

1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era

Volume 19

Article 14

2012

PEDRO DE PERALTA AND THE CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT Heaven to the Heavens and Back

Renee Gutierrez

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/sixteenfifty>



Part of the [Aesthetics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Renee Gutierrez (2012) "PEDRO DE PERALTA AND THE CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT Heaven to the Heavens and Back," *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*: Vol. 19, Article 14.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/sixteenfifty/vol19/iss1/14>

PEDRO DE PERALTA AND THE CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT Heaven to the Heavens and Back

Renee Gutiérrez

The question of the relationship between religion and science, a current and seemingly modern polemic in our culture, has its origins in the medieval period and has been debated since then. During the eighteenth century, a high point in this centuries-old *querelle*, the acceptance of both science and religion within a single unified intellectual position was a key tenet that differentiated the Catholic Enlightenment from the French Enlightenment.¹ One example of an early Enlightenment figure who

¹ Although there was a Catholic Enlightenment in France, that nation's leading intellectuals—including Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert and many others—sponsored a secular enlightenment, in general criticizing revealed religions while advocating for the separation of church and state, and often looking for a weakened constitutional monarchy or even for a

evidenced the union of science and religion documented by careful bibliographic citation is Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo Rocha y Benavides. The Peruvian scholar and statesman wrote the epic poem *Lima fundada* (1732) about Spanish Conquistador Fernando Pizarro's conquest of the Inca federation.² Peralta annotates his octaves with a multitude of scholars, works, and ideas as well as unifying science and religion within the verses themselves. His approach is emblematic of the Catholic Enlightenment.

What is the Catholic Enlightenment? It is an intellectual movement most easily defined in contrast to the more widely known French model.³ Scholars have theorized that one of the main tenets during the Enlightenment was the exaltation of reason above all else. In France, classical authorities yielded to modern experimental scientists, and a concern for demonstrable accuracy came to predominate. For example, the work of Pierre Bayle manifests an overriding concern with the attribution of ideas and the correction of error. As part of the emphasis on reason, major figures like Voltaire and David Hume and Thomas Paine in the mid-1700s rejected both faith and religion, omitting them from academic endeavors.⁴

Because Spain and her New World territories (the Spains) continued to produce scholars who adhered to their Catholic religious beliefs, intellectuals like Eduardo Subirats⁵ argued that the Spains either had no Enlightenment, or experienced a partial or substandard Enlightenment. However, recent scholarship by Hispanists like Ruth Hill, Margaret Ewalt, and Jonathan Carlyon postulates instead that Spain fostered a distinct intellectual revolution: the Catholic Enlightenment.⁶ Like the French model, the Catholic

republic to replace the monarchy. It is this movement that we are categorizing as the French Enlightenment.

² The text used for all quotations from Peralta is that of *Lima Fundada o Conquista del Perú* in *Colección de Documentos Literarios del Perú*, ed. Manuel de Odrizola, vol. 2 (Lima: Aurelio Alfaro, 1863). Originally published by Pedro de Peralta (Lima: Sobrino y Budos, 1732). I refer to it hereafter as *LF*. For the convenience of the non-Spanish reader, I include translations of foreign language citations in the notes.

³ Voltaire, *The philosophical dictionary for the pocket. Written in French by a society of men of letters, and translated into English from the last Geneva edition, corrected by the authors. With notes...* (London, 1765), in Gale's Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://find.galegroup.com> (accessed 7 May 2009).

⁴ Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, in the Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL) website, <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/node/60> (accessed 23 February 2009).

⁵ Eduardo Subirats, *Ilustración insuficiente* (Madrid: Taurus ediciones, 1981).

⁶ Ruth A. Hill, *Sceptres and Sciences in the Spains: Four Humanists and the New Philosophy*

Enlightenment presumed a preoccupation with authenticating knowledge and providing the provenance of ideas. The Catholic model differed, however, in two key ways. First, the classical authorities were consulted along with the new experimental scientists: all of these various sources contributed to the pursuit of knowledge. Second, it accepted and freely incorporated faith and the Catholic religion into science and academics. In *Lima fundada* I find a case study that illustrates three tenets of the Catholic Enlightenment: concern with accurate attribution and textual bibliographies, an eclectic combination of classical authorities and modern experimentalists, and faith accepted on a par with reason. Peralta's work showcases the intellectual thought-processes of the Catholic Enlightenment.

