomenclature of the Counter-/Catholic-Reformation/Early Modern Catholicism, see John O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 126–43.

⁴⁶ Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 59. Only two of the fifty-five individuals canonised between 1588 and 1767 were martyrs: The Bohemian priest Jan Nepomucký (c.1350-1393), canonised in 1721; and the German Capuchin Fidelis of Sigmaringen (1578-1622), in 1729. However, their hagiographies emphasised a Roman apology. On the first, see Taku Shinohara, “Defining the Public Sphere through Cultural Boundaries: Creating a “Czech” National Society in Nineteenth-Century Bohemia,” in *Entangled Interactions between Religion and National Consciousness in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Yoko Aoshima (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2020), 142–4. In the case of the Capuchin, his exaltation was managed to consolidate the authority of *Propaganda Fide*, to which he belonged, and of which he was appointed as its patron. *Propaganda* was key to downplaying the power of the Iberian *Patronatos*; see Matthias Emil Ilg, *Constantia et Fortitudo. Der Kult des kapuzinischen Blutzeugen Fidelis von Sigmaringen zwischen ‘Pietas Austriaca’ und ‘Ecclesia Triumphans’: Die Verehrungsgeschichte des Protomartyrers der Gegenreformation, des Kapuzinerordens und der ‘Congregatio de propaganda fide’ (1622-1729)* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 256–58.

the issue of canonised holiness as one of the hermeneutical keys towards understanding society.⁴⁷ Currently, a new generation of scholars has taken over the task, widening the historical landscape through canonised holiness from paradigmatic cases in the Reform and Expansion period (1500-1660).⁴⁸

3. The Solanist Hagiographic Question

Given the particular nature of the documents relating to sainthood, the critical approach requires the use of a specific hagiographical method.⁴⁹ Hagiography must be on a par with other branches of historical research: open to all disciplines without losing sight of what constitutes its specificity. It is a question of analysing the social fabric and the links of various kinds which compose it, both across time and at a particular historical moment, through an overall examination of its practices and representations.⁵⁰

A character's personal narrative is usually divided into its 'life' and its 'afterlife'. However, in special cases, such as Solano's, it seems more appropriate to subdivide the last section into *the lives of his afterlife*. Indeed, when comparing the Solanist hagiographies, radical transformations in Solano's image could be detected, as a result of attempts by his hagiographers to make his life and deeds fit into a Roman Catholic

⁴⁷ Without excluding any author, worth mentioning are the studies by M. Bataillon, J. Mehan, J. Lynch, J. Elliott, E. Dussell, M. Restall, D. Brading and P. Borges.

⁴⁸ S. Ditchfield, R. Finucane, P. Clarke, T. Claydon, C. Copeland, G. Papa, J. O'Malley, R. Noyes, V. Criscuolo, S. Boesch, F. Veraja, M. Gotor, T. J. Dandelelet, S. Hart, K. B. Wolf, not to mention other scholars, have devoted themselves to accomplishing this task. For an overview, see Pamela Jones, "Celebrating New Saints in Rome and across the Globe," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, eds. Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 148–66.

⁴⁹ See Guy Philippart, "Hagiographes et hagiographie, hagiologues et hagiologie: des mots et des concepts," *Hagiographica* 1 (1994): 1–16. See also René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire. Reproduction inchangée de l'édition originale de 1953* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000), 247–55.

⁵⁰ See Patrick Henriët, "Texte et contexte. Tendances récentes de la recherche en hagiologie," in *Religion et Mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, eds. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 86.

framework, in order to achieve official recognition. Nonetheless, parallel to the long official process to accomplish Solano's canonisation, the common people spontaneously invoked him as a saint, claiming his intercession to perform miracles in God's name.⁵¹

Francisco Solano was indeed one of the most revered saints-to-be in the New World until the explicit ban on his veneration. The ban was enacted by Urban VIII through which a series of decrees aimed at standardising canonised holiness. This included the proscription to publicly venerate those that had not been before officially beatified.⁵²

However, popular devotion could not be so easily contained: several cities, towns, missions and ships would bear the name 'San Francisco Solano'.⁵³ "Baptising" a ship with the name of a Servant of God was not a secondary issue. Many trips succumbed on their journeys since embarking on a transatlantic voyage meant having to face various deadly risks. Hence, Catholic sailors might entrust themselves to the patronage of a saint who had guaranteed dominion over nature.⁵⁴ Long before being canonised by the pope, Solano was "canonised" by the sailors. Popular "canonisation" preceded the slow pace demanded by the Roman bureaucracy.⁵⁵ However, Solano's spontaneous cult could have been one of the reasons why his canonisation was slowed down.

⁵¹ Ultimately, as stated by Anthony Steinbock, miracles "are not proofs but witnesses" to the saint's uniqueness; see *Phenomenology and Mysticism. The Verticality of Religious Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 164.

⁵² See Fabijan Veraja, *La beatificazione. Storia, problemi, prospettive* (Rome: Sacra Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1983), 115–21.

⁵³ See AGI, Escribanía, 119c. In later decades, the names of Solano and St. Rosa appeared together sponsoring one of the ships that left from the Canary Islands to the Indies; see AGI, Contratación, 2849.

⁵⁴ See Córdova_V1643, 29–36.

⁵⁵ Despite increased regulation of the canonisation process, 'holiness' persisted aside from official sainthood; see Clare Copeland, "Saints, Devotions and Canonisation in Early Modern Italy," *History Compass* 10, no. 3 (2012): 260–69.

As a matter of fact, some of the most celebrated miracles of Solano happened, precisely, on the high seas.⁵⁶ Solano's two principal biographers give an account of the extraordinary fact that, thanks to his intercession, the fury of the ocean could be appeased. Oré narrated how a supernatural power was released from his relics to dominate the maritime storms.⁵⁷ Likewise, Córdova y Salinas reported how the ship that Solano had embarked on, having left Panama towards Peru, was shaken by the impetuous force of the wind. Many died, but Solano turned crisis into opportunity by catechising and baptising the black slaves in the ruinous ship. The inclemency of the sea united again with greater violence, breaking the ship, and yet it did not sink. Solano prophesied that they would be rescued after three days. In the meantime, the friar preached indefatigably, without eating or sleeping, until his word was fulfilled and the sea calmed down.

For his fame to spread, firstly there had to be writers who could recount his extraordinary deeds and encourage the people to ask for his intercession. Saints' lives are not only prisms which shed light on the societies in which they lived, but are also maps which can lead to the core of the hagiographer's aim. Not rarely the latter could have been an undercover agent of particular interested parties. Throughout Solano's process of canonisation, his hagiographers accentuated or silenced certain qualities, according to the legal requirements of the time. In fact, from the first picture of Solano's figure, still fresh in the testimonies collected the same year of his death, there was little left in the image projected by the canonisation bull of Pope Benedict XIII.

The first Solanist hagiography by Luis Jerónimo Oré (1614) was a kind of unfinished biopic script that changed substantially in the extended first version of Diego de Córdova y Salinas (1630). In fact, the plot was enlarged and enriched, many more

⁵⁶ AAV, Riti, 1337, "Testimony of Francisco de Leiva" (Trujillo: September 9, 1610), ff. 17r-17v.

⁵⁷ See Oré_V1614, 55.

characters were added and the theological substance of the narrative changed allowing arguments motivated by political interests. The historiographic figure that had delineated the Solanist hagiography ended up diluting the powerful, uncomfortable and prophetic figure of the primitive image of Solano. Over a century, his metamorphosis was adjusted to the model of holiness desired by the Church in various historical periods: canonising a servant of God also meant canonising his writings, his evangelising method, his relations with the indigenous peoples, his political position, his origin, his spirituality, his theology, his whole life, and even his way of dying.

Firstly, Luis Jerónimo de Oré was commissioned by his order to write a biographical account of Solano to promote his cause of beatification. Oré, a Franciscan native of Huamanga, renowned for his pastoral manuals, dictionaries, and grammars in both Quechua and Aymara, recorded a long series of miracles. Diego de Córdova y Salinas was the second hagiographer of Solano, but the first in importance, since most of the literature on Solano is based on his work. He was the *Procurador general* in Solano's cause and published his well-known *Vida, virtudes y milagros del nuevo apóstol del Perú, el venerable P. Francisco Solano*, whose first edition was in 1630. A year later, his brother Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova published a memorial requesting the King of Spain to use his influence before the Pope to promote the canonisation of Solano.⁵⁸

Córdova y Salina's biography was dedicated to King Philip IV, who received it with pleasure. Nonetheless, the second edition of his book (Córdova_1643) required censorship in what became a transient but complex religious and political impasse.⁵⁹ In fact, it was edited by Fr. Alonso de Mendieta who incorporated some of his own texts, including a commentary about an issue which occurred during the Provincial Chapter

⁵⁸ See Salinas_M1631. Fr. Buenaventura was also the author of the memorials published in 1639, 1641 and 1646; he also composed a prayer for the Count of Salvatierra's funeral.

⁵⁹ See AHSFL, I-6, no. 1; 27, ff. 71–72.

held in Peru, a fraudulent one in Mendieta's opinion. Whether or not his arguments were founded, the issue had little to do with Solano's life and could have been avoided. In addition, the OFM General Minister affirmed that Mendieta didn't have a license from the Royal Council of Castile for publishing the aforementioned *Vida*, for which he was given a canonical sanction and ordered that it could not be circulated at all, censoring the diffusion of the 1643 edition. This fact discredited Córdova's position as *postulador* of the cause of Solano, presumably one additional factor in the delay of Solano's cause.⁶⁰

In the Solanist literature the image of the Franciscan was subjected to a series of continuous metamorphoses related to the different "speeches" that were used to propitiate the veneration of the people, as well as to conform to the progressive demands of the Holy See. For instance, there are notable differences between the image of Solano depicted by Oré to that characterised by Córdova and Salinas. Still, there are even more differences between Solano's figure reflected in his beatification bull⁶¹ compared to that in his canonisation bull,⁶² as will be shown in chapter 5. Famous was the miracle of the domestication of a brave bull that many witnesses referred to in Solano's process. However, Solanist literature tried to do something even more daring: the domestication of Solano.

Solano surely was not the banal figure who only knew how to make others spend a good time singing in the middle of a storm or soothe their pain with the music of his rabel. Solano's figure, on the contrary, reflect an energetic person, aware of the problems of colonial society in the Peruvian Viceroyalty and sensitive to the needs of the most defenceless and vulnerable in society. In the imaginary of mid-sixteenth century

⁶⁰ See Benjamín Gento Sanz, "Semblanza histórica del cronista peruano fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas: siglo XVII," *Revista de historia de América* 40 (1955): 460.

⁶¹ BB1675, 528–29.

⁶² BC1726, 474–77.

Peninsular Spain, the inhabitants of the Americas were a construct created to legitimise the Spanish invasion in the New World. The Indians' "otherness" brought out an anthropo-philosophical debate formulated between their alleged "primaeval innocence" and the thesis of their "bestiality".⁶³ The phenomenological novelties offered by the Americas had to be translated through concepts that were familiar to Western, European and Christian man. The new phenomena were to be Europeanised and Christianised.

Ergo, it could be said that Francisco Solano was, in some way, an anti-system evangelising agent because he did not intend to Europeanise the Indian to make him a Christian. The political-economic system established by the Spaniards in the colonial society of the New World was not completely compatible with the Christian spirit, neither with humanitarian feelings of a Franciscan friar, nor with the sense of morality of a man of his intellectual training during his years in Seville.

Francisco Solano lived his personal "drama" in American lands. Beyond giving comfort to people with the promise of eternal life, what position should he take in view of the suffering of the indigenous peoples and the colonial policies imposed on them? Even through the hagiographies, a remarkable change can be noticed between the laughing and partying Solano before joining the Franciscan mission in Tucumán and the anguished and thoughtful Solano who returns to Lima without his rabel, wishing to commit himself to contemplative prayer, and furiously denouncing the sins of Lima society, calling its Spanish inhabitants to convert under the penalty of eternal damnation. It can be hypothesised that Solano's dramatic spiritual metamorphosis was due to the fact that in the missionary field, he became aware of the instrumentalisation of religion: the

⁶³ See John Elliott, *The Old World and the New (1492-1650)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 [1970]), 42. See also Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 51–52.

latter was supporting an evil policy. Considering the above, the historian is forced to face a proper “hagiographic question”. Just as in the case of St. Francis of Assisi, from the appearance in 1893 of the *Vie de Saint François d'Assise* by Paul Sabatier, Franciscan scholars have argued about the so-called “Franciscan Question”.⁶⁴ In the study of St. Francis of Montilla it also could be valid to speak of a “Solanist Question”.

The data contained in the hagiographies must be read within the framework of a specific literary genre. Even inaccurate information provided by hagiographers cannot be understood as contemporary “fake news”; rather, as part of a discourse that was not intended to formally convey a “historical truth,” but to promote admiration and arouse devotion to achieve certain goals, whether private or corporate.⁶⁵ Solano was presented as a holy man to admire, but difficult to imitate. The majority of people who testified in the interrogations of the diocesan process of canonisation referred to Solano as an irreproachable, impeccable, holy, angelic man. This virtuosity put Solano on a high altar, away from the faithful.⁶⁶

Together with the hagiographical works previously mentioned, sources of great importance are also found in antiquarian materials, from the classic *Legenda aurea*, the collection of hagiographies by Blessed Jacobus de Voragine (1260), to the seventeenth-century chroniclers of Peru who recorded in their works small but suggestive references about Solano. Faced with the above, and to better appreciate the contributions that the

⁶⁴ See Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 15–6. On the so-called ‘Franciscan question’, see Michael Cusato, “Toward a Resolution of the Franciscan Question: Introduction to the Roundtable,” *Franciscan Studies* 66 (2008): 479–81.

⁶⁵ See Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 241–2. See also Michel de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 287.

⁶⁶ Emphasizing the richness of the testimonies collected in the canonization processes does not imply a naive reconstruction of the past. More than windows to look at the past without filters, most of the time, the depositions of the witnesses can be seen as frames designed to highlight and reinforce certain hagiographical tropes.

canonisation process of Solano could potentially give, it is important to describe to a great extent the genesis, evolution and consolidation of the canonisation processes, bearing in mind that “the way in which saints are created has itself changed over the long term”.⁶⁷

4. The processes of canonisation in the Catholic Church: A historical overview

The changing images of Solano and hence his process of canonisation were influenced by the criteria for sainthood in the early modern period, which is better understood by first describing how this evolved under ancient Christianity and in the Middle Ages.

4.1. Ancient Christianity

In early Church history, ‘*sanctus*’ was a term loaded with all the nuances inherited from pagan religion and, in a context of bloody persecutions, it was a title reserved by the Christian community to their martyrs [*μάρτυς*], the root of the Greek word for witness. Indeed, their martyrdom involved moral excellence and a respect for what belongs to God, his consecrated property. Martyrdom was regarded as a second baptism, even purer than the first. In Origen’s words, “the baptism of blood alone is what may render us cleaner than the baptism of water has rendered us”.⁶⁸

Martyr literature played an important role in promoting devotion to these saints. In spite of the fact that martyrdom took different forms within the various Christian communities, the dominant scholarly view indicates some of its main consequences. First, to set the collective memory around the liturgical anniversary of the *dies natalis*, the day

⁶⁷ Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 48.

⁶⁸ Origen, *Homilies on Judges*, trans. Elizabeth Ann Dively Lauro (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010 [ca. 238-248]), 97.

of death, when the martyr anticipates the celebration of his Passover).⁶⁹ Second, to exhort Christians to follow the example of the martyrs to the extent of laying down their life for the sake of Christ.⁷⁰ Third, to promote the intercessory power of the martyrs to implore from God forgiveness of sins and other spiritual goods.⁷¹ Fourth, to place local churches under their patronage, so that they took on a role of civic guardianship.⁷² Finally, to create a network of holy Christian places accompanied by pilgrimages and the fond aspiration to acquire a burial plot close to that of the martyrs (*depositio ad sanctos*),⁷³ which “came to define a whole sacred topography of the Roman, and now also Christian, world”.⁷⁴

The landscape would change drastically in the fourth century. With the so-called Edict of Milan (313) all religions were granted tolerance in the Roman Empire.⁷⁵ As a result of the agreement in between Constantine and Licinius, Christianity was legalised, Christians recovered their civil rights and all the properties confiscated from the Church during Diocletian’s persecution were restored.⁷⁶ With the Edict of Thessalonica (380),

⁶⁹ See Johan Leemans, “Martyr, Monk and Victor of Paganism. An Analysis of Basil of Caesarea’s Panegyric Sermon on Gordius,” in *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, ed. Johan Leemans (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 46.

⁷⁰ See Candida Moss, *The Other Christs. Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian ideologies of Martyrdom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 176.

⁷¹ See Jeffrey Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 65–6.

⁷² See Hannah Jones, “Agnes and Constantia: domesticity and cult patronage in the Passion of Agnes,” in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*, eds. Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 135–37.

⁷³ Antigone Samellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.): The Christianization of the East. An Interpretation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 221.

⁷⁴ Robert Austin Markus, “How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1994): 270.

⁷⁵ The Edict of Milan (313) took as a legal basis the Edict of Toleration by Galerius (311). It allowed Christians to build churches and to gather for religious purposes, ending systematic faith persecutions. However, in many regions of the Empire the edict was not observed, so that active persecution recommenced intermittently. See Timothy David Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 159.

⁷⁶ See Jill Harries, *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012), 111–12.

Theodosius not only confirmed the legal status of Christianity, but made it the State Church of the Roman Empire.⁷⁷ This Christianisation of the Empire had immense consequences for the evolution of the concept of sainthood. Peace with the state led to a decline in religious fervour: the end of state persecution and hence the end of martyrdom *in odium fidei* caused Christian nuclei to split, having based their identity on facing together the common political enemy. Now, as the old persecutor became the Christian faith's sponsor, the cohesive links within the primitive church weakened, activating centrifugal social changes.⁷⁸

With the abolition of systematic martyrdom, a number of Christians channelled their longing for spiritual fulfilment through the quest of bloodless martyrdom. In Gregory the Great's words: "We can be martyrs without the sword, if we practice patience of spirit".⁷⁹ As a result, a mystical christian movement was developed, whereby ascetic practices and incessant prayer might lead to spiritual perfection, making martyrdom reachable again.⁸⁰ If once, through torture, the martyrs' spirit might triumph over their physical condition; now, through penances, the ascetics, mystics and visionaries might subjugate their bodies by transcending their human nature to reach the supernatural. In this way, austere monks shaped a renewed version of martyrs: the 'confessors', achieving sanctity by upholding orthodoxy and defending the faith against heresy and error.⁸¹

⁷⁷ With the edict *Cunctos populos* (380), Theodosius turned the Roman Empire into a fully Christian state; see Glenn Hinson, *The Church Triumphant: A History of Christianity Up to 1300* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995), 164.

⁷⁸ Joyce Salisbury, *The Blood of Martyrs: Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 93.

⁷⁹ Quoted by Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012 [c.1260]), 662. See also Robert Austin Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70–71.

⁸⁰ See Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 76.

⁸¹ See Francesco Scorza Barcellona, "Le origini," in *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale*, Simon Ditchfield *et al.* (Rome: Viella, 2005), 43–51.

Afterwards, the public recognition of saints was broadened out to include those Christians who led an outstanding life of faith and excelled in doctrine and pastoral work.⁸²

The cult of saints became a distinctive attribute of the Church from the third century onwards.⁸³ At first, the tombs of martyrs and, later, the tombs of the confessors were visited and gradually became places of pilgrimage.⁸⁴ From those tombs, relics were obtained and disputed as the miraculous stories about the power of the relics spread among the people.⁸⁵ The relics were treasured in churches which, given the continuous flow of pilgrims, also guarded them as a source of financial revenue, making it more and more desirable to possess the relics of some martyr or confessor.⁸⁶

In Christian Europe, the veneration of the saints was organised locally, as was customary in classical antiquity: “Just as the pagan gods and heroes are responsible for the *salus rei publicae*, the local saints protect their respective towns”.⁸⁷ Each city wished to have a church in which a relic was preserved.⁸⁸ This also brought political prestige for the episcopal see and was a good measure of the economic development of a city. Naturally, not all Christians favoured these developments. Some questioned and even

⁸² See Yvon Beaudoin, “Brief History of Canonizations,” in *Canonization: Theology, History, Process*, ed. William Woestman (Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 2002), 20–6. The jump from asceticism to pastoral work is quite large and the analysis should be nuanced by various factors, including demographic mobilisation, evangelisation of pagans and, in the High Middle Ages, and the binomial bourgeoisie-mendicant orders.

⁸³ See Andrew Louth, “Holiness and Sanctity in the Early Church,” in *Saints and Sanctity*, eds. Clarke and Claydon, 2. See also Peter Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 61(1971): 80–101.

⁸⁴ See Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 4–5.

⁸⁵ See John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-c.1200* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10.

⁸⁶ See *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 140; Katharine Sykes, “Sanctity as a form of capital,” in *Saints and Sanctity*, eds. Clarke and Claydon, 112–24.

⁸⁷ Peter Kuhlmann, “Cultural Memory and Roman Identity in the Hymns of Prudentius,” in *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World*, eds. Martin Bommas, Juliette Harrison, and Phoebe Roy. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 248.

⁸⁸ See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 65.

opposed devotion to the saints, when they perceived that it was moving away from the religious sphere and getting closer to political interests.⁸⁹

4.2. *Medieval Christianity*

In the age of martyrs and confessors in the first centuries of Christianity, the recognition of holiness was a spontaneous process led by the local churches. Towards the end of the fourth century, the panorama changed, insofar as the local bishops in whose dioceses the saints-to-be had lived or died began to take control of these processes. However, from the fifth century the ecclesiastical authorities continued to confirm the judgement of the saint-to-be's sainthood through the recounting of his biography and on the basis of his public fame.⁹⁰ Therefore, the whole process was based on the reputation of sanctity manifested by a thaumaturgic power.

In this respect, the bishops began to act as guarantors of holiness through a threefold jurisdictional act: first, *inventio* (the accounts of the "miraculous" discovery of a particular relic); second, *translatio* (its ritual transfer); and, third, *elevatio* (its solemn elevation, the granting of tacit authorisation for the public cult).⁹¹ Behind the formal process, some academics have pointed out how sanctity had acquired certain profiles, according to the interests of the bishops who promoted their cult, the hagiographers responsible for relating their accounts,⁹² and certain "lobbies" that financed the processes.

⁸⁹ See Matthew Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), 320.

⁹⁰ See Alessandro Vettori, "Canonization," in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz (New York: Routledge, 2004), 179.

⁹¹ See Simon Yarrow, *The Saints: A Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 112.

⁹² Hagiography as a literary phenomenon involved the writing of *vita*, *acta*, *passio* and *miracula*; description of the saint's life through various literary styles with the particularity of being *legenda* in its earliest meaning, that is, things that ought to be read.

It is worth noting how the official canonisation of the saints acquired different nuances during the medieval period. The procedure that was initially based on popular acclamation was later associated with the authority of the Christian leaders who had to authorise the elevation of the relics.⁹³ Some power was therefore transferred from the people to the Church hierarchy.⁹⁴ And yet, there was still a third shift of power, which came as the role and figure of the bishop of Rome gained prestige, leading to increased centralisation of the canonisation process to the point that the official recognition of holiness came to require papal approval.⁹⁵ Therefore, in the course of the Middle Ages, the control of the processes of canonisation was transferred from the local bishops to the pope.⁹⁶ Initially, it consisted in the formal consent that the pope granted to bishops, abbots or religious superiors in order to transfer the holy relics to an altar, but progressively the judgment of the papacy predominated and was indispensable.

One of the most important characteristics of the Gregorian Reformation was a certain eagerness for centralising (*romanising*) the Church. The hierocratic policy that characterised the papacy of Gregory VII (1073-1085) – reflected in his *Dictatus Papae* –

⁹³ The relics were not limited to the vestiges of the bodies or objects that had belonged to the martyrs or confessors. The relics that enjoyed greater value were the fragments of the *Vera Crux* or the dresses of the Virgin Mary, whereas the main pilgrimages were those whose final destinations were Jerusalem and the Holy Land; see Stephen Wilson, “Introduction,” in *Saints and Their Cults*, 5.

⁹⁴ Christian society was acquiring a new structure based no longer on “orders” but on “states” that coexisted within a “horizontal hierarchy” rather than a vertical one; see Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 116.

⁹⁵ The first documented case was that of St. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, who died in 973 and was canonised by Pope John XV twenty years later; see Muhammad Wolfgang Schmidt, ed., „*And on this Rock I Will Build My Church*“. *A New Edition of Philip Schaff's History of the Christian Church. From Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity to Medieval Christianity A.D. 311-1073* (Hamburg: Disserta Verlag, 2017), 627.

⁹⁶ Meerten Ter Borg argues that canonised sanctity also functioned as a means of social control and political consolidation of the ecclesiastical authorities; see “Canon and Social Control,” in *Canonization and decanonization. Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions held at Leiden 9-10 January 1997*, eds. Arie Van der Kooij and Karel Van der Toorn (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 421.

was also evident in the refinement of the existing procedures for papal canonisation. However, it was not until the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181) that the jurisdiction over the canonisation procedures became the sole prerogative of the Supreme Pontiff.⁹⁷

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was the only ecumenical council in the Middle Ages to deal with veneration of saints. In fact, in order to prevent fraud, it prohibited the trade in old relics and the veneration of new relics without papal approval.⁹⁸ Later, Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) established in 1234 a more systematised canonisation process, sanctioning papal examination as the only legitimate way for determining sainthood.⁹⁹ It was precisely Gregory IX who promoted the cult of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Dominic, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, among others, who were all canonised by him over the course of a few years. These were different profiles of holiness, but with the common characteristic of belonging to the mendicant orders.¹⁰⁰ Beyond this special consideration of the Minors and Preachers, by the year 1300, as the cults of saints were rising in popularity, a policy of instrumentalisation of canonised holiness was put into practice in the service of the religious, political and economic objectives of the Roman Curia, neglecting the devotion of both the laity and local/traditional holy people.

On the other hand, from 1260 there was a consistent deceleration of the processes of canonisation, as Pope Clement IV introduced a stricter policy of selectivity. Despite the above, the pontifical prerogative could not prevent the flowering of spontaneous cults along with considerable abuses. And so, although it is true that only saints canonised by

⁹⁷ Although this subject continues being object of debates between the academics; see Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*, 28–31.

⁹⁸ Adriaan Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), 159.

⁹⁹ See Delooz, "Pour une étude," 19.

¹⁰⁰ See Robert Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007), 67.

the pope could enjoy a public cult, in the fourteenth century the religious orders were given permission to include their blessed (*beati*) in the prayers of their communities. The gap between the popularity of some of those blessed and canonised saints was noticeable.

4.3. *Early modern period*

The reform of ecclesiastical structures received a decisive push at the Council of Trent (1545-1563), a “Copernican turning-point in the modern Church”.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, it would be certainly reductive to frame the Catholic Reformation within an exclusively conciliar perimeter: these changes should be viewed on a larger canvas. As far as our subject is concerned, the conciliar fathers reaffirmed the validity of the veneration of the saints and the proper use of relics.¹⁰²

The Magisterium of the Church has continued the Tridentine doctrinal line uninterruptedly through time. Indeed, some excerpts were quoted literally by the Second Vatican Council four centuries later.¹⁰³ In fact, it remains valid for Christians to venerate the canonised saints, “humbly invoking them, and having recourse to their prayers, their aid and help in obtaining from God through his Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, our only Redeemer and Saviour, the benefits we need”.¹⁰⁴ As a result – and as a sign of the reforms being put in place – extended modifications in the processes of canonisation were enacted by the Roman Curia after Trent. In 1568, the papal Curia issued a revised Roman breviary and, two years later, submitted the Roman missal to the same process.¹⁰⁵ With the goal of combating superstitions and avoiding anachronistic manipulations of the veneration of

¹⁰¹ See Francisco Juan Martínez Rojas, “Trento: encrucijada de reformas,” *Studia Philologica Valentina* 10 (2007): 232.

¹⁰² Parigi, *The Rationalization of Miracles*, 120.

¹⁰³ Paul VI, “Lumen gentium, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church,” AAS 57 (1965): 56.

¹⁰⁴ Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the ecumenical councils, vol. II: Trent to Vatican II* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 774–75.

¹⁰⁵ See Michael Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 116.

the saints, the papacy found in Cardinal Caesar Baronius one of its greatest exponents.¹⁰⁶ “He approached this task with a firm desire to remove from the martyrology any saints he considered fictional and any legends for which he could find no evidence”.¹⁰⁷

In 1588, Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590), along with fourteen other dicasteries, founded the Congregation of Sacred Rites to take charge of the causes *circa sanctorum canonizationem*. The Sacred Congregation of Rites (SCR) granted more authority to the pontiffs by giving them exclusively the final decision on the canonisation of a saint.¹⁰⁸ Although it was clear that the central objectives of the SCR were basically concentrated in the liturgical area and in matters related to the canonisation processes, its mission was broader. It included the supervision for the observance of sacred rites; the reformation of both liturgical ceremonies and books, and the celebration of the saints’ feast days.¹⁰⁹

With the above, Sixtus V not only managed to centralise the approval of the cult of the saints, but also began a process of defining sainthood, giving priority to the most functional types of holiness in order to achieve the long-awaited Catholic reform. In this way, the emphasis was gradually placed not so much on the miracles that God worked through the intercession of the saints, but on the “heroic virtues” of the latter. The virtues

¹⁰⁶ Best known for being the author of the voluminous *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Cesare Baronio was a member of the Congregation of the Oratory, founded by Philip Neri, whom he then succeeded in the post of superior. See also Giuseppe Guazzelli, “Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church,” in *Sacred History. Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, eds. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52–71.

¹⁰⁷ Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 43.

¹⁰⁸ See Julia Zunckel, “Affirming Papal Supremacy—Shaping Catholicism: The Readjustment of Symbolic Resources at the Post-Trent Roman Court,” in *Devising Order: Socio-religious Models, Rituals, and the Performativity of Practice*, eds. Bruno Boute and Thomas Småberg (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 159–60.

¹⁰⁹ See James White, *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 9. See also Frederick McManus, *The Congregation of Sacred Rites* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1954), 27.

of the saints-to-be authenticated their miracles rather than vice-versa.¹¹⁰ In 1602, his successor, pope Clement VIII (1592- 1605) founded the Congregation of the Blessed whose function was to set the rules for the veneration of those who had died with a reputation for sanctity. Although this congregation was short lived, it was a significant step towards relieving the bishops of their faculty to approve local cults.¹¹¹

Thus, it was that from the Roman chambers that a new prototype of sanctity was born, corresponding to that group popularly known as the *beati moderni*.¹¹² Having died *in odore di santità* (with a reputation for sanctity), these modern saints were presented by the papacy as the leading force for renewal in Christianity. Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, to name but a few, formed a select group of saints through which Rome could give a message to all Christians. Such a message was not only religious, but also political, since canonisations rarely happen fortuitously.¹¹³ In fact, these men and women were bearers of a spirituality that emphasised piety, mysticism and recollection; but also active evangelisation, and always subject to the ultimate authority

¹¹⁰ In order to avoid a simplistic approach, it is worth mentioning, for example, that the *Acta Sanctorum*, the greatest collection of miracle stories relating to Roman Catholic saints ever put together, even as it supposedly saw the ‘birth’ of proto-scientific hagiography. See Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, sanctity and history in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19–20; by the same author, see also: “Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World.” *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 552–84.

¹¹¹ See Miguel Gotor, Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), 127–253. See also Mario Marino, “Iconografia e santità,” in *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell’età moderna e contemporanea dall’archivio del Sant’Uffizio*, eds. Alejandro Cifres and Marco Pizzo (Rome: Gangemi Editori, 2009), 108.

¹¹² See Esther Jiménez Pablo, “La santidad politizada en época moderna: estudios más recientes,” *Chronica Nova* 43 (2017): 12.

¹¹³ See Hans de Valk, “History Canonized: The martyrs of Gorcum between Dutch Nationalism and Roman Universalism (1864-1868),” in *More Than a Memory*, ed. Leemans, 378.

of the pope, rather than to the monarchies of their countries of origin. The message was clear: holiness was achieved through evangelisation, mission and subjection to Rome.¹¹⁴

With Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) the papacy centralised canonisation processes. Through a series of decrees, issued on the authority of the Holy Office, Pope Barberini outlined precisely the rules and procedures that should be followed to canonise a candidate, including: first, the prohibition of all spontaneous veneration; second, the ban on publishing books or writings on the life, miracles, revelations or martyrdom of people who had died with a reputation for sanctity, without prior ecclesiastical approbation; and, third, the ban on placing on the tomb of these people any sign of religious worship (such as *ex votos*); objects might be allowed, but kept in a secluded place as potential proof of the reputation for sanctity. In other words, there was to be no public veneration, spreading of miraculous stories or revelations attributed to potential saints. Moreover, any practice of public worship of a candidate before his beatification or canonisation disqualified any virtual process of canonisation.

In retrospect, this series of prohibitions acquired great importance, because it could explain the delay in the canonisation of those Christians acclaimed as saints by their contemporaries.¹¹⁵ Although it is still necessary to carry out further research, the case of Francisco Solano could be one example. Although the public veneration before beatification was emphatically prohibited, this could not prevent the Church from a severe criticism from a number of intellectuals of the eighteenth century. In fact, in the face of

¹¹⁴ See Ruth Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation crisis of the Beati moderni. Sanctity in Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 2.

¹¹⁵ At this juncture, the studies of Simon Ditchfield and Clare Copeland are fundamental. See Ditchfield, "How not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," 379–422; and "Tridentine worship and the cult of saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. VI: Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 201–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007; Clare Copeland, *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

the impact of Newtonian physics, David Hume adopted a sceptical attitude towards miracles considering them to be a violation of the laws of nature.¹¹⁶ Likewise, Edward Gibbon harshly criticised the alleged Catholic trickery of the cult of saints by defining it “a long dream of superstition”.¹¹⁷

The Roman Catholic doctrine on canonised holiness thus reveals a historical procedural evolution and, at the same time, of doctrinal continuity.¹¹⁸ These features of both changeability and stability are important in understanding how Solano’s case and process of canonisation evolved over more than a century.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Eric Steinberg (Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 1993 [1748]), 76.

¹¹⁷ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley (London: Penguin Books, 2001 [1898]), 683.

¹¹⁸ In this sense, an important point to bring out is how slow this ‘evolution’ was. For example, as the work of Ronald Finucane has shown, in the case of the canonisation trial of Hyacinth Odrovaz, the trial and its procedures were in essential unchanged from those studied by Vauchez in the later middle ages, as “continuity outweighed change”, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 253. As will be argued in due time, things started to change only in the 1610s, culminating in the papal brief *Caelestis Ierusalem Cives* (1634). See Simon Ditchfield, “‘Coping with the Beati Moderni’: Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent,” in *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–39.

¹¹⁹ On the processes of canonisation according to the current regulations, see Carlos Piccone Camere, “Los procesos de canonización en la Iglesia Católica: Memoria histórica,” in *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el Barroco Latinoamericano, vol. I: La capital pontificia en la construcción de la santidad*, eds. Fernando Quiles García, *et al.* (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide; Rome: Roma Tre Press, 2020), 85–89.

Chapter 2: Francisco Solano: A life in context. Towards the main features of a Solanist profile

Francisco Solano (1549-1610) was part of an exclusive group of Christians in seventeenth century Peru who were canonised, though not always at that time. They comprised Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606), second archbishop of Lima and great organiser of the embryonic Peruvian Catholic Church, according to the reforming spirit of the Council of Trent; Rosa de Lima (1586-1617), “the first flower with whose virtues and holiness Our Lord wished to magnify Peru and honoured the sons of this land”¹; Martín de Porres (1579-1639), the first African-American saint; and Juan Macías (1585-1645), the last from this group who was canonised by Pope Paul VI in 1975. The origins of these religious figures were diverse, being a Castilian bishop, an Andalusian Franciscan priest, a Dominican from Extremadura, a Creole lay tertiary woman, and a mulatto Dominican respectively.²

This heterogeneity suggests that there were factors, other than social background, that came into play in the canonisation of this selected group of Christians. These might include the construction and exaltation of their memories through the hagiographic genre; the interests of the power groups that postulated and financed their causes of canonisation; and the devotion of their followers, who placed their hopes in intercession on behalf of their saints. Although these factors always act concurrently, this chapter will focus on the first issue and, consequently, will provide a synthesis of the documented biography of Francisco Solano using primary documentary sources and hagiographic accounts. In this way, it will reveal the historiographical “transformation” that occurred from his life (quite

¹ AGI, Lima 149, “Unpublished letter from Gaspar de Flores, father of Rosa de Lima, addressed to the King of Spain” (Lima, April 20, 1618).

² For a documented summary on their lives, see Rafael Sánchez-Concha Barrios, *Santos y santidad en el Perú virreinal* (Lima: Vida y Espiritualidad, 2003), 83–156.

simple, virtuous and hidden, although not exempt from supernatural events) to his afterlife (exalted, miraculous and tinged with extraordinary signs).

Solano's life will be divided into three major chronological stages: the first extends from his origins to his entry into the Order of Friars Minor in Montilla, his hometown. The second summarises the work he performed as a friar and priest in Andalusia. Finally, the last stage of his life includes his missionary work in South America until his death in 1610 in Lima, at that time the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

1. First life stage: Family background and geographical roots

The information available on the early life of Francisco Solano is relatively scarce. The biographical information about him is largely based on the first accounts (*vidas*) of contemporary authors such as the Franciscans Luis Jerónimo de Oré and Diego de Córdova y Salinas. The perspectives of both authors will be analysed further below.

Francisco Sánchez Solano Ximénez was born in Montilla, Córdoba, on March 10, 1549, into a well-established family of devoted Catholic tradition.³ He was baptised in the parish church of Santiago de Montilla on the same day as his birth.⁴ Francisco was the last child of the marriage of Mateo Sánchez Solano and Ana Ximénez Hidalgo. Mateo, twice the mayor of his town, was described as “a very good Christian, fearful of God our Lord and of his conscience [...] a devotee of good life and customs”.⁵ His wife, Ana Ximénez Hidalgo, was known in Montilla as “la hidalga” (the lady),⁶ a distinguished

³ For a biographical summary on Solano's early years, see José García Oro, *San Francisco Solano. Un hombre para las Américas* (Madrid: BAC, 1988), 21–24.

⁴ APSM, Libro de Bautismos, “Baptism Certificate of Francisco Solano” (Montilla: March 10, 1549), b. 2, f. 42. See appendix 4.

⁵ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco Pérez del Campo, Diocesan priest” (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 323.

⁶ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Pérez de Aguilar, Diocesan priest” (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 325.

woman of noble lineage, but with a fragile health and who would end her days blind.⁷ Both Mateo and Ana “were honest people in this town [Montilla], old Christians, clean of the blood of Moors, neither Jews, nor investigated by the Holy Office”.⁸ Francisco’s siblings were Diego Ximénez⁹ and Ynés Gómez¹⁰; as was usual at the time, none of the children of Mateo and Ana carried the same last names.

Montilla—a domain of the Marquises of Priego—was one of the most powerful towns in Córdoba at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The city housed notable historical figures, including Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, San Juan de Ávila, and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Famous also were the names of Alonso Fernández de Córdoba, noble man belonging to the Houses of Aguilar and Feria, as well as that of his son, Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, who, unlike his father, was not successful in the war against the Moors nor in establishing peaceful relations with the Crown. In fact, King Ferdinand II of Aragon, the Catholic, ordered him to be exiled from Andalucía and his fortress in Montilla to be destroyed. Its current ruins speak of its past splendour.

From an early age, Francisco appears to have been a contemplative person, whose sensitivity he channelled through poetry and music.¹¹ Although he was not described as

⁷ Córdoba_V1643, 1.

⁸ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco de Aranda, Diocesan priest” (Lima: July 29, 1613), 351. On the wealth of Francisco Solano’s close family, see the wills and purchase-sale documents located in the APNM in Appendix 3.

⁹ It is probable that Diego died in 1591, the year in which he wrote his will, APNM, Esc. Jerónimo Pérez, “Testament of Diego Ximénez Solano, brother of Francisco Solano” (November 5, 1591), b. 39, ff. 484–87. A witness referred about him: “He was a handsome young man and so upright and virtuous that even when married he seemed a religious man in his life, customs and words,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Ruiz de Lucena” (Montilla: July 28, 1613), 320.

¹⁰ It is also probable that Ynés died in 1634, the year when she modified her will; see APNM, Esc. Francisco Escudero “Modification of the will of Ynés Gómez, sister of Francisco Solano” (August 20, 1634), b. 58, f. 307v.

¹¹ See Raimondo da Roma, *Compendio della vita, virtù e miracoli di S. Francesco Solano, dell’Ordine de’ Minori Osservanti* (Rome: Stamparia del Bernabò, 1726), 4.

handsome,¹² he drew public attention for his virtuous and chaste behaviour to the point that both, before and after being religious, he was known as *el virgen*.¹³ From his childhood, he frequented “the holy sacraments of penance and communion, and always through his example, life and customs gave hope that he would become a saint”.¹⁴

Francisco studied medicine for a brief period after completing his studies with the Jesuits in his hometown.¹⁵ However, he decided to opt for a religious vocation by entering the Novitiate of the Friars Minor at the age of twenty. More specifically, Solano entered one of the most radical branches of the Friars Minor and joined those who called themselves “Friars of the Holy Gospel”; in the mid-sixteenth century they were popularly known as the “Recollect friars”. Some of the most representative friars of this branch of the Franciscan order were Saint Pedro de Alcántara (1499-1562) and the so-called “Twelve Apostles of Mexico” who were involved in the evangelisation of the Viceroyalty of New Spain from their arrival in the New World in 1524; all of them were exponents of a charism that privileged rigorous asceticism, prayer in solitary contemplation, and missionary work that spared no sacrifice.

It is important to put into context the education that Solano received during the first years of his religious life, in which he assimilated the charism of his Order, consolidated his convictions, and forged his own spirituality. In this sense, the book by the Franciscan chronicler Alonso de Torres seems relevant.¹⁶ In its pages the historical tension between

¹² AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Fernández, soldier” (Lima: October 22, 1612).

¹³ “...when some people saw him walking the streets, they called him the virgin; and so, both before and after being religious, they considered him a good person...” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Martín Gómez, farmer” (Lima: September 6, 1610), ff. 12v–13v.

¹⁴ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco Pérez del Campo, Diocesan priest” (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 323.

¹⁵ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Ruiz de Lucena” (Montilla: July 28, 1613), 320.

¹⁶ Alonso de Torres, *Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada*. Facsimile reproduction of the only edition from the year 1683, ed. Rafael Mota Murillo (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1984 [1683]).

the Franciscan Observants and the Recollects are narrated. Francisco de los Ángeles y Quiñones, Observant General Minister, promoted the *Recoletos* in order to avoid reformist divisions within his order. In the Province of Granada, to which Solano belonged, the friaries of San Francisco del Monte, San Francisco de Arrizafa and San Luis el Real de la Zubia were places destined to house only the Franciscan Recollects.¹⁷

It is relevant to note the historical context of the Province of Granada, since in the canonisation processes the provinces of origin of the candidates for saints played a very important role in both their promotion and funding. The Franciscan Province of Andalusia-Kingdom of Granada-Canary Islands was established, at the behest of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, by Alexander VI on September 21, 1500. Fifty years later, faced with the growing number of religious personnel, this Province had to be divided. First, the friaries of the Canary Islands became autonomous from 1553. However, in Andalusia, in the middle of the 16th century, the Franciscan Order had an impressive number of 58 friaries,¹⁸ which made it difficult for the superiors of the Province to visit all the religious houses, as was prescribed. For this reason, on February 18, 1583, the General Minister Francisco Baeza divided the Province in two, namely: The Province of

¹⁷ According to Torres' chronicle, the church of the Franciscan friary in Montilla had a chapel dedicated to Pedro de Alcántara and another one to Francisco Solano; see Torres, *Crónica*, 118. This piece of information is remarkable because the chronicle was written just a few years after Solano's beatification (1675), providing an early evidence of his cult in his hometown. The chronicle also gives account of a document located at the archive of the friary of San Lorenzo de Montilla on the election of Solano as patron of his hometown. In fact, the Marquises of Priego had not been able to have offspring, so they entrusted themselves to the intercession of Solano for a miracle, making vows and declaring him patron of his town; see Torres, *Crónica*, 121. Luke Wadding (1588-1657), official chronicler of the Franciscan Order, made a list of famous Franciscans belonging to the place, including Solano, "Peruani Imperii Apostolus"; Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum, vol. IX* (Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1734), 140.

¹⁸ Francisco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observantiae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagation* (Rome [n.p.], 1587), 893.

Andalucía (also called *Bética*) that encompassed the friaries of Seville, Huelva, Cádiz and Málaga; and the Province of Granada that incorporated the friaries of the remaining cities in southern Spain. Despite the fact that many religious in Granada did not agree with the distribution of fraternities as they felt disadvantaged, the division of the Provinces was endorsed at the General Chapter held in Rome in 1587. As such, it is important to note that Solano was presented in the ‘Relación’ of Luis Gerónimo de Oré as a member of the Province of Granada instead of the Province of the Twelve Apostles of Lima.¹⁹

2. Second life stage: Andalucía’s prototype of a Friar Minor

When Solano entered the Novitiate of San Lorenzo in Montilla in April 1569, he became part of a tradition of Andalusian men considered to be of superior morality and who were staunch penitents: a whole life marked by the steel of the spiked belts and tempered by daily fasts. Following the example of St. Francis of Assisi, every effort seemed small to these men in their attempts to imitate Jesus Christ, poor and crucified.²⁰ The life of an ordinary Recollect friar was divided between community prayer, personal contemplation, humble manual work, reading and studying the Bible, begging for food both for the community and for the poor, and preaching through actions, rather than through words: “Everything was fasts, penances, mortifications, and exercises of virtue, prayer and holiness”.²¹

Solano professed his religious vows for the first time on April 25, 1570, the feast of Saint Mark, in a ceremony presided over by Francisco de Angulo, who was the

¹⁹ On the symbology of the mottos of the Spanish Provinces to which Solano belonged, see Appendix 6.

²⁰ According to Solano’s novice master, the young Francisco was “very virtuous and humble, and observant of the Rule of Saint Francis, silent and penitent ... he walked barefoot, doing disciplines and sleeping on the ground, usually on corks and other times on reeds and sticks,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Pedro de Hojeda, Franciscan priest” (Montilla: August 9, 1613), 340.

²¹ Oré_V1614, 15–16.

guardian of the Recollect Franciscans of Montilla.²² Following his training, the superiors of the late Province of Andalucía²³ sent Solano to Seville to continue his studies in Philosophy and Theology in the friary of Our Lady of Loreto,²⁴ where he was ordained a priest.

During the course of his religious life in Peninsular Spain, Solano occupied positions of great responsibility: he was the choir director in Seville, master of novices in Córdoba, and guardian (local superior) in Granada; ministries that he accepted as part of his vow of obedience, but from which he also tried to escape as soon as possible because of his vow of poverty and his spirit of Franciscan detachment, that is, overcoming any disordered sensual desires to attain an enhanced spiritual perspective on life. As far as he could, Solano combined those positions with itinerant preaching throughout the territory of Andalucía; preaching fuelled, in turn, by prolonged retreats of silence and prayer.²⁵ His retirement to a hermitage in the Sierra Morena and his assistance to the sick in Montoro —a small town decimated by an epidemic of typhoid fever— were critical episodes in his life that highlight the importance he placed on the values of the founding dimensions of his Order — those of contemplation and charity.

²² PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Antonio de Alicante, OFM” (Montilla: August 9, 1613), 337.

²³ The Province of Andalucía was separated from that of Castile in 1499, whereas that the Province of Granada became autonomous from that of Andalucía in 1583; see Manuel de Castro y Castro, *Bibliografía Hispanofranciscana* (Santiago de Compostela: Aldecoa, 1994), 17–18. Thus, when Francisco Solano joined the Franciscan Order in 1569, he belonged to the Bética Province; and, afterwards, to the Province of Granada. On the latter’s history, see Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, vol. XV (Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1736), 178.

²⁴ On the foundation of this friary, see Angulo, *Libro memorial*, 194–97. Angulo also described the friary’s library, which is important in order to know which books Solano may have had access to and, thus, understand his humanistic and theological culture.

²⁵ A companion in his preaching throughout Andalucía declared that it was difficult to walk along with Solano for the people’s devotion to him; see PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Pedro de San Gabriel, OFM” (Montilla: August 9, 1613), 431.

It is from this time that one of the first documented miracles attributed to Solano's intercession dates. One day when the young friar was walking through Montilla asking for alms for his friary, a woman stopped him to introduce him to her six-month-old grandson, whose skin was completely covered with sores. According to a witness, Solano made the woman undress the child and, moved by compassion, "he licked with his tongue all the ulcers and sores of the child, both from the face and body [...] The next morning, the child woke up much better with all the sores dry and the ulcers healed".²⁶

As indicated above, Solano joined the Order of Friars Minor at the age of twenty. Another two decades had to elapse before, in the full maturity of his life, he accepted a new calling: to spread the faith in America.²⁷ However, before embarking for the American continent, never to return, his religious life in the Spanish peninsula made it clear that he already fulfilled the profile of an exemplary Friar Minor.²⁸

In fact, in view of Solano's itinerary in Andalusia, it could be inferred that his decision to leave Europe at the beginning of 1589 was not a sudden decision. And yet it is probable that South America was not the place of the mission he was visualising as it seems he would have preferred to go to Muslim Africa.²⁹ The latter might have been an attempt to follow in the footsteps of Francis of Assisi in pursuit of the palm of martyrdom.³⁰ However, obedience to his superiors, who saw his future in South America,

²⁶ PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Diego López Vique, tanner" (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 326.

²⁷ See Pedro Borges, "La emigración de eclesiásticos a América en el siglo XVI. Criterios para su estudio," in *América y la España del siglo XVI*, eds. Francisco de Paula Solano Pérez-Lila and Fermín Del Pino Díaz (Madrid: CSIC, 1983), 47–62.

²⁸ AAV, Riti, 1339, "Testimony of Blas de Acosta, OP" (Lima: September 26, 1629), f. 1498v. See also Hiral, *Vie de Saint François Solano*, 50–1.

²⁹ See Córdoba_V1643, 75.

³⁰ As Solano was increasingly admired and revered in Peninsular Spain, he would have asked his superiors to send him to foreign missions; see Luis Carlos Luz Marques, "Francisco Solano," in *Diccionario de los Santos, vol. I*, eds. Claudio Leonardi, Andrea Riccardi and Gabriella Zarri (Madrid: San Pablo, 2000), 882. Solano, like Francis of Assisi, did not succeed in achieving martyrdom. However, during the last years of his life,

took precedence.³¹ Furthermore, given the possibility of “converting souls” to the Christian faith, the place was of secondary importance.³² Due to the admiration he was afforded and the dangers involved in traveling to America, the most influential people in Montilla and the Franciscan superiors of the friaries of Córdoba and Montilla tried to persuade Francisco Solano not to embark to the Indies, but no one was able to dissuade him, not even his mother.³³ This episode closed the second stage of Solano's life in Spain; a relatively hidden and silent period in which only a few of the extraordinary signals — that will later accompany his mission in South America— were manifested.

3. Third life stage: Francisco Solano, the “Apostle of the Indies”

For the last stage of the life of Solano, most of his biographers highlight his trust in Divine Providence and his spirit of mortification or self-denial. In February 1589, Solano left Sanlúcar de Barrameda,³⁴ on an expedition made up of about thirty ships that sailed across the Atlantic in about three months.³⁵ There were dozens of chosen Franciscan missionaries on board, but the crew was mainly formed by infantry personnel in charge

he lived a “slow martyrdom” due to his extreme penances; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Andrés Corso, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 25, 1610), ff. 55r–57r.

³¹ See AGI, Contaduría, 304, f. 109. In this document, dated on August 2, 1572, the name of Solano is found in the list of twelve Franciscan friars registered to be sent to America, revealing Solano's early desire to be sent on mission.

³² AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego de Pineda, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 16, 1610), ff. 22r–32v. According to Antonio Ortiz, former Commissioner General, it was Solano who offered himself as a missionary to evangelise the New World: AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Antonio Ortiz, OFM” (Lima: October 17, 1610), ff. 32r–37v.

³³ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco Ximénez Solano” (Montilla: August 6, 1613), 329.

³⁴ On the procedure for the missionaries' travel arrangements to American lands, see Pedro Borges, “Los artífices de la evangelización,” in *Historia de la Iglesia, vol. I*, ed. Borges, 441.

³⁵ For some data on Spanish emigration to the New World between the years 1580 and 1600, see José Luis Martínez, *Pasajeros de Indias. Viajes trasatlánticos en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), 182.

of protecting the arrival in Lima of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who had just been appointed Viceroy of Peru by Philip II, King of Spain.³⁶

Getting to the mainland in Cartagena was not the end of the journey. Solano crossed to Portobelo and, subsequently, the Isthmus of Panama, where he arrived at the end of June 1589. Then, the Franciscans embarked on a boat from Puerto Perico in Panama City to El Callao near Lima, but “having sailed for a few days, a storm ensued” off the coast of Peru, causing irreparable damage to the ship and resulting in its landing in a place inhabited by “hostile Indians.”³⁷ A sailor who was one of the survivors of the shipwreck reported that approximately 102 people died, “counting black and white”. The captain quickly launched a lifeboat, but Solano gave his place to another crew member “so as not to abandon the people who remained.”³⁸ Solano prophesied that the lifeboat would return, encouraging them not to lose hope. When they came ashore, they didn’t encounter any hostile Indians, but they endured 62 days of hardship and famine. These were days of great anguish which Solano tried to liven up with sermons and songs of praise; he managed to pacify enemies and, when Christmas Day arrived, he organised a staging of the Nativity. On Christmas Eve, Solano prophesied again: within three days a ship would come to rescue them. It happened exactly as he predicted, and they were all transported to the port of Paita (almost 560 miles north of Lima). The original plan to reach the port

³⁶ See José Peña González, “El escenario histórico de Francisco Solano,” in *El franciscanismo en Andalucía. San Francisco Solano [obs. + 1610] en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. Libro homenaje a Manuel Ruiz Luque: XVI curso de verano (Montilla, 12 y 13 de julio de 2010)*, ed. Manuel Peláez Del Rosal (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012), 185–88.

³⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Cristóbal Pan y Agua, OFM” (Lima: October 19, 1610), ff. 42v–46r.

³⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Hernando de Yebra, sailor” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 162v–166v. Faced with mortal danger, Solano preached the Gospel to a group of black slaves for converting them to Christian faith; see Lorenzo Galmés, “Hagiografía hispano-americana,” in *Historia de la Iglesia, vol. I*, ed. Borges, 390; and Antonio de Egaña, *Historia de la Iglesia en la América Española. Desde el descubrimiento hasta comienzos del siglo XIX. Hemisferio Sur* (Madrid: BAC, 1966), 586–87.

of El Callao by sea had to be readjusted, and the friars continued on their way to Lima on foot³⁹—which was actually a very common route because often the journey by sea could take longer.

Biographies of Solano place emphasis on the events that occurred during the journey from Seville to Lima, highlighting adventures and challenges that were as tough as the strenuous navigation across the Atlantic: the inclement climate and local diseases; steep cliffs to climb and arid deserts to traverse on foot along the Pacific coast; hunger and losses, among indigenous people who were eager to protect their lives and possessions and reluctant to provide help. Such extraordinary events were not uncommon on expeditions by sea and land at the time.⁴⁰

The exhausting itinerary to the viceregal capital had lasted almost a year. Nonetheless, Solano's journey was not over: more than 1800 miles remained to arrive at San Jorge de Tucumán in present day Argentina.⁴¹ Many religious who travelled to this region were aware "of the dangers of a trip in which they exposed themselves to attacks by the Indians of the Bolivian-Argentine Andes."⁴² However, what for some missionaries could have been a deterrent, in others the adversity increased their hope and intrepid spirit. On his way to Tucumán, Solano took the route from Lima to Huamanga,⁴³ and from there passed to the Franciscan Province of Chuquisaca in Bolivia, arriving first at Sucre⁴⁴ and

³⁹ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Isabel Arias, widow and one of the survivors of the shipwreck" (Lima: November 8, 1610), ff. 160v–144v.

⁴⁰ To envisage the paths Solano had to travel, the diaries and other documents of his contemporaries, such as Toribio de Mogrovejo, are helpful; see José Antonio Benito, ed., *Libro de visitas de Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (1593-1605)* (Lima: PUCP, 2006).

⁴¹ See Antonio Gil Albarracín, "San Francisco Solano y América," in *El franciscanismo en Andalucía*, ed. Manuel Peláez Del Rosal (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012), 87–116.

⁴² Pedro Borges, *Religiosos en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), 53.

⁴³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza, OFM" (Lima: October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

⁴⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Cristóbal López, OFM" (Lima: October 25, 1610), ff. 58v–60v.

then Potosí.⁴⁵ The friars of this Province were positively struck by the fact that Solano did not use a mule or horse to travel, following ad litteram the Rule of San Francisco.

San Jorge de Tucumán became the hub of Solano's itinerant activity in the region. The evangelising mission of Solano consisted, for much of the time, of being a curate — or *doctrinero*⁴⁶ for Indians in the rural villages of both Socotonio and La Magdalena.⁴⁷ However, one year after being in Tucumán, Solano was appointed as the Custos —the superior of a religious Custody—⁴⁸ and, by virtue of this, he also had to take care of administrative and organisational tasks.⁴⁹ The Indians began to call Solano “the holy custodian father”.⁵⁰ They had great respect and affection for him because the friar learned their languages to ensure that they were properly instructed in the Christian catechism.⁵¹

During this period, the thaumaturgical fame of Solano increased and his evangelising work was accompanied by supernatural events.⁵² It is worth noting that Solano could preach the Gospel in various languages and local dialects,⁵³ helped by the

⁴⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Gerónimo Manuel, OFM” (Lima: October 25, 1610), ff. 89v–92r.

⁴⁶ In the ecclesiastical organisation in Hispanic America there were the so-called ‘missions’ (‘reductions’ or ‘conversions’), the ‘parishes of common law’ and the ‘parishes of Indians’. The latter were also called “doctrines”; see Arturo Oyarzun, *La organización eclesiástica en el Perú y Chile durante el pontificado de santo Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (1581-1606)* (Rome: Pontificio Colegio Pío Latino Americano, 1935), 21; see also Carlos Carcelén, “La organización de las parroquias rurales en el Perú colonial, siglos XVI y XVII,” *Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica* 8 (2004): 79.

⁴⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan de Castilla, OFM” (Lima: October 20, 1610), ff. 46r–49v.

⁴⁸ A Custody is a Franciscan regional organizational unit hierarchically below a Province.

⁴⁹ Even many indigenous peoples thought that Solano was some kind of sorcerer; see Córdova 46.

⁵⁰ Bruno, *Las florecillas*, 52.

⁵¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan de Techada, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 23, 1610), ff. 49r–51v

⁵² Solano's spiritual gifts included bilocation, levitation, prophetic knowledge, and mystical ecstasy. See Luis Ruiz Gutiérrez, “Solano, taumaturgo de las Américas,” in *El franciscanismo en Andalucía*, ed. Manuel Peláez Del Rosal (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012), 207–12.

⁵³ See Córdova_V1643, 46. The Third Council of Lima had ruled on the importance of indoctrination in the autochthonous language: see *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 201. To ensure the fulfillment of this mandate, the bishops were ordered to

music of his rabel —a violin-like musical instrument, composed of three strings.⁵⁴ This motivated the conversion of the indigenous leaders, and hence enabling the extensive Christianisation of the indigenous peoples of the region.⁵⁵ Thereby, in this vast territory Solano began to be considered as an effective intercessor before God.⁵⁶

Solano, however, was not the only missionary concerned with learning vernacular languages: taking up the challenge posed by ethnic heterogeneity and linguistic complexity, it has been argued that the Franciscans “cemented the history of Amerindian linguistics.”⁵⁷ The friars faced the challenge of communicating in a diversity of languages, where the meaning of the words could change depending on how they were pronounced.⁵⁸ While it is true that this intercultural approach could apply to all religious orders working in the region, scholars have suggested that Solano’s respect for domestic languages was positively valued by the indigenous peoples and managed to build bonds of

institute examiners whose office was to evaluate the potential parish priests. Thus, it is likely that Solano could have been fluent in Tonokoté (spoken by the indigenous people in Santiago del Estero), Guaraní and Quechua. See also Francesco Leonardo Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense y la aculturación de indígenas sudamericanos. Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima entre 1582 y 1583* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), 27.

⁵⁴ Juan Carlos Estenssoro calls Solano “the Christian Orpheus,” referring to the legendary musician with prophetic powers in ancient Greek religion; see Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750*, trans. Gabriela Ramos (Lima: IFEA; PUCP; IRA, 2003), 483.

⁵⁵ See Álvaro Díaz, *San Francisco Solano, gloria de los misioneros de América* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1991), 109.

⁵⁶ This territory included San Miguel de Tucumán, Nuestra Señora de Talavera del Esteco, Córdoba de la Nueva Andalucía, Santiago del Estero and Lerma. Solano’s evangelising work also extended to the Paraguayan Chaco regions and to the bordering territories of the current River Plate in Uruguay; see Ángel Santos, “El Plata: La evangelización de Argentina,” in *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (Siglos XV-XIX)*, vol. II: *Aspectos regionales*, ed. Pedro Borges (Madrid: BAC - Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso de Toledo, 1992), 692.

⁵⁷ David Pérez Blázquez, “Registros de lingüistas y traductores franciscanos en los catálogos del conde de la Viñaza y de Antonio Tovar,” in *La labor de traducción de los franciscanos*, ed. Antonio Bueno García (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 2013), 255.

⁵⁸ See Christian Duverger, *La conversión de los indios de la Nueva España. Con el texto de los Coloquios de los Doce de Bernardino de Sahagún (1564)* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1990), 164.

communication and communion,⁵⁹ while strengthening ties of mutual trust and promoting a certain validation of indigenous identity.⁶⁰

However, Franciscan missions were not exempt from fundamental limitations regarding pastoral and logistical issues. The shortage of missionaries and the fact they were not permanently resident in the villages but visited them only irregularly, meant that it was not possible to establish a formal “catechumenate” or “mystagogy” —in other words, provide a gradual introduction to the most important mysteries of the Christian faith. Some scholars have argued that this pastoral laxity left open “the doors of syncretism”.⁶¹

The mission of Francisco Solano in the Custody of Tucumán came to an end in 1597. He was called by his superiors in Peru to join the Franciscan Province of the Twelve Apostles in Lima, where he would spend the rest of his years.⁶² The official reason for this transfer was given by the former Commissioner General of the Franciscans himself: to found the first convent of the Recollects in Peru, led by Solano “for being a person of whom I had so much news of his good example and virtue”.⁶³ When Solano arrived in Lima, he was appointed to be the local superior of a new Recollect friary becoming the guardian of Santa María de los Ángeles —a place that would be popularly known as *Convento de los Descalzos* —the Barefoot friary.⁶⁴ This was a new turning point in

⁵⁹ Sánchez-Concha, *Santos y santidad*, 103; and García Oro, *San Francisco Solano*, 78.

⁶⁰ The Catholic missions involved preliminary questions regarding the evangelisation method and the language to be used for the preaching of the Gospel; see Pedro Borges, “Sistemas y lengua de la predicación,” in *Historia de la Iglesia*, vol. I, ed. Borges, 509.

⁶¹ Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978), 230. Regarding Solano, Prien sees in his transfer to Lima a sign of his missionary failure, though no evidence is provided.

⁶² On the Province of the Twelve Apostles, see Odorico Saiz, “Perú: La evangelización del Oriente,” in *Historia de la Iglesia*, vol. II, ed. Borges, 524.

⁶³ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Antonio Ortiz, OFM” (Lima: October 17, 1610), ff. 32r–37v.

⁶⁴ This friary would be, for many years, the seat of the Franciscan Novitiate: AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego de Vargas, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 104v–106v.

Solano's life: from living with intensity as a charismatic missionary to leading a sedentary and more contemplative way of life.

Obedience made Solano a highly adaptable man. When Francisco de Otárola was elected as the new Provincial Minister of Peru in 1601, he asked Solano to be his personal assistant. Obedience also took the friar from his peaceful Descalzos' hermitage to the headquarters of the Province of the Twelve Apostles with responsibility for taking on organisational and administrative matters. Was Solano's appointment as Otárola's personal secretary an attempt to domesticate his peculiar charismatic character? In any case, Solano accepted the position because he was unable to dishonour obedience, but not feeling comfortable occupying a position of certain prestige, Solano spent no more than a year in secretarial duties.

This type of attitude was well valued by a certain type of Franciscan spirituality at that time; resigning from an important religious position was not regarded as irresponsible or immature but seen as a sign of integrity.⁶⁵ This is also suggested by the fact that Solano's superiors continued to appoint him to important positions, in a kind of *quid pro quo* dynamic. In fact, he was assigned as guardian of the friary of Trujillo, a coastal city located about 310 miles north of Lima.⁶⁶ Here he lived a couple of years until a new call of obedience required him return to Lima.⁶⁷ In Trujillo, Solano gained fame as a saint: "It

⁶⁵ See Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220-1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armature ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 24.

⁶⁶ Juan Benido, Franciscan Commissioner General, appealing to the vow of obedience, convinced Solano to accept being the local superior in Trujillo; see AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Melchor de Llera, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 12, 1610), ff. 21v–22v; and AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

⁶⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Benido, OFM" (Lima: October 18, 1610), ff. 37r–41r.

was said of Father Solano that when he celebrated mass many times he was seen raised more than half a rod [almost 84 cm] from the ground into the air”.⁶⁸

A very probable hypothesis is that Solano asked to be transferred back to Lima due to the growing reputation for holiness he was acquiring in Trujillo. A friar as modest as Solano might have felt uncomfortable with the devotion that people paid him and, even more, posed the risk of succumbing to pride. Among other testimonies, a reasonable source is that of Juan Benido, the Commissioner General of the Franciscans, who stated that he asked Solano to return to Lima to be superior of the Descalzos friary.⁶⁹

When Solano returned to the capital, it did not take long for him to realise that the climate of silence was constantly threatened by the presence of hundreds of people who had developed the habit of walking around through the nearby brand-new public promenade. The Alameda beautified the sprawling city, but affected the contemplative atmosphere of the Recollect friars.⁷⁰ This environment added to the deterioration of Solano’s health, and in October 1605 he requested his superiors to spend his last years in the infirmary of the *Convento Máximo de Jesús* in downtown Lima —the current friary of San Francisco—, where about 130 friars lived.⁷¹ He might have considered the conventual rhythm of the old and sick friars would be more beneficial for his soul than the tainted silence of the Descalzos’ hermitage. On this point there are different versions. For the guardian of the friary of St. Francis, the transfer of Solano from the Recollect

⁶⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Ana de Mendoza, housewife” (Lima: January 19, 1611), f. 324v–325r.

⁶⁹ Although there are different versions, it is clear that Solano did not hold the position of superior for a long time: AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Rodríguez de Saavedra, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 106v–108v. Another witness added that he was crying because his superiors did not accept his resignation from that position; see AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Esteban, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 99r–101v.

⁷⁰ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco Galindo, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 101v–103v.

⁷¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza, OFM” (Lima: October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

friary to the Franciscan infirmary had the purpose of “avoiding the applause of the people” who began to revere him as a living saint.⁷² In fact, Solano began to be known by the names of “the barefoot father” and “the holy friar,” which suggested that the veneration of the people came from his austere lifestyle, consistent with his vocation.⁷³

The penitential rigour of Solano did not cease until his last breath.⁷⁴ In this regard, it is striking that at no time do the sources describe him complaining. Rather, it is claimed that he was gentle with visits, cordial in his brevity, and fraternally welcoming with the simplicity of his gestures. He did not shy away from fraternal life; he even sought it out. Before his death, he wanted to renew his religious vows and, although unable to pronounce words due to his broken health, he was able to ask for the mercy of God, to receive it gratefully, and bequeath something of his spiritual experience to his brothers.⁷⁵ Just as the founder of his Order did, Francisco Solano wanted to die reconciled with God, with his brothers, with all creatures, and with himself. Solano’s biographers drew a parallel between Francisco of Montilla and Francis of Assisi, something that was extended in his afterlife. Even though Solano did not compose, as his mentor did, a *Canticum of the Creatures*, it was important for his biographers to show that Solano died

⁷² AAV, Riti, 1338, Testimony of Diego de Pineda, OFM (Lima: October 16, 1610), ff. 22r–32v.

⁷³ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Pedro de Tejada” (Lima: March 17, 1611), 280–82; and AAV, Riti, 1328, “Testimony of Antonio Pérez, hatter” (Lima: March 17, 1611), f. 1308r.

⁷⁴ The image of St. Francis of Assisi holding a skull in his hand is eloquent. Trying to describe what Solano was like, one of his companions affirmed: “He looked like a dead man,” something that he considered a compliment, precisely because if a religious wanted to live for God, he had to *die* for the world, AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Sedaño, OFM” (Lima: November 6, 1610), ff. 108v–110r. Frequently, asceticism was associated with the *fuga mundi*, the repression of corporality, the control of unbridled appetites, the distrust of what is pleasurable, especially that related to sexuality. Penance —motivated by mortification and self-denial— was a commendable virtue insofar as it was understood as the renunciation of pleasure. Shortly before dying, Solano affirmed: “Oh, how glad I am that our Lord is free of this body, my enemy,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco de Otárola, OFM” (Lima: October 14, 1612), 306–16. Today, instead, asceticism has acquired a positive connotation, aiming to explore and unfold spiritual dimensions.

⁷⁵ Córdova_V1643, 230–33.

also as the brother of all the humankind, having accepted to bear the yoke of fraternity,⁷⁶ personifying some of the Cantic of the Creatures: “Praised be you, my Lord, for those who give pardon for Your love, and bear infirmity and tribulation. Blessed are those who endure in peace for by You, Most High, shall they be crowned.”⁷⁷

The hagiographies of Solano were inclined to present the friar as an *alter Franciscus*. Like Francis of Assisi, Solano also was moved when he listened to the reading of Holy Scripture, licking his lips as if the biblical verses left a sweet taste in his mouth.⁷⁸ Solano exulted with joy and gratitude the mystery of the Incarnation, represented in Bethlehem, just like Francis of Assisi, who was the initiator of Christmas live nativity scenes. In every detail he wanted to be like Francis of Assisi, his mirror of perfection, in order to be fully configured with Jesus Christ. Like the *Poverello*, every time someone called Solano a “saint,” his response was, “I am but a great sinner.”⁷⁹ Nonetheless, despite a mysterious suggestion from the nurse Juan Gómez, one of Solano’s closest friars,⁸⁰ there is no certain evidence that Solano had carried the stigmata

⁷⁶ See Pietro Maranesi, *L’eredità di frate Francesco: lettura storico-critica del Testamento* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 2009), 198.

⁷⁷ Francis of Assisi, “The Cantic of the Creatures,” in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. I: The Saint*, eds. Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann and William Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 114.

⁷⁸ See AAL, Proceso de Lima: Legajo sobre el Proceso de San Francisco Solano, f. 311.

⁷⁹ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza, OFM” (October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r. Humility was an essential feature of his temperament/spirituality: “He often was moaning in the garden and sighing, considering himself the worst man in the world,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Cristóbal Ruiz, OFM” (November 4, 1610), ff. 103r.

⁸⁰ As the Franciscan nurse who took care of Solano’s health during the last years of his life, Juan Gómez was able to give many intimate details. According to Gómez’ testimony, Solano said to him: “Brother fray Juan, come close to me, give me your hand, and you will see the mercy that God has shown me”. It is not clear what Solano invited to look at, but Gómez stated that, after seeing him, he knew that God “had conformed him with his grace,” using the same language that the first hagiographers of Francis of Assisi employed to narrate the reception of the stigmata; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, OFM” (October 23, 1610), ff. 51v–55v. In the same testimony, the nurse Gómez referred “this witness saw him die and shrouded him; saw and treated his hands,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, OFM,” ff. 51v–55v. Gómez specifically mentioned Solano’s hands, did he see any type of sores or wounds that deserved particular attention?

of the Passion of Jesus, as Francis of Assisi did. Finally, Solano's devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose maternal protection he implored from the time he was a child, was central to his Franciscan spirituality.⁸¹

Solano died on July 14, 1610, the date on which the Franciscan Order celebrates the feast of Saint Bonaventure,⁸² a coincidence that was considered as a miraculous sign.⁸³ The description of his death was also narrated in a typically hagiographic style: after receiving the Extreme Unction, and still lucid, Solano did not let the friars kiss his hands because he felt he was a great sinner;⁸⁴ rather, he asked to be read a biblical passage of the Passion of Jesus Christ.⁸⁵ Solano's last words were of doxological praise: "*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto*," while the friars recited the creed.⁸⁶ When Solano expired, to the wonder of everyone, a chorus of little birds was heard singing.⁸⁷

One of the physicians who examined him twenty-four hours after his death stated that Solano's body was still "treatable, soft, more vivid in colour, flourishing in health and with a heat" with which the doctor was able to warm his own hands.⁸⁸ Many people

⁸¹ "[Solano] sings and plays and dances for a very beautiful lady [the Virgin Mary]; he does it with a bow and a wire, imitating a violin..." AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Gerónimo Alonso de la Torre, OFM" (Lima: November 8, 1610), f. 115r. See also Brígida Usandivaras de Garneri, *El Apóstol de Tucumán* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Difusión, 1948), 52. On the Marian spirituality of St. Francis of Assisi, see Michael Blastic, "The Virgin Mary in the Writings of Francis and Clare of Assisi," in *Medieval Franciscan Approaches to the Virgin Mary: Mater Sanctissima, Misericordia, et Dolorosa*, eds. Steven McMichael and Katherine Wrisley Shelby (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 13–14.

⁸² See Roma, *Compendio della Vita*, 115–27.

⁸³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan de Soto, Relator of the Audience of Lima" (Lima: February 19, 1611), f. 193v

⁸⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Pedro de la Cruz, OFM" (Lima: November 7, 1610), ff. 110r–112r.

⁸⁵ AAV, Riti, 1334, "Testimony of Lucas Sánchez de Ortega, OFM" (Lima: November 7, 1612), f. 743v.

⁸⁶ PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Francisco de Otárola, OFM" (Lima: October 14, 1612), 306–16.

⁸⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Alonso Muriel, OFM" (Lima: October 27, 1610), ff. 60r–62r.