A brief review of Peralta's life, his epic poem *Lima fundada*, and the poem's reception by scholars will help contextualize the author's use of sources and his intellectual processes. Pedro de Peralta was born and lived in Lima, never leaving the Viceroyalty of Peru. He was a well-known statesman and savant, connected to the viceregal power structure and highly influential in the University of San Marcos in Lima. He corresponded with scientists from the French Academy and with the Spanish Father Jerónimo Benito Feijoo.⁷ In Peralta's day, many European scientists regarded anyone who was born in the New World as tainted by the debilitating effects of the tropical sun. The degeneracy theory postulated that the criollo intellect (that is, the mental capabilities of those who were born in the New World of Spanish parents) would peak early and quickly decline. Peralta would have been forced to demonstrate his intellectual prowess in part to counter this accepted stereotype, and within that demonstration we can now perceive the norms for the Catholic Enlightenment.

I suggest that the unconventional fusion of genres in Peralta's epic poem *Lima fundada* constitutes a counterargument to the degeneracy theory. The hybrid elements work together to prove the peruleros' fitness and their qualifi-

(ca. 1680–1740) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000); Margaret R. Ewalt, *Peripheral Wonders: Nature, Knowledge, and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century Orinoco* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009); Jonathan E. Carlyon, *Andrés González de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

⁷ Peralta sent copies of his work, including *LF*, to the Spanish *ilustrado* Feijoo. See Jerry M. Williams, "Feijoo and Peralta Barnuevo: Two Letters," *Dieciocho*: 21.2 (Fall 1998): 237–46 for a discussion of the relationship between the two men. Williams suggests that Feijoo in fact patronized Peralta, not accepting him as a true equal in "Censorship and Art in Pre-Enlightenment Lima," in *Diálogo de los muertos: la causa académica* (Potomac: Scripta humanistica, 1994), 85.

cation as Spaniards.⁸ The epic genre, Gongorine verse, and footnotes together defend the importance of the Spains and the viceroyalty. Peralta seems to intend to show that far from being degenerate or peripheral, the viceroyalty is of central importance to the world's economics, politics, and religion. Even as Peralta evidences the highest standards of intellectual discourse for his time, his hybrid text also illustrates the best of the Catholic Enlightenment.

Peralta's hybrid text is often misunderstood by scholars. They have, by and large, condemned *Lima fundada* for its failure as an epic, its interminable encomiastic octaves, and its pedantic footnotes. For example, Lohmann Villena characterizes *Lima fundada* thus:

En efecto, desde el punto de vista literario el poema está defectuosamente compuesto, carece de toda originalidad, la narración es monótona y desleída y a la versificación le faltan brío y aliento épico...El lenguaje es afectado y pedestre...viene a ser una paráfrasis rimada de Garcilaso y de los principales cronistas conocido por entonces.⁹

Lohman dismisses the text as defective: the Baroque language is affected and the narration (I suspect here he refers to the intercalated encomia) is monotonous. Scholars either condemn the footnotes overall for their sheer volume of detail and pedantry, or they elevate the paratext's historical importance above that of the primary poetic text. Generally speaking, the poem's hybridity is not appreciated.

However, it is precisely within the discursive space of Peralta's hybrid apologetic for his *patria chica* that I find evidence of the early Catholic Enlightenment. My case study divides into three sections. First, I consider a passage on perulero writers from the poem's extensive encomium that aptly illustrates the early

⁸ *Perulero* refers to Spaniards who lived and worked in Peru, regardless of their place of origin. These peruleros disrupt "the prevailing scholarly distinction between [the] European and American Spaniard, positing an experimental identification (residence in Peru) rather than a geographical and pseudo-biological one (birth in Spain or Spanish America)" (Ruth A. Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: A Postal Inspector's Exposé* [Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005], 10).

⁹ Guillermo Lohman Villena, *Pedro de Peralta* (Lima: Biblioteca Hombres del Perú, 1964) 28–29. "In effect, from a literary point of view, the poem is defective in its composition, lacking all originality, the narration is monotonous and watered-down, and the versification lacks spark and epic inspiration. The language is affected and pedestrian...it becomes a rhymed paraphrase of Garcilaso and the primary chroniclers known in that time."

Enlightenment (both French and Catholic) tendency toward cataloging bibliographies and maintaining accurate attributions. The footnotes provide the reader with lists of books to be added to the library of the Republic of Letters. Second, I examine a passage on the celestial and physical heavens which exemplifies how Peralta's complex verses encode scientific and religious knowledge within the poetry, and how his footnotes then decode these references and add a bibliography of resources to consider. Third, I analyze how Peralta follows his intercalated description of Heaven and the heavens with an audacious description of the Peruvian viceroyalty as critical to Catholicism. The reader's credence rests on the authority he has built up during his epic poem. Together these three sections delineate critical tenets of the Catholic Enlightenment present in Lima fundada.

* Cataloguing Knowledge:
Perulero Writers and Their Bibliographies *

The passage on writers that exemplifies Peralta's interest in bibliographies appears in his three-canto long *encomia*. The *encomium* serves at least two main functions: it acts first as a panegyric for the Old and New World Spains, and second as a record of perulero literary production. The larger panegyric discourse in which the specific example of writers appears elaborates on the abilities of hundreds of peruleros. The act of recording the names of conquerors, explorers, government functionaries, religious figures, scholars, and authors in epic verse inscribes them into a literary immortality, and the way in which Peralta describes them makes clear the high and non-degenerate quality of their contributions. I maintain that one of Peralta's personal goals, congruent with the goals of the Catholic Enlightenment, was to show that "Spain's discovery, conquest and colonization of the Indies constituted a contribution of incomparable historical and economic value to Europe. Likewise, Spanish historiography related to these endeavors deserved canonical pride of place in all academic inquiries."¹⁰ The praise discourse brought the names of these peruleros and their deeds into the canon and thus into libraries of the scholars of the Republic of Letters.

The second function of the *encomium* beyond that of panegyric is to provide a list of scholarly production. This cataloging of print knowledge

¹⁰ Carlyon, *Gonzalez de Barcia*, 99.

can be described as a foundational trait of both the Hispanic and the French Enlightenment. Peralta augments his praise discourse with paratext that frequently contains bibliographic information: sources, cross-references, lists of books. As Carlyon aptly summarizes in his book, Enlightenment scholars no longer aimed to find new classical texts, but rather to "bring order to the body of knowledge being accumulated during the Renaissance." They aim to become philosopher-conquerors instead of military conquerors, controlling and conquering information instead of lands and peoples. Peralta enumerates the available texts and highlights passages of interest with his references, thus organizing an annotated bibliography even though it does not appear in the now traditional list format.

Peralta's chosen format for his bibliographic information is the footnote, a technique not commonly found in the epic literature of his day. If this kind of paratext was rare, author-composed notes were rarer still, though there are some earlier European examples. However, footnotes had indeed begun to gain great popularity in another field: the sciences. As stated by Anthony Grafton, footnotes first became popular with Pierre Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* of 1697, a text highly concerned with accurate attribution and correcting misinformation.¹¹ In a complicated graphic layout, Bayle's main prose text is footnoted, and those footnotes are further annotated with marginal notes. That both Bayle and Peralta shared an interest in comets would have further encouraged the Peruvian scientist to read this work and appropriate the footnote format for his own uses. The notes allowed Peralta to add the names of Hispanic writers and their texts to the Republic of Letter's knowledge base.

To illustrate both the panegyric and bibliographical functions of the encomiastic passage, I analyze three examples of writers within this section of *Lima fundada*. The poetry and the footnotes combine to mount an objective scholarly defense, to borrow Carlyon's phrase, of the intellectual contributions of the Spains.¹² Peralta points the readers to specific authors and their published works, providing a cross-reference to other publications by perulero writers. His epic verse lauds the author by name and the paratext lists additional information on their books.

In my first example, Peralta describes a very well-known author in the octave and then included the sum total of his literary production in the footnote:

¹¹ Anthony Grafton, "The Birth of the Footnote," *Lingua Franca* 7.9 (1997): 59-66.

¹² Carlyon, *González de Barcia*, 98.

Del Helicón peruano alto discreto
 Apolo, de sus musas aplaudido: (127)
 El Espinosa, a cuyo fiel respeto
 Las ciencias tal tributo habrán rendido,
 Que el veloz ejercicio de estudiarlas
 No aprenderlas, sino imperarlas. (LF 222; 7.131.3–8)¹³

Peralta praises the control of Juan Espinosa Medrano, whose study of the sciences is not to learn them, but to rule them. The footnote to the octave lists the well-known Creole's most important works: "El Dr. D. Juan de Espinosa Medrano, imprimió la célebre apología por D. Luis de Góngora, un tomo en folio de Lógica, y varios de sermones" (LF 222; 7.131.4, n. 127).¹⁴ Peralta reminds the reader of Espinosa Medrano's most famous apologetic while he also advertises volumes on logic and sermons. Thus, the octave not only defends Peru against arguments of degeneracy by mentioning Espinosa Medrano's intellectual achievements, but also lists the titles of his works so as to more widely advertise their existence to the Republic of Letters.