⁸⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Íñigo de Ormero, physician" (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 13v–14v.

longed to treasure a relic from Solano's poor habit or even from his depleted body that looked transfigured in their eyes. Such was the collective hysteria that some devotees managed to pluck hair until no hair was left on the head;⁸⁹ others, under the pretext of kissing his feet, successfully strove to extract pieces of his nails tearing them off with their teeth.⁹⁰

In the face of such reports of extraordinary events, Solano's reputation for sanctity spread very soon throughout the viceroyalty and even beyond. His burial brought together thousands of people, from the aristocracy to the humblest social groups. In fact, when questioned to verify Solano's virtuous life, Viceroy Juan Mendoza y Luna showed great devotion to Solano, stating that he had heard about his saintly life, even before he became Viceroy of Peru, that is, when he was Viceroy of New Spain.⁹¹ This implies that Solano's reputation for sanctity had reached places as far away as Mexico and as early as 1604/05. It also shows that the Viceroy was interested in personally promoting the cause of Solano's canonisation.⁹² The Viceroy himself would testify that, before Solano's deceased body, "he did not dare to do more than kneel down and kiss his feet."⁹³ Subsequently, the Viceroy and the Archbishop carried the deceased body on their shoulders from the infirmary of the friary to the Franciscan Church for the funeral mass.

⁸⁹ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Diego de Pineda, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 16, 1610), ff. 22r–32v.

⁹⁰ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Gómez, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 23, 1610), ff. 51v–55v. Another of the friars who gave testimony of the same fact, affirmed that this caused the foot to bleed "blood and water" (in clear allusion to what happened in the Passion of Jesus according to John 19, 34), ff. 51v–55v; see also AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Alonso Muriel, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 27, 1610), ff. 60r–62r.

⁹¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montesclaros, Viceroy of Peru" (Lima: September 16, 1610), ff. 14v–15v.

⁹² Besides potential socio-political motivations, this may be because he and his wife felt they were debtors to Solano, attributing to his intercession the fact that they bore a child, after having had several miscarriages; see AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza, OFM" (Lima: October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

⁹³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montesclaros, Viceroy of Peru" (Lima: September 16, 1610), ff. 14v–15v.

Finally, it was also the Viceroy's initiative to secretly unearth Solano the night after his death so that two painters could portray his *vera effigies*.⁹⁴

Fr. Juan Sebastián, superior of the Society of Jesus in Peru, preached the panegyric sermon at Solano's funeral, referring to three events that were probably the most celebrated in those days: the shipwreck that Solano and his companions miraculously survived; the wonder of the emergence of water from a desert land in Tucumán; and Solano's humility that led him to detach himself from positions of religious prestige. Sebastián concluded his homily with a phrase that summarises the purpose of celebrating a potential saint: "Our Lord gave us this holy man to console and protect these kingdoms, to be a good example for this city, and to honour and crown his sacred religion."⁹⁵ Thus, the intimate tripartite union of Madrid (seat of the king), Lima (last seat of the saint) and Rome (seat of the papacy) became evident from the beginning of Solano's trial.

Lima society was moved by Solano's death in *odoris sanctitatis*.⁹⁶ Very soon, its inhabitants entrusted their well being to his patronage, while their authorities entreated Rome to quickly begin collecting information on his life and virtues. Clement X beatified him in 1675 and Benedict XIII proclaimed him a saint on December 27, 1726.⁹⁷ After his elevation to the altar, his fame was consolidated and spread throughout Spanish America.⁹⁸ His liturgical feast is celebrated on July 14.

⁹⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Cristóbal Pan y Agua, OFM" (Lima: October 19, 1610), ff. 42v–46r. On the posthumous portraits of Spanish saints, see Fernando Quiles, *Santidad Barroca. Roma, Sevilla y América hispana* (Seville: Universo Barroco Iberoamericano, 2018), 181–2. On the *vera effigies*' issue of visual veracity, see Ingrid Halászová, "'Vera Effigies'... (?) The Limits of Truth in the Early Modern Portrait," *Historia artium. Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities* 3 (2018): 59–85.

⁹⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Sebastián, SJ" (Lima: October 12, 1610), ff. 19r–21v.

⁹⁶ Literally, in the smell of sanctity. On the meaning of fragrances in colonial Lima, see Fernando Iwasaki, "¡El olor! ¡El olor! Olores de santidad en Lima colonial," *Nuevas de Indias. Anuario del CEAC* 1 (2016): 61–116.

⁹⁷ See a digitised image of the bull of canonisation in Appendix 7.

⁹⁸ Junípero Serra (1713–1784), "the Apostle of California," canonised on September 23, 2015 by Pope Francis, aimed to imitate Solano's apostolicity and holiness; see Rose

4. Towards a unitary profile in the multiplicity of narratives?

The difficulties of trying to build a unitary profile of Solano from the testimonies of the witnesses in the interrogations of the Diocesan Process into the canonisation of Solano lies mainly in their timing and the social background of the informants. The time that separates Solano's death from the beginning of his process was very short. The interrogations began on August 30, 1610 (that is, six weeks after Solano's death), which gives some guarantee that the memories were still fresh, although they would have been affected by the spiritual effervescence that was still alive. The large number of witnesses and their diverse origins, —“two hundred witnesses from all status: Religious, Clergy and Secular”—,⁹⁹ makes it easier for the historian to see beyond a dominant vision of any idealised character. However, the objective of almost all of them would have been the same: to corroborate the alleged sanctity. It is important to examine further the social backgrounds of the informants.

4.1. Diversity of social strata

Informants included the Marquis of Montesclaros, viceroy of Peru, the supreme political authority in the region, the archbishop of Lima, the highest religious authority, as well as the superiors of the main religious congregations and representatives of the middle class for instance, doctors, lawyers and notaries. They also included members of the popular classes made up of freedmen and slaves, whose testimony was not disregarded despite their lower social status.

Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 59. On November 18, 2017, Solanus Casey, OFMCap. (1870-1957) was beatified. His religious name is yet another testimony to the influence that Solano exercised not only within the Franciscan family nor exclusively in the Latin American sphere. On Casey's life and spirituality, see Michael Crosby, *Thank God Ahead of Time: The Life and Spirituality of Solanus Casey* (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2009).

⁹⁹ Oré_V1614, 56.

4.2. Diversity of ages

Witnesses ranged from fourteen year-olds to septuagenarian s. It is remarkable that when the age of the witnesses was asked, often they did not know what to answer. This was the case of María Ángela and Floriana, slaves of Francisco de la Cueva, who both had to be attributed an age based on their physical appearance. Many from the lowest social orders simply were ignorant of their age, particularly slaves who, by definition, unless they were born in Lima, would not possess certificates of baptism. However, even people of high social position did not specify their age precisely: “more than thirty,” “more than forty” were not uncommon answers. It follows that, at that time, the exact age was apparently of relative importance.

4.3. Diversity of provenance and civil status

Most were born in Lima and Spain, but there were also witnesses from other cities in Peru, and also from Bolivia, Chile and Argentina. A 37-year-old witness stated: “Everywhere I have been in the Piru [sic] and Chile, I have heard it said that he was a holy man”.¹⁰⁰ These testimonies were valuable in measuring the impact and extent of Solano’s reputation for sanctity. The civil status of witnesses was also diverse including single, married and widowed lay people, as well as female religious, male religious and priests.

4.4. Diversity of sensitivities

From the previous point it can be surmised that the concept of holiness had different perspectives, whether for a layman or for a priest, for a cloistered nun or for a lay widow, for an educated man or for an ignorant one. Even among the members of the different religious orders, the testimonies reveal different emphases. The Franciscans highlighted those virtues related to their charisma —poverty, humility, fraternity; whereas the

¹⁰⁰ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan González Campos” (Lima: February 12, 1611), 300.

Mercedarians, the Jesuits, and members of other religious congregations emphasised their own core values.

4.5. Diversity of miracles

Only *post-mortem* miracles are valid in a process of canonization.¹⁰¹ However, unaware of the legal procedure, the witnesses also reveal the alleged miracles performed by the candidate before his death. There were “small” miracles, such as being relieved from the pain of a splinter embedded in the finger,¹⁰² being healed from fever¹⁰³, asthma¹⁰⁴ and deafness¹⁰⁵, or toothache,¹⁰⁶ as well as help to facilitate marriages¹⁰⁷; as well as the “greatest” ones such as healing serious illness,¹⁰⁸ persons born crippled,¹⁰⁹ or near death,¹¹⁰ or even the resurrection of a dead girl.¹¹¹ As we will see later, many of these

¹⁰¹ See Paolo Parigi, “The devil’s advocate and the church: Building adaptable organizations,” in *Religion and Organization Theory*, eds. Paul Tracey, Nelson Phillips and Michael Lounsbury (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2014), 371–412.

¹⁰² AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Gerónimo del Castillo, Mercedarian priest” (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 126r–127r.

¹⁰³ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego de Estrada, Mercedarian priest” (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 127r–128r.

¹⁰⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego Ramírez, hosier” (Lima: November 12, 1610), ff. 172r–173r.

¹⁰⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of María Magdalena Salinas, nun of the Monastery of Saint Clare” (Lima: February 11, 1611), ff. 457v–458r.

¹⁰⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Mencia de Silva, housewife” (Lima: November 12, 1610), ff. 173r–176r.

¹⁰⁷ Juana Durán was a woman who longed to marry, but had no dowry. Faced with this situation, she prays to Francis of Assisi, Antony of Padua and Francisco Solano. Only the latter responds by prophesying in a dream that she would marry soon; see PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juana Durán, housewife” (Lima: March 17, 1611), 284–86.

¹⁰⁸ A witness stated that on the day of Solano’s death, all the sick friars who lived in the Franciscan infirmary were suddenly and inexplicably healed. AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza” (Lima: October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

¹⁰⁹ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Miguel Cano, tailor” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 166v–167v.

¹¹⁰ AAV, Riti, 1339, “Testimony of Inés de la Cerda de Lugo” (Lima, September 9, 1629), f. 1565r.

¹¹¹ “And dead as she was, she came alive and [her parents] have her today, healthy and good,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Romero” (Lima: November 19, 1610), 305.

alleged miracles will be theologically purified and filtered to meet the requirements of the Holy See.

The people who gave depositions about his life and miracles gave oral testimony pertaining to a pre-set questionnaire in Spanish, after which the information was condensed to fit the requirements of the officials and translated into Latin. The recorded information offers a cross-section of the urban society in colonial Lima, as the deponents constitute a rather heterogeneous group of people from the higher to the lower strata. This depositional stage was supposed to be a technical collection of evidence, but sometimes—as in Solano’s case—it was rather a venue of social discussion around the candidate.

The testimonies —*probanzas*— also offer a certain guarantee of both plausibility and veracity, since all statements were made under oath.¹¹² Lay people swore by putting the right hands on the Holy Gospels while the priests put their right hands over their hearts (where God dwells).¹¹³ For greater solemnity, many witnesses had to declare in the presence of Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, archbishop of Lima. In addition, the veracity of the testimonies was increased by the protocols of the process itself. An apostolic notary along with a public notary attested that the process was carried out according to the established procedure.¹¹⁴ Also involved in the process were a judge, an ecclesiastical prosecutor and a scrivener from the Royal Audience of Lima. The *Procurador general* represented the Franciscan Province of Peru.

¹¹²The testimonies were collected from eyewitnesses, earwitnesses (*ex auditu*) and those who had news from a third party. Interrogations could last a couple of hours. The attorney, the notary, the judge and the prosecutor had to travel to different places in the city.

¹¹³ See José Gonzalo De las Casas, *Diccionario general del notariado de España y ultramar*, vol. VI (Madrid: J. Antonio García, 1857), 475.

¹¹⁴ For instance, one of those norms stated that it was forbidden to alter the depositions of the witnesses even if their expressions were not formal or accurate; see José Juan Colom, *Instrucción de escribanos en orden a lo judicial. Utilísima también para procuradores y litigantes, donde sucintamente se explica lo ritual y forma de proceder en las causas civiles y criminales, así en la teórica como en la práctica. Fundada sobre las leyes reales y estilo de tribunales ordinarios*, vol. I (Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1827), 43–44.

Once the dossier was completed, the archbishop of Lima sent it to the King of Spain through the Royal Council of the Indies. Finally, once the diocesan process in Lima had ended, the testimonies of the other dioceses in which Solano had lived had to be gathered. To collect these statements, Luis Gerónimo de Oré was commissioned to travel to Seville, Madrid, Córdoba, Granada, Málaga and Montilla. The information he collected through interviews served as a documentary source to write the first biography on Solano.

As will seen in Chapter 3, Luis Gerónimo de Oré was a distinguished member of the Peruvian Province of the Twelve Apostles. He received a mandate from Antonio Trejo, Franciscan General Commissioner of the Indies, to investigate the years Solano spent in his hometown as well as in the Spanish cities where he lived as a friar. The letter of such obedience was given in Madrid on June 13, 1613.¹¹⁵ Within a few weeks, Oré was already in Seville carrying out the work entrusted to him. By July 28 of the same year, Oré was in Montilla continuing with his commission. These few dates show the readiness and effectiveness of his work.

The testimonies collected in the Spanish cities did not contradict those of Lima. On the contrary, they provided some complementary information. Namely, they corroborated the “purity of blood” of Solano’s parents, and confirmed his virtuous childhood, adolescence and youth, as well as the exemplary first stage of his religious life. In this context the testimony of a friar from Seville who had shared some years with Solano in Montilla and Granada may be cited, who did not testified before Ore that he remembered him as a man of “great observance of his Rule, great love of evangelical poverty, with

¹¹⁵ Noble David Cook states that Oré was disappointed of having received this task as it was simple (see Oré_V1614, XVI). However, it could also be argued that Oré saw in this assignment an opportunity in the longer term, because one of the objectives that Oré set himself in Spain was to recruit friars for the missions in Florida. The figure of Solano could serve to animate the missionary candidates, since his life proved that the mission was not incompatible with the observance of the Franciscan Rule, whose rigorous compliance was a guarantee of salvation and holiness.

continuous silence, perfect prayer, and continuous and great abstinence, and he preached with great zeal and fervour, and with the sick he showed particular charity.”¹¹⁶

Characteristics that had also been highlighted by witnesses in Lima.

More than twenty years after Solano’s departure for America, many aspects of his figure had been naturally forgotten in Spain. It is worth remembering that Solano died at aged 61, at a time when the average life expectancy was approximately 50 years. In Montilla few of Solano’s contemporaries were still alive; only a few villagers remembered precise details of his life. However, the 23 witnesses Oré managed to gather in Montilla were unanimous in highlighting his “pure descent (*limpieza de sangre*),” and his exemplary childhood, adolescence, and religious life. They witnessed few of the alleged miracles. Unlike in Lima, there were no relics that aroused religious devotion and, therefore, supernatural events. On the other hand, Luis Gerónimo de Oré not only asked for testimonies from relevant people, but also based his report on documentary evidence,¹¹⁷ researching the Book of Baptisms for the Parish of Santiago in Montilla and the Book of Professions of religious vows in the friary of San Lorenzo Extramuros.

Regarding the content of the testimonies, it seems that the witnesses may have had a theological understanding of the role of the saint as a promoter or intercessor of God’s favours —rather than as a miracle worker. This conceptual precision was evident even in illiterate and uneducated people: When a humble woman, faced with the suffering of her six-month-old son, crippled from birth, heard the news of Solano’s death, “at that moment she entrusted her son to him, and took him as her advocate and intercessor, so that he would ask God our Lord to heal the child”.¹¹⁸ However, it such testimony may have also

¹¹⁶ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Romero” (Lima: November 19, 1610), 305.

¹¹⁷ In this way, Oré’s report became the first solid study on the figure of Francisco Solano. However, there were previous attempts to write about his exemplary life; see AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de Mendoza” (October 28, 1610), ff. 63v–83r.

¹¹⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Isabel Carrillo, housewife” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 167v–168v.

reflected the nature of the questions being imposed and interpreted according to orthodox teaching of the Church at the time.¹¹⁹ As might be expected, the religious authorities — from whom a more theological approach would be expected— were the most enthusiastic and devoted. The testimony of Archbishop Lobo Guerrero and that of the rector of the Jesuit College in Lima are eloquent samples. Following this theological context, the pleas asking for Solano’s intercession were always accompanied by sincere and persevering pious acts.¹²⁰

In many cases, parishioners asking for his intercession bought (or made themselves) wax figures through which they represented the sick person for whom a favour was sought. Afterwards, such wax figures were placed in the chapel dedicated to Solano so that his tomb remained illuminated. Many people believed that the oil in the lamps that illuminated the burial chapel of Solano was also effective in healing illnesses. The most remarkable case was that of a woman who anointed the body of her leprous daughter with such oil; when she returned home, she noticed how “all the leprosy was falling off” from her daughter’s body.¹²¹ Another eloquent case was that of a resident of Santiago de Chile who had a numb tongue because he had been diagnosed with “proven morbid gallic,” possibly alluding to syphilis. On his way through Lima, he decided to visit Solano’s grave, took soil from his grave “and put it in his mouth, rubbing his tongue with it, which this

¹¹⁹ Even if there is a kind of “spiritual blackmail” involved, as in the case of a young priest who asked Solano to intercede before God for his healing with these words: “Holy friar Francisco Solano, if when I make this vow and promise to you I see that the pain is immediately removed, then I will believe that you are holy indeed,” AAV, Riti, 1328, Testimony Luis de Guadalupe, OFM (Lima: February 19, 1611), f. 710r.

¹²⁰ One of the witnesses was healed of a haemorrhage, but when she stopped praying the blood flow returned. She realised about the importance of persevering prayer, AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Ana de Villadiego, widow” (Lima: January 19, 1611), f. 321r.

¹²¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, Testimony of María de Longarte, housewife (Lima: February 9, 1611), f. 193v.

witness did three or four times with great devotion.”¹²² According to his testimony, this produced a gradual improvement until he was completely healed.¹²³

It is not easy to summarise the virtues enumerated by the 262 witnesses of the diocesan process of the canonisation of Solano. Indeed, the 204 witnesses from Lima, 26 from Montilla, 13 from Seville, 10 from Córdoba, 5 from Granada, 3 from Málaga and 1 from Madrid list a series of virtuous behaviours that fit their own criteria, as well as the ecclesial standards of holiness at the time. However, there are virtues that are repeatedly cited. These are structured around the theological virtues: (faith, hope, and charity), the cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude) and the three traditional religious vows (poverty,¹²⁴ chastity,¹²⁵ and obedience¹²⁶).

¹²² AAV, Riti, 1328, “Testimony of Fernando del Pojo” (Lima: June 7, 1611), f. 717r.

¹²³ In 1664, a similar scene was repeated in Lima, following the unearthing of Martín de Porres (1579-1639): “Juan Criollo would testify that he had invoked the intercession of Fray Martín before dissolving the grave dirt in water and drinking it,” Celia Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2. As expected, Juan Criollo’s fever immediately subsided.

¹²⁴ A witness stated: “There was no one poorer than him in the entire Order,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan de la Concepción, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), f. 92r.

¹²⁵ While living in the Tucumán area where, for lack of personnel and for pastoral reasons, he often had to live alone, Solano gave orders to the mission authorities not to let any Indian woman approach his cell [i.e., dormitory] to safeguard “the priceless treasure of chastity,” Oré_V1614, 35. Nonetheless, for the sake of others’ salvation he heard the confessions of the prostitutes giving them words of encouragement and comfort. On one occasion, in Trujillo, when a witness asked Solano where he was going in such a hurry, he replied that he was going to see his girlfriend (using the same allegory that St. Francis of Assisi reserved for Lady Poverty), alluding to a leper woman to whom he brought food, tidied her house, washed and even kissed her wounds, AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of María de Ortega, housewife” (Lima: November 5, 1610), ff. 154v–157v. This should be seen in the context of the draconian norms that regulated the behavior of religious men with women, frequently resorting to sentences of excommunication and other sanctions; see Carlos Piccone Camere, “Presencia y figura de la mujer en los orígenes de la reforma capuchina,” *Estudios Franciscanos* 118, no. 463 (2017): 377–421.

¹²⁶ Even before leaving Europe, Solano was highly esteemed among his co-religionists for his “observance of the [Franciscan] Rule and perfect obedience.” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Cristóbal de San Francisco, OFM” (Seville: July 17, 1613), 370.

These ten virtues were evident in the virtuous acts that witnesses described, such as being a humble man¹²⁷; a silent man who spoke strictly when it was necessary, a penitent man who never complained about his serious illnesses;¹²⁸ a recollected friar, always treasuring his contemplative loneliness but also in solidarity with the pain of others; and a passionate human being, able to consume his life for the salvation of souls. In the face of this profile, many testimonies take Solano's sanctity for granted: "And although he, with his great discretion, tried to cover up his holiness, it was so much that it showed through".¹²⁹

Several themes appear frequently in the testimonies. First, they point to the extraordinary nature of his life, that is, they highlight the amazing virtues of Solano. A professor of Law maintained that the Franciscan friar seemed to him "like a man from heaven".¹³⁰ Second, they constantly compared Solano with St. Francis of Assisi:¹³¹ "his person was a portrait of Saint Francis".¹³² After his death, "everyone said that the face of St. Francis was reflected in his."¹³³ This comparison would later be theologically

¹²⁷ Solano systematically renounced the prerogatives of the various charges he received, avoiding recognition and praise from others: "In all community acts and activities, he wanted to be the least," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Sedaño, OFM" (Lima: November 6, 1610), ff. 108v–110r.

¹²⁸ Due to the continuous penances, fasts and abstinences, Solano had a broken health: "And when he was sick, which was frequent, he always showed great patience... and never complained". AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Diego Trebejo, Franciscan friar" (Lima: November 11, 1610), f. 81v.

¹²⁹ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Andrés Corso, Franciscan Friar" (Lima: October 25, 1610), ff. 55r–57r.

¹³⁰ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Francisco de León, member of the City Council" (Lima: November 26, 1610), f. 144v. According to another witness, Solano was so virtuous that "he did not seem a mortal man," PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Bartolomé Gómez de Baena, Diocesan priest" (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 328.

¹³¹ See Carlos Piccone Camere, "San Francisco Solano, el *alter Franciscus* del Nuevo Mundo. Aportes para una reconstrucción historiográfica," *Revista de Teología de la Universidad Católica de Santa María* 43 (2017): 5–120; "San Francisco Solano: *alter Franciscus* para el Nuevo Mundo," *Stadium Veritatis* 15, no. 21 (2017): 271–98.

¹³² AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Gerónimo de Montesinos, SJ" (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 138r–139r.

¹³³ PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Francisco de Otárola, OFM" (Lima: October 14, 1612), 306–16.

formulated: “Two suns planted God our Lord in the sky of the Seraphic Family, so that, with the rays of the evangelical light, two apostolic Franciscans could influence in both hemispheres.”¹³⁴ Third, the testimonies frequently referred to the wreck of Solano’s ship during a storm near the island of La Gorgona, from which Solano escaped unharmed, helping many people to survive. Fourth, other testimonies mentioned Solano’s famous sermon on “the Judgment Day,”¹³⁵ in which he prophesied an earthquake that came to pass, but which was quelled by the conversion of thousands of people, “moving the republic to public and private penances”.¹³⁶ Such was the collective impact of this event that another witness claimed that Solano would have proved his holiness even “if he had not done more than this in his life”.¹³⁷

In addition, as briefly stated in the previous chapter, Solano was compared to the prophet Jonah, while Lima was likened to the ancient city of Nineveh. According to the biblical book, Jonah received an order from God to travel to Nineveh and warn its inhabitants to change their licentious life to prevent divine wrath. However, Jonah refused to accept such a mission and, believing that he could flee from God, he embarked to Tarshish. Caught in a storm, he was swallowed by a giant fish. Three days later, the fish vomited him out onto the shore of Nineveh (Jonah, 1-2). Similarly, on his journey to the New World, Solano was also seeking to flee, not from God but from human applause. A storm caused his ship to sink, “vomiting him out” on an island where he and his

¹³⁴ Torres, *Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada*, 176.

¹³⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of don Hernando de Guzmán” (Lima: November 22, 1610) f. 260r.

¹³⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Mateo González, *Maestrescuela* of the Cathedral” (Lima: November 13, 1610), ff. 118r–119v. Solano was invoked as an intercessor to alleviate natural disasters. There is even evidence of his invocation in Portugal, in the aftermath of an earthquake in the eighteenth century, AHMM, Actas Capitulares, “Votive Mass in honour of Francisco Solano for the earthquake in Lisbon” (November, 18, 1755), b. 57.

¹³⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Bartolomé Menacho, Canon of the Cathedral” (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 122v–122r.

companions spent more than two months. On Christmas Eve he prophesied that they would be rescued in three days.¹³⁸

On the other hand, in the early seventeenth century, thanks to the production of silver in Potosí, the City of Kings was the richest city in South America,¹³⁹ where greatest luxuries and extreme poverty coexisted. Faced with this, the testimonies noted how the austere, penitent, and recollect Solano was interrupted his prayers to preach with courage in the squares of Lima, exhorting its inhabitants to abandon their vices. His successful preaching was based on his own experience. During his years in Tucumán, Solano had been able to verify to what extent the Indians might be mistreated in the name of colonisation; and in the classist Lima of his time mistreatment of black and indigenous people proliferated. Finally, informants commonly referred to the transformation of Solano's body after his transit, stating that his body underwent a complete whitening,¹⁴⁰ his face took on a charming appearance and the corpse was so fragrant that some witnesses continued to perceive it months after his death.¹⁴¹ They also recorded his exalted burial where Solano's coffin was carried on shoulders by the viceroy, the archbishop and prelates of the various orders.¹⁴²

Following his death, testifiers claimed that his relics had miraculous powers that were effective in healing any kind of illness. Among many other miraculous events, a girl

¹³⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Isabel Arias, widow" (Lima: November 8, 1610), ff. 160v–144v.

¹³⁹ See Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 42. See also Kris Lane, *Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World* (Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2019), 2.

¹⁴⁰ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Antonio Ortiz, OFM" (Lima: October 17, 1610), ff. 32r–37v.

¹⁴¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Gerónimo del Castillo, Mercedarian priest" (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 126r–127r.

¹⁴² Before this episode, both the Viceroy and the Archbishop knelt down to kiss Solano's feet and hands: AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Francisco Daza, SJ" (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 139r–140r.

was healed when her mother tied a piece of Solano's habit to her crippled arm;¹⁴³ all members of a widow's family were healed from their ailments when they applied relics over their aching limbs;¹⁴⁴ people cut pieces of Solano's habit as they acclaimed him saying "holy of holies".¹⁴⁵ Devotion did not only come from uneducated people; the rector of the College of San Felipe and San Marcos did not hesitate to fight for a piece of Solano's habit, affirming that it would serve to "heal from different diseases".¹⁴⁶ This relic fever had actually started before Solano's death, and even some friars promoted such devotion, cutting off parts of Solano's habit and circulating them throughout the city at the demand of devout people.¹⁴⁷

The topics listed above summarise the stature that Solano's contemporaries thought a saint should achieve —powers so great as to rival the most extreme forces of nature: storms and earthquakes; a man who embodied in life a series of virtues; a friar who was so holy that he could have been defined as an angel dressed in human flesh.¹⁴⁸

Many of the witnesses shamelessly confessed that they spied on Solano to verify if he was a *real* saint. The result was that they always saw him in deep prayer, or singing and dancing in front of the Blessed Sacrament, the images of the Virgin Mary and other

¹⁴³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Fernández, Mercedarian priest" (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 129v–129r.

¹⁴⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Ana Manrique, widow" (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 129v–131r.

¹⁴⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Miguel Cornejo, Collegiate of San Felipe and San Marcos" (Lima: November 26, 1610), ff. 144v–146v.

¹⁴⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Andrés García de Zurita, Rector of the College of San Felipe and San Marcos" (Lima: November 26, 1610), ff. 147v–148v. Yet, judging by the numerous relic-bearing witnesses, if all the pieces of relics had to be put together, the amount of cloth would be higher than the habits Solano could have used in his entire life.

¹⁴⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Beatriz de Yllescas, nun of the Monastery of the Encarnation" (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 134r–135r.

¹⁴⁸ See AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Rodríguez, OFM" (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 106v–108v; "Testimony of Andrés Orosco, OFM" (Lima: November 8, 1610), ff. 112r–113r; "Testimony of Gerónimo Alonso de la Torre, OFM" (Lima: November 7, 1610), ff. 113r–116r; "Testimony of Ana Manrique, widow" (Lima: November 19, 1610), ff. 129r–131r.

saints (especially Bonaventure and Diego of Alcalá).¹⁴⁹ They also found that Solano was the first to arrive at the choir for community prayers and the last to leave —as he was often absorbed in prayer.¹⁵⁰ The Franciscan nurses also spied on Solano and provided more intimate details. Thanks to them it is known that he spent many nights awake and that he was extremely penitent and that he offered all his sufferings to God.¹⁵¹ According to practice at the time, impudence and audacity in the search for details of the intimate life turns was considered as a virtue when it came to spying on an alleged saint.¹⁵² Even a matter as delicate as the secrecy of the confessional is relativised when trying to prove his sanctity: “In all the time this witness heard his confessions, no mortal sin was heard”.¹⁵³

Solano’s dead body also turned into a mysterious object which the curious approached to discover miraculous signs. From the large crowd that had gathered to attend Solano’s funeral, a smaller group of devout people was able to touch him, spreading a story that was taken as a sign of his sanctity: Solano’s limbs did not acquire the rigidity and pallor that normally characterise a dead body; instead, they were totally flexible and had a healthy colour.¹⁵⁴ A witness did not hesitate to approach his mouth to

¹⁴⁹ Following the example of St. Diego de Alcalá, Solano carried a crucifix in his preaching (a Solanist iconographic type). Towards the crucifix he directed his sobs and tears, causing the public to shudder with emotion and repentance; see AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego Trebejo, OFM” (Lima: November 11, 1610), f. 81r.

¹⁵⁰ PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Claudio Ramírez de Sosa, OFM” (Madrid: October 9, 1613), 409.

¹⁵¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Antonio Donado, nurse that donated himself to the Franciscans” (Lima: November 7, 1610), ff. 94r–98v.

¹⁵² A friar assured that he never saw Solano committing the slightest sin, despite his efforts to surprise him while doing so. AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Martín del Prado, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 83v–86r.

¹⁵³ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Gerónimo de la Torre, OFM” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 168v–168r.

¹⁵⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de Morales, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), ff. 98v–99r.

corroborate that instead of stinking, he could perceive a pleasant smell.¹⁵⁵ This extreme curiosity had a reason: they naturally wanted to satisfy their curiosity and manipulated his deceased body so that people around the scene could see what a saint's body was like.¹⁵⁶ It was a holy spectacle.¹⁵⁷

Some of those who surrounded the dead friar to obtain relics, cut his nails and strands of hair. While cutting a nail, someone also cut a bit of the meat from the toe and, to increase the general wonder, "red blood gushed out, as if he had still been alive".¹⁵⁸ This could describe the colonial imaginary of man facing death, the attitude of Christians before the impenetrable mystery of the afterlife. Faced with disease and imminent death, devotees believed that only faith could surpass these boundaries. This is more evident in the testimonies of the physicians who openly confessed the limits of their medical knowledge, opening up to the stupor induced by a suspected supernatural force.¹⁵⁹

It has been said that one of the events in Solano's life most commented upon by witnesses in his trial was that of his apocalyptic preaching that prophesied an earthquake and that moved thousands of people to penance. Within this context, it is remarkable that, despite his reputation for holiness and esteemed preacher, none of Solano's sermons have been preserved. The only texts that has survived to this day is a letter addressed to his sister in Montilla, sent a few months before he died,¹⁶⁰ and a series of *ipsissima verba* —

¹⁵⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Luis de Camargo, OFM" (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 86r–89r.

¹⁵⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Diego Álvarez de Paz, SJ" (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 137r–138r.

¹⁵⁷ Similarly, seven years later, during the wake of Rosa de Lima, she was "transmogrified into a sacred object destined to be honoured," Van Deusen, *Embodying the Sacred*, 42.

¹⁵⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Gómez, Franciscan friar" (Lima: October 10, 1610), ff. 51v–55v.

¹⁵⁹ Take, for instance, AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Mayor de Alarcón, widow" (Lima: November 24, 1610), ff. 140r–142r.

¹⁶⁰ APSM, "Letter of Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano in Montilla" (Lima: March 10, 1610): This letter shows some traits of Solano's spirituality, revealing a deep affection towards his family, which has been little developed by his biographers. It is considered to be an autograph letter. However, since the letter was written about three

the exact words that Solano would undoubtedly have pronounced. However, Solano's *ipsissima verba* are rather simple phrases and exclamations ("Glory be to the Lord!", "Blessed be God!", "Bless the Lord!", "Oh, what a good God we have!", "The Lord's will be done!", to name but a few). Despite their simplicity, taken together, they help to outline a profile of a man who was passionate about his faith and the salvation of souls and who put the love and mercy of God at the core of his life. This deep spiritual experience made Solano always caring and compassionate towards others.

Thus, Solano's famous preaching calling for conversion accompanied by threats should be placed in a broader context so as not to get an idea of a violent, disturbed and angry friar. Even in the famous sermon alluded to, Solano's purpose was not to demonstrate the inevitable wrath of God; rather his message was one of hope: "Hey, brothers, God does not want to sink us, but He wants us to rectify our sins!".¹⁶¹ Other testimonies affirm that Solano was quite the opposite. The phrase of one of his co-religionists describes his disposition towards other people: Solano "caused great admiration and horror when people found that a man so narrow [hard] for himself was so wide [generous] for others".¹⁶² In Lima as in Trujillo, one of Solano's most assiduous activities was visiting the sick and prisoners. He developed an apostolate with the marginalised of society, including criminals and prostitutes who confessed their faults, receiving consolation rather than judgement.¹⁶³

months before his death (when he was 61 years old), featuring a clear and remarkable calligraphy, it is likely that Solano dictated it and one of the friars wrote it on his behalf. In the copy of this letter kept in the Archive of the Convent of Our Lady of Loreto (Seville), the letter is dated May 16, 1610. See the original digitised letter in Appendix 5.

¹⁶¹ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Luis de Camargo, OFM" (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 86r–89r.

¹⁶² AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Martín del Prado, OFM" (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 83v–86r.

¹⁶³ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Martín del Prado, OFM" (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 83v–86r.

Although the testimonies are highly informative, they need careful interpretation. The responses of some witnesses tend to be very similar, especially when inhabiting the same friary/monastery. The case of the four nuns of the Order of Saint Clare is quite graphic. They all reported the same events: Solano's ecstasy while preaching a sermon on the *Magnificat* and the apparition the nuns saw of what they believed was the friar's spirit in the form of a cloud of light the same day he passed away.¹⁶⁴ These are cases that are only reported by them who, being cloistered nuns, could not give direct testimony of other events in the life of the saint.

Another potential limitation is that the testimonies also help to transcend a series of cliché-images on Solano's figure which are particularly present in the popular imagination. That is, artists painted popular images for which there is no historical evidence. For instance, one of the most widespread pictorial and sculptural representations of the saint consists in portraying Solano with a violin in hand. However, no sources have been found to confirm this fact, except for allusions to a "small bow with two strings,"¹⁶⁵ a "small bow with a string"¹⁶⁶ or the reference to "a small bow and a wire that imitated a violin"¹⁶⁷ to accompany songs of praise to God.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Justina de Guevara, Abbess of the Monastery of Saint Clare" (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 120v–122v.

¹⁶⁵ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Cristóbal Pan y Agua, OFM" (Lima: October 19, 1610), ff. 42v–46r.

¹⁶⁶ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Gómez, OFM" (Lima: October 10, 1610), ff. 51v–55v.

¹⁶⁷ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Gerónimo Alonso de la Torre, OFM" (Lima: November 7, 1610), ff. 113r–116r.

¹⁶⁸ AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of María de Ortega, housewife" (Lima: November 5, 1610), ff. 154v–157v.

Chapter 3: ‘St. Francisco Solano’: Looking forward to constructing a renewed model of sanctity

Using a popular phrase to roughly describe the canonisation process in the Catholic Church, some contemporary authors refer to it as the “factory for making saints”¹. As will be seen in this chapter, this is a complex, unique and multifaceted factory that went through periods with little or no production, and others of high output; a factory that knew how to perceive the needs of its potential ‘target market’ —those of Christian faith— and even how to reinvent its line of ‘products’ —the saints— according to each historical context; a factory, in the end, that changed its regulations with pontifical reforms becoming more restricted, centralised and bureaucratic. As Kenneth Woodward has stated, “what was once a populist process was now largely in the hands of canon lawyers resident in Rome”.² In other words, what was once a spontaneous acknowledgment by common Christian people in their local communities became a detailed and thorough investigation.

The bulls of beatification and canonisation constituted the crowning of a procedurally intricate process by which the Pope made himself the exclusive guarantor of the authenticity of the sanctity of a Christian, regardless of his or her place of birth or any other personal circumstance. As Thomas Aquinas taught, his verdict was final and without possibility of appeal: “in the canonisation of the saints, the judgment of the Pope is inerrant”.³ This characteristic of papal infallibility was one of the factors that motivated the Holy See to set higher standards in the evaluation of the causes for potential saints.

¹ See Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma* (Casale di Monferrato: Marietti, 1984); and Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints. How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York: Touchstone, 1996 [1990]).

² Woodward, *Making Saints*, 76.

³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa totius theologiae. Questiones quodlibetales Duodecim. Nunc ab infinitis mendis vindicatae, et suo candori restituta. Quarum materias, & articulos*

In his commentary on the canonisation process of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Baptista dei Giudici—a Dominican friar and bishop of Ventimiglia—recorded that: “Not everyone is worthy of the honour of canonisation, but only those who are excellent. Therefore, it should not be accessible for everyone to exhibit such an honour”.⁴ A century later, a few years before the death of Francisco Solano, the theological line remained the same. Indeed, in a fundamental work for understanding the doctrine of the Catholic Church at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the famous Augustinian Angelo Rocca defined the canonisation of the saints as “the canonical and public approval of the sanctity of a person, solemnly declared, promulgated and ascribed in the Catalogue of Saints, to be invoked by all the Christian faithful and venerated in the celebrations proposed in the Divine Office”.⁵

Consequently, this chapter will show both how knowledge of changes to this process is critical to understanding the timing of the cause of Solano, and how changes in procedures were related to shifting power between the papacy and European Catholic powers.

1. The machinery behind the process of beatification

As has been seen in the preceding chapters, sponsoring a person to become a canonised saint in the Catholic Church involved a complex process which began with a *sine qua non* condition that arose almost spontaneously: the *fama sanctitatis*—the holy

Index in principio earum facillime ostendit (Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1588 [1485]), 9, qq. 7, art. 16.

⁴ Baptistae Vintimiliensis, “De canonizatione. Liber secundus,” in *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta et non paucis ineditis monumentis opportunisque animadversionibus aucta, vol. IV: Continens Monumenta Miscellanea varia*, ed. Etienne Baluze (Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctinium, 1744), 484.

⁵ Angelo Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius, hoc est de Diffinitione, Auctoritate, & Antiquitate; deq. Causis, & ordine iudiciario canonizandi Sanctos* (Rome: Apud Guillelmum Facciotum, 1601), 5.

reputation that a candidate had among his or her followers.⁶ However, subsequently, this process became increasingly formal and was subject to the ecclesiastical rules of Canon Law operating in each specific historical period.⁷

From the seventeenth century to date, in the process of canonisation the candidate must satisfactorily pass through a series of examinations at different stages in their causes: first, that of Servant of God (*Servus/a Dei*);⁸ then that of Blessed (*Beatus/a*); and, finally, the proclamation of the candidate's sanctity (*Sanctus/a*). The process was finalised through the issuing of corresponding papal bulls of beatification and canonisation.⁹ In the *vidas* of Solano, worth noting is the use of the term Venerable (*Venerabilis*), a title that was reserved for those candidates the introduction of whose cause was signed by the Pope allowing the appointment of the Apostolic Commission.

During the first stage of the cause, if everything proceeded satisfactorily, the Sacred Congregation for Rites [*Sacra Congregatio Rituum*, hereinafter SCR] issued a *nihil obstat* document which guaranteed that, from the information obtained, nothing could hinder the subsequent process leading to canonisation. This was a critical transition point and one in

⁶See Beaudoin, "Brief history of canonizations," 27.

⁷'Canon Law' (*ius canonicum*) refers to the set of rules of the Roman Catholic Church; see James Coriden, *An Introduction to Canon Law* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 3.

⁸The importance of the *Regestum Servorum Dei* (namely, 'the record of the Servants of God'), located at the *Archive of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints* [ACCS], lies in the fact that it contains an alphabetical index of all the candidates postulated to be canonised. For the purposes of this thesis, valuable are the first six volumes that provide data from the beginning of the Congregation to the dates around the canonisation of Solano (1726) [ACCS, *Regestum Servorum Dei* (1592-1730)]. They are useful for compiling statistics applicable to the number of the saints-to-be, their sex, their origin, as well as the success or failure of their trials. This source also confirms that Solano's cause of canonisation was the first officially initiated from the New World. See Jaroslav Nemeč, "L'Archivio della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (ex-S. Congregazione dei Riti)," in *Miscellanea in occasione del IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)* (Vatican City: Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1988), 339–52.

⁹Named after the leaden seal (lat. *bullā*), from the fifteenth century, the term 'bull' refers to a papal document on important matters, mainly the canonisation of saints; see Thomas Frenz, *I documenti pontifici nel Medioevo e nell'Età Moderna*, ed. Sergio Pagano (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2008), 14.

which the Holy See was usually very cautious, as a dossier might include a *probanzas*¹⁰ —legally deposited— that could cast doubt on the moral suitability of the aspirants.¹¹ This was the case of the five servants of God in New Spain: Gregorio López, Bartolomé Gutiérrez, María de Jesús Tomelín, Juan de Palafox, and Antonio Margil, colonial Mexico's hagiographical prototypes

For this reason, it was not enough for the notaries to record the depositions but also scrutinise them in detail. In the words of Saint Thomas Aquinas, holiness could be clothed in garments of hypocrisy or deception: “Those who wear the garb of holiness but do not achieve the merit of perfection are deceivers, the outer robe of holiness being a symbol of the works of perfection”.¹² Hence, it was insufficient that the candidate died with a reputation for sanctity: it was necessary that it was demonstrated throughout the biological life of the aspirant —or, at least, from his spiritual conversion.¹³

¹⁰ The *probanzas*' importance lies in the fact that they involved a large number of witnesses who provided sworn testimonies about the life and context of the person under investigation, from their particular circumstances and in accordance with the perspective of their social status; see Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 10.

¹¹ See Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015), 10. Similarly, as far as colonial Peru is concerned, noteworthy are the studies of José Ramón Jouve and Fernando Iwasaki. The first took the case of Ángela de Carranza as an example of a failed canonisation case; see Jouve, “En olor de santidad,” 181–98; see also Stacey Schlau, “Angela Carranza, Would-Be Theologian,” in *The Catholic Church and Unruly Women Writers: Critical Essays*, eds. Jeana DelRosso, Leigh Eicke and Ana Kothe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 69–86. The second, instead, took the case of the so-called ‘alumbradas’ of Lima, among which the figure of Luisa Melgarejo stood out. She was a confidant of Rosa and a person who had received many favours from heaven,” Fernando Iwasaki, “Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 4 (1993): 585.

¹² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. XLI: *Virtues of Justice in the Human Community*, ed. T.C. O'Brien (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 173.

¹³ See Gabriella Zarri, “Female sanctity, 1500–1660,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. VI: *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 194–95.

Once the ‘probanza’ was complete, the bishop of the jurisdiction in which the aspirant died had to present the results of the investigation to the SCR. Then, the latter began the *processo apostolico* and, in response to the bishop’s request, appointed a *postulador* in charge of examining the dossier and of collecting further evidence about the life of the *Servus Dei*. Finally, religious orders/congregations designated their own *postulador* to facilitate effective contact and exchange of information with the SCR officials.

During this stage of the process, the body of the Servant of God could be exhumed.¹⁴ One of the main purposes of exhumation was its medical examination, since the incorruptibility of the bodies was regarded as one of the most important signs of sanctity.¹⁵ Taking advantage of the unearthing, the religious habits of the deceased were usually replaced by others so that they could be preserved as potential relics in the event that the person was canonised. In addition to the *nihil obstat*, another important document at this stage in the process leading to canonisation was the *non-cultus*. In order to avoid superstitious or inappropriate worship this certificate assured that the candidate for sainthood had not been revered by others without the official authorisation of the Church.

The aforementioned procedures were part of the canonical requirements demanded by Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a time during which the SCR was clarifying its own role and creating more consistent practices.¹⁶ Some regulations were a

¹⁴ In 1615, five years after the death of Solano, it was suggested that his body be exhumed to see if it was uncorrupted; ASI, *Relationes diversas*, 2/32, f. 21.

¹⁵ See Bradford Bouley, *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 72. According to the *Legenda Sanctorum*, the incorruptibility of the holy bodies was one of the arguments used by St. Augustine of Hippo to defend the Assumption of the Virgin Mary into Heaven: “such integrity deserves to be succeeded only by incorruptibility, certainly not by disintegration or decay,” Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 119.

¹⁶ See Vincenzo Criscuolo, “Evoluzione storica del culto e delle procedure di canonizzazione,” in *Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum. Le cause dei santi. Sussidio per*

mélange of ecclesiastical customs and traditions that only later became an official part of a more systematic legal corpus, when rules became stricter and required more standards of orthodoxy. This period of formalisation increased and was legislated for under Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), giving the papacy exclusive control over canonisation processes.

Parallel to the official process, a no less complex narrative was often developed. This time the recipients were not only the members of the SCR, but also ordinary people who, reading or listening to the heroic virtues of the Servants of God, invoked their protection and patronage both during their lives and at their moment of death. In this way, the reputation for sanctity of the candidates might spread among the Christian faithful, which might consequently increase the possibility that some type of miracle might be attributed to the invocation of the particular Servant of God and its occurrence reported.¹⁷ The accreditation of miracles to the intercession of a candidate was not mandatory at this stage of the process, but the occurrence of miracles through the intercession of a candidate was a requirement for the final stage. Hence the importance of enhancing the word-of-mouth effect through the advertising the narrative of their lives at an early stage in the process. Documents submitted at this stage revealed cultural and religious traces of people from all backgrounds, religious or laypeople, be they elite or humble.¹⁸

The compilation of the narrative began once the most relevant data on the lives of the candidates had been selected from the *probanzas*, and the most reliable documentation chosen/filtered by the biographer. The next step consisted of exalting the memories of the

lo Studium, eds. Vincenzo Criscuolo, Carmelo Pellegrino and Robert Sarno (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2018), 210.

¹⁷ In the Jew and Christian Traditions, there has been a distinction between sorcery (a magical transformation achieved through a ritual act) and miracle (an extraordinary event achieved via supernatural intervention); see Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 10.

¹⁸ See Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles. Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8.

aspirants through hagiographic writing. The hagiographers were often the most reputable writers from the religious congregation to which the candidates belonged, playing a key role in the dissemination of information about their suitability for the canonisation. As Peter Burke has summarised, a determinant element in the attribution of sanctity to a candidate was the “‘fit’ between his or her career and the best-known stereotypes of the saint”.¹⁹

Accordingly, the formal procedure often began with the production of the candidates’ biographies through *vidas*. From the Middle Ages, these were shaped by stereotypical descriptions —compared to epical narratives—²⁰ about the purity of origins and innocent childhood of the candidates —periods of life which hinted at a certain predestination to impeccability—, owing much to a providential vision of history. This approach emphasised the involvement of the Creator in human history (medium of God’s work) rather than the freedom of will of his creatures (*libero arbitrio*).²¹ In writing the *vidas*, some of the most important purposes of the hagiographer were “to reinforce the spiritual power of the saint, to defend the reality of their presence in heaven, and to illustrate the intimate relationship between the reputation of the saint and God”.²²

Bearing in mind the objective of spiritual and ethical edification of the hagiographic genre helps the present reader to understand —without having to censor or dismiss

¹⁹ Burke, “Counter-Reformation Saint,” 56.

²⁰ John Kevin Walsh, “French Epic Legends in Spanish Hagiography: The Vida de San Ginés and the Chanson de Roland,” *Hispanic Review* 50, no. 1 (1982): 1.

²¹ Originally developed by Augustine of Hippo, other doctors of the Church, such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas, also deepened on the *libero arbitrio*. Erasmus (*De libero arbitrio*, 1524) and Martin Luther (*De servo arbitrio*, 1525) held antagonistic positions. However, although theologically at odds with free will, the providentialist view of history was used by Catholic hagiographers as a moralising means, reiterating the inexorable links among religion, politics, and society; see Kenneth Mills and William Taylor, “Introduction,” in *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History*, eds. Kenneth Mills and William Taylor (Lanham: Scholarly Resources, 2006), XX.

²² Donald Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 80

anything— the implausibility of many of the stories recorded in the lives of the saints. The *vidas* highlighted the candidates' moral triumphs, as well as their typical Christian way of living and dying that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was depicted with an emphasis on baroque *pathos*, prone to dramatic exaggeration.²³ Such stereotypes simplify the worldview to conventional themes which surpass time and place.

In a study of hagiography and ecclesiastical censorship in the post-Tridentine period, Miguel Gotor enumerates diverse types of sanctity that prevailed in this period: the “reforming” one, personified by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo; the “inquisitorial” one, by the Dominican Pope Pius V; the “virtuous” one, by Ignatius of Loyola; and the “sought after” one, by the first Capuchin friars. Two types of censorship operated in the hagiographic genre: an external one, that is, censorship applied by congregations of cardinals; and the self-censorship applied by writers themselves. Both types of censorship, as dynamic instruments of control, “acted directly on the conscience of each of the hagiographers as a conditioned psychological reflex that produced a self-regulation induced by the counter-reformation context in which they worked”.²⁴

According to the first volume of the *Regestum* of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints —current successor to the SCR—, between 1592 and 1654 the individual causes of 269 Servants of God were examined, including that of Solano.²⁵ Out of this list, about 77 percent were men. This balance in favour of men rises exponentially when the various groups of martyrs are incorporated, including those immolated in England, Brazil, Japan,

²³ Stacey Schlau, “Gendered Crime and Punishment in New Spain: Inquisitional Cases Against *Ilusas*,” in *Colonialism Past and Present. Reading and Writing about Colonial Latin America Today*, eds. Alvaro Félix Bolaños, and Gustavo Verdesio (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 170. A frequent theme in the Baroque period was the representation of saints accompanied by the iconographic attributes of the penitents.

²⁴ Miguel Gotor, *Santi stravaganti. Agiografia, ordini religiosi e censura ecclesiastica nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Aracne editrice, 2012), 18.

²⁵ ACCS, *Regestum Servorum Dei, vol. I: “1592-1654”*.

Lleida (Spain), Gorinchem (Netherlands), India and Persia, since all of these martyrs, around 500 male individuals, with rare exceptions, were men. In addition, the *Regestum* allows insight into the nationality of the candidates. Excluding again the various groups of martyrs, those from the Italian peninsula constituted the largest group, closely followed by the Spanish; while smaller numbers came from France, Portugal, the Holy Roman Empire and Poland.

Regarding the causes relating to the New World, including that of Solano, only eight were recorded in the *Regestum*: Toribio de Mogrovejo, archbishop of Lima; Antonius de São Pedro, a Mercedarian Portuguese converted in Lima, later accused of judaising ante by the Inquisition; Diego Martínez SJ, missionary in Cusco, the eastern Andes, Bolivia and Paraguay;²⁶ Gregorio López, the first anchorite in the New World, who spent a life of prayer life in the desert region of Zacatecas; Luis Beltrán, OP, who evangelised and defended the indigenous peoples in South America, and was canonised in 1671; Sebastián de Aparicio Prado, a successful Spanish entrepreneur in New Spain who joined the Order of Friars Minor as a lay brother and whose *Vida* was written by Juan de Torquemada; and Rosa de Lima, the only woman and Servant of God born in the American continent.

In the case of female Servants of God, both the process and pattern are very similar to those of male candidates. The spirituality of the *Devotio moderna*, as already indicated, was a pillar of their inner life. This spiritual current, which flourished in Germany and in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, fostered devotion to the Eucharist, the Passion

²⁶ Regarding Diego Martínez' cause, Alexander Coello has stated that his process did not proceed for three main reasons: the change of rules in the canonisation processes, Urban VIII's anti-Spanish stance, and because Martínez was confessor of Luisa Melgarejo de Soto, accused of *alumbradismo*; see Coello, "*Era sanctorum*: La beatificación inconclusa del padre Diego Martínez, SJ (1627-1634)," *Hispania Sacra* 61, no. 123 (2009): 211–12.

of Christ and the Virgin Mary, as well as a rediscovery of the Sacred Scriptures.²⁷ Other characteristics of the 62 women catalogued in the *Regestum*, are noteworthy: the majority were cloistered nuns and members of the third order.²⁸ The highest number of servants of God corresponded to the congregations of Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite spirituality. Seven of them were founders (or refounders) of religious congregations.

A few lay women on the list of Servants of God belonged to royalty, such as Cunegunda of Poland (c. 1234-1292), Elizabeth of Portugal (c. 1271-1336), Joan of Valois (1464-1505), Margaret of Hungary (1242–1270), Salomea of Poland (c. 1212- 1268), Theresa of Portugal (c. 1176-250) and her sister Sancha of Portugal (c. 1180-1229). The exception to this rule was Maria Torribia (María de la Cabeza) who is believed to have married Isidore the Farmer. Most of the candidates were mystical women and in the causes of four of them it was assured that they had received the mystical gift of the stigmata;²⁹ namely Elizabeth of Reute (1386-1420), Lucy Brocadelli (1476-1544), Rita of Cascia (1381-1457) and Stephana de Quinzanis (1457-1530). It is significant that these mystical women died before the Council of Trent, after which a change in the profile of female holiness emphasised social and charitable works. Finally, taking the cases of verifiable nationality of female sanctity, the order was similar to that of male candidates

²⁷ *The Imitation of Christ* (c. 1418–1427) is considered one of the quintessential books of the Modern Devotion spiritual movement. As the name implies, the true Christian is one who decides to imitate his holy Master. In the midst of a world full of temptations, emulating the holiness of Jesus Christ entailed living a virtuous life rather than an imitation only in words: “Indeed, it is not deep words that make a man holy and upright, but it is a virtuous life which guarantees that the man is dear to God,” Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* (Frankfurt: Typis et sumptibus Andreae, 1838 [1418]), 4.

²⁸ Contemporary scholarship has prevented not to take the maxim “*aut maritus, aut murus*” (either the husband or the wall) at face value, since a significant number of women in post-tridentine era continued to choose a “third vocation” as pious laywomen; see Alison Weber, “Introduction. Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World: The Historiographic Challenge,” in *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World*, ed. Alison Weber (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1–28.

²⁹ On the history of stigmatisation, see Carolyn Muessig, *The Stigmata in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–22.

with most coming from the Italian Peninsula (23), followed by Spain (12), and more distantly by France, Portugal, Poland, and Germany.

2. Milestones in the history of holiness: The early modern age

The complexity of the process described above makes it difficult to pinpoint single dates for substantial changes in the canonisation process.³⁰ Nonetheless, following Miguel Gotor's periodisation, it seems convenient to divide the history of canonisation in the early modern period into three stages.³¹ The first began in 1588 with the institution of the Congregation for Rites and culminated in 1622 with the canonisation of five saints at the same time —Isidore the Farmer, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Teresa of Ávila and Philip Neri. The second period (1625-1712) had as its protagonist Urban VIII. The repercussion of his decrees on canonisation processes resulted in a canonical restructuring of the processes rather than simple changes.³² Finally, in the third period (1712-1734) Prosper Lambertini performed a leading role. He was a renowned canonist before taking office as Pope Benedict XIV, completing a monumental work in which the ancient legal corpus was collected, the work of Urban VIII was enhanced and in which theological and legal criteria that were more consistent with the new historical context were established.

³⁰ See Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine worship and the cult of saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Hsia, 207.

³¹ See Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 284.

³² Some of Pope Urban VIII norms continue to be applied in current canonisation processes; see Sandro Corradini, "La censura en las causas de canonización según la *Divinus perfectionis Magister*," in *Procesos de canonización: comentarios a la instrucción 'Sanctorum Mater'*, ed. Ricardo Quintana Bescós (Madrid: Publicaciones San Dámaso, 2010), 133. These norms include the *non-cultu*, that is, *postuladores* of the prospective candidates for canonisation had to show that they had not anticipated a favourable decision on the part of the authorities.

In the last period, Pope Lambertini elaborated a monumental treatise first issued between 1734 and 1738,³³ that has remained as the point of reference for proceedings in the causes of beatification and canonisation for almost two centuries [Strictly speaking, down to 1983].³⁴ Its first versions were originally concerned with canonical judicial matters. However, the emphasis was changed in the Padua edition (1743) and in the Roman one (1747–51), which adopted a multidisciplinary approach, outlining the roles

³³ Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, 7 vols. Prato: Aldina, 1840 [1747-51]. See a recent edition in Vincenzo Criscuolo, ed. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010-2022 [1747-49]). This edition, published in four volumes in nine parts between 2010-2022, is not a critical edition but rather one that offers an Italian translation in addition to the original Latin text as it appeared in the third edition published during the author's lifetime (1747-49), and referred to as the third edition. Two appendices to Criscuolo's edition are particularly relevant for this thesis: the first contains briefs and decrees of Urban VIII reforming the canonisation system (which directly affected the cause of Solano) and the fourth, the feasts organised in Rome for the beatification of Rosa de Lima (1668) and Toribio de Mogrovejo (1679). The first may be found in vol. II/2 of Criscuolo's 'edition' at pp. 499–555, and the second may be found in vol. I/2 at pp. 464–531.

³⁴ Until the promulgation of the *Codex Iuris Canonici* (Codification of Canon Law) as the universal law of the Roman Catholic Church, see Benedict XV, "Providentissima Mater Ecclesia" (May 27, 1917), in AAS 9, pars II (1917): 5–8. The 1917 Codex was preceded by the *Ius Decretalium* (6 vols. 1889-1903; 1905-1914); the *Ius canonicum generale distributum in articulos* (1890); the *Memento iuris publici et private* (1895), the *Codex Sanctae Catholicae Romanae Ecclesiae* (1898-1902) and the *Iuris canonici privati codex vigens, sive legum ecclesiasticarum novissima collection* (1904), see Constant Van de Wiel, *History of Canon Law* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), 168. There was also a new edition of the Corpus commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII: *Corpus iuris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum*. Gregorii XIII. pont. max. iussu editum. 3 parts in 4 vols. (Rome: In aedibus Populi Romani, 1582); see UCLA Digital Library Program. Corpus Iuris Canonici (1582) consultable online at <http://digital.library.ucla.edu/canonlaw/> (Last accessed 1 July 2023). See Mary E. Sommar, Mary E.: *The Correctores Romani: Gratian's Decretum and the Counter-Reformation humanists*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010. However, the plan to collect together papal decrees, apostolic letters and bulls issued since the *Liber sextus* (1298) – the so-called *Liber septimus* – was stymied by the Congregation of the Council which wished to maintain its monopoly over the application of canon law to the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent. See Prodi, Paolo: *Homo europaeus*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015, ch. III and Fantappiè, Carlo: *Storia del diritto canonico e delle istituzioni della Chiesa*, Bologna: il Mulino, 2011, ch. IV.

of both the diocesan bishops and the SCR, as well as the specific procedure to be followed in each of the causes of beatification and canonisation.³⁵

Although Solano was beatified in 1675, and canonised in 1726, the regulations compiled by Pope Benedict XIV, which is a richly documented exposition of papal legislation includes, by definition, measures relevant to Solano's case. As this last phase exceeds the limits of this thesis, only the details of the first periods will be presented below—expressed for didactic purposes in three symbolic years—, emphasising how the process of canonisation of Solano could have been affected by each of them.

2.1. 1588: *Sixtus V and the resuming of the causes of canonisation*

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Papacy started to resume causes of canonisation with a new sense of purpose stimulated by the post-Tridentine period. There is unanimity among scholars that 1588 was a fundamental year because it saw both the canonisation of Diego of Alcalá, a Spanish Franciscan lay brother who helped to evangelise the Canary Islands,³⁶ as well as the erection of the SCR, which became the Office in charge of supervising the liturgy and various rituals, as well as of carrying out the examinations leading to the canonisation of saints.³⁷

³⁵ See Ricardo Saccenti, “Il De Servorum Dei beatificatione et Beatorum canonizatione di Prospero Lambertini, papa Benedetto XIV: materiali per una ricerca,” in *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV: Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011), 139–70. Pope John Paul II summarised this procedural evolution; see “Divinus Perfectionis Magister” (January 25, 1983), in *AAS* 75 (1983): 349–55.

³⁶ Non-priest members of religious congregations could also be considered as missionaries for their evangelising work in the catechetical and socio-charitable fields.

³⁷ Some historians regard 1588 as the watershed year of a Counter-Reformation model of holiness and another baroque model of holiness; for a detailed bibliography on holiness in the Counter-Reformation and Baroque periods see Miguel Gotor, *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2004), 133–41 and 141–47, respectively.

As regards Diego de Alcalá, the successful culmination of his canonisation was a symbolic testimony to the increasing influence of the Spanish Crown in Rome.³⁸ The promulgation of his sanctity by Sixtus V took place after a 65-year gap in papal canonisations. Prior to that there had been another important dry spell of canonisations with only five saints being canonised between 1482 and 1523: Bonaventure (1482), whose canonisation was facilitated during the papacy of Franciscan Sixtus IV; Leopold III, margrave of Austria (1485); hermit Francis of Paola (1519); Dominican archbishop Antoninus of Florence (1523); and Benno, bishop of Meissen (1523). These individuals have been studied in depth by Ronald Finucane who concluded that, while the nations were competing for promoting their own saint, “the political motivation was blatant”.³⁹

Pope Sixtus V established the SCR to replace the work of individual jurists of the *Rota Romana* with the aim of standardising, through a more collegial work, the theological and legal criteria used for the evaluations during the canonisation processes. Thus, the SCR was to act on behalf of the Pope in the regulation of divine worship and in dealing with causes of saints.⁴⁰ Clear rules were gradually laid down for processing causes for canonisation. However, in the years that followed there remained some confusion regarding the application of the procedure to be followed, which became especially noticeable with the delay of some canonisation processes.

³⁸ Thomas James Dandeleet, *Spanish Rome. 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 171.

³⁹ Ronald Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 241.

⁴⁰ The SCR kept its main functions unchanged from its erection in 1588 until the Post-Vatican II reforms in 1969, that is for almost four hundred years. See Sixtus V, “Immensa Aeterni Dei” (22 January 1588), in *Bullarium Romanum VIII* (Turin: Vecco et socii editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1863), 985–99; and Paul VI, “Sacra Rituum Congregatio,” in AAS LXI (1969): 297–305. See also Niccolò del Re, *La Curia Romana: lineamenti storico-giuridici*, 4th edition, (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998), 126–27; 332–37.

2.2. 1622: Gregory XV and the Spanish triumph in Counter-Reformation Rome

1622 has been suggestively called the year in which the Catholic Reformation was “canonised”.⁴¹ In fact, unique of its kind, the first collective canonisation in history, was both the inscription into the Canon of saints of some of the main protagonists of the Catholic Reformation and also, in a symbolic way, the Catholic church’s canonisation of its own Reformation. Isidore the Farmer, Teresa of Avila, Philip Neri, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier symbolised diverse aspects of the Counter-Reformation. The canonisation of Isidore allowed Madrid to be equated with other capitals in Europe, granting the “Town and Court” its first patron saint.⁴² Teresa embodied the reformist program demanded in Trent, the re-founding of the congregations through observance and creative fidelity. Phillip Neri personified the new model of pastor, loyal to his priestly vows, close to the needs of the people and visionary in his socio-charitable works. Ignatius, founder of the Society of Jesus, and Francis Xavier, its co-founder, represented the explicit support of the papacy for the Jesuits. Pope Gregory XV was subjected to a strong pressure from outside the Church by the Spanish Monarchs, but also from within it by the religious congregations to which the new saints belonged, particularly the Jesuits.

The acceptance of the new saints, however, was not unanimous. Almost a hundred years had passed since the *sacco di Roma*, the sack by the joint German and Spanish

⁴¹ The phrase is owed to Fermín Labarga; see “1622 o la canonización de la Reforma Católica,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* (2020), 29: 73–126. However, other studies have previously used the multiple canonisation of 1622 as a threshold for both the production and reception of holiness; see Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 8–10. See also ‘How to be a Jesuit saint,’ the special issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9, no. 3 (2022): 327–458.

⁴² Some devotees expressed concern that their local saints could be overshadowed by the special consideration given towards Isidore; see Clare Copeland, “Spanish saints in Counter-Reformation Italy,” in *The Spanish presence in sixteenth-century Italy: Images of Iberia*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 109–12.

imperial forces that devastated the city of the popes, but the rivalry among these nations remained in the popular imaginary. The Italians believed themselves superior in art and culture, while the Spanish demonstrated their superiority through their military forces and non-European colonisation. An anecdote relates that in Rome the people, through the famous talking statue of Pasquino, expressed the view: “Oggi il papa ha canonizzato quattro spagnoli e un santo,” today the Pope has canonised four Spaniards and one saint.⁴³ Beyond the anecdote, the chronicles of the time referred, on the contrary, to the approval of the Roman people of the new saints.⁴⁴

The Habsburgs had many reasons to encourage the development of the processes of canonisation. As Erin Rowe has pointed out, the sacred was also linked to the national identity and to a certain vision of kingship, often displayed publicly in these extraordinary occasions that were both religious festivals and civil parties: “The wide array of entertainments and a general atmosphere of celebration ensured that such events would draw a large audience”.⁴⁵ In any event, Gregory XV’s decision to celebrate a collective canonisation in 1622 continued to be the result of a subtle game of balance between politics and power.⁴⁶

⁴³ See Miguel Gotor, “Han canonizado a cuatro españoles y un santo”. La propuesta hagiográfica del oratoriano Felipe Neri entre “el esplendor de Iberia” y “la gloriosa memoria de Enrique IV,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* (2020), 29: 261–89.

⁴⁴ Giacinto Gigli. *Diario romano (1608-1670)*, ed. Giuseppe Ricciotti. Rome: Tumminelli, 1958 [1608-1657], 57–58. This edition has been superseded by that in two volumes edited by Manlio Barberito (Rome: Editore Carlo Colombo, 1994). See also Pietro Tacchi Venturi, “Le feste della canonizzazione nell’inedita memoria di Giacinto Gigli e negli Avvisi,” in Comitato Romano Ispano per le Centenarie Onoranze *La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio da Lojola, Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio, Apostolo dell’Oriente* (Rome: Grafia, 1922), 73–80.

⁴⁵ Marina Caffiero, “Istituzioni, forme e usi del sacro,” in *Roma moderna. Storia di Roma dall’antichità a oggi*, ed. Giorgio Ciucci (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2002), 148.

⁴⁶ The canonisations of 1622 represented an explicit instrumentalisation of an ephemeral apparatus; see Alessandra Anselmi, “Roma celebra la monarchia spagnola: il teatro per la canonizzazione di Isidoro Agricola, Ignazio di Loyola, Francesco Saverio, Teresa di Gesù e Filippo Neri (1622),” in *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003), 229.

2.3. *1623: Urban VIII and the beginning of the papacy that reformed the processes of canonisation*

The turning point of the Spanish influence over the papacy was the election of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568-1644) as Pope Urban VIII in 1623. The apotheosis of the canonisation of Spanish saints in 1622 contrasted with the beginning of the decline in Spanish influence in Rome and the increase in that of French monarchy, which became even more pronounced with the alliance with France alliance during Barberini's papacy.⁴⁷

Along with the increasing costs associated with the causes of canonisation, the main issue that might explain the failure of the early seventeenth century attempts to canonise Servants of God was —as Anna Campbell has concluded in the case of Colette of Corbie— “the continual development of the process of canonisation by the papacy”.⁴⁸ This development was related to a number of important reforms that were undertaken during the extensive pontificate of Urban VIII. Two reforms are worth noting: first, the introduction of a formal stage of beatification, separated from canonisation, thus creating two different processes and extending the papal supervision over both.⁴⁹ Second, the introduction of the rule which prescribed that any cause of canonisation could only begin on the condition that at least fifty years had passed since the death of the candidate.

⁴⁷ Carlos Gálvez-Peña, *Writing History to Reform the Empire: Religious Chroniclers in Seventeenth-Century Peru* (New York: PhD diss., Columbia University in the City of New York, 2012), 43.

⁴⁸ Anna Campbell, “Colette of Corbie: Cult and Canonization,” in *A Companion to Colette of Corbie*, eds. Joan Mueller, and Nancy Bradley Warren (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 195.

⁴⁹ The first beatification of this kind was that of Francis de Sales in 1662; see Gaetano Stano, “Il rito della Beatificazione da Alessandro VII ai nostri giorni,” in *Miscellanea in occasione del IV Centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)*, ed. Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum (Vatican City: Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1988), 401; see also Éric Suire, *La Sainteté française de la Réforme catholique (XVI-XVIII siècles d'après les textes hagiographiques et les procès de canonisation)* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001), 372. From 1662, the liturgy remained practically unchanged until 1968; see Veraja, *La beatificazione*, 97–8.

As a renaissance and studious man—an alumnus of the Jesuits and a Doctor in Law graduated from the University of Pisa—, Maffeo Barberini was convinced of the importance of stringent rules of proof for the lives and alleged miracles of the candidates for sainthood.⁵⁰ Accordingly, throughout his long pontificate (1623-1644), his strict decrees delayed the causes that were in progress, including that of Solano. This created a paradox, because sometimes the lack of evidence for some of the miraculous claims, could run the risk of being terminated on account of the depictions of the most fervent devotees.

Behind the new rules regarding the veneration of the Servants of God, it was evident that the Pope wished to regain power, at least in the religious sphere, at a time when the Holy See had seen its political authority diminish. Although it is true that the toughening of the norms in the canonisation processes had the objective of preventing abuses, it also reflected the will to give greater visibility to the authority of the Apostolic See. This papal empowerment project also found expression in the architecture and design of theatres employed for the canonisation of saints,⁵¹ becoming increasingly more impressive and reaching their greatest splendour around mid-seventeenth century.⁵²

In 1631 Pope Barberini created the special official position of the *promotor fidei* (officially, promoter of the faith; popularly known as ‘Devil’s advocate’), both to focus on juridical arguments against canonisation and to seek rational reasons for claimed miracles which were defended by the *promotor causae* (promoter of the cause).

⁵⁰ According to Simon Ditchfield, Urban VIII’s achievements as legal codifier have been underrated; see *Liturgy, sanctity and history in Tridentine Italy*, 253.

⁵¹ Alessandra Anselmi, “Theaters for the Canonization of Saints,” in *St. Peter’s in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 256.

⁵² See Jones, “Celebrating New Saints,” 151.

3. The renewal of ecclesiastical life and the renewal of holiness

Apart from changes to the criteria of canonisation, there were changes associated with the impact of the Counter-Reformation and in the shifting power relations between the papacy, Spain and France. The Council of Trent was a channel that allowed the Catholic Church's renewal "*in capite et in membris*" — "in head and members". This slogan should be located in the historical context of the Council of Constance (1414-1418).⁵³ However, cries for reform continued in crescendo into the next century and the plea was resumed at the Council of Lateran V (1512-1517),⁵⁴ until reaching its apogee at the Council of Trent where, according to John O'Malley, half of the decrees addressed reform issues.⁵⁵

One of the most sensitive areas in this project of ecclesiastical renewal was the presentation of a new model of sanctity. As previously mentioned, by studying patterns of canonisation, Peter Burke has demonstrated that during the Counter-Reformation the balance of forces "shifted towards the centre."⁵⁶ Thus, in contrast to earlier times, the new elite of canonised people mostly included founders of new religious orders, missionaries and bishops whose loyalty to Rome was unquestionable.

However, if Burke listed the most common requirements to make a canonisation process viable in the Counter-Reformation era, as a counterpoint, Simon Ditchfield has

⁵³ At the fifth session of the Council of Constance, the conciliar fathers confirmed a decree which declared that one of the main purposes of the Council was the "reform of the Church of God in head and members," Council of Constance, "Haec Sancta" (April 6, 1415), in *Conciliarum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, et al. (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), 409–10.

⁵⁴ The Council of Lateran V was contemporary with the iconic years of the beginning of Martin Luther's reformist claims, but clearly the awareness of the need for ecclesiastical reforms preceded the so-called Protestant movement. In this sense, the reformation motto was even also the central message of the summon to the Gallican (and hence considered schismatic) council of Pisa (1511), see Johann Gieseler, *A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. Vol IV*, trans. John Winstanley Hull (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1853), 405.

⁵⁵ O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 18.

⁵⁶ Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint," 48.

used the cause of Pope Gregory X to show how not to make viable a cause. In fact, Ditchfield argued that because Urban VIII did not want to canonise Spanish candidates, he might have reduced the number of processes in order to avoid having to acquiesce to Spanish demands.⁵⁷ This was a fate that befell also Solano whose process stalled due to this chain of reforms instituted by Urban VIII, particularly his fifty-year rule which forbade any process of beatification from starting until fifty years after the death of the candidate.

The debate on the cult for those who had died with a reputation for holiness materialised in the creation of the Congregation of Blessed, which was developed under the pontificates of Clement VIII (1602-1605) and Paul V (1607-1621),⁵⁸ and which dictated the guidelines for the models of holiness delineated by Rome.⁵⁹ Although his papacy proved diplomatic impasses, it was under Clement VIII that the policy of recuperation of the ancient Rome became consolidated. In fact, straddling the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the papacy aimed to re-found Rome as a “ritualised city,”⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ditchfield, “How not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 252–53. The same conclusion is shared by Clare Copeland, see *Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi*, 151.

⁵⁸ Gotor, *I beati del papa*, 127–53.

⁵⁹ On definition and legitimisation of saints under Clement VIII, see Ruth Noyes, “On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011): 800–46.

⁶⁰ See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *La città rituale. Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2002); see also Giovanni Pizzorusso and Matteo Sanfilippo, *Dagli indiani agli emigranti. L’attenzione della Chiesa romana al Nuovo Mondo, 1492–1908* (Viterbo: Editore Sette Città, 2005). Besides the consideration of Rome as a ritualised city, recent research has regarded Counter-Reformation Rome as a decisive player in early globalisation; see, for example, Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde* (Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2004), 309; see also Maria Matilde Benzoni, “Federico Borromeo and the New World in the Early Modern Milan,” in *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492-1750*, eds. Elizabeth Horodowich and Lia Markey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 104–05.

through liturgical rites, bulls of canonisation, subterranean explorations,⁶¹ and architectural redesign. Two significant events may serve to illustrate the latter: the crowning of the Trajan column with Saint Peter's apostle in 1587, a highly symbolic act since the Pope is apostle Peter's successor, and the displacing of the most ancient obelisk in Rome to the *piazza* of the Archbasilica of Saint John Lateran, cathedral of the Pope.⁶²

Thereby, the canonisation of new figures of sanctity enhanced pontifical power, as happened with two saints canonised by Pope Paul V, Francesca Romana and Carlo Borromeo, who were transformed into symbols of Rome, the renewed centre of the *orbis christianus*.⁶³ The first, Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (1384-1440), later known as Francesca Romana, was a pious woman of noble birth who devoted herself to charitable works and embraced an ascetic lifestyle in the midst of the Roman society.⁶⁴ She was canonised in 1608 through the bull *Caelestis aquae flumen* in which Pope Borghese

⁶¹ Remarkable was the archaeological work displayed by the Maltese A. Bosio, reflected in his posthumous work; see Antonio Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea, opera posthuma*, ed. Giovanni Severani da S. Severino (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1632).