My second example is found in the following octave, which describes Martín del Barco Centenera, a writer from an earlier epoch whose epic poetry is still read today. The author traveled with fleets exploring the New World, but more than his brave deeds, it was his epic poem that brought him posthumous fame. By recognizing the superiority of Barco Centenera's verses over his deeds of exploration, Peralta highlights the shift from the warrior-conqueror to that of the philosopher-conqueror of the Enlightenment.¹⁵ Peralta's verse specifically notes the value of poems over martial prowess:

¹³ "Of the high, wise Peruvian Helicon, / Apollo is applauded by his muses: (127) / Espinosa, to whose faithful respect / The sciences will have rendered such a tribute / That the quick exercise of studying them / Is not to learn them, but to rule them."

¹⁴ "Dr. D. Juan de Espinosa Medrano, printed the famous apología for D. Luis de Góngora, a folio volume of Logic, and several of his sermons."

¹⁵ As Russell Sebold succinctly indicates in "Colón, Bacon y la metáfora heroica de Feijoo," in *Homenaje a don Agapito Rey*, ed. Josep Roca-Pons (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980), 347–48; Bacon's logic formulates a "descubrimientos nuevos = descubrimientos de tierras nuevas" equation. In Hill, *Sceptres*, 5–8, we see that the new philosopher is a conqueror, and the conqueror becomes a philosopher. She cites the influence of Francis Bacon and Nicolás Boileau in this reversal of fortunes (Hill, *Sceptres*, 174–75).

Observa aquel que ostenta allí preclaro
 Con plectro de marfil, dorada lira,
 A quien parece que en concepto claro
 Canora musa, heroica voz inspira:
 Este el Barco * será, que cuento raro
 En la argéntea región al mucho admira
 Cantará, y descubriendo sus grandezas,
 Los cantos vencerán a las proezas. (LF, 223, 7.132)¹⁶

The song of his epic poem is superior to the deeds described within its pages, suggesting the superiority of the philosopher over the military conqueror.

In the footnote to this stanza, Peralta lists the bibliographical information to point readers to Barco Centenera's text, offering important details to guide the reader: "D. Martín del Barco Centenera, imprimió el poema de la Argentina, que contiene la descripción e historia de aquella provincia y de las demás del Río de la Plata" (LF 223; 7.132.5, n. *).^{17, 18} Here Peralta includes the title, *La Argentina*, and a synopsis of the information available in it. Instead of emphasizing the poetic or narrative qualities of the text, however, in the paratext Peralta highlights *La Argentina's* historical value and its description of various provinces in the economically important region of La Plata. Peralta's poem acts as an annotated bibliographic catalog for perulero work, offering details on how they contributed to what he regarded as Spain's crowning achievement. Furthermore, now Barco Centenera's literary production is catalogued for the consumption of the Republic of Letters. Yet again one can see how Peralta's attempt to disprove the degeneracy theory with his examples of excellence yields proof of the Catholic Enlightenment value placed on ordering information.

¹⁶ "Observe him who there shines illustrious, / With a plectrum of marble, a gilded lyre, / To whom appears in clear concept[ual understanding] / The melodious Muse, inspiring [his] heroic voice: / This will be Barco, that so unusual / in the silvery region he admires the world / He will sing, and discovering its greatnesses, / [His] songs will vanquish [his] deeds."

¹⁷ "Mr. Martín del Barco Centenera, printed the poem Argentina, which contains the description and history of that province and of the others in Río de la Plata."

¹⁸ In later footnotes the origins of some writers are added (for example, "natural de Riobamba," "de la ciudad de la Plata"; in Peralta, LF, 227; 7.143-44), though they are omitted in this example and the following one, for two of the writers who were most well-known during Peralta's time. Espinosa Medrano (1629-88) was born in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Barco Centenera (1535-1602) was born in Extremadura, Spain. Peralta's list of writers is not chronological, unlike his list of governors and viceroys.

In my third and final illustration from the writers' encomium, one can see how in some of the footnotes Peralta enumerates detailed lists of books in a bibliographic catalog. For example, we find these verses on three lesser-known scholars:

El Oré docto (131) y el sutil Briceño
 Entrambos son, que porque eternos queden,
 El uno alumbra este orbe con su celo,
 El otro con su pluma escala el cielo.
 El Alva es, (133) que de un Sol a los albores
 (Más veloz que la ignívoma Cuadriga)
 Hará carro con su pluma, tan brillante,
 Que forme todo un cielo de un instante.
 (LF 224; 7.136.5-8, 137.5-8)¹⁹

Peralta's inclusion of Oré, Briceño, and Alva's names in the text serves to advertise their existence to the Republic of Letters. While these lines praise their work, there is little other information in the verses. Instead, Peralta emphasizes their many contributions in the notes.

The cryptic references to perulero writers Oré, Briceño, and Alva are expanded in the footnotes by Peralta's addition of their bibliographies, providing the reader with enough information to understand the nature of their publications and acquire the volumes if desired:

(131) D. Fr. Gernónimo de Oré, imprimió lo siguiente: primero, *Rituale Peruanum*; segundo, *Descripción del Nuevo Orbe*; tercero, *Doctrina Cristiana*; cuarto, *Símbolo Católico Indiano*; quinto, *Tratado de Indulgencias*; sexto, *Sermones*; séptimo, *Corona de la Santísima Virgen*; octavo, *Vida de San Francisco Solano*; noveno, *Mártires de la Florida*. (132) D. Fr. Alonso Briceño imprimió dos tomos de *Teología*. (133) F. Pedro de Alva imprimió lo siguiente por la Inmaculada Concepción: primero, *Radius Solarus*; segundo, *Militia contra Malitiam*; tercero, *Armentarium Seraficum*; cuarto, *Expositio Cantici Magnificat*;

¹⁹ "The wise Oré and the subtle Briceño (132) / Both are due to remain eternal, / The one illuminates this orb with his zeal, / the other with his pen climbs Heaven. [...] Alva is, as a Sun [is] to brightness / (Swifter than the fire-spewing four-horse carriage) / He will find a carriage with his pen, so brilliant, that it orders all a heaven in an instant."

quinto, Monumenta Dominicana; sexto, Monumenta Variorum, dos tomos; séptimo, Momumenta Italo-Gallica; octavo, Biblioteca Virginalis, tres tomos; noveno, dos tomos en cuatro, apologéticos. (LF 224; 7.136.5, 137.4; n. 131-33)²⁰

The aggregate information points to the value and variety of the perulero writers' production. Peralta's careful enumeration of not only the number of books (first, second, third) but also their titles, the number of tomes, and the details of their format (folio, cuarto) shows that his paratext functions as a library list, cataloguing literary and scientific production. Evident from the titles are the diverse themes of the books, exemplifying the wide range of scholarly interests pursued in the Viceroyalty and thus in the Spains. In his day Peralta's hybrid text disproved the degeneracy theory and brought respect to the Spains, but today one can also perceive proof of the Catholic Enlightenment preoccupation with bibliography.

To summarize my first point, Peralta's text and paratext work together to immortalize writers in the epic verse and to advertise their scholarly publications in the paratext. Even as he defends his *patria chica* against accusations of degeneracy, the bibliographical lists in the paratext organize the knowledge recorded by these writers for consumption in the Republic of Letters. The accumulation of writers and texts not only mounts a scholarly defense of the Spains, but also exemplifies the Catholic Enlightenment's concern for accurate attribution and orderly bibliographies.

²⁰ "(131) D. Fr. Gerónimo de Oré, printed the following: first, *Rituale Peruanum*; second, *Description of the New World*; third, *Christian Doctrine*; fourth, *Indian Catholic Symbol*; fifth, *Treatise on Indulgences*; sixth, *Sermons*; seventh, *Crown of the Holy Virgin*; eighth, *Life of Saint Francis Solano*; ninth, *Martyrs of Florida*. (132) D. Fr. Alonso Briceo printed two tomes on Theology. (133) F. Pedro de Alva printed the following for the Immaculate Conception: first, *Radius Solaris*; second, *Militia contra Malitiam*; third, *Armentarium Seraficum*; fourth, *Expositio Cantici Magnificat*; fifth, *Monumenta Dominicana*; sixth, *Monumenta Armentarium*, two volumes; seventh, *Momumenta Italo-Gallica*; eighth, *Biblioteca Virginalis*, three volumes; ninth, two volumes in quarto, apologetics."