⁶² On Clement VIII's efforts towards the Christianisation of Rome, see Tadhg Ó Hanracháin, *Catholic Europe 1592-1648. Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 20–21; see also Steven Ostrow, "The Counter-Reformation and the End of the Century," in *Rome (Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance)*, ed. Marcia Hall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 283.

⁶³ *Orbis universalis christianus* alludes to an early modern European figure representing the world after the fall of the Roman Empire that adopted Christianity both as its hallmark of identity and the basis of its socio-political system. See Walter Mignolo, "The many faces of cosmo-polis: border thinking and critical cosmopolitanism," in *Globalization: Critical Concepts in Sociology, vol. III: Global Membership and Participation*, eds. Roland Robertson, and Kathleen White. London: Routledge, 2002, 134. This was a theme emphasised by Pope Gregory XIII. See, inter alia, Simon Ditchfield, "Romanus et Catholicus: Counter-Reformation Rome as caput mundi," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, eds. Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 131–47.

⁶⁴ The mystical experience of this saint "*tutta Romana*" between the years 1430 and 1440 was collected by the priest Giovanni Mattiotti, her confessor; see Alessandra Bartolomei-Romagnoli, ed., *Santa Francesca Romana: edizione critica dei trattati latini di Giovanni Mattiotti* (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1994 [c. 1440-1447]).

emphasised that her canonisation was “a heavenly gift for the whole Church, but especially for the Roman church to the glory of God”.⁶⁵

As regards bishop Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), the processing of his cause was expeditious, since he was canonised in 1610. For the papacy, Borromeo was one of the great architects of the Counter-Reformation; as such, he personified the model of a Tridentine bishop: both as a loyal defender of the Pope and as a promoter of the welfare of his faithful.⁶⁶ In fact, he was usually represented walking through his archbishopric of Milan, which covered a large territory, treating with his own hands those sick with the plague that was ravaging Lombardy.⁶⁷ In an age of confessionalism, the Catholic Church sponsored Borromeo’s figure as an attempt to re-establish both fidelity towards Rome and order for a society divided by social conflict and religious disagreement.

4. Solano, Servant of God: The apostolic process amid political and diplomatic affairs

The recognition of the candidate as a Servant of God was the first formal step towards canonisation. It began with the request of a religious order/congregation to the local bishop asking his authorisation for the opening of a dossier in which the signs of the

⁶⁵ Paulus V, “Caelestis aquae flumen,” in *Magnum bullarium romanum, vol. III: A Clemente VIII usque ad Gregorium XV*, eds. Laerzio Cherubini, and Angelo María Cherubini (Lyon: Philippi Borde, Laurent Arnaud, et Claudii Rigaud, 1651), 231. See also Flaminio Figliucci, *Vita della beata Francesca Romana* (Florence: Appresso Bartolomeo Sermartelli e Fratelli, 1606), 12.

⁶⁶ See Giuseppe Alberigo, “Carlo Borromeo come modello di vescovo della Chiesa post-tridentina,” *Rivista storica italiana* 79 (1967): 1031–52; Paolo Prodi, “Charles Borromée, archeveque de Milan et la papauté,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 62 (1967): 379–411; Simon Ditchfield, “San Carlo and the cult of saints,” in *Cultura e spiritualità borromaica tra cinque e seicento. Atti delle giornate di studio 25-26 novembre 2005*, eds. Franco Buzzi and Maria-Luisa Frosio (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2006), 145–54.

⁶⁷ For an accurate description of the Borromeo diocese of Milan, see Wietse De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul. Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), X-XII.

candidate's sanctity could be recorded. As far as the cause of Solano is concerned, the procedure started very quickly. According to Diego de Córdova, on July 29, 1610, just two weeks after Solano's death, Fr. Miguel Roca, *Procurador general* of the Franciscans in Lima, addressed such a request to Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero. The archbishop replied indicating his willingness to support the initiative and appointed Miguel de Salinas as judge and Cristóbal de Vargas as notario of the cause. These two ecclesiastical authorities were to work together with a group of eight civil officials led by Martín Pizarro, *Procurador general* of the City of the Kings.⁶⁸ It was Pizarro who described both the notion and the function of holiness that prevailed in Lima around 1610:

After the holy sacraments, among the consolations that Jesus Christ our Lord and Redeemer left in the holy Catholic Church for his faithful, the life of the just and saints is one of our edification, and it is one of the most encouraging, so that with their good example and imitation we sought to walk to salvation, that matters so much, in order to achieve the desired goal of eternal glory.⁶⁹

On August 30, 1610, the *probanzas* began to be collected, starting a long process that would develop under the pontifical authority of thirteen popes, from Paul V to Benedict XIII. Fr. Miguel Roca, *Procurador general* of the Franciscan Order in Peru, requested Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, archbishop of Lima, to initiate the *informaciones* (inquiries) through the appointment of a notary and another trusted person to collect the testimonies leading to "the manifestation of sanctity, life and customs" of Solano.⁷⁰ Three years later, the case continued in the places and dioceses where Francisco Solano had lived in Peninsular Spain: Granada, Córdoba, Montilla, Aguilar, Montoro, Carpio and Adamuz. The person responsible for the inquiries was the Franciscan priest Jerónimo Oré

Luis Jerónimo de Oré y Rojas (1554-1630), son of a *conquistador* of considerable fortune who had fought for Francisco Pizarro's party, was born in Huamanga (present-

⁶⁸ Córdova_V1643, 511–2.

⁶⁹ AAL, leg. 1, f. 5v (Lima, August 17, 1610).

⁷⁰ AAL, leg. 1, f. 1r (Lima, August 17, 1610).

day Ayacucho). During his youth in the Peruvian Andes, he distinguished himself as a linguist and polyglot preacher (he was fluent in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, with knowledge of Mochica, Puquina, Guaraní and ‘Brasilica’). His keen intelligence and sense of responsibility led him to have a fruitful career in the Franciscan Order, within which he provided some diplomatic services in Spain (including writing his biographical report on Francisco Solano) and Rome until he was appointed General Comissioner for the Franciscan Missions in Florida.⁷¹ He spent the last years of his life as a bishop of La Imperial (present-day Concepción, Chile), where he worked as a peace mediator, favouring a policy of respect for indigenous languages.⁷²

The *probanzas* collected by Oré in Spain were complemented by interrogations carried out by other Franciscan friars in the cities of the Vice-Royalty of Peru —other than Lima— where Solano had lived, such as the northern Peruvian cities of Trujillo, Lambayeque, Saña, and Chiclayo.⁷³ Once all the *probanzas* were gathered, the *Procurador general* addressed a formal request to Pope Paul V to open the apostolic process leading to canonisation. The request from the Franciscans was supported by both the civil and ecclesiastical councils of Lima. These councils, in turn, requested the

⁷¹ See Luis Jerónimo de Oré, *Account of the Martyrs in the Provinces of La Florida*, eds. and trans. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, and Nancy Vogeley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017 [c. 1619]), a primary source to know the first evangelising work in this North American region.

⁷² Oré’s legacy included *Symbolo Cathólico Indiano* (1598), *Rituale, seu manuale peruanum* (1607) and the aforementioned *Account of the Martyrs* (1619). He also composed grammars and dictionaries in both Quechua and Aymara that, although disappeared, served as a basis for the work of other linguists. See a well-accomplished summary of Oré’s biography in Noble David Cook, “Prólogo,” in Oré_V1614, I-XXXIX. See also Noble David Cook, “Beyond the *Martyrs of Florida*: The Versatile Career of Luis Gerónimo de Oré,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (1992): 169–87.

⁷³ See many of these testimonies in AAL, *San Francisco Solano, legajo 1 (1610-1628)*; *legajo 2 (1628-1629)*; *legajo 3 (1629)*; *legajo 4 (1639-1640)*; and *legajo 5 (1610-1628)*. Nonetheless, the archival documents on Solano in the AAL are in a poor state of conservation.

intercession of King Philip III of Spain who, by virtue of the *Patronato regio*,⁷⁴ ordered his Ambassador to the Holy See to present the petition before the Pope.⁷⁵

This diplomatic dynamic employed in the cause of Solano—that could appear as interference or political pressure—was by no means unusual:⁷⁶ the procedure that came into use under Clement VIII provided that the canonisations should be initiated by requests from the most influential people, especially of kings, the so-called *lettere postulatorie*.⁷⁷ As modern letters of reference, these *lettere* have interested researchers in the fields of the history of political culture and the history of power systems, some of whom have noted that the relationship between the papacy and those who asked for the opening of a canonisation process was a political and diplomatic affair.⁷⁸

In essence, the aforementioned *Patronato regio* referred to the set of rights of patronage that, from the time of the geographical discoveries of the early modernity, the

⁷⁴ The bulls *Inter caetera* (1493) and *Eximiae devotionis* (1501) signed by the Spanish Pope Alexander VI, together with the bull *Universalis ecclesiae* (1508) of Pope Julius II were considered by the Spanish monarchs as the legal basis of their royal patronage over the church in the Americas; see the reproduction of the papal bulls in William Eugene Shiels, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961), 283–289, 294–295 and pp. 310–313, respectively.

⁷⁵ See CVU, vol. 32, 33, 54–54r: *Carta del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Lima al Rey de España para solicitarle interceda en la petición que harán al Papa, sobre la beatificación del sacerdote franciscano fray Francisco Solano, por las muestras de santidad que dio en vida, por los milagros que dice el pueblo viene haciendo* (Lima, May 1, 1612).

⁷⁶ Such was the case of Ignatius of Loyola, Therese of Avila and Francis Xavier, see ARSI, *Archivio della postulazione di sovrani*, n. 19. Regarding Loyola's cause, see the letter by Philip II addressed to Antonio Folch y Cardona, ambassador of the Spanish Crown to the Holy See, asking him to display his influences at the court of Pope Clement VIII, see AGMAE: "Letter from Philip II to the duke of Sessa (October 16, 1593)," legajo 21, f. 263. Thirty years before, Philip II had asked one of his personal secretaries to make the cause of Diego de Alcalá viable, see José Antonio Escudero, *Los Secretarios de Estado y del Despacho (1474-1724)* (Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2020), 130.

⁷⁷ The writing of the *lettere* was cultivated as an art in the seventeenth century, see Emmanuele Tesauro, *L'arte delle lettere missive* (Turin: Bartolomeo Zapatta, 1674), 206.

⁷⁸ See, for instance, Marina Caffiero, "Santità, politica e sistemi di potere," in *Santità, culti, agiografia: temi e prospettive: Atti del I Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia: Roma, 24-26 ottobre 1996*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Rome: Viella, 1997), 365–67.

popes had granted to the kings of Spain (*Patronato*) and Portugal (*Padroado*).⁷⁹ Among these, the kings were granted authority to intervene in the administration of the mission-based churches. Here the organisation and pastoral care was entrusted to a given religious order.⁸⁰ Therefore, although these rights did not make the King of Spain the head of the Catholic Church within their territory,⁸¹ the *Patronato* granted sufficient prerogatives to the Spanish monarchs to influence ecclesiastical politics widely.⁸²

During the Habsburg reign, religion and politics were inseparable: “The Court lived in the midst of religious festivals, trips to the provinces to visit a shrine, win a jubilee, or inaugurate a new monastery”.⁸³ The Habsburg Spanish kings came to be seen as the preeminent secular defenders of Catholic orthodoxy,⁸⁴ which was under attack from Protestant kingdoms in the midst of a divided European Christianity. Some of the most important emblems of the Counter-Reformation were adopted by them —the Holy Trinity, the Eucharist, and the Immaculate Conception.

⁷⁹ See John Lloyd Mechem, *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1934), 3–37.

⁸⁰ Religious priests constituted the *regular* clergy, since they followed a *regula* or rule, in opposition to secular or diocesan clergy who lived out in the world rather than in closed friaries. The authority of the Crown was stronger over secular clergy, though the first was able to specify where the regular clergy could work and, thus, gave license for them to evangelise in different regions. On the regular-diocesan power balances in the Peruvian viceroyalty, see Fred Spier, *Religious Regimes in Peru: Religion and State Development in a Long-term Perspective and the Effects in the Andean Village of Zurite* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 117–18.

⁸¹ This would be rather a typical aspiration of Bourbon regalism of the early eighteenth century, see Brian Hamnett, *The Enlightenment in Iberia and Ibero-America* (Cardiff: University of North Wales Press, 2017), 50.

⁸² See Robert Ricard, *La “conquête spirituelle” du Mexique: Essai sur l’apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des ordres mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523-24 à 1572* (Paris, Institut d’Ethnologie, 1933), 18.

⁸³ Diego Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile, vol. IV* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2000), 25–26.

⁸⁴ Sebastian Schütze, “The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography and a Quest for the Spanishness of Neapolitan Art,” in *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500-1700*, eds. Thomas James Dandeleet and John Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 555.

In this scenario, Philip III was called upon to move his diplomatic arms in favour of Solano's cause due to the importance of religion not only in his court but also among the common people at the beginning of the seventeenth century both in the Peninsula and the viceroyalties. Epidemics and other natural disasters made the people cling to their faith and seek the appeasement of divine wrath through religious devotions.⁸⁵ Religiosity became one of the main socio-cultural expressions and, consequently, its politicisation was utilitarian for Habsburg rule.

The Habsburg Crown invested in expensive legal processes in Rome and employed diplomats to represent Spanish interests before the Pope. In Rome, Spanish ambassadors had the task of ensuring good relationships with the popes, because many Habsburg enterprises "depended on the spiritual, political, and financial support of the Papacy".⁸⁶ These became increasingly important when France —Spain's main geopolitical contender at the beginning of the seventeenth century— also adopted an aggressive diplomatic strategy and became progressively more influential at the papal court. As in the case of Spain, France also linked religion to territorial control, encouraging the missionisation of its colonies "out of a shared view that religion was the foundation of a stable, unified state".⁸⁷

Around Solano's death in 1610, the faction of Spanish cardinals still wielded a considerable power in Rome.⁸⁸ However, its influence paled in comparison to what it had

⁸⁵ See William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 201.

⁸⁶ Michael Jacob Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-century Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 8.

⁸⁷ Megan Armstrong, "Transatlantic Catholicism: Rethinking the Nature of the Catholic Tradition in the Early Modern Period," *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1956.

⁸⁸ A suggestive indicator of how the Holy See had become aware of its own importance in matters of European political balance is that the short pontificate of Adrian VI (1522-1523) constituted the last non-Italian papacy until John Paul II, that is, more than four and a half centuries later. No less suggestive is that the only Dutch pope had been the trusted man of the Emperor Maximilian I and the tutor of his son, the future Charles V.

been in the preceding decades. In fact, the number of French cardinals grew to more than twenty members, largely due to the philo-Catholic policy adopted by Henry IV (1589-1610) and Louis XIII (1610-1643) who aimed to oppose any moves that Spain might make to consolidate its position.⁸⁹ Henry IV, the first King of France from the Bourbon dynasty, returned to Catholicism in 1593 abjuring his former Protestant faith and hoping to be absolved by Pope Clement VIII. The lifting of his excommunication in 1595 allowed certain titles to be restored to the French monarchy, such as *très-chrétien roi* and *filis aîné de l'Église*.⁹⁰ Beyond this symbolic restoration, communion with Rome allowed Henry IV to be recognised internationally, strengthening diplomatic relations with Catholic states, and also counterbalance Spanish power in the Italian peninsula, where French diplomatic power had been considerably reduced during the wars of religion.⁹¹

The Italian peninsula had a complex geopolitical configuration which, in turn, involved an intense diplomatic activity between the Papal States, Venice, Florence (later the Duchy of Tuscany), the Duchy of Savoy, Mantua, Modena, and later the Kingdom of Naples. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, politics, economy and religion intertwined within the Papal States offering, unlike other European powers at war, a more neutral context favourable to less risky investments. In fact, the tense atmosphere that preceded the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) caused a political, religious, social and

⁸⁹ Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, 140.

⁹⁰ The papal tradition of considering the French monarch as "*Rex Christianissimus*" dates back to the figure of Clovis, King of the Franks. The monarchs of other nations also received other titles from the Pope: "*Defensor fidei*" that of England, "*Rex catholicus*" that of Spain, "*Rex fidelissimus*" that of Portugal, "*Rex apostolicus*" that of Hungary and "*Rex orthodoxus*" that of Poland, while the pope designated himself as "*Servus servorum dei*"; see the primary sources in Carlos Calvo, *Derecho internacional teórico y práctico de Europa y América*, vol. I (Paris: D' Amyot, Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1868), 98.

⁹¹ See Alain Tallon, "Henri IV and the Papacy after the League," in *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, eds. Alison Forrester and Eric Nelson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 21–41.

economic upheaval throughout Europe.⁹² In other words, Rome offered a neutral space in which to compete with other European powers without the cost involved in conducting wars. Thus, political alliances played a determining role as never before in history.⁹³

The deaths of both Philip III and Paul V added to the absence of a *solicitador* in Rome to promote the cause. According to Córdova y Salinas this was the first stumbling block in the canonisation process of Solano.⁹⁴ However, although the death of the Pope occurred in January 1621 and the King of Spain passed away only two months later, there was an extended period of eight years during which Solano's cause could have been progressed. Therefore, this chapter argues that the real obstacle to progressing the canonisation of Solano was not so much the deaths of the King of Spain and the Pope, but the existence of other political, social, and economic factors, along with theological currents and diplomatic strategies generally overlooked by scholars.

The successor of Pope Paul V was Gregory XV. Despite the fact that his pontificate lasted only two years, his reforming spirit left a deep mark in the history of the Catholic Church. Two actions could summarise his legacy. In the first place, in 1621, through the bull *Aeterni Patris Filius*,⁹⁵ he regulated the election of future pontiffs, ordering that the

⁹² The background was the confrontation between the Austro-Spanish Habsburgs and French Bourbons, rooted in the division between Protestants and Catholics. However, political and economic motivations soon came into play. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) symbolised the beginning of a modern international society based on a system of States; see Luca Riccardi, "An Outline of Vatican Diplomacy in the Early Modern Age," in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy. The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450-1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 107.

⁹³ See Mario Rosa, "The 'World's Theatre': The Court of Rome and Politics in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto, and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 78.

⁹⁴ See Córdova_V1643, 526.

⁹⁵ Gregory XV, "Aeterni Patri Filius" (November 15, 1621), in *Bullarium Romanum, vol. XII*, ed. Luigi Tomassetti (Turin: Vecco et sociis editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1867), 619–27. See also Miles Pattenden, *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450-1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 90–97.

votes of the cardinals be kept secret in order to avoid political interference from other European states, which provoked the disagreement of the Spain and France.⁹⁶ Secondly, in 1622 he founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Sacred Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) which, in addition to promoting evangelisation and being the central organ to direct missions and related activities, served as a counterweight to the *Patronato regio*, prioritising the benefits of Rome over any other foreign interest.⁹⁷

5. The American continent: From pagan Indies to a promise land of holiness

In May 1612 the Ecclesiastical *Cabildo* of Lima informed King Philip III about the death of Francisco Solano. The Andalusian friar was described as an exemplar religious of holy life. Almost two years had passed since his death, but details of his transit were still meticulously remembered by the *Cabildo* members:

After being buried at about eight o'clock at night, he was taken out of his grave to portray him (as mentioned); and in all this time he did not smell bad, nor was it perceived a smell of corruption like that expelled by dead bodies, but rather he smelled good like a fragrance. People continue to visit his tomb here as if it was a holy body. We saw many [miraculous] things of this kind that happened on the day of his death and burial. In addition, we have news of many public miracles that God Our Lord performed through him in various parts of these Kingdoms when he was

⁹⁶ See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 106. See also Gunther Wassilowsky, *Die Konklavereform Gregors XV. (1621/22): Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010), 241–45.

⁹⁷ There were previous attempts for setting up a central institution that could coordinate and integrate all the missionary activities worldwide. These attempts failed because of the opposition of Spanish monarchs and their concern to defend the influence of the Spanish Crown in Roman evangelising affairs. Worth mentioning is the first *Propaganda fide*, a forerunner congregation established by Clement VIII in 1599, which gathered prominent members, including Cesare Baronio, Roberto Bellarmino and Federico Borromeo, but prematurely disappeared (1604) due to the predictable opposition of Spain but also because of the death of cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, his head and more enthusiastic promoter, see Josef Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, vol. II: 1622-1700* (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), 78.

still alive and also after his death. Since proper inquiries and proceedings were made, many of these miracles have been ascertained; the same ones that have been sent to His Holiness [the Pope] with the ordinary claim in such cases. Now, after meeting the necessary requirements in the subject, it is very important to have the approval and intercession of Your Majesty before His Beatitude [the Pope] so that a good result can be achieved.⁹⁸

The letter sheds light on some meaningful details about Solano's reputation for sanctity two years after his death: in the collective memory, the figure of Solano remained closely associated with extraordinary events, which reached a peak at both his death and his burial. Other valuable information from the *Cabildo's* letter is the allusion to the continuous visits to the place where his tomb was located "as if it was a holy body". It is logical to assume that the *Cabildo* would have referred to this fact as an endorsement of the reputation for sanctity of Solano. The effect could have been twofold: a direct one, as an invitation to the King to empathise with the devotion of his American subjects and raise their request to the Pope; and, indirectly, as a call to recognise the *sensus fidelium*—literally, the sense of the faithful—as an essential part of the judgement about the sanctity of a candidate.⁹⁹ However, this reference, far from being harmless, became a real obstacle to Solano's cause, since under Pope Urban VIII, the rules regarding the canonisation process changed to prohibiting any manifestation of unofficial worship. This was especially significant in the case of Solano since his tomb had become, without the permission of the Holy See, a kind of pilgrimage site.

Another important feature to note is that the *Cabildo* recognised the importance of political dynamics in expediting a canonisation process. The appeal was addressed directly to the King and not to the Pope—a powerful recognition of the immediate dependence of the Hispanic-American Catholic Church on the Spanish Crown, through

⁹⁸ AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 310: "Letter by the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of the City of Los Reyes to King Philip III" (March 1, 1612).

⁹⁹ Sainthood has been described as "a grassroots phenomenon"; see Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 113.

implicitly reaffirming the privileges of the *Patronato regio*. The *Cabildo* knew that the success of Solano's cause did not depend exclusively on the "proper inquiries and proceedings" that were conducted and sent diligently to the SCR. The message not only recognised that without the intercession of the King the process would not advance easily, but also that the potential canonisation of Solano could be understood as a favour from the Pope to the King of Spain, that is, a diplomatic weapon in the hands of the Holy See.

Beyond the details, the letter also reveals that a strong motivation behind the *Cabildo*'s request to the King was to show how in the kingdoms of America it was also possible that fruits of sanctity could germinate and that this would serve as a stimulus to living a pious Christian life in the New World: "It should be known that in these Kingdoms there have been, and continue to be, saints known by us and with whom we have lived together, to serve to encourage others and increase devotion".¹⁰⁰

This last argument should be seen in the context of a crisis of confidence in the ability of the indigenous peoples of Peru to assimilate the Christian faith. In other words, there was a controversial debate within the Catholic Church because of doubts about the capacity of the Indians to truly embrace Christianity. This was consistent with the campaigns to eradicate idolatry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as many scholars have noted, more recently Celia Cussen: "For clerics in this period, Indian idolatry was manifestly the work of Satan, while urban saints, on the other hand, were evidence of the successful rooting of Hispanic Catholicism in the viceroyalty of Peru".¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 310: "Letter by the Ecclesiastical *Cabildo* of the City of Los Reyes (Lima) to King Philip III" (March 1, 1612).

¹⁰¹ Celia Cussen, "The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru: Linking Extirpation and Beatification," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2005): 417. In the context of the implementation of socio-political reforms in colonial Peru, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1582) carried out a crusade to eradicate idolatries. This aim was revived, decades later, by systematic campaigns to extirpate Andean idols-worship by Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (1609-1622); see Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the "Lettered City": Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 32. The

In this respect, the decrees of the Third Provincial Council of Lima [hereinafter, *Limense*] (1583-1591),¹⁰² manifested a hopeful vision of indigenous peoples as American converts, highlighting “the meekness of these people, the constant effort with which they dedicate themselves to serving and their natural obedience”¹⁰³. Along the same lines, the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta (1540-1600) argued that

the Indian is of shameless customs, he lets himself be carried away by gluttony and lust without any control and practices superstition with incredible tenacity. Well, there is salvation for him too if he is educated.¹⁰⁴

The Third Provincial Council of Lima had as its main objective the application of the directives of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), whose decrees had been converted into laws of the Spanish Crown by King Philip II in 1564.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the Council was concerned with the practical application of the decrees. For this reason, a commission of cardinals was quickly created by Pope Pius IV to supervise the implementation of the

historical approach which linked processes of canonisation and campaigns of *extirpaciones* (systematic inspections of the Indians to eradicate all kinds of idolatry) was opened by Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. « L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie » entre 1532 et 1660*. Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 1971. He emphasised the reboot of the *extirpaciones* in the seventeenth century, especially through three campaigns: 1610-1620; 1625-1638 and 1641-1671. Note that the beginning of the first campaign coincided with the year of Solano's death.

¹⁰² The *Limense* was, along with the Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585), the only council held in Hispanic America that enjoyed the approval of both the Holy See and the Spanish Crown. This double seal of guarantee made the decrees of both councils reach greater influence even until the end of the 19th century.

¹⁰³ *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Ferrer, ed., 251.

¹⁰⁴ José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute, vol. I: Educación y evangelización*, ed. Luciano Pereña (Madrid: CSIC, 1984 [c. 1575]), 141.

¹⁰⁵ Felipe II, “Pragmáticas” (July 12 and July 31, 1564), in *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España: Dividida en XII. libros. En que se reforma la Recopilación publicada por el Señor Don Felipe II en el año de 1567, reimpressa últimamente en el de 1775: Y se incorporan las pragmáticas, cédulas, decretos, órdenes y resoluciones Reales, y otras providencias no recopiladas y expedidas hasta el de 1804*, lib. 1, tit. 1, n. 13 (Madrid, [s.p.] 1805), 5–6.

decisions taken at Trent;¹⁰⁶ the same that was presided over by Archbishop Carlo Borromeo (canonised in 1610, the year of Solano's death) and would be the origin of the Sacred Congregation of the Council.¹⁰⁷ The latter, among other functions, had to supervise the celebration of provincial councils and synods: "By centralizing control over its interpretation, Rome soon became the sole and indispensable channel for the implementation of the Council, or so it hoped".¹⁰⁸

In the case of the Church in America, the directives of the Council of Trent were welcomed relatively quickly, becoming "a Tridentine church"¹⁰⁹. The Third Provincial Council of Lima was summoned and presided over by the Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo (beatified in 1679, four years after Solano; and canonised in 1726, two weeks before Solano) and included the assistance of the suffragan bishops of Quito, Cusco, Santiago de Chile, Tucumán, Charcas, and Río de la Plata. Nonetheless, not a few people believed, on the contrary, that the Indians would ever fully understand the new religion and that they would always adhere to their old idolatrous cults.¹¹⁰

Despite the rapid establishment of the Catholic Church in the American continent,¹¹¹ after more than a century of Christianisation, the New World had no

¹⁰⁶ Pius IV, "Allias nos nonnullas" (August 2, 1564), in *Bullarium Romanum VII*, ed. Luigi Tomassetti (Turin: Vecco et sociis editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1862), 300–01.

¹⁰⁷ Giuseppe Alberigo, "From the Council of Trent to 'Tridentinism,'" in *From Trent to Vatican II. Historical and Theological Investigations*, eds. Raymond Bulman and Frederick Parrella (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 21.

¹⁰⁸ See Fiorenzo Romita, "Le origini della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio," in *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio, Quarto Centenario dalla Fondazione (1564-1964): Studi e ricerche* (Vatican City: [s.p] 1964), 14.

¹⁰⁹ Benedetta Albani, "In universo christiano orbe: la Sacra Congregazione del Concilio e l'amministrazione dei sacramenti nel Nuovo Mondo (secoli XVI-XVII)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 121, no. 1 (2009): 66.

¹¹⁰ See Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies. Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 23.

¹¹¹ This agile *plantatio ecclesiae* had mainly responded to the initial mercantilism, the affirmation of the national monarchies and a great ecclesial vitality, since the missionaries

exemplar of canonised sanctity. If the justification of the colonial enterprise had been based, in large part, on the objective of evangelising the Indians, an undeniable demonstration of the success of such evangelisation by the Spanish Crown might be seen in the first fruits of a holy life of one of its subjects in the Americas.¹¹² Likewise, French hagiographers of the Iroquois Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680) aimed to highlight the holy potential of evangelised indigenous peoples in New France.¹¹³

Going back to the letter from the ecclesiastical *Cabildo* of Lima, holiness had a utilitarian purpose to increase devotion; that is, sanctity was considered an admirable status rather than an imitable lifestyle. This was a characteristic of the medieval prototype of sanctity that prevailed prior to the Counter-Reformation's model of holiness.¹¹⁴ It was only from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that sanctity of admirability was replaced by sainthood of imitability. At first seen as miracle-workers, the saints later became characterised as people who devoted their lives to charitable assistance and evangelisation.

However, the passage from one type of holiness to another was not immediately assimilated. The image of sanctity that the Holy See tried to project did not depend on a

came from a renewed Spanish Church; see Elisa Luque Alcaide, *Iglesia en América Latina (siglos XVI-XVIII). Continuidad y renovación* (Pamplona: Eunsa, 2008), 25.

¹¹² As mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, a precedent was the case of Novo-Hispanic Franciscan friar Felipe de Jesús (1572-1597) martyred in the city of Nagasaki at 25 years of age, and the Spanish Franciscan friar Sebastián de Aparicio (1502-1600). However, as Alejandro Cañeque has concluded, the effects of a large number of beatifications and canonisations “may be the opposite of what is desired, because by devaluing the unique and heroic image of the martyr, it is deprived of much of its attractiveness”; see Alejandro Cañeque, *Un imperio de mártires. Religión y poder en las fronteras de la Monarquía hispánica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2020), 360.

¹¹³ See Allan Greer, “Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain,” in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer, and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 235.

¹¹⁴ In the Early Middle Ages, there was a hagiographical tendency to represent sainthood in its masculine, adult, and aristocratic form; see Jacques Le Goff, “Introduction: Medieval Man,” in *Medieval Callings*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 26.

series of norms. It took time to change the imaginary of the people, especially where a region was geographically distant from Rome. This would explain why the new image of holiness did not immediately reach the American continent and that of a miracle-worker, which accorded with that of Francisco Solano, still prevailed.

What seems to have been undervalued at the time of conducting the investigations into Solano's reputation for sanctity was that for Rome this image had ceased to be significant and had become unhelpful for a certain policy of centralisation of processes of canonisation. In fact, the loss of the papal political power aimed to be balanced with greater power in the religious-spiritual dimension. Both to avoid external criticism by Protestants and to minimise the risk of interference of any foreign power, canonisation processes acquired a more rigorous and objective regulation, so that the number of miracles no longer mattered so much as their quality. Miracles had to be both irrefutable and preferably linked to the charitable or missionary fields. As Simon Ditchfield has argued,

With the Protestant Reformation and the Church's reply, definitions of what constituted true miracles became ever more subject to critical scrutiny. Whereas Roman Catholics challenged Protestants to produce miracles as validation of the truth of their teaching, Protestants sought to discredit popish religion by pointing to the falsity and diabolical origin of their purported miracles. Accordingly, investigation into the validity of miracles in canonisation trials became an even more pressing issue because Roman Catholics did not want to provide any unnecessary ammunition to Protestant polemicists.¹¹⁵

Far from the objectives of the present study but nevertheless worthy of a brief mention is the subject of the policy of canonisations of popes by the Holy See. It was important for the Holy See to promote worship among the faithful not only of the pontiffs of the early Church (almost all the bishops of Rome, beginning with St. Peter, until the 6th century when he received official veneration), but also in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (this group was very limited: Leo IX, Gregory VII and Pius V). For this

¹¹⁵Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints," 567.

reason, aiming to fulfil the dictates of the Council of Trent with regard to liturgy and worship reforms, “the cult of the holy popes, and in particular the martyr pontiffs of the first centuries, resumed new vigour”.¹¹⁶

In accordance with the previous reasoning, in a report prepared by friar Francisco de San Joseph Suessa, an expert in canonisation processes who had advised the Franciscan Province of Valencia in the successful process of Pascual Bailón (beatified in 1618 and canonised in 1690), it was stated that Solano’s cause would not prosper because, even though his alleged miracles were linked to mission / evangelisation, two of the greatest deeds attributed to him could not be reliably verified.¹¹⁷ The first of these miracles was to have made a spring of water flow in the desert of Talavera de Tucumán for the inhabitants of Socotonio. When narrating this feat, friar Diego de Córdoba presented Solano as a “new Moses”:

The inhabitants of one of these towns lived in constant despair because they lacked the water necessary for drinking and planting [...]. The holy Father went out with them to the field, persuading them to trust in the Divine Providence of the Lord, who would infallibly give them plenty of water [...]. The new Moses, armed with living faith and firm hope in God, pointing with a staff to the dry land, said to the incredulous people: Dig here and you will find water.¹¹⁸

The narrative culminated with the extraordinary event of a spout of water “clear, and very sweet, so abundant that two mills grind with it and is called by the inhabitants of that region the source of the holy Solano”.¹¹⁹ However, this alleged phenomenon did not have an eyewitness. In addition, for Joseph Suessa it was necessary to specify if the water spring arose at the same time that Solano had driven the staff into the ground and, if the terrain was truly arid and mountainous.

¹¹⁶ Roberto Rusconi, *Santo Padre. La santità del papa da san Pietro a Giovanni Paolo II* (Rome: Viella, 2010), 11.

¹¹⁷ ASI, *Relationes diversas*, 2/32, f. 21.

¹¹⁸ Córdoba_V1643, 193.

¹¹⁹ Córdoba_V1643, 193.

The second miracle that could have served to accelerate the cause of Solano, but did not have sufficient solidity of proof, was that of the preaching to more than nine thousand Indians from Tucumán and Paraguay who, despite speaking different languages, were able to understand Solano and convert to the Christian faith. In this case, Joseph Suessa observed that it was necessary to specify whether Solano had preached in Spanish or in the indigenous language, or whether the Indians had heard Solano speak each in their own language. Again, in Córdova's narrative, the alleged miracle happened like this:

One Holy Thursday an army of many thousands of Indians gathered in war against the Christians; and the holy father Solano went to them without knowing the language and gave them a sermon and talk that they understood and more than nine thousand Indians were converted, and they asked him to baptise them, and he baptised them.¹²⁰

The parameters contributing to the model of sanctity that was pursued by the hagiographers of Francisco Solano was inspired by and framed within the Franciscan tradition, which emphasised a virtuous life as a replica of the biography of Francis of Assisi. Colonial American saints “patterned themselves explicitly after their European models,”¹²¹ and Francisco Solano was not an exception. As Frank Graziano observed, “hagiographers were inclined to reduplication of canonised prototypes”¹²² to facilitate a positive reception from the Holy See and “hagiography generously compensated for any deficiencies in an aspirant's emulation of the prototype”.¹²³

Hence the tendency to insist on presenting Solano as an *alter Franciscus*, whose daily life was characterised by heroically living humility, poverty, self-denial, purity of life and penitential ascetism, with a certain power to perform prodigious deeds, a great

¹²⁰ Córdova_V1643, 46. About the Chiriguano people that populated this area, see Thierry Saignes, *Historia del pueblo chiriguano*, ed. Isabelle Combès (La Paz: IFEA; Embajada de Francia en Bolivia; Plural editores, 2007), 233–35.

¹²¹ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 192.

¹²² Frank Graziano, *Wounds of Love. The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 42.

¹²³ Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 43.

zeal for evangelisation and a contemplative mysticism combined with a prophetic and committed spirit in favour of the most suffering. Such was the effort of hagiographers to reproduce European sanctity by interpreting it in an American context that some scholars have justly spoken of “inducted sanctity”.¹²⁴ In this sense, as will be seen in due course, the main vitae of Francisco Solano were deliberately written looking for substantial coincidences to the motifs of this Franciscan tradition.¹²⁵

From 1618 to 1625 the sources fall silent about the progression of Solano’s cause.¹²⁶ From the opening of the diocesan process until obtaining a favourable response from the SCR, 15 years passed. In fact, the Congregation of Rites, not having found any impediment to continue with Solano’s cause, issued the *remissorialis* and *compulsorialis* letters on February 1, 1625.¹²⁷ These were addressed to Gonzalo de Campo, archbishop of Lima, who had succeeded Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero (the latter was one of the witnesses who had testified in the diocesan trial of Solano). By means of these letters, the

¹²⁴ See Raquel Serur, “Santa Mariana de Quito o la santidad inducida,” in *Barrocos y modernos: Nuevos caminos en la investigación del barroco iberoamericano*, ed. Petra Schumm (Frankfurt: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1998), 205–19.

¹²⁵ Some of my previous research aimed to demonstrate a parallel between Francis of Assisi and Francisco Solano of Montilla. See Piccone Camere, “San Francisco Solano: *alter Franciscus*,” 271–98; and Piccone Camere, “San Francisco Solano: Aportes,” 5–120.

¹²⁶ Circa 1615 an information on Solano was collected in Talavera de Esteco, where three witnesses testified; see Córdova_V1643, 511–2. In 1618 the Bishopric of La Paz sent information on Solano to Fr. Miguel Roca, *Procurador general* of the Franciscans in Lima; see Plandolit, *El Apóstol de América*, 479.

¹²⁷ On the ‘*Cartas remisoriales*’ and ‘*cartas compulsoriales*’ in Solano’s cause, see Antonio di Caprarola, *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio Fra Francesco Solano della Regolare Osser. illustre in virtù, e prodigij: Predicatore Apostolico nell’Indie Occidentali; acclamato per Padrone della Città di Lima Metropoli del Perù, e da altre famose Città dell’Indie. Rescritta da varij autori, e processi appresso la Sede Apostolica. A petitione, e divotione di F. Giovanni di S. Diego Villalon, Religioso del medesimo Ordine, e della Provincia d’Andalusia in Spagna; Procuratore nella Curia Romana alla Beatificazione, e Santificazione del Servo di Dio F. Francesco Solano, & insieme di F. Francesco Ximenez de Cisneros Arcivescovo Cardinal di Toledo, e di Suor Giovanna della Croce* (Rome: Michele Hercole, 1672), 202–03.

Holy See requested the Archdiocese of Lima to undertake a more exhaustive investigation about Solano's life, alleged holiness and miracles.

Solano's prospects suffered an immediate setback on 20 November 1627, when the SCR, following the guidelines of Urban VIII, issued a decree asserting that in order to discuss a cause of canonisation it was necessary that fifty years had passed since the candidate's death. This was another handicap to Solano's cause as he died in 1610. Nonetheless, in 1629, Urban VIII authorised the recapitulation of the investigations into Solano's life, as requested by the City of Lima, "where his body was venerated".¹²⁸ This authorisation could reflect the diplomatic efficiency of the Spanish ambassadors in Rome who saw the need to seek a friendlier relationship with the papacy, despite the fact that Urban VIII was depicted by the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See as "strongly disaffected to the Spanish Crown".¹²⁹

On July 5, 1634 Urban VIII issued the brief *Caelestis Hierusalem cives* through which the Pope solemnly confirmed for the Holy See the exclusive handling of the beatification and canonisation processes, "having carefully observed abuses in cultic matters" [*sollicite animadvertentes abusus*].¹³⁰ The bull confirmed two decrees of lesser rank by which both the non-official worship of people who had died with a reputation for sanctity and as well as their pictorial representation of alleged sanctity were prohibited.

¹²⁸ "The last investigation of the perfect life of the Venerable Fr. Francisco Solano of the Order of St. Francis, as requested by the City [of Lima], to continue the diligences that had begun since it experienced the marvels of his blessed death and the miracles worked by his intercession in the Republic where his body was venerated, at the friary of his Order," AGI, *Patronato*, 249, r. 22, 1, f. 59 (September 18, 1739).

¹²⁹ AHN, Sección Estado (Italia), lib. 406. Cited by Carlos Gálvez-Peña, *Writing History to Reform the Empire: Religious Chroniclers in Seventeenth-Century Peru* (New York: PhD diss., Columbia University in the City of New York, 2012), 43. It should be noted that during my archival research at AHN I was unable to locate or corroborate this source.

¹³⁰ CHc1634.

The publication of material about their *vidas* and miracles without the respective *nihil obstat* was also banned. Thus, 1634 could be considered the turning-point in the course of Solano's cause, since that year the enactments of Urban VIII regarding the canonisation procedure came into force.¹³¹ From 1634 the canonisation processes would be more complex. Many causes would be paralysed and only those that had a persistent patronage could proceed without succumbing to the convoluted process.¹³² As will be seen in the following chapters, this applied to the case of *Servus Dei* Francisco Solano whose passage to sainthood faced obstacles and intermittent progress.

¹³¹ By issuing *Decreta servanda in beatificatione et canonizatione Sanctorum* on 12 March 1642, Pope Barberini supplemented the provisions of 1634; see Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588-1634)* (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 353–61.

¹³² On the sequence of steps of the probatory process in Rome, see Gianna Pomata, "Malpighi and the holy body: medical experts and miraculous evidence in seventeenth-century Italy," in *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine*, eds. Sandra Cavallo, and David Gentilcore (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 102.

Chapter 4: The protagonists and the background behind Francisco Solano's bulls

In the monumental 1300-page-long study conducted by Lutheran German historian Hans-Jürgen Prien on the history of Christianity in Latin America, one paragraph is dedicated to Francisco Solano and his pastoral work. Indeed, while enumerating several missionary techniques used in the incipient Catholic Church established in South America, Prien affirms that Solano can be considered “as a prototype of an exemplary itinerant missionary”.¹ In light of the documentation reviewed, the latter statement is entirely valid. However, it is highly debatable when Prien adds that Solano “did not care about the social matter, the issue regarding Indians’ human rights,” ending the paragraph with a disturbing question: “Could it be a coincidence that Solano was beatified and canonised with extraordinary promptness (1675/1726), while Las Casas has seen such honours denied up to this day?”.²

A first response to this rhetorical question could be that the more a historical phenomenon is studied, the fewer coincidences exist, could be. Nonetheless, beyond the anachronistic comparison between two figures, it is necessary to note: even at the academic level, it might be assumed that Solano’s canonisation process was linear and expeditious³. In fact, this chapter will demonstrate that the pace of Solano’s cause was rather irregular and slow, especially considering the initial expectations of his devotees and sponsors. In fact, this process had such an irregular rhythm that in a few decades it went from exalted enthusiasm to the loss of all hope. Had it not been for a series of

¹ Prien, *Die Geschichte*, 229.

² Prien, *Die Geschichte*, 230.

³ Furthermore, some scholars could think that canonisation is above all an honorary title that should be awarded to the most outstanding personalities, as long as it meets their own merit standards, without considering the canonical criteria of the Roman Church.

historical factors that came into play, Solano's cause would have been a tremendous failure.

Finally, the accusation that Solano ignored the injustices and mistreatment endured by his native South American contemporaries will be challenged with reference to archival sources. For accomplishing the above, it is necessary to continue exploring the various factors that became real obstacles to the advancement of Solano's beatification, emphasising those of a political-religious nature, symbolically represented in three main characters: A Pope, a King, and a She-Saint.

1. Pope Urban VIII: The man behind the legislation

In the previous chapter, it has been demonstrated that Urban VIII substantially modified the norms of the canonisation processes. The hardening of canonical norms had various consequences, from the devotional level to the political arena. In fact, thousands of faithful had to suppress the public manifestations of their devotion so that it did not play against the case for canonisation. In practice, the new legislation also meant dozens of cases were unexpectedly blocked, mobilising court and diplomatic tactics to redress this situation. Quite rightly, most scholarship has focused on the cause-and-effect relationship between Pope Barberini's legislation and the slowing down of the canonisation processes. Nevertheless, beyond the legal changes introduced in the causes of the saints under his pontificate, the style of government of Urban VIII—and his very personality—also had a remarkable effect in making canonisation itself a powerful political card with which to play and negotiate with other European powers.

Thus, beyond the legislation, Urban VIII's background emerges as an important point to examine. To begin with, he was a Florentine noble educated by the Jesuits,⁴ a

⁴ On Pope Urban VIII, see Ulrich Köchli, *Urban VIII und die Barberini: Nepotismus als Strukturmerkmal päpstlicher Herrschaftsorganisation in der Vormoderne* (Stuttgart:

scholar educated in Rome and Pisa, and a pastor as zealous for evangelisation as for maintaining the political power of the Roman Church in modern Europe. A generous patron, Maffeo Barberini has given rise to a broad historical-artistic literature.⁵ He was a contemporary, among other leading figures, of René Descartes (1596-1650), Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) and Galileo Galilei (1564-1642).⁶ Thanks to the scientific method of the former and the astronomical theories of the latter, the world had entered a new era in which new paradigms began to replace the old ones. The Church, like the Earth, ceased to be the gravitational centre; she had, therefore, to learn to conceive herself as another actor on a larger stage that was extending its borders towards unexplored territories.

In the midst of this ecclesiastical proto-‘Copernican turn’, Pope Barberini aimed to prevent the Church from occupying a minor geopolitical place. Admired and criticised,

Anton Hiersemann, 2017). On his Florentine cultural heritage, see Sheila Baker, “Pasquinades and propaganda: the reception of Urban VIII,” in *The Papacy Since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor*, eds. James Corkery and Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 69–70. For his early life and ecclesiastical career, see Georg Lutz, “Urbano VIII,” in *Enciclopedia dei papi, vol. III*, ed. Massimo Bray (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000), 298–302.

⁵ See, for example, Julia Fischer, *Art in Rome: From Antiquity to the Present* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 236. The painters he patronised included Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, whereas Gian Lorenzo Bernini was commissioned by him to design the College of *Propaganda Fide*, the *Fontana del Tritone* and other masterpieces which continue beautifying Rome up to the present day.

⁶ The ‘Galileo affair’ took place during Urban VIII’s pontificate. In 1633, the Italian polymath was summoned to Rome to make his recantation before the Holy Office (the Roman Inquisition), accused of having presented the doctrine of Copernicus as an “absolute truth,” see Jules Speller, *Galileo’s Inquisition Trial Revisited* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 119; see also Robert S. Westman, *The Copernican Question: Prognostication, Skepticism, and Celestial Order* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2011), 9. It has been also argued that ‘corpuscularism’, rather than Copernicanism, was the secret motive why Galileo was judged; see Pietro Redondi, *Galileo eretico* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1983), 257–87. On this topic, see also the different interpretation of Mario Biagioli’s *Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Also see the important trilogy of studies by Thomas Mayer on the Roman Inquisition, especially: *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 76-109.

revered and accused of many illegal acts—including regicidal conspiracies—,⁷ he was consistent in adopting controversial practices that increased his power but also his unpopularity.⁸

1.1. La vie en Rome: *Nepotism and Absolutism under Urban VIII's pontificate*

In Renaissance Rome, the people managed to express their criticism and disgust against their politico-religious authorities through satirical writings that were attached at the base of certain statues (the so-called “talking statues”), among which Pasquino stood out.⁹ “*Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini*” —what barbarians did not do, Barberini did— was one of the most celebrated anonymous squibs posted around the statue of Pasquino.¹⁰ This phrase evoked popular discontent regarding the grand scale of nepotism that Pope Barberini employed, as well as his aim to re-found Rome,¹¹ since he sought to build a Christianised version of the renewed empire by dismantling the relics

⁷ See William Boswell, *Romes Master-Peece; or, the Grand Conspiracy of the Pope...* (London: Michael Sparke, 1643). Despite lacking historical evidence, this piece of anti-papal propaganda can be useful to perceive the type of accusations that were circulating at the time (beyond its place in the history of antipapal polemic).

⁸ On the manifestations of protests and discontent after the death of the unpopular Pope Urban VIII, see Laurie Nussdorfer, “The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 2 (1987): 173–89. Rumours of Urban VIII’s illness months before his death caused ripples of chaos through Rome, see Gigli, *Diario romano*, 241. More widely, see Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini cultural policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁹ See Christopher Gilbert, “If This Statue Could Talk: Statuary Satire in the Pasquinade Tradition,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 18, no. 1 (2015): 79–112.

¹⁰ See Pietro Romano, *Quod non fecerunt barbari ...: il pontificato di Urbano VIII* (Rome: Tipografia Agostiniana, 1937), 48. See also Gaetano Bossi, *La Pasquinata Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini. Ricerche storiche* (Rome: E. Filiziani, 1898).

¹¹ The fact is highly symbolic since the Castel Sant’Angelo Fortress had originally been built to be the mausoleum of Emperor Hadrian, the “second Romulo,” that is, the re-founder of Rome; see Tod A. Marder, “The Pantheon in the Seventeenth century,” in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder, and Mark Wilson Jones (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 298.

of the old one.¹² According to the criticisms expressed in the aforementioned pasquinade, Barberini dared to do what even the invading Barbarians of the Ancient age had never done since he used the bronze cladding to the beams of the portico's vaulting of the Pantheon to strengthen the defences of Castel Sant'Angelo and, allegedly, for the casting of Bernini's Baldacchino for the Papal Basilica of Saint Peter.¹³

Urban VIII's long pontificate (1623-44) allowed him to completely renew the College of Cardinals.¹⁴ He used this papal faculty to select and create the "Princes of the Church"¹⁵ according to the pastoral and political interests of the Church,¹⁶ but also for the economic and political interests of his family. In fact, he granted many civil and ecclesiastical prerogatives that benefited the Italian noblemen of the House of Barberini.¹⁷

¹² See John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Boston: Brill, 2016), 201.

¹³ Nonetheless, some authors have hypothesised that Urban VIII used the bronze sacked from Castel Sant'Angelo to forge defense artillery, camouflaging its use under a sacred purpose, see Louise Rice, "Bernini and the Pantheon Bronze," in *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506-2006. Beiträge der internationalen Tagung vom 22. – 25. Februar 2006 in Bonn*, eds. Georg Satzinger, and Sebastian Schütze (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008), 337–52.

¹⁴ On the fact that Urban VIII renewed the entire college of cardinals during his pontificate, Augustin Theiner recorded in his polemic *Geschichte des Pontifikats Klemens XIV* an anecdote that could be useful to describe the personality of Urban VIII: "To recall the memory of this singular fact, he ordered that a commemorative medal be made, which he distributed to each of the members of the Sacred College [...]. The inscription on this medal alluded to the circumstance and bore this motto: '*Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos*' —You did not choose me, but I chose you," *Storia del pontificato di Clemente XIV, vol. I*, trans. Francesco Longhena (Milano: Carlo Turati, 1853), 246.

¹⁵ The title became popular in Renaissance Italy and has continued to be used; see, for example, John XXIII, "Aeterna Dei Sapientia," in AAS, 53 (1961): 785–803. However, Pope Francis has recently discouraged its use; see Francis, "Homily during the Consistory for the creation of 5 new cardinals" (July 28, 2017), in AAS, 109 (2017): 687–88.

¹⁶ The Pope has *carte blanche* in the selection and creation of cardinals. In early centuries the number of cardinals varied, but Sixtus V restricted the number of the Sacred College to seventy; see a biblical reference in Nm 11,25. Sixtus V also decreed that candidates to a cardinalate are required to be at least a cleric or to have received minor orders. Since Nicholas II, the cardinals enjoy the right to be potentially elected as Pope.

¹⁷ See, for instance, Girolamo Brusoni, *Supplemento all'Historia d'Italia* (Frankfurt: appresso Sebastiano Scouerth, 1664), 47–8.

During his reign, Urban VIII created seventy-three cardinals,¹⁸ among whom were his brother Antonio Marcello, and his nephews Francesco and Antonio. As soon as they received their investiture in the respective consistories, the new cardinals took possession of key positions in the Roman Curia. Francesco Barberini became the *Cardinale-nipote*,¹⁹ the Pope's second-in-command, since the very beginning of his uncle's pontificate²⁰. In practice, the House of Barberini took Rome "by assault," which meant that any important decisions emanated from the different Dicasteries of the Roman Curia were fully aligned with the will of the Pope, including the canonisation processes.

On the other hand, as a former *nuncio* to the French Court, Urban VIII knew the importance of consolidating diplomatic ties with France through political compromises and with influential figures with direct access to power. An indicator of Pope Barberini's pro-French position was the creation of two new cardinals. These were Alphonse-Louis du Plessis de Richelieu (1629), the elder brother of Cardinal Armand Richelieu—the eminent minister of Louis XIII—,²¹ and Giulio Raimondo Mazzarini (1641) who,

¹⁸ Without counting four *in pectore* cardinals; see Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *The Papal Conclaves, as They Were and as They are* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 22.

¹⁹ The Cardinal-Nephew was in charge of the papacy's ministerial and diplomatic representative. see Birgit Emich, "The Cardinal Nephew," in *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden, and Arnold Witte (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 71–90. The office of Cardinal-Nephew was abolished in 1692 and replaced by that of Cardinal Secretary of State; see Innocent XII, "Romanum decet Pontificem" (June 22, 1692), in *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. XX, ed. Luigi Tomassetti (Turin: A. Vecco et sociis editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1870), 441–46.

²⁰ For the complete list of cardinals created by Urban VIII, see the Vatican codes described in Vincenzo Forcella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti relativi alla Storia di Roma che si conservano nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, vol. I (Rome: Fratelli Bocca E.C., 1879), 201. The nepotism used by Urban VIII did not necessarily result in the loss of effectiveness in the government of the Holy See. On the contrary, Francesco Barberini proved to be an efficient enforcer of papal policies. His leadership was decisive, for instance, in preventing the entry of the 1630 plague in Rome. See Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 160.

²¹ On the French political context, see Anthony Wright, *The Divisions of French Catholicism, 1629-1645: 'The Parting of the Ways'* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 48–9.

following the death of Armand Richelieu, took his place as first minister and dominated the French government from 1642 to 1661, during the minority of Louis XIV.²²

Regarding the members of the College of Cardinals, it is also worth noting that Antonio Marcello Barberini (1569-1646) was a member of the Order of Capuchin Friars Minor. In the same vein, another eminent Capuchin who had as much power as a cardinal—but without having such a title—was François Leclerc du Tremblay (1577-1638), mostly known as the *éminence grise*, for having been the right-hand agent of Cardinal Armand Richelieu²³ and the head of King Louis XIII's spy network.²⁴ In this sense, it may be noted that in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the fraternal rivalry between the Observant Franciscans and the Capuchin Franciscans was present, especially because of the jealousy generated by the exponential growth of the latter.²⁵ Considering the fact that the Capuchin Minors were born as a reform of the Observance to which Francisco Solano had belonged, it should not be discounted in advance that the religious affiliation of Cardinal Antonio Marcello Barberini was a factor in blocking his canonisation process, but few details have been found and further research is needed.

To add breadth to the picture, three of the cardinals created by Pope Barberini were members of the Society of Jesus. Urban VIII's favouritism towards the Capuchins and

²² About the reasons and context in which Mazzarini had to move from the service of the Pope to the service of Armand Richelieu, see David Sturdy, *Richelieu and Mazarin: A Study in Statesmanship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 90–91.

²³ See Benoist Pierre, *Le père Joseph: l'éminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), 120.

²⁴ See Ioanna Iordanou, *Venice's Secret Service: Organising Intelligence in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 51. On spy networks at that time, see Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990).

²⁵ The Capuchins (from *cappuccini* which literally means “the hooded men”) were approved by pope Clement VII in 1528. Two years later they expanded to about 700 members, of which a high percentage were Observants; see Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 104–6.

the Jesuits was not fortuitous. In fact, both institutions embodied the genuine Tridentine spirit and were used by Rome as chief tools in the Catholic Counter-Reformation.²⁶

1.2. The papal dilemma in the midst of the struggle for European hegemony

Criticisms of Pope Barberini were not limited only to the Roman people. From an international perspective, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Spanish monarchy disapproved of Urban VIII's pro-French position during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Predominantly fought in modern Germany and Central Europe, this conflict would characterise the whole pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-1644), the longest-reigning pope of the seventeenth century. The causes of this bloody clash—that reportedly resulted in more than 8 million casualties and a huge expenditure—²⁷ included two longer-standing conflicts: the ongoing Wars of Religion between Catholics and Protestants, as well as the staunch rivalry between Austro-Spanish Habsburgs and French Bourbons.

Paradoxically, the two leading powers of Catholic Christendom, Spain and France, stood opposed to each other in arms. According to the expectation of the Spanish monarchy, the papacy should support the Catholic armed forces and put an end to the Protestant expansion led by Sweden in alliance with Bourbon France. In the midst of this tense situation in which Protestant power was increasing, the Roman Church could not remain neutral. Urban VIII solved this dilemma by supporting France for the sake of the Machiavellian *raison d'État*.²⁸ In fact, everything seems to indicate that he did not

²⁶ See Ludwig von Pastor, *Historia de los Papas, vol. XI*, trans. Ramón Ruiz Amado (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1911), 30–1.

²⁷ See Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1500-2000* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2002), 38.

²⁸ See Friedrich Meinecke, *The Doctrine of Raison d'Etat and its Place in Modern History*, trans. Douglas Scott. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 69.

consider the Thirty Years' war as one of religion —against what Protestant historiography predicated—,²⁹ but rather as a war for European hegemony and worldly interests.³⁰

The controversial papal position becomes more comprehensible if the issue is placed in the context of religious reform: the Pope and his diplomat-cardinals had to avoid at all costs France's secession from Rome, as had happened in England a century earlier in the Anglican schism of Henry VIII. In fact, twentieth-century Catholic historiography tended to appeal to the argument that the risk of Gallicanism —used as a religious blackmail tool— was an effective method in achieving papal support.³¹ Two historiographies as opposite as those of Catholic Ludwig von Pastor and his Lutheran colleague Leopold von Ranke coincide in agreement as to the crucial role played by Urban VIII. The former justified pope Barberini's sympathy for France by arguing that excessive Spanish power in Italy threatened the independence of the Holy See and, therefore, it was necessary to seek a balance of power.³² The latter, instead of explaining why Pope Barberini supported France, described him as a self-sufficient and megalomaniac prelate who surpassed his predecessors in the unrestricted exercise of power.³³

There is some archival evidence to suggest that Urban VIII was consistent in his reluctance to accede to the requests of the Spanish monarchy. Actually, King Philip IV

²⁹ See Kevin Cramer, "Religious Conflict in History: *The Nation as the One True Church*," in *Religion and Nation, Nation and Religion: Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte*, eds. Michael Geyer, and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), 41.

³⁰ See Reuben Parsons, "Gustavus Adolphus," *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 20 (1895): 527.

³¹ See Louis Cognet, "Ecclesiastical Life in France," in *History of the Church, vol. VI: The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*, eds. Hubert Jedin, and John Dolan, trans. Gunther Holst (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 61.

³² See Ludwig von Pastor, *Historia de los Papas, vol. XXVIII*, trans. José Monserrat (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1948), 69–70.

³³ Leopold von Ranke, *The History of the Popes, Their Church and State, and Especially of their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, vol. II*, trans. E. Foster (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), 266.

deployed a diplomatic strategy, led by notable ecclesiastics loyal to his cause, in order to convince Pope Barberini about the urgent need for the papacy to contribute to the financing of the war against Protestantism, and particularly against Sweden. In 1630, cardinals Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval and Agustín de Spínola Basadone were sent to Rome to reinforce the Spanish lobby before the Holy See, joining Cardinals Gil de Albornoz and Gaspar de Borja.³⁴ Between the King of Spain and this group of cardinals there was a regular correspondence —often through encrypted messages.³⁵ However, in spite of the persuasiveness of these ecclesiastical ambassadors, none of them succeeded in negotiating with the Pope.

1.3. The process of canonisation as a papist-political tool

The situation was exacerbated in 1632, when the Pope increased the taxation on the Spanish clergy.³⁶ According to Cardinal Moscoso's report to King Philip IV, the money that Spain sent to the Holy See was so considerable that it would have been enough to feed all the Romans.³⁷ Faced with these circumstances, Cardinal Borja, the spokesperson

³⁴ See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Regalismo y relaciones Iglesia-Estado (s. XVII)," in *Historia de la Iglesia en España, vol. IV*, edited by Antonio Mestre Sanchís (Madrid: BAC, 1979), 79. On the Spanish cardinals' *ad limina* reports, see Ángel Fernández Collado, *Los informes de visita ad limina de los arzobispos de Toledo* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla – La Mancha, 2002), 44–53.

³⁵ See, for example, AHNOB 1, Osuna, ct. 2, d. 8, "Carta cifrada de Felipe IV al Cardenal Albornoz, embajador de España en Roma, en la que acusa el recibo de las que este escribió al Dux de Venecia, Virrey de Nápoles, al marqués de los Vélez, al de la Fuente, sobre la paz entre el papa y sus coaligados" (August 04, 1644).

³⁶ On this fiscal conflict, see Juan E. Gelabert, *La bolsa del Rey. Rey, reino y fisco en Castilla (1598-1648)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 240–43. On the Spanish response carried out by Count-Duke of Olivares in Madrid, see Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 174–75. See an accomplished biography of Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count Duke of Olivares, in John Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

³⁷ "[...] *entra tanto dinero de España, que sólo dél se come en Roma,*" AGS, Estado, leg. 2996, s.f., "Carta del Cardenal Sandoval al Rey Felipe IV" (February 17, 1632).

for the Spanish cause, took advantage of the consistory held on March 8, 1632 to make public the displeasure of the Spanish King. He openly charged Urban VIII with favouring the Protestant movement and invoked the possibility of calling a General Council that would judge his conduct.³⁸ The Pope felt deeply insulted and responded through a pontifical brief,³⁹ using his power to stop any ecclesiastical promotion of those involved in the protest.⁴⁰ Pope Barberini personalised his resentment for this diplomatic impasse on Cardinal Borja.⁴¹ In fact, despite his personal esteem for the Jesuits, following the hypothesis proposed by Simon Ditchfield,⁴² Urban VIII would have blocked the canonisation process of Francisco de Borja (Francis Borgia), third superior of the Society of Jesus, only to deprive Gaspar of the privilege of having a relative declared as a saint.⁴³

It was not the first time that Popes had controlled the processes of canonisation according to their political interests as if the Church were a “saint-making factory”.⁴⁴ Without detracting from the merit of the candidates for saints, beyond the spiritual sphere, the canonisation of a sovereign also implied the ‘sanctification’ (as unappealable approval) of the way he governed in the political, economic and social spheres. In this sense, the

³⁸ AAV, Segreteria di Stato, Mis. Arm. 3, 19, 283: “Protestatio Card.lis Borgiae facta Urbano 8^o pro regge Catt.co quia non auxiliabat Imp.ri contra Svetiae”. On this issue in a broader context, see Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 230.

³⁹ “Breve di Urb^o VIII contro il card. Gaspare Borgia, per le parole ingiuriose da lui proferite in consistoro contro il papa,” in AAV, Archivio di Castello, Arm. IX, 2092.

⁴⁰ For the altercations of the consistory of 1632 described in detail, see Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Urbano VIII e la sua opposizione alla Spagna e all'Imperatore: Episodio della Guerra dei Trent'Anni* (Rome: Fratelli Bocca, 1879), 53–59.

⁴¹ See Leandro Martínez Peñas, *El confesor del rey en el Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2007), 820. In 1643 Cardinal Borja was proposed by Philip IV as archbishop of Toledo, but Urban VIII refused to approve his appointment; he had to wait to occupy that position until the beginning pontificate of the next Pope, Innocent X.

⁴² See Ditchfield, *Liturgy, sanctity and history*, 252.

⁴³ Francis Borgia was beatified by Pope Urban VIII on November 23, 1624, and eventually canonised by Pope Clement X on April 12, 1671.

⁴⁴ For the contextual justification of this phrase, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, “La fabrique des saints,” *Annales ESC* 39 (1984): 286–300.

canonisation of Louis IX King of France, in 1297, can be considered one of the most emblematic cases, since it was instrumental for the reconciliation —although ephemeral— between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV (*Philippe le Bel*), grandson of St. Louis. The whole affair turned on “a ‘national’ dimension that became more and more acute”.⁴⁵ During the liturgical ceremony, Boniface lauded Louis for having exercised royal power according to Christian doctrine and in collaboration with the bishops, sending a message between the lines about how convenient it would be for Philip IV to emulate his grandfather.⁴⁶ As Marianne Gaposchkin has noted, the Pope “praised Louis for precisely the things he had criticised Philip for failing to do”.⁴⁷

Looking no further, Urban VIII himself canonised Elizabeth of Portugal in 1625. Born in Zaragoza in 1271, into the royal House of Aragon, Elizabeth became the Queen consort of Portugal. Used to employing a *quid pro quo* policy, the Pope who would be historically remembered for having stopped dozens of canonisation processes, surely had reasons to pave the way for the few of these that were successfully consummated in his long pontificate. Not surprisingly, at the time of Elizabeth’s canonisation important events took place in the Iberia Peninsula, including several revolts in Portugal, along with smouldering discontent in Catalunya.⁴⁸ In both cases people protested against the rigid

⁴⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 232; Boniface VIII, “Bulla canonizationis s. Ludovici,” in *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*, vol. VII, ed. Collegio S. Bonaventura (Florence: Quaracchi, 1951), 395–99.

⁴⁶ See André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 359.

⁴⁷ Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 57.

⁴⁸ At the end of 1640, the Catalan authorities renounced their allegiance to Felipe IV, declaring Catalonia an independent republic. A statement that could only be sustained for a short time, until 1652. However, the Catalan revolt shook the foundations of the Spanish monarchy and contributed to the success of the Portuguese independentists in the Lisbon insurrection of 1 December 1640, who managed to preserve their independence, despite multiple and persistent Spanish attempts to re-dominate Portugal. For a detailed study on the political debate and ideological background of the 1640 Catalan revolution, see

taxation measures imposed by Count-Duke of Olivares, according to his policy of centralisation and Castilianisation.⁴⁹ The canonisation of a queen born in Spain and who died in Portugal might be a symbol of how fruitful the union of both kingdoms could continue to be.⁵⁰ Another probable cause that could have encouraged Urban VIII to canonise Saint Elizabeth of Portugal was the fact that she belonged to the Franciscan Third Order, in whose Rules obedience to the Pope is emphasised.⁵¹ On the other hand, the fact that her iconography is very similar to that of Elizabeth of Hungary who had been the queen's great-aunt,⁵² seems to indicate that the papacy sought to enhance the image of monarchs as devoted, peaceful, charitable and obedient sons of the Roman church.

As has been seen, Francisco Solano's canonisation process began very auspiciously. However, it was suddenly blocked by a number of factors. Beyond the laws issued by Urban VIII regarding the processes of canonisation, it is also important to consider how

Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999).

⁴⁹ On the meaning of 'Castilianisation' according to Olivares himself, see John Elliott, *The Revolt of the Catalans. A Study in the Decline of Spain (1568-1640)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 200. See also Irving Thompson, "Castile, Spain and the monarchy: the political community from patria natural to patria nacional," in *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World. Essays in honour of John Elliott*, eds. Richard Kagan, and Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 126–27.

⁵⁰ Eventually, the final separation between the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain occurred in 1668. On the Peace Treaty of 1668, see David Lewis Tengwall, *The Portuguese Revolution (1640-1668): A European War of Freedom and Independence* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), 426–29.

⁵¹ See Jean-François Godet-Calogeras, "The Rule of the Franciscan Third Order," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 343–366. The so-called Franciscan Tertiaries received their official approbation on 18 August 1289, by the first Franciscan Pope through the bull "Supra Montem," see Nicholas IV, "Approbatio Tertiae Regulae fratrum et sororum Tertii Ordinis a B. Francisco institutae, pro saecularibus in propriis domibus viventibus, Tertiariis nuncupatis," in Luigi Tomasetti, ed., *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, vol. IV* (Turin: Seb. Franco, H. Fory et H. Dalmazzo Editoribus, 1859), 90–95. Their rule was renewed in 1978 and was renamed the Secular Franciscan Order, see Paul VI, "Seraphicus Patriarcha" (24 June 1978), in AAS 70 (1978): 454.

⁵² See Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 144.

he used these as political and diplomatic tools. Solano's cause was not treated as a priority by Rome not only because it was not convenient to make some kind of exception with any candidate for saint, but also because Solano was, at the most basic level, a subject of the Spanish monarchy. The multiple canonisations of Spanish candidates celebrated by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 had been a tribute to King Philip IV that Pope Barberini did not want to repeat.

2. Philip IV of Spain, the Planet King

“The reign of Philip IV, the Poet, was inaugurated amid the scaffold, the dagger, the poison and the canonisation of four Saints.”⁵³ This is how a prominent Spanish literary critic summed up—in the mid-nineteenth century—the hectic beginning of the Planet King's long rule. Although some contemporary historiography tends to present a more positive portrait of Philip,⁵⁴ there is a diffused image of Philip IV (1605-1665) as a self-indulgently carefree ruler detached from government decisions and warfare, focused only on women and hunting.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, vol. I (Madrid: Atlas, 1973), 257.

⁵⁴ For example, his efficient system of private military contracting, see David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 220. Philip's merits as a *mecenas* has been unanimously recognised mainly since the pioneering studies of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, see *Estudios del reinado de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1888). Accordingly, a developed sensitivity towards art sponsorship and collector of fashionable objects is one of the virtues that contemporary scholarship has also rescued from Philip IV; see José Ramón Marcaida, and Juan Pimentel, “Dead Natures or Still Lives? Art, and Collecting in the Spanish Baroque,” in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, eds. Daniela Bleichmar, and Peter C. Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 101.

⁵⁵ This was, ultimately, John Lynch's description about Philip IV, “a king who preferred private pleasure to public duty,” John Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, vol. II: *Spain and America, 1598-1700* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), 63. Similarly, John Elliott depicted Philip IV as “a mere ceremonial ruler”; see Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, 101.

Philip IV's reign coincided with one of the peak periods of European culture, within the framework of the Spanish Golden Age.⁵⁶ The latter was most notably exhibited in the blossoming of literature headed by Miguel de Cervantes. One of the many misadventures of his Don Quixote centred on an encounter with a group of villagers who were guarding four sacred images wrapped in fine cloths. When asked to reveal them, the figures of four saints on horseback appeared: George of Lydda, Martin of Tours, Diego Matamoros (James the Great, patron saint of Spain) and Paul of Tarsus. Don Quixote marvelled and suggestively commented that these saints were also *knights* of the same profession as his, which was the calling of arms, with the only difference "that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones".⁵⁷

This chivalric anecdote suggests a certain approach to the concept of holiness at the beginning of the seventeenth century: Being a holy person consisted of skilfully using divine weapons to succeed in the spiritual fight. In this section we will see how the controversial Spanish king tried to use this concept for his own purpose in the process of canonisation, a weapon that the Roman Church guarded with zeal.

2.1. The Franco-Spanish War (1635–1659) within a divided Christendom

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Urban VIII issued the brief *Caelestis Hierusalem cives*, through which he ordered the centralisation of all the processes of canonisation under papal authority, prohibiting any publication about purported saints and their allegedly saintly lives and miracles, unless the writing had the explicit permission of the Holy See. It was not fortuitous that 1634 was the year in which Pope Barberini issued the aforementioned legislation. Around this date, the diplomatic tension between the Holy

⁵⁶ The term 'Golden Age' has provoked historiographical disagreements, see Henry Kamen, *Golden Age Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.

⁵⁷ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, vol. II (Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1876), ch. LVIII, 638.

See and Spain had reached one of its highest points in early modern Europe. The insubordinate Spanish attitude before the Pope brought about a rapprochement between the papacy and the emerging French power. Politically, France and the Papal States had the same expansionist aspiration. In fact, while it is better known that the accession of Louis XIII to the French throne in 1610 marked the beginning of France's consolidation period to Great Power status, it is also noteworthy that Urban VIII was the last Pope to extend the territory of the Papal States through military intervention. Despite this, Rome would continue to maintain the hegemony of spiritual power. For example, in the face of the French invasion of Lorraine (1633), the authority of the Pope to arbitrate was recognized even by King Charles I of England, who requested the intervention of Urban VIII, "the best of sovereigns".⁵⁸

On May 1635, France declared war on Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, making a common front with the Dutch Republic and Sweden.⁵⁹ If France had decided to support the Protestant nations in their fight against Catholic nations, it was not because of a doctrinal theological issue, but due to the search for a geopolitical balance in Western Europe. Internally, France was threatened by a series of Huguenot rebellions;⁶⁰ and,

⁵⁸ See Public Record Office, "Acts of the Court of High Commission, during the month of 1634, vol. CCLXXIX," in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1634-1635, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. John Bruce (London: Public Record Office, 1870), 379.

⁵⁹ After the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the war continued between the kingdoms of Spain and France. In spite of minor French advantages in the Spanish Netherlands, a decade later both sides were socially and financially exhausted, and decided to sign a treaty of peace in 1659, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; first edition 1972), 193. On the strategic reasons for the war of 1635 and the preparatory moves prepared by the French to start the conflict in an advantageous position, see David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army. War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10.

⁶⁰ Three Huguenot uprisings would erupt in the second decade of the seventeenth century. King Louis XIII suppressed these rebellions with immediate fierceness; see Carlos M. N.

externally, France was corralled with its territory surrounded by Spanish dominions or Habsburg possessions. This fact threatened French autonomy and the hegemonic aspirations of its monarchy.

It should be highlighted that, within the war, the catholicity of the monarchs of France was not in dispute. Indeed, each of them came to recognise themselves as “the eldest son” of the Roman Church,⁶¹ a title that carried a responsibility to uphold doctrinal orthodoxy. Rather, the theological question only came into play during the last years of the pontificate of Urban VIII, as a result of the spread of Jansenism within the French Church. Formulated by Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), an influential Catholic bishop of Flanders, this doctrine was mainly based on a strict interpretation of St. Augustine’s argument about the role of grace over free will.⁶² Jansen’s controversial theological view was published posthumously, in 1640, under the name of *Augustinus*. As expected, the publication challenged the claim of Rome to uphold orthodoxy, especially of the Jesuits who saw in Jansenism a version of Protestantism camouflaged in the episcopal hierarchy of its author.⁶³ After weighing up the advantages and drawbacks of a censure, Urban VIII condemned it through the bull *In eminenti*, a year after its publication.⁶⁴

Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 542.

⁶¹ See Richard Bonney, *Society and Government in France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624-61* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 76.

⁶² See a synthesis of his thinking on grace and free will in Cornelius Jansen, *Augustinus. Tomus primus in quo haereses & mores Pelagij contra naturae humanae sanitatem, aegritudinem & medicinam ex S. Augustino recensentur ac refutantur* (Leuven: Typis Iacobi Zegeri, 1640), 530.

⁶³ See Rudolf Schuessler, *The Debate on Probable Opinions in the Scholastic Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 113.

⁶⁴ See Urban VIII, “In eminenti” (March 6, 1641), in *Bullarium Romanum Novissimum, ab Urbano VIII, usque ad S.D.N. Clementem X, vol. V and vol. VI*, eds. Angelus a Lantusca, and Joannes Paulus a Roma (Rome: Ex Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1672), 400–05.

Returning to the Franco-Spanish War, Pope Barberini's support for France triggered political intrigues between Paris and Rome, playing their part in developing a certain sense of betrayal among the Spanish court.⁶⁵ With Urban VIII's death in 1644, France lost a valuable ally. In fact, with the election of his successor, the European geopolitical chessboard was reconfigured since Innocent X (1644-50) had known Spanish sympathies.⁶⁶

2.2. *The conflict between Urban VIII and Philip IV*

One of the main characteristics of the relationship between Urban VIII and Philip IV was the continued diplomatic tension. The latter was reflected in the reports by which Juan Chumacero, Spanish ambassador in Rome, updated the King on the latest events that were occurring in the Holy See.⁶⁷ On December 18, 1633, Philip IV, through Chumacero specifically and Domingo Pimentel, bishop of Cordova, addressed a *memorial* to Urban VIII, reminding him about his duty of ensuring a healthy and constant reform of the Catholic Church.⁶⁸ In its pages, King Philip showed his concern for the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, proposing that the Pope should force members of religious

⁶⁵ See Robert Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 144.

⁶⁶ See Josef Vincent Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 236.

⁶⁷ Part of the extensive correspondence between Juan Chumacero and the King of Spain are listed in Carmen Castrillo González, ed., *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, vol. II: Manuscritos 1680-2777* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), 417–18.

⁶⁸ AHN, EST, 872, *Memorial dado por D. Juan Chumacero y Carrillo y Don Fr. Domingo Pimentel, Obispo de Córdoba (sic) a la santidad del papa Urbano VIII. Año de M.DC.XXXIII de orden, y en nombre de la magestad del rey Don Phelipe IV sobre los excessos que se cometen en Roma, contra los Naturales de estos Reynos de España. Y la respuesta que se dio a él. Y respuesta a la respuesta* (1633). More than one hundred years later, in 1737, Juan de Moya, a book merchant, requested the reprint license of the *Memorial*, a fact that could indicate its relevance; see AHN, ES, 28079, 64.

congregations to return to their primitive rules of life —the normative documents of a Catholic Order, generally drawn up by their founders.⁶⁹

In this context, the King listed a series of acts committed by clergymen, considered opposed to the observance, which allowed them to relax their behaviour, for example from wanting to choose their own cell (that is, the bedroom) to asking to change their friary or religious Province. The substantial part of the letter contained complaints regarding the Roman policy of taxation, as well as serious accusations through which Philip IV indirectly charged the Pope for being negligent about overlooking the non-observance of ecclesiastical rules and good social customs by giving priority to issues of a political nature. Regarding the first issue, King Philip criticised the tributary policy established by the Holy See which included the imposition of heavy taxes on Spain,⁷⁰ excessive levies, and the purchase and sale of prebends —replacing a system based on merit with a hereditary one. The charges levied against the Pope included the economic distress of ecclesiastics on their deathbeds,⁷¹ the existence of vacant seats of bishoprics whose churches ceased to receive alms and maintenance, leading to “the loss of the church, pastor and property”.⁷²

⁶⁹ “[...] the relaxation and serious state in which the ecclesiastical State was found; and the need to make it return to its first rules, and to the observance of the Pontifical Constitutions and Conciliar Decrees,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 4.

⁷⁰ However, it could also be argued that these also could benefit the Spanish crown, as was the case with the *cruzada*. They required papal authorisation, and the papacy took a cut, but the moneys were collected by the Spanish crown. Thomas Dandele, “Paying for the New St Peter’s: Contributions to the Construction of the New Basilica from Spanish Lands, 1506-1620,” in *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion. 1500-1700*, eds. Thomas James Dandele and John Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 181–96.

⁷¹ “In this way is treated a dying Prelate who had been so respected and assisted in life because of his Dignity,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 39.

⁷² AHN, EST, 872, f. 42.

Religion shaped the identity of Philip IV in such a way that he has been regarded as the model of the Catholic King.⁷³ Through the correspondence that Philip IV exchanged with the mystical nun Mary of Jesus of Ágreda, the reader can perceive both the deep spirituality of the King of Spain as well as an overwhelming responsibility he felt for his own mission, so recurrent in the Spanish Habsburg dynasty, namely, the “self-appointed role as the guardian of universal Christendom”.⁷⁴ Indeed, in one of the many confidences by which he relieved his conscience, the king confessed to the Abbess of Ágreda: “I come to you, so that you fulfil the word that you gave me to cry out to God to guide my actions and my weapons, so that I achieve the calm of these kingdoms and a universal peace in Christendom”.⁷⁵ The evidence suggests that Philip IV was a king who assumed the defence of the Catholic faith as an essential part of his duties, just as his ancestors had done, including his father Philip III who expelled all the *Moriscos* from Spain to further cleanse his Christian reign.⁷⁶ This faith was based upon a devotional-theological approach, an intellectual element that was linked to a sacramental piety.⁷⁷ Regarding the latter, as Ramón Mujica has noted, even in the Peruvian viceregal iconography, Philip IV appeared as one of the champions in the defence of doctrinal

⁷³ See Carlos Seco Serrano, “El Rey Católico,” in *Felipe IV: el hombre y el reinado*, ed. José Alcalá-Zamora (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia - Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2005), 13.

⁷⁴ Anthony Padgen, “Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians,” in *The languages of political theory in early-modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Padgen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79–80.

⁷⁵ Philip IV, “Carta de Felipe IV a sor Ágreda” (Zaragoza, October 4, 1643), in Francisco Silvela, ed. *Cartas de la Venerable Sor María de Ágreda y del Señor Rey Don Felipe IV*, vol. I (Madrid: Est. tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1885), 4.

⁷⁶ See Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 48.

⁷⁷ See Stradling, *Philip IV*, 343.

orthodoxy, the guidelines of the Council of Trent and the Eucharistic devotion.⁷⁸ In this light, Philip IV's concluding words in the aforementioned *memorial* can be better understood:

It seemed to me that I have a precise obligation, in conscience, to present to Your Holiness what this Memorial contains, both for the protection that I owe to my vassals, and for the account that I have to give to God regarding the care and vigilance with which I must watch over the conservation and increase of the Holy Faith, and ensure that the Catholic Religion and the Ecclesiastical discipline flourish in my Kingdoms with the perfection and purity, established by the Holy Fathers.⁷⁹

By order of Urban VIII, Marc'Aurelio Maraldi, Secretary of Briefs, answered in Italian the memorial of complaints presented by Philip IV in 1633, denying each of the accusations that were indirectly imputed to the Pope. Not only were each of the allegations systematically answered, but they were also described as unfounded and, therefore, defamatory. The reality, according to the papal deputy, was very different from how the Spanish court represented it, arguing that the Pope had the support of all the Spanish clergy and that the memorial was nothing but a list of accusations and complaints of "lay people few affectionate [to the Holy See]".⁸⁰ The synthesis of the defence of Urban VIII can be framed in the claim of absolute power that the Pope enjoyed as *Dominus omnium Beneficiorum*, that is, he who can "freely dispose of the Church's assets at his discretion as universal Dispenser of the Patrimony of Christ our Lord".⁸¹

The reply to the response addressed to the king on behalf of the Pope was immediate. Through the same ambassadors Chumacero and Pimentel, Philip IV insisted on demanding the reform of many ecclesiastical abuses, including those that had been

⁷⁸ To the figure of the Spanish king is added that of St. Rosa de Lima, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 216.

⁷⁹ AHN, EST, 872, ff. 52–53.

⁸⁰ "laici poco ben affetti," AHN, EST, 872, f. 54.

⁸¹ AHN, EST, 872, f. 74.

introduced into Spain by the Datary of Rome⁸² and which created many grievances in his kingdom. The Ambassadors described the Pope's response as a series of excuses and infamies. The new writing addressed the same points of contention, refuting the arguments of the Holy See one by one and supporting them with numerous theological arguments. Without ever losing the customary protocols, the substance of the letter written on behalf of Philip IV was a daring reprimand for the Pope, who was urged to put an end to the material greed of Rome, cause of scandal for the Christian faithful, but also catalyst for attacks by non-Catholics, "whose erroneous motives began in the abuses as a main justification for persevering in not recognizing the Primacy and obedience that is due to this Holy See".⁸³

2.3. *The Planet King and the cause of Solanus*

Thus, history presents us with two complex figures whose words and actions seem to suggest an exchange of their supposed roles: on the one hand, a king obsessed with solving religious questions and, opposite him, a pope intent on ensuring the political primacy of his government. In the midst of this scenario, where political and spiritual spheres were intermingled, why would Philip IV be interested in supporting the cause of Francisco Solano? The answer to this question must be placed in a larger context. The Spanish Crown supported Solano's cause through economic and diplomatic means, since it was part of a broad-based and systematic political programme.⁸⁴ In fact, other causes

⁸² The Apostolic Datary was the office charged especially with investigating the suitability of candidates for papal benefits, see Heinrich Scharp, *How the Catholic Church is Governed*, trans. Annelise Derrick (New York: Herder and Herder, 1960), 99.

⁸³ AHN, EST, 872, f. 228.

⁸⁴ On Spanish Royal promotion, see Copeland, "Spanish saints," 107–08.

for canonisation also received explicit support from the king,⁸⁵ even though what might have made Solano's cause particularly attractive was its unique character.

In general terms, the cult of the saints could have been useful for the Spanish ruling elite in maintaining the *status quo*. In his *Vida* of Ignacio de Loyola, Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra proposed obedience as the highest of virtues for those who aspired to live a holy life. For this obedience to be perfect, it must be blind, that is, to put into practice whatever was commanded without internally protesting: "perfect obedience is blind, but wisdom consists in this blindness".⁸⁶

For his part, Spanish theologian Alonso de Villegas included in his *Flos sanctorum* many passages about the importance of obedience as a distinctive feature of holiness and

⁸⁵ On this point, the archival research in the ecclesiastical repositories has proven to be a valuable source to confirm the systematic support provided by the Spanish monarchy to the causes of canonisation. Complementing what was indicated in the Introduction of this thesis, at the *Archivo del Cabildo de Sevilla* [ACS], there is valuable documentation related to the cult of saints during the seventeenth century: Raymond of Penyafort (ACS, 1601, f. 80), Philip Neri (ACS, 1622, f. 108), Francis Xavier (ACS, 1622, ff. 108, 119–125; ACS, 1639, ff. 44–45), Teresa of Ávila, (ACS, 1622, ff. 108–130), Ignatius of Loyola (ACS, 1622, ff. 108, 119–125), Isabella of Portugal (ACS, 1625, ff. 106–107), Andrew Corsini (ACS, 1629, ff. 336, 345–350), Peter Nolasco (ACS, 1629, f. 325), and John of Sahagún (ACS, 1691, ff. 29–30). Naturally, most of the canonisation dossiers are related to those saints-to-be sponsored by the Archbishopric of Seville, of whom only the trial of King Ferdinand III concluded successfully, being officially canonised by '*equipollens canonizatio*' (immemorial cult). The detailed documentation on Ferdinand's process is prototypical and is useful to know in detail the administrative steps and diplomatic actions to promote a cause of canonisation. See Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 34; 95.

Finally, the ACS custodies documentation on the causes of Rosa de Lima and Toribio de Mogrovejo. In the case of former, the archbishopric of Seville gave guidelines for the celebration of her canonisation (ACS, 1672, ff. 22–31). As regards the latter, there is a letter by the Archbishopric of Lima addressed to the Archbishopric of Seville asking letters of recommendation to be sent to Rome in favour of Mogrovejo's process (ACS, 1653, f. 86; 1681, f. 21). Thus, in this repository, despite the impressive number of documents related to the canonisation processes, there is a "documentary silence" on Solano's.

⁸⁶ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Por Alonso Gómez, Impresor de su Magestad, 1583), 248.

the main source of miracles.⁸⁷ This sort of immersion in the extraordinary episodes of the saints' lives—which were heard and, to a lesser extent, also read—could constitute a form of evading reality, a secular *fuga mundi* (the classic monastic fleeing the world's issue), for all social classes, especially those who were suffering most and were susceptible to collective manipulation.⁸⁸ As Villegas admonished, resignation to suffering—and the historical context of the time was the ideal setting for exercising it—was a virtue that Christians should emulate from the saints, without exception:

And because it is suitable for all, and it is necessary to do well to save oneself, the story of the lives of saints is both suitable and appropriate for everyone: because all will find in it examples to imitate, and exemplars from which to draw virtues, which are degrees of the scale where one goes up to heaven. Because those lacking in patience will find [in the saints] such good teachers of it: not only had they the patience in the midst of their atrocious torments, but also, right there and with fervent charity, they prayed to God for the executioners who were tormenting them, like Saint Stephen.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Obedience made the early desert monks carry out all kind of illogical orders, in the hope that God would reward their faith, see Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y Historia General, en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen Sacratissima, Madre de Dios y Señora nuestra, y las de los santos antiguos, que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro Salvador al mundo: colegidas asi de la Divina Escritura, como de lo que escriben acerca de esto los Sagrados Doctores, y otros Autores graves, y fidedignos. Ponese al fin de cada Vida alguna doctrina moral al proposito de lo contenido en ella, con diversos Exemplos, y Historias de algunas Devotas Imagenes, y Festividades principales, que de la Virgen Maria celebra la Iglesia. Tratase de las seys edades del Mundo: y en ellas los hechos mas dignos de memoria que en el sucedieron. Puesto en este estilo grave, y compendioso* (Barcelona: Por Ioseph Texido, Impresor del Rey N. Señor 1724 [1578]), 331–32.

⁸⁸ Without detracting from the essence of hagiographic writings, that is, its spiritual character intended for liturgical office and faithful's meditations, see Michel de Certeau, "A variant: Hagio-Graphical Edification," in Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 269–283.

⁸⁹ Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y Historia general, de la vida y hechos de Iesu Christo, Dios y Señor nuestro, y de todos los Santos de que reza y haze fiesta la Yglesia catolica, conforme Breuiario Romano, reformado por decreto del santo Concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los santos propios de España, y de otros Extrauagantes. Quitadas algunas cosas apocrifas è inciertas, y añadidas muchas figuras y autoridades de la Sagrada Escritura, traydas a proposito de las historias de los Santos. Y muchas anotaciones curiosas, y consideradas prouechosas. Colegido todo de autores graues y aprouados* (Toledo: Por la viuda de Iuan Rodriguez, 1591), "Prólogo al lector".

Another clue that clarifies the question posed is that, beyond Philip IV's religiosity, the relaxation of the customs of clergy and religious congregations could have become the ideal pretext to express his opposition to Pope Barberini's taxation policy. This might be seen in the light of the critical monetary situation of Spain at the time. Thus, the Spanish King's persistent criticism of the new papal tax policy throughout the *memorial* was not accidental. It had a basis in the decline of the Spanish economy, mainly due to the multiple costly wars in which Spain was involved; a crisis that had a serious impact on Spanish-American colonial trade and its financial position,⁹⁰ of which the Spanish population in the Peninsula became increasingly aware.⁹¹ Consequently, beyond the spirit of reform promoted by Trent, the promotion of religious observance might also be understood as an invitation to churchmen and religious to withdraw from material considerations, which, in turn, could be translated into a less onerous tax policy and, proportionally, a higher income for the Spanish state.

⁹⁰ On this topic, the classic study of Earl J. Hamilton on colonial trade is a fundamental starting point. This author presented the closing of shipbuilding, despite the attempts of Philip IV to restore the marine industry, as one of the main signs of the Spanish economic crisis. Along with the decline of Spanish international trade, Hamilton added other eloquent signs, including rural depopulation, decline in livestock, increasing dependence on foreign markets, and urban depopulation; see Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934). The Hamiltonian trilogy on the history of Spanish prices was completed with *Money, Prices and Wages in Valencia, Aragon, and Navarre, 1351-1500* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), and *War and Prices in Spain, 1651-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947). On the effects of the incorporation of American precious metals in the Spanish economy, see also Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux : les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI-XVIII siècles)* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985). More current approaches have abandoned the emphasis on quantitative economics and the monetary effect of the silver that arrived in Spain from the Americas to integrate both phenomena in a more complex context, see for example Stanley J. Stein and Barbara J. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War. Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 40–56.

⁹¹ For one of the pioneering studies on this topic, see John Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Past & Present* 74 (1977): 41–61.

The Spanish monarchy was aware of the powerful effect that a canonisation could have on society: honour and prestige were two of the most exalted values in seventeenth-century Spain.⁹² If a king wanted to avoid weakening his authority, he had to maintain his good reputation, which might be enhanced by the canonisation of subject: “When prestige dies, so does power,” had been the warning of the Jesuit Juan de Mariana to Philip IV’s father.⁹³

By following the preceding logic, if the cause for the canonisation of Francisco Solano were successful, Philip IV, Emperor of the Indies,⁹⁴ would be able to present to the world a Spanish Apostle from the same empire.⁹⁵ Derived from Classical Greek

⁹² On the importance that the cult of saints had for Spain’s rulers in both internal politics and international prestige, see Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 33–36.

⁹³ Juan de Mariana, *La dignidad real y la educación del rey [=De rege et regis institutione]*, ed. Luis Sánchez Agesta (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1981 [1599]), 44.

⁹⁴ Philip IV held the title of “Emperor of the Indies,” justified by Spanish jurists. See, for instance, Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *De Indiarum Iure. Liber I: De inquisitione Indiarum*, eds. Carlos Baciero, Luis Baciero, Ana María Barrero, Jesús María García, and José María Soto (Madrid: CSIC, 2001 [1629]), 134. This title was also used at Philip’s funeral eulogy, see Pedro Rodríguez de Monforte, *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron a la catholica Magd. de D. Phelippe quarto Rey de las Españas y del nuevo Mundo en el Real Convento de la Encarnación* (Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666), 116a. European chroniclers began to use the term “West Indies” to refer to the Americas, as well as to distinguish this region from both India and the “East Indies” (Maritime Southeast Asia and parts of East Asia). To the Jesuit José de Acosta is owed the conceptualisation of the Indies within a more extensive philosophical and theological figure. In Acosta’s *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, the terms ‘Americas’, ‘New World’ and ‘West Indies’ are used indistinctly: “From all this it may well be assumed that there was some knowledge of the New World among the ancients, although there is almost nothing in the ancient authors’ works that has particular reference to this America of ours and the West Indies as a whole,” José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias: en que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y gouerno, y guerras de los Indios* (Seville: En casa de Juan de León, 1590), b. I, ch. 11, 44–45.

⁹⁵ Diego de Córdoba titled his *Vida* naming Solano ‘the Apostle of Peru’. By his part, Pedro de Alva y Astorga, *Procurador general* of Solano’s cause, named him ‘the Apostle of the Indies’, see “Memorial que se dió al Rey N.S. Philipo IV quando se le presentò este libro...,” in Pedro de Alva y Astorga, *Sol veritatis: cum ventilabro seraphico pro candida Aurora Maria in suo Conceptionis ortu sancta, pura, Inmaculata, & à peccato originali praeseruata...* (Madrid: Typographia Pablo de Val, 1660), f. 83a–86r.

ἀπόστολος, the term ‘apostle’ means “one who is sent off”. Solano was popularly known also as “The St Francis Xavier of the West Indies” (since the latter was the “Apostle of the East Indies”), “the Apostle of South America” and “the Thaumaturge of the New World”.⁹⁶ A Franciscan source explained that Solano received this appellation for: “his zeal for the salvation of souls led him to the West Indies working there for the spread of the Gospel obtaining, *de jure*, the name of Apostle of the Empire of Peru”.⁹⁷

In this case, the title could be rather ambiguous: Solano was an apostle *sent off* by both the Roman Church and, by virtue of the *Patronato regio*, the Spanish King. In other words, the great Catholic zeal of Philip IV would enable him to remedy the deficiencies of Urban VIII, successor of the Apostle Peter. Luis Jerónimo de Oré, author of the first *Vida* on Solano (1614), highlighted his apostolicity, stating that “his doctrine and person were received and esteemed as if he were an Apostle, for the holiness and candour of spirit, known to everyone”.⁹⁸ Diego de Córdova was more explicit when he titled his book as *Life, Virtues, and Miracles of the new Apostle of Perú, the venerable Fr. Francisco Solano* (1630).⁹⁹ Along the same lines, Buenaventura Salinas asked King Philip IV to intercede before the Pope “to proceed with the canonisation of the Venerable Father and Apostolic Man F. Francisco Solano, Patron and Guardian of those Kingdoms [of

⁹⁶ See Isidoro da Villapadierna, and Pietro Cannata, “Francesco Solano, santo,” in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, eds. Filippo Caraffa, and Giuseppe Morelli (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1991), 1241–1244.

⁹⁷ Arthur du Monstier, *Martyrologium Franciscanum, in quo sancti, beati, aliique servi Dei, martyres, pontifices, confessores, ac virgines, qui tum vitae sanctitate, tum miraculorum gloria, claruere: in universo Ordine FF. Minorum toto orbe terrarum cunctis usque nunc saeculis; per omnes provincias Observantium, Discalceatorum, Recollectorum, etc. Conventualium, Capucinatorum, etc. Monialium, Clarissarum, Urbanistarum, etc.; necnon utriusque sexus tam secularium, quam Regularium Tertiatorum, recensentur* (Paris: Edmundum Couterot, 1653), 302.

⁹⁸ Oré_V1614, 13.

⁹⁹ Córdova_V1630.

Peru]”.¹⁰⁰ On the basis of these proto-biographies, the successive Solanist hagiographic narrative would unavoidably include this distinctive apostolic trait.

It is also relevant to note that the potential canonisation of Solano represented a great opportunity for the devout and Catholic King to provide a warning that carried a programmatic statement for the papacy: Solano was a Spanish friar who had been faithful to the original constitutions of his Order, who represented the Recollect Observant Franciscan branch, and who perfectly mirrored Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Minors and the poorest among the poor.¹⁰¹ It was not a coincidence that the Spanish monarchy preferred to support the causes of canonisation of the Franciscan friars, since they (along with the Capuchins), were the only religious to whom the Council of Trent allowed the “non-possession” of real estate (the so-called *privilegium paupertatis* granted to St. Francis of Assisi), and only had to keep their friaries *ad usum*.

The holy Synod grants all monasteries and religious houses for men and women (with the exception of the houses of the friars of St. Francis and the Capuchins, who are called Minors), including those that were prohibited by their constitutions or not granted by apostolic privilege: so that in the future they are allowed to own property.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Salinas_M1639 [p. 1]. This was the same request that he had made in Salinas_M1631, an important source that will be cited later.

¹⁰¹ Franciscan sources insist on the imitation of St. Francis of Assisi of the poverty of Christ. The main image is the depiction of the “marriage” between *il Poverello* and “Lady Poverty,” see “Sacrum Commercium sancti Francisci cum domina Paupertate,” in Ernesto Caroli, ed., *Fonti francescane: scritti e biografie di san Francesco d’Assisi, cronache e altre testimonianze del primo secolo francescano, scritti e biografie di santa Chiara d’Assisi, testi normativi dell’Ordine francescano secolare* (Padua: EFR, 2004), 1283–1314. On this topic, see also Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *The Poverty of Riches: St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19–29.

¹⁰² “The holy Synod grants all monasteries and religious houses for men and women (with the exception of the houses of the friars of St. Francis and the Capuchins, who are called Minors), including those that were prohibited by their constitutions or not granted by apostolic privilege: so that in the future they are allowed to own property,” in Council of Trent, XXV, chap. 4, *de regul.*, in *Institutiones iuris canonici, nuper ab ipso autore auctae & recognitae; insertis etiam opportune Sacri Tridentini Concilii Constitutionibus*, ed. Marcus Antonius Cucus (Coloniae: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1566), 70.

Amid the political and economic tensions between Madrid and Rome above described, supporting the canonisation of a model of austerity, self-denial and disdain for material goods was also diplomatically utilitarian. If Urban VIII were to canonise a man with those characteristics, such a canonisation would have summed up well all the grievances contained in Chumacero's *memorial* and, thus, would have carried a bold message. In any case, beyond this speculative scenario, the cause of Solano did not prosper during the papacy of Urban VIII and his beatification took place ten years after the death of Philip IV (1665).

The allegorical identification between the monarch, the Planet King, and the Sun allowed the development of a series of iconographic programmes of an astrological-religious nature that reached their peak at royal funerals, where the death of the monarch was represented as a solar eclipse.¹⁰³ From a theological perspective, the sun represents Christ himself, whose biblical foundation is found in the *Benedictus*, Song of Zechariah (Lk 1,68-79), a prayer that all religious had to recite daily as part of their *Officium Divinum*. According to the biblical sources, the death of Christ was accompanied by a "crucifixion darkness," which in the synoptic gospels describes when the sky became dark in broad daylight (Mt 27,45; Lk 23,44; Mk 15,33 in the religious mentality of the seventeenth century such an episode, an eclipse, was considered as an omen, a divine message. This was a widespread belief as evidenced by the Peruvian chronicle written by Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha.¹⁰⁴

In this context, it is worth noting the verses composed by Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado dedicated to Mariana of Austria, the queen consort of her uncle Philip IV, on the occasion of her arrival in Madrid. While the queen was symbolised as Aurora, the goddess

¹⁰³ See Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes solares: iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica* (Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2001), 133–34.

¹⁰⁴ See Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, 314.

of dawn, the King was likened to Apollo, the god of the Sun and warfare: ‘Come, Lady, adored by/ Philip, the Spanish Apollo,/ because the Sun is without life /as long as Aurora does not appear.’¹⁰⁵

For what has been said, an important allegory associated with Solano that might be very significant for the king, was the one derived from the friar’s surname: Solano, the conjunction of *sol* (sun) and *annus* (year). Nonetheless, the symbolism was not only used for political purposes. Solano’s own sponsors were aware that they could use allegory to facilitate the reception of his cause in more learned circles, capable of understanding literary subtleties of this kind. From the first memorial that Buenaventura Salinas directed to King Philip IV (1631), the solar allegory was used, as can be seen in these praiseworthy lines addressed to Diego de Córdoba, his brother, in which the learned Franciscan compares Solano with the biblical figures of Elijah, Enoch and Paul of Tarsus:

[...] the true Excellencies of our city of Lima should not consist only in its beauty, its place, its opulence, its nobility, and its material heaven, but in the glory and triumph that it enjoys, having granted it the liberal hand of God, among his stars, a new Sun that illuminates it; another spirit of Paul; an image of that Christo of mine in Franciscan sackcloth; a Solano, that like the wind of the Holy Spirit, with seraphic impetus, communicated life to the Gentiles; an Enoch taken from Paradise [Genesis 4,17]; a Sun that ran first throughout this hemisphere of Pirú, shedding burning embers of God’s fire of love, until he stopped in this city, whom he loved dearly, and was propitious, preached in our presence, worked so many miracles, and in garments of his love, like another Elijah when he ascended to heaven, he left us the glorious cloak of his body [2 Kings 2,13]. This is the greatest glory of the Homeland, this is the softest air that tempers and runs through this Torrid Zone, and the clear Sun of the year that illustrates it [...].¹⁰⁶

In a similar way, Tiburcio Navarro, Franciscan writer of the Province of Aquitaine, chose to introduce Solano’s *vida* (1671) by placing it historically while using the

¹⁰⁵ Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado, *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nuestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Austria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid* (Madrid: [s.p.] c. 1650), 77–78. On this topic, see Rina Walthaus, “Philip IV of Spain and his Queen-Consort in Royal Festival and Spectacle,” in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650, vol. II*, eds. Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, and Arjo Johan Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 277–308.

¹⁰⁶ Salinas_M1631 [,13].

aforesaid allegory. Although the original Latin involved a play on words that cannot be appreciated in translation, the *only Sun* of the Peruvian world was a poetic licence since the author wrote *Sol-unus* instead of *Sol-anus*. Navarro's *vida* was considered such a trustworthy source that it was the basis for Solano's *acta* written by Bollandist Guillaume Cuypers.¹⁰⁷ Beyond the symbol, the message Navarro emphasised was Solano's mission of evangelisation in the New World:

In the year 1549 of the birth of Christ [AD], in the sixteenth of Paul III, Supreme Pontiff, in the thirty-fourth [year] of the August Emperor Charles V, Catholic King of the Spains [sic], when the darkness of heresies rose and covered with mourning the face of Christian Europe, Francisco Solano was born to the world, [he] who was sent by the care of Divine Providence to chase away the darkness of error from the American hemisphere and to spread the light of the undeviating orthodox truth, [so that] not without merit he could be called the only Sun in the Peruvian world.¹⁰⁸

A few years later, the Franciscan Fernando Bravo would quote Navarro during his eulogy prayer on the occasion of Solano's beatification, but with another connotation — *Sol-unus* would be the *Sun-number-one*: "*Sol uno, Sol primero del Reyno Peruano*".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Guillaume Cuypers, "Die Vigesima Quarta Julii: De S. Francisco Solano. Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Observantia. Limae in Peruvia," in *Acta Sanctorum. Julii, Tomus Quintus [anastatic edition]* (Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1969 [1727]), 847–910. On the other hand, the Bollandists dedicated St. Rosa de Lima more than twice as many pages dedicated to Solano. This reveals the importance of her devotion, as well as a greater number of hagiographic sources that were available for the criolla saint; see Guillaume Cuypers, "De Sancta Rosa Virgine, ex Tertio Ordine S. Dominici, Limae in Peruvia, Americae Provincia," in *Acta Sanctorum. Mensis Augustus* (Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1970 [1743]), 892–902. Cuypers' commentary is succeeded by Leonardo Hansen's "Vita," in *Acta Sanctorum. Mensis Augustus*, 902–1029.

¹⁰⁸ Tyburtium Navarrum, *Triumphus Charitatis sive de vita, virtutibus et miraculis Venerabilis Servi Dei P. Fr. Francisci Solani, Ord. Min. Regularis Observantiae. Libri Duo. Maior autem horum est Charitas I ad Cor. Cap. 13. Ad instantiam & curam Fr. Ioannis à S. Didaco Villalon, almae Provinciae Baeticae in Hispania, praefatae Observantiae Religiosi Layci, nec non Causae Canonizationis & Beatificationis dicti Servi Dei in Curia Romana Procuratoris* (Rome: Typis Michaelis Herculii, 1671), 1.

¹⁰⁹ Fernando Bravo, "Oracion evangelica panegyrica de la beatificacion de N. glorioso padre S. Francisco Solano (April 23, 1679)," in Gregorio Casasola, *Solemnidad festiva, aplausos publicos, aclamaciones ostentosas, que hizo esta nobilissima Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, a la publicacion del breve de la beatificacion del bienaventurado S. Francisco Solano del Orden seraphico de la regular observancia desta Santa Provincia de los Doze apostoles del Peru. Dedicada al mismo santo en cuya dedicatoria se recopilan las mas heroicas obras de su vida, y los mas singulares milagros, que por su*

In 1735, almost a decade after Solano's canonisation, the solar analogy would become more explicit in *El sol y año feliz del Perú san Francisco Solano* by Pedro Rodríguez Guillén. The author, at that time Custodian of the Franciscan Province of the Twelve Apostles, dedicated his book to King Philip V and devoted himself to justify the allegorical title of his book with abundant biblical quotes and zodiacal references, stating that "if Solano at the beginning of his name is *Sol*, at the end it is *Año*," immediately adding: "God raised the Sun to start the Year: et the lights and the years be made"¹¹⁰.

Certainly, Solanist hagiographers used the solar allegory to make their putative saint closer to Philip IV, the Planet King. However, despite its extensive use, it should be noted that the solar reference was not only used by Solanist hagiography. Lima's *Corregidor* Francisco de Echave y Assu described the beatification of Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo using as a reference the coat of arms of Lima, the City of Kings, in which three stars are distinguished. The first star received a rose (St. Rosa de Lima); the second, a light (Bl. Francisco Solano); and the third was granted a sun (Bl. Toribio de Mogrovejo).¹¹¹

intercession, y meritos, obró la divina omnipotencia, mientras buelve a las prensas su vida. Dala a la estampa el Padre Procurador general de su Beatificación, y Canonizacion en estas Provincias del Peru, para que remitida a todas las ciudades, y villas, que le tienen elegido, y votado por su Patron, se haga notoria la celebración de su Beatificacion deseada (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1679), 27.

¹¹⁰ Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, *El Sol y Año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano, Apostol, y Patron universal de dicho Reyno: Hijo de la ilustre y Santa Provincia de los Doce Apostoles, glorificado, adorado, y festejado en su Templo, y Convento Maximo de Jesus de la Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, en ocasión que regocijada la Serafica familia celebró con demostraciones festivas la deseada canonización, y declaración del culto universal, y público, que le decretó nuestro santissimo padre Benedicto XIII de eterna memoria, y felice recordacion: de que hace relacion en esta regia corte de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la V.M. de Agreda, 1735), 24.

¹¹¹ See Francisco de Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas, el b. Toribio Alfonso Mogrobexo, su segundo arzobispo: celebrado con epítalamios sacros y solemnes cultos, por su esposa la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima, al activo y soberano influxo del exmo. e illmo. señor doct. d. Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros...: descripcion sacro politica de las grandezas de la ciudad de Lima, y*

3. Rosa de Lima, the first flower of sanctity in Hispanic America

The Council of Trent issued its legislation concerning the male and female members of religious orders during its last session, in December 1563, stating that all solemnly professed women should observe firm enclosure.¹¹² Nonetheless, before Trent settled the question of the states of life of women, many female movements began to emerge in the ecclesiastical panorama. Women found in the Catholic church the ideal place where they could attain autonomy from the reproductive cycle and other dangers to which their sex made them vulnerable (such as prostitution). The ecclesiastical framework was the context in which women could attain a new status through virginity and spiritual motherhood, adopting a more direct role in Catholic evangelisation, which was enriched by female charisms that could, albeit belatedly, be expanded outside the walls.¹¹³

On the contrary, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) did not foresee religious women taking an active part in its apostolate. They would only be entitled to participate indirectly by sanctifying themselves through persevering prayer and moderate penance within the cloister. Female religious life was temporarily curtailed for the sake of safeguarding their physical and moral integrity. Furthermore, reinforcing the conciliar decisions on the monastic cloister and religious life, Pope Pius V promulgated the bull *Circa Pastoralis*, on May 29, 1566.¹¹⁴ Not only did it aim to strengthen the control of female monasteries

compendio historico eclesiastico de su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana (Antwerp: Juan Baptista Verdussen, 1688), 5.

¹¹² On the Council of Trent's impact in the lives of Catholic women, see Susan Dinan, "Spheres of Female Religious Expression in Early Modern France," in *Women and Religion in Old and New Worlds*, eds. Susan Dinan, and Debra Meyers (New York: Routledge, 2001), 71–4. Based on the pioneering studies of Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, the development of women's religious history and gender studies within the Catholic Church has been favoured in recent decades by the scholarship of Gabriella Zarri, Alessandra Bartolomei-Romagnoli, and Adriana Valerio.

¹¹³ See Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 42–5.

¹¹⁴ Pius V, "Circa pastoralis" (May 29, 1566), in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, seu ejusdem Continuatio, quae supplementi loco sit, tum huicce, tum aliis quae praecesserunt*

by upper echelons of the Church hierarchy, but to remove women from the administration of the abbesses and from the shackles imposed by family strategies.

It is important to bear in mind this context to better measure the impact that the beatification of Rosa de Lima may have caused. She was beatified in 1667, that is, only fifty years after her death. That the first beatified Christian in the New World was not just a woman but a *lay*-woman indicates in the first instance a canonical process successfully carried out.¹¹⁵ But, furthermore, the election arises the question about the priority granted by the papacy in beatifying and canonising Rosa before Solano. However, the question about why things happened following an unexpected sequence is not new. Already in the seventeenth century an attempt was made to give an answer —though it was devoid of a historical analysis and used a poetic resource as a broader hermeneutical key. Echave y Assu used a biblical source to explain why Rosa de Lima was canonised before Francisco Solano, referring to the first Genesis account of the creation of the world:

The City of the Kings was more flourishing than Paradise with only one virgin Rosa de Santa María, first fruits full of Faith, flowers; and fruits at the same time of honesty, and of honour, that were cultivated with the irrigation of lights for the harvest of glories the always enlightened Religion of Preachers [Dominican Order], which has the primacy in these Kingdoms of Religions. It was seen [Lima] more than the fourth sky, adorned with the benign splendour of San Francisco Solano, star of the first magnitude in the Seraphic Sky [Franciscan Order]. But since the blazon and shield of their Arms are the three crowns of the Kings and the Rose flower, and the light of Solano gave splendour and adornment to both, the last luster was lacking on the third crown of its head [of Lima], as a diadem of its glories.

editionibus Romanae, & Lugdunensi. Tomus Decimus. Constitutiones variorum Pontificum in praecedentibus editiones, desideratas, summoque studio hinc inde conquistatas perinde ac reliquas Benedicti XIII, hodie sedentis, recens promulgatas complectens (Luxembourg: sumptibus Andreae Chevalier, bibliopolae et typographi, 1730), 146–47. The bull, promoted by Card. Carlo Borromeo, established that the tertiaries of solemn vows would be held in seclusion. The congregations that dared to refute this law, would lack the faculty to receive novices; and, therefore, they would be condemned to extinction: “*Caeteris autem omnibus sic absque emissione professionis, et Clausura vivere omnino volentibus interdicimus et omnino prohibemus ne in futurum ullam aliam prorsus in suum Ordinem, Religionem, Congregationemve recipiant*” (§5).

¹¹⁵ See Kathleen Ann Myers, “‘Redeemer of America’: Rosa de Lima (b. 1586- d. 1617), the Dynamics of Identity, and Canonization,” in *Colonial Saints*, eds. Greer and Bilinkoff, 255.

Rosa won the primacy in the approval of the Church; she succeeded Solano in cult's exaltation. The flowers are older than the beautiful lights of the stars: on the third day of the first formation of the world, the earth wore flowery finery. On the fourth day, the sky was glazed with stars. Before the Sun was crowned with rays, the Rose breathed out her fragrances. Before Heaven was sown with stars, the earth dawned in springs.¹¹⁶

3.1. Rosa de Lima, the success of an atypical case of canonised holiness

Among the literature at both a popular and academic level dedicated to the saints —excluding the multiplicity of Marian devotions— that of Rosa de Lima (1586-1617) is probably the most abundant in Hispanic America.¹¹⁷ Commemorating the third century after Rosa's death, Domingo Angulo listed hundreds of biographies dedicated to her,¹¹⁸ and, as time has passed, the bibliographic production devoted to her figure has increased considerably.¹¹⁹ At a strictly academic level, the Lima-born saint has been the subject of a series of multidisciplinary studies linked to particular aspects of her life from the last three centuries. From different academic-social approaches, a considerable group of scholars has undertaken the task of qualitatively enriching the academic debate.¹²⁰

Authors such as Teodoro Hampe and Luis Miguel Glave have contextualised Rosa's cause in colonial Lima, the city where she was born and passed away.¹²¹ Similarly, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, Fernando Iwasaki and José Ramón Jouve have

¹¹⁶ Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima*, 5.

¹¹⁷ See Niccolò Del Re and Adriana Cartotti Oddasso, "Rosa da Lima, vergine, santa," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1990), col. 396–413.

¹¹⁸ See Domingo Angulo, *Santa Rosa de Santa María: Estudio bibliográfico* (Lima: Sanmartí y Cía., 1917).

¹¹⁹ See a compendium of archival and print sources, as well as a useful selection of general bibliography in Arias Cuba, "Integración de un sistema," 598–636.

¹²⁰ In addition to the individual studies that will be mentioned in the following footnotes, some collaborative efforts are noteworthy. See, for example, Margarita Guerra Martinière and Estrella Guerra Caminiti, eds., *Santa Rosa de Lima: miradas desde el cuarto centenario* (Lima: PUCP - IRA, 2017).

¹²¹ See Teodoro Hampe, "Santa Rosa de Lima y la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial (Ensayo de interpretación)," *Revista de Historia de América* 121 (1996): 7–26. See also Luis Miguel Glave Testino, *De Rosa y espinas: economía, sociedad y mentalidades andinas, siglo XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1998).

emphasised the suspect environment of enlightened women that could have been a real obstacle to the apostolic process of Rosa, due to the inquisitorial investigations to which this group of *alumbradas* were subjected.¹²² Ramón Mujica and Frank Graziano have ventured with remarkable success in combining Rosa's mystical dimension with the political environment of her time, the first being the one that marked a watershed in the studies on the saint.¹²³ For his part, Stephen Hart has worked directly with sources related to the diocesan and apostolic processes of Rosa de Lima, critically editing them.¹²⁴ By its nature, this last aspect is more directly related to this thesis and serves as a mandatory reference for further comparative studies of Spanish America's canonisation processes; an objective that transcends those outlined in the present study.¹²⁵

Born Isabel Flores de Oliva, most of Rosa's *vidas* are based on her official biography by Leonardus Hansen, published in 1664, four years before her beatification.¹²⁶ However, as Stephen Hart has noted, this fact is open to criticism as the *Vita mirabilis*

¹²² See Iwasaki, "Mujeres al borde de la perfección," 581–613; and, Jouve, "En olor de santidad," 181–98.

¹²³ Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis*; and, Graziano, *Wounds of Love*.

¹²⁴ Stephen Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa de Lima (1630-1632): Congr. Riti Processus 1573, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum* (Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2017); and, Stephen Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Segundo Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa de Lima. "Rosa a Sancta Maria III Ord. S. Dominici: Supplementa Proc." (1670). Congr. Riti Processus 2208, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum* (Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2019). These studies were preceded by those conducted by Teodoro Hampe; see "El proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa (nuevas luces sobre la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial)," *Hispania Sacra* 48, no. 98 (1996): 719–40; "Los testigos de Santa Rosa. Una aproximación social a la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 23 (1997): 113–36; and *Santidad e identidad criolla: estudio del proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1998).

¹²⁵ Other causes of canonisation initiated in colonial Lima are important for a comparative analysis, but Rosa de Lima's characteristics make her figure the most outstanding. Frank Graziano highlights the role played by the Order of Preachers (Dominican friars) in promoting the process of canonisation of St. Rosa in Rome; see Frank Graziano, "Santa Rosa de Lima y la política de la canonización," *Estudio y debates* 34 (2002): 9–45.

¹²⁶ Leonardus Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa venerabilis sororis Rosæ de s. Maria Limensis, ex Tertio Ordine S. P. Dominici, ad sanctissimum D.N. Alexandrum VII, Pontificem Max, excerpta & collecta* (Rome: Typis Nicolai Angeli Tinassij, 1664).

“presents a tendentious perspective because of its classicism, its preference for a thematic structuring instead of a chronological ordering and the problem of the author’s identity”.¹²⁷ According to Hart, regarding the last point, Hansen was a pseudonym used by an English Dominican friar who would have hidden his identity for fear of persecution in the midst of an English society still agitated by wars of religion.¹²⁸ These considerations are important to avoid uncritically taking for granted some aspects collected from Rosa’s biographies. However, the testimonies obtained from the processes that were followed for her cause, and the corpus of homilies pronounced in her honour, as well as other historical sources, makes it possible to delineate some characteristic features and details about her family life and spiritual inclinations.

Daughter of Spanish *conquistador* and Creole mother, the fourth child of thirteen siblings, Rosa was born to a family of noble roots but with limited financial resources.¹²⁹ Baptised as Isabel,¹³⁰ she began to be known as *Rosa* from her early childhood, although

¹²⁷ Hart, *Santa Rosa de Lima*, 20.

¹²⁸ Stephen Hart has hypothesised that the first official biography was written by Vincent Torre, an English Dominican, suggesting that it was part of the “Popish plot” in order to bring England back to the Catholic faith; see Stephen Hart, “The Biographical Fashioning of the Americas’ First Saint: Santa Rosa de Lima (1586-1617),” *The Modern Language Review* 114, no. 2 (2019): 230–58.

¹²⁹ Rosa’s father served the interests of the Spanish monarchy, fighting against indigenous rebellions, particularly that of Túpac Amaru I (1545-1572); see Gaspar de Flores, “Letter addressed to King Philip III of Spain” (Lima, April 20, 1618), in AGI,LIMA,149, ff. 1–4. According to accountant Gonzalo de la Maza, Rosa’s father served as a harquebusier for the Spanish army; see Luis Millones, *Una partecita del cielo: la vida de Santa Rosa de Lima narrada por D[on] Gonzalo de la Maza a quien ella llamaba padre* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1993), 147. Rosa spent much of her time in Maza’s household, where she was provided with a small hermitage to protect her solitude and foster her prayer. However, Gonzalo de la Maza testified that Rosa would continue to frequent to her home, supporting economically her parents through her embroidery work. As Ronald J. Morgan has stated, “Limeño society and its churchmen could hardly present for imitation a Spanish girl who abandoned her parents to poverty, not even if she had done so for the sake of prayer,” Morgan, *Spanish American Saints*, 76.

¹³⁰ This suggests that there could have been an attempt to *de-franciscanise* Rosa, since Isabel was also the name of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, patroness of the Franciscan Third Order and Rosa’s spirituality was influenced by St. Francis of Assisi’s. A Jesuit testimony

there are different versions as to why she was given this name. The most widespread account is that she was given the name by María de Oliva, Rosa's mother, who claimed to have seen her child's face transform into a rose.¹³¹ According to one of the witnesses in Rosa's Second Apostolic Process, she appeared in a vision introducing herself with such a name: "I am the Rose who come to refresh you; do not hesitate, rejoice".¹³² In any case, her alias was ratified with the Chrismation that she received from Toribio de Mogrovejo,¹³³ second archbishop in occupying the episcopal chair in Lima and who would be canonised in 1726.¹³⁴

As indicated by the title of Hansen's *vida*, the holiness of Rosa consisted of having lived an "admirable life" and in reaching a "precious death," that is, to die with a purified soul in order to live eternally with Jesus Christ, the Bridegroom to whom she was joined in mystical marriage.¹³⁵ Rosa died at the age of 31 on August 24, 1617. The massive attendance at her funeral, as in the case of Solano and other contemporary putative saints, was evidence of popular recognition of the virtues that Limeño residents credited her with.

also states that Rosa had under her Dominican tertiary habit, the Franciscan one; see AAL, Sección Eclesiástica, Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa 1630-1632, ff. 591–92.

¹³¹ See "Declaración de Doña María de Oliva, Madre de Soror Rosa de Santa María" (March 21, 1631), in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico 173–74*. Doña María also revealed that the first nickname of Rosa was "the warrior" [*la guerrera*] because she experienced difficulties during labor, but her daughter overcame them.

¹³² "Testimony of Carmelite priest Alberto Morana" (Palermo, February 11, 1670), in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Segundo Proceso Apostólico*, 84.

¹³³ See Hansen, *Vita mirabilis*, 3.

¹³⁴ Mogrovejo took possession of the episcopal seat of Lima in 1581. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction encompassed an extensive geographical area, with several suffragan dioceses, including Trujillo, Cusco, Quito, Panama, Nicaragua, Huamanga, Santiago de Chile and La Imperial; see Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Description of the Indies, c. 1620*, trans. Charles Upson Clark (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968 [c. 1620]), 471. He zealously pursued his pastoral duties, celebrating two Provincial Councils, founding the first seminary in the Americas, and undertaking four episcopal *visitas*, almost 25,000 miles on foot and by mule; see José Antonio Benito, *Libro de visitas*, XV.

¹³⁵ To deepen the mystical union between St. Rosa and Jesus Christ, through her own writings and drawings, see Rosa Carrasco Ligarda, *Santa Rosa de Lima. Escritos de la santa limeña* (Lima: Facultad de Teología Pontificia y Civil de Lima, 2017).

Rosa's life consisted of taking a silent and penitent itinerary of practical charity and daily contemplation: she helped the sick and hungry and prayed for them. Rosa jealously guarded her time for prayer through continually renouncing sensory pleasures and employing self-imposed mortifications for her own salvation and that of others.

Rosa's life was a mirror of scrupulous inner cultivation nourished by the sacraments, the reading of the Bible and other spiritual writings, through an orthodox faith guided by exhortations of her confessors, especially those to avoid carnal temptations.¹³⁶ In fact, the latter would help to remove her the suspicions of the Inquisition, which at some periods of her life viewed her with distrust since she did not belong to a religious congregation, but was tertiary —with the danger of freedom that this entailed. All this at a time when the incipient Catholic Church of the New World tried to put into practice the decrees of the Council of Trent through provincial councils and, therefore, the role of women in ecclesial life was undervalued.

José Antonio del Busto summed up Rosa's life by calling her 'atypical': "She was an ascetic with theological incursions or almost a theologian devoted to mystical experiences".¹³⁷ Frank Graziano, for his part, highlights the adaptability to the times to which Rosa's identity has been subjected to, depending on the selection of aspects of her life that are emphasised or obscured according to what was expedient at the time. It was a procedure that was common to the life and afterlives of the saints and in Rosa's case it has been explicitly noted: "For the popular classes she represented miraculous intercession; for the Lima Dominicans, a trophy; for other beatas, a model; for the Inquisition, an enigma; for the papacy, a triumph; and for her mother, a problem"¹³⁸.

¹³⁶ See Van Deusen, *Embodying the Sacred*, 28.

¹³⁷ José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, *Santa Rosa de Lima (Isabel Flores de Oliva)* (Lima: PUCP, 2006), 13.

¹³⁸ Graziano, *Wounds of Love*, 5.

All these agents mentioned above had a notable participation in Rosa's cause: the city of Lima and its inhabitants; the Order of Preachers through its *postuladores*, attorneys and international contacts; the *beatas* and the Inquisition; the Pope; and Rosa's mother. Likewise, each of these agents would gradually shift from being potentially hindering the progress of Rosa's cause to being key to its success. In fact, there came a turning-point where the elements that apparently played in Solano's favour began to become obstacles; and, conversely, the factors that apparently worked against Rosa's cause began to serve her cause. The fact that she was a woman, a tertiary, a figure associated with a female group of *alumbradas* unexpectedly reverted to her favour, as will be demonstrated below.

a) *The mystical betrothal: Not only a chaste woman, but a virgin one*

First of all, Peruvian inhabitants needed a point of reference for female holiness — unlike Mexico where this void was filled by the almost totalising figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe.¹³⁹ As Susan Socolow indicates, from the end of the sixteenth century, civil and religious authorities jointly fought against sexual and marital practices they considered immoral.¹⁴⁰ So, according to the popular imagination, the exemplary Christian was one who lived a life of perfect chastity.

In this context, the Limense Council, chaired by Toribio de Mogrovejo, dedicated some chapters to the exhortation of chaste behavior to all members of society, especially the priests, friars and nuns. Clerics had to avoid the company of women so as not to “incur grave personal disgrace and expose the clerical state to derision”.¹⁴¹ Women were

¹³⁹ According to Bernardino de Sahagún, Guadalupe's devotion was facilitated by the syncretic identification of the Virgin with Tonantzin, an Aztec-Nahua goddess; see Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, ed. Miguel Acosta Saignes. Mexico City: Editorial Nueva España, 1946 [c. 1540-1590].

¹⁴⁰ Although the morality of many of these authorities was questionable; see Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 52–3.

¹⁴¹ *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 270–71.

exhorted to behave “with modesty, silence and Christian sobriety in dressing and attiring themselves”.¹⁴² Churchmen and laity, men and women, should avoid “books that explicitly discuss, narrate, or teach on profane and obscene issues”.¹⁴³ With regard to nuns, abbesses were asked not to grant permission for visits so easily, except occasionally those of their parents or brothers. Any cleric that would dare to visit a nun, without the appropriate permission, was worthy of excommunication.

The highest level of chastity was associated with virginity. This logic is in line with the research conducted by Weinstein and Bell who affirmed that “those who received papal canonisations, those with great popular appeal, those whose shrines and tombs attracted multitudes of the faithful, those whose relics were eagerly sought, the great wielders of spiritual and temporal powers—these saints were virgins”.¹⁴⁴ Fr. Tomás Calderón, *procurador* for Rosa’s cause, knew that if the Dominicans wanted their candidate to be declared a saint, the witnesses had to emphasise not only her chastity but also her virginity in the depositions, declaring that “from her tender years she consecrated her virginity to God”.¹⁴⁵ Some of the testimonies in the Apostolic Process of Rosa speak of the mystical betrothal between Jesus, the Bridegroom, and Rosa, the virgin bride.¹⁴⁶

b) A tertiary: Holiness walking down Lima streets

In second place, the fact Rosa did not belong to a religious congregation and had not lived in a walled convent had two very positive consequences for her cause: on the one hand, it meant that she was known in colonial Lima since her lay status enabled her

¹⁴² *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 286–87.

¹⁴³ *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 284–85.

¹⁴⁴ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 99.

¹⁴⁵ See “Lectura de las Letras apostólicas, remisoriales y compulsoriales” (April 14, 1630), in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico*, 71.

¹⁴⁶ See, for instance, “Declaración de Doña Luisa Melgarejo” in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico*, 103–7.

to walk in public places to attend mass and devote herself to charitable work while her atypical figure only increased Limeños curiosity to learn about her life and her works. At the same time, her circles of friendship, although limited in terms of number, assured her a more widespread reputation for holiness. On the other hand, after Rosa's death the house of her parents and that of the Maza household —Rosa's benefactors—, soon became places of pilgrimage.¹⁴⁷ As they were not churches but private places, there was no strict control on the cult of her putative holiness. The legislation of Urban VIII had a greater effect on those who received a cult in public and sacred places, as was the case of Solano.

Still within the scope of her lay condition, family problems that could have hindered Rosa's process were eventually resolved, including the tense relationship she had with her mother. María de Oliva wanted her daughter to marry one of the wealthy suitors that Rosa's beauty attracted and refused to allow her daughter to pursue religious life. The family's financial situation was not solid and Rosa's beauty was promising. To discourage suitors, Rosa mistreated her body, wore a crown of thorns, cut off her hair and blistered her skin with chili powder in order to protect her private vow of chastity:

The torments of the pierced temple did not overshadow the beautiful face of the Girl, wounded in defence of her chastity. Rosa's mother used to warn her at night that the next day she had to go out for visits and parties, so that she could get ready. However, she excused herself with ardent pleas, and when this was not enough, she would burst into copious tears [...]. [Eventually,] she would go to her errands, and with the bark and the powder of the Indian pepper she rubbed her delicate cheeks and bathed them in the spicy juice of this seed. Thus, with her face monstrously swollen and disfigured with wounds and blood, she woke up more in need of medicine than disposed for visits and dances.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Andrés de Villela, Oidor of the Royal Audience of Lima, bought Pedro de Valladolid in 1669 "the houses in which Santa Rosa was born to build a Shrine in them," see Enrique Torres Saldamando, ed. *Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima, vol. II* (Paris: Imprimerie P. Dupont, 1888), 78. The sanctuary would acquire official status in 1677 by virtue of a *real cédula* granted at the request of the Viceroy Count of Castellar, see *ibid.*, 277.

¹⁴⁸ Giovanni Paolo Oliva, *Sermón panegirico en la beatificación de la B. Rosa de Lima. Orado en Roma por el reverendissimo P. Ivan Pavlo Oliva, Prepósito General de la Compañía de Iesvs. Traducido del italiano al español por el hermano Lorenzo Ortiz, de la Compañía de Iesvs* (Valencia: por Bernardo Nogués, 1677), 4r.

However, when Rosa was twenty years old, her mother let her take the habit of the Third Order of Preachers, following the footsteps of her venerated St. Catherine of Siena. This institutional relationship served as the basis for the continual support the Dominican friars gave to Rosa's causes of beatification and canonisation. María de Oliva lived for many years worried about Rosa's severe mortifications and mystical raptures that she was not able to understand. The relationship between mother and daughter would become stormy with the accentuation of Rosa's atypical behaviour, forcing Maria to request all available help, including from doctors and priests. Ramón Mujica deepens this point in Chapter two of his *Rosa Limensis*, which he suggestively titled 'Anatomy of melancholy'.¹⁴⁹ According to Hansen, María de Oliva, following the majority opinion, would end up convinced that her daughter suffered from delirium, insomnia, fainting or even diabolical hallucinations.¹⁵⁰ The same opinion was held by some of Rosa's relatives who thought that it could be another case of feigned holiness and that, therefore, the fact should be reported to the Inquisition for being sacrilegious.¹⁵¹ The concerned family environment would later be appeased by the satisfactory result of interrogations conducted by the Inquisition's priests, some of whom had been Rosa's confessors. For these churchmen, she had not committed any type of sacrilege and, conversely, hers was a behaviour typical of a profound mystical spirituality. Eventually, María de Oliva would spend the last period of her life as a nun serving as a portress in the monastery of Santa Catalina de Siena in Lima, remembering with veneration the history of her daughter's sanctity, through a spiritualised rereading that her new religious condition fostered.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis*, 133–208.

¹⁵⁰ "Unus respondebat, aut deliria esse, aut insomnia. Alius rem ad lémures & spectra imperitè reijciebat. Non desuit qui nugas, aut sanè daemonum praestigias & vana tericulamenta suspicaretur," Hansen, *Vita mirabilis*, 100.

¹⁵¹ Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis*, 135.

¹⁵² See "Declaración de Doña María de Oliva, Madre de Soror Rosa de Santa María" (March 21, 1631), in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico*, 173–74. In the

c) The shadows of alumbrismo dissipate

Being associated with *alumbradismo* caused Rosa to be interrogated while she was alive so that she herself was able to explain in detail the nature of her mystical phenomena. As mentioned, the Inquisition's priests did not notice anything reprehensible and Rosa was able to leave successfully free of any accusation. The orthodoxy of both her faith and the praxis of her catholicity were confirmed, redeeming Rosa also from future suspicions that could potentially have caused delays in her cause.

With respect to the *beatas*-Inquisition affair, as María Emma Mannarelli states, it was only as a result of the death and the process of canonisation of Rosa de Lima that the existence of an obscure body of women associated with the devotional practices of the *alumbrados* movement came to light.¹⁵³ Following José Ramón Jouve's comparative analysis, the cults that arose outside the religious congregations were highly susceptible to being considered dangerous by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Peruvian Viceroyalty.¹⁵⁴ Without this legality, such cults were not only doomed to failure, but could also bring about the ruin of all those involved in them.¹⁵⁵

3.2. Rosa de Lima, in the (hagiographic) footsteps of Catherine of Siena

The above mentioned could largely explain the importance of Rosa's historiographical construction resembling that of St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380). In fact, when approaching Rosa's narratives, it can be seen that certain features of her life

same testimony, María revealed that the first nickname of Rosa was "the warrior" ["la guerrera"], because her birth presented complications that were eventually overcome.

¹⁵³ María Emma Mannarelli, *Hechiceras, beatas y expósitas: mujeres y poder inquisitorial en Lima* (Lima: Ediciones del Congreso del Perú, 1998), 48.

¹⁵⁴ See Jouve, "En olor de santidad," 181–98.

¹⁵⁵ See Nancy Van Deusen, "Manifestaciones de la religiosidad femenina en el siglo XVII: las beatas de Lima," *Histórica* 23, no. 1 (1999): 47–78; and, Carvacho, *Santidad, falsa santidad*, 29–48.

were accentuated to provide a model of Peruvian sanctity always subordinate to the European one. In the absence of native precedents, the Spanish-American Church was forced to mimic the successful causes of canonisations in the Old World. The *vidas* were built on the basis of the most representative European prototypes.

There was a marked hagiographical tendency to seek a correspondence between European saints and American saints: Francisco Solano and Francis of Assisi; Rosa de Lima and Catherine of Siena;¹⁵⁶ Toribio de Mogrovejo and Charles Borromeo; Martin de Porres and Benito de Palermo;¹⁵⁷ and, even subsequently, Mariana de Jesús Paredes, the Lily of Quito, who would be likened to the ‘flower’ Rosa de Lima.¹⁵⁸

The *postuladores* of Rosa’s cause were to remind the members of the SRC in Rome that the holiness of their candidate outside the walls was as real a possibility, as the holiness of Catherine had been two hundred and fifty years before. The latter continued to be associated with the committed support she showed for the seat of the papacy to return to Rome, after its exile from Avignon. Her unconditional support for the Pope was evoked to convince the Roman Curia of the need for a new she-saint who would demonstrate the same fervent loyalty towards the papacy from the new continent.

Rosa’s *vida* was a malleable clay in the hands of her hagiographers, a life capable of almost perfectly mirroring that of her patroness saint: both came from a large family,

¹⁵⁶ See a debate on this subject in Kathleen Ann Myers, *Neither Saints nor Sinners: Writing the Lives of Women in Spanish America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 26–7. By the mid-seventeenth century the figure of Teresa of Ávila eclipsed Catherine of Siena’s popularity among religious women in Spanish America, see Kathleen Ann Myers, “A Transatlantic Perspective: The Influence of Teresa’s Model on New World Women,” in *Approaches to Teaching Teresa of Ávila and the Spanish Mystics*, ed. Alison Weber (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2009), 151.

¹⁵⁷ See Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas*, 153; and Giovanna Fiume, “St. Benedict the Moor, from Sicily to the New World,” in *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, ed. Margaret Cormack (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 16–51.

¹⁵⁸ See Ronald Morgan, “‘Just like Rosa’: History and Metaphor in the ‘Life’ of a Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Saint,” *Biography* 21, no. 3 (1998): 275–310.

both survived a complicated childbirth, both had mystical visions and made promises of chastity at an early age, both cut their hair and subjected their bodies to severe fasts and penances, both devoted themselves to God against the will of her parents, both lived an active and prayerful life outside convent's walls, both belonged to that female cultural elite of their time that knew how to read, write and speak eloquently, both were intercessors for the peace of their cities, both lived in almost total silence and solitude in their family-homes, both were united in "mystical marriage" with Jesus, a mystical union not-eroticised but understood "as a becoming of Christ's flesh itself,"¹⁵⁹ both aroused the suspicions of the Inquisition,¹⁶⁰ both died in their early thirties widely famed for their holiness and, finally, both were canonised as a result of relatively short processes.

As would happen with the parallel drawn between Francis of Assisi and Francisco Solano, some differences were also notable between Catherine and Rosa. Thus, for example, if Francis of Assisi and Catherine of Siena had the stigmata, both Solano and Rosa would be their de-stigmatised replicas. In a certain sense, it was convenient that this should be the case for two reasons: firstly, because Protestant criticism was particularly scathing and incredulous of any kind of extraordinary and unscientific manifestation.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 178. A precedent can be seen in the early fourteenth century with the case of Austrian Beguine Agnes Blannbeking, see Thomas Fudge, *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties: History and Mystery in the Other Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 170.

¹⁶⁰ The Roman Inquisition in the case of Catherine and the Spanish Inquisition in the case of Rosa. To clarify the terms, see Kimberly Lynn, "From Madrid to Rome: Communication, Collaboration and Competition between the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions," in *The Roman Inquisition: Centre versus Peripheries*, eds. Katherine Aron-Beller, and Christopher Black (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 60–88.

¹⁶¹ See Tamar Herzig, "Genuine and Fraudulent Stigmatics in the Sixteenth Century," in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, and Tamar Herzig (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 155.

And, secondly, as stated in Chapter 1, because the Roman sensibility had been moving from presenting holiness as a quality to admire to a holiness to imitate.¹⁶²

Probably the most salient feature was that, like Catherine, Rosa embraced her vocation as a laywoman under the Order of Preachers. The success of Rosa de Lima's cause was due to a multiplicity of factors. However, one of the most important was her Dominican association/membership. Indeed, few congregations were as influential and affluent as that of the Dominicans. These two characteristics were essential. First, being powerful and persuasive meant that bureaucratic procedures could be streamlined in Rome and that it had the most effective and committed *procuradores* (those who raised the money to pay for the prolonged and distant process) and *postuladores* (those who assembled, guided and submitted the paperwork required by the Roman authorities).¹⁶³ Confirming the latter, Francisco de Florencia, one of the most renowned Jesuit chroniclers of the seventeenth century, concluded that to succeed in Rome it was necessary to send an astute and skilled person to keep track of the processes: "In this way Lima obtained the canonization of *Santa Rosa*, and the beatification of its Archbishop D. Toribio Mogrovejo. Otherwise, only through Roman *curiales* and *expedicioneros* [secretaries], [their causes] would not have prospered".¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² See André Vauchez, "Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?," in *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle). Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 octobre 1988)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 161–72.

¹⁶³ Since Honourable III appointed Domingo de Guzmán to be the Master of the Sacred Palace—theological advisor to the Pope, censor of books and teacher at the papal court—this position has been ordinarily held by Dominicans; see Jean-Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, *Life of saint Dominic*, trans. Edward Hazeland (London: Burns and Oates, 1883), 128.

¹⁶⁴ Francisco de Florencia, *La estrella de el norte de Mexico: aparecida al rayar el dia de la luz evangélica en este Nuevo Mundo, en la cumbre del cerro Tepeyac, orilla del mar Tezcucano, à un Natural recién convertido; pintada tres dias despues en su tilma, ò capa de lienzo, delante del Obispo, y de su familia, en su Casa Obispal: Para luz en la Fé a los Indios: para rumbo cierto a los Españoles en la virtud: para serenidad de las tempestuosas inundaciones de la Laguna, en la historia de la milagrosa imagen de Maria*

Second, being affluent allowed the timely payment of large amounts of money for the corresponding procedures and the salaries of all the agents involved.¹⁶⁵ As Victoria Cummins has affirmed, the support of a structured and committed congregation, “capable of marshaling the public fame and logistical and financial resources necessary to pursue the process, is key to the successful achievement of formal beatification and canonization”.¹⁶⁶

The procession of the statue of the first-American-flower was flanked by those of St. Dominic de Guzmán and St. Catherine of Siena who paraded through the city amidst the euphoria of the attendees, on the shoulders of Dominican friars.¹⁶⁷ On April 29, 1669, the renowned Lima-chronicler Josephe de Mugaburu described the proclamation of Rosa as the patroness saint of Lima as if it was a triumph of the Order of Preachers.¹⁶⁸

Santissima de Guadalupe, que se apareció en la manta de Juan Diego (Mexico City: en la Imprenta de Antonio Velázquez, 1741), 75.

¹⁶⁵ Although many of the details of the sponsoring and financing of Rosa’s cause still need to be studied in depth, this aspect has been addressed by a number of scholars. See Hampe, *Santidad e identidad criolla*, 67–74; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis*, 44–7; and Arias Cuba, “Integración de un sistema” 77–8. The latter provides valuable data extracted from the ‘Libros de Cabildo’, AHML, 29, ff. 229r–229v; 30, f. 161v.

¹⁶⁶ Victoria Cummins, “Blessed connections: Sociological aspects of sainthood in colonial Mexico and Peru,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 17.

¹⁶⁷ See AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3042: “Letter by the Council of State ordering to implore Pope Clement IX that Blessed Rosa de Santa Maria be declared as Patroness of the City of Kings and of the Kingdom of Peru with her own prayer (1668)”. On January 2, 1669, Pope Clement IX issued a bull to grant that St. Rosa was declared the main patron of the city of Lima and the entire Kingdom of Peru, which included the celebration of the precept of her feast.

¹⁶⁸ See Josephe de Mugaburu, and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima (1640-1694). Crónica de la Época Colonial. Vols. VII & VIII*, eds. Horacio Urteaga and Carlos Romero (Lima: Imprenta y Librería Sanmartí y Ca., 1917, 1918 [c.1694]), 172. The celebration was repeated with greater splendor in August of the same year, on the occasion of the novena in which all the religious congregations paid homage to the saint; see Mugaburu and Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima*, 179–80.

3.3. *The (non-spiritual) race towards sanctity*

After analysing more than a thousand saintly lives, historians Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell drew up a typology of sainthood that was consistent over the centuries and in which five common traits stood out in the perception of most Catholic believers: evidence of supernatural grace (prophecies, visions, ecstasies and, to a great extent, any kind of extraordinary event); ascetism (voluntary penances, fasts, mortifications along with a solidary poverty); charitable works (free and unconditional good deeds, especially directed towards the poor and sick, along with an energetic defence of the socio-marginalised); evangelical activity (preaching, missionary and sacramental activities, as well as catechesis and proselytising for procurement of conversions); and, worldly power (nobility, leadership, good reputation and a prestige position within the society).¹⁶⁹

The last characteristic in the aforementioned saintly typology deserves to be qualified, since temporal power could seem inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus in the Gospel, especially in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7). This does not mean that candidates for sainthood should have exercised temporal power themselves, but that the people should acknowledge that despite the honours that saints may have received in life, they remained humble, rejecting the temptations of vanity and pride. It is worth noting how Solano was in the habit of resigning from any position that involved prelature which he had initially accepted due to obedience. Regarding Rosa, the most “powerful” attribute of hers was her beauty, which she rejected and tried to hide, attached to a captivating mysticism that she channelled to glorify God.¹⁷⁰ Even the funerals, which

¹⁶⁹ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 159.

¹⁷⁰ Many viceroys would embrace the cult towards Santa Rosa, including Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro, 10th Count of Lemos and Viceroy of Peru had his daughter baptised and gave her the name Rosa, in honour of the brand-new patron saint of Lima, see Mugaburu and Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima*, 183.

brought together the elite of society with the popular classes, were a sample of the resonances of power that the saints *post mortem* elicited.

Nonetheless, Rosa de Lima's particular characteristics as laywoman and extreme penitent Dominican tertiary has led some scholars, such as Kathleen Ann Myers, to ask how was it that a woman whose life in many regards challenged the tridentine provisions regarding female status became America's first saint.¹⁷¹ The multiple possible answers to this question will also clarify the lack of prioritisation of Solano's cause. In this respect, Carlos Gálvez-Peña implies that the sanctity of the Franciscan friar was utilitarian to the extent that it could have put Lima at the level of the most important cities of Christendom and become the hub of the American Catholic geography.¹⁷²

However, it is useful to answer the question by posing other ones: Which figure was more useful to the seventeenth century papacy, the one presenting a new Francis of Assisi or the other, a new Catherine of Siena; that of a devotee to poverty and defender of the poor, or a lay mystic obedient to the hierarchy of the Church? Which of the two models of holiness carried a more profitable message from Rome to colonial Spanish American society; that of a friar born in Spain belonging to a divided order or that of a tertiary Creole born in Peru protected by a united and powerful order? Alternatively, the questions could multiply in the other direction, that is, what figure should be promoted as a priority by the Spanish monarchy, the archdiocese of Lima, and the funders of the cause? All this without forgetting the ordinary devotees who had no idea of the machinery behind the official sanctification of those whom they already clandestinely venerated, with whom they most clearly identified and remained in their *memories*. Actually, as will be seen below, the latter could be one of the keys to answering these questions.

¹⁷¹ See Myers, *Neither Saints nor Sinners*, 16.

¹⁷² See Gálvez-Peña, "El carro de Ezequiel: la monarquía hispana de fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova," *Historica* 32, no. 1 (2008): 52.

a) Memory and relics

The fact that many local cults devoted to men and women with reputations for sanctity sank into oblivion long before the formal cause of canonisation was introduced implies that the massive and euphoric displays of devotion on the part of the people were no guarantee of success. These pious demonstrations had to be sustained in time and space. Devotion is sustained through knowledge and publicity about the miracles attributed to saints, promoting a veneration that transcends borders and generations. Interest might be constantly fed by writings, images or places of pilgrimage conducive to keeping their memories alive, that jointly form an official or unofficial liturgical framework.¹⁷³

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Peruvian printing industry was in its infancy, constrained by the scarcity of paper and ink. Pedro Guibovich indicates that around 1619 there was only one printing workshop in Lima;¹⁷⁴ and, according to the Buenaventura Salinas, around 1630 there were three.¹⁷⁵ There was a demand for books in the local market, mainly theological titles for evangelisation and education, and relatively few people had access to them. Moreover, books were not an effective means of spreading a reputation for holiness. Relics were.

Relics kept memory alive and fed it in a more effective way than sermons and church paintings did. They played an important role in the construction of a collective supernatural record, being invoked as mediums for asking for miraculous intercession. Solano and Rosa de Lima left relics in Lima, and the events surrounding their funerals in 1610 and 1617, respectively, became the fountainheads for their cults.

¹⁷³ The Latin term 'leitourgia' (*λειτουργία*) comes from the conjunction of the Greek words *λαός*, folk, and *ἔργον*, work; that is, action of the people.

¹⁷⁴ Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Lecturas prohibidas: La censura inquisitorial en el Perú tardío colonial* (Lima: PUCP, 2013), 166.

¹⁷⁵ See Salinas_M1631[, 252].

b) Memory and family ties

Another important factor in keeping the memory of candidates for saints alive was related to the family members who survived them. Solano did not have any relatives in Lima.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, there were very few of his nuclear family who survived him in Montilla. Diego Ximénez Hidalgo, his brother, had died around 1591;¹⁷⁷ Ana Ximénez Hidalgo, his widow mother, around 1591;¹⁷⁸ and the only surviving member of his nuclear family was Inés Gómez, his sister, who passed away around 1634.¹⁷⁹

The only two letters written by Solano that have been located so far were addressed to Inés. These letters allow the reader to get an intimate view of Solano that is rarely explored, revealing features of his spirituality and an authentic affection towards his relatives. In an autographed letter (located at the Parish of Santiago's Archive in Montilla), Solano being aware of his imminent death wrote: "I am left very skinny and in poor health in this city of Lima, awaiting the time of departure from this exile and valley of tears".¹⁸⁰ In the second letter (a copy preserved in the monastery of Santa Clara in Montilla), Solano recommended his sister to learn by heart a prayer—an act of contrition—to ensure the salvation of her soul.¹⁸¹ Inés would reply through a letter dated January 2, 1611, reporting

¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the Franciscan spirituality emphasises the bonds of fellowship among its members. The religious *family* is united by ties of water (Baptism).

¹⁷⁷ The year can be roughly inferred from the date of his will, see APNM, Esc. Jerónimo Pérez, "Testament of Diego Ximénez Solano, brother of Francisco Solano" (November 5, 1591), b. 39, ff. 484–87. For a study on Solano's family in Montilla, see Antonio Luis Jiménez Barranco, "Una visión de la familia de san Francisco Solano a través de los archivos montillanos," in *El franciscanismo en Andalucía*, ed. Manuel Peláez del Rosal (Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011), 121–49.

¹⁷⁸ See APNM, Esc. Alonso Alviz de la Cruz, "Last testament of Ana Ximénez Hidalgo, mother of Francisco Solano" (October 9, 1597), b. 68, ff. 887–88v.

¹⁷⁹ See APNM, Esc. Francisco Escudero, "Modification of the will of Inés Gómez, sister of Francisco Solano" (August 20, 1634), b. 58, f. 307v.

¹⁸⁰ APSM "Handwritten letter from Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano" (Montilla, March 10, 1610).

¹⁸¹ The letter from Inés was presented by Lope de Navia, OFM, as preliminary documentation for the Diocesan Process; see Plandolit, *El Apóstol de América*, 146. Here

that the Solanos were growing in number thanks to the marriages of her children Catalina, Mateo, Juan and María. More than six months had passed since Solano's death, but the news of his transit had not yet reached his distant motherland.