* Science and Religion:
Cicero and Cassini in *Lima fundada* *

I turn now to the second main point of this case study: Peralta's text superbly illustrates the Catholic Enlightenment's combination of science and religion in addition to bibliographical annotation, as seen in a 33-octave digression in canto nine.²¹ This passage combines the imitation of a religious parent text (the Bible) with a physical science text (Cicero). But even more, the poetry that Peralta composes to describe a religious Heaven and the physical heavens is updated with contemporary information resulting from experimental science, and it is footnoted with scholarly references. Within Peralta's imitation of the Bible's description of Heaven, I first focus on his combination of science, religion, and bibliography for the rainbow around the throne of God. Next, I analyze the exposition of the known universe that follows, which imitates Cicero's "Somnium Scipionus," or "The Dream of Scipio."²² The eclectic admixture of religious text, Scholastic authority, contemporary scientific information and bibliographic paratext typifies the Catholic Enlightenment.

In his imitation of the Bible's throne room description, Peralta illustrates the Catholic Enlightenment in three ways. He nuances the Bible's description of the rainbow there by adding scientific references about light; he clarifies the symbolism of the rainbow both in his Gongorine text and in a clear Enlightenment footnote. Finally, he adds a bibliography of famous scholars of religion.

Peralta imitates Revelation 4 in the digression, beginning with the great throne of Heaven. Then in a technique reminiscent of a cinematic long pan, he widens the focus to include angels and the rainbow around the throne. In his Baroque epic text on the "iris bello" and its qualities,

²¹ Earlier cantos trace the voyages of Pizarro into Peru, where he attempts a peaceful conquest. When political negotiations fail because of a dishonest translator, the fighting begins; by Canto 8 the Spanish forces are in desperate straits. Peralta describes the Incas as now being inspired by satanic fury and led by a copy of Satan himself. When canto nine begins the narration's locus shifts from the Peruvian battlefield to the pearly gates as news of a successful Inca advance reaches God's presence. The Angel of America has "...prostrated herself / sobbing before the eternal throne," prepared to plead with God for special intervention in the Viceroyalty (Peralta, *LF* 9.3.3-4).

²² Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Ethical writings of Cicero: De officiis, De sennectute, De amicitia, and Scipio's Dream*, ed. Andrew Preston Peabody (Boston: Little, Brown, 1887), 79.

Peralta includes a reference to Sir Isaac Newton's *Opticks*.²³ The *Opticks* was published in 1704; his reference to it in *Lima fundada* illustrates Peralta's currency in the field of science. He incorporates Newton's theory of light and its refractive colors into an indirect description of the rainbow. The description is indirect in the sense that Peralta defines what the rainbow around the throne in Heaven is not:

no ya el que en nube densa
Debe a la refracción vanos colores
Sino el que del autor la luz inmensa
Forma con firmes nítidos fulgores (1) [LF 307, 9.8.1-4]²⁴

Peralta weaves in a reference to "refracción," melding the Bible's traditional and sacred image of the rainbow with a contemporary description that recognizes the newly discovered properties of light and their role in creating the rainbow effect. *Lima fundada* blends science and the sacred. Shining through Peralta's demonstration of his own knowledge, today's reader can perceive a major tenet of the Catholic Enlightenment in his inclusion of Newton's experimental science within a passage that overtly imitates biblical authority.

The combination of religion and academic scholarship can also be seen in how Peralta explains the symbolism of the rainbow in the Baroque poetic text and again in the Enlightenment footnotes. The former assigns meaning, but in a way that is not easily accessible. Deliberate textual complexity was considered a virtue in Baroque texts, which were written for an elite audience that could fully appreciate the author's clever allusions to other works and other times. The footnotes to the rainbow, on the other hand, give a clear and unambiguous definition that any ordinary literate reader could understand. In this respect, Peralta leans toward an early Enlightenment goal of clarity and fixed meaning. I turn first to Peralta's verse, which decodes the rainbow phenomenon in religious terms as a symbol of God's grace:

²³ Sir Isaac Newton, *Opticks, or, A treatise of the reflections, refractions, inflections, and colours of light* (London: W. and J. Innys, 1721). For more on the impact of Newton in literature, see Majorie Hope Nicolson, *Newton Demands the Muse: Newton's Opticks and the Eighteenth Century Poets* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979).