Another candidate with a reputation for sanctity that had relatives who actively supported the dissemination of his cult after his death was Toribio de Mogrovejo. They included his influential nephew Pedro de Villagómez who served as archbishop of Lima (1640–1671) and actively worked on his beatification process.¹⁸² Despite being born in Spain, his case differed from that of Solano. When Toribio was appointed archbishop of Lima, his sister Grimanesa and her family embarked with him to the New World.¹⁸³ As Victoria Cummins has stated —comparing the cause of Toribio with the adverse fate of the cause of Pedro Moya de Contreras, archbishop of Mexico—, “Mogrovejo had an estate large enough for his family and the cathedral chapter to fight over”.¹⁸⁴

Nonetheless, the success of Mogrovejo's cause was not immediate. In fact, the duration of his processes largely coincided with those of Solano, although the former died four years before the latter. There were many obstacles that appeared in Mogrovejo's cause including conflicts of interest between the political and ecclesiastical powers in Peru. Not only did he have open clashes with viceroys García Hurtado de Mendoza (1590-

Solano also mentioned Mencía and María, the two old Moorish servants who, after decades, continued to accompany and serve his sister.

¹⁸² See Pedro de Villagómez, *Sumario y memorial aivstado de las probanzas, que por deposiciones de testigos, e instrmentos se [h]an hecho [...] en la causa de Beatificacion y Canonizacion del Sieruo de Dios el Ilvstris.^{mo} S.^{or} Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, Arzobispo que fue desta Ciudad* (Lima: Imprenta de Juan de Queuedo y Zarate, 1662).

¹⁸³ See Margarita Torres Sevilla, “La familia de santo toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (siglos XIV-XVII),” *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia* 8 (2009): 45–67.

¹⁸⁴ Cummins, “Blessed connections,” 17.

1596) and Luis de Velasco (1596-1604), but he also disagreed with his colleague-bishops at the Third Council of Lima, and with the cathedral chapter, his close advisors.¹⁸⁵

c) Memory and iconography

Memory is also powerfully fed by images. Iconography was the *Biblia pauperum*: through images, the Christian revelation was available to the unlettered, who were able to use their imagination to enter into the mysteries of the faith. Against this background, the decrees of Urban VIII prohibited the representation of images of non-canonised people with the iconographic attributes of the saints: splendid rays and nimbus/diadems.¹⁸⁶

However, such decrees contained nothing against images being placed outside churches. Furthermore, monitoring compliance with such decrees was much more difficult to carry out. The policy that was adopted seems to have followed the axiom *lex dubia non obligat* (a doubtful law does not bind). This could have been another factor that favoured the cause of Rosa, whose cult could also be followed in the houses in which she had lived.

3.4. The typology of Rosa's sanctity as a socialising amalgam

"*Apud Deum fides, non genus in pretio,*" stated one of the chapters of the Third Limense Council,¹⁸⁷ literally meaning that what matters before God is faith, not lineage. In the context of this chapter it meant that if a mestizo woman wished to enter a monastery, she could be admitted as a nun without meeting other requirements. At the beginning of

¹⁸⁵ See Vicente Rodríguez Valencia, *Santo Toribio, organizador y apóstol de Sur-América, vol. I* (Madrid: CSIC, 1956), 209–25. See also Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Vida de Santo Toribio* (Lima: Impr. Gráfica Industrial, 1971), 41.

¹⁸⁶ See Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol. I* (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1743), 84.

¹⁸⁷ *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 285.

the seventeenth century, the racial question ceased to merit the theological disputes of the preceding century. The question of the defence of the integrity of the indigenous people would theoretically be settled through the brief *Commisum Nobis* (04.22.1639) by Pope Urban VIII, which aimed to ratify the consistent effort the Catholic Church should make to eradicate the enslavement of indigenous peoples,¹⁸⁸ punishing whoever enslaved or deprived them of freedom with excommunication.¹⁸⁹

After analysing the sermons written by the Peruvian officials charged with suppressing idolatry Fernando de Avendaño, Francisco de Avila and Juan de Tuesta, Celia Cussen concluded that, because of Peru's ethnic complexity, there was a trend to select and record models of holiness that could serve as an example not only to white people and Creoles, but also to the nonwhite popular classes, namely urban Indians, Blacks, and *castas* —racially mixed people.¹⁹⁰

There was still a socio-gender gap that, to a certain degree, was bridged by other putative saints, a vast list in which the figures of *mestiza* Isabel Cano and *mulata*

¹⁸⁸ This consistent engagement of the Roman Church was initiated by Pope Paul III's bulls "Pastorale Officium" (May 29, 1537) and "Sublimis Deus" (June 4, 1537). See a classical and still valid study in Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (1937): 65–102. For a more extended overview see also Pius Onyemechi Adiele, *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418-1839* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017), 375.

¹⁸⁹ The Jesuit Francisco Díaz Taño, who had devoted his life to the missions in the Guaraní reductions, is usually recognised as the promoter of the bull; see Martín María Morales, ed. *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2005), 557.

¹⁹⁰ See Cussen, "The Search for Idols," 437–38. The mindset of authors could be approached through the books available in their libraries. Avila's catalog included the *Flos sanctorum*, while Avendaño's, the *Legenda aurea*. See Teodoro Hampe, "Universo intelectual de un 'Extirpador de idolatrías': la biblioteca de Francisco de Avila (1648)," *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv. Neue Folge* 22, no. 1 (1996), 3–30; and Guibovich, "La carrera de un visitador" de idolatrías en el siglo XVII: Fernando de Avendaño (1580?-1655)," in *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías. Siglos XVI-XVII*, eds. Henrique Urbano and Gabriela Ramos (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993), 223.

Estephania de San José stood out.¹⁹¹ Saintliness aimed to be inclusive so that the lives of those selected could reflect those virtues that Spaniards and Creoles expected from the marginalised classes: obedience, docility and submission to civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In colonial Peru, the figure of Rosa de Lima combined these gender attributes with a form of devotion that spoke to different sensibilities.

The Spanish monarchs supported Rosa's cause because she also represented the archetype of the *mulier hispánica*.¹⁹² If God had chosen the Habsburgs to produce holy fruit in the New World, this election would have had its irrefutable ratification in the canonisation of Rosa. According to this providential approach to history, the canonisation of the first saint in the Indies would consolidate the Catholic spirituality promoted by the Spanish monarchy. However, such characteristics were not focused solely on improving the spiritual life of the Indians nor preventing their moral decline, but also fully complying with the model of a good Hispanic vassal.¹⁹³ The latter involved humble obedience as a central criterion for being validated as a good subject and therefore obtain benefits from the Crown. God's benevolence was believed to be the goal to which kings and subjects should aspire for the common good. Hence, Indian vassals should fulfil their Christian obligations to achieve their entry into the kingdom of heaven and calm the wrath of God that might bring punishments such as natural disasters and epidemics. Therefore, Rosa showed how people might achieve holiness and thus guarantee the collective well-being of the territories of the Hispanic Monarchy.

¹⁹¹ Among the stories of some of the best-known candidates for sainthood in Colonial Peru, Diego de Córdova y Salinas, included the narration of the exemplary lives of Isabel Cano and Estephania de San José; see Córdova_C1651, 949–53 and 954–58, respectively.

¹⁹² The term was originally used to describe St. Teresa of Avila, see Michael Caspar Lundorp, *Continuationis Ioannis Sleidani De statu religionis et reipublicae, vol. III* (Frankfurt: Sumptibus haeredum Iacobi Fischeri, 1619), 530.

¹⁹³ See Ybeth Arias, “¿La santidad de Rosa de Santa María como modelo de vasallo hispano? Lima y México, 1668-1737,” in *A la luz de Roma*, eds. Quiles et al., 341–65.

Was support for a creole acceptable to the Spanish monarchy? Direct and highly visible royal support for the canonisation of an individual who already had a significant popular following in one part of his kingdom was one way in which the king could get close to the people of a given region and integrate its aspirations into a wider national agenda.¹⁹⁴ In New Spain, the Virgin of Guadalupe was venerated because her pictorial representation corresponded to a Creole identity: Marian devotions offered New Spain (Mexico) the chance to equating “or even bettering Spain”.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, for Peruvian Creoles, the potential canonisation of Rosa could also be profitable in asserting the power of the Viceroyalty of Peru before the Spanish metropolis.

¹⁹⁴ See Haliczzer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy*, 35.

¹⁹⁵ See Cornelius Conover, *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), XIV-XV, 98.

Chapter 5: When the bulls arrived tamed: Beatification and canonisation of Francisco Solano

In a little village of southern France, diocese of Lyon, a mother carries her terminally ill son on her back to pray at Guinefort's grave asking for a cure before the miraculous saint. The scene would be quite ordinary in the Late Middle Ages, were it not for the fact that St. Guinefort was a French greyhound dog. On one of his inquisitorial tours, Dominican Stephen of Bourbon put an end to this cult tinged with misunderstandings and varied sensitivities.¹ However, with the passing of the centuries, during a war of religions, this anecdote —among many others— served to fuel Protestant claims that Roman Church was rooted in superstition and witchcraft.²

As indicated in Chapter III, after the Council of Trent the popes established canonical norms mainly to minimise the risk of cases as disconcerting and unconventional as Guinefort's. In 1625, Urban VIII further strengthened papal control over the processes of canonisation by prohibiting public worship of those who had not been beatified by the Roman Church.³ In addition, through the brief *Caelestis Hierusalem cives*, of July 5

¹ The dog's owner returned home to find not his son, but Guinefort with blood on the muzzle. He thought the worst, and impulsively slaughtered the dog with his sword, but his pain turned to regret when he heard the cry of his son and a dead snake next to him. Guinefort's heroism was repaired by the cult of the people who attributed miraculous cures to the "holy" dog; see Etienne de Bourbon, "De adoratione guinefortis canis," in Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le saint levrier – Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), 13–15.

² See Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27.

³ Urban VIII set iconographic restrictions by prohibiting the depiction of alleged saints with halos or crowns of light, and banned unofficial *vidas*; see Urban VIII "Sanctissimus Dominus noster sollicite animadvertens" (March 13, 1625), in *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanum pontificum Taurinensis, vol. XIII*, edited by Luigi Tomassetti (Turin: A. Vecco et Sociis Editoribus, 1868), 308–311.

1634,⁴ and the corresponding regulations of the Congregation of Rites, he established a strict process which was ratified and expanded in 1642.⁵

These rigid legal procedures urged caution when declaring the sanctity of any candidate and should be read within a historical-biblical framework, where for the sake of the Counter-Reformation, the quality of the “living stones” for the long-awaited reconstruction of the “spiritual temple” (1Pe 2,5) was to be prioritised over their number.

Against this background, the Lima sponsors of Solano’s cause saw the goal of having the first canonised Christian who had died in the Americas to be more remote. If no step towards sainthood could be taken until he had been dead at least half a century, then his cause could be resumed only after 1660. Nonetheless, it was known that popes —as monarchs of the Papal States— wielded absolute political authority and that, just as they could demand strict compliance with their decrees, they could also admit exceptions.

This chapter will show how Solano’s hagiographers tried to display his cause as beneficial to both Lima and Rome, aiming to secure a special concession from the pope. The chapter’s structure falls into two parts: the first shows how the hagiographies presented the case, and how the form they took (text and images) might have, paradoxically, hindered progress with the cause; while the second discusses the local and international political context within which the process took place.

Thus, having explored some of the most important factors that became obstacles to the progress of Solano’s cause, this chapter will examine the steps taken to his beatification in 1675 and canonisation in 1725. The process suffered ups and downs, but Solano’s cause eventually was successful.

⁴ CHc1634.

⁵ Urban VIII, *Decreta Servanda in Canonizatione, & Beatificatione Sanctorum. Accedunt Instructiones, & Declarationes Cardinales praesulesque Romanae Curiae ad id muneris congregati ex eiusdem Summi Pontificis mandato condiderunt.* (Rome: Ex Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost., 1642), 17–18.

1. The *alter Franciscus*' hagiographic construction

1.1. *Hagiographic attempts to facilitate the Solanist cause*

From the very beginning of Francisco Solano's process, his hagiographers sought to associate his figure with that of St. Francis of Assisi. In this sense, it is worth pointing out how Luis Jerónimo de Oré in his *Relación* established an explicit parallel between the lives of both *Francises*. Due to his refined education, the Huamanga-born friar knew well the writings of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1217-1274) who, besides his prolific theological writings, penned a series of hagiographies in which Francis of Assisi was presented as "another Christ," although he did not use this epithet explicitly. The christification of Francis of Assisi by his hagiographers has long been examined by scholars and it recently re-entered discussions by contemporary Franciscanists.⁶ In Franciscan spirituality, this hagiographic metamorphosis of Francis of Assisi is summarised in the phrase *alter Christus*. The latter means that, after a process of ascetic and mystical conversion, Francis of Assisi would be turned into an exact copy of Jesus Christ on earth, in effect his exact replica.⁷

⁶ See, for example, Stanislao da Campagnola, *L'Angelo del Sesto Sigillo e l'Alter Christus: Genesi e sviluppo di due temi francescani nei secoli XIII-XIV* (Rome: Laurentianum - Antonianum, 1971). For an updated discussion on this topic, see Donna Trembinski, "Imitatio Christi and Authority in the Lives of St. Francis," in *Illuminating Jesus in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Beal (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 224. See also John Fleming, *An introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), XI; and Lester Little, "Imitatio Francisci: The influence of Francis of Assisi on Late Medieval Religious Life," in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. Michael Cusato, and Guy Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 195–218.

⁷ In the current Constitutions of the Minor, the Conventual and the Capuchin friars the *sequela Christi* [the following of Christ] implies the *sequela Francisci* [the following of Francis]: *ad Christum per Franciscum, et per Christum ad Patrem* [to Christ through Francis, and through Christ to the Father]. See, for instance, Curia Generalis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum, *The Constitutions of the Capuchin Friars Minor* (Rome: Curia Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, 2013), 44 (n. 22). In Renaissance Italy, the iconography echoed this Franciscan theological principle; see John Paoletti, and Gary Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 49.

The first official *Vita* of Francis of Assisi was written by the Franciscan Thomas of Celano. It was commissioned by Pope Gregory IX, in 1228 —the same year of his canonisation which only two years after his death. Almost two decades later, during the Franciscan General Chapter of Genoa (1244), Crescentius of Jesi, the General Minister of the Order, exhorted the participants to collect the memories regarding their founder, in order to unify his biographical profiles so as to serve as a model of holiness for all the friars and avoid conflicts of interpretation that were causing division among them. This gave rise to a proliferation of writings, including the *Legend of the three Companions*, attributed for a long time to friars Leone, Rufino and Angelo.⁸ This manuscript reflected a more human portrait of Francis and was the basis of Celano's second *Vita*, written in 1246 also at the request of Fr. Crescentius. Throughout Celano's writings, significant differences emerge in the hagiographic depiction of Francis of Assisi,⁹ to the extent that the commissioner and the addressees of the text changed, the social and ecclesial context evolved, and the physiognomy of the Order was being transformed. Thus, from its origins, the presentation of Francis of Assisi as a model of prime holiness has undergone various modifications.

In the development of the imagery of the founder of the three Franciscan orders, the so-called "Franciscan question" has subsided. In fact, from the studies conducted by Paul Sabatier¹⁰ to those of contemporary researchers, scholars have tried to answer how best to read, interpret, and match early Franciscan sources to the *historical Francis*.¹¹

⁸ See Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi*, 190.

⁹ Thomas of Celano's hagiographical production includes the *Legenda Chori* (1230) and the *Tractatus de miraculis* (1250-1252).

¹⁰ Paul Sabatier, *Vie de Saint François d'Assise* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1893).

¹¹ See, for example, Jacques Dalarun, *The Misadventure of Francis of Assisi: Toward a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends* (New York: St. Bonaventure University, 2002).

Consequently, his figure has been the subject of uninterrupted controversy throughout the history of every religious congregation that claims his paternity.

A similar process was assumed in Francisco Solano's hagiographic construction. As seen in the previous chapter, the death of Solano left a deep mark on the religious imaginary of the Peruvian society at the time. The miracles attributed to his intercession enabled his *fama sanctitatis* to spread rapidly in few years, transcending Lima's borders. Quickly, various actors —from the simple grateful devotee to the King of Spain— welcomed their new spiritual hero, “canonising” him in advance, as if he were an official saint, and supporting the Solanist cause. However, the social consensus that supported Solano's cause was not enough to promote his process of canonisation. Thus, the hagiographers —beginning with Oré— followed, *mutatis mutandis*, the Bonaventurian mystical line consisting of turning their candidate for sainthood into one of the more sublime references for sanctity at the time, that is, a copy of Francis of Assisi.

Behind this hagiographic strategy, there was also a socio-political goal: the success of the process of Christianisation in Hispanic America would be consolidated with the official proclamation of a saint made *in situ*.¹² In other words, the suitability of the New World as a land capable for receiving the Christian seed would be demonstrated through its capacity to generate fruits of holiness. If the Franciscan tree could be successfully transplanted on American soil, this would be an irrefutable proof of the successful process

¹² This seems to be the logic behind the verses of the Peruvian scholar Pedro de Peralta (1663-1743) dedicated to Toribio de Mogrovejo, Rosa de Lima and “*divine Solano*”; see Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, *Lima fundada o Conquista del Peru: poema heroico en que se decanta toda la historia del descubrimiento, y sugesion de sus Provincias por Don Francisco Pizarro, marques de los Atabillos, inclyto y primer gobernador de este vasto Imperio* (Lima: En la Imprenta de Francisco Sobrino y Bados, 1732), 204. In colonial Peru, the hagiographies of characters whose causes would not prosper were also published, such as the Mercedarian Antonio de San Pedro and the Dominican Vicente Venedo; see Pedro Guibovich, *Imprimir en Lima durante la colonia: Historia y documentos, 1584-1750* (Frankfurt: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2019), 87–8.

of evangelisation in Hispanic America:¹³ the figure of a *new* Francis of Assisi emerging from the New World would attest that the American land was capable of producing saints.

1.2. *Alter Franciscus' hagiography*

Adopting the same hermeneutical approach, a comparison of two essential sources corroborates the attempt of converting the image of Solano into that of Francis of Assisi. These are the *Legenda minor* (c. 1260-1263) by Bonaventure,¹⁴ and the *Relación* (1614) by Luis Gerónimo de Oré [Oré_V1614]. The first was composed for use during the daily liturgical-choral prayers, which implies that it was intended that all Franciscans should know it by heart. The second was Solano's first *Vida*, which served as the basis for his subsequent hagiography.

¹³ In colonial Hispanic-America, 'evangelisation' also involved 'Westernisation' and, more precisely, 'Castilianisation'. The latter represents an issue that has long been studied by contemporary ethnohistorians. Edmundo O'Gorman, for instance, mentioned that for indigenous peoples the "significance of the new image of reality" was a real problem; see *La invención de América: el universalismo de la cultura de Occidente* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), 76. For his part, Leopoldo Zea preferred to talk about the failed process of the "colonial juxtaposition of Iberian culture on indigenous cultures"; see *Latinoamérica en la encrucijada de la historia* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981), 55. According to Serge Gruzinski, Westernisation in Hispanic America gave rise to deeper processes, of an ontological nature and of perception of reality, through "the redefinition of both the imaginary and the real, in which the Indians were destined to express themselves and to subsist, forced or fascinated"; see *La colonisation de l'imaginaire: sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988), 368. Although other studies address the same central question, it is worth mentioning the work of Janice Theodoro da Silva who alluded to a "geography of the imaginary" as a phenomenon connected with Occidentalisation of Ibero-America in colonial times; see *Descobrimientos e colonização* (São Paulo: Editora Atica S.A., 1987), 37–49. See also Elizabeth Horodowich and Alexander Nagel, *Amerasia* (New York: Zone Books, 2023), 11–26.

¹⁴ Bonaventure, "Legenda Minor," in *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, vol. X*, ed. Patr. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Florence: Quaracchi 1941), 655–78. For an introduction on this source, see Timothy J. Johnson, "The Legenda Minor," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, eds. Jay M. Hammond, Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 435–51.

Further research that would incorporate other sources would provide a more expanded comparative panorama.¹⁵ However, Table 1 below is clear enough to highlight Oré's goal to establish an explicit parallel between the two *Francises*. Although the similarities between the two figures are more abundant, it is also possible to detect some differences. Two aspects in particular are worth stressing: the absence in Solano of the stigmata, although these wounds played a substantial part of the hagiographic characterisation of Francis of Assisi as his was the first recorded case of an individual receiving them; and Solano's morally faultless youth, in contrast to the classic narrative in which Francis of Assisi's worldly life and subsequent conversion are emphasised.

Table 1. Concordances between *Legenda Minor* by Bonaventure and *Relación* by Oré

Parallel features of St. Francis of Assisi and Francis Solano	<i>Legenda Minor</i> , by Bonaventure	<i>Relación de la vida y milagros</i> , by Oré
Extremely virtuous men	<i>Lm</i> , I, 2	§ II, f. 3 [p. 6]
Followers of the naked Christ	<i>Lm</i> , I, 3	§ II, f. 4 [p. 8]
Fervent lovers of poverty	<i>Lm</i> , III, 5	§ III, f. 5 [p. 10]
Celebrators of God with songs and music	<i>Lm</i> , I, 8	§ III, f. 5 [p. 10]
They consider themselves great sinners	<i>Lm</i> , I, 8	§ III, f. 6 [p. 12]
Preachers calling for penance	<i>Lm</i> , III, 1	§ IV, f. 6v [p. 13]
Zealous observers of the Rule	<i>Lm</i> , I, 9	§ IV, f. 7v [p. 14]
Blessers of God through his creation	<i>Lm</i> , III, 6	§ V, f. 10 [p. 18]
Kissers of the poor and people with sores	<i>Lm</i> , I, 8	§ V, f. 10v [p. 19]
Seekers of martyrdom, without succeeding	<i>Lm</i> , III, 9	§ VI, f. 12 [p. 22]

¹⁵ Later studies could incorporate the *Legenda Monastica*, which reveals similarities in the narration of the transit of the two *Francises*, including their angelic description, the spontaneous whitening of their corpses, and the flexibility of their *post-mortem* limbs; see Patr. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, eds., "Legenda Monacensis S. Francisci," in *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis: saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae ad codicum fidem recensitae, Analecta Franciscana, vol. X* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1926), 718.

Lovers of solitude and contemplative life	<i>Lm</i> , I, 4	§ VII, f. 13v [p. 25]
Contemplative, but energetic and active life	<i>Lm</i> , II, 1	§ VII, f. 13v [p. 25]
Escapees from worldly honours	<i>Lm</i> , II, 4	§ VII, f. 14v [p. 26]
Devotees of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem	<i>Lm</i> , X, 7	§ VIII, f. 15v [p. 28]
Holders of the Spirit of Prophecy	<i>Lm</i> , IV, 8	§ VIII, f. 15v [p. 28]
Passionate about the salvation of souls	<i>Lm</i> , III, 8	§ X, f. 17v [p. 32]
Pure and chaste in both body and soul	<i>Lm</i> , III, 3	§ XI, f. 19 [p. 35]
Weeping before Jesus Crucified	<i>Lm</i> , I, 4	§ XI, f. 22 [p. 40]
Preachers with brevity of sermon	<i>Lm</i> , II, 5	§ XI, f. 22 [p. 40]
Animal preachers, whom they can resurrect	<i>Lm</i> , V, 6; VII, 8	§ XIV, f. 27 [p. 46]
Continuous meditators of Christ's Passion	<i>Lm</i> , I, 4	§ XIV, f. 28 [p. 48]
Before expiring, they ask for forgiveness	<i>Lm</i> , VII, 4	§ XIV, f. 28 [p. 49]
They die meditating on the Passion of Christ	<i>Lm</i> , VII, 5	§ XIV, f. 28 [p. 48]

Although the term *alter Christus* does not appear explicitly in Bonaventure's texts, such was the implicit message. The reference became explicit in Bartholomew of Pisa's *Liber conformitatem* (c. 1385), a hagiographical treatise on concordances and similarities between the lives of both Christ and Francis of Assisi. The *Liber conformitatem* was published several times in the sixteenth century, but the best-known editions were those from Milan (1510)¹⁶ and Bologna (1590).¹⁷ The latter was revised and expanded by

¹⁶ Bartholomaeus de Pisa, *Liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu Christi* (Milan: Gotardo da Ponte, 1510).

¹⁷ Bartholomaeus de Pisa, *Liber aureus inscriptus liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ac seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Iesu Christi Domini nostri*, ed. Jeremias Bucchius (Bologna: Apud Alexandrum Benatium, 1590). For a critical edition of the text, see Bartholomaeus de Pisa, *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu, auctore fr. Bartholomeo de Pisa, liber I, Fructus I–XII*, in *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, vol. IV* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1906 [c. 1385]); and *De conformitate, liber II–III, Fructus XIII–XL*, in *Analecta, vol. V* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1912 [c. 1385]).

Jeremias Bucchius who titled it *Golden Book: or the Conformities of the Life of the Blessed Francis, Seraphic Father, to that of Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer*, sparking new interest in Bartholomew's work in Franciscan academic circles. This fact could explain why Alva y Astorga could have found an inspiration some decades later for his *Naturae Prodigium Gratiae Portentum* (1651).¹⁸ In fact, the initial seven pages of this book were dedicated to establishing an analogy, no longer between Francis of Assisi and Jesus Christ, but between the former and Francisco Solano.

Pedro de Alva y Astorga (1601-1667) was a prolific Spanish Franciscan writer who began his religious life in Peru where he spent many years occupying relevant positions. These included that of Custodian, which gave him the right to participate in the General Chapter of the Order in 1645 and its General Congregation in 1648, both held in Toledo, Spain.¹⁹ Shortly after this latter event, Alva was appointed as *Procurador general* for the cause of beatification of Solano, for which he was transferred to Rome in 1650. Four years later, he was asked to occupy an influential position at the Franciscan Curia, but after a few months he returned to Spain.²⁰ About 1662, he moved to the southern Netherlands (modern Belgium) where he found a printing press and published some of his works, devoting the rest of his life to the defence of the Immaculate Conception.

This Marian doctrine involved a theological issue that could have contributed to the delay in Solano's cause, as will be elaborated on below. However, it is worth noting in advance that, since his childhood in Cusco, Alva y Astorga had witnessed the Franciscan-

¹⁸ Pedro de Alva y Astorga, *Naturae prodigium Gratiae portentum, hoc est, Seraphici P. N. Francisci Vitae Acta ad Christi D. N. Vitam et Mortem Regulata, et Coaptata, in Prima Columna describuntur Redemptoris Mundi Mysteria, incipiendo ab eius aeterna Praedestinatione, usque ad gloriosam ipsius ad Caelos Ascensionem, et in altera correspondente, Conformitates, Similitudines, ac Parallela Seraphici Patriarchae, in quadraginta quinque Titulos divisa* (Madrid: In typographia Julián de Paredes, 1651).

¹⁹ See Lucien Ceysens, "Pedro de Alva y Astorga OFM y su imprenta de la Inmaculada de Lovaina (1663-1666)," *Archivo Iberoamericano* 11 (1951): 5-35.

²⁰ See Antonio de Eguiluz, "El Padre Alva y Astorga y sus escritos immaculadistas. Bosquejo bio-bibliográfico," *Archivo Iberoamericano* 15 (1955): 497-594.

Dominican doctrinal rivalry over the Immaculate Conception,²¹ an event that would not only mark his spirituality, but would also lead him to publish “injurious words” against the Dominicans, resulting in an inquisitorial censorship of one of his works.²²

1.3. Alter Franciscus’ iconography

The iconographic attributes that *par excellence* were attributed to Solano were the crucifix and the *rabel* or violin, eloquent symbols that summarised two of the main features of his sanctity. Associated with a message of pain and joy respectively, they could seem difficult to reconcile, but were complementary not only in Solano’s personality as drafted by his hagiographers, according to the baroque spirituality of the time²³ and in line with Francis of Assisi’s hagiographic tradition,²⁴ in which his rigid austerity and contemplative loneliness were complemented by a persistent jovial spirit.

One of the most interesting examples of the Solanist symbolism can be found in the engraving used on the cover of *El sol y año feliz del Perú* (1735) by Franciscan Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, where Solano is depicted carrying the crucifix in his right hand and the Bible along with the violin in the left. The friar’s bare feet rest on the sphere of the world, which is supported by an Indian and accompanied by two other indigenous people

²¹ See Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “El arte y los sermones,” in *El Barroco Peruano, vol. I*, eds. Pierre Duviols, et al. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002), 262.

²² See AHN, Inquisición, 1226, ff. 863r–63v. See also Pedro Guibovich, *Censura, libros e inquisición en el Perú colonial, 1570-1754* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla: 2003), 385.

²³ The baroque spirituality implied a lack of logical clarity that fuelled the irregularity and dynamicity of Baroque art expressions; see Larry Norman, “The Baroque as Anti-Classicism: The French Case,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*, ed. John Lyons (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 626–29.

²⁴ See María Cruz de Carlos Varona, “‘Ante Obitum Mortuus, Post Obitum Vivus’: Visual Representations of the Body of Saint Francis of Assisi,” in *Imagery, Spirituality and Ideology in Baroque Spain and Latin America*, eds. Jeremy Roe and Marta Bustillo (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 97–112.

who hang from the globe, armed with bows and arrows.²⁵ The background of the image is formed by mountain ranges which have the inscription of Paraguay and Tucumán, recalling Solano's missionary work in those regions.

However, Solano's true co-star is the walled city of Lima which occupies the foreground. One of the elements that most attracts the attention is the representation of Solano with wings, a figure consistent with the Franciscan tradition that referred to Francis of Assisi as the "Seraphic Father".²⁶ In fact, Thomas of Celano, official biographer of Francis of Assisi, aimed to demonstrate the divine origin of the stigmata by anticipating the imprinting of the marks of Jesus' crucifixion on Francis' flesh with his vision of a seraph.²⁷

²⁵ From a mystical-hagiographic point of view that the sphere represents the earth has iconographic consistency, since the sphere of the world trampled on by a saint also appears in the iconographic representations of St. Christopher and St. Francis Borgia, for example, in clear reference to the contempt for the riches of this world. See Emilio Orozco Díaz, *Temas del Barroco de poesía y pintura* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1947), 17. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's painting 'Saint Francis of Assisi embracing the crucified Christ' (c. 1668) is probably the most emblematic work which included this symbolism in Spanish Baroque. Another original detail of Solano's depiction is that he is shown beardless; perhaps an attempt to adapt his image to the establishment, cleansed of pauperistic propaganda, as was done four centuries before with the image of Francis of Assisi. See Luciano Belloso, *La pecora di Giotto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), 4–6.

²⁶ 'Seraphim' (from Hebrew *saraph*, שָׂרָפִים, "to burn"), is the term for supernatural beings which occupy the highest category in Christian angelology since they surround the Throne of God while praising his holiness. See David G. Burke, "Seraph, Seraphim," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, eds. Bruce Metzger, and Michael Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 687. The application of the adjective to Francis of Assisi is associated with his greatest ardour that made him burn with the love of God. On seraphic religious representations in Peru, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), 166–67.

²⁷ See Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis. Second Book* [2 Cel.], in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. I: The Saint*, edited by Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann, and William Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 264. For Bonaventure, on the contrary, the seraph was actually an image that Christ himself had taken: "He [Francis] rejoiced at the gracious way Christ looked upon him under the appearance of the Seraph," Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. III: The Prophet*, eds. Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann and William Short (New York: New City Press, 2000), 632. This Bonaventurian thought was graphically reflected in the engraving that served as the frontispiece of a book by Valentin Mareé; see Appendix 8.



Figure 1. Frontispiece of *El sol y año feliz del Perú* by Pedro Rodríguez Guillén (1735), depicting Francisco Solano with seraphic attributes.

1.4. *The alter Franciscus' prototype, an obstacle to Solano's cause*

Nonetheless, if there is an image in the Solanist iconography that better describes the analogical dynamics of the *alter Christus* and the *alter Franciscus*, it is the second engraving contained in *Naturae prodigium* (1651), Alva's cited book. Every detail in the image is pregnant of symbolism, starting with the inscription at the top of the engraving: "*Maior et minor girant, pariter Sol et Annus*," literally "both the sun and the moon rotate, the major and the minor".²⁸ This heading established a relationship of close similarity and interdependence between the figures, while maintaining a hierarchical subordination.



Figure 2. Second engraving in *Naturae prodigium Gratiae portentum* by Pedro de Alva y Astorga (1651), showing Francis of Assisi (under the sun) and Francisco Solano (under the moon).

²⁸ The author of the engraving could have been inspired by the verses of Roman poet Ovid; see Ovidius, *The Fasti of Ovid*, ed. G.H. Hallam (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), 7. To consider the topic in a broader context, see Bruce Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 275–78.

The author's explicit intention was to present the resemblance of Francis of Assisi and Francisco Solano in dichotomous/complementary symbols: the sun and the moon, Europe and America, Rome and Lima, the Franciscan coat of arms and that of the city of Lima, antiquity and novelty.²⁹ On the one hand, a barefoot Franciscan friar, with a lean face, holding (or hanging from?) the tower of the *Ecclesia* with his right hand, and lifting the crucifix with the other; and, on the other hand, an analogous friar, performing the same actions, except that he did not bear a halo or stigmata.

Regarding the stigmata, as André Vauchez has noted, these were the most fitting iconographic attributes of the founder of the Minors shortly after his death (1226).³⁰ In 1615, Pope Paul V decreed that the office (canonical prayers) of the stigmata of Francis of Assisi be universally recited, which might also explain why during the seventeenth century the attention of hagiographers and artists regarding the stigmata increased.³¹ The engraving was finished off by the Habsburgs' imperial coat of arms at the bottom, and a bird holding an olive branch at the top—a biblical sign of Noah's universal flood that brought with it a new creation.³² This symbolism favoured the presentation of a refreshed holiness, framed in a strategic political-religious alliance between Spain and Rome.

²⁹ In January 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the city of Lima which took the name of “the City of the Kings,” because Lima was founded on Epiphany, that is, the feast of the Holy Kings—or biblical wise men—that came from the East to witness the Nativity.

³⁰ See André Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi*, 217.

³¹ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente : étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle, du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flanders* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1932), 176.

³² A reminiscence of the apocalyptic millenarianism—Jochinism—has been found in the connection between the work of Pedro de Alva and the Franciscan iconographic series of colonial Andean paintings; see Constanza Acuña Fariña, “*Naturae prodigium gratiae portentum*: Pedro de Alva y Astorga y la serie de 54 pinturas sobre la vida de San Francisco del Museo Colonial de Santiago: Milenarismo y visualidad en la cultura cusqueña del siglo XVII,” *Eadem utraque Europa*, 12 (2011): 55–79. However, in addition to theological or spiritual motivations, many Catholic missionaries used to describe their experiences in the Indies as the reissue of the early Christian community in order to receive funding and support from both the Spanish Crown and the Catholic

Shortly after its publication in 1651, *Naturae Prodigium Gratiae Portentum* was included in the list of books prohibited by the Sacred Congregation of the Index through a decree signed by Bernardino Spada, its prefect, on November 24, 1655.³³ The most important reasons for the censorship of the book can be found both in the engravings' ambiguous message and, mainly, in the content of chart VII,³⁴ in Pedro de Alva's condensed 251 sentences, taken from various Franciscan sources, where he sought to prove his hypothesis that Francis of Assisi had truly been the *alter Christus*.³⁵

The grandiose comparisons presented by Pedro de Alva could have been gratifying to Franciscans, but they appeared exaggerated and worthy of censorship to members of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Lima.³⁶ In the context of the Counter-Reformation, those epithets were also a potential target of attack from Protestants, given the thin dividing line between an exaggerated piety and idolatry. Indeed, if the text by Pedro de Alva was to be

Church, see Daniel Reff, *Plagues, Priests, and Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 239–40.

³³ See Sacrae Congregationis Indicis, *Index librorum prohibitorum: Alexandri VII Pontificis Maximi iussu editus* (Rome: Ex Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1664), 370. Three other works by Alva were banned: the aforementioned *Sol veritatis*, 1660; *Nodus indissolubilis de conceptu mentis & de conceptu ventris...* (Brussels: apud Philippum Vleugaert, 1661); and *Funiculi nodi indissolubilis de conceptu mentis [et] conceptu ventris...* (Brussels: typis Philippi Vleugaert, 1663).

³⁴ Alva y Astorga, 1651, XLV–LI.

³⁵ These unorthodox phrases included “*Franciscus totus fuit transfiguratus, & transformatus in Christo*” [“Francis was completely transfigured and transformed into Christ”] (n. 6), “*fuit secundus Christus*” [“(he) was a second Christ”] (n. 8), “*alter Christus in terra*” [“(the) other Christ on earth”] (n. 9), “*Novus Christus in mundo*” [“(a) New Christ in the world”] (n. 10), “*Deus parvus in terra*” [“(little) God on earth”] (n. 11), “*fuit semi-divinus*” [“(he) was a demigod”] (n. 19), “*viva imago Dei*” [“(the) living image of God”] (n. 84), “*novus filius Dei*” [“(the) new son of God”] (n. 86), “*in Francisco renatus est Christus*” [“(the) Christ was reborn in Francis”] (n. 107), “*fuit substitutus Christi Crucifixi*” [“(he) was the substitute for the crucified Christ”] (n. 148), “*Franciscus fuit homo divinus similis Deo humanato*” [“(Francis) was a divine man, similar to a humanised God”] (n. 168), “*videre Franciscum est videre Deum in Cruce*” [“(seeing) Francis is seeing God on the Cross”] (n. 167), “*Vita S. Francisci fuit deificata, & ipse deificatus*” [“(the) life of Saint Francis was deified and he himself was deified”] (n. 199), and “*Franciscus fuit Christi metamorphosis*” [“(Francis) was the metamorphosis of Christ”] (n. 236).

³⁶ See Guibovich, *Censura, libros e inquisición*, 330–31.

read out of its original context, it could be considered heretical since it seemed to claim divine status for Francis of Assisi, an extraordinary human being.³⁷ Therefore, despite the influence that Pedro de Alva had in high spheres of the Roman curia, the epithets listed and the images inserted in *Naturae prodigium Gratiae portentum*, appeared rather counterproductive in promoting the Solano's cause.

1.5. *Saint Mary: Per Christum praeservata, per Franciscum defensa*³⁸

The controversy over the Immaculate Concepcion also influenced the progress of Solano's cause, leading to serious theological clashes. The Franciscans in alliance with the Jesuits defended the doctrine according to which the Virgin Mary was preserved from every stain of original sin from the very beginning of her conception, contrary to the Dominicans who, in turn, received support from the Augustinians.³⁹ The controversy had arisen in the twelfth century, but returned in the early modern age due to both the confrontations with the Protestants and the lack of consensus among Catholic theologians.

Such was the bitterness with which the dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans was conducted, that it jeopardised the harmony within the ecclesial life

³⁷ See Andrew Cunningham, *The Identity of the History of Science and Medicine* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 636–37. Despite ecclesiastical censures, Valentin Mareé, a Franciscan from the Province of Flanders followed the line of Bartholomew of Pisa and Pedro de Alva, but he responded to Protestant criticism by emphasising the Master-disciple's relationship; see Valentin Mareé, *Traictè des conformitez du disciple avec son maistre, c'est a dire, du Seraphique Père S. François avec Nostre Seigneur Iesuschrist, contenant en soy tous les Mysteres de leurs Calvaires, Crucifiemens & derniere paroles* (Liège: De l'Imprimerie Henry Tournay, c. 1660).

³⁸ The systematic defense of this doctrine has its roots in the theology of the Franciscan John Duns Scotus (1265-1308), whose approach gave rise to the apothegm *per Christum praeservata, per Franciscum defensa* [preserved by Christ, defended by Francis].

³⁹ Teodoro Hampe showed his surprise when confirming the support of the Franciscan provincial of Peru for the cause of Rosa de Lima, despite "that she had worn the habit of a rival congregation"; Hampe, "El proceso de canonización," 724. However, such rivalry needs to be nuanced. Disagreements between religious congregations within the Roman Catholic Church present a complex and *sui generis* dynamism. Many times, the so-called *sentire cum ecclesia* [to think and to feel with the Roman Church] takes precedence.

particularly in Spain. The work of Gaspar De la Fuente, Pedro de Alva's co-religionist, should be viewed in this context. Indeed, in *Armamentarium Seraphicum*, his most notable book, De la Fuente denounced the scandal caused by the disagreement between Dominican and Minor theologians,⁴⁰ and longed for the communion of both congregations, symbolised in the frontispiece of his book, which showed the founding fathers shaking hands before the gaze of the Immaculate.



Figure 3. Frontispiece of *Armamentarium Seraphicum* by Gaspar De la Fuente (1649), showing St. Dominic de Guzmán (left) and St. Francis of Assisi (right), under both King Philip IV of Spain's coat of arms and the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

⁴⁰ See Gaspar De la Fuente, *Armamentarium Seraphicum et Regestum Universale tuendo titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1649), 231.

The popes preferred not to take a categorical position until Alexander VII (1655-1667).⁴¹ Rome's passivity could have been due to the great influence of the Dominicans, who conducted the Inquisition in Spain and enjoyed the customary prerogative of being the pope's personal advisers on theological matters (as traditionally they were appointed to the post of Master of the Sacred Palace), but also because the Spanish monarchs were *immaculistas*, that is, enthusiastic supporters of this Marian doctrine.⁴²

Set within the framework of the history of the canonisation processes, this episode can shed new light on the delay in different causes, and particularly in that of Solano. Indeed, beyond the rivalry among the theologians of the most important religious congregations of the seventeenth century,⁴³ there was an *ad intra* factor: Francisco Solano belonged to the Observant branch of the Franciscans, which was the one that had

⁴¹ The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception began to enjoy papal favour since the Apostolic Constitution *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum* (December 8, 1661) by Alexander VII, even though it was not explicitly used as such title: "The soul of the Blessed Virgin Mary both in its creation and in its infusion into her body was preserved from original sin," *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum. Taurinensis edition, locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis*, edited by Collegii adlecti Romae virorum S. Theologiae et Ss. Canonum peritorum (Turin: A. Vecco et sociis editoribus. Success. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1869 [1661]), 739. Clement XI gave the feast day a "*praecepto obligationis*" category, see "Commissi nobis divinitus" (December 6, 1708), in *Bullarium Romanum seu Novissima et accuratissima Collectio Apostolicarum Constitutionum, vol. XI: Complectens Constitutiones Clementis XI ab anno I usque ad XIII, seu ab anno MDCC ad Novembrem MDCCXIII editas* (Rome: Typis, & Expensis Hieronymi Mainardi in Platea Montis Cimatorii, 1735), 206.

⁴² The controversy would be settled in 1854, when Pius IX declared the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of faith, through the Apostolic Constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*.

⁴³ The work of Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa (1566? – 1615) —harshly criticised by Guamán Poma de Ayala, his former collaborator, who depicted him as lustful and greedy— is a good example in Peru of the exaltation of a religious congregation through a hybrid narrative that blended historical chronicle and hagiographic testimony. See Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru. Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2008 [1616]). The Peruvian Mercedarians were going through a period of crisis and a narrative vindication was needed; see David Boruchoff, "Martín de Murúa, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and the Contested Uses of Sainly Models in Writing Colonial American History," in *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas*, eds. Stephanie Kirk, and Sarah Rivett (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 89.

consistently defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary since its establishment in Spain,⁴⁴ and in its American dominions. In fact, Córdova y Salinas reminded his contemporaries that Luis de Oña, the first provincial minister of the Province of the Twelve Apostles of Peru, was a son of the Franciscan Castilian Province of the *Purísima Concepción*.⁴⁵ Therefore, due to the Urban VIII's dominant character (both his personality and his powerful position) and the hostility that characterised his relationship with the King of Spain, being *immaculista* could have been a disadvantage, at least during Barberini's pontificate.

2. The Creole class and its support for Rosa de Santa María's cause

In the baroque worldview, mere coincidences could not be conceived. Everything had a transcendental meaning and/or everything was worthy of being decoded. In other words, if nothing could happen without the permission of the divinity or within a salvific plan, then everything was providential, that is, *provided* by God. Thus, for example, a fact that caught the attention of the *postuladores* of Solano's cause was that the date of his death "coincided" with the feast of Saint Bonaventure, to whom he was devoted.⁴⁶

Rosa de Lima's *postuladores* and hagiographers were also aware of the power of providential signs. The rose has a very significant meaning in Christian symbology, since it has long represented the stigmata of Christ and the blood that He shed on the cross as the supreme symbol of love. It was the allegorical flower chosen by Dante in the third canticle of his *Divine Comedy* to symbolise paradisiacal love. Rosa was born near the

⁴⁴ See Francisco Calderón, *Primera parte de la Chronica de la Santa Provincia de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora, de la Regular Observancia de N.S.P. S. Francisco* ([Manuscript:] 1679), in ACFV, f. 3, n. 3.

⁴⁵ See Córdova_V1643, 297.

⁴⁶ CVU, vol. 32, 33, 54v–54r. On July 14, Solano also took the Franciscan habit; years later, on the same date, he was appointed guardian of San Francisco del Monte friary.

same orchard where, according to Bernabé Cobo, the first roses that arrived in Peru were grown.⁴⁷ Diego de Córdova described her as “the most beautiful, bright and fresh flower that her Religion [the Order of Preachers] gave us”.⁴⁸ This mystical-allegorical aspect would play a key part in the hagiographical profile that Rosa’s *postuladores* will design.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, there were more compelling reasons for Rosa de Lima’s sanctification to occur before Solano’s. Some scholars have tried to explain why Isabel Flores de Oliva’s cause proceeded so quickly. For instance, according to David Brading, such haste was linked to a blooming of the Marian cult in the seventeenth century, since “Rosa de Lima was clearly viewed as another, living Mary”.⁵⁰ Indeed, those were the times when the Marian cult had been particularly intensified through the invocation of the Immaculate Conception—expressed in various allusive images by baroque painters—, something that was not without controversy even within the Roman Church, as indicated before. Paradoxically, the Dominicans—who were declared anti-immaculists— would have seen in the devotion to Rosa an opportunity to recover their influence by proposing her as a new Mary,⁵¹ a penitent Mary who needed to subjugate her body with penance because, like any other person, she bore the concupiscence resulting from original sin.

Complementing Brading’s approach, other scholars have emphasised socio-political motives. Ramón Mujica, for example, has tried to demonstrate the

⁴⁷ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, edited by Manuel González de la Rosa (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1882 [1639]), 317.

⁴⁸ Córdova_C1651, 492.

⁴⁹ See Jacinto de la Parra, *Rosa laureada entre los santos, epitalamios sacros de la Corte, aclamaciones de España, aplausos de Roma, congratulaciones festivas del Clero, y Religiones al feliz desposorio que celebró en la gloria con Christo la Beata Virgen Rosa de Santa María, de la Tercera Orden de Predicadores, Patrona del Perú...* (Madrid: Por Domingo García Morrás, 1670), 369–70.

⁵⁰ David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 338.

⁵¹ See Irma Barriga Calle, “De Catalina a Rosa: un ensayo de interpretación,” in *Santa Rosa de Lima: miradas desde el cuarto centenario*, eds. Margarita Guerra Martinière and Estrella Guerra Caminiti (Lima: PUCP; IRA, 2017), 30.

instrumentalisation of the cult of Rosa by the Creole class,⁵² as Teodoro Hampe who has described the event as “symbol or coronation of the emerging Creole nationalism”.⁵³ In fact, the Creoles or *indianos* were tired of being overlooked by peninsular Spaniards and aimed to achieve a degree of social parity that would enable them to occupy key positions in the political, economic and religious administration of Peru.⁵⁴ It might be concluded that, although there was a certain ethnic flexibility in Peruvian society,⁵⁵ the strongest factor that favoured Rosa de Lima’s cause was her social status as a Creole woman. Solano died in Lima, but he was a peninsular Spaniard.

The propaganda programme designed and launched by the Dominicans was ambitious and effective in feeding and spreading the devotion to Rosa through festivals and events organised in different cities, including Rome, Madrid, Seville, Mexico City and her hometown.⁵⁶ On the occasion of Rosa’s canonisation by Clement X (April 12, 1672), great festivities were celebrated not only in Lima and its suffragan dioceses, but also in Europe, and especially in Rome. The splendid celebrations held in Rome were described in the decree of indulgence for the beatification of Rosa, issued in 1668: “with such pomp, majestic ostentation, grandeur, and acclamation of the Roman People, which exceeds any other, and surpasses all celebrations for beatifications that are remembered from previous centuries”.⁵⁷ In 1704, the King of Spain granted licence for the foundation

⁵² Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa limensis*, 263.

⁵³ Hampe, “Los testigos de Santa Rosa,” 124.

⁵⁴ On the evolution of the term ‘Creole,’ see Bernard Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas. Criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: PUCP; IRA, 1993), 16–21.

⁵⁵ On social inclusion and ethnic autonomy in colonial Peru, see Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos*, 162–94.

⁵⁶ See Miguel Zugasti, “Santa Rosa de Lima, una santa del pueblo con sus fiestas y comedias para el pueblo,” in eds. José María Díez Borque, *Teatro español de los Siglos de Oro: dramaturgos, textos, escenarios, fiestas* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2013), 122.

⁵⁷ Sacred Congregation of Rites, “Nueva concession, *viva vocis oraculo*, de Nuestro Santissimo Padre Clemente Papa Nono, con atestacion del Eminentissimo Card. Ginetto,” in Leonardo Hansen, *Vida de la Bienaventurada Rosa Peruana de Santa María de la*

of the Monastery of Rosa de Santa María on the site where Rosa died.⁵⁸ The great iconographic richness of Rosa demonstrates her widespread popularity and would deserve further study.⁵⁹ This massive display has led some scholars to affirm that the interests of the Crown and those of the Order of Preachers were the driving forces behind Rosa's cult.⁶⁰

2.1. *Solano's cause in Lima, between popular expectation and Roman setbacks*

In 1615, the euphoric climate that prevailed in Lima for the acceptance of the cause of Solano began to contrast with the slow pace of his process in Rome: the main alleged miracles had not been reliably verified, despite the abundance of reported extraordinary events.⁶¹ In the same year, Joseph Suessa, a Franciscan expert in canonisation issues, had advised Solano's *postuladores* to focus on truly relevant miracles —healings of the crippled, maimed, or blind from birth and, more desirably, resurrections: “if there were a

Tercera Orden de Santo Domingo. Su admirable vida y preciosa muerte, trans. Jacinto de Parra (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, Impresor de Libros, 1668) [29–30].

⁵⁸ See Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, ed., *Memoria de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú, vol. IV: Don José Antonio Manso de Velasco, conde de Superunda; Don Manuel Amant y Yunient, caballero de la Orden de San Juan* (Lima: Felipe Bailly, 1859), 438.

⁵⁹ See Tristan Weddigen, “Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima,” in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, eds. Christine Göttler and Mia Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 103–46.

⁶⁰ See Luis Carlos Marques, “Rosa de Lima,” in *Diccionario de los Santos, vol. II*, eds. Claudio Leonardi, Andrea Riccardi, and Gabriella Zarri (Madrid: San Pablo, 2000), 2005.

⁶¹ The initial dossier, whose transfer from Lima to Rome was funded by the Metropolitan Council, consisted of 1,500 pages; see Juan Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima, vol. XVI: Años 1610-1611* (Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1963), 401.

resurrected dead, so much the better”.⁶² However, the closest testimonies that credited Solano’s mediation with a resuscitation were neither convincing nor plausible enough.⁶³

The gap between popular expectations and what was decreed in Rome became more evident after 1628. In January of that year, members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites began to apply a decree endorsed by Urban VIII regarding the waiting period of fifty years after the death of a candidate before a petition for beatification or canonisation could be made.⁶⁴ The festivities organised in Lima on February 27, 1628 to celebrate the — asynchronous— news of the opening of Solano’s cause, summoned the main civil and religious authorities of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, but they also clearly highlighted the mismatch between what was ruled in Rome and what was performed in the New World. While people in Lima were gathered at the *Plaza Mayor*, rejoicing with luminous fireworks with a background of ringing bells,⁶⁵ the cause of Solano and other candidates for saints were becoming, metaphorically, darker and quieter in Rome as their progress slowed or even stalled.

⁶² ASI, *Relationes diversas*, 2/32, f. 21. However, this was not the only criterion to be considered. Catalina Amaza, called by her contemporaries the “Santa Rosa de Chile,” for her charity and devotion, died in Lima in 1732. She was credited with the miracle of resurrecting a woman, but her cause did not prosper; see Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala (doña Catalina de los Ríos): episodio histórico-social con numerosos documentos inéditos* (Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1877), 204.

⁶³ See, for example, the testimonies of Juan Orme, Isabel Carrillo or Mencia de Silva. The former pointed out that his two-year-old son “seemed to be dead for fifteen minutes,” but was healed thanks to the intercession of Solano; AAV, Riti, 1328, “Testimony of Juan Orme” (Lima: May 1, 1611), f. 715v. The second testified that his six-month-old son, who “cried so much that sometimes he was dead, all purple,” was able to recover his health; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Isabel Carrillo” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 167v–168v. The latter stated that she had been pregnant for eleven [sic] months without being able to give birth until she requested the help of Solano who made the delivery possible, prophesying that a healthy child would be born to her; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Mencia de Silva” (Lima: November 12, 1610), f. ff. 173r–176r.

⁶⁴ ACCS, *Registri dei decreti dei Servi di Dio*, vol. I (20 November 1627), 371–73.

⁶⁵ See Diego de Morales, ACL, Registro 16, f. 173.

At that time, the population of Lima was growing rapidly and, according to Bernabé Cobo, had a total of 60,000 inhabitants: 25,000 *españoles*, 30,000 *negros*, and 5,000 *indios*.⁶⁶ Fred Bronner stated that “statistically, Lima was the Peru of the whites,”⁶⁷ because, in practice, only the white population enjoyed legal and social privileges. In this context, David Brading’s statement takes on full meaning: “Lima was a Spanish city set down on the coast of the Pacific”.⁶⁸ In fact, all political powers and economic privileges were concentrated in Lima. In addition to being the headquarters of all viceregal and ecclesiastical administrative bodies, the port of El Callao had a monopoly on foreign trade, overshadowing its potential competitors in Chile and Argentina.

The self-empowerment of the Spaniards born in Hispanic America made led to a certain Creole “proto-patriotism,” that is, a discourse against their subordinate role,⁶⁹ which was encapsulated in the rhetorical question of Pedro de Ortega y Sotomayor: “*Ab Indis aliquid boni exeat?*”⁷⁰ In fact, Creoles had to face a Eurocentric discourse that blamed their inferiority on geographical arguments, but also pseudo-medical ones, such

Commented [SD1]: Surely, the total population was therefore double that - i.e. 60,000 - unless one did not count the black population.

⁶⁶ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia de la fundación*, 50. Black and Indian population usually lived confined in *rancherías*. The Archbishopric of Lima was divided into four parishes: *La catedral*, *Santa Ana*, *San Sebastián* and *San Marcelo* AGI, LIMA, 301: “Cartas y expedientes de arzobispos de Lima vistos o resueltos en el Consejo” (April 20, 1619).

⁶⁷ Fred Bronner, “La hispanidad de la temprana Lima barroca: amerindios, morenos y marranos,” in *El hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y.*, vol 2, eds. Javier Flores, and Rafael Varón (Lima: PUCP; IFEA; Fundación Telefónica, 2002), 915.

⁶⁸ Brading, *The First America*, 338.

⁶⁹ See Bernard Lavallé, “Americanidad exaltada/hispanidad exacerbada: contradicción y ambigüedades en el discurso criollo del siglo XVII peruano,” in *Sobre el Perú. Homenaje a José Agustín de la Puente Candamo, vol. II*, eds. Margarita Guerra Martinière, Oswaldo Holguín Calvo, and César Gutiérrez Muñoz (Lima: PUCP, 2002), 734.

⁷⁰ That is, “Can anything good come out from the Indies?,” paraphrasing Nathanael, the apostle who belittled the humble origins of Jesus (John 3:46); Pedro Ortega y Sotomayor, “Censio operis,” in Alonso Briceño, *Partis primae celebriorum Controversiarum in primum Sententiarum Ioannis Scoti Doctoris. Subtilis tomus alter, qui est de scientia Dei, et ideis* (Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1639) [, ex praescripto, 3].

as the influence of women of African or indigenous descent who breastfed Spanish children, transmitting their vices,⁷¹ as well as their humours.⁷²

As a counterattack, the increasingly empowered Creole elite promoted a local patriotism that sought to enhance their status as inhabitants of Lima. The City of Kings was a city of whites that could rival any other European metropolis. Thus, in order to avoid being assimilated into the social status of *indianos*, the Creole class adopted a defensive position.⁷³

Lima's Creoles achieved greater support at the ecclesial level with the appointment of archbishop Hernando Arias de Ugarte, born in Bogotá. In Lima, following the death of Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero on January 12, 1622, there was a *sede vacante* in the archbishopric for almost three years, until Gonzalo del Campo took office on April 19, 1625.⁷⁴ However, his government only lasted two years. His successor, Arias de Ugarte,

⁷¹ See Bianca Premo, "'Misunderstood Love': Children and Wet Nurses, Creoles and Kings in Lima's Enlightenment," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (2005): 243. This widely extended idea in the popular imagination was also present in the first novel written and published in Latin America; see José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, *El periquillo sarniento* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1992 [c. 1817]), 14. Opposing opinions also coexisted, such as that of the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval (1576-1652), missionary in present-day Colombia, and mentor of St. Peter Claver. Sandoval stated that black people will be resurrected maintaining the colour they had in life, elaborating a sophisticated defence of the colour black; see Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum Salute. Tomo primero: Historia de Aethiopia, naturaleza, policia sagrada y profana, costumbres, ritos y cathecismo evangelico de todos los aethiopes, con que se restaura la salud de sus almas: dividida en dos tomos* (Madrid: Por Alonso de Paredes, 1647 [1627]), 23. See also Erin Rowe, "After Death, Her Faced Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World," *American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (2016): 727-54.

⁷² See Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador. Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 50-52.

⁷³ Long afterward, in the context of the Bourbon reforms, the *criollos* would go on the offensive with reformist stances, eventually leading to independentist ones. See Carlos Piccone Camere, *El Bicentenario de la Independencia del Perú: Génesis y desenlace del nacimiento de la república* (Cusco: Universidad Andina del Cusco, 2021), 55-61.

⁷⁴ Manuel Tovar, *Apuntes para la Historia Eclesiástica del Perú hasta el gobierno del VII arzobispado* (Lima: Tipografía de la Sociedad Ayacucho, 1873), 299.

a member of the secular clergy, was in office for 10 years (1628-1638) and was the first Creole bishop to occupy the episcopal seat of Lima.⁷⁵ The succession of archbishops and their respective officials, with the consequent periods of vacant sees, was another factor to consider in further research regarding the delays in the canonisation processes. In fact, from the opening of Solano's case to his canonisation, twelve popes and ten archbishops of Lima can be counted. In any case, it was during Arias' episcopate that the nascent cult of Rosa de Santa María found increasing support in Lima.

Nonetheless, very cleverly, the *postuladores* of Rosa's cause did not present a monopolistically Creole image: they knew that the political-diplomatic support of the Spanish monarchy was necessary. Hence, they emphasised Rosa's fidelity to both the mother country —through her actions against the Dutch pirates—,⁷⁶ and to the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation Church —through her Eucharistic devotion.⁷⁷

2.2. *The Spanish-Creole affair and the dispute for power within a humble Order*

In the seventeenth century, the Franciscan Order in America followed the great lines of organisation that had been drawn in the preceding century corresponding to the *implantatio ordinis* or first evangelisation. Numerous regulations were issued to consolidate the Franciscan provinces in the Indies at the General Chapters of the Order.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Salinas made a list of twelve Creole bishops who studied at the University of Lima [Universidad de San Marcos], including Hernando Arias; see Salinas_M1631 [108].

⁷⁶ El Callao, Lima's port and fort, was sacked by Dutch pirates in 1615 and in 1624; see the archival sources from AGI in Peter Bradley, *Spain and the Defence of Peru, 1579-1700: Royal Reluctance and Colonial Self-Reliance* (Raleigh: Lulu, 2009), 55–67.

⁷⁷ Given the rumours of the taking of Lima by the feared and hated pirates, Rosa de Lima went to the church of *Santo Domingo* ready to give her life rather than allow a desecration of the Eucharist by the Dutch Calvinists. See Hansen, *Vita mirabilis*, 181–3.

⁷⁸ In Roman Church, the General Chapters are assemblies of superiors of a given religious congregation, convened periodically to elect their highest authorities, as well as to discuss relevant issues; see Elizabeth M. Cotter, *The General Chapter in a Religious Institute: With Particular Reference to IBVM Loreto Branch* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 19–62.

Three legal provisions that were made in the Ordinations of the General Chapter of 1606 held in Toledo⁷⁹ are worth highlighting: parity in the elections between Spaniards and Creoles and their alternation; the establishment and development of the *Franciscanos Recoletos*; and, the foundation of Seminars/Apostolic Colleges for missionary training.⁸⁰

As regards the alternation —also *alternancia* or *alternativa*—, it was stipulated that the succession of senior positions in the religious congregations should alternate between *peninsulares* and *criollos*.⁸¹ Generally, religious congregations celebrate provincial chapters every three years, in which the provincial minister and his councilors are elected; these, in turn, among other responsibilities, appoint the guardians, vicars and *ecónomos*.

This kind of creolisation of the clergy created a series of internal tensions in the Church that were also projected in colonial society, and vice versa. The situation within the Franciscan order was no exception. On December 5, 1627, Juan de Azpeitia, Franciscan minister of the Province of the Twelve Apostles of Peru, appointed his Creole co-religionist Alonso Briceño as *postulador* for Solano's cause.⁸² Briceño, the so-called *Scotus parvus* (little Scotus), was a renowned academic, author of two voluminous works

⁷⁹ See the convocation to the chapter by Pope Paul V in Stanislaus Melchiorri de Cerreto, *Annales Minorum seu Trium ordinum a s. Francisco Institutorum*, vol. XXIV: *ab anno MDCL usque ad annum MDCXI* (Ancona: Typis Gustavi Sartori Cherubini, 1860), 163.

⁸⁰ See Luis de Rebolledo, ed., *Libro de la Regla y Constituciones Generales de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Observancia, con las exposiciones de los Pontífices, y Letras Apostólicas, acerca de la recepción de los Novicios: y más la forma, para darles el hábito y la Profesión* (Seville [manuscript]: 1610), ff. 199–200. The foundation of seminars is associated with other factors worthy of further study such as missionary recruitment, the appointment of indigenous clergy or instructors, and the presence of visitors, general commissioners, and general vicars.

⁸¹ See AGI,LIMA,338: 'Expedientes relativos a la alternancia que debía de haber para las prelacias de los religiosos de San Francisco entre españoles y criollos'.

⁸² Likewise, thanks to Briceño it is known that, at the time of his death, Francisco Solano's personal library consisted of a few books of sermons by the Franciscan preacher Felipe Diez (+1601); see Isidoro Manzano, "Alonso Briceño (1587-1668): Franciscano, pensador, obispo," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 85 (1992): 333–66.

on Scotism. Along with Buenaventura Salinas, he had a leading role in the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order in 1639; and was later appointed as a bishop.

Alonso Briceño, in turn, appointed Lope de Navia as his substitute.⁸³ However, a few years later, Azpeitia asked Creole Diego de Córdova to replace them arguing that both were busy with other matters of the Order,⁸⁴ presumably referring to Briceño's appointment as *doctrinero*. The Chilean Briceño was replaced by the Limeño Diego de Córdova, who wrote Solano's *Vida* from a patriotic perspective.⁸⁵ Thus, the advancement of Solano's cause was assumed by Creole friars.

2.3. *Urban VIII, the unwilling Pope*

In 1628, once the second phase of collecting testimonies was concluded, Franciscan Alonso de Cueto—a lay religious brother—⁸⁶ was commissioned by the Cabildo of Lima⁸⁷ with the task of personally delivering the dossier to Rome.⁸⁸ The latter contained 2114 sheets in which the *informationes* initially collected (1610-1612) were recapitulated and in which later ones (1628-1631) were added.⁸⁹

⁸³ Lope de Navia had already had experience as *Procurador* for the cause of Solano at the beginning of the diocesan process (1610-1612), suffering misunderstanding from the same friars of his Province; see ASI, *Relationes diversas*, 2.32. Other sources reveal procedural effectiveness; AAV 959, *Processo dei Riti*, b. 1328, ff. 959v–960rv. His diligence made it possible for Jaime Blanco to be appointed as secretary of the Cabildo substituting Diego de Morales, who was busy with other matters; see *ibid.*, ff. 960v–961r.

⁸⁴ See Plandolit, *El Apóstol de América*, 347.

⁸⁵ See Córdova_V1643, 281–83.

⁸⁶ Cueto was a lay religious brother and he would have acted with the limitations of this status, given that these friars generally were not literate and were often destined to carry on the humblest tasks. Thus, from begging food, cooking or cleaning the friaries and churches, Cueto had to carry out a canonically complex process.

⁸⁷ See Juan Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima, vol. XXII: Años 1631-1633* (Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1964), 49.

⁸⁸ The aforementioned dossier is 'AAV 1328'.

⁸⁹ In 1631, in a letter to the Marquises of Priego, Cueto himself mentioned that “there are four thousand and four hundred and fifty written pages,” which included “nine hundred and fifty something miracles,” and among them “thirteen dead resurrected”; CVU 985

Alonso de Cueto sailed from the port of El Callao on May 31, 1631. According to Córdova, the ship in which he was traveling stalled, due to lack of wind.⁹⁰ The crew members asked Cueto to exhibit the canvas of Solano's portrait to ask for his intercession and immediately got a favourable wind. This action was repeated with the same success on a similar occasion and the grateful crew promised to hold celebrations in honour of "San Francisco Solano" as soon as they set foot on solid ground in Panama.⁹¹

Many other extraordinary events that occurred at sea were attributed to Solano's intercession, which is why not only the *Cabildo* of Panama City declared him its patron saint, but also the entire Southern Sea. That Solano was also named as patron saint of Cartagena and Havana in the same year is explained by the fact that both cities were part of the itinerary that Cueto followed. In Havana, he wrote a letter to the Marquises of Priego, nobles of Montilla, Solano's hometown. After a brief personal introduction, Cueto detailed the extraordinary events attributed to Solano in hyperbolic terms, attributing to Solano the power of having separated the waters of a river like a new Elisha/ Moses; of having crossed the waters of the sea walking on his cloak;⁹² and of flying through the air while preaching.⁹³ This Baroque *tremendismo* (exaggeration) was the literary tool aimed at obtaining the support of the nobles for Solano's cause and, through them, the favour of the pope.⁹⁴

PV/11/17, ff. 183r–184v. Although, as we will see later, this data must be understood within a framework of literary licenses of the baroque epistolary genre.

⁹⁰ Córdova_V1643, 653.

⁹¹ AHSFL 16, ff. 529–587; f. 709 and f. 732.

⁹² AAV, SRC, 1334, "Testimony of Luis Ferrer de Ayala, SJ" (Lima, February 6, 1629), ff. 1087v–88v.

⁹³ CVU 985 PV/11/17: "Letter signed by Fr. Alonso Cueto, Franciscan Commissar of the West Indies, addressed to the marquises of Priego to seek their support in the cause of canonisation of Francisco Solano" (November 23, 1631).

⁹⁴ See Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 171. Although well received by Spanish readers, this type of information contrasted with the objective criteria that Rome wanted to implement in judging the lives of candidates for saints.

A year and a half after Cueto left Lima, there was news of his arrival in Rome. Despite the negative outcome, the diplomatic-political Franciscan network proved effective, since the friar was granted two audiences with Urban VIII himself. In the first, he handed letters of recommendation from civil and religious authorities endorsing Solano's cause. In the second *audientia*, six months later, his request was addressed more directly: the lay brother entreated Pope Barberini to exempt the cause of "the new Apostle of the Indies of Pirú [sic]" from the fifty-years-decree. The Pope argued that the requested exception could only be given to a candidate of the stature of the Ruthenian Catholic Bishop Josaphat [Kuntsevych, c.1580-1623], a martyr for the faith. Cueto's attempts to ensure that Solano had passed as many dangers as any other martyr during his missionary tours were in vain. According to Cueto, Urban VIII's negative response, in perfect Spanish, was clear and succinct: "*No quiero*".⁹⁵

2.4. *The construction of Solano as a soldier of the spiritual conquest*

Cueto's scant theological preparation, coupled with his tendency to exaggerate the facts, may have undermined the petition presented to Pope Barberini. However, could a *placet* pronounced by Urban VIII had been enough for Solano to be the New World's first saint? The pope was the only one who, *motu proprio*, could have granted exceptions to the rules that he himself had instituted. His will could have set in motion the machinery of the great Roman factory of saints. So, why didn't the pope *want* it? Was it a whim of Barberini's personality or was it a diplomatic calculation from which he wanted to maximise political profit? Did he want to demonstrate Roman spiritual dominance to the kings of Spain as a counterweight to the decline in the political and military power of the Papal States?

⁹⁵ *Archivo del Convento de San Francisco de Lima* [AFL], Registro 16, ff. 739–744. See also also AFL 16, 806–807. On this topic, a relevant case was that of Roque González (Asunción, 1576), a Creole Jesuit martyred in 1628.

In any case, Cueto's health soon deteriorated and he was replaced by Buenaventura Salinas, who had held the position based in Rome since 1639, as was ratified by Urban VIII himself in March 1642.⁹⁶ Urban VIII praised the virtues of Buenaventura, but it was a mere formality —simultaneously, the Roman Curia denied the exception to the fifty-year rule, alleging the need to act "*cum magna maturitate*" in this kind of causes.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, in Lima, thanks to the joint work of Lope de Navia and Diego de Córdova, the efforts to advance Solano's cause did not cease. While the former was able to obtain new testimonies (from Ica, Pisco, Cusco and Castrovirreyna), the latter devoted his writing skills to Solano's cause, his Province, and to the Church in Lima. Due to Córdova's prolific work, he was appointed in 1641 as the first General Chronicler of his Order in Peru. Four years later, Juan Merinero, Franciscan General Minister, rewarded him with the right to enjoy the prerogatives reserved to prelates.⁹⁸

Crónica franciscana, Córdova's masterpiece, was published in Lima in 1651. It was a recounting of the historical milestones of the Franciscan Order since its arrival in Peru.⁹⁹ In the third book of his chronicle, Córdova dedicated ten chapters to revealing the life and "the miracles God worked through his servant the holy Father Solano".¹⁰⁰ Taken as a whole, *Cronica* is a portrait of the city of Lima which, according to Cordova, was being sanctified by the presence of holy men and women, among whom Solano stood out.

⁹⁶ Urban VIII, 'Exponi nobis nuper...' (March 15, 1642), in Córdova_V1643, 678–82.

⁹⁷ Urban VIII, *Decreta Servanda*, 21.

⁹⁸ See Guillermo Lohmann, "Fray Diego de Córdoba," *Revista de Indias* 48 (1952): 343–45.

⁹⁹ In open opposition to the Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha who stated that his Order was the first to assist the indigenous peoples of Peru, Cordova gave credit to the Dominicans, closely followed by the Franciscans. This chronological order was relevant, since in the mid-seventeenth century the primacy conferred a series of prerogatives.

¹⁰⁰ Córdova_C1651, 557. On the life of Solano, see Córdova_C1651, 539–617.

Table 2. The three editions of Diego de Cordova's *Vida* of Solano

	<i>Vida</i> 's first edition: 1630 [Córdova_V1630]	<i>Vida</i> 's second edition: 1643 [Córdova_V1643]	<i>Vida</i> 's third edition: 1676 [Córdova_V1676]
Title	Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros del nuevo Apóstol del Pirú el venerable P. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Cabeça, y Metrópoli de los Reynos del Pirú. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos jurados ante los Ilustrissimos señores Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla. Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Málaga, y de otras once informaciones que se an hecho en diferentes villas, y ciudades.	Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Peru el Venerable Pe. Fray Francisco Solano de la Serafica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça y Metropoli de los estendidos Reynos y Provincias del Peru. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrisimos Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se an actuado en diferentes villas y ciudades.	Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Peru el B. P. Fr. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrissimos Arçobispos, y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se han actuado en diferentes Villas y Ciudades.
Printer	---	Fr. Alonso de Mendieta, OFM, <i>Comisario Provincial</i> of the Franciscan Province of The Twelve Apostles and <i>Procurador general</i> of Solano's cause.	Fr. Pedro de Mena, OFM, Royal preacher and <i>guardián</i> of the friary <i>San Francisco</i> in Madrid, Franciscan Province of Castille.
Dedication	To King Philip IV.	To King Philip IV.	To Don Pedro Portocarrero.
City	Lima (Geronimo de Contreras).	Madrid (Imprenta Real).	Madrid (Imprenta Real).

An idea that Córdoba developed transversally in his works is the so-called “spiritual conquest”¹⁰¹. Under this optic, the Franciscan Chronicler presented Solano as a soldier of God who left his hometown to conquer the Indies for Christ. A soldier that, instead of

¹⁰¹ The term appeared in Antonio Tello, *Libro segundo de la crónica miscelanea en que se trata de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el Nuevo Reino de la Galicia y Nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo México* (Guadalajara: Impr. de “La República literaria,” de C. L. de Guevara y Ca., 1891 [c. 1650]). See also Ricard, *La “conquête spirituelle,”* 9.

sword and shield, “always bore his usual weapons of prayer, fasting and flagellation with which he overcame all struggles,”¹⁰² and one that “refuted the fierce blows of the Devil, of the World and of the flesh.”¹⁰³ However, the spiritual soldier’s portrayal greatly differed from the colonisers’ depiction: while the latter coveted gold and silver from the Indies, Solano enriched Indians with the treasures of the Gospel; while they oppressed the indigenous peoples, Solano liberated their souls, “taking them out of the slavery of Satan”.¹⁰⁴ The validity of depicting Solano as a spiritual soldier would be endorsed in his beatification bull, which portrayed the kind of hero that colonial America needed.

According to Lino Gómez, despite the fact that Córdova did not aim to write either a perfect nor exhaustive *Vida* of Solano, his biographical work “remains unsurpassed to this day”.¹⁰⁵ Almost seven decades later, such an affirmation is still valid: it has been the most consulted source for Solano’s subsequent biographies. Nonetheless, the three editions of his *Vida, virtudes y milagros*, are somewhat different.

2.5. *Cordova’s Vida: between success, controversy and censorship*

Although minimal, the modifications to the titles of *Vida*’s editions are suggestive: first, only in the earliest and today rare edition is Solano called the “new apostle” of Peru; second, all indicate that it was the result of the declarations of five hundred witnesses from Seville, Granada, Lima, Córdova, and Málaga; third, Lima is mentioned in the middle of a list of important cities of Peninsular Spain, as equalling them in importance, which could reinforce the argument for Córdova’s creole historiographical approach; fourth, the first two editions are dedicated to king of Spain, unlike the third since Philip IV (+1665) had left his son Charles II as his successor, a sickly teenager whose death

¹⁰² Córdova_V1643, 41.

¹⁰³ Córdova_V1643, 84.

¹⁰⁴ Córdova_1643, 45.