²⁴ "...not then the one that in dense cloud / owes vain colors to refraction, / but rather the one that the Author of immense light / forms with shining constant resplendencies / that crowned the throne. . . ."

Arco, que resplandece inmóvil signo
De eterna paz, de inundación preciosa:
De cuya alta virtud efecto es digno
La fuerza que produce vigorosa
La gracia. (LF 307, 9.9.2-6)²⁵

Peralta communicates in a Baroque, complex style that the earthly and heavenly rainbows are both a symbol of peace and grace. But he illustrates his early-Enlightenment sensibilities when he adds a scientific-style paratext to clarify the meaning of his Gongorine octave.

The footnote provides a clear prose interpretation of the rainbow's symbolism. It identifies the parent text, gives the Latin Bible verse, and then adds the following:

Son varias las inteligencias que se dan a este Iris, entre las cuales parece la más genuina la que dan Rivera, Viegas Pereira, y otros, según Cornelio: que es la de significar la misericordia divina, que por todas partes corona el trono del Señor: pues de la manera que aquel arco fue el signo para con los hombres de su paz, lo es en superior grado la misericordia. (LF 307, 9.8.4; n. 1)²⁶

The footnote explains in more accessible language how both kinds of rainbow should be read as symbols of God's grace and mercy. According to Peralta's way of thinking, one should understand that God had set the earthly rainbow as a sign that He would never flood the earth again, and the heavenly rainbow reflects his mercy in allowing humankind into Heaven. Peralta controls how his poem is to be read, educating the reader in theological studies that complement his parent text.

In the paratext to this octave Peralta introduces the work of scholars, here that of theologians, in a bibliography with clear attribution of ideas. The scientific-style footnotes on the rainbow prove Peralta's considerable knowledge of past and present theologians, enriching his imitation of

²⁵ "Arc, that shines as an unchanging sign / Of eternal peace, [after] the precious Flood / By whose high virtue the result is dignified, / the force that produces vigorous (2) / grace."

²⁶ "There are various interpretations that are given to this arc, among which the most correct appears to be that which Rivera, Viegas Pereira and others give, according to Cornelius: that this signifies divine mercy, that everywhere crowns the throne of the Lord: given that the meaning of this arc was as a sign to men about His peace; it is to Him the highest level of mercy."

the sacred text with academic paratext. Peralta demonstrates his currency with the field of religious studies. These famous theologians Francisco Ribera and Cornelius a Lapide were at the epicenter of a theological argument about the interpretation of the end times in Revelation.²⁷ Peralta does not cite or write about their conflicting futurist versus preterist viewpoints, but uses the scholars' weighty reputations to bolster his own. By making clear he knows who the experts are, and who merits reading and citation, Peralta waves the flag of his own knowledge and claims his place in the Republic of Letters. In doing so, his combination of sacred text and the study of religion in the paratext is emblematic of the Catholic Enlightenment.

Before I consider the second part of the digression in which Peralta imitates the "Dream of Scipio," I should note that the transition between the two parent texts illustrates the Catholic Enlightenment's acceptance of both faith and science as having an equal footing. To finish his imitation of Revelation 4, Peralta continues to widen his pan into the throne room of God, describing the lamp stands, the animals that represent the four gospels, the angel choirs and their song, the New Jerusalem and the crystal sea. He ends the passage with these lines:

Golfo feliz, de tan inmensos fines,
Que en sus espacios es resplandecientes
El puerto, el mar, la luz, faro que brilla,
El margen es ribera, no es orilla. (LF 313, 9.26.5–8)²⁸

²⁷ Today's eschatologists consider Jesuit scholar Francisco Ribera as the priest who initially conceived of the futurist interpretation of Revelation, or the idea that events in Revelation are still to come, though scholars suggest that his work has been exaggerated in importance (Thomas D. Ice, "Ribera, Francisco," in *Dictionary of Premillennial Theology*, ed. Mal Couch [Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1996], 378–79). Ribera's theory assumes that the antichrist is an individual person (not the papacy) and that he has not yet arrived. Cornelius à Lapide was well-known and studied; his most famous work is a compilation of commentaries on every book of the Bible except Psalms and Job. Facsimile editions of some of these volumes are available online (*The Great Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide* [London: John Hodges, 1887], <http://www.archive.org/stream/thegreatcomment01lapiuoft>, accessed 27 May 2009). In a later footnote, Peralta also cites the preterist priest Luis de Alcázar, who advocates the theological inverse of the futurist theory (that the events in Revelation have already happened). I have not yet encountered Viegas Pereira in any of the resources that are available to me.