¹⁰⁵ Córdova_C1651, XXVII.

without offspring marked the end of the Habsburg dynasty in Spain. Pedro Portocarrero—to whom Fr. Mena dedicated the third edition— was a descendant of the House of Fernández de Córdoba from Montilla and, due to his roots, sponsored Solano's cause; finally, a year before the publication of the third edition, Solano had finally been beatified so he could be titled “B. P.,” abbreviation of blest/blessed.¹⁰⁶

Córdova's *Vida* was successful from the promotional point of view, but it had two major drawbacks that became obstacles to Solano's cause. On the one hand, Solano's patronage of Lima was conferred long before his official beatification, contravening the aforementioned canonical rules. On the other hand, the second edition triggered a new power struggle within the Franciscan order. The primary person responsible for this controversial affair was Alonso de Mendieta, a prominent member of the Peruvian Province of the Twelve Apostles who claimed to have been the beneficiary of two miraculous healings by Solano's intercession. While editing the 1643 publication of Cordova's *Vida*, he inserted some texts of his own authorship, including a controversial statement about the Provincial Chapter of 1637. He supported the position of the Creole Franciscan faction that opposed the election of the peninsular Pedro Ordóñez Flores to the position of Provincial minister, in line with the position of Buenaventura Salinas and others.¹⁰⁷

Although Mendieta appealed to provisions of the Holy See that prohibited the election as superiors of friars not incardinated in the Province, there were also influential Franciscans—such as Pedro Alva y Astorga—who reported to the Franciscan authorities that Solano's *Vida* was being used to dispute issues unrelated to his process of canonisation. Juan Merinero, a pro-peninsular Franciscan General who resided in Spain,

¹⁰⁶ B. P. or *bienaventurado/beato padre*. This is a clarification that appeared in the section ‘*Protestación del Autor*’ of the second edition; see Córdova_V1643 [1–2].

¹⁰⁷ See Córdova_V1643, 300.

ordered that the *Vida* be no longer circulated; a sanction that was in force until its censorship was lifted by the subsequent General, Juan de Nápoles (1645-1648), at the request of José Maldonado, a Creole from Quito. Perhaps as important as the papal objections to Solano's cause, this new struggle between *criollos* and *peninsulares*, meant that Solano's cause became politicised which delayed its progress.



Figure 4. Frontispiece of *Córdova_V1643*. This second edition included additions by A. Mendieta.

2.6. *Salinas' Memoriales: the political instrumentalisation of Solano*

An even more explicit political instrumentalisation of Solano's cause is evidenced in the *Memoriales* written by Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova (1592-1653). That the political question was extremely important for Buenaventura can be partially explained because, before joining the religious life, he had followed in his father's footsteps by working in the viceregal secretariat where he had come into contact with the political ideas of the time, including those which tended to uphold the Inca past.¹⁰⁸

The first and extensive edition of the *Memorial* was published in Lima in 1631 (onwards M1631), in the same city and press where Diego de Córdova's *Vida* had been launched the previous year. In fact, the Córdova family belonged to the Creole elite of *beneméritos*, descendants of *conquistadores* and the earliest settlers who felt slighted by Spanish peninsulars. They spared no effort to claim their rights for a more egalitarian position in colonial administration¹⁰⁹ and fairer distribution of *encomiendas* —a system by which the Crown rewarded conquerors with the labour of Indians in exchange for protection and evangelisation.¹¹⁰ Thus, it was not a coincidence, but a pro-Creole editorial strategy by the Córdova-Salinas brothers, which was supported by their Franciscan order also desirous to advance Solano's cause—, and which had the blessing of the archbishop of Lima, the Creole Hernando de Arias y Ugarte, and was probably financed by their sister Mencía.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ This approach was transmitted mainly by Guamán Poma de Ayala and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega; see Lavallé, *Las promesas ambiguas*, 187–196.

¹⁰⁹ See Mark Burkholder, *Spaniards in the Colonial Empire: Creoles vs. Peninsulars?* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2013), 79; Ida Altman and Thiago Krausein, “Europeans, Indians, and Africans in the making of colonial societies,” in *The Iberian World: 1450–1820*, eds. Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros (New York: Routledge, 2020), 429.

¹¹⁰ See Fred Bronner, “Peruvian Encomenderos in 1630: Elite Circulation and Consolidation,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 4 (1977): 641–42.

¹¹¹ Mencía de Silva y Córdova was an influential woman in Colonial Lima, widow of Jorge Manrique de Lara, Panama's *oidor* (judge) and mother of a prosecutor at the Mexican *Audiencia*. As indicated before, Mencía de Silva testified in the diocesan process

In M1631, Buenaventura made a summary of the history of the discovery of the New World, praising the success of the conquerors of the Incas and of the spiritual conquest of heresies in *Piru*.¹¹² Buenaventura claimed that the name of Peru derived from *Pyrus* (fire in Latin), not so much because of its hot weather, nor for the brilliance of its minerals and emeralds, “but because of its admirable, advanced and enlightened talents,”¹¹³ referring to its inhabitants—that is, a Creole Peruvian’s apology.

Nonetheless, as David Brading has argued, “no matter how Salinas burnished his prose to magnify Peru, inevitably he had to admit that it was built upon the toil and suffering of the Indians, its economy animated by greed”.¹¹⁴ In effect, Buenaventura presented Peru not only as a land rich in natural resources, but as the promised earthly paradise. He made use of the Eucharistic metaphor of the pelican that, to prevent its chicks from dying of starvation, let them open its veins and tear its bowels, feeding them with its own body.¹¹⁵ Beyond this vivid literary device, the suffering of the Indians gave rise to a denunciation of the system of exploitation, especially in the mines: being an Indian miner was such violent and oppressive work that, according to Buenaventura, mothers prefer to mutilate their babies, amputating their hands, feet or eyes “so that they beg for alms and thereby could be free from servitude”.¹¹⁶

of Solano claiming to have been the beneficiary of Solano’s miraculous intercession; see AAV, SRC, 1338, “Testimony of Mencía de Silva” (Lima: November 12, 1610), ff. 174v. In gratitude for having received a miracle, Mencía de Silva y Córdova financed the construction and decoration of the chapel of Solano (named St. Bonaventure until Solano’s beatification) at the Franciscan basilica in Lima. See Navarum, *Triumphus Charitatis*, 220. For the transcription of the letter in which Mencía addressed the Pope to request authorisation to transfer Solano’s body to the new chapel, see Caprarola, *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio*, 227–30.

¹¹² For a hermeneutical meaning of ‘Peru’, see Mark Thurner, “The Founding Abyss of Colonial History or ‘The Origin and Principle of the Name of Peru’,” *History and Theory* 48: 44–62.

¹¹³ Salinas 1630, 96.

¹¹⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 318.

¹¹⁵ Salinas_M1631, 250.

¹¹⁶ Salinas_M1631, 258.

When denouncing the corrupted system that was spreading in Peru, Buenaventura blamed the King, exhorting him to watch over the Indians with his eyes wide open: “To reign is to watch over. He who sleeps does not reign... and the King who closes his eyes gives the guard of his sheep to the wolves”.¹¹⁷ The solution proposed in the M1631 is that the King should place more trust in the Creoles who would treat the Indians with more benevolence than the peninsular “wolves”. It is very likely that Buenaventura’s outspoken tone caused discomfort for the monarchy and, therefore, instead of moving the King to intercede for Solano’s cause, the *Memorial* became a new obstacle for Solano’s cause. It is difficult to calculate how widely Salinas’ *memoriales* were read. However, his ideology made a strong impression on later authors including Baltasar de Medina and Agustín de Betancourt, Franciscan friars from Mexico.¹¹⁸

The clearest proof of the political instrumentalisation of Solano’s cause in M1631 is that his name was only mentioned twice: Firstly, in the title of the publication. Hence, although the title of the *Memorial* enunciated an ecclesiastical topic, it ended up developing a political discourse. Secondly, in a prologue-letter addressed to his brother Diego he pictured Solano as a biblical patriarch:

An Enoch snatched away to Paradise, a Sun that first ran throughout this hemisphere of Peru, pouring out glowing embers from the fire of God’s love, until it stopped in this city [Lima], whom it tenderly loved and favoured; he preached in our presence, he worked so many miracles and, as pledges of his love, like another Elijah when he ascended to heaven he left us the glorious cloak of his body.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Salinas_M1631, 275.

¹¹⁸ See Estela Maeso, “Un cronista criollo: fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba,” in *Orbis incognitus: Avisos y Legajos del Nuevo Mundo. XII Congreso Internacional de la AEA, vol. II*, ed. Fernando Navarro Antolín (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2021), 122.

¹¹⁹ “Epístola del Padre Fr. Buenaventura de Salinas, Lector de Teología y Calificador del Santo Oficio, a su hermano el P. Fr. Diego de Córdoba, autor del libro de la vida del Apostólico P. Fr. Francisco Solano,” in Salinas_M1631 [13].

Through the *Memorial* published in 1639 (onwards M1639) Buenaventura Salinas addressed the King of Spain again, but in a more concise and direct way.¹²⁰ In fact, he presented the seven most important reasons why Solano's cause should be supported by him; namely: i) Solano was the patron saint of the main cities of Peru and other kingdoms; ii) he was an admirable miracle worker saint; iii) he was a saint of the New World; iv) it was a request from the Indians; v) it was a request from the Spaniards born in Peru, the descendants of conquistadors; vi) it was a request from the Franciscan Order; and, viii) the king was the monarch of both worlds. It was also not a coincidence that the requests were seven, a number that in biblical symbology indicates completeness and perfection. It was a convincing, forceful and, from the logical point of view, impeccable argument. However, underlying each of the reasons was a harsh criticism of the colonial system in Peru, tolerated by the Spanish monarchy, which could have made the M1639's main request, that of gaining royal support for Solano's cause, to be overlooked.

3. The final stretch on the road to Solano's canonised sainthood

Well into the second half of the seventeenth century, Rome seemed to have survived some of its greatest challenges: the Turkish threat had subsided and the Papal States felt safer from foreign aggression. This led to a certain economic boom that, in turn, allowed an increase in the flow of Christians who made pilgrimages to The Eternal City that was resplendent with the artistic works of the masters of the Renaissance and Baroque. As John O'Malley indicates succinctly, "the church at large had recovered confidence after the trauma of the Reformation".¹²¹

¹²⁰ In a M1639's detailed study in which the political thought of Salinas is emphasised, Carlos Gálvez-Peña used the copy located in the New York Public Library; see Gálvez-Peña, "El carro de Ezequiel," 47. Instead, in this thesis it has been used the M1639's copy of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado (Seville).

¹²¹ John W. O'Malley, *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present* (Lanham: Sheed and Ward, 2010), 250.

The post-Tridentine era was coming to an end marked by two events: First, was the death of Urban VIII, who led an authoritarian government in Rome. Second, after the Treaty of Westphalia, the Roman Church, after centuries of prominence, was eclipsed by the emerging powers in Western socio-political life.¹²² By the same time, as will be seen below Solano's cause was revived, overcoming the obstacles that it had previously faced.

3.1. *Beyond Francisco Solano's patronage of Lima*

Solano's cause was, for practical purposes, a kind of 'guinea pig' for the canonisation processes in the New World: fortuitously, it was used a subject for experiment. In fact, during the beginning of his cause, experts in both civil and canon law had "different opinions and estimations: whether the archbishop could qualify or approve the miracles"¹²³; subsequently, whether Lobo Guerro had to required special permission from the Pope.¹²⁴ The archbishop and his legal advisors were attentive to the decrees of the Third Council of Lima (1583-1591), but none of them addressed the issue of canonisation in particular.¹²⁵ Lack of knowledge of the laws that regulated canonisation processes was also a negative factor in the following decades. As stated before, not a small part of the success of the pioneering beatification of Rosa might be explained by the fact that the Dominican *postuladores* had a better theological and canonical understanding of the canonisation processes, but also because they were able to copy the positive procedures undertaken by the Franciscan *postuladores*, thereby, avoiding their reported errors.

¹²² See Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, 101.

¹²³ ASI. *Relationes* diversas, 2/32. "Información sobre Fr. Francisco Solano, diligenciada por Fr. Lope de Navia," ff. 24–28.

¹²⁴ On this topic, see a legal debate in Francisco Carrasco del Saz, *Opera omnibus iurium scientiae studiosis vtilissima: pristino nitori restituta ab auctoris filio Doctore Don Joseph Carrasco del Saz, in vnum collecta et ex eis primum accessionibus ab auctore, haud contemnendis, auctum vltimumque nunc in lucem editum* (Madrid: Per Iulianum de Paredes, 1648), 80.

¹²⁵ The only mention related to canonised sanctity was on the subject of the relics of the saints; see *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 308.

One of the biggest mistakes of the Franciscan *postuladores*, for example, was to pursue the strategy of naming Solano, still an unbeatified candidate, as the patron saint of several cities.¹²⁶ This strategy was in direct opposition to Rome's official-sainthood-monopoly, where patronages of putative saints were considered illicit. Certainly, the nature of intercontinental communication at the time meant it could take months for a legal provision to be received and its implementation could last years. However, the fact that from 1629 to 1647 Francisco Solano was declared "patron saint" of eighteen cities, towns, and even of the Southern Sea (Southern Pacific Ocean), indicates that the papal will was known, but at the same time systematically ignored. In fact, during this period, beginning in 1629 with Lima, capital of the Peruvian viceroyalty, and culminating with Montilla, Solano's hometown in 1647, his invocation as local protector saint increased, without ever being officially proclaimed blessed.

Despite Pope Barberini's decrees between 1628-1634 stipulating that a public cult could only be permitted for the blessed and saints who had already been beatified and canonised—and despite threats of severe spiritual sanctions against religious or lay devotees—the devotion of Solano unstopably spread. However, if public devotion had been forbidden without the express authorisation of Rome, then new extra-ecclesial forms of devotion had to be sought. As seen in Chapter 1, one of these forms was ingeniously found by sailors who baptised their ships with the names of St. Francisco Solano.¹²⁷ On

¹²⁶ When a city was officially commended under the patronage of a saint, it ceased to be only *urbs* (urban architectural entity) to become *civitas* (community). See Richard Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 75. See also Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 138.

¹²⁷ In addition to the sources cited in the Thesis Introduction, the following archival references contain information on the ships that bore the name of Francisco Solano: AGI, CONTRATACIÓN, 1189, N.1; 1191, N.11; 1193, N.22; 1195, N.14; 1197, N.4; 1198, N.1, R.1; 1200, N.1, R.9; 1201, N.5; 1202, N.2, R.12; 1474; 2849; 5781, N.1, R.15; 5781, N.61; 5781, N.86; AGI, ESCRIBANIA, 119C; CONTADURÍA, 1616.

the other hand, in 1648, Josephe de Mugaburu, eminent chronicler of Lima, reported a burial that had taken place in the church of *San Francisco*, “in the chapel of *Santo Solano*,”¹²⁸ implying that Limeños were familiar with the chapel dedicated to him, agreed with its invocation as a saint, and aimed to be buried next to his holy mortal remains.

The strongest indicators of popular devotion to Solano were his titles as patron saint. Beginning with Lima in 1629 (June 26, 1629), he was declared patron saint of various cities in Peru and abroad; namely: La Plata de los Charcas (February 25, 1631), Panama City (July 14, 1631), the Southern Sea (August 18, 1631), Villa de Salinas, Misqui valley (September 20, 1631), Cartagena de Indias (October 11, 1631), Villa de Valverde de Ica (October 25, 1631), Villa de San Felipe de Austria de Oruro (November 13, 1631), Castrovirreyna (December 30, 1631), La Habana (February 6, 1632), Huamanga (February 16, 1632), Villa de Oropesa del Valle de Cochabamba (March 1, 1632), Villa Imperial de Potosí (March 23, 1632), Villa de Carrión de Velasco (Guaura, June 11, 1632), Villa de Arnedo, Chancay Valley (June 13, 1632), Cusco (October 22, 1632, Chile (January 3, 1635)¹²⁹ and Montilla (March 14, 1647).¹³⁰

When the *Cabildo Secular de la Ciudad de los Reyes* declared Solano to be patron saint of the capital city in 1629, its members committed to defray the expenses for his beatification to the order of 200 *ducados* per year, for ten years;¹³¹ the same support that would be allocated for the cause of Rosa de Lima, three years later.¹³² Indeed, the *Cabildo*

¹²⁸ See Mugaburu & Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima*, 16.

¹²⁹ The case of Santiago de Chile is particularly interesting: on September 7, 1633 the Cabildo of Santiago proposed Solano as patron saint, organising festive celebrations, and stating that they needed him to achieve peace “in the war against the rebellious Indians,” José Toribio Medina, ed., *Colección de historiadores de Chile y de documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, vol. XXX (Santiago de Chile: Elzeviriana, 1905), 445–46.

¹³⁰ See Córdova_V1643, 649–54; see also Navarro, *Triumphus charitatis*, 216–19.

¹³¹ See Juan Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, vol. XXIII: *Años 1634-1639* (Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1964), 335.

¹³² See Hampe, *Santidad e identidad criolla*, 58.

played a key role in the promotion of saintly candidates. On May 20, 1636, it granted power to Fr. Buenaventura de Salinas “so that before His Holiness, in a conclave of cardinals, and to whom it may concern by law, request the beatification and canonisation of father fray Francisco Solano”.¹³³ In his research at AGI, Emilio Lissón found documents that suggest constancy in the support of the *Cabildo* for Solano’s cause.¹³⁴

The letter that the *Cabildo* of Lima sent to Philip V on September 1732, recounted in a retrospective way Solano’s patronage of Lima.¹³⁵ The letter provides key elements that help to clarify, from its inception to its execution, how Solano’s cause was developed. Some aspects stood out: first of all, since the very beginning, Solano was already venerated as “the Apostle of Peru;” the *Cabildo* of Lima took the initiative in promoting the appointment of Solano as patron of the capital of Peru in 1629; Urban VIII, through remissorial and compulsory letters (*‘cartas remisoriales y compulsoriales’*), authorised an exhaustive investigation into Solano’s life in 1629; the Viceroy of Peru authorised, with the consent of the *Audiencia*, the funding of Solano’s process of beatification; the *Cabildo* of Lima proclaimed Francisco Solano as its *potential* Patron Saint since his appointment was subject to Solano’s official recognition. In accordance with this letter, Solano was rightfully confirmed as the Patron Saint of Lima in 1733 by José de Armendáriz y Perurena, Marquis of Castelfuerte and Viceroy of Peru, fulfilling the promise the *Cabildo* made more than a hundred years before.

¹³³ Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, 61.

¹³⁴ AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 310: “Letter by the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of the City of Los Reyes to King Philip III” (March 1, 1612), in Lissón, ed., *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, n. 1162, 637–39. Other important archival references referenced by Emilio Lissón included: “Petición a S. S. de la beatificación del V. Francisco Solano” (1674, n. 2210, 162); “Expediente sobre envío de caudales para la beatificación de Fr. Francisco Solano” (1680, n. 2385, 172); and “Sobre la fiesta de canonización de San Francisco Solano y disputa promovida por el Virrey” (1733, n. 2870, 209).

¹³⁵ AGI, *Patronato*, 249, R. 22, 59/73–73/73: “Memory of the promise of election of St. Francisco Solano as the Patron Saint of Lima on June 26, 1629 when he would be canonised” (September 7, 1732).

On the other hand, another source that reveals that for the Hispanic monarchy one of the main priorities in ecclesiastical matters at that time was the continuation of Solano's process of canonisation is the response letter that Philip IV sent to the Count of Chinchón, Viceroy of Peru, on March 1633, which was transcribed in the minutes of *Cabildo* of Lima. For the Spanish King, it made special sense to support a cause like Solano's, because —as Alejandro Cañeque has *lato sensu* stated— supporting canonisation attempts of subjects of the Crown increases the monarchy's reputation and its “spiritual capital”.¹³⁶ As a concrete sign of his support, Philip IV ordered three thousand ducats to be disbursed for the cause and indicate his willingness to contribute “in everything that is necessary until it is achieved and concluded with such a holy and devout work”.¹³⁷ Documents show that financial support for Solano's cause remained constant.¹³⁸

Along with popular religiosity and the support of the monarchy, the attempts by other congregations are worth mentioning. One of the most notable was that by the bishop Gaspar de Villarroel who tried also to convince Innocent X (1644-1655) to use his papal prerogative to exempt Solano from the decrees of his predecessor by deploying legal arguments, but also by appealing to Innocent X's human sensitivity: “the laws would be inhuman if they did not admit some dispensations”.¹³⁹ Gaspar de Villarroel was a Creole Augustinian, born in Quito and educated in Lima, who served as bishop of Santiago de Chile, Arequipa and Charcas. In the neat lines of his letter, he tried to move the pope's

¹³⁶ Cañeque, *Un imperio de mártires*, 354–55.

¹³⁷ Juan Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, vol. XXIII: *Años 1634-1639* (Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1964), 101.

¹³⁸ See AGI, Panamá 238: “Libranza para la canonización de San Francisco Solano” (Aranjuez, April 25, 1651), b. 16, ff. 171v–73v; AGI, Panamá 238: “Libranza a la parte de la canonización de San Francisco Solano” (San Lorenzo, November 1, 1653), b. 16, ff. 248v–50v; Panamá, 238, b. 17, ff. 266v b. 16, ff. 171v–73v 268r: “Libranza a la parte de la canonización de San Francisco Solano” (Consejo de Indias, July 21, 1656).

¹³⁹ Gaspar de Villarroel, “Carta al Sumo Pontífice pidiendo la canonización de San Francisco Solano,” in *Gobierno Eclesiástico-Pacífico*, ed. Gonzalo Zaldumbide (Quito: Imprenta del Ministerio de Gobierno, 1943[1656]), 12.

will by reminding him the need to support the “new Christianity” by canonising a saint of their own, “for a land of so many treasures we lack the true treasures”.¹⁴⁰

There is no record that Villarroel received a response from Innocent X. His unsuccessful attempts could find an answer in Carlos Gálvez-Peña’s explanation, according to which the initial delay suffered by Solano’s trial should be framed in the tension between the metropolis and the periphery within the Spanish empire: “the learned city of Lima that longed to be the Rome of the New World”¹⁴¹ would belatedly learn that for the Holy See sainthood was much more than a negotiable item.

3.2. *Beyond Solano’s bull of beatification (1675)*

Solano’s cause was resumed with new vigour once the censorship of the second edition of Diego de Córdova’s *Vida* was removed. In 1646, King Philip IV agreed to the request of Alonso de Mendieta, *Procurador general* of the cause of canonisation of Solano, to intercede before Pope Innocent X, through the Papal Nuncio in Spain, so that the process of canonisation could receive a priority treatment and a favourable outcome.¹⁴² The diplomatic action of the Spanish monarchy also extended to other national Franciscan causes, such as that of Pedro de Alcántara (canonised in 1669).¹⁴³

This time, the efforts would be more successful with the successors of Pope Barberini, mainly because Rome, overwhelmed by ecclesiastical and warlike circumstances, was urged to condescend to Spain: Louis XIV’s principles of Gallicanism, advocating greater autonomy from the Pope in national ecclesiastical affairs was

¹⁴⁰ Villarroel, *Gobierno Eclesiástico*, 25.

¹⁴¹ Carlos Gálvez-Peña, “Forjar santos en el Perú del siglo XVII. Representación política, agencia criolla y cultura letrada virreinal,” in *A la luz de Roma*, eds. Quiles et al., 85.

¹⁴² AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3015 (October 8, 1646).

¹⁴³ According to Lázaro Iriarte, the communion of the Minors was frustrated by “the national spirit,” referring to the rivalry between Spanish, French and Italian Franciscan friars; see Lázaro Iriarte, *Historia franciscana* (Valencia: Editorial Asís, 1979), 206.

aggravated by the spread of the Jansenist heresy in France;¹⁴⁴ and, on the other hand, the Ottoman military posed a real threat to Christian dominions.¹⁴⁵ For Madrid, what was happening in Rome was also important, and Spanish officials closely monitored the papal situation.¹⁴⁶

This kind of renewed alliance between the Spanish monarchy and the papacy began to bear fruit. Saint Rosa de Lima was acclaimed by the Spanish *Consejo de Estado* as Patroness of the City of Kings and of the Kingdom of Peru in 1668¹⁴⁷—fifty-one years after Rosa’s death—, the same year of her beatification and three years before her canonisation.¹⁴⁸ The barrier of fifty years before a petition could be made was left behind and the ground was already paved for a prompt triumph of Rosa’s cause.

¹⁴⁴ AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3042: “Letter by Antonio Pedro Dávila, Marquis of Astorga, to Mariana of Austria regarding the letter of the Nuncio of Paris to the *Cardinale Nipote* on the propagation of the ‘Jansenist sect’ in France” (July 13, 1668). Presumably, the *Cardinale Nipote* was requesting the help of Spain to prevent Jansenism’s diffusion. The letter was an alert so that the Jansenists could not cross the French borders, minimising the risk of spread of this heretical doctrine through Spain.

¹⁴⁵ See AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3042: “Brief by Pope Clement IX to Charles II, King of Spain, and to the Government of the Republic of Venice” (September 4, 1668). The Pope expressed his gratitude to Charles II for his military aid to the Venetians. In this context of papal acknowledgement Spain should be placed the request of the King of Spain to declare Rosa as Patroness Saint of Lima and Peru.

¹⁴⁶ See AGS, *Secretaría de Estado*, 3044: “Letter by Antonio Pedro Dávila, Marquis of Astorga, informing Mariana of Austria about the *papabili* cardinals” (December 7, 1669). Due to Clement IX’s serious health condition, Dávila provided the Queen Regent of Spain with a table of the leading cardinal candidates, with their personal information. On April 29, 1670, Bonaventura Altieri was chosen as the new Pope, becoming Clement X.

¹⁴⁷ AGS, Secretaría de Estado, 3042: “Letter by the Council of State ordering to implore Pope Clement IX that Blessed Rosa de Santa Maria be declared as Patroness of the City of Kings and of the Kingdom of Peru with her own prayer” (1668).

¹⁴⁸ See AGS, *Secretaría de Estado*, 3044: “Letter by the Council of the Indies informing Mariana of Austria about a request of Martín Pereyra OP, Dominican *Procurador general* of the Province of San Juan Bautista in Peru” (July 28, 1670). Fr. Pereyra requested the Queen Regent of Spain to intercede before the Pope to lead to completion the process of canonisation of Rosa de Lima, “the first flower from that pagan world that God Our Lord planted in his Church”. On August 1, 1670, the Queen replied favourably.

The same promptness would have been obtained for Solano, but an *impasse* within the Franciscan Order —divided once again by power struggles between Observants and Reformed friars— could have been a hindering factor for Rome. Fr. Buenaventura Cavallo, General Commissar of the Order, appealed to the Pope to be granted a brief to remain in power, contravening a General Chapter’s decree that had established the alternation between Observants and Reformed friars to occupying that position. Upon learning this, Mariana of Austria the Queen Regent of Spain asked his ambassador in Rome to prevent that papal favour or to revoke it. Marquis Astorga tried to persuade Fr. Cavallo, but was unsuccessful. In retaliation, the Marquis informed the Spanish Viceroy of Italy and the Governor of Milan not to recognise the authority of Fr. Cavallo, who had shown himself “not to be a good vassal of the Queen”.¹⁴⁹ The letter therefore reveals a critical episode within the Order of Friars Minor which could have caused a certain conflict between the Queen and the Franciscan Order. Consequently, it could also have affected Solano’s process of beatification, motivating the Queen to prioritise her support for Rosa de Lima’s cause.

Solano’s non-cult process or “*inquisitiones super non culto*” —which aimed to certify that the candidate had not received any unauthorised public veneration—¹⁵⁰ was reviewed in the Congregation of Rites between May and June 1665.¹⁵¹ Petrus Franciscus de Rubeis, Promoter of the Faith in the cause of Solano, objected that most of the *miracolati* (the recipients of miracles) were Franciscans. According to Rubeis, because the witnesses belonged to the same order as Solano, their testimonies lost objectivity; a

¹⁴⁹ See AGS, *Secretaría de Estado*, 3042. “Letter by the Marquis of Astorga to Mariana of Austria, Queen Regent of Spain, regarding an issue concerning the Franciscan *Procurador general* (August 22, 1668).

¹⁵⁰ On the canonical difference between public and private cult, see Anacleto Reiffenstuel, *Jus canonicum universum: complectens tractatum de regulis juris* (Paris: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1868 [1700]), 187.

¹⁵¹ See ACCS, *Positiones decretorum* (1651-1688); and CCS_Positio.

fact that was manifested through a redundant adulation during the depositions; hence, “in the causes of beatification or canonisation they are not completely trustworthy”.¹⁵² In fact, the miracles that allowed Solano’s beatification were witnessed by two laymen: first, Diego Saavedra affirmed that his sore leg healed immediately after applying oil taken from the chapel where Solano was buried. Second, Juan Biasara, a mulatto slave evicted by doctors due to internal bleeding, avowed that he had fully recovered his health when his mistress placed a relic of Solano on him.¹⁵³

Contemporaneously, Juan de San Diego Villalón was appointed as the new *procurador* for the cause. Villalón obtained the means to finance the publication of *Triumphus Charitatis* by Tiburcio Navarro (1671), in Latin,¹⁵⁴ and *Vita del gran Servo di Dio*, by Antonio Caprarola (1672), in Italian.¹⁵⁵ Both *Vidas* speed up the spread of Solano’s *fama sanctitatis* among the Roman prelates, until the publication of the *Positio super virtutibus* (1674), a document that generally precedes the bull of beatification.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol III* (Rome: excudebant Nicolaus, et Marcus Palearini, Academiae Liturgicae Conimbricensis typographi, 1748), 66.

¹⁵³ See Juan de San Diego Villalón, *Compendio della Vita del Beato Francesco Solano, Minore Osservante dell’Ordine di San Francesco, composto da un divoto suo* (Rome: Per Angelo Bernabò, 1675), 138–43. See also Córdova_1643, 506. It might also be noted that this criterion would also be used to admit Solano’s canonisation: Joanna de Blancas claimed to have been healed of breast cancer when an image of Solano was placed on her tumor; see Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol IV* (Rome: In Typographia Bassanensi, 1766), 114.

¹⁵⁴ Navarrum, *Triumphus Charitatis*.

¹⁵⁵ Caprarola, *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio*.

¹⁵⁶ The CCS_Positio summarised the heroic virtues of Solano in order to secure the evaluation committee’s favour. The document was divided into six parts: i) “*Informatio super dubio*” (20 pp.); ii) “*Summarium*” (80 pp.), subdivided in three sections: “*Notula miraculorum a Ven. Servi Dei in vita patrarum*,” which pointed out 26 miracles performed before the death of the servant of God; “*De miraculis post obitum*,” which listed 183 miracles performed after the death of the servant of God; iii) “*Animadversiones R.P.D. Promotoris Fidei super dubio, an et de quibus miraculis constet in casu*” (17 pp.); iv) “*Responsio ad Animadversiones Promotoris Fidei*” (30 pp.); v) “*Responsio juris D. Federici Cacciae. Sac. Cons. Adv. ad Animadversiones R.P.D. Promotoris Fidei super dubio an et de quibus miraculis constet in casu*” (26 pp.); vi) “*Responsio medico-physica*”

Pope Clement X solemnly declared Solano as blessed through the bull “*Quemadmodum caelestis Imperator*,”¹⁵⁷ promulgated on January 25, 1675. The bull introduced Solano as a soldier of Christ, *caelestis Imperator*, the heavenly Emperor. The latter figure had a biblical background (Psalm 103,19), but by 1675 could also be a late (anachronistic?) reference to the aforementioned “spiritual conquest” of the New World. The bull also revealed that both Charles II, the last Habsburg ruler of the Spanish Empire, and Mariana of Austria, his mother the Queen Regent, played a key role in the success of Solano’s beatification,¹⁵⁸ evidencing the importance of politics and diplomatic ties. Finally, Clement X indicated that June 30, 1675 was to be set as the date for Solano’s Beatification at the Papal Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican.

Four years later, the beatification brief was published in Lima on March 12, 1679. Immediately, the civil and religious authorities began planning the solemn celebrations that would take place in April. The appreciable interval of time between Solano’s beatification and the publication of the papal bull in Lima is highly suggestive and calls for an in-depth analysis in future research. For now, suffice it to mention a political-ecclesiastical figure who emerges as a key element and could help to shed light on this intriguing situation: Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, the Archbishop of Lima, who also held the office of viceroy of Peru from July 1678 to November 1681. As the maximum representative of the Catholic Church in Peru, Liñán was expected to favour all events

Pauli Manfredi medici colleg. et publici lectoris ad Animadversiones R.D.P. Promotoris Fidei super dubio et de quibus miraculis constet in casu” (23 pp.).

¹⁵⁷ BB1675.

¹⁵⁸ A similar situation occurred in the case of Rosa de Lima; see AGS, *Secretaría de Estado*, 3042: “Letter by Mariana of Austria, Regent Queen of Spain, to Pope Clement IX and to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, requesting that Blessed Rosa be declared as patroness of both Lima and the Kingdom of Peru” (September 30, 1668). Mariana’s female spiritual sensibility could not be underestimate; see also AGS, *Secretaría de Estado*, 3043: “Brief by Clement IX sending the Queen Regent an image of St. Rosa de Lima, with an extraordinary indulgence, some medals and relics” (January 29, 1669).

related to faith and religiosity. However, as a political authority he also had to prioritise other duties. In fact, Liñán had to deal with ecclesiastical problems. This included repressing rebellions of the clergy opposed to the nomination of prelates from Spain, including the Franciscans in Cusco. Yet, a greater concern was the latent risk of invasions by English and Danish pirates, a situation that forced him to allocate resources to fortify the port of El Callao.

Beyond the historical gaps to fill, it is clear that Solano's devotees acclaimed with joy the one whom their ancestors would have wanted to venerate without restrictions:

Rejoice, oh illustrious City of Lima, oh blissful Kingdom of Peru, with your Sun, with your Patron crowned with divine splendour[!]. Do not boast any more of the riches that your hills hide in your veins, but of the precious ones, which gives you the glory of your Solano: whom you can now venerate with bare face, whom you can already invoke with public acclamations, from whom you can now clearly ask for the remedy of your needs: you will not lose the reward of the solemn applause, with which you will celebrate his glorious triumph[!].¹⁵⁹

3.3. *Beyond Solano's bull of canonisation (1726)*

After Solano's beatification in 1675, there was a great publication effort to make the life of the brand-new blessed known. In the same year, Juan Villalón published in Rome a compendium of Solano's *Vida*,¹⁶⁰ which was followed by that of Narciso Francesch, published in Barcelona.¹⁶¹ As previously mentioned, the third edition of Córdova's *Vida* was published by Pedro de Mena in 1676 in Madrid [Córdova_V1676], while its second edition was translated into German by Johann Georg von Werndle.¹⁶² In 1677 the first

¹⁵⁹ Casasola, *Solemnidad festiva*, 22–23.

¹⁶⁰ Villalón, *Compendio della Vita*.

¹⁶¹ Narciso Francesch, *Breve resumen y compendio de la vida, virtudes y milagros del Beato Francisco Solano de la Regular Observancia del Seráfico Padre...*, sacado de lo que della se imprimió en Roma año de 1672, solicitándose su beatificación, que ya obtenida, se celebra en 21 de deziembre del año 1675 (Barcelona: Iacinto Andreu, 1675).

¹⁶² Diego de Córdova y Salinas, *Tugenden, unnd Wunderwerck dess Apostels von Peru: Nemblich dess seeligen Vatters F. Francisci Solani auss dem H. Seraphischen Orden der Minderen Brüder der Regularischen Observantz, erwöhlten Patrons zu Lima, so die haupt-vnd vornembste Statt der weitschichtigen Königreichen und Provintzen in Peru ist. Herausgezogen von den Aussagen der jenigen 500. Gezeugen, welche vor denen*

Vida in French by François Courtot appeared, along with those of the Franciscan martyrs of Gorkum,¹⁶³ among other hagiographies [see appendix 2]. Publisher locations suggest a latent devotion to Solano and a renewed interest that demanded an editorial dynamism.

Juan Villalón was succeeded by Nicolás de León as *Procurador* of Solano's cause. This final leg of the process is best understood in light of three new developments: first, the process had revealed some formal canonical errors that the SRC asked to be corrected through new investigations into the miracles supposedly performed by Solano in Montilla.¹⁶⁴ In fact, to be canonised as a saint, the Holy See usually requested the verification of two new miracles performed through the intercession of the Blessed. In the case of Solano, the cardinals analysed seven alleged miraculous cures, and selected

Hochwürdigisten Ertz-Bischoffen-vnd Bischoffen, zu Sevilla, Granata, Lima, Cordoua, vnd Malago, den Aydt abgelegt haben; wie auch auss andern vilfältigen Erfahrungen, welche durch Commission vnd Gewalt dess H. apostolischen Stuels in vnterschiedlichen Märcken, vnd Stätten eingeholt worden seynd, translated by Johann Georg von Werndle (München: Jäcklin, 1676). The book was dedicated to Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria, and to Henriette Adelaide of Savoy, Princess of Savoy and Electress of Bavaria. Gerold Fussenegger listed eight German publications on the occasion of Solano's beatification and canonisation; see "San Francisco Solano en tierras germánicas. Nueva aportación bibliográfica," *Archivo ibero-americano*, 10(1950): 461–64.

¹⁶³ François Courtot, *La vie du bien-heureux père François Solano religieux de l'Ordre de Saint François Patron du Perou, composée sur les memoires presentez au S. Siege pour la beatification. Et le recit du martyre d'onze religieux du mesme ordre, qui souffrirent la mort à Gorkom pour la defense de la foy, l'an 1572* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1677). The English edition was published along with the *Vida* of St. Thomas of Villanova: François Courtot, *The lives of St. Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valentia, and Augustinian Friar; and of St. Francis Solano, Apostle of Peru, of the Order of St. Francis*, trans. Claude Maimbourg (New York: Edward Dunigan; London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1847).

¹⁶⁴ On the formal errors that Rome required to be amended, see BNP, 2656: '*Positio super dubium an constet de validitate Processus...*'; BNP 2657: '*Sumario de las informaciones sobre la validez del proceso remisorial del 26 oct. 1685 a 8 marzo 1686*'; BNP 2658: '*Animadversiones Rev. Promotoris Fidei super dubio... P. Bottinius, Arz. Mirens*'; BNP 2659: '*Responso ad animadversiones del Patrono de las causas, Pedro P. Gerardo*'.

those best substantiated and significant.¹⁶⁵ Advised by the technical opinion of two doctors, the dossier was released for the papal approval.¹⁶⁶

At this stage, the interlocutor of the Holy See in the process ceased to be the archbishopric of Lima, and was replaced by that of Córdoba, Solano's 'home' archbishopric. A possible explanation lies in the funding aspect: while the financial income of the Archdiocese of Lima was decreasing due to socio-political instability, the diocese of Montilla found the support of local nobles who, as indicated before, sponsored the cause of their fellow countryman.

Finally, everything was ready for Francisco Solano to be officially declared a saint. Benedict XIII validated the opinion of the consultants of the SCR in 1726. "*Ad fidelium Dei servorum gloriam*" were the first words of Solano's bull of canonisation.¹⁶⁷ Solano was presented no longer as a soldier of Christ, but as a virtuous missionary who, throughout his life, longed for martyrdom. Solano entirely fulfilled his religious vows of obedience, chastity and poverty, following the example of St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Benedict who referred to a monastic spirituality and was the personal patron saint of the Pope. Thus, after having outlined the historical context in which Solano's cause was developed, the bull promulgated by Benedict XIII also sheds light on Solano's afterlife, his canonical metamorphosis and the Roman attempt to keep his figure domesticated.

The bull confirmed the narratives of the main Solanist hagiographies (Oré and Córdoba's *Vidas*), emphasising some extraordinary events that occurred immediately after his *transitus* —the *post-mortem* bleaching of his flesh, which became pleasantly fragrant, and the eagerness of the people to obtain some relics. Solano was presented also

¹⁶⁵ See BV, Barb. LL. VII, '*Positio super dubium: an constet de validitate Processus remissorialis Cordubensis et de ritual examine testium in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur*', ff. 5–6. See also Plandolit, *El Apóstol de América*, 371–5.

¹⁶⁶ Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione*, vol I. (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1743), 127.

¹⁶⁷ BC1726.

as an extremely humble man, who gathered many missionary virtues and who used to escape from people's applause: when he became famous in Montilla for his heroic charity, he asked to go to South America; when he reached fame in Tucumán, he went to Lima, always on the move from place to place avoiding conceit until his later years.

Among the characteristics of Solano that Benedict XIII exhorted to imitate was an indefatigable and "gentle preaching" (*suavissimos sermons*) which was the cause of multitudinous conversions. No mention was made of the sermons in which Solano used to preach with a threatening tone so that the inhabitants of Lima would convert from their vices. Also, not addressed by the Pope is that a great number of the conversions that were referred to in the bull, involved a previous westernisation of the indigenous peoples, victims of the excesses of the regime: the harshness of early colonial rule along with the first attempts at Christianisation.

Before concluding the bull of canonisation, Benedict XIII announced that, along with Solano, Pellegrino Laziosi and John of the Cross would be jointly canonised on December 27, 1726. Pellegrino was a prosperous Italian who began the path of holiness when he was converted from being both pro-emperor and anti-pope to a devoted priest of the Servite Order. John of the Cross was a Spanish Carmelite priest who endured persecution and imprisonment, demonstrating supreme obedience to Rome without denying his faith in the Catholic Church. Solano personified the image of the missionary who had given his life for the expansion of the Roman Church in distant pagan lands. Thus, catholicity was the common denominator in the hagiographic profile of the three new saints. Benedict XIII's message resonated beyond the bulls as a warning to the faithful: obedience to the Church was the sure path to sanctification.

One hundred and sixteen years after Solano's death, the desired goal had been reached, although the faithful of Lima had to wait six years to solemnly celebrate his canonisation, mainly because the celebrations were made to coincide with the completion

of the new sacristy of the Franciscan basilica.¹⁶⁸ On September 18, 1732, the bull of canonisation was proclaimed in the cathedral of Lima.¹⁶⁹ The joyful news reached the ears of Solano's devotees bringing them great consolation, by means of a tamed bull.

¹⁶⁸ See Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, *Memoria genial, y academica, del triumpho mayor por menor del laurel seraphico, con que ciñó la mas esclarecida Minerva en su Athenèo famoso, y sublime por su Estrella Sacro Regia, las Cienes de cinco Religiosos del Orden de N. S. P. S. Francisco [...]* (Lima: En la imprenta que está extramuros de Santa Cathalina, 1739), 39–45.

¹⁶⁹ See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos peruanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, vol. III* (Lima [n.p.], 1940), 125–36.

Conclusions

Early modernity cannot be understood without considering the codes of piety and popular religiosity expressed in the devotion of the saints. Holy men and women came to form an integral part of the Spanish American worldview from the beginning of the evangelisation of the New World. Saints could potentially bring together people of different backgrounds around a shared faith, a “miraculous” power that brought social cohesion and had influence beyond the spiritual realm. To legitimise such devotion, it was necessary to have the consent of Rome. The gradual movement of centralisation of the Catholic Church promoted with greater success after the Council of Trent—held in the middle of the sixteenth century—had as one of its main achievements Rome’s reassertion of its monopoly over the processes of canonisation, that is, to make official the status of the new saints. The official recognition of sainthood by the Catholic Church through the sequential acts of beatification and canonisation is important not only because of the theological judgement that it essentially implies, but also because of the historical context in which the processes are carried out, their procedural rhythms and the dates chosen for pontifical proclamations.

The purpose of canonisation in the Roman Catholic Church, from a theological point of view, is not the glorification of candidates for sainthood but the guidance of the faithful through new official models of holiness. According to a consistent Catholic doctrine, the saints become canonical prototypes of the various forms of sanctity that the Holy Spirit continues to arouse within the Church. Thus, the saintly figures and their hagiographic lives are meant to help Christians both to interpret and to live the Gospel from the multiplicity of situations they could face. However, in practice, a canonisation process is far from being just the solemn papal inscription of a person’s name in the catalogue of holy people. In early modernity, rather than a simple spiritual sign

accomplished for religious purposes, it embodied also a political event. Hence, the process of canonisation is susceptible to analysis from different angles, but this thesis has shown how political instrumentalisation might be a pivotal factor. The latter implies, in turn, that other aspects, including the socio-economic interests of the promoters of a canonisation process, be they global or local, national or foreign, private or public, secular or religious, might create a tension between popular devotion and ecclesiastical policy.

The canonisation process was an arduous, onerous and bureaucratic task that usually left numerous candidates in the middle of the road, regardless of their merits and virtuous lives. The thesis has shown how political and diplomatic instruments began to gain greater relevance and proved to be sufficiently compelling to bend the will of the corresponding ecclesiastical bodies, including cardinals and popes. Indeed, the pace of progress in the canonisation processes depended not only on scrupulous compliance with canonical norms but also on the deployment of diplomatic strategies, international pressures and power struggles. In general, the latter involved the subordination of the process based on the concept of sainthood to “worldly” interests. The case of Francisco Solano makes explicit the instrumentalisation of the canonisation process in colonial Peru, while the complexity of the development of his process becomes a valid historical source for both expanding and challenging the traditional understanding of the early modern age.

Francisco Solano spent half of his religious life in Peninsular Spain and the other half in South America, where he became a zealous missionary. He was famous for his vibrant preaching, his ability to evangelise in native languages, his contrasting strictness with himself and his affability with others, his immersion in contemplative prayer, his solicitous solidarity with the poorest, his alleged ability to predict the future, and other uncommon gifts that were considered as miraculous by his contemporaries. Due to this uplifting profile, during the first decades after Solano’s death, his devotion spread and was endorsed by the testimonies of people from the different regions where he had lived.

With the potential canonisation of Solano, as a Catholic who died in America —though born to eternal life, according to Christian doctrine—, the history of Peru would become incorporated into the salvation history of the Catholic Church.

The diocesan trial of Solano was based on the statements collected immediately after his death. This included the testimony of more than a hundred witnesses who enumerated a series of alleged miracles —extraordinary events without a scientific explanation— that were attributed to the intercession of the Franciscan priest. This dossier allowed Solano's cause to be officially introduced in the Congregation of Rites. Like any source, it needs to be considered in a critical way. However, the thesis has shown how the kinds of witnesses that gave testimony in the ordinary process, specifically their socioeconomic status, along with the persistent emphasis on certain miracles, are revealing about the spiritual sensitivity of Lima at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when marvellous phenomena prevailed within a magical-religious conception of reality.

Examining the Roman context has revealed how papal, political and other circumstances impacted the case of Francisco Solano. The “new model of sainthood” that was being designed in the counter-reformation Roman saint-making-factory did not conform to Solano's old-fashioned model of sainthood.

The thesis has shown how the auspicious presentation of the cause of Solano as Servant of God was severely hampered by the changes that Urban VIII, pope from 1623 to 1644, introduced in the legal regulation of the canonisation processes. Pope Barberini's concern that unapproved public signs of cult could lead people to wrongly presume that the Holy See had authorised the veneration of an alleged saint, led him to issue the Constitution *Celestis Hyerusalem Cives* (1634). Subsequently, the processes of beatification and canonisation sought to verify in a thorough manner the hagiographic accounts of candidates' lives and their alleged miracles. The latter included the

proscription to publicly venerate those who had not yet been officially beatified, Solano included. Hence, the discussion of the history of the processes of canonisation —which shows how this papal control increased— enables the cult of Solano, and the obstacles it faced, to be placed in a broader context, that is, a legal-historical framework.

Within this legislative reform, the meticulous work of Luis Jerónimo de Oré, author of the first *Vida* of Solano (1614), and of the various Franciscan *postuladores* and *procuradores* of his cause, were in vain since the interrogations had to be redone and sent back to Rome. This meant new efforts in both human and financial resources were required, precisely in a time of severe financial crisis in Peninsular Spain. In practice, all the work done to promote Solano so far did not conform to the new Roman criteria, so it seemed that everything would have to start again. Faced with this adversity, the thesis has shown how they resorted to developing hagiographic strategies to attract the support of influential figures to obtain a papal dispensation. Notable were the hagiographies of the blood brothers Diego de Córdova y Salinas and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, prestigious Franciscan Creole chroniclers who defended Solano's cause, but from the perspective of their own social class interests.

Solano's *vidas* were presented through a process of biographical construction that privileged a holiness worthy of being admired rather than emulated. They sought to introduce Solano as an *alter Franciscus*, that is, a trustworthy copy of that of St. Francis of Assisi. Hence, there were emphases on his strict compliance with the Franciscan Rule, his apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls, his prophetic and moralising preaching, as well as his radical humility and austerity. Nonetheless, what distinguished the most the two Francises, apart from the stigmata of the first, was that the latter was a missionary in a territory whose colonisation had been justified by the need for evangelisation. The fact that the Holy See did not expedite the canonisation of Solano, a missionary with exceptional qualities, suggests that it the reality of the territories that Solano, as

doctrinero, had tried to evangelise (present day north-western Argentina and Paraguay) remained politically problematic and there was doubt as to whether the local Indians were true converts. On the other hand, Solano's high sensitivity to human suffering could not leave him indifferent to the abuses that he had to witness in the mission areas and his return to Lima can be read as non-complicity with the ambiguous alliance that the Church had made with the Hispanic monarchy within the framework of the *Patronato regio*, where religion might be employed for political ends.

The strategies of those who advocated Solano's candidacy were wide-ranging and were deployed in various fields: from the highest level, involving the participation of the monarchs of Spain and the Viceroy in Peru through political-diplomatic lobbying before the Holy See, to the more basic one of involving ordinary devout Christians who longed to venerate their beloved patron on a temple altar. However, the efforts of Solano's *postuladores* were compromised by the need to compete for funding and sponsoring with Rosa de Lima's cause. Initially, it seemed an easy challenge to overcome: Solano's figure widely evoked all the virtues embodied in the Franciscan hagiographic anthologies of the time; while, in contrast, the figure of Rosa aroused various suspicions based on her gender, her civil status, her unusual hybrid lifestyle of a non-cloistered contemplative and mystic-charitable penitent and a circle of acquaintances which included some devout women — the *beatas*— accused of heresy by the Holy Inquisition. This thesis has argued that one factor that explains why Rosa became the first canonised saint in the New World was that during the seventeenth century local expectations changed radically with the emergence of a Peruvian Creole colonial elite that adopted Rosa as a symbol of their socio-religious prestige.

The reasons why the process of canonisation of Francisco Solano took longer than the process of Rosa de Lima may be grouped into *ad intra* (ecclesial and theological), and *ad extra* factors (political-diplomatic, economic and social). Regarding the factors of

internal nature, first, the aforementioned procedural modifications in canonisation processes. Second, Solano's was the first cause for canonisation that was initiated from the American continent. This posed technical limitations for the Franciscan *postuladores* who had to move into uncharted territory, unlike the Dominican *postuladores* who were able to avoid canonical missteps made by their Franciscan colleagues. Third, the fragmentation of the Franciscan Order worked against unanimous institutional support for Solano's cause. The friar belonged to the *Recoletos*, one of the most radical groups of the Observants that, in turn, was far from being a homogeneous, with ongoing battles over poverty and the interpretation of the Franciscan Rule. On the contrary, the Dominican order, although smaller in number, enjoyed greater prestige at a theological level. Finally, some theological issues are worth pondering, such as the defense of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and the ambiguous panegyrics —supported by controversial iconography— dedicated to Solano by some Franciscan writers.

Among the external reasons, the continuous tension between *Peninsulares* and Creoles in viceregal society and particularly within the Franciscan order is worth highlighting. However, in a broader context, Francisco Solano's cause was challenged by several setbacks resulting from socio-political, economic, cultural and religious upheaval throughout Europe, as it transitioned from the medieval to early modern world. Solano's cause took place during a period of time of major conflicts on the European continent, among which The Thirty Years' War stood out, initially conceived as a war of religions and later as a conflict between European powers over political hegemony. The Treaty of Westphalia, which marked the end of these wars, was also a turning point for the strategy of the Catholic Church, then relegated to a secondary political position. The decline in the political power of Rome had its counterpart in greater control over the spiritual field that, in turn, had among its highest expressions in papal control of the canonisation processes. Seventeenth-century Spain was interested in displaying canonised saints to

confirm its destiny as a champion of catholicity in an increasingly pluralistic world. Framed in this conflictive scenario, the tension between the relations between Urban VIII (pope from 1623 to 1644) and Philip IV (king of Spain from 1621 to 1665) escalated as the pope's pro-French policy contrasted with Spanish interests in achieving European hegemony. The situation in the New World was not peaceful either, but the European setting was critical: the enormous Spanish military effort to sustain continuous wars against the English and the French had made the Crown financially bankrupt with a serious loss of power in Western Europe. The rebellions intensified and these ended with the separation of Portugal, the northern provinces of the Netherlands and Catalonia from the Spanish empire, as well as the loss of important enclaves in the Caribbean and uprisings in Italy. In this context, the canonisation processes lost the geopolitical importance they had had and, with few exceptions, ceased to be a priority for the Spanish monarchs.

Beatified in 1675 and canonised in 1726, the outcome of Solano's process reached its successful coronation, albeit belatedly. The beatification and canonisation bulls showed a "domesticated" profile of holiness: in the midst of the struggles at the end of the seventeenth century, in the first bull Solano was proposed as a representation of a spiritual soldier of Christ, while in the second the Solano's passionate, apocalyptic, and condemnatory preaching had been tamed into smooth sermons.

Solano's figure generally goes unnoticed in the contemporary scene, eclipsed in Republican Peru by the light of both Rosa de Lima and Martín de Porres. The publication of studies on both these saints has been prolific, driven by new historical approaches focused on gender studies or racial issues. Nonetheless, this thesis, through a reassessment of Solano's cause of canonisation, has revealed much about the saint, but also about the broader social, political and theological changes taking place in Europe and Spanish America, beyond the bulls.

Bibliography

1. Primary sources

Acosta, José de. *De procuranda indorum salute: vol. 2: Educación y evangelización*, edited by Luciano Pereña. Madrid: CSIC, 1984 [c. 1575].

Acosta, José de. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias: en que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y gouierno, y guerras de los Indios*. Seville: En casa de Juan de León, 1590.

Alexander VII. “Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum” (December 8, 1661). In *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum. Taurinensis edition, locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis*, edited by Collegii adlecti Romae virorum S. Theologiae et Ss. Canonum peritorum, 739–42. Turin: A. Vecco et sociis editoribus. Success. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1869 [1661].

Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. *Naturae prodigium Gratiae portentum, hoc est, Seraphici P. N. Francisci Vitae Acta ad Christi D. N. Vitam et Mortem Regulata, et Coaptata, in Prima Columna describuntur Redemptoris Mundi Mysteria, incipiendo ab eius aeterna Praedestinatione, usque ad gloriosam ipsius ad Caelos Ascensionem, et in altera correspondente, Conformitates, Similitudines, ac Parallela Seraphici Patriarchae, in quadraginta quinque Titulos divisa*. Madrid: In typographia Julián de Paredes, 1651.

Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. *Sol veritatis: cum ventilabro seraphico pro candida Aurora Maria in suo Conceptionis ortu sancta, pura, Immaculata, & à peccato originali praeseruata. Triturando auctores opinionis aduersae sexaginta antiquos atque modernos, opuscula omnia, libros, tractatus, sermones, atque quaestiones. Ventilando opera allegata trecentorum quindecim ecclesiae doctorum stylo positiuo, scholastico, historico, necnon apologetico. Separat ab ipsorum sexcentis quadraginta auctoritatibus lucem à tenebris, granum à paleis, & triticum à zizaniis, & c.* Madrid: Typographia Pablo de Val, 1660.

Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. *Nodus indissolubilis de conceptu mentis & de conceptu ventris: hoc est: inter immunitatem ab omni defectu, & errore Angelicae doctrinae S. Thomae Aquinatis, & eius exclusionem ab illis universalibus regulis...* Brussels: apud Philippum Vleugaert, 1661.

Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. *Funiculi nodi indissolubilis: De conceptu mentis et conceptio ventris (de inmunitate ab omni defectu et errore doctrinae Sti. Thomae Aquinatis et de preservatione ab omni culpa et macula Virginis Dei Matris Mariae)*. Brussels: typis Philippi Vleugaert, 1663.

Álvarez de Paz, Diego. *De exterminatione mali, et promotione boni, Libri quinque, operum tomus II*. Leiden: apud Horatium Cardon, 1613.

Angulo, Francisco de. *Libro memorial de la fundación y cosas memorables deste convento de nuestra señora de Lorete, y novicios que se han recibido y de las visitas que en él se han hecho. Historia del Principio y fundación deste convento de Nuestra Señora*

de Lorete, y de su reformatión, hasta el año de ochenta y cuatro, en que lo compuso el padre fray Francisco de Angulo, predicador y morador en este dicho convento. Seville [manuscript], 1784.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa totius theologiae. Questiones quodlibetales Duodecim. Nunc ab infinitis mendis vindicatae, et suo candori restituta. Quarum materias, & articulos Index in principio earum facillime ostendit.* Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1588 [c. 1485].

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologiae, vol. XLI: Virtues of Justice in the Human Community*, edited by T.C. O'Brien. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [c. 1485].

Armstrong, Regis, Wayne Hellmann, and William Short, eds. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. I: The Saint.* New York: New City Press, 1999.

Bartolomei-Romagnoli, Alessandra, edited by *Santa Francesca Romana: edizione critica dei trattati latini di Giovanni Mattiotti.* Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1994 [c. 1440-1447].

Benedict XIV. *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, 7 vols. Prato: Aldina, 1840.

Benedict XIII. "Ad fidelium Dei servorum gloriam," December 27, 1726, in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, vol. XXII*, edited by Collegii adlecti Romae virorum S. Theologiae et Ss. Canonum peritorum, 474–77. Turin: Vecco & Sociis, 1871 [1726].

Benedict XIV. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol I.* Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1743.

Benedict XIV. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol II.* Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1743.

Benedict XIV. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol III.* Rome: excudebant Nicolaus, et Marcus Palarini, Academiae Liturgicae Conimbricensis typographi, 1748.

Benedict XIV. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol IV.* Rome: In Typographia Bassanensi, 1766.

Benedict XV. "Providentissima Mater Ecclesia." AAS 9, pars II (1917): 5–8.

Benito Rodríguez, José Antonio, edited by *Libro de visitas de Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (1593-1605).* Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2006.

Bonaventure, "Legenda Minor." In *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, vol. X*, edited by patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 655–78. Florence: Quaracchi, 1941.

Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. III: The Prophet*, edited by Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann, and William Short, 525–683. New York: New City Press, 2000.

Boniface VIII. "Bulla canonizationis s. Ludovici." In *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*, vol. VII, edited by patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 395–99. Florence: Quaracchi, 1951 [1297].

Bosio, Antonio. *Roma Sotterranea, opera posthuma*, edited by Giovanni Severani da S. Severino. Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1632.

Briceño, Alonso. *Partis primae celebriorum Controversiarum in primum Sententiarum Ioannis Scoti Doctoris. Subtilis tomus alter, qui est de scientia Dei, et ideis*. Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1639.

Bromley, Juan, ed. *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, vol. XVI. Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1963 [1610-1611].

Bromley, Juan, ed. *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, vol. XXII. Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1964 [1631-1633].

Bromley, Juan, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, vol. XXIII. Lima: Impresores Torres-Aguirre S.A., 1964 [1634-1639].

Calancha, Antonio de la. *Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú con sucesos egenplares en esta Monarquía*. Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1639.

Calderón, Francisco. *Primera parte de la Chronica de la Santa Provincia de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora, de la Regular Observancia de N.S.P. S. Francisco*. [Manuscript:] 1679.

Caprarola, Antonio di. *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio Fra Francesco Solano della Regolare Osser. illustre in virtù, e prodigij: Predicatore Apostolico nell'Indie Occidentali; acclamato per Padrone della Città di Lima Metropoli del Perù, e da altre famose Città dell'Indie. Rescritta da varij autori, e processi appresso la Sede Apostolica. A petitione, e divotione di F. Giovanni di S. Diego Villalon, Religioso del medesimo Ordine, e della Provincia d'Andalusia in Spagna; Procuratore nella Curia Romana alla Beatificazione, e Santificazione del Servo di Dio F. Francesco Solano, & insieme di F. Francesco Ximenez de Cisneros Arcivescovo Cardinal di Toledo, e di Suor Giovanna della Croce*. Rome: Michele Hercole, 1672.

Caroli, Ernesto, ed. *Fonti francescane: scritti e biografie di san Francesco d'Assisi, cronache e altre testimonianze del primo secolo francescano, scritti e biografie di santa Chiara d'Assisi, testi normativi dell'Ordine francescano secolare*. Padua: EFR-Editrici Francescane, 2004.

Carrasco del Saz, Francisco. *Opera omnibus iurium scientiae studiosis vtilissima: pristino nitori restituta ab auctoris filio Doctore Don Ioseph Carrasco del Saz, in vnum collecta et ex eis primum accessionibus ab auctore, haud contemnendis, auctum vltimumque nunc in lucem editum*. Madrid: Per Iulianum de Paredes, 1648.

Casasola, Gregorio. *Solemnidad festiva, aplausos publicos, aclamaciones ostentosas, que hizo esta nobilissima Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, a la publicacion del breve de la beatificacion del bienaventurado S. Francisco Solano del Orden seraphico de la regular observancia desta Santa Provincia de los Doze apostoles del Peru. Dedicada al mismo santo en cuya dedicatoria se recopilan las mas heroicas obras de su vida, y los mas singulares milagros, que por su intercession, y meritos, obró la divina omnipotencia,*

mientras buelve a las prensas su vida. Dala a la estampa el Padre Procurador general de su Beatificación, y Canonizacion en estas Provincias del Peru, para que remitida a todas las ciudades, y villas, que le tienen elegido, y votado por su Patron, se haga notoria la celebracion de su Beatificacion deseada. Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1679.

Celano, Thomas of. *The Life of Saint Francis. Second Book.* In *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, vol. I: The Saint*, edited by Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellmann and William Short, 258–287. New York: New City Press, 1999.

Cerreto, Stanislaus Melchiorri de. *Annales Minorum seu Trium ordinum a s. Francisco Institutorum, vol. XXIV: ab anno MDCI usque ad annum MDCXI.* Ancona: Typis Gustavi Sartori Cherubini, 1860.

Clement X. “Quemadmodum caelestis Imperator” (January 25, 1675). In *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, vol. XVIII*, edited by Luigi Tomassetti, 528–29. Turin: Vecco & Sociis, 1869 [1675].

Clement XI. “Commissi nobis divinitus” (December 6, 1708). In *Bullarium Romanum seu Novissima et accuratissima Collectio Apostolicarum Constitutionum, vol. X/I: Complectens Constitutiones Clementis XI ab anno I usque ad XIII, seu ab anno MDCC ad Novembrem MDCCXIII editas*, 206. Rome: Typis, & Expensis Hieronymi Mainardi in Platea Montis Cimatorii, 1735 [1708].

Cobo, Bernabé. *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, edited by Manuel González de la Rosa. Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1882 [1639].

Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. “Professio fidei et Iusiurandum fidelitatis in suscipiendo officio nomine Ecclesiae exercendo una cum nota doctrinali adnexa.” AAS 90 (1998): 542–51.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros del nuevo Apóstol del Pirú el venerable P. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patrón de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Cabeça, y Metrópoli de los Reynos del Pirú. Por el P. F. Diego de Cordova Predicador, natural de la misma Ciudad, indigno Religioso de la dicha Orden. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos jurados ante los Ilustrissimos señores Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla. Granada, Lima, Córdova, y Málaga, y de otras once informaciones que se an hecho en diferentes villas, y ciudades. Dirigida a la C. R. M. de Don Felipe IV nuestro Señor, Rey de las dos Españas, y ambas Indias.* Lima: Por Gerónimo de Contreras, 1630.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Peru el Venerable P^e. Fray Francisco Solano de la Serafica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Obseruancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça y Metropoli de los estendidos Reynos y Provincias del Peru. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrissimos Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se an actuado en diferentes villas y ciudades. Y en esta segunda edicion añadida por el P^e. Fray Alonso de Mendieta de la misma Orden Calificador del S^o. Off^o. Comis^o. Provincial de la S^a. Provincia de los 12 Apóstoles del Peru y Procurador general de la Ciudad de los Reyes en la causa de la canoniçacion del mismo Sierbo de Dios Solano.* Madrid: Empronta Real, 1643.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú*, edited by Lino Gómez Canedo. Mexico City: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957 [1651].

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Perú, el B. P. Fr. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrissimos Arçobispos, y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se han actuado en diferentes Villas y Ciudades. Tercera impression que saca a la luz el M. R. P. Fr. Pedro de Mena, Predicador de Su Magestad, Padre de esta Provincia de Castilla, y Guardian del Convento de N. Serafico Padre S. Francisco de Madrid*. Madrid: En la Imprenta Real, 1676.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Tugenden, unnd Wunderwerck dess Apostels von Peru: Nemblich dess seeligen Vatters F. Francisci Solani auss dem H. Seraphischen Orden der Minderen Brüder der Regularischen Observantz, erwöhlten Patrons zu Lima, so die haupt-vnd vornembste Statt der weitschichtigen Königreichen und Provintzen in Peru ist. Herauss gezogen von den Aussagen der jenigen 500. Gezeugen, welche vor denen Hochwürdigisten Ertz-Bischoffen-vnd Bischoffen, zu Sevilla, Granata, Lima, Cordoua, vnd Malago, den Aydt abgelegt haben; wie auch auss andern vilfältigen Erfahrungen, welche durch Commission vnd Gewalt dess H. apostolischen Stuels in vnterschiedlichen Märcken, vnd Stätten eingeholt worden seynd*, translated by Johann Georg von Werndle. München: Jäcklin, 1676.

Council of Constance, “Haec Sancta” (April 6, 1415). In *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo, Giuseppe Dossetti, Perikles Joannou, Claudio Leonardi, and Paulo Prodi, 409–10. Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973 [1415].

Council of Trent, “On the State of the Regulars” (session XXV, chap. 4), in *Institutiones iuris canonici, nuper ab ipso autore auctae & recognitae; insertis etiam opportune Sacri Tridentini Concilii Constitutionibus*, edited by Marcus Antonius Cucchus, 70. Coloniae: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1566.

Courtot, François. *La vie du bien-heureux père François Solano religieux de l'Ordre de Saint François Patron du Perou, composée sur les memoires presentez au S. Siege pour la beatification. Et le recit du martyre d'onze religieux du mesme ordre, qui souffrirent la mort à Gorkom pour la defense de la foy, l'an 1572*. Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1677.

Courtot, François. *The lives of St. Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valentia, and Augustinian Friar; and of St. Francis Solano, Apostle of Peru, of the Order of St. Francis*, trans. Claude Maimbourg. New York: Edward Dunigan; London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1847.

Criscuolo, Vincenzo, ed., *I Cappuccini: fonti documentarie e narrative del primo secolo (1525-1619)*. Rome: Curia generale dei Cappuccini, 1994.

Criscuolo, Vincenzo, ed. *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione, vol. II/2*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010-2022 [1734-1738].

Curia Generalis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. *The Constitutions of the Capuchin Friars Minor*. Rome: Curia Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, 2013.

Cuypers, Guillaume. “Die Vigesima Quarta Julii: De S. Francisco Solano. Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Observantia. Limae in Peruvia.” In *Acta Sanctorum. Julii, Tomus Quintus, anastatic edition*, 847–910. Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1969 [1727].

Cuypers, Guillaume. “De Sancta Rosa Virgine, ex Tertio Ordine S. Dominici, Limae in Peruvia, Americae Provincia.” In *Acta Sanctorum. Mensis Augustus, anastatic edition*, 892–902. Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1970 [1743].

De la Fuente, Gaspar. *Armamentarium Seraphicum et Regestum Universale tuendo titulo Immaculae Conceptionis*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1649.

De la Parra, Jacinto. *Rosa laureada entre los santos, epitalamios sacros de la Corte, aclamaciones de España, aplausos de Roma, congratulaciones festivas del Clero, y Religiones al feliz desposorio que celebró en la gloria con Christo la Beata Virgen Rosa de Santa María, de la Tercera Orden de Predicadores, Patrona del Perú, y beatificación solemne que promulgó en la Iglesia Militante la Santidad de Clemente Nono, de felice recordación, en 15 de abril de 1668*. Madrid: Por Domingo García Morrás, 1670.

Echave y Assu, Francisco de. *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas, el b. Toribio Alfonso Mogrobexo, su segundo arzobispo: celebrado con epitalamios sacros y solemnes cultos, por su esposa la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima, al activo y soberano influxo del exno. e illmo. señor doct. d. Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros...: descripcion sacro politica de las grandezas de la ciudad de Lima, y compendio historico eclesiastico de su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana*. Antwerp: Juan Baptista Verdussen, 1688.

Felipe II, “Pragmáticas” (July 12, 1564; July 31, 1564). In *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España: Dividida en XII. libros. En que se reforma la Recopilacion publicada por el Señor Don Felipe II en el año de 1567, reimpresa últimamente en el de 1775: Y se incorporan las pragmáticas, cédulas, decretos, órdenes y resoluciones Reales, y otras providencias no recopiladas y expedidas hasta el de 1804*, 5–6. Madrid: [s.p.], 1805.

Florencia, Francisco de. *La estrella de el norte de Mexico: aparecida al rayar el dia de la luz evangélica en este Nuevo Mundo, en la cumbre del cerro Tepeyac, orilla del mar Tezcucano, à un Natural recién convertido; pintada tres dias despues en su tilma, ò capa de lienzo, delante del Obispo, y de su familia, en su Casa Obispal: Para luz en la Fé a los Indios: para rumbo cierto a los Españoles en la virtud: para serenidad de las tempestuosas inundaciones de la Laguna, en la historia de la milagrosa imagen de Maria Santissima de Guadalupe, que se apareció en la manta de Juan Diego*. Mexico City: en la Imprenta de Antonio Velázquez, 1741.

Francesch, Narciso. *Breve resumen y compendio de la vida, virtudes y milagros del Beato Francisco Solano de la Regular Observancia del Seráfico Padre..., sacado de lo que della se imprimió en Roma año de 1672, solicitándose su beatificación, que ya obtenida, se celebra en 21 de diciembre del año 1675*. Barcelona: Iacinto Andreu, 1675.

Francis. “Homily during the Consistory for the creation of 5 new cardinals”. AAS, 109 (2017): 687–88.

Francis. “Gaudete et Exsultate, Apostolic Exhortation on the call to holiness in today’s world.” AAS 110 (2018): 1111–61.

Gigli, Giacinto. *Diario romano (1608-1670)*, edited by Giuseppe Ricciotti. Rome: Tumminelli, 1958 [1608-1644].

Gonzaga, Francisco. *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observantiae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagatione*. Rome [n.p.], 1587.

González Agüeros, Pedro. *Colección general de las expediciones practicadas por los religiosos misioneros del Orden de San Francisco, del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Santa María*. Madrid [manuscript], 1786.

Gregory XIII. *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum. Gregorii XIII. pont. max. iussu editum. 3 parts in 4 vols.* Rome: In aedibus Populi Romani, 1582.

Gregory XV. “Aeterni Patri Filius” (November 15, 1621). In *Bullarium Romanum, vol. XII*, edited by Luigi Tomassetti, 619–27. Turin: Vecco et socii editoribus, success. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1867 [1621].

Gregory XV. “Inscrutabili” (June 22, 1622). In *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide: seu decreta, instructiones, rescripta pro apostolicis missionibus, vol. I/3*. Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta, 1907 [1622].

Hansen, Leonardus. *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa venerabilis sororis Rosae de s. Maria Limensis, ex Tertio Ordine S. P. Dominici, ad sanctissimum D.N. Alexandrum VII. Pontificem Max, excerpta & collecta*. Rome: Typis Nicolai Angeli Tinassij, 1664.

Hart, Stephen, ed. *Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa de Lima (1630-1632): Congr. Riti Processus 1573, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum*. Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2017 [1630-1632].

Hart, Stephen, ed. *Edición crítica del Segundo Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa de Lima. “Rosa a Sancta Maria III Ord. S. Dominici: Supplementa Proc.” (1670). Congr. Riti Processus 2208, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum*. Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2019 [1670].

Innocent XII. “Romanum decet Pontificem” (June 22, 1692). In *Bullarium Romanum, vol. XX*, edited by Luigi Tomassetti, 441–46. Turin: A. Vecco et sociis editoribus, success. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1870 [1692].

Iñiguez, Manuel. *Centuria Bética o Descripción y Colección de noticias de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Regular Observancia de Ntro. Sco. P. S. Francisco desde su erección en Provincia y separación de la de Castilla conforme a otros documentos existentes*. Seville [manuscript], 1860.

Iwasaki, Fernando, ed., *Proceso diocesano de San Francisco Solano*. Montilla: Bibliofilia Montillana, 1999 [1610-1613].

Jansen, Cornelius. *Augustinus. Tomus primus in quo haereses & mores Pelagij contra naturae humanae sanitatem, aegritudinem & medicinam ex S. Augustino recensentur ac refutantur*. Leuven: Typis Iacobi Zegeri, 1640.

John XXIII, “Aeterna Dei Sapientia.” AAS, 53 (1961): 785–803.

John Paul II. “Divinus Perfectionis Magister.” AAS 75 (1983): 349–55.

Lissón Chávez, Emilio, ed. *La Iglesia de España en el Perú. Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, que se encuentran en varios archivos, vol. I: Archivo general de Indias*. Seville: Editorial Católica Española, 1943.

Lundorp, Michael Caspar. *Continuationis Ioannis Sleidani De statu religionis et reipublicae, vol. III*. Frankfurt: Sumptibus haeredum Iacobi Fischeri, 1619.

Mareé, Valentin. *Traicté des conformitez du disciple avec son maistre, c'est a dire, du Seraphique Père S. François avec Nostre Seigneur Iesuschrist, contenant en soy tous les Mysteres de leurs Calvaires, Crucifiemens & derniere paroles*. Liège: De l'Imprimerie Henry Tournay, c. 1660.

Mariana, Juan de. *La dignidad real y la educación del rey [=De rege et regis institutione]*, edited by Luis Sánchez Agesta. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1981 [1599].

Martínez Ferrer, Luis, ed. *Tercer Concilio Limense (1583-1591)*. Lima: Facultad de Teología Pontificia y Civil de Lima; Rome: Universidad Pontificia de la Santa Cruz, 2017.

Medina, José Toribio, ed., *Colección de historiadores de Chile y de documentos relativos a la historia nacional, vol. XXX*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905.

Monstier, Arthur du. *Martyrologium Franciscanum, in quo sancti, beati, aliique servi Dei, martyres, pontifices, confessores, ac virgines, qui tum vitae sanctitate, tum miraculorum gloria, claruere: in universo Ordine FF. Minorum toto orbe terrarum cunctis usque nunc saeculis; per omnes provincias Observantium, Discalceatorum, Recollectorum, etc. Conventualium, Capucinatorum, etc. Monialium, Clarissarum, Urbanistarum, etc.; necnon utriusque sexus tam secularium, quam Regularium Tertiariorum, recensentur*. Paris: Edmundum Couterot, 1653.

Morales, Martín María, ed. *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2005 [1608-1639].

Mugaburu, Josephe de, and Francisco de Mugaburu, *Diario de Lima (1640-1694). Crónica de la Época Colonial, vol. VII and vol. VIII*, edited by Horacio Urteaga, and Carlos Romero. Lima: Imprenta y Librería Sanmartí y Ca., 1917-1918 [c.1694].

Murúa, Martín de. *Historia general del Piru. Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2008 [1616].

Navarrum, Tyburtium. *Triumphus Charitatis sive de vita, virtutibus et miraculis Venerabilis Servi Dei P. Fr. Francisci Solani, Ord. Min. Regularis Observantiae. Libri Duo. Maior autem horum est Charitas I ad Cor. Cap. 13. Ad instantiam & curam Fr. Ioannis à S. Didaco Villalon, almae Provinciae Baeticae in Hispania, praefatae Observantiae Religiosi Layci, nec non Causae Canonizationis & Beatificationis dicti Servi Dei in Curia Romana Procuratoris*. Rome: Typis Michaelis Herculis, 1671.

Nicholas IV. "Approbatio Tertiae Regulae fratrum et sororum Tertii Ordinis a B. Francisco institutae, pro saecularibus in propriis domibus viventibus, Tertiaris nuncupatis." In *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, vol. IV*, edited by Luigi Tomasetti, 90–95. Turin: Seb. Franco, H. Fory et H. Dalmazzo Editoribus, 1859.

Oliva, Giovanni Paolo. *Sermón panegirico en la beatificación de la B. Rosa de Lima. Orado en Roma por el reverendísimo P. Ivan Pavlo Oliva, Prepósito General de la Compañía de Iesvs*, trans. Lorenzo Ortiz. Valencia: por Bernardo Nogués, 1677.

Oré, Luis Jerónimo de. *Account of the Martyrs in the Provinces of La Florida*, edited and translated by Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, and Nancy Vogeley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017 [c. 1619].

Oré, Luis Jerónimo de. *Relación de la vida y milagros de San Francisco Solano*, edited by Noble David Cook. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998 [1614].

Origen. *Homilies on Judges*, translated by Elizabeth Ann Dively Lauro. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010 [ca. 238-248].

Ovidius. *The Fasti of Ovid*, edited by G.H. Hallam. London: Macmillan and Co., 1881.

Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae, eds., “Legenda Monacensis S. Francisci.” In *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis: saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae ad codicum fidem recensitae, Analecta Franciscana, vol. X*, 694–719. Florence: Quaracchi, 1926.

Paul V. “Caelestis aquae flumen” (May 28, 1608), In *Magnum bullarium romanum, vol. III: a Clemente VIII usque ad Gregorium XV*, edited by Laerzio Cherubini, and Angelo María Cherubini, 231–35. Lyon: Philippi Borde, Laurent Arnaud, et Claudii Rigaud, 1651.

Paul VI. “Lumen gentium, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.” AAS 57 (1965): 5–71.

Paul VI. “Sacra Rituum Congregatio.” AAS LXI (1969): 297–305.

Paul VI. “Seraphicus Patriarcha” AAS 70 (1978): 454.

Peralta y Barnuevo, Pedro de. *Lima fundada o Conquista del Peru: poema heroico en que se decanta toda la historia del descubrimiento, y sugesion de sus Provincias por Don Francisco Pizarro, marques de los Atabillos, inclyto y primer governador de este vasto Imperio*. Lima: En la Imprenta de Francisco Sobrino y Bados, 1732.

Philip IV. “Carta de Felipe IV a sor Ágreda” (Zaragoza, october 4, 1643). In *Cartas de la Venerable Sor María de Ágreda y del Señor Rey Don Felipe IV, vol. I*, edited by Francisco Silvela, 4. Madrid: Est. tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1885 [1643].

Pisa, Bartholomaeus de. *Liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu Christi*. Milan: Gotardo da Ponte, 1510.

Pisa, Bartholomaeus de. *Liber aureus inscriptus liber Conformitatum vitae beati Francisci ac seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Iesu Christi Domini nostri*, edited by Jeremias Bucchius. Bologna: Apud Alexandrum Benatium, 1590.

Pisa, Bartholomaeus de. “De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu, auctore fr. Bartholomeo de Pisa, liber I, Fructus I-XII.” In *Analecta franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, vol. IV*, edited by Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae. Florence: Quaracchi, 1906 [c. 1385].

Pisa, Bartholomaeus de. “De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu, auctore fr. Bartholomeo de Pisa, liber II-III, Fructus XIII-XL.” In *Analecta franciscana*

sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, vol. V, edited by Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae. Florence: Quaracchi, 1912 [c. 1385].

Pius IV. "Alias nos nonnullas" (August 2, 1564). In *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. VII, edited by Luigi Tomassetti, 300–01. Turin: Vecco et sociis editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1862 [1564].

Pius V. "Circa pastoralis" (May 29, 1566), in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, seu ejusdem Continuatio, quae supplementi loco sit, tum huicce, tum aliis quae praecesserunt editionibus Romanae, & Lugdunensi. Tomus Decimus. Constitutiones variorum Pontificum in praecedentibus editiones, desideratas, summoque studio hinc inde conquisitas perinde ac reliquas Benedicti XIII, hodie sedentis, recens promulgatas complectens*, 146–47. Luxembourg: sumptibus Andreae Chevalier, bibliopolae et typographi, 1730 [1566].

Public Record Office. "Acts of the Court of High Commission, during the month of 1634, vol. CCLXXIX." In *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1634-1635, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, edited by John Bruce. London: Public Record Office, 1870 [1634].

Ramírez del Prado, Lorenzo. *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nuestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Austria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid*. Madrid: [s.p.] c. 1650.

Rebolledo, Luis de, ed. *Libro de la Regla y Constituciones Generales de la Orden de Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Observancia, con las exposiciones de los Pontífices, y Letras Apostólicas, acerca de la recepción de los Novicios: y más la forma, para darles el hábito y la Profesión*. Seville [manuscript]: 1610.

Reiffenstuel, Anacleto. *Jus canonicum universum: complectens tractatum de regulis juris*. Paris: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1868 [1700].

Rocca, Angelo. *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius, hoc est de Diffinitione, Auctoritate, & Antiquitate; deq. Causis, & ordine iudiciario canonizandi Sanctos*. Rome: Apud Guillelmum Facciotum, 1601.

Roma, Raimondo da. *Compendio della vita, virtù e miracoli di S. Francesco Solano, dell'Ordine de' Minori Osservanti*. Rome: Stamparia del Bernabò, 1726.

Rodríguez de Monforte, Pedro. *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron a la catholica Magd. de D. Phelippe quarto Rey de las Españas y del nuevo Mundo en el Real Convento de la Encarnación*. Madrid: Francisco Nieto, 1666.

Rodríguez Guillén, Pedro. *El Sol y Año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano, Apostol, y Patron universal de dicho Reyno: Hijo de la ilustre y Santa Provincia de los Doce Apostoles, glorificado, adorado, y festejado en su Templo, y Convento Maximo de Jesus de la Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, en ocasión que regocijada la Serafica familia celebró con demostraciones festivas la deseada canonización, y declaración del culto universal, y público, que le decretó nuestro santissimo padre Benedicto XIII de eterna memoria, y felice recordacion: de que hace relacion en esta regia corte de Madrid*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la V.M. de Agreda, 1735.

Rodríguez Guillén, Pedro. *Memoria genial, y academica, del triumpho mayor por menor del laurel seraphico, con que ciñó la mas esclarecida Minerva en su Athenèo famoso, y sublime por su Estrella Sacro Regia, las Cienes de cinco Religiosos del Orden de N. S. P. S. Francisco [...]*. Lima: En la imprenta que está extramuros de Santa Cathalina, 1739.

Sacred Congregation of Rites. “Nueva concession, viva vocis oraculo, de Nuestro Santissimo Padre Clemente Papa Nono, con atestacion del Eminentissimo Card. Ginetto,” in Leonardo Hansen, *Vida de la Bienaventurada Rosa Peruana de Santa María de la Tercera Orden de Santo Domingo. Su admirable vida y preciosa muerte*, translated by Jacinto de Parra, 29–30. Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, Impressor de Libros, 1668.

Sacred Congregation of Rites. *Sacra Congregatio Sacrorum Rituum, sive eminentiss[imus] ac reverendiss[imus] D. Card. Chisio. Limana. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Vener[abilis] Servi Dei Fr. Francisci Solani Ordinis S. Francisci. Positio super dubio, An, & de quibus miraculis constet in casu &c[etera]*. Rome: ex Typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicae, 1674.

Sacrae Congregationis Indicis. *Index librorum prohibitorum: Alexandri VII Pontificis Maximi iussu editus*. Rome: Ex Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1664.

Sandoval, Alonso de. *De instauranda Aethiopum Salute. Tomo primero: Historia de Aethiopia, naturaleça, policia sagrada y profana, costumbres, ritos y cathecismo evangelico de todos los aethiopes, con que se restaura la salud de sus almas: dividida en dos tomos*. Madrid: Por Alonso de Paredes, 1647 [1627].

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, edited by Miguel Acosta Saigones. Mexico City: Editorial Nueva España, 1946 [c. 1540-1590].

Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Peru meritos, y excelencias de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Lima, cabeça de sus ricos, y estendidos reynos, y el estado presente en que se hallan. Para inclinar a la Majestad de su Católico Monarca D. Felipe IV, Rey poderoso de España, y de las Indias, a que pida a Su Santidad la Canonización de su Patrón, el Venerable P. F. Francisco Solano de la Orden de nuestro seráfico P.S. Francisco*. Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1631.

Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial del Padre Fray Buenaventura Salinas y Cordova, de la Regular Observancia de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco, Procurador general de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça de los ricos, y estendidos Reynos del Peru, cuya grandeza y meritos representa a la Magestad del Rey don Felipe IIII, Catolico Monarca en ambos Mundos, para que pida a Su Santidad la Canonizacion de su Apostolico Patron, el Venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano*. Madrid: [s.p.] 1639.

Sixtus V. “Immensa Aeterni Dei” (22 January 1588). In *Bullarium Romanum VIII*, 985–99. Turin: Vecco et sociis editoribus, succes. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1863 [1588].

Solórzano Pereira, Juan de. *De Indiarum Iure. Liber I: De inquisitione Indiarum*, edited by Carlos Baciero, Luis Baciero, Ana María Barrero, Jesús María García, and José María Soto. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001 [1629].

Tanner, Norman, ed. *Decrees of the ecumenical councils, vol. II: Trent to Vatican II*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990.

Tello, Antonio. *Libro segundo de la crónica miscelanea en que se trata de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la santa provincia de Xalisco en el Nuevo Reino de la Galicia y Nueva Vizcaya y descubrimiento del Nuevo México*. Guadalajara: Impr. de “La República literaria,” de C. L. de Guevara y Ca., 1891 [c. 1650].

Torquemada, Juan de. *Vida y milagros del santo confessor de Christo, fray Sebastia[n] de Aparicio frayle lego de la orden del serafico padre San Francisco, de la prouincia del Santo Euangelio*. Santiago de Tlatelolco: Diego López Dávalos, 1602.

Torres, Alonso de. *Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada*. Facsimile reproduction of the only edition from the year 1683, edited by Rafael Mota Murillo. Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1984 [1683].

Torres Saldamando, Enrique, ed. *Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima, vol. II*. Paris: Imprimerie P. Dupont, 1888 [c. 1669].

Urban VIII “*Sanctissimus Dominus noster sollicite animadvertens*” (March 13, 1625). In *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanum pontificum Taurinensis, vol. XIII*, edited by Luigi Tomassetti, 308–311. Turin: A. Vecco et Sociis Editoribus, 1868 [1625].

Urban VIII. “*Caelestis Hierusalem cives*” (July 5, 1634). In Urban VIII, *Decreta Servanda in Canonizatione, & Beatificatione Sanctorum. Accedunt Instructiones, & Declarationes Cardinales praesulesque Romanae Curiae ad id muneris congregati ex eiusdem Summi Pontificis mandato condiderunt*, 7–16. Rome: Ex Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost., 1642 [1634].

Urban VIII. “*In eminenti*” (March 6, 1641). In *Bullarium Romanum Novissimum, ab Urbano VIII, usque ad S.D.N. Clementem X, vol. V and vol. VI*, eds. Angelus a Lantusca, and Joannes Paulus a Roma, 400–05. Rome: Ex Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1672 [1641].

Valderrama, Bernardo. *Centuria Bética o Descripción y Colección de noticias de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Regular Observancia de Ntro. Sco. P. S. Francisco desde su erección en Provincia y separación de la de Castilla conforme a otros documentos existentes* [Manuscript, 1860].

Vargas Ugarte, Rubén. *Manuscritos peruanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, vol. III* (Lima [n.p.], 1940).

Vázquez de Espinosa, Antonio. *Description of the Indies, c. 1620*, translated by Charles Upson Clark. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968 [c. 1620].

Villagómez, Pedro de. *Sumario y memorial aivstado de las probanzas, que por deposiciones de testigos, e instrvmentos se [h]an hecho [...] en la causa de Beatificacion y Canonizacion del Sieruo de Dios el Illvstris.^{mo} S.^{or} Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, Arzobispo que fue desta Ciudad*. Lima: En la Imprenta de Juan de Queuedo y Zarate, 1662.

Villalón, Juan de San Diego. *Compendio della Vita del Beato Francesco Solano, Minore Osservante dell’Ordine di San Francesco, composto da un divoto suo*. Rome: Per Angelo Bernabò, 1675.

Villarroel, Gaspar de. "Carta al Sumo Pontífice pidiendo la canonización de San Francisco Solano." In *Gobierno Eclesiástico-Pacífico*, edited by Gonzalo Zaldumbide, 12-14. Quito: Imprenta del Ministerio de Gobierno, 1943 [1656].

Villegas, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y Historia General, en que se escribe la vida de la Virgen Sacratissima, Madre de Dios y Señora nuestra, y las de los santos antiguos, que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro Salvador al mundo: coledidas asi de la Divina Escritura, como de lo que escriben acerca de esto los Sagrados Doctores, y otros Autores graves, y fidedignos. Ponese al fin de cada Vida alguna doctrina moral al proposito de lo contenido en ella, con diversos Exemplos, y Historias de algunas Devotas Imagenes, y Festividades principales, que de la Virgen Maria celebra la Iglesia. Tratase de las seys edades del Mundo: y en ellas los hechos mas dignos de memoria que en el sucedieron. Puesto en este estilo grave, y compendioso*. Barcelona: Por Ioseph Texido, Impresor del Rey N. Señor 1724 [1578].

Villegas, Alonso de. *Flos sanctorum y Historia general, de la vida y hechos de Iesu Christo, Dios y Señor nuestro, y de todos los Santos de que reza y haze fiesta la Yglesia catolica, conforme Breuiario Romano, reformado por decreto del santo Concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los santos propios de España, y de otros Extrauagantes. Quitadas algunas cosas apocrifas è inciertas, y añadidas muchas figuras y autoridades de la Sagrada Escritura, traydas a proposito de las historias de los Santos. Y muchas anotaciones curiosas, y consideradas prouechosas. Colegido todo de autores graues y aprouados*. Toledo: Por la viuda de Iuan Rodriguez, 1591.

Vintimiliensis, Baptistae. "De canonizatione. Liber secundus." In *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta et non paucis ineditis monumentis opportunisque animadversionibus aucta, vol. IV: Continens Monumenta Miscellanea varia*, edited by Etienne Baluze. Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctinium, 1744.

Wadding, Luke. *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum, vol. IX*. Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1734.

Wadding, Luke. *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum, vol. XV*. Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabò, 1736.

2. Secondary sources

Acuña Fariña, Constanza. "Naturae prodigium gratiae portentum: Pedro de Alva y Astorga y la serie de 54 pinturas sobre la vida de San Francisco del Museo Colonial de Santiago: Milenarismo y visualidad en la cultura cusqueña del siglo XVII." *Eadem utraque Europa*, 12 (2011): 55–79.

Adiele, Pius Onyemechi. *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418-1839*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017.

Aigrain, René. *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000 [1953].

Albani, Benedetta. "In universo christiano orbe: la Sacra Congregazione del Concilio e l'amministrazione dei sacramenti nel Nuovo Mondo (secoli XVI-XVII)." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 121, no. 1 (2009): 63–73.

- Alberigo, Giuseppe. "Carlo Borromeo come modello di vescovo della Chiesa post-tridentina." *Rivista storica italiana* 79 (1967): 1031–52.
- Alberigo, Giuseppe. "From the Council of Trent to 'Tridentinism.'" In *From Trent to Vatican II. Historical and Theological Investigations*, edited by Raymond Bulman, and Frederick Parrella, 19–37. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Altman, Ida, and Thiago Krausein. "Europeans, Indians, and Africans in the making of colonial societies." In *The Iberian World: 1450–1820*, edited by Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros, 416–30. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Angulo, Domingo. *Santa Rosa de Santa María: Estudio bibliográfico*. Lima: Sanmartí y Cía., 1917.
- Anselmi, Alessandra. "Roma celebra la monarchia spagnola: il teatro per la canonizzazione di Isidoro Agricola, Ignazio di Loyola, Francesco Saverio, Teresa di Gesù e Filippo Neri (1622)." In *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII*, edited by José Luis Colomer, 221–46. Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003.
- Anselmi, Alessandra. "Theaters for the Canonization of Saints." In *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, edited by William Tronzo, 244–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Arias Cuba, Ybeth. "¿La santidad de Rosa de Santa María como modelo de vasallo hispano? Lima y México, 1668-1737." In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano, vol. III: Tierra de santidad*, edited by Fernando Quiles García, José Jaime García Bernal, Paolo Broggio, and Marcello Fagiolo Dell'Arco, 341–65. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide - Roma Tre Press, 2020.
- Arias Cuba, Ybeth. "Integración de un sistema devocional indiano en la Monarquía Hispana. El culto de Santa Rosa de Santa María en las ciudades de Lima y México, 1668-1737." PhD diss., El Colegio de México, 2019.
- Armstrong, Megan. "Transatlantic Catholicism: Rethinking the Nature of the Catholic Tradition in the Early Modern Period." *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1942–66.
- Aubert, Roger. "Les Nouvelles frontières de l'historiographie ecclésiastique." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 95, no. 3 (2000): 757–81.
- Bailey, Michael David. *Magic and Superstition in Europe. A Concise History from Antiquity to the Present*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Baker, Sheila. "Pasquinades and propaganda: the reception of Urban VIII." In *The Papacy Since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor*, edited by James Corkery and Thomas Worcester, 69–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Balthasar, Hans Urs von. *The Word Made Flesh. Explorations in Theology*. Translated by A.V. Littledale, and Alexander Dru. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989.
- Bamji, Alexandra, Geert Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2013.
- Barnes, Timothy David. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

- Barriga Calle, Irma. "De Catalina a Rosa: un ensayo de interpretación." In *Santa Rosa de Lima: miradas desde el cuarto centenario*, edited by Margarita Guerra Martinière, and Estrella Guerra Caminiti, 29–48. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva Agüero, 2017.
- Barros Arana, Diego. *Historia general de Chile, vol. IV*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2000.
- Bartlett, Robert. *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Bataillon, Marcel. *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, edited by Jean-Claude Margolin, 1–71. Genève: Droz, 1998 [1937].
- Baudot, Jules, and Léon Chaussin. *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier: avec l'historique des fêtes*, 13 vols. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1935-1959.
- Beaudoin, Yvon. "Brief History of Canonizations." In *Canonization: Theology, History, Process*, edited by William Woestman, 20–33. Ottawa, Saint Paul University, 2002.
- Beebe, Rose Marie, and Robert Senkewicz. *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.
- Bellosi, Luciano. *La pecora di Giotto*. Turin: Einaudi, 1985.
- Bély, Lucien. *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: Fayard, 1990.
- Benzoni, Maria Matilde. "Federico Borromeo and the New World in the Early Modern Milan." In *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492-1750*, edited by Elizabeth Horodowich and Lia Markey, 103–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Biagioli, Mario. *Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Blastic, Michael. "The Virgin Mary in the Writings of Francis and Clare of Assisi." In *Medieval Franciscan Approaches to the Virgin Mary: Mater Sanctissima, Misericordia, et Dolorosa*, edited by Steven McMichael, and Katherine Wrisley Shelby, 13–14. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Bloch, Marc, and Lucien Febvre. "A nos lecteurs." *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 1, no. 1 (1929): 1–2.
- Bloch, Marc. *Apologie pour l'histoire, ou métier d'historien*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1949.
- Bonney, Richard. *Society and Government in France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624-61*. London: Macmillan Press, 1988.
- Borges, Pedro. "La emigración de eclesiásticos a América en el siglo XVI. Criterios para su estudio." In *América y la España del siglo XVI*, edited by Francisco de Paula Solano Pérez-Lila and Fermín Del Pino Díaz, 47–62. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983.

- Borges, Pedro. *Religiosos en Hispanoamérica*. Madrid: Mapfre, 1992.
- Borges, Pedro. "Las órdenes religiosas." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. I: Aspectos generales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 209–44. Madrid: BAC; Toledo: Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso, 1992.
- Borges, Pedro. "Los artifices de la evangelización." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. I: Aspectos generales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 437–55. Madrid: BAC; Toledo: Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso, 1992.
- Borges, Pedro. "Sistemas y lengua de la predicación." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. I: Aspectos generales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 509–19. Madrid: BAC; Toledo: Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso, 1992.
- Boruchoff, David. "Martín de Murúa, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and the Contested Uses of Sainly Models in Writing Colonial American History." In *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas*, eds. Stephanie Kirk, and Sarah Rivett, 79–108. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
- Bossi, Gaetano. *La Pasquinata Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini. Ricerche storiche*. Rome: E. Filiziani, 1898.
- Boswell, William. *Romes Master-Peece; or, the Grand Conspiracy of the Pope...* London: Michael Sparke, 1643.
- Bouley, Bradford. *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
- Boutry, Philippe. "Gregory XV." In *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia, vol. II*, edited by Philippe Levillain, 669. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Brading, David. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brading, David. *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán, 1749-1810*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Bradley, Peter. *Spain and the Defence of Peru, 1579-1700: Royal Reluctance and Colonial Self-Reliance*. Raleigh: Lulu, 2009.
- Bredero, Adriaan. *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994.
- Bronner, Fred. "Peruvian Encomenderos in 1630: Elite Circulation and Consolidation." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 4 (1977): 634–59.
- Bronner, Fred. "La hispanidad de la temprana Lima barroca: amerindios, morenos y marranos." In *El hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease G. Y., vol 2*, edited by Javier Flores, and Rafael Varón, 915–28. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos - Fundación Telefónica, 2002.
- Brown, Peter. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61(1971): 80–101.

- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Bruno, Cayetano. *Las florecillas de San Francisco Solano*. La Plata: Don Bosco, 1976.
- Brusoni, Girolamo. *Supplemento all'Historia d'Italia*. Frankfurt: appresso Sebastiano Scouerth, 1664.
- Burke, David G. "Seraph, Seraphim." In *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, edited by Bruce Metzger, and Michael Coogan, 687. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Burke, Peter. "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *Religion and society in early modern Europe 1500-1800*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz, 45–55. London: German Historical Institute, 1984.
- Burke, Peter. "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, edited by Peter Burke, 48–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Burke, Peter. "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, edited by David Luebke, 129–42. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- Burke, Peter. "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *The Reformation. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, vol. IV*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, 153–64. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Burkholder, Mark. *Spaniards in the Colonial Empire: Creoles vs. Peninsulars?* Malden: Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2013.
- Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Burns, Kathryn. *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Foreword." In *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, edited by Catherine Mooney, I–XIII. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Cabré, Francisco. *Semblanza de San Francisco Solano, apóstol de la Argentina y el Perú: 1549-1610*. Arequipa: La Colmena, 1949.
- Caffiero, Marina. "Santità, politica e sistemi di potere." In *Santità, culti, agiografia: temi e prospettive: Atti del I Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia: Roma, 24-26 ottobre 1996*, edited by Sofia Boesch Gajano, 363–71. Rome: Viella, 1997.
- Caffiero, Marina. "Istituzioni, forme e usi del sacro." In *Roma moderna. Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi*, edited by Giorgio Ciucci, 143–80. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2002.

Caggiano, Antonio. *La figura de San Francisco Solano y su actuación en el Tucumán, según el proceso de beatificación y canonización instruido en Lima y conservado en los Archivos Vaticanos de la Sagrada Congregación de Ritos*. Buenos Aires [n.p.], 1950.

Calvo, Carlos. *Derecho internacional teórico y práctico de Europa y América, vol. I*. Paris: D'Amyot, Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1868.

Campagnola, Stanislao da. *L'Angelo del Sesto Sigillo e l'Alter Christus: Genesi e sviluppo di due temi francescani nei secoli XIII-XIV*. Rome: Laurentianum - Antonianum, 1971.

Campbell, Anna. "Colette of Corbie: Cult and Canonization." In *A Companion to Colette of Corbie*, eds. Joan Mueller, and Nancy Bradley Warren, 173–206. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Candioti, Luis Alberto. *San Francisco Solano en la conquista espiritual de América*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1955.

Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio. *Estudios del reinado de Felipe IV*. Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1888.

Cañeque, Alejandro. *Un imperio de mártires. Religión y poder en las fronteras de la Monarquía hispánica*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2020.

Carcelén, Carlos. "La organización de las parroquias rurales en el Perú colonial, siglos XVI y XVII." *Revista Peruana de Historia Eclesiástica* 8 (2004): 79–99.

Carlos Varona, María Cruz de. "'Ante Obitum Mortuus, Post Obitum Vivus': Visual Representations of the Body of Saint Francis of Assisi." In *Imagery, Spirituality and Ideology in Baroque Spain and Latin America*, edited by Jeremy Roe, and Marta Bustillo, 97–112. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

Carrasco Ligarda, Rosa. *Santa Rosa de Lima. Escritos de la santa limeña*. Lima: Facultad de Teología Pontificia y Civil de Lima, 2017.

Castrillo González, Carmen, ed. *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, vol. II: Manuscritos 1680-2777*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002.

Castro y Castro, Manuel de. *Bibliografía Hispanofranciscana*. Santiago de Compostela: Aldecoa, 1994.

Certeau, Michel de. *La possession de Loudun*. Paris, Julliard, 1970.

Certeau, Michel de. *L'écriture de l'histoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.

Certeau, Michel de. *La faiblesse de croire*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987.

Certeau, Michel de. "A variant: Hagio-Graphical Edification." In Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley, 269–283. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, vol. II*. Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1876.

- Ceyskens, Lucien. "Pedro de Alva y Astorga OFM y su imprenta de la Inmaculada de Lovaina (1663-1666)." *Archivo Iberoamericano* 11 (1951): 5–35.
- Christian, William. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Chupungco, Anscar, ed. *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the liturgy*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1977.
- Clodfelter, Micheal. *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1500-2000*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2002.
- Coello de la Rosa, Alexander. "Era sanctorum: La beatificación inconclusa del padre Diego Martínez, SJ (1627-1634)." *Hispania Sacra* 61, no. 123 (2009): 191–225.
- Cognet, Louis. "Ecclesiastical Life in France." In *History of the Church, vol. VI: The Church in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment*, edited by Hubert Jedin, and John Dolan; translated by Gunther Holst, 3–106. New York: Crossroad, 1981.
- Colgrave, Bertram, ed. *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Colom, José Juan. *Instrucción de escribanos en orden a lo judicial. Utilísima también para procuradores y litigantes, donde sucintamente se esplica lo ritual y forma de proceder en las causas civiles y criminales, así en la teórica como en la práctica. Fundada sobre las leyes reales y estilo de tribunales ordinarios, vol. I*. Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1827.
- Congar, Yves. *The Mystery of the Church*. Translated by A. V. Littledale. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1960.
- Congar, Yves. *La Tradition et les traditions, vol. II: Essai théologique*. Paris: Fayard, 1963.
- Conover, Cornelius. *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019.
- Cook, Noble David. "Beyond the *Martyrs of Florida*: The Versatile Career of Luis Gerónimo de Oré." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (1992): 169–87.
- Copeland, Clare. "Saints, Devotions and Canonisation in Early Modern Italy." *History Compass* 10, no. 3 (2012): 260–9.
- Copeland, Clare. "Spanish saints in Counter-Reformation Italy." In *The Spanish presence in sixteenth-century Italy: Images of Iberia*, edited by Piers Baker-Bates, and Miles Pattenden, 103–26. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.
- Copeland, Clare. *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Coriden, James. *An Introduction to Canon Law*. New York: Paulist Press, 2004.
- Corradini, Sandro. "La censura en las causas de canonización según la *Divinus perfectionis Magister*." In *Procesos de canonización: comentarios a la instrucción*

'*Sanctorum Mater*', edited by Ricardo Quintana Bescós, 123–39. Madrid: Publicaciones San Dámaso, 2010.

Cotter, Elizabeth M. *The General Chapter in a Religious Institute: With Particular Reference to IBVM Loreto Branch*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2008.

Cramer, Kevin. "Religious Conflict in History: *The Nation as the One True Church*." In *Religion und Nation, Nation und Religion: Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte*, edited by Michael Geyer, and Hartmut Lehmann, 35–48. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004.

Criscuolo, Vincenzo. "Evoluzione storica del culto e delle procedure di canonizzazione." In *Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum. Le cause dei santi. Sussidio per lo Studium*, edited by Vincenzo Criscuolo, Carmelo Pellegrino, and Robert Sarno, 165–224. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2018.

Crook, John. *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-c.1200*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Crosby, Michael. *Thank God Ahead of Time: The Life and Spirituality of Solanus Casey*. Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2009.

Cummins, Victoria. "Blessed connections: Sociological aspects of sainthood in colonial Mexico and Peru." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 1–18.

Cunningham, Andrew. *The Identity of the History of Science and Medicine*. New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.

Cusato, Michael. "Toward a Resolution of the Franciscan Question: Introduction to the Roundtable." *Franciscan Studies* 66 (2008): 479–81.

Cussen, Celia. "The Search for Idols and Saints in Colonial Peru: Linking Extirpation and Beatification." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2005): 417–48.

Cussen, Celia. *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Dal Santo, Matthew. *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

De la Barrera y Leirado, Cayetano Alberto. *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega, vol. I*. Madrid: Atlas, 1973.

De las Casas, José Gonzalo. *Diccionario general del notariado de España y ultramar, vol. VI*. Madrid: J. Antonio García, 1857.

Dandeleit, Thomas James. *Spanish Rome. 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

De Boer, Wietse. *The Conquest of the Soul. Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Delehaye, Hippolyte. *The Legends of the Saints*. Translated by Donald Attwater. New York: Fordham University Press, 1962.

Delooz, Pierre. "Pour une étude sociologique de la sainteté canonisée dans l'Église catholique." *Archives de sociologie des religions* 13 (1962): 17–43.

Del Busto Duthurburu, José Antonio. *Santa Rosa de Lima (Isabel Flores de Oliva)*. Lima: PUCP, 2006.

Del Re, Niccolò, and Adriana Cartotti Oddasso. "Rosa da Lima, vergine, santa." In *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, edited by Filippo Caraffa, and Giuseppe Morelli, col. 396–413. Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1990.

Del Re, Niccolò. *La Curia Romana: lineamenti storico-giuridici*. 4th edition, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998.

Díaz, Álvaro. *San Francisco Solano, gloria de los misioneros de América*. Córdoba: Cajasur, 1991.

Dillenberger, John. *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

DiLuzio, Meghan. *A Place at the Altar: Priestesses in Republican Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Dinan, Susan. "Spheres of Female Religious Expression in Early Modern France." In *Women and Religion in Old and New Worlds*, edited by Susan Dinan, and Debra Meyers, 71–92. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Ditchfield, Simon. "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422.

Ditchfield, Simon. *Liturgy, sanctity and history in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Ditchfield, Simon. "San Carlo and the cult of saints." In *Cultura e spiritualità borromaica tra cinque e seicento. Atti delle giornate di studio 25-26 novembre 2005*, edited by Franco Buzzi, and Maria-Luisa Frosio, 145–54. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2006.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Tridentine worship and the cult of saints." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. VI: Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, edited by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 201–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World." *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 552–84.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Of Dancing Cardinals and Mestizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period." *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 386–408.

Ditchfield, Simon. "'Coping with the Beati Moderni': Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent." In *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, edited by Thomas McCoog, 413–39. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Romanus et Catholicus: Counter-Reformation Rome as caput mundi." In *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, edited by Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield, 131–47. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Exemplary Lives in the Making of a World Religion." In *Making Saints in a Global Religion: Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism*, edited by Birgit Emich, Daniel Siedler, Samuel Weber, and Christian Windler [Forthcoming].

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. "Regalismo y relaciones Iglesia-Estado (s. XVII)." In *Historia de la Iglesia en España, vol. IV*, edited by Antonio Mestre Sanchís, 73–124. Madrid: BAC, 1979.

Dueñas, Alcira. *Indians and Mestizos in the "Lettered City": Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.

Duffin, Jacalyn. *Medical Miracles. Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Duverger, Christian. *La conversión de los indios de la Nueva España. Con el texto de los Coloquios de los Doce de Bernardino de Sahagún (1564)*. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1990.

Duviols, Pierre. *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. «L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie» entre 1532 et 1660*. Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines, 1971.

Earle, Rebecca. *The Body of the Conquistador. Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Eastwood, Bruce. *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Egaña, Antonio de. *Historia de la Iglesia en la América Española. Desde el descubrimiento hasta comienzos del siglo XIX. Hemisferio Sur*. Madrid, BAC, 1966.

Eguiluz, Antonio de. "El Padre Alva y Astorga y sus escritos immaculadistas. Bosquejo bio-bibliográfico." *Archivo Iberoamericano* 15 (1955): 497–594.

Eire, Carlos M. N. *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Elliott, John. *The Revolt of the Catalans. A Study in the Decline of Spain (1568-1640)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Elliott, John. "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain." *Past & Present* 74 (1977): 41–61.

Elliott, John. "The Spanish Conquest and settlement of America." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. I: Colonial Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 149–206. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Elliott, John. *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Elliott, John. *The Old World and the New (1492-1650)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 [1970].

Emich, Birgit. "The Cardinal Nephew." In *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, edited by Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden, and Arnold Witte, 71–90. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Escudero, José Antonio. *Los Secretarios de Estado y del Despacho (1474-1724)*. Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2020.

Estenssoro Fuchs, Juan Carlos. *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750*, translated by Gabriela Ramos. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos - Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva Agüero, 2003.

Faber, Frederick William. *An Essay on Beatification, Canonization, and the Processes of the Congregation of Rites*. London: Richardson and Son, 1848.

Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids: B. Eerdmans, 2003.

Fernández Collado, Ángel. *Los informes de visita ad limina de los arzobispos de Toledo*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla – La Mancha, 2002.

Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín. *El periquillo sarniento*. Mexico City: Porrúa, 1992 [c. 1817].

Figliucci, Flaminio. *Vita della beata Francesca Romana*. Florence: Appresso Bartolomeo Sermartelli e Fratelli, 1606.

Finucane, Ronald. *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523*. Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011.

Fischer, Julia. *Art in Rome: From Antiquity to the Present*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.

Fiume, Giovanna. "St. Benedict the Moor, from Sicily to the New World." In *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, edited by Margaret Cormack, 16–51. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007.

Fleming, John. *An introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977.

Flint, Valerie. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Forcella, Vincenzo. *Catalogo dei manoscritti relativi alla Storia di Roma che si conservano nella Biblioteca Vaticana, vol. I*. Rome: Fratelli Bocca E.C., 1879.

Foucault, Michel. *Histoire de la folie à l'âge Classique*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1972.

Frenz, Thomas. *I documenti pontifici nel Medioevo e nell'Età Moderna*, edited by Sergio Pagano. Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2008.

Fudge, Thomas. *Medieval Religion and its Anxieties: History and Mystery in the Other Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Fuentes, Manuel Atanasio, ed. *Memoria de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú, vol. IV: Don José Antonio Manso de Velasco, conde de Superunda; Don Manuel Amant y Yunient, caballero de la Orden de San Juan*. Lima: Felipe Bailly, 1859.

Fussenegger, Gerold. "San Francisco Solano en tierras germánicas. Nueva aportación bibliográfica." *Archivo ibero-americano*, 10(1950): 461–64.

Galmés, Lorenzo. "Hagiografía hispano-americana." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. I: Aspectos generales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 383–403. Madrid: BAC - Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso de Toledo, 1992.

Gálvez-Peña, Carlos. "El carro de Ezequiel: la monarquía hispana de fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova." *Historica* 32, no. 1 (2008): 39–75.

Gálvez-Peña, Carlos. "Writing History to Reform the Empire: Religious Chroniclers in Seventeenth-Century Peru." PhD diss., Columbia University in the City of New York, 2012.

Gálvez-Peña, Carlos. "Forjar santos en el Perú del siglo XVII. Representación política, agencia criolla y cultura letrada virreinal." In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano, vol. III: Tierra de santidad*, edited by Fernando Quiles García, José Jaime García Bernal, Paolo Broggio, and Marcello Fagiolo Dell'Arco, 67–85. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide - Roma Tre Press, 2020.

Gaposchkin, Marianne Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

García Oro, José. *San Francisco Solano. Un hombre para las Américas*. Madrid: BAC, 1988.

Geary, Patrick. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Gelabert, Juan E. *La bolsa del Rey. Rey, reino y fisco en Castilla (1598-1648)*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1997.

Gento Sanz, Benjamín. "Semblanza histórica del cronista peruano fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas: siglo XVII," *Revista de historia de América* 40 (1955): 425–86.

George, Charles, and Katherine George, *Protestant Mind of English Reformation, 1570-1640*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by David Womersley. 3 vols., London: Penguin Books, 2001.

Gieseler, Johann. *A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. Vol IV*, trans. John Winstanley Hull. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1853.

Gil Albarracín, Antonio. "San Francisco Solano y América." In *El franciscanismo en Andalucía. San Francisco Solano [obs. + 1610] en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. Libro homenaje a Manuel Ruiz Luque: XVI curso de verano (Montilla, 12 y*

13 de julio de 2010), edited by Manuel Peláez Del Rosal, 87–116. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012.

Gilbert, Christopher. “If This Statue Could Talk: Statuary Satire in the Pasquinade Tradition.” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 18, no. 1 (2015): 79–112.

Glave Testino, Luis Miguel. *De Rosa y espinas: economía, sociedad y mentalidades andinas, siglo XVII*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1998.

Godding, Robert, Bernard Joassart, Xavier Lequeux, François De Vriendt, and Joseph van der Straeten, *Bollandistes, saints et légendes : quatre siècles de recherche*. Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 2007.

Godet-Calogeras, Jean-François. “The Rule of the Franciscan Third Order.” In *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, edited by Krijn Pansters, 343–366. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Goodich, Michael. *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.

Gotor, Miguel. *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002.

Gotor, Miguel. *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna*. Bari: Editori Laterza, 2004.

Gotor, Miguel. *Santi stravaganti. Agiografia, ordini religiosi e censura ecclesiastica nella prima età moderna*. Rome: Aracne editrice, 2012.

Gotor, Miguel. “Han canonizado a cuatro españoles y un santo”. La propuesta hagiográfica del oratoriano Felipe Neri entre “el esplendor de Iberia” y “la gloriosa memoria de Enrique IV.” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 29 (2020): 261–89.

Graus, František. *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger; Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit*. Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965.

Graziano, Frank. “Santa Rosa de Lima y la política de la canonización.” *Estudio y debates* 34 (2002): 9–45.

Graziano, Frank. *Wounds of Love. The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Greer, Allan. “Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain.” In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer, and Jodi Bilinkoff, 235–50. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Gregorovius, Ferdinand. *Urbano VIII e la sua opposizione alla Spagna e all'Imperatore: Episodio della Guerra dei Trent'Anni*. Rome: Fratelli Bocca, 1879.

Gruzinski, Serge. *La colonisation de l'imaginaire: sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988.

Gruzinski, Serge. *Les quatre parties du monde*. Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2004.

Guazzelli, Giuseppe. "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church." In *Sacred History. Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, eds. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, 52–71. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Guerra Martinière, Margarita, and Estrella Guerra Caminiti, eds. *Santa Rosa de Lima: miradas desde el cuarto centenario*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva Agüero, 2017.

Guibovich Pérez, Pedro. "La carrera de un visitador de idolatrías en el siglo XVII: Fernando de Avendaño (1580?-1655)." In *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías. Siglos XVI-XVII*, eds. Henrique Urbano and Gabriela Ramos, 169–240. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993.

Guibovich Pérez, Pedro. *Censura, libros e inquisición en el Perú colonial, 1570-1754*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla: 2003.

Guibovich Pérez, Pedro. *Lecturas prohibidas: La censura inquisitorial en el Perú tardío colonial*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2013.

Guibovich Pérez, Pedro. *Imprimir en Lima durante la colonia: Historia y documentos, 1584-1750*. Frankfurt: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2019.

Halászová, Ingrid. "'Vera Effigies'... (?)" The Limits of Truth in the Early Modern Portrait." *Historia artium. Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities* 3 (2018): 59–85.

Haliczer, Stephen. *Between Exaltation and Infamy: Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Hamilton, Earl J. *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934.

Hamilton, Earl J. *Money, Prices and Wages in Valencia, Aragon, and Navarre, 1351-1500*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Hamilton, Earl J. *War and Prices in Spain, 1651-1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.

Hamnett, Brian. *The Enlightenment in Iberia and Ibero-America*. Cardiff: University of North Wales Press, 2017.

Hampe, Teodoro. "El proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa (nuevas luces sobre la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial)." *Hispania Sacra* 48, no. 98 (1996): 719–40.

Hampe, Teodoro. "Santa Rosa de Lima y la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial (Ensayo de interpretación)." *Revista de Historia de América* 121 (1996): 7–26.

Hampe, Teodoro. "Universo intelectual de un 'Extirpador de idolatrías': la biblioteca de Francisco de Ávila (1648)." *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv. Neue Folge* 22, no. 1 (1996), 3–30.

Hampe, Teodoro. "Los testigos de Santa Rosa. Una aproximación social a la identidad criolla en el Perú colonial." *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 23 (1997): 113–36.

- Hampe, Teodoro. *Santidad e identidad criolla: estudio del proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1998.
- Hanke, Lewis. "Pope Paul III and the American Indians." *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (1937): 65–102.
- Harries, Jill. *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012.
- Hart, Stephen. *Santa Rosa de Lima. La evolución de una santa (1586-1617)*. Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2017.
- Hart, Stephen. "The Biographical Fashioning of the Americas' First Saint: Santa Rosa de Lima (1586-1617)." *The Modern Language Review* 114, no. 2 (2019): 230–58.
- Hayward, Paul Antony. "Demystifying the role of sanctity in Western Christendom." In *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, edited by Paul Antony Hayward, and James Howard-Johnston, 115–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Henriet, Patrick. "Texte et contexte. Tendances récentes de la recherche en hagiologie." In *Religion et Mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, edited by Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lionel Rousselot, 75–86. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003.
- Heras, Julián. *Provincia Misionera de "San Francisco Solano del Perú"*. Lima [n.p], 2008.
- Hereza, Pablo. *Corpus Murillo. Pinturas y dibujos. Encargos*. Seville: Instituto de Cultura y las Artes de Sevilla, 2019.
- Herlihy, David. *Did Women have a Renaissance?: A Reconsideration*. New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, 1985.
- Hernández Aparicio, Pilar. "Estadísticas franciscanas del s. XVII." In *Los franciscanos y el Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVII). Actas del III Congreso Internacional (La Rábida, 18-23 de septiembre de 1989)*, edited by Paulino Castañeda Delgado, 555–91. Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1991.
- Herzig, Tamar. "Genuine and Fraudulent Stigmatics in the Sixteenth Century." In *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, and Tamar Herzig, 142–64. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Hinson, Glenn. *The Church Triumphant: A History of Christianity Up to 1300*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995.
- Hiral, Ange-Marie. *Vie de saint François Solano de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs, apôtre de l'Amérique Méridionale: 1549-1610*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1906.
- Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Horodowich, Elizabeth, and Alexander Nagel. *Amerasia*. New York: Zone Books, 2023.

Hunt, John M. *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum*. Boston: Brill, 2016.

Ilg, Matthias Emil. *Constantia et Fortitudo. Der Kult des kapuzinischen Blutzeugen Fidelis von Sigmaringen zwischen 'Pietas Austriaca' und 'Ecclesia Triumphans': Die Verehrungsgeschichte des Protomärtyrers der Gegenreformation, des Kapuzinerordens und der 'Congregatio de propaganda fide' (1622-1729)*. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016.

Iordanou, Ioanna. *Venice's Secret Service: Organising Intelligence in the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Iriarte, Lázaro. *Historia franciscana*. Valencia: Editorial Asís, 1979.

Iwasaki, Fernando. "Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 4 (1993): 581–613.

Iwasaki, Fernando Iwasaki. "¡El olor! ¡El olor! Olores de santidad en Lima colonial." *Nuevas de Indias. Anuario del CEAC* 1 (2016): 61–116.

Iwasaki, Fernando. *¡Aplaca, Señor, tu ira! Lo maravilloso y lo imaginario en Lima colonial*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018.

Izaguirre, Bernardino. *Historia de San Francisco Solano*. Tournai: Desclée, 1908.

Jiménez Barranco, Antonio Luis. "Una visión de la familia de san Francisco Solano a través de los archivos montillanos." In *El franciscanismo en Andalucía*, edited by Manuel Peláez del Rosal, 121–49. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011.

Jiménez Pablo, Esther. "La santidad politizada en época moderna: estudios más recientes." *Chronica Nova* 43 (2017): 11–18.

Joassart, Bernard. *Hippolyte Delehaye : Hagiographie critique et modernisme*, 2 vols. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000.

Johnson, Timothy J. "The Legenda Minor." In *A Companion to Bonaventure*, eds. Jay M. Hammond, Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff, 435–51. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Jones, Hannah. "Agnes and Constantia: domesticity and cult patronage in the Passion of Agnes." In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*, edited by Kate Cooper, and Julia Hillner, 135–37. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Jones, Pamela. "Celebrating New Saints in Rome and across the Globe." In *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, edited by Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield, 148–66. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Jouve Martín, José Ramón. "En olor de santidad: hagiografía, cultos locales y escritura religiosa en Lima, siglo XVII." *Colonial Latin American Review* 13, no. 2 (2004): 181–98.

- Kagan, Richard. "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain." In *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, edited by David Buisseret, 75–108. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Kagan, Richard. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Kamen, Henry. *Golden Age Spain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Kempis, Thomas à. *De imitatione Christi*. Frankfurt: Typis et sumptibus Andreae, 1838 [1418].
- Klaiber, Jeffrey. *The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985. A Social History*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991.
- Knight, Alan. "The Several Legs of Santa Ana: A Saga of Secular Relics." In *Relics and Remains*, edited by Alexandra Walsham, 227–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Köchli, Ulrich. *Urban VIII und die Barberini: Nepotismus als Strukturmerkmal päpstlicher Herrschaftsorganisation in der Vormoderne*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2017.
- Kuhlmann, Peter. "Cultural Memory and Roman Identity in the Hymns of Prudentius." In *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World*, edited by Martin Bommas, Juliette Harrison, and Phoebe Roy, 237–56. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.
- Labarga; Fermín. "1622 o la canonización de la Reforma Católica." *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* (2020), 29: 73–126.
- Lacordaire, Jean-Baptiste Henri. *Life of saint Dominic*, trans. Edward Hazeland. London: Burns and Oates, 1883.
- Lamana, Gonzalo. *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Lane, Kris. *Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World*. University of California Press, 2019.
- Lavallé, Bernard. *Las promesas ambiguas. Criollismo colonial en los Andes*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva Agüero, 1993.
- Lavallé, Bernard. "Americanidad exaltada/hispanidad exacerbada: contradicción y ambigüedades en el discurso criollo del siglo XVII peruano." In *Sobre el Perú. Homenaje a José Agustín de la Puente Candamo, vol. II*, edited by Margarita Guerra Martinière, Oswaldo Holguín Calvo, and César Gutiérrez Muñoz, 727–42. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002.
- Leemans, Johan. "Martyr, Monk and Victor of Paganism. An Analysis of Basil of Caesarea's Panegyric Sermon on Gordius." In *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, edited by Johan Leemans, 45–80. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.

Le Goff, Jacques. *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Le Goff, Jacques. "Introduction: Medieval Man." In *Medieval Callings*, edited by Jacques Le Goff; translated by Lydia Cochrane, 1–35. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*, translated by Gareth Evan Gollrad. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.

Leone, Massimo. *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.

Lévano Medina, Diego Edgar. "Para el aumento del servicio de Dios [For the intensification of service to God]: Formalization of Piety and Charity in Lima's Confraternities during the 16th and 17th Centuries." In *A Companion to Early Modern Lima*, edited by Emily A. Engel, 253–74. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Levin, Michael Jacob. *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-century Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Lisi, Francesco Leonardo, ed. *El Tercer Concilio Limense y la aculturación de indígenas sudamericanos. Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima entre 1582 y 1583*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1990.

Little, Lester. "Imitatio Francisci: The influence of Francis of Assisi on Late Medieval Religious Life." In *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, edited by Michael Cusato, and Guy Geltner, 195–218. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Lohmann, Guillermo. "Fray Diego de Córdoba." *Revista de Indias* 48 (1952): 343–45.

Louth, Andrew. "Holiness and Sanctity in the Early Church." In *Saints and Sanctity*, edited by Peter Clarke, and Tony Claydon, 1–18. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2011.

Luque Alcaide, Elisa. *Iglesia en América Latina (siglos XVI-XVIII). Continuidad y renovación*. Pamplona: Eunsa, 2008.

Lutz, Georg. "Urbano VIII." In *Enciclopedia dei papi, vol. III*, edited by Massimo Bray, 298–302. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000.

Lynch, John. *Spain Under the Habsburgs, vol. II: Spain and America, 1598-1700*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969.

Lynn, Kimberly. "From Madrid to Rome: Communication, Collaboration and Competition between the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions." In *The Roman Inquisition: Centre versus Peripheries*, edited by Katherine Aron-Beller, and Christopher Black, 60–88. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Maeso, Estela. "Un cronista criollo: fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba." In *Orbis incognitus: Avisos y Legajos del Nuevo Mundo. XII Congreso Internacional de la AEA, vol. II*, edited by Fernando Navarro Antolín, 115–24. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2021.

Mâle, Emile. *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente : étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle, du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flanders*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1932.

Mannarelli, María Emma. *Hechiceras, beatas y expósitas: mujeres y poder inquisitorial en Lima*. Lima: Ediciones del Congreso del Perú, 1998.

Manzano, Isidoro. "Alonso Briceño (1587-1668): Franciscano, pensador, obispo." *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 85 (1992): 333–66.

Maranesi, Pietro. *L'eredità di frate Francesco: lettura storico-critica del Testamento*. Assisi: Porziuncola, 2009.

Marcaida, José Ramón, and Juan Pimentel, "Dead Natures or Still Lives? Art, and Collecting in the Spanish Baroque." In *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, edited by Daniela Bleichmar, and Peter Mancall, 99–115. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Marder, Tod A. "The Pantheon in the Seventeenth century." In *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder, and Mark Wilson Jones, 296-329. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Marino, Mario. "Iconografia e santità," in *Rari e preziosi. Documenti dell'età moderna e contemporanea dall'archivio del Sant'Uffizio*, edited by Alejandro Cifres, and Marco Pizzo, 106–37. Rome: Gangemi Editori, 2009.

Markus, Robert Austin. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Markus, Robert Austin. "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1994): 257–71.

Marques, Luis Carlos. "Francisco Solano." In *Diccionario de los Santos, vol. I*, edited by Claudio Leonardi, Andrea Riccardi, and Gabriella Zarri, 881–83. Madrid: San Pablo, 2000.

Marques, Luis Carlos. "Rosa de Lima." In *Diccionario de los Santos, vol. II*, edited by Claudio Leonardi, Andrea Riccardi, and Gabriella Zarri, 2003–06. Madrid: San Pablo, 2000.

Martínez, José Luis. *Pasajeros de Indias. Viajes trasatlánticos en el siglo XVI*. Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014.

Martínez Peñas, Leandro. *El confesor del rey en el Antiguo Régimen*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2007.

Martínez Rojas, Francisco Juan. "Trento: encrucijada de reformas," *Studia Philologica Valentina* 10 (2007): 201–39.

Mayer, Thomas *The Roman Inquisition: A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Laws in the Age of Galileo*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

- McManus, Frederick. *The Congregation of Sacred Rites*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1954.
- Mecham, John Lloyd. *Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1934.
- Mecklin, John. *The Passing of the Saint: A Study of a Cultural Type*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- Meinecke, Friedrich. *The Doctrine of Raison d'Etat and its Place in Modern History*, translated by Douglas Scott. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Merrim, Stephanie. *The Spectacular City, Mexico, and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010.
- Metzler, Josef. "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV." In *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni, 1622-1972, vol. I/1*, edited by Josef Metzler, 79–111. Freiburg: Herder, 1971.
- Mignolo, Walter. "The many faces of cosmo-polis: border thinking and critical cosmopolitanism." In *Globalization: Critical Concepts in Sociology, vol. III: Global Membership and Participation*, edited by Roland Robertson, and Kathleen White, 721–48. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Millar Carvacho, René. *Inquisición y sociedad en el virreinato peruano: Estudios sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Instituto Riva Agüero, 1998.
- Millar Carvacho, René. *Santidad, falsa santidad y posesiones demoniacas en Perú y Chile, siglos XVI y XVII: estudios sobre mentalidad religiosa*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009.
- Millones, Luis. *Una partecita del cielo: la vida de Santa Rosa de Lima narrada por D[on] Gonzalo de la Maza a quien ella llamaba padre*. Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1993.
- Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and Its Enemies. Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Mills, Kenneth, and William Taylor. "Introduction. Texts and Images for Colonial History." In *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History*, edited by Kenneth Mills, and William Taylor, I–XXIV. Lanham: Scholarly Resources, 2006.
- Mínguez, Víctor. *Los reyes solares: iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica*. Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2001.
- Miranda Gallardo, Manuel. "El milagro del toro de san Francisco Solano en Murillo." *Revista de Estudios Taurinos* 36 (2015): 75–89.
- Misztal, Henryk. "Canonization in the Western Church in the View of Canon Law." *Review of Comparative Law* 7 (2001): 203–23.
- Montesinos, Fernando. *Anales del Perú, vol. II*. Madrid: Imp. de Gabriel L. y Del Horno, 1906.

- Morgan, Ronald. "Just like Rosa": History and Metaphor in the "Life" of a Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Saint." *Biography* 21, no. 3 (1998): 275–310.
- Morgan, Ronald. *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002.
- Morineau, Michel. *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux : les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI-XVIII siècles)*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985.
- Moss, Candida. *The Other Christs. Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian ideologies of Martyrdom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Muessig, Carolyn. *The Stigmata in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Mujica Pinilla, Ramón. *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996.
- Mujica Pinilla, Ramón. "El arte y los sermones." In *El Barroco Peruano, vol. I*, edited by Pierre Duviols, María Concepción García Sáiz, Teresa Gisbert, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, and Roberto Samanez Argumedeo, 219–313. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2002.
- Mujica Pinilla, Ramón. *Rosa limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005.
- Mullett, Michael. *The Catholic Reformation*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Myers, Kathleen Ann. *Neither Saints nor Sinners: Writing the Lives of Women in Spanish America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Myers, Kathleen Ann. "'Redeemer of America': Rosa de Lima (b. 1586- d. 1617), the Dynamics of Identity, and Canonization." In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer, and Jodi Bilinkoff, 251–75. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Myers, Kathleen Ann. "A Transatlantic Perspective: The Influence of Teresa's Model on New World Women." In *Approaches to Teaching Teresa of Ávila and the Spanish Mystics*, edited by Alison Weber, 148–156. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2009.
- Nemec, Jaroslav. "L'Archivio della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (ex-S. Congregazione dei Riti)." In *Miscellanea in occasione del IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)*, 339–52. Vatican City: Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1988.
- Nexon, Daniel. *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Newman, John Henry. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (Illinois: Assumption Press, 2013 [1878])

Nieto Vélez, Armando. "La Iglesia católica en el Perú." In *Historia del Perú, vol. XI: Procesos e instituciones*, edited by Fernando Silva-Santisteban, 419–600. Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1981.

Norman, Larry. "The Baroque as Anti-Classicism: The French Case." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*, edited by John Lyons, 623–41. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Noyes, Ruth. "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600." *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011): 800–46.

Noyes, Ruth. *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation crisis of the Beati moderni. Sanctity in Global Perspective*. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Nussdorfer, Laurie. "The Vacant See: Ritual and Protest in Early Modern Rome." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 2 (1987): 173–89.

Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

O’Gorman, Edmundo. *La invención de América: el universalismo de la cultura de Occidente*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958.

Ó Hanracháin, Tadhg. *Catholic Europe 1592-1648. Centre and Peripheries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

O’Malley, John. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

O’Malley, John. *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present*. Lanham: Sheed and Ward, 2010.

Orozco Díaz, Emilio. *Temas del Barroco de poesía y pintura*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1947.

Ostrow, Steven. "The Counter-Reformation and the End of the Century." In *Rome (Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance)*, edited by Marcia Hall. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Osorio, Alejandra. *Inventing Lima. Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Otero, Pacífico. *Dos héroes de la Conquista. La Orden Franciscana en el Tucumán y en el Plata*. Buenos Aires: Cabaut & Cía., 1905.

Oyarzun, Arturo. *La organización eclesiástica en el Perú y Chile durante el pontificado de santo Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (1581-1606)*. Rome: Pontificio Colegio Pio Latino Americano, 1935.

Padgen, Anthony. "Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians." In *The languages of political theory in early-modern Europe*, edited by Anthony Pagden, 79–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

- Pagden, Anthony. *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, revised edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Paoletti, John, and Gary Radke. *Art in Renaissance Italy*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005.
- Papa, Giovanni. *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588-1634)*. Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001.
- Parigi, Paolo. *The Rationalization of Miracles*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Parigi, Paolo. "The devil's advocate and the church: Building adaptable organizations." In *Religion and Organization Theory*, edited by Paul Tracey, Nelson Phillips and Michael Lounsbury, 371–412. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2014.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Parrott, David. *Richelieu's Army. War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Parrott, David. *The business of war: military enterprise and military revolution in early modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Parsons, Reuben. "Gustavus Adolphus." *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* 20 (1895): 510–27.
- Pasarell, Elías. *Vida admirable de San Francisco Solano*. Lima: Librería e Imprenta de A. Granda, 1904.
- Pastor, Ludwig von. *Historia de los Papas, vol. XI*, translated by Ramón Ruiz Amado. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1911.
- Pastor, Ludwig von. *Historia de los Papas, vol. XXVIII*, translated by José Monserrat. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1948.
- Pattenden, Miles. *Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450-1700*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Peláez del Rosal, Manuel, ed. *El franciscanismo en Andalucía: San Francisco Solano en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. XVI Curso de Verano (Montilla, 12 y 13 de julio de 2010)*. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2011.
- Peña González, José. "El escenario histórico de Francisco Solano." In *El franciscanismo en Andalucía. San Francisco Solano [obs. + 1610] en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. Libro homenaje a Manuel Ruiz Luque: XVI curso de verano (Montilla, 12 y 13 de julio de 2010)*, edited by Manuel Peláez Del Rosal, 185–88. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012.
- Pérez Blázquez, David. "Registros de lingüistas y traductores franciscanos en los catálogos del conde de la Viñaza y de Antonio Tovar." In *La labor de traducción de los franciscanos*, edited by Antonio Bueno García, 239–61. Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 2013.

- Philippart, Guy. "Hagiographes et hagiographie, hagiologues et hagiologie: des mots et des concepts." *Hagiographica* 1 (1994): 1–16.
- Piccone Camere, Carlos. "Presencia y figura de la mujer en los orígenes de la reforma capuchina." *Estudios Franciscanos* 118, no. 463 (2017): 377–421.
- Piccone Camere, Carlos. "San Francisco Solano, el *alter Franciscus* del Nuevo Mundo. Aportes para una reconstrucción historiográfica." *Revista de Teología de la Universidad Católica de Santa María* 43 (2017): 5–120.
- Piccone Camere, Carlos. "San Francisco Solano: *alter Franciscus* para el Nuevo Mundo." *Studium Veritatis* 15, no. 21 (2017): 271–98.
- Piccone Camere, Carlos. "Los procesos de canonización en la Iglesia Católica: Memoria histórica." In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el Barroco Latinoamericano, vol. I: La capital pontificia en la construcción de la santidad*, edited by Fernando Quiles García, José Jaime García Bernal, Paolo Broggio y Marcello Fagiolo Dell'Arco, 67–89. Sevilla: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020.
- Piccone Camere, Carlos. *El Bicentenario de la Independencia del Perú: Génesis y desenlace del nacimiento de la república*. Cusco: Universidad Andina del Cusco, 2021.
- Pierre, Benoist. *Le père Joseph: l'éminence grise de Richelieu*. Paris: Perrin, 2007.
- Pizzorusso, Giovanni, and Matteo Sanfilippo. *Dagli indiani agli emigranti. L'attenzione della Chiesa romana al Nuovo Mondo, 1492–1908*. Viterbo: Editore Sette Città, 2005.
- Plandolit, Luis Julián. *El Apóstol de América San Francisco Solano*. Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1963.
- Polišenský, Josef Vincent. *The Thirty Years War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Pomata, Gianna. "Malpighi and the holy body: medical experts and miraculous evidence in seventeenth-century Italy." In *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine*, edited by Sandra Cavallo, and David Gentilcore, 96–114. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Premo, Bianca. "'Misunderstood Love': Children and Wet Nurses, Creoles and Kings in Lima's Enlightenment." *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (2005): 231–61.
- Prien, Hans-Jürgen. *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978.
- Prodi, Paolo. "Charles Borromée, archeveque de Milan et la papauté." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 62 (1967): 379–411.
- Prodi, Paolo. "Controriforma e/o riforma cattolica: superamento di vecchi dilemmi nei nuovi panorami storiografici." *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989): 227–239.
- Prudlo, Donald. *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Quiles, Fernando. *Santidad Barroca. Roma, Sevilla y América hispana*. Seville: Universo Barroco Iberoamericano, 2018.

Rahn Phillips, Carla. "The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750." In *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, edited by James Tracy, 34–101. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Rahn Phillips, Carla. "Europe and the Atlantic." In *Atlantic History. A Critical Appraisal*, edited by Jack Greene, and Philip Morgan, 249–75. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Rahner, Karl. *Foundations of Christian Faith. An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*. Translated by William Dych. New York: Crossroad, 1978.

Ranke, Leopold von. *The History of the Popes, Their Church and State, and Especially of their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries, vol. II*, translated by E. Foster. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848.

Rapp, Claudia. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005.

Redondi, Pietro. *Galileo eretico*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1983.

Reff, Daniel. *Plagues, Priests, and Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Reinhardt, Nicole. *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Reinhart, Wolfgang. "Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment." *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383–404.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús*. Madrid: Por Alonso Gómez, Impresor de su Magestad, 1583.

Robert Ricard. *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique: Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des ordres mendiants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523-24 à 1572*. Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1933.

Riccardi, Luca. "An Outline of Vatican Diplomacy in the Early Modern Age." In *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy. The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450-1800*, edited by Daniela Frigo, 95–108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Rice, Louise. "Bernini and the Pantheon Bronze." In *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506-2006. Beiträge der internationalen Tagung vom 22. – 25. Februar 2006 in Bonn*, edited by Georg Satzinger, and Sebastian Schütze, 337–52. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008.

Richter Fernández-Prada, Federico. *Presencia franciscana en el Perú en los siglos XVI al XX*. Lima: Editorial Salesiana, 1995.

Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini cultural policies*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

- Rodríguez Pantoja, Miguel. *San Francisco Solano: Sol de Montilla y luz del mundo*. Madrid: Junta Rectora del IV Centenario del Nacimiento de San Francisco Solano, 1949.
- Rodríguez Valencia, Vicente. *Santo Toribio, organizador y apóstol de Sur-América, vol. I*. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1956.
- Roest, Bert. *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Roest, Bert. *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220-1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armature ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...* Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Romano, Pietro. *Quod non fecerunt barbari ...: il pontificato di Urbano VIII*. Rome: Tipografia Agostiniana, 1937.
- Romita, Fiorenzo. "Le origini della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio." In *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio, Quarto Centenario dalla Fondazione (1564-1964): Studi e ricerche*, 13–50. Vatican City: [s.p.] 1964.
- Rosa, Mario. "The 'World's Theatre': The Court of Rome and Politics in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." In *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto, and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 78–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Rowe, Erin Kathleen. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Rowe, Erin Kathleen. "After Death, Her Faced Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World." *American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (2016): 727–54.
- Rowe, Erin Kathleen. *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Rubial García, Antonio. *La santidad controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015.
- Ruiz Gutiérrez, Luis. "Solano, taumaturgo de las Américas." In *El franciscanismo en Andalucía. San Francisco Solano [obs. + 1610] en la historia, arte y literatura de España y América. Libro homenaje a Manuel Ruiz Luque: XVI curso de verano (Montilla, 12 y 13 de julio de 2010)*, edited by Manuel Peláez Del Rosal, 207–12. Córdoba: Asociación Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2012.
- Rusconi, Roberto. *Santo Padre. La santità del papa da san Pietro a Giovanni Paolo II*. Rome: Viella, 2010.
- Saccanti, Ricardo. "Il De Servorum Dei beatificatione et Beatorum canonizatione di Prospero Lambertini, papa Benedetto XIV: materiali per una ricerca." In *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV: Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)*, edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, 139–70. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011.

Saignes, Thierry. *Historia del pueblo chiriguano*, edited by Isabelle Combès. La Paz: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos - Embajada de Francia en Bolivia; Plural editores, 2007.

Saiz, Odorico. "Perú: La evangelización del Oriente." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. II: Aspectos regionales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 523–34. Madrid: BAC; Toledo: Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso, 1992.

Salisbury, Joyce. *The Blood of Martyrs: Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Samellas, Antigone. *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.): The Christianization of the East. An Interpretation*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.

Sánchez-Concha Barrios, Rafael. *Santos y santidad en el Perú virreinal*. Lima: Vida y Espiritualidad, 2003.

Santos, Ángel. "El Plata: La evangelización de Argentina." In *Historia de la Iglesia en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (siglos XV-XIX), vol. II: Aspectos regionales*, edited by Pedro Borges, 691–701. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos - Estudio Teológico San Ildefonso de Toledo, 1992.

Sabatier, Paul. *Vie de Saint François d'Assise*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1893.

Dalarun, Jacques. *The Misadventure of Francis of Assisi: Toward a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends*. New York: St. Bonaventure University, 2002.

Schaposchnik, Ana. *The Lima Inquisition: The Plight of Crypto-Jews in Seventeenth-Century Peru*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015.

Scharp, Heinrich. *How the Catholic Church is Governed*, translated by Annelise Derrick. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960.

Schlau, Stacey. "Angela Carranza, Would-Be Theologian." In *The Catholic Church and Unruly Women Writers: Critical Essays*, edited by Jeana DelRosso, Leigh Eicke, and Ana Kothe, 69–86. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *Le saint levrier – Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1979.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. "La fabrique des saints." *Annales ESC* 39 (1984): 286–300.

Schmidt, Muhammad Wolfgang, ed. „*And on this Rock I Will Build My Church*“. *A New Edition of Philip Schaff's History of the Christian Church. From Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity to Medieval Christianity A.D. 311-1073*. Hamburg: Disserta Verlag, 2017.

Schreffler, Michael. "Church: Place." In *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation*, edited by Evonne Levy, and Kenneth Mills, 57–60. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013.

Schuessler, Rudolf. *The Debate on Probable Opinions in the Scholastic Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Schulenburg, Jane. "Sexism and the celestial gynaeceum from 500 to 1200." *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 117–33.

Schütze, Sebastian. "The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography and a Quest for the Spanishness of Neapolitan Art." In *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion. 1500-1700*, edited by Thomas James Dandeleit, and John Marino, 555–68. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Scorza Barcellona, Francesco. "Le origini." In *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale*, written by Anna Benvenuti, Simon Ditchfield, Sofia Boesch Gajano, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Scorza Barcellona, and Gabriella Zarri, 19–90. Rome: Viella, 2005.

Seco Serrano, Carlos. "El Rey Católico." In *Felipe IV: el hombre y el reinado*, edited by José Alcalá-Zamora, 13–26. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia - Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2005.

Sella, Domenico. *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Serur, Raquel. "Santa Mariana de Quito o la santidad inducida." In *Barrocos y modernos: Nuevos caminos en la investigación del barroco iberoamericano*, edited by Petra Schumm, 205–19. Frankfurt: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1998.

Shaffern, Robert. *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375*. Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007.

Shiels, William Eugene. *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961.

Shinohara, Taku. "Defining the Public Sphere through Cultural Boundaries: Creating a 'Czech' National Society in Nineteenth-Century Bohemia." In *Entangled Interactions between Religion and National Consciousness in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Yoko Aoshima, 130–49. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2020.

Simon i Tarrés, Antoni. *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999.

Sluhovsky, Moshe. *Believe Not Every Spirit. Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Socolow, Susan Migden. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Speller, Jules. *Galileo's Inquisition Trial Revisited*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008.

Spier, Fred. *Religious Regimes in Peru: Religion and State Development in a Long-term Perspective and the Effects in the Andean Village of Zurite*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994.

Stacey Schlau, "Gendered Crime and Punishment in New Spain: Inquisitional Cases Against Ilusas." In *Colonialism Past and Present. Reading and Writing about Colonial Latin America Today*, edited by Alvaro Félix Bolaños, and Gustavo Verdesio, 151–73. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001.

- Stano, Gaetano. "Il rito della Beatificazione da Alessandro VII ai nostri giorni." In *Miscellanea in occasione del IV Centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)*, edited by Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum. Vatican City: Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1988.
- Stein, Stanley J., and Barbara J. Stein. *Silver, Trade, and War. Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Steinbock, Anthony. *Phenomenology and Mysticism. The Verticality of Religious Experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Stradling, Robert. *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Sturdy, David. *Richelieu and Mazarin: A Study in Statesmanship*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Suire, Éric. *La Sainteté française de la Réforme catholique (XVI-XVIII siècles d'après les textes hagiographiques et les procès de canonisation)*. Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001.
- Sykes, Katharine. "Sanctity as a form of capital." In *Saints and Sanctity*, edited by Peter Clarke, and Tony Claydon, 112–24. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2011.
- Tacchi Venturi, Pietro. *Le feste della canonizzazione nell'inedita memoria di Giacinto Gigli e negli Avvisi, in La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio da Lojola, Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio, Apostolo dell'Oriente*, edited by Comitato Romano Ispano per le Centenarie Onoranze, 73–80. Rome: Grafia, 1922.
- Tallon, Alain. "Henri IV and the Papacy after the League." In *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, edited by Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson, 21–41. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Tengwall, David Lewis. *The Portuguese Revolution (1640-1668): A European War of Freedom and Independence*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.
- Ter Borg, Meerten. "Canon and Social Control." In *Canonization and decanonization. Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions held at Leiden 9-10 January 1997*, edited by Arie Van der Kooij, and Karel Van der Toorn, 411–23. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Tesauro, Emmanuele. *L'arte delle lettere missive*. Turin: Bartolomeo Zapatta, 1674.
- Theiner, Augustin. *Storia del pontificato di Clemente XIV, vol. I*, translated by Francesco Longhena. Milano: Carlo Turati, 1853.
- Theodoro da Silva, Janice. *Descobrimientos e colonização*. São Paulo: Editora Atica S.A., 1987.
- Thompson, Irving. "Castile, Spain and the monarchy: the political community from patria natural to patria nacional." In *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World. Essays in honour of John Elliott*, edited by Richard Kagan, and Geoffrey Parker, 125–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Thurner, Mark. "The Founding Abyss of Colonial History or 'The Origin and Principle of the Name of Peru'." *History and Theory* 48: 44–62.
- Torres Sevilla, Margarita. "La familia de santo toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (siglos XIV-XVII)." *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia* 8 (2009): 45–67.
- Tovar, Manuel. *Apuntes para la Historia Eclesiástica del Perú hasta el gobierno del VII arzobispado*. Lima: Tipografía de la Sociedad Ayacucho, 1873.
- Trembinski, Donna. "Imitatio Christi and Authority in the Lives of St. Francis." In *Illuminating Jesus in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jane Beal, 219–39. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Trollope, Thomas Adolphus. *The Papal Conclaves, as They Were and as They are*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1876.
- Trumbower, Jeffrey. *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Turchini, Angelo. *La fabbrica di un santo: il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma*. Casale di Monferrato: Marietti, 1984.
- Turley, Steven. *Franciscan Spirituality and Mission in New Spain, 1524-1599: Conflict Beneath the Sycamore Tree (Luke 19:1–10)*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Usandivaras de Garneri, Brígida. *El Apóstol de Tucumán*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Difusión, 1948.
- Valk, Hans de. "History Canonized: The martyrs of Gorcum between Dutch Nationalism and Roman Universalism (1864-1868)." In *More Than a Memory. The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity*, edited by Johan Leemans, 373–93. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
- Van Deusen, Nancy. "Manifestaciones de la religiosidad femenina en el siglo XVII: las beatas de Lima." *Histórica* 23, no. 1 (1999): 47–78.
- Van Deusen, Nancy. *Embodying the Sacred: Women Mystics in Seventeenth-Century Lima*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.
- Van de Wiel, Constant. *History of Canon Law*. Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991.
- Van Liere, Katherine Elliot. "Preface." In *Sacred History. Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, edited by Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, XII–XIV. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Vargas Ugarte, Rubén. *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, vol. I*. Lima: Santa María, 1953.
- Vargas Ugarte, Rubén. *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, vols. 2-5*. Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1959-1962.
- Vargas Ugarte, Rubén. *Vida de Santo Toribio*. Lima: Imprenta Gráfica Industrial, 1971.
- Vauchez, André. *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1981.

Vauchez, André. "Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?." In *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle). Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome avec le concours de l'Université de Rome (La Sapienza, 27-29 octobre 1988)*, 161–72. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991.

Vauchez, André. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Veraja, Fabijan. *La beatificazione. Storia, problemi, prospettive*. Rome: Sacra Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi, 1983.

Vettori, Alessandro. "Canonization." In *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Christopher Kleinhenz, 179. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín. *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala (doña Catalina de los Ríos): episodio histórico-social con numerosos documentos inéditos*. Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1877.

Villapadierna, Isidoro da, and Pietro Cannata. "Francesco Solano, santo." In *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, edited by Filippo Caraffa, and Giuseppe Morelli, 1241–44. Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1991.

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. *La città rituale. Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna*. Rome: Viella, 2002.

Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. "Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, edited by Gianvittorio Signorotto, and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 99–131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Voekel, Pamela. *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Walsh, John Kevin. "French Epic Legends in Spanish Hagiography: The Vida de San Ginés and the Chanson de Roland." *Hispanic Review* 50, no. 1 (1982): 1–16.

Walsh, Michael. "John Paul II and his Canonizations." In *Saints and Sanctity*, edited by Peter Clarke, and Tony Claydon, 415–37. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2011.

Walthaus, Rina. "Philip IV of Spain and his Queen-Consort in Royal Festival and Spectacle." In *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650, vol. II*, eds. Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald, and Arjo Johan Vanderjagt, 277–308. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Ward, William Reginald. *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999.

Wassilowsky, Gunther. *Die Konklavereform Gregors XV. (1621/22): Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2010.

- Weber, Alison. "Introduction. Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World: The Historiographic Challenge." In *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World*, edited by Alison Weber, 1–28. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Weddigen, Tristan. "Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima." In *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, edited by Christine Göttler, and Mia Mochizuki, 103–46. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Weinstein, Donald, and Rudolph Bell. *Saints & Society. Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Westman, Robert S. *The Copernican Question: Prognostication, Skepticism, and Celestial Order*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2011.
- White, James. *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003.
- Wilson, Stephen. "Introduction." In *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, edited by Stephen Wilson, 1–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *The Poverty of Riches: St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Woodward, Kenneth. *Making Saints. How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why*. New York: Touchstone, 1996 [1990].
- Wright, Anthony. *The Divisions of French Catholicism, 1629-1645: 'The Parting of the Ways'*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Wunder, Amanda. *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
- Yarrow, Simon. *The Saints: A Short History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Zarri, Gabriella. "Female sanctity, 1500–1660." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. VI: Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, edited by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 180–200. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Zea, Leopoldo. *Latinoamérica en la encrucijada de la historia*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1981.
- Zugasti, Miguel. "Santa Rosa de Lima, una santa del pueblo con sus fiestas y comedias para el pueblo." In *Teatro español de los Siglos de Oro: dramaturgos, textos, escenarios, fiestas*, edited by José María Díez Borque, María Soledad Arredondo Sirodey, Ana Martínez Pareira, and Gerardo Fernández San Emeterio, 117–51. Madrid: Visor Libros, 2013.
- Zunckel, Julia. "Affirming Papal Supremacy–Shaping Catholicism: The Readjustment of Symbolic Resources at the Post-Trent Roman Court," in *Devising Order: Socio-religious Models, Rituals, and the Performativity of Practice*, edited by Bruno Boute and Thomas Småberg, 145–63. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Transcripts of the citations in the original language

a) *Introduction —Transcripts*

Note 6: “[...] como la republica toda, decía que [Solano] era un santo y en su entierro acudió todo el público con aclamación de santo”; AAV, Riti, 1338, ‘Testimony of Juan Fernández, soldier’ (Lima: October 14, 1612), f. 69r.

Note 7: “[...] cuando murió el dicho padre fr. Francisco Solano uio este testigo gran numero de gente ciudadana y de todos estados y era tanta que este testigo deseando hacer lugar los propios frayles franciscos para que biesse el cuerpo del dicho bendyto religioso con grandissima dificultad entro por ser tanta la apretura donde estaua el cuerpo del dicho religioso y le uido después de muerto, veinte y quatro oras tratable blando de color mas vivido y afloriente que en salud y con un calor que tomándole este testigo las manos teniendolas este testigo frias se las calento con las suyas. Demas desto le enseñaron entre otras cossas que le auian quitado del hauito dibersas personas pedaços de las uñas de un pie cortadas que no se acuerda si fueron dos o tres de las quales salia una sangre no como la que suele salir de cuerpos muertos sino al parecer laudable y benigna...”; AAV, Riti, 1338, ‘Testimony of Iñigo de Ormero, protomedic’ (Lima: September 14, 1612), f. 71r-72v.

Note 8: “Su precioso Cuerpo, y su Sepulcro es el mayor y mas devoto Santuario de la America, y q la adorna y enriqueze mas que los tesoros de oro, y plata, y piedras preciosas, que produze. Porque sus galas y joyas, son mortajas, vendas, fajas, y muletas. La musica que alli se oye, son suspiros, ansias, tribulaciones, gemidos, y lágrimas de ciegos, tullidos, coxos, mancos, leprosos, tristes, y afligidos, que le invocan y le ofrecen lamparas de plata, que ardē de día y de noche”; M1639, 6r–7v.

Note 11: “[...] otro color diferente mas albo que la nieve [...]”; “[...] y juran algunos testigos que poco antes que espirasse sintieron en la celda un olor suavissimo”; V1676, 234.

Note 12: “En esta ciudad de Los Reyes en el convento de San Francisco de este día de San Buenaventura del año de mil y seiscientos y diez entre las diez y once del día murió un religioso de la dicha Orden sacerdote y predicador llamado fray Francisco Solano, natural de la Villa de Montilla en el obispado de Córdoba, tenido por religioso de aprobada, ejemplar y santa vida, y como de tal acudió todo el pueblo a verle ya muerto con tanto concurso de todos estados que fue necesario cerrar las puertas de los claustros y del capítulo donde estaba puesto en unas andas para impedir la fuerza con que procuraban entrar, y el desorden y exceso grande que había en cortarle parte de los hábitos para reliquias y cabellos de la cabeza y los que no podían conseguir esto se contentaban con tocar de él los rosarios sin que lo pudiesen estorbar muchos religiosos que estaban en contorno por guarda, y ayudaba mucho a esta devoción el verle el rostro hermoso, aunque flaco y trasgado (insignias de muy penitente, como se sabe lo era), los ojos abiertos, el cuerpo y manos muy tratables, no duro ni encogido ni frío, como si estuviera vivo, y así le sentaban en las andas, y se tenía sentado con solo hacerle espaldas”. AGI, Audiencia

de Lima 310, 'Letter of the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of Lima asking for the intercession of King Philip III of Spain before Pope Paul V, in order to expedite the processes of beatification and canonisation of Francisco Solano' (March 1, 1612).

b) Chapter 1 —*Transcripts*

Note 5: "Era cosa maravillosa que, sin haber convocado a ninguna persona, acudió toda la ciudad al dicho enterramiento," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of friar Juan García, OFM" (Lima: November 9, 1610), ff. 116r-118r.

Note 6: "[Hubo] tanto concurso de gente cuanto jamás se ha visto en esta ciudad de todo género de personas, eclesiásticas y seglares, religiosos, tan gran ansia de tocarle [para] haber alguna reliquia de su hábito o cabellos que sin respeto de unos a otros se atropellaban sin poder resistir a este concurso la guardia del virrey ni los religiosos," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Fr. Francisco Daza, SJ" (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 139r-140r.

Note 8: "Padre mío, fray Francisco Solano, bienaventurado, rogad a Dios que mi hijo viva hasta por la mañana que yo pueda ir a visitar vuestro santo cuerpo para que Dios me le sane," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of doña Ana de Mendoza" (Lima: January 19, 1611), ff. 324v-325r.

c) Chapter 2 —*Transcripts*

Note 1: "La primera flor con cuyas virtudes y santidad ha querido Nuestro Señor engrandecer el Piru [sic] y honrar [a] los hijos de esta tierra," AGI, Lima 149, "Unpublished letter from Gaspar de Flores, father of Rosa de Lima, addressed to the King of Spain" (Lima, April 20, 1618).

Note 9: "Fue mozo galán y tan compuesto y virtuoso que aún siendo casado parecía religioso en su vida y costumbres y palabras," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Juan Ruiz de Lucena" (Montilla: July 28, 1613), PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Juan Ruiz de Lucena" (Montilla: July 28, 1613), 320.

Note 13: "quando benia por la calle, enviendolo algunas personas le decian el virgin; y asy le tenian antes y despues de religioso por persona de buena vida...," AAV, Riti, 1338, "Testimony of Martín Gómez, farmer" (Lima: September 6, 1610), ff. 12v-13v.

Note 20: "[...] muy virtuoso y humilde, y observante de la Regla de San Francisco, y recogido y penitente [...], andando descalzo, haciendo disciplinas, durmiendo en el suelo en una corcha de ordinario y otras veces en un cañico de palos," PD_1610-13, "Testimony of Pedro de Hojeda, Franciscan priest" (Montilla: August 9, 1613), 340.

Note 21: "Todo era ayunos, penitencias, mortificaciones, y exercisios de virtud, oración y santidad, no avia quien bebiesse vino entre ellos, y hasta hoy se guarda este rigor de abstinencia en aquella santa casa: todos se amavan con una estrecha fraternidad, y la paz, que es el vínculo de perfección y amor, se hallava entre todos ellos, que jamás se vio la menor discordia del mundo: antes parecía que todos tenían una voluntad," Oré V1614, 15-6.

Note 25: “Porque la gente no le dejaba por besarle el hábito, por la devoción que le tenían, por su buen ejemplo,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Pedro de San Gabriel, OFM” (Montilla: August 9, 1613), 431.

Note 68: “[...] se decía del dicho padre Solano que cuando hacía misa muchas veces le veían elevado más de media vara del suelo en el aire,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Ana de Mendoza, housewife” (Lima: January 19, 1611), f. 324v–325r.

Note 72: “[...] este testigo tiene por cierto para si que el averse salido de la Recolecton y venidose a este conuento fue por huir el aplauso de la gente,” AAV, Riti, 1338, Testimony of Diego de Pineda, OFM (Lima: October 16, 1610), ff. 22r–32v.

Note 73: “era conocido por el nombre de padre descalzo y el fraile santo,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Pedro de Tejada” (Lima: March 17, 1611), 280–82; “el fraile santo y el padre descalzo,” AAV, Riti, 1328, “Testimony of Antonio Pérez, hatter” (Lima: March 17, 1611), f. 1308r.

Note 74: “parecía un hombre muerto,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Sedaño, OFM” (Lima: November 6, 1610), ff. 108v–110r. “;Oh, cómo me huelgo que me venga Nuestro Señor de este mi enemigo el cuerpo!,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco de Otárola, OFM” (Lima: October 14, 1612), 306–16.

Note 79: “[...] de ordinario andaba gimiendo en la huerta y suspirando, reputándose por el más malo del mundo, con gran humildad y desprecio de su persona,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Cristóbal Ruiz, OFM” (November 4, 1610), ff. 103r.

Note 80: “hermano fray Juan, venga acá, deme esa mano, verá las misericordias que a usado Nuestro Señor conmigo...,” “...lo había conformado en su gracia...”; AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, OFM,” ff. 51v–55v. “Vio este testigo morir y le amortajó, y vio y trató sus manos,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, OFM,” ff. 51v–55v.

Note 81: “canta y toca y baila para una dama muy hermosa (la Virgen); lo hace con un arquito y un alambre, imitando un violín...,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Gerónimo Alonso de la Torre, OFM” (Lima: November 8, 1610), f. 115r.

Note 88: “tratable, blando, de color más bívido ya floreciente en salud, y con un calor...,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Íñigo de Ormero, physician” (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 13v–14v.

Note 93: “[...] no se atreuo a mas que hincar las rodillas y bezalle los pies,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montesclaros, Viceroy of Peru” (Lima: September 16, 1610), ff. 14v–15v.

Note 95: “Nuestro Señor dio a este sancto baron para Consuelo y amparo destes reynos, edificacion y exemplo desta ciudad, y para honrra y corona de su sagrada religion,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Sebastián, SJ” (Lima: October 12, 1610), ff. 19r–21v.

Note 99: “Dozientos testigos de todos estados, Religiosos, Clérigos y Seglares”; Oré V1614, 56.

Note 100: “En todas las partes que ha estado en el Piru y Chile a oído decir que [Solano] era un santo varón,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan González Campos” (Lima: February 12, 1611), 300.

Note 111: “Marco Antonio y su mujer [...] le dijeron cómo después que le pusieron a la dicha niña el pedazo de hábito del dicho padre Solano [...] y de muerta que estaba a cobrar vida y la tiene hoy, y está sana y buena,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Juan Romero” (Lima: November 19, 1610), 305.

Note 118: “Santo fray Francisco Solano, si yo veo que inmediatamente que yo os hago este voto y promesa se me quita el dolor, creeré que sois santo,” AAV, Riti, 1328, Testimony Luis de Guadalupe, OFM (Lima: February 19, 1611), f. 710r.

Note 119: “...en aquel instante le encomendó a él a su hijo y lo tomó por su abogado para que le sanase al dicho niño y se lo pidiese a Dios Nuestro Señor y le fuese intercesor,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Isabel Carrillo, housewife” (Lima: November 10, 1610), ff. 167v–168v.

Note 121: “[...] se le fue cayendo toda la lepra,” AAV, Riti, 1338, Testimony of María de Longarte, housewife (Lima: February 9, 1611), f. 193v.

Note 122: “[...] morbo gálico comprobado,” “[...] y se la puso en la boca estregándose la lengua con ella lo cual este testigo hizo tres o cuatro veces esta diligencia con mucha devoción,” AAV, Riti, 1328, “Testimony of Fernando del Pojo” (Lima: June 7, 1611), f. 717r.

Note 124: “Ninguno hubo más pobre que él en toda la orden,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan de la Concepción, OFM” (Lima: November 4, 1610), f. 92r.

Note 126: “fue opinado y estimado de todos los religiosos del dicho convento [de Loreto] por santo en la pureza de su vida, observancia de la Regla, perfecta obediencia y pobreza,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Cristóbal de San Francisco, OFM” (Seville: July 17, 1613), 370.

Note 127: “en todos los actos y comunidades se quería haçer el menor,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Sedaño, OFM” (Lima: November 6, 1610), ff. 108v–110r.

Note 128: “Y quando estaba enfermo, que era de hordinario, mostraua siempre gran paçiençia y sufrimiento y nunca se quejaua” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Diego Trebejo, Franciscan friar” (Lima: November 11, 1610), f. 81v.

Note 129: “Y aunque él con su mucha discrecion procuraua encubrir su santidad era tanta que se trasluçia...,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Andrés Corso, Franciscan Friar” (Lima: October 25, 1610), ff. 55r–57r.

Note 130: “Tuvo siempre al dicho padre fray Francisco Solano por un hombre santísimo y de tanta aprobación y virtud que todas las veces que se acuerda de él le parecía un hombre del cielo...,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Francisco de León, member of the City Council” (Lima: November 26, 1610), f. 144v. “Era tan virtuoso que mientras le trató no le conoció este testigo ni vio que el dicho padre fray Francisco Solano pareciese mortal...,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Bartolomé Gómez de Baena, Diocesan priest” (Montilla: August 3, 1613), 328.

Note 132: “Su persona era un retrato de san Francisco,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Gerónimo de Montesinos, SJ” (Lima: November 23, 1610), ff. 138r-139r.

Note 133: “...todos decían que del rostro se podía sacar un San Francisco,” PD_1610-13, “Testimony of Francisco de Otárola, OFM” (Lima: October 14, 1612), 306–16.

Note 134: “Dos soles plantó Dios nuestro Señor en el cielo de la Seráfica Familia, para que con los rayos de la evangélica luz, influyesen en ambos hemisferios dos Franciscos varones apostólicos, el uno nuestro Seráfico Padre, que ilustró con su doctrina los tres continentes del África, Asia y Europa, con muchas de sus islas adyacentes. Y para el nuevo mundo (que así llaman comúnmente a nuestros antípodas, y demás tierra nuevamente descubierta) suscitó al Beato San Francisco Solano, cuyo blasón es el Apóstol de las Indias, título que le dieron por ser en toda aquella tierra resplandeciente Sol, como también lo publica su apellido, y descendencia, sacando del vientre de su madre los solares rayos,” Torres, *Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada*, 176.

Note 136: “[...] moviendo a la república a penitencia pública y secretas,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Mateo González, *Maestrescuela* of the Cathedral” (Lima: November 13, 1610), ff. 118r–119v.

Note 137: “Si no hubiera hecho más que esto en su vida, era un gran servicio que a Dios había agradado,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Bartolomé Menacho, Canon of the Cathedral” (Lima: November 14, 1610), ff. 122v–122r.

Note 140: “[...] siendo un hombre moreno le quedaron las manos y el rostro y los pies blancos que espanto a este testigo,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Antonio Ortiz, OFM” (Lima: October 17, 1610), ff. 32r–37v.

Note 145: “[...] aclamando al santo de santo[s],” AAV, Riti, “Testimony of Miguel Cornejo, Collegiate of San Felipe and San Marcos” (Lima: November 26, 1610), ff. 144v–146v.

Note 146: “[...] tomó un pedazo del hábito y la tiene por tal [reliquia] con tal devoción y que es muy público y notorio que hacen milagros los pedazos del dicho hábito en sanar diferentes enfermedades,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Andrés García de Zurita, Rector of the College of San Felipe and San Marcos” (Lima: November 26, 1610), ff. 147v–148v.

Note 158: “...le salía sangre tan viua y fresca como si estuuiera vivo,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 10, 1610), AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Juan Gómez, Franciscan friar” (Lima: October 10, 1610), ff. 51v–55v.

Note 161: “Ea, hermanos, que no quiere Dios hundirnos, sino que nos enmendemos de nuestros pecados,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Luis de Camargo, OFM” (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 86r–89r.

Note 162: “Causaba muy grande admiración y espanto, biendo que un hombre tan estrecho para sí fuese tan ancho para los otros,” AAV, Riti, 1338, “Testimony of Martín del Prado, OFM” (Lima: October 29, 1610), ff. 83v–86r.

d) Chapter 3 —Transcripts

Note 3: “Papae iudicium in sanctorum canonizatione non errat,” Thomas Aquinas, *Summa totius theologiae. Questiones quodlibetales Duodecim. Nunc ab infinitis mendis vindicatae, et suo candori restituta. Quarum materias, & articulos Index in principio earum facillime ostendit* (Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1588), 9, q. 7, ar. 16.

Note 4: “Non omnes autem merentur canonizationis honorem, sed solum excellentes: & ideo ad exhibendum omnibus passim talem honorem non debet esse facilis,” Baptistae Vintimiliensis, “De canonizatione. Liber secundus,” in *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta et non paucis ineditis monumentis opportunisque animadversionibus aucta, vol. IV: Continens Monumenta Miscellanea varia*, ed. Etienne Baluze (Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctinium, 1744), 484.

Note 5: “Canonizatio est canonica & publica sanctitatis alicuius hominis approbatio qua quis Catalogo sanctorum adscriptus declaratur, & solemniter promulgator cunctisque Christi fidelibus invocandus, diviniique officii celebrationi venerandus proponitur,” Angelo Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius, hoc est de Diffinitione, Auctoritate, & Antiquitate; deq. Causis, & ordine iudiciario canonizandi Sanctos...* (Rome: Apud Guillelmum Facciotum, 1601), 5.

Note 27: “Vere alta verba non faciunt sanctum et justum, sed virtuosa vita efficit Deo carum,” Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* (Frankfurt: Typis et sumptibus Andreae, 1838 [1418]), 4.

Note 53: “[...]ac generalem reformationem dictae ecclesiae Dei in capite et in membris,” Decree *Haec Sancta* (April 6, 1415), in Giuseppe Alberigo [et al.], eds., *Conciliarum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), 409.

Note 69: “Entre los demas consuelos q’ Jesuxpo nuestro Señor y Redentor dejó en la sancta iglesia católica a sus fieles despues de los sanctos sacramentos es uno de nuestra edificación la vida de los justos y sanctos y de los que mas animan para que con su buen exemplo e imitación se procure caminar a lo que tanto importa como la salvación y conseguir el deseado fin de la gloria eterna siendo participantes della,” AAL, leg. 1, f. 5v (Lima, August 17, 1610).

Note 70: “[...] la manifestación de la santidad, vida y costumbres,” AAL, leg. 1, f. 1r (Lima, August 17, 1610).

Note 98: “Después de enterrado como a las ocho de la noche le sacaron de la sepultura para retratarle (como se dijo) y en todo este tiempo no tubo ni se le sintió mal olor de corrupción como la que padecen los cuerpos difuntos, sino antes como a manera de fragancia olía bien, y después acá continúan el visitar su sepulcro como de cuerpo santo muchas cosas de estas que pasaron el día del fallecimiento y entierro las vimos, y de muchos milagros que se han publicado, que Dios Nuestro Señor, obró en su vida en diversas partes de estos Reinos y después de muerto por su medio tenemos noticia, y que muchos de ellos están averiguados habiéndose hecho de ello las averiguaciones y diligencias debidas, que se envían a Su Santidad con la pretensión ordinaria en semejantes casos, y como importa tanto para su bien efecto después de concurrir los requisitos necesarios en el sujeto el beneplácito e intercesión de V. Mag. para con su Beatitud”; AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 310: “Letter by the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of the City of Los Reyes (Lima) to King Philip III” (March 1, 1612).

Note 100: “[...] por lo que ha de estar bien a estos Reinos que se entienda ha habido y hay en ellos santos que conocieron y trataron y se animen otros, y aumente la devoción,” AGI, *Audiencia de Lima*, 310: Letter by the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of the City of Los Reyes (Lima) to King Philip III (March 1, 1612).

Note 103: “[...] la mansedumbre de estas gentes, el esfuerzo constante con que se dedican a servir y su natural obediencia,” *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Ferrer, ed., 251.

Note 104: “[...] que ningún bárbaro carece de la capacidad necesaria para la fe. Además, los indios, como todo el mundo reconoce, no son faltos de ingenio y capacidad; es más, cuando quieren aplicarse, muestran gran agudeza. Mas el indio, se dirá, es de costumbres desvergonzadas, se deja llevar de la gula y de la lujuria sin control alguno y practica con increíble tenacidad la superstición. Pues bien, también para él hay salvación si se le educa,” José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*, vol. I, lib. I, cap. 7, 50), Luciano Pereña *et al.*, eds. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984), 141.

Note 118: “Los moradores de uno de estos pueblos vivían en continuo desconsuelo por carecer de agua necesaria para beber y hacer sus sembrados [...], el santo Padre salió con ellos al campo, persuadiéndoles que confiasen en la Divina Providencia del Señor, que infaliblemente les daría agua en abundancia [...]. El nuevo Moisés, armado de fe viva y esperanza firme en Dios, señalando con un báculo la tierra de todo punto seca, dijo al pueblo incrédulo: Cavad aquí y hallaréis agua,” Córdova_V1643, 193.

Note 120: “Un Jueves Santo se juntó un ejército de muchos millares de indios de guerra contra los cristianos; y el santo padre Solano fue a ellos sin saber la lengua y les hizo un sermón y plática que les entendían y se convirtieron más de nueve mil indios, y le pidieron que los bautizase, y los bautizó,” Córdova_V1643, 46.

Note 128: “[...] la última averiguación de la perfecta vida del venerable padre Fr. Francisco Solano de la Orden de San Francisco, que era lo que dicha ciudad esperaba para continuar las diligencias que había comenzado desde que experimentó los prodigios de su dichosa muerte y milagros, obrados por su intercesión en aquella república donde se veneraba su cuerpo en el convento de su orden,” AGI, *Patronato*, 249, r. 22, 1, f. 59 (September 18, 1739).

e) Chapter 4 —*Transcripts*

Note 53: “Así, el reinado de Felipe IV, el Poeta, se inauguraba entre el cadalso, el puñal, el veneno y la canonización de cuatro Santos,” Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, vol. I (Madrid: Atlas, 1973), 257.

Note 57: “Ellos fueron santos y pelearon a lo divino, y yo soy pecador y peleo a lo humano,” Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Segunda parte* (Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1876), ch. LVIII, 638.

Note 69: “[...] la relaxacion y desconsuelo en que se hallaba el Estado eclesiástico, y materias a él concernientes, y la necesidad que avia de reducirle à sus primeras reglas, y observancia de las Constituciones Pontificias, y Decretos Conciliares [...],” AHN, EST, 872, f. 4.

Note 71: “De esta manera es tratado en muerte un Prelado, que por su Dignidad fue tan respetado, y asistido en vida,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 39.

Note 72: “[...] pierde la Iglesia, Pastor, y hacienda,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 42.

Note 75: “[...] acudo a vos, para que me cumpláis la palabra que me disteis de clamar a Dios para que guie mis acciones y mis armas, de manera que consiga la quietud de estos reinos y una paz universal en la cristiandad,” ‘Carta de Felipe IV a sor Ágreda’ (Zaragoza, october 4, 1643), in Francisco Silvela, ed. *Cartas de la Venerable Sor María de Agreda y del Señor Rey Don Felipe IV*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Est. tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1885), 4.

Note 79: “[...] ha parecido me corre precisa obligación, en conciencia, de representar à V. Santidad lo que contiene el Memorial inserto, assi por la protección que debo à mis vassallos, como por la quenta que he de dâr à Dios del cuidado y vigilancia con que debo velar en la conservación, y aumento de la Santa Fè, y procurar que la Religión Catholica, y disciplina Eclesiastica de mis Reynos florezca con la perfección, y pureza, que la establecieron los Santos Padres,” AHN, EST, 872, ff. 52–53.

Note 80: “[...] laici poco ben affetti,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 54.

Note 81: “[...] ne può disporre liberamente à modo suo, come Dispensatore universale del Patrimonio di Christo Signore nostro,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 74.

Note 83: “[...] cuyos motivos erróneos tomaron principio en estos abusos, y el primer fundamento para perseverar en no reconocer la Primacía y obediencia que se debe a esta Santa Sede,” AHN, EST, 872, f. 228.

Note 86: “[...] la obediencia perfecta es ciega, mas en esta ceguedad consiste la sabiduría,” Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religion de la Compañia de Iesus* (Madrid: Por Alonso Gomez, Impressor de su Magestad, 1583), 248.

Note 89: “Y porque a todos les quadra, y es necessario el obrar bien para salvarse, a todos les quadra y conuiene la historia de vidas de santos: porque todos hallaran en ella exemplos que imitar, y dechados de que sacar virtudes, que son los grados de la escala por donde se sube al cielo. Porque los faltos de paciencia hallaran santos tan buenos maestros della, que no solo la tenian en medio de atrozissimos tormentos, sino que allí rogauan a Dios con fervorosissima caridad por los verdugos que los atormentauan, como un san estevan,” Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y Historia general, de la vida y hechos de Iesu Christo, Dios y Señor nuestro, y de todos los Santos de que reza y haze fiesta la Yglesia catolica, conforme Breuiario Romano, reformado por decreto del santo Concilio Tridentino, junto con las vidas de los santos propios de España, y de otros Extrauagantes. Quitadas algunas cosas apocrifas è inciertas, y añadidas muchas figuras y autoridades de la Sagrada Escritura, traydas a proposito de las historias de los Santos. Y muchas anotaciones curiosas, y consideradas prouechosas. Colegido todo de autores graues y aprouados* (Toledo: Por la viuda de Iuan Rodriguez, 1591), “Prólogo al lector”.

Note 94: “Cuando muere el prestigio, muere también el poder,” Juan de Mariana, *La dignidad real y la educación del rey = [De rege et regis institutione]*. Luis Sánchez Agesta, ed. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1981 [1599]), 44.

Note 95: “De todo esto se puede bien colegir, que vudiesse en los antiguos algun conocimiento del nuevo mundo, aunque particularizando a esta nuestra America, y toda esta India Occidental, apenas se halla cosa cierta en los libros de los escritores antiguos,” José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias: en que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes,*

y *gouierno, y guerras de los Indios* (Seville: En casa de Juan de Leon, 1590), b. I, ch. 11, 44–45.

Note 98: “Limae, in Peruano Regno, Beati Francisci Solani Confessoris, qui zelo animarum ductus, in Indiam Occiduam trajiciens, tantum inibi laborauit in Euangelio disseminando, vt iure, Peruanii Imperii Apostoli nomen adeptus sit: & plenus meritis, ac clarus miraculis, in patriam cœlestem transierit” Arthur du Monstier, *Martyrologium Franciscanum, in quo sancti, beati, aliique servi Dei, martyres, pontifices, confessores, ac virgines, qui tum vitae sanctitate, tum miraculorum gloria, claruere: in universo Ordine FF. Minorum toto orbe terrarum cunctis usque nunc saeculis; per omnes provincias Observantium, Discalceatorum, Recollectorum, etc. Conventualium, Capucinatorum, etc. Monialium, Clarissarum, Urbanistarum, etc.; necnon utriusque sexus tam secularium, quam Regularium Tertiariorum, recensentur* (Paris: Edmundum Couterot, 1653), 302.

Note 99: “[...] “su doctrina y persona era recibida y estimada como si fuera un Apóstol, por la santidad y candidez de ánimo, conocidas de todos,” Oré_V1614, 13.

Note 101: “...que proceda a la canonización del *Venerable Padre y Apostólico Varon F. Francisco Solano, Patrō y Tutelar de aquellos Reinos,*” Salinas_M1639, [p. 1].

Note 103: “Concedit sancta Synodus omnibus monasteriis et domibus tam virorum quam mulierum et mendicantium (exceptis domibus fratrum sancti Francisci cappucinatorum et eorum qui minorum de observantia vocantur) etiam quibus aut ex constitutionibus suis erat prohibitum aut ex privilegio apostolico non erat concessum: ut deinceps bonaimmobilia eis possidere liceat,” in Council of Trent, Sess. XXV, cap. 4, *de regul.*, in M. Antonii Cucchi, ed., *Institutiones iuris canonici, nuper ab ipso autore auctae & recognitae; insertis etiam opportune Sacri Tridentini Concilii Constitutionibus* (Coloniae: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1566), 70.

Note 106: “Ven, Señora, a quien adora/ Filipe, Apolo español, / que se alla [sic] sin vida el Sol, / mientras no llega la Aurora,” Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado, *Noticia del recibimiento i entrada de la Reyna nuestra Señora Doña Maria-Ana de Austria en la muy noble i leal coronada Villa de Madrid* (Madrid: [s.p.], c. 1650), 77–78.

Note 107: “[...] las verdaderas Excelencias de nuestra ciudad de Lima no deū consistir en sola su hermosura, su sitio, su opulencia, su nobleza, y cielo material, sino en la gloria y triunfo de que goza, auendole cōcedido la mano liberal de Dios, entre sus astros, vn nuevo Sol que la alumbrá, otro espíritu de Pablo; una imagen de aquel Christo mio de sayal Francisco, vn Solano, que como viento del Espíritu Santo, con impetu serafico, comunicò la vida al Gentilismo; vn Enoc arrebatado al Parayso, un Sol que corrió primero por todo este emisferio del Pirú, derramando asquas encendidas de fuego de amor de Dios, hasta que parò en esta ciudad, a quien amò tiernamente, y fue propicio, predicó en nuestra presencia, obró tantos milagros, y en prendas de su amor, como otro Elías quando subió a los cielos nos dexò la capa gloriosa de su cuerpo. Esta es la mayor gloria de la Patria, este el ayre mas suaue que tiempla, y corre por esta Torrida Zona, y el claro Sol del año, que la ilustra...” Salinas_M1631 [13].

Note 109: “Anno a Nativitate Christi millesimo quingentesimo quadagesimo nono, Pauli Tertii Pontificis Maximo decimo sexto, Caroli Quinti Imperatoris Augusti Hispaniarum Regis Catholici trigesimo quarto, exurgentibus Haeresum tenebris, & Christianae Europaeae faciem luctuosae obuoluentibus, orto est Mundo Franciscus Solanus; qui quoniam ad repellendam ex Americo Hemispherio gentilitii erroris caliginem, & lucem

orthodoxae veritatis diffundendam Divinae providentiae cura destinatus fuit, non immeritò Peruani Orbis *Sol unus* poterit appellari,” Navarrum, Tyburtium, *Triumphus Charitatis sive de vita, virtutibus et miraculis Venerabilis Servi Dei P. Fr. Francisci Solani, Ord. Min. Regularis Observantiae. Libri Duo. Maior autem horum est Charitas I ad Cor. Cap. 13. Ad instantiam & curam Fr. Ioannis à S. Didaco Villalon, almae Provinciae Baeticae in Hispania, praefatae Observantiae Religiosi Layci, nec non Causae Canonizationis & Beatificationis dicti Servi Dei in Curia Romana Procuratoris* (Rome: Typis Michaelis Herculis, 1671), 1.

Note 111: “Si Solano al principio de su nombre es Sol, al fin es Año. Criò Dios al Sol para dâr principio al Año: *Fiant luminaria & annos*,” Pedro Rodríguez Guillén, *El Sol y Año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano, Apostol, y Patron universal de dicho Reyno: Hijo de la ilustre y Santa Provincia de los Doce Apostoles, glorificado, adorado, y festejado en su Templo, y Convento Maximo de Jesus de la Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, en ocasion que regocijada la Serafica Familia celebrò con demostraciones festivas la deseada Canonizacion, y declaraciòn del culto universal, y publico, que le decretò nuestro Santissimo Padre Benedicto XIII, de eterna memoria, y felice recordacion: de que hace relacion esta regia Corte de Madrid [...] y consagra a la Catholica, Sacra y Real Magestad del Rey nuestro Señor don Felipe Quinto, que Dios guarde y prospere* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la V.M. de Agreda, 1735), 24.

Note 112: “Hallábase la Ciudad de los Reyes mas que el Paraiso floreciente con sola una virgen Rosa de Santa Maria, primicias bien colmadas de la Fè, flores, y frutos a un tiempo de honestidad, y de honra, que cultivò a riego de luzes para cosecha de glorias la esclarecida siempre Religion de Predicadores, Primada en estos Reynos de las Religiones. Veíase mas, que el quarto cielo, ilustrada con el benigno esplendor de San Francisco Solano, astro de primera magnitud en el Cielo Serafico. Pero como el blason, y escudo de sus Armas sean las tres Coronas de los Reyes, y la flor de Rosa, y la luz de Solano eran lustre, y gala de las dos, faltaba el vltimo esmalte a la tercera Corona de su cabeza, como diadema de sus glorias. Ganó Rosa la primacia en la aprobacion de la Iglesia; sucediole en la exaltacion del culto Solano. Mas antiguas son las flores, que las luzes bellisimas de los astros: el dia tercero de la primera formacion del mundo vistió floridas galas la tierra: el dia quarto se esmaltò de Estrellas el firmamento. Primero exhalò fragancias la Rosa, que el Sol se coronasse de rayos. Antes rayò en primaveras la tierra, que se sembrase de astros el Cielo”; Francisco de Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas, el b. Toribio Alfonso Mogrobexo, su segundo arzobispo: celebrado con epitalamios sacros y solemnes cultos, por su esposa la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima, al activo y soberano influxo del exmo. e illmo. señor doct. d. Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros...: descripcion sacro politica de las grandezas de la ciudad de Lima, y compendio historico eclesiastico de su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana* (Antwerp: Juan Baptista Verdussen, 1688), 5.

Note 133: “Soy la Rosa que vengo a refrescarte; no dudes, alégrate,” Testimony of Carmelite priest Alberto Morana” (Palermo, February 11, 1670), in Hart, ed., *Edición crítica del Segundo Proceso Apostólico*, 84.

Note 142: “Honorem suum graviter laedant, ac clericalem ordinem ludibrio caeteris exponent,” *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 270–71.

Note 143: “[...] modestia sua, et silentio, atque ornatus, consessusque Christiana sobrietate,” *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 286–87.

Note 144: “Libri, qui res lascivas, et obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant, aut docent,” *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 284–85.

Note 146: “[...] desde sus tiernos años consagró a Dios su virginidad”; See “Lectura de las Letras apostólicas, remisoriales y compulsoriales,” (April 14, 1630), in Edición crítica del Proceso Apostólico de Santa Rosa de Lima (1630-1632): Congr. Riti Processus 1573, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, ed. Stephen M. Hart (Lima: Editorial Cátedra Vallejo, 2017), 71.

Note 149: “A los tormentos de la traspasada sien no cedió el hermoso rostro de la Niña, llagado en defensa de la castidad que avia votado. Solía prevenir de parte de noche la madre a Rosa, que avia de salir a visitas, y fiestas el día siguiente, para que se compusiesse; y ella con encendidos ruegos se escusava, y no valiéndole, prorrumpiendo en copiosas lagrimas, en que o se templava, o mas se encendia, acudia a sus diligencias, y con la corteza, y los polvos del indiano pimiento se refregava las delicadas mexillas, y bañaba en el mordaz jugo desta semilla, con que mostruosamente hinchado el rostro, y con heridas y sangre desfigurado, amanecía más necesitada de medicinas que dispuesta para visitas y bailes,” Giovanni Paolo Oliva, “Sermón panegirico en la beatificación de la B. Rosa de Lima. Orado en Roma por el reverendissimo P. Ivan Pavlo Oliva, Prepósito General de la Compañía de Iesvs. Traducido del italiano al español por el hermano Lorenzo Ortiz, de la Compañía de Iesvs” (Valencia: por Bernardo Nogués, 1677), 4r.

Note 165: “De ese modo consiguió Lima la Canonización de Santa Rosa, y la Beatificación de su Arzobispo D. Toribio Mogrovejo; y de otro modo no se dio passo, ni en una ni en otra, mientras corrió solo por medio de los Curiales y expedicioneros de Roma,” Francisco de Florencia, *La estrella de el norte de Mexico: aparecida al rayar el dia de la luz evangélica en este Nuevo Mundo, en la cumbre del cerro Tepeyac, orilla del mar Tezcucano, à un Natural recién convertido; pintada tres dias despues en su tilma, ò capa de lienzo, delante del Obispo, y de su familia, en su Casa Obispal: Para luz en la Fé a los Indios: para rumbo cierto a los Españoles en la virtud: para serenidad de las tempestuosas inundaciones de la Laguna, en la historia de la milagrosa imagen de Maria Santissima de Guadalupe, que se apareció en la manta de Juan Diego* (Mexico City: en la Imprenta de Antonio Velazquez, 1741), 75.

Note 181: “Yo quedo muy flaco y con poca salud en esta ciudad de Lima, aguardando la hora de la partida de este destierro y valle de lágrimas,” APSM “Handwritten letter from Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano” (Montilla, March 10, 1610).

f) Chapter 5 —*Transcripts*

Note 15: “Intuebantur vultum eius quasi vultum Angeli quasi viveret, non tamquam mortus esset. Viderunt carnem illius, quae multis confecta laboribus prius nigra fuit et pallida, candour ‘miro nitentem’ et ex sua pulchritudine futurae claritatis ‘gloriam’ pollicentem. Non sum contracti nervi eius, ut mortuorum solent, non indurata cutis, non rigida facta sunt membra, sed in teneritudinem et habilitatem versa puerilis innocentiae et ‘veluti’ flexibilia movebantur,” *Legenda Monacensis S. Francisci*,” in *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis: saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae ad codicum fidem recensitae, Analecta Francescana*, vol. X (Florence: Quaracchi, 1926), 718.

Note 41: “[...] animam beatæ Mariae Virginis in sui creatione et in corpus infusione a peccato originali praeservatam fuisse,” *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum. Taurinensis edition, locupletior facta collectione novissima*

plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a S. Leone Magno usque ad praesens, t. XVI: Alexander VII (ab. ann. MDCLV ad ann. MDCLXII) (Turin: A. Vecco et sociis editoribus. Success. Sebastiani Franco et filiorum, 1869), 739.

Note 48: “Sor Rosa de Santa María, beata professa de la Tercera Orden de N. Padre S. Domingo, criolla nacida en Lima, claríssima estrella de sus tres coronas, y la más hermosa, encendida y fresca flor que nos da su Religión. Fue virgen puríssima, assombro en la penitencia y toda ella un milagro dilatado de la virtud de Dios,” Córdova_C1651, 492.

Note 57: “con tal pompa, ostentación majestuosa, grandeza, y aclamacion del Pueblo Romano, que excede todo ejemplar, y adelanta quantos festejos en Beatificaciones reserua la memoria de los siglos antecedentes,” Congregación de los Sagrados Ritos, “Nueva concession, viva vocis oraculo, de Nuestro Santissimo Padre Clemente Papa Nono, con atestacion del Eminentissimo Card. Ginetto,” in Leonardo Hansen, *Vida de la Bienaventurada Rosa Peruana de Santa María de la Tercera Orden de Santo Domingo. Su admirable vida y preciosa muerte*, trans. Jacinto de Parra (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, Impressor de Libros, 1668) [, 29–30].

Note 62: “Y si hubiere muerto resucitado, mejor que mejor,” ASI, *Relationes diversas*, 2/32, f. 21.

Note 100: “De los milagros que obró Dios por su siervo el santo padre Solano, luego que murió,” Córdova_C1651, 557.

Note 102: “[...] valiose siempre de sus acostūbradas armas de oraciō, ayunos, y disciplinas, con q allanaua todas las dificultades,” Córdova_C1643, 41.

Note 103: “[...] rebatiese los fieros golpes del Demonio, del Mundo, y de la carne, alcanzando dellos gloriosissimos triunfos,” Córdova_C1643, 84.

Note 104: “[...] sacándolas de la esclavitud de Satanás, y poniéndolas en la libertad de los hijos de Dios,” Córdova_C1643, 45.

Note 116: Salinas_M1631, 258.

Note 123: “[...] diferentes opiniones y pareceres: si el arzobispo puede calificar o aprobar los milagros,” ASI. *Relationes diversas*, 2/32. “Información sobre Fr. Francisco Solano, diligenciada por Fr. Lope de Navia,” ff. 24–28.

Note 125: “Reliquiae sanctorum, quas magnopere venerari decet, a nemine teneantur, nisi per ordinarium prius examinatae, atque approbatae,” *Tercer Concilio Limense*, Martínez Ferrer, ed., 308.

Note 129: “[...] para cuando esté beatificado o canonizado [...]”; “[...] en la guerra que se tiene con los indios rebelados dél [...],” José Toribio Medina, ed., *Colección de historiadores de Chile y de documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, vol. 30 (Santiago de Chile: Elzeviriana, 1905), 445–46.

Note 133: “[...] para que ante su santidad y en conclave de cardenales y ante con quien derecho deua pida la beatificacion y canoniçassion del Padre fray francisco solano,” Bromley, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, 61.

Note 139: “[...] serían inhumanas las leyes si no admitieran algunas dispensaciones,” Gaspar de Villarreal, “Carta al Sumo Pontífice pidiendo la canonización de San Francisco Solano,” in *Gobierno Eclesiástico-Pacífico*, ed. Gonzalo Zaldumbide (Quito: Imprenta del Ministerio de Gobierno, 1943[1656]), 12.

Note 152: “Fidei etiam Promotores in suis animadversionibus opposuerunt testibus Religiosis eos non esse integrae fidei in causa Beatificationis aut Canonizationis,” Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione, vol III* (Rome: excudebant Nicolaus, et Marcus Palearini, Academiae Liturgicae Conimbricensis typographi, 1748), 66.

Note 159: “Alegraos o Ciudad ilustre de Lima o Reyno dichoso del Peru, con vuestro Sol, con vuestro Patron coronado de resplandores divinos. No os glorieis ya con las riquezas que en vuestras venas ocultan vuestros cerros, sí de las preciosas, que os participa la gloria de vuestro Solono [sic]: a quien podeis ya venerar a rostro descubierto, a quien podeis ya invocar con publicas aclamaciones, a quien ya pedir claramente el remedio de vuestras necesidades: no perdereis la recompensa de los solemnes aplausos, con que aveis celebrado su triunfo glorioso...” Casasola, *Solemnidad festiva*, 22–23.

Appendix 2. Francisco Solano's classic hagiographies in chronological order

Oré, Luis Jerónimo de. *Relación de la vida y milagros de San Francisco Solano*, edited by Noble David Cook. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998 [1614].

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, Virtudes, y Milagros del nuevo Apóstol del Pirú el venerable P. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patrón de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Cabeça, y Metrópoli de los Reynos del Pirú. Por el P. F. Diego de Cordova Predicador, natural de la misma Ciudad, indigno Religioso de la dicha Orden. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos jurados ante los Ilustrísimos señores Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla. Granada, Lima, Córdova, y Málaga, y de otras once informaciones que se an hecho en diferentes villas, y ciudades. Dirigida a la C. R. M. de Don Felipe IV nuestro Señor, Rey de las dos Españas, y ambas Indias*. Lima: Por Gerónimo de Contreras, 1630.

Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Peru meritos, y excelencias de la Ciudad de los Reyes, Lima, cabeça de sus ricos, y estendidos reynos, y el estado presente en que se hallan. Para inclinar a la Majestad de su Católico Monarca D. Felipe IV, Rey poderoso de España, y de las Indias, a que pida a Su Santidad la Canonización de su Patrón, el Venerable P. F. Francisco Solano de la Orden de nuestro seráfico P.S. Francisco*. Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1631.

Salinas y Córdova, Buenaventura de. *Memorial del Padre Fray Buenaventura Salinas y Cordova, de la Regular Observancia de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco, Procurador general de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça de los ricos, y estendidos Reynos del Peru, cuya grandeza y meritos representa a la Magestad del Rey don Felipe III, Catolico Monarca en ambos Mundos, para que pida a Su Santidad la Canonizacion de su Apostolico Patron, el Venerable Padre Fray Francisco Solano*. Madrid: [s.p.] 1639.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Peru el Venerable P^e. Fray Francisco Solano de la Serafica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima, Cabeça y Metropoli de los estendidos Reynos y Provincias del Peru. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrísimos Arzobispos y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se an actuado en diferentes villas y ciudades. Y en esta segunda edicion añadida por el P^e. Fray Alonso de Mendieta de la misma Orden Calificador del S^o. Off^o., Comis^o. Provincial de la S^a. Provincia de los 12 Apóstoles del Peru y Procurador general de la Ciudad de los Reyes en la causa de la canoniçacion del mismo Sierbo de Dios Solano*. Madrid: Empronta Real, 1643.

Córdova y Salinas, Diego de. *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú*, edited by Lino Gómez Canedo. Mexico City: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957 [1651].

Alva y Astorga, Pedro de. *Naturae prodigium Gratiae portentum, hoc est, Seraphici P. N. Francisci Vitae Acta ad Christi D. N. Vitam et Mortem Regulata, et Coaptata, in Prima Columna describuntur Redemptoris Mundi Mysteria, incipiendo ab eius aeterna*

Prædestinatione, usque ad gloriosam ipsius ad Caelos Ascensionem, et in altera correspondente, Conformitates, Similitudines, ac Parallela Seraphici Patriarchae, in quadraginta quinque Titulos divisa. Madrid: In typographia Julián de Paredes, 1651.

Chacón, Marcos. *Vida, muerte y milagros de S. Francisco Solano, apóstol del Perú, en verso lírico castellano.* Puebla: Viuda de Juan de Borja, 1658.

Navarrum, Tyburtium. *Triumphus Charitatis sive de vita, virtutibus et miraculis Venerabilis Servi Dei P. Fr. Francisci Solani, Ord. Min. Regularis Observantiae. Libri Duo. Maior autem horum est Charitas I ad Cor. Cap. 13. Ad instantiam & curam Fr. Ioannis à S. Didaco Villalon, almae Provinciae Baeticae in Hispania, praefatae Observantiae Religiosi Layci, nec non Causae Canonizationis & Beatificationis dicti Servi Dei in Curia Romana Procuratoris.* Rome: Typis Michaelis Herculis, 1671.

Caprarola, Antonio di. *Vita del Gran Servo di Dio Fra Francesco Solano della Regolare Osser. illustre in virtù, e prodigij: Predicatore Apostolico nell'Indie Occidentali; acclamato per Padrone della Città di Lima Metropoli del Perú, e da altre famose Città dell'Indie. Rescritta da varij autori, e processi appresso la Sede Apostolica. A petitione, e divotione di F. Giovanni di S. Diego Villalon, Religioso del medesimo Ordine, e della Provincia d'Andalusia in Spagna; Procuratore nella Curia Romana alla Beatificatione, e Santificatione del Servo di Dio F. Francesco Solano, & insieme di F. Francesco Ximenez de Cisneros Arcivescovo Cardinal di Toledo, e di Suor Giovanna della Croce.* Rome: Michele Hercole, 1672.

Boto, Buenaventura. *Vida del V. Siervo de Dios San Francisco Solano, Apóstol del Imperio del Perú, en las Indias, dedicado al Senado de Milán,* 1673.

Francesch, Narciso. *Breve resumen y compendio de la vida, virtudes y milagros del Beato Francisco Solano de la Regular Observancia del Seráfico Padre..., sacado de lo que della se imprimió en Roma año de 1672, solicitándose su beatificación, que ya obtenida, se celebra en 21 de deziembre del año 1675.* Barcelona: Iacinto Andreu, 1675.

Villalón, Juan de San Diego. *Compendio della Vita del Beato Francesco Solano, Minore Osservante dell'Ordine di San Francesco, composto da un divoto suo.* Rome: Per Angelo Bernabò, 1675.

Oración en la beatificación de onze martyres, y San Francisco Solano, predicada en su Convento de San Francisco [manuscript of a sermon], 1675.

Córdoba y Salinas, Diego de. *Vida, virtudes y milagros del Apóstol del Perú, el B. P. Fr. Francisco Solano, de la Seráfica Orden de los Menores de la Regular Observancia, Patron de la Ciudad de Lima. Sacada de las declaraciones de quinientos testigos, que juraron ante los ilustrissimos Arçobispos, y Obispos de Sevilla, Granada, Lima, Cordova, y Malaga, y de otras muchas informaciones, que por autoridad Apostolica se han actuado en diferentes Villas y Ciudades. Tercera impression que saca a la luz el M. R. P. Fr. Pedro de Mena, Predicador de Su Magestad, Padre de esta Provincia de Castilla, y Guardian del Convento de N. Serafico Padre S. Francisco de Madrid.* Madrid: En la Imprenta Real, 1676.

Córdoba y Salinas, Diego de. *Tugenden, unnd Wunderwerck dess Apostels von Peru: Nemblich dess seeligen Vatters F. Francisci Solani auss dem H. Seraphischen Orden der Minderen Brüder der Regularischen Observantz, erwöhltten Patrons zu Lima, so die haupt-vnd vornembste Statt der weitschichtigen Königreichen und Provintzen in Peru ist.*

Heraus gezogen von den Aussagen der jenigen 500. Gezeugen, welche vor denen Hochwürdigisten Ertz-Bischoffen-vnd Bischoffen, zu Sevilla, Granata, Lima, Cordoua, vnd Malago, den Aydt abgelegt haben; wie auch auss andern vilfältigen Erfahrungen, welche durch Commission vnd Gewalt dess H. apostolischen Stuels in vnterschiedlichen Märcken, vnd Stätten eingeholt worden seynd, translated by Johann Georg von Werndle. München: Jäcklin, 1676.

Courtot, François. *La vie du bien-heureux père François Solano religieux de l'Ordre de Saint François Patron du Perou, composée sur les memoires presentez au S. Siege pour la beatification. Et le recit du martyre d'onze religieux du mesme ordre, qui souffrirent la mort à Gorkom pour la defense de la foy, l'an 1572.* Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1677.

Courtot, François. *The lives of St. Thomas of Villanova, Archbishop of Valentia, and Augustinian Friar; and of St. Francis Solano, Apostle of Peru, of the Order of St. Francis,* trans. Claude Maimbourg. New York: Edward Dunigan; London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1847 [1677].

Casasola, Gregorio. *Solemnidad festiva, aplausos publicos, aclamaciones ostentosas, que hizo esta nobilissima Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, a la publicacion del breve de la beatificacion del bienaventurado S. Francisco Solano del Orden seraphico de la regular observancia desta Santa Provincia de los Doze apostoles del Peru. Dedicada al mismo santo en cuya dedicatoria se recopilan las mas heroicas obras de su vida, y los mas singulares milagros, que por su intercession, y meritos, obró la divina omnipotencia, mientras buelve a las prensas su vida. Dala a la estampa el Padre Procurador general de su Beatificación, y Canonizacion en estas Provincias del Peru, para que remitida a todas las ciudades, y villas, que le tienen elegido, y votado por su Patron, se haga notoria la celebracion de su Beatificacion deseada.* Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1679.

Bravo, Fernando. *Oracion evangelica panegyrica de la beatificacion de N. glorioso padre S. Francisco Solano,* 23 de abril de 1679. Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1679.

Información de los Milagros de San Francisco Solano en italiano [manuscript:] 1692.

Roma, Raimondo da. *Compendio della vita, virtù e miracoli di S. Francesco Solano, dell'Ordine de' Minori Osservanti.* Rome: Stamparia del Bernabò, 1726.

Junguito, Mathias de, *Describe don Mathias de Junguito las obstentosas processiones, altares, compostura de calles y concurso que se viò en Madrid, en celebridad de las Canonizaciones de los Santos San Jacome de la Marca, San Francisco Solano y Beata Jacinta Mariscoti, del Orden de San Francisco, de San Luis Gonzaga y san Estanislao de Koska, de la Compañia de Jesus, de San Juan de la Cruz, Carmelita Descalzo, de san Dalmacio, Santa Ines de Monte Policiano y Beata Columba de Reati, del Orden de Santo Domingo, canonizados y beatificados por la Santidad de nuestro muy Santo Padre Benedicto XIII principe romano.* [n.p.]1726.

Relazione delle ceremonie et apparato della Basílica di S. Pietro nella canonizzazione de Beati Turrìbio Mogroveso Arcivescovo di Lima, Giacomo della Marca dell'Ordine de' Minori Osservanti di S. Francesco, Agnese di Montepulciano dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, Pellegrino Laziosi Servita, Giovanni dalla Croce Carmelitano Scalzo, Francesco Solano del già detto Ordine di S. Francesco, Luigi Gonzaga, e Stanislao Kostka ambo della Compagnia di Gesù. Rome: [n.p.]1726.

Kurtze historische Beschreibung dess Lebens und Wunderwercken der zweyen grossen Heiligen Jacobi von Marchia, und Francisci Solani auss dem Orden S. Francisci Regular. Observantiae, welche von Ihro Päbstl. Heiligkeit Benedicto XIII. solenniter canoniziert worden den 10. und 27. December Anno 1726. Munich: [n.p.] 1727.

Kort begryp van het leven, deughden en mirakelen van den H. Franciscus Solanus minder-broeder observant gecanonizeert door onsen alderheylighsten vader Benedictus den XIII. Den 27. december in't jaer ons Heeren 1726. Uyt verscheyde schrijvers bij een vergaerdert door eenen religieus der selve orden. Antwerp: Petrus Jacobs, 1727.

Cuypers, Guillaume. "Die Vigesima Quarta Julii: De S. Francisco Solano. Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Observantia. Limae in Peruvia." In *Acta Sanctorum. Julii, Tomus Quintus, anastatic edition*, 847–910. Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1969 [1727].

Rodríguez de Cisneros, Juan. *Epítome de la vida, virtudes y milagros del portentoso Apostol del Reyno del Peru S. Francisco Solano, canonizado por N. SS. Padre Benedicto XIII, que felizmente reyna, en el año de 1726, en el día 27 del mes de diciembre. Dedicado a N. M. R. P. Fr. Domingo Losada, Lector jubilado, Examinador synodal del Arzobispado de Toledo, Padre de la Provincia de Santiago, y Ministro Provincial de la de Castilla, de la Regular Observancia de Nuestro Padre San Francisco. Propuesto por Fr. Juan Rodríguez de Cisneros, Lector de Theologia, Examinador y Juez Synodal del Arzobispado de Toledo, Padre de la Provincia de Santiago, Ex-Definidor, y Chronista de la de Castilla*. Madrid: Viuda de Juan García Infanzón, 1727.

Stehle, Leone. *Canonizatio Sanctorum, Vitae Merita, ac Vitam Secuta Miracula, Jacobi de Marchia, et Francisci Solani franciscanorum. Quos Favente Deo T.O.M. Benedictus XIII. 1726 10 & 27 Decembris Ritu Solemni Albo Sanctorum adscripsit*. Salzburg: Typis Jo. Jos. Mayr, Aulico-Acad. Typ. p.m. Haeredú, 1729.

Rodríguez Guillén, Pedro. *El Sol y Año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano, Apostol, y Patron universal de dicho Reyno: Hijo de la ilustre y Santa Provincia de los Doce Apostoles, glorificado, adorado, y festejado en su Templo, y Convento Maximo de Jesus de la Ciudad de los Reyes Lima, en ocasión que regocijada la Serafica familia celebró con demostraciones festivas la deseada canonización, y declaración del culto universal, y público, que le decretó nuestro santissimo padre Benedicto XIII de eterna memoria, y felice recordacion: de que hace relacion en esta regia corte de Madrid*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Causa de la V.M. de Agreda, 1735.

Rodríguez Guillén, Pedro. *Memoria genial, y academica, del triumpho mayor por menor del laurel seraphico, con que ciñó la mas esclarecida Minerva en su Athenèo famoso, y sublime por su Estrella Sacro Regia, las Cienes de cinco Religiosos del Orden de N. S. P. S. Francisco [...]*. Lima: En la imprenta que está extramuros de Santa Cathalina, 1739.

Sánchez de Feria y Morales, Bartolomé. *Compendio de la vida, virtudes, y milagros del apostol del Perú San Francisco Solano, del Sagrado Orden de San Francisco, y Patrono de la ciudad de Montilla. Con notas, y reflexiones críticas, sobre los principales sucessos de la Historia*. Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Escrivano, calle Angosta de San Bernardo, 1762.

Appendix 3: Archival sources related to Francisco Solano in the City of Montilla, Province of Córdoba (Spain)

a) *Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Montilla [APNM] (Notarial Protocol Archive of Montilla)*

APNM, Esc. [*Escribano*] Juan Rodríguez, L. 10, ff. 615-616v, Properties of the maternal grandfather of Francisco Solano (Montilla, May 11, 1534).

APNM, Esc. Diego Núñez, L. 7, ff. 535-536v., Testament of the paternal grandmother of Francisco Solano (Montilla, December 12, 1539).

APNM, Esc. Antonio Gutiérrez, L. 74, ff. 688-689v., Sale of a property of the parents of Francisco Solano (Montilla, November 3, 1555).

APNM, Esc. Jerónimo Pérez, L. 25, ff. 721-724, Sale of a property of the brother of Francisco Solano (Montilla: October, 3, 1571).

APNM, Esc. Juan Martínez de Córdoba, L. 144, ff. 317-319, First testament of Ana Ximénez Hidalgo, mother of Francisco Solano (Montilla: October 9, 1580).

APNM, Esc. Jerónimo Pérez, L. 39, ff. 484 – 487, Testament of Diego Ximénez Solano, brother of Francisco Solano (Montilla: November 5, 1591).

APNM, Esc. Alonso Alviz de la Cruz, L. 68, ff. 887-888v., Last testament of Ana Ximénez Hidalgo, mother of Francisco Solano (Montilla: October 9, 1597).

APNM, Esc. Francisco Escudero, L. 54, ff. 415-417v., Testament of Ynés Gómez de Varea, sister of Francisco Solano (Montilla: December 11, 1630).

APNM, Esc. Francisco Escudero, L. 57, ff. 114v-114r., Lease of a property of Ynés Gómez de Varea, sister of Francisco Solano (Montilla: April 10, 1633).

APNM, Esc. Francisco Escudero, L. 58, f. 307v.: Modification of the will of Ynés Gómez de Varea, sister of Francisco Solano (Montilla: August 20, 1634).

APNM, Actas Capitulares, L. 14: Voting to declare Francisco Solano as Patron Saint of Montilla (Montilla: March 14, 1647).

b) *Archivo Histórico Municipal de Montilla [AHMM] (Municipal Historical Archive of Montilla)*

AHMM, Actas Capitulares, L. 17: Request of the Marquises of Priego addressed to the authorities for voting again to declare Blessed Francisco Solano as Patron Saint of Montilla (Montilla: January 13, 1681).

AHMM, Actas Capitulares, L. 30: Festivities on the occasion of the canonization of Francisco Solano (Montilla: February 17, 1727).

AHMM, Libro de Documentos sobre la Canonización de Francisco Solano. Documents on the Canonization of Solano [factitious volume] (Montilla: 1626-1745).

AHMM, Cuentas de Arbitrios, L. 368b: Details of expenses for the celebrations on the occasion of the canonization of Francisco Solano (Montilla: 1727).

AHMM, Actas Capitulares, L. 35: Open Cabildo for the election of Francisco Solano as Patron Saint of Montilla (Montilla: March 17, 1732).

AHMM, Actas Capitulares L. 57: Votive Mass in honour of Francisco Solano for the earthquake in Lisbon (November 18, 1755).

c) *Archivo de la Parroquia de Santiago de Montilla [APSM] (Archive of the Parish of Santiago of Montilla).*

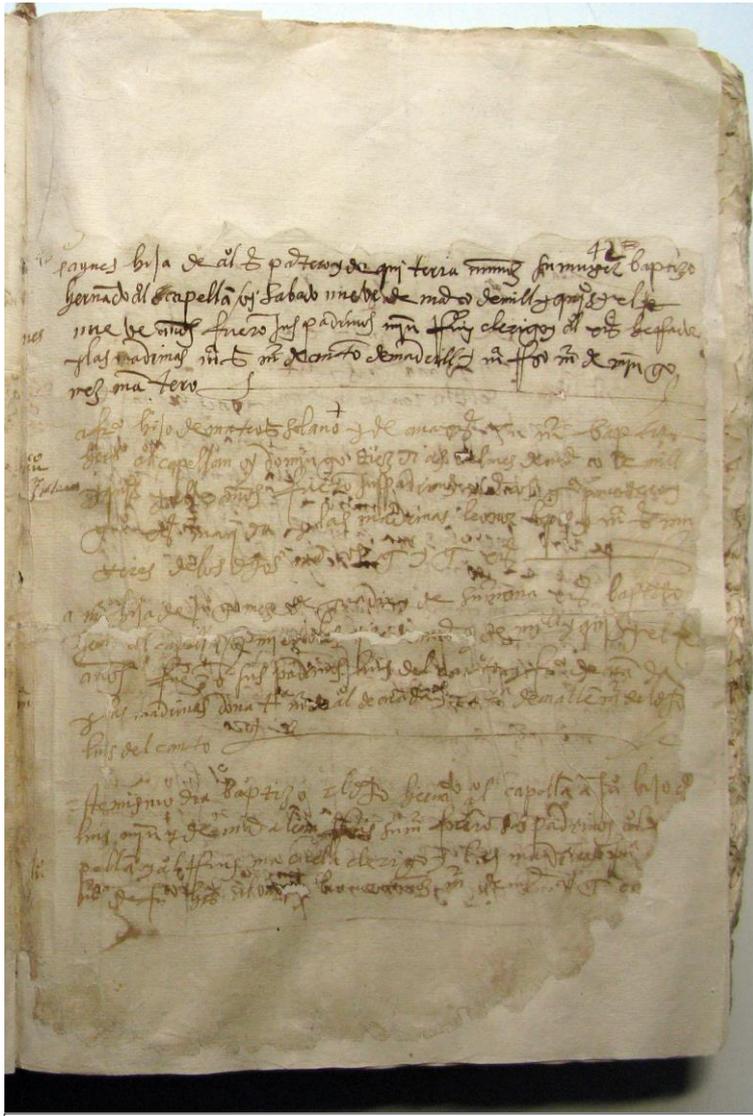
APSM, Libro de Bautismos, L. 2, f. 42: Original Baptism Certificate of Francisco Solano (Montilla: March 10, 1549).

APSM, Handwritten letter of Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano (Lima: March 10, 1610).

APSM, Actas de las Sesiones de los Cabildos de la Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento (1554-1585), L. 1: Appointment of Mateo Sánchez Solano, father of Francisco Solano, as supervisor of the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament [One of the requirements to occupy such a position was to certify the “purity of blood”] (Montilla: December 21, 1576).

APSM, Varias escrituras (1538-1580): Testament of Mateo Sánchez Solano, father of Francisco Solano [factitious volume] (Montilla: December 24, 1579).

Appendix 4: Original Baptism Certificate of Francisco Solano



“Original Baptism Certificate of Francisco Solano,” in APSM, Libro de Bautismos, L. 2, f. 42 (Montilla: March 10, 1549).

Appendix 5: Letter of Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez

Solano

A Mi Hermana Ynés Gómez Solano en
Lacaludicant a galhin. En Monzilla

Lo llamado contento Hermanamía. Aquí la voy sacando de la
 y comid y miso bina. tienen a las. aunque a com la nada de traucos
 furae conque Dio Regala a los vijos estimo los en mudo y Pades
 abo conpande a lefia. Lo que me uad. Muy enalada. granduina.
 mas feta. de la sige. Y granduieran. Pallas como fueren con Zanico
 de las Pasiones. Y nauage de. Cálto. Los reinos de sus conuolaciones
 y que sea. Cálto. Sea. es. d. do. el. ojo. Para. d. a. g. e. con. Zanica. ray. a. Er
 n. h. a. u. a. y. o. s. e. r. n. a. l. q. u. e. t. m. e. n. l. e. q. u. e. i. c. a. s. a. g. e. r. c. o. n. Z. a. n. i. c. a. d. e. l. a. c. o. n.
 s. o. l. a. c. i. o. n. e. s. d. e. u. s. l. o. n. a. a. g. r. a. d. e. c. a. l. e. m. a. r. s. o. E. l. l. a. y. d. e. d. o. q. u. e. h. i. n. e. d. e. s. u. a. l.
 u. a. c. i. o. n. : A. n. u. e. l. t. r. a. s. C. h. i. n. a. C. h. i. r. i. d. a. d. e. j. a. l. u. g. Z. a. n. a. n. i. R. e. c. o. m. e. n. d. a. c. i. o. n. e. s.
 y. q. u. e. n. a. l. d. o. y. E. l. P. e. n. a. n. e. l. P. a. u. i. o. n. d. e. l. a. s. u. e. d. i. t. a. n. e. a. s.
 S. y. m. a. n. o. P. u. e. r. t. d. e. C. a. s. q. u. e. j. u. n. t. u. i. d. a. e. l. a. p. o. z. a. n. d. o. d. e. l. a. u. d. a. s. i. r.
 m. u. e. r. t. e.

Que galta. m. d. d. e. r. e. n. c. i. a. c. o. n. Z. a. n. i. c. a. a. m. a. u. a. Y. m. e. n. c. i. a. d. e. c. o. q. u. e. n. e.
 s. i. t. u. a. s. d. e. d. i. o. s. a. y. u. d. e. l. e. r. a. n. n. a. g. u. e. r. a. d. o. l. h. i. n. a. f. i. a. C. o. n. a. u. r. e. t. a. n. z. a. C. o.
 s. i. t. e. e. n. e. l. a. s. u. i. n. c. o. n. d. i. o. s. a. m. a. n. d. o. L. e. d. e. c. o. n. g. e. r. e. y. s. a. c. i. e. n. d. o. e. n. t. o. d. e. u. a. r. o.
 b. o. n. i. t. a. d. Y. l. i. m. i. d. i. o. P. a. n. a. a. l. c. a. m. p. a. l. a. R. e. c. o. n. h. i. e. n. c. i. a. l. a. i. n. q. u. e. i. n. t. o. r. a. g. e. n.
 T. o. d. a. L. o. d. e. u. o. Y. C. a. m. i. n. i. o. n. e. d. i. o. s. C. r. i. a. d. o. Y. r. e. a. l. u. a. d. o. m. i. o. P. e. n. a. m. e. d. e. d. o.
 C. r. a. z. o. n. d. e. a. u. t. o. s. o. f. e. n. d. i. d. o. P. e. n. e. r. a. s. q. u. i. n. o. i. e. Y. P. e. n. q. u. e. a. n. o. n. f. a. t. e. d. e. l. a.
 c. o. s. a. s. Y. P. e. n. L. a. n. g. o. d. e. n. u. e. n. a. m. a. P. e. n. Y. d. e. a. P. a. t. a. t. e. m. e. d. e. c. a. s. L. a. s. c. o. n. d. i. o. n. e. s.
 d. e. c. o. f. e. n. d. e. r. o. Y. d. e. c. o. n. f. e. r. a. n. z. e. Y. d. e. c. o. n. P. a. r. L. a. P. e. n. i. t. e. n. c. i. a. q. u. e. n. e. f. u. e. r. o. n.
 P. u. e. l. t. a. C. o. n. f. e. r. o. m. i. u. i. t. a. o. b. r. a. y. t. r. a. u. a. y. o. s. E. n. a. n. i. f. a. c. i. o. n. d. e. l. o. d. e. r. m. i. l. l. e.
 e. a. d. o. s. T. u. P. u. e. r. o. s. e. n. i. t. e. c. o. n. f. e. r. o. s. P. e. n. a. n. a. E. n. i. t. e. c. o. n. f. e. r. a. d. y. m. i. s. e. r. i. c. o. r. d. i.
 Y. n. f. i. n. i. t. a. m. i. l. e. r. P. a. d. o. n. i. s. P. e. n. l. o. m. u. e. u. i. e. n. t. o. d. e. l. a. P. a. r. t. e. s. a. n. g. e. y.
 P. a. n. i. n. d. e. m. i. e. n. c. i. a. P. e. n. C. a. l. t. o. d. i. o. S. i. p. o. y. m. i. d. e. i. q. u. a. s. P. a. n. e. n. m. u. n. d. o. m. e.
 Y. P. a. n. t. e. c. a. r. S. a. l. t. a. l. a. m. u. e. r. t. e. a. m. e. n. t. e. t. e. n. p. a. c. a. u. d. a. d. o. e. n. m. a. n. d. a. r. l. e. a. s. d. e. a. n.
 C. o. m. m. u. e. d. a. n. g. e. s. S. a. l. t. a. q. u. e. l. a. b. o. m. e. d. e. m. e. m. o. r. i. a. y. d. i. j. a. l. a. t. i. d. o. s. o. r. d. i. n. a. s. m. a. y. d. e. c. o.
 r. a. y. o. n. L. o. q. u. e. n. a. l. a. s. a. l. t. a. c. i. o. n. d. e. l. a. l. a. m. a. Y. e. l. a. n. g. o. s. C. a. u. i. l. l. a. d. e. d. i. o. s. E. l. q. u. e. n. e. l. a. s. d. e.
 a. r. m. e. e. n. t. e. n. t. e. m. i. l. i. o. n. y. e. n. t. e. p. e. n. a. n. o. u. a. m. o. P. e. n. S. a. n. t. i. s. P. e. n. j. u. e. l. o.
 d. e. l. e. m. a. Y. d. e. m. a. y. o. l. e. d. e. b. i. t. o. P. e. n. S. a. n. t. i. s. P. e. n. j. u. e. l. o.
 1610.

“Letter of Francisco Solano to his sister Ynés Gómez Solano,” in APSM (Lima: March 10, 1610).

Appendix 6: Mottos of the Spanish Franciscan Provinces to which Francisco Solano belonged

a) *Motto of the Franciscan Province of Granada*

The motto of the Province of Granada, to which Solano belonged, had as a shield the figures of Spanish Franciscans Juan Cetina and Pedro de Dueñas, who were martyred in Granada by the Muslims in 1397. Thus, the ideal of martyrdom and mission was also fuelled through iconography and historical landmarks.



Francisco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observantiae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagation* (Rome [n.p.], 1587), 1166.

b) *Motto of the Franciscan Betica Province*

The motto *Plus ultra* is the same one that Charles V (1500-1558) had adopted, in an insinuating synergy of the Order with the Spanish monarchy. The pillars of Hercules allude to the Strait of Gibraltar that delimited the edge of the world before the discovery of America. For a Franciscan Province it could be an invitation to go *plus ultra*, that is, beyond geographical boundaries through missionary activity towards Africa and the West Indies.



Francisco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observantiae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagatione* (Rome [n.p.], 1587), 892.

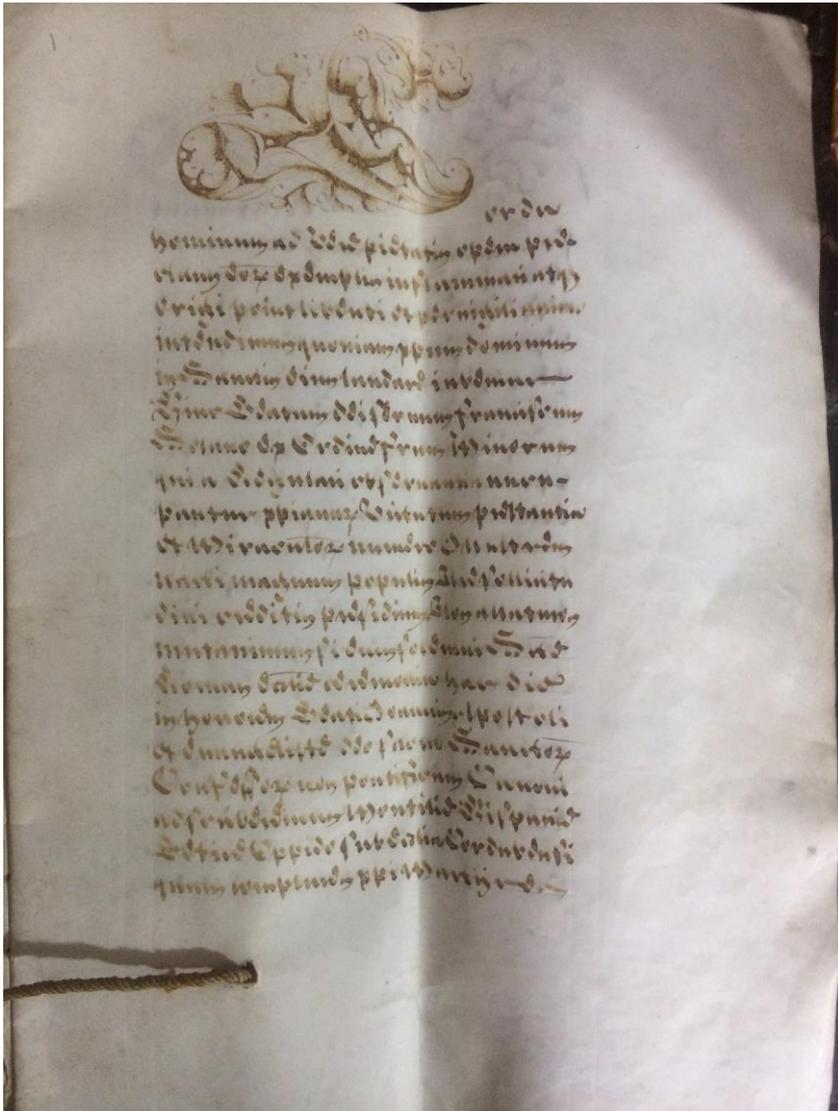
Appendix 7: Francis of Assisi as the alter Christus

Jesus Christ crucified is represented with the six wings of the seraph, while Francis of Assisi, kneeling, asks: "Quis ego sum Domine" [Who am I, Lord?]. The Bonaventurian theology on the "alter Christus" was graphically reflected in the engraving that served as the frontispiece of Valentin Mareé's treaty.



Christ and St. Francis of Assisi, engraving. In Valentin Mareé, *Traicté des conformitez du disciple avec son maistre, c'est a dire, du Seraphique Père S. François avec Nostre Seigneur Iesuschrist, contenant en soy tous les Mysteres de leurs Calvaires, Crucifiemens & derniere paroles* (Liège: De l'Imprimerie Henry Tournay, [c.] 1660).

Appendix 8: Copy of the first page of the bull of canonisation of Francisco Solano



Bull "Ad fidelium Dei servorum gloriam" by Benedict XIII (1726). "Copy of the first page of the bull of canonisation of Francisco Solano," in Archivo Histórico del Convento de San Francisco de Lima.