²⁸ "Happy gulf, of such immense limits, / that in its space is resplendent: / The port, the sea, the light, lighthouse that shines, / The edge is a river bank and not a shoreline."

The river bank or "ribera" marks the edge of the celestial realm and the beginning of the physical realm. The shift from Heaven to the physical world is not represented with a large distance or any markers that indicate a huge gulf between the two realms. Peralta steps from the Heaven of Revelation 4 to the heavens of the universe without fanfare. In his text, Heaven is as real as the physical universe. The transition itself gets compressed into the final line of the octave, "El margen es ribera, no es orilla."²⁹ In Peralta's poetry, the two worlds, spiritual and physical, are linked as if by a river bank, not separated as if by a great ocean. One might suggest that this image echoes the tenets of Catholic Enlightenment.

Turning now to my second main point, Peralta's description of the physical universe relies on a classical text as parent to describe the physical universe, but he modernizes the imagery with details from experimental science and adds footnotes that attribute those details to specific scientists. Peralta's order of presentation precisely matches the nine circles or spheres of the heavens in Cicero's "Dream of Scipio": the stars and planets, the Milky Way, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon and Earth. However, Peralta updates the description of each heavenly body with the most current science of the day and then adds footnotes that cite his important, well known sources. Like his passage on the Heavens, this section reflects the eclectic essence of the Catholic Enlightenment.

Within the octaves on the universe, Peralta's imitation of Cicero's description of the Sun shows in detail the tenets of the Enlightenment in the Spains. Peralta updates the classical text with more recent scientific advances, illustrating the combination of traditional authority and modern experimental science even as he yet again adds a bibliography of great scholars. In the parent text, Cicero only devotes a few lines to the Sun's majesty through images of its light and control, placing it in a prominent position midway through the nine spheres:

Next, the Sun, prince, lord and king of all other worlds, the mind, the guiding principle of the entire universe, so enormous that everything in every corner of the universe is pervaded by its light. Attending the Sun are Venus and Mercury, and the lowest sphere of all contains the Moon, which derives its light from the Sun. (Cicero, "Dream")

²⁹ "The edge is a river bank and not a shoreline."

The details are sparse. In Peralta's imitation of Cicero, however, he adorns his description of the Sun with updated information from more recent solar studies as well as citing the scientists who researched them, evidencing the advances in knowledge since the classical era:

Allí del Sol en el luciente espacio
 Mil veces mil la tierra estar pudiera;
 De cuyos Etneas de rubí y topacio
 Es cada llama una radiante esfera:
 Mas tanto brillador Pirofilacio,
 Tanta en él arde luminosa hoguera,
 Que hacerse pueden sus effluvios densos
 De su rostro inmortal veloz inmensos. [LF 314, 9.30]³⁰

The Sun to Peralta is not merely a source of light, as it was for Cicero, but has its own "solarscape," a topography understood through science. Peralta includes the size of the Sun, solar volcanoes, and sweeping currents of fire from its pirofilacio (the phenomenon of a huge cavern of fire deep beneath the surface). His poetry adds contemporary astronomy to Cicero's text, showing the Catholic Enlightenment paradigm of admitting both the authorities and experimental science.

The three footnotes in this octave added by the author serve to clarify the meaning behind his ornate verses even as they exhibit his vast scientific acumen. In the footnotes, Peralta cites no fewer than six scientists who discuss various theories about the Sun. For example, verse two of this octave assigns a size to the Sun: "one thousand times a thousand the earth [it] could be" (LF 9.30.2). Where does this number come from? The footnote elaborates:

Según exacta observación de Casini [*sic*] es el Globo del Sol un millón de veces mayor que la tierra: porque siendo su diámetro cien veces mayor que el de esta (que es proporción céntupla) y estando los cuerpos esféricos en triplicada razón de sus diámetros, consta la del Sol a la tierra de tres céntuplas, esto es, como

³⁰ "There the Sun in shining space / A thousand times a thousand the earth could be (23) / Of whose Aetnas in ruby and topaz / Each flame is a radiant sphere (24) / But such a brilliant Pirofilacio, / In it [the Sun] burns such a luminous bonfire / its dense effluvia can become / immense on its immortal, quick-moving face." (25)

1 a 100; así 100 a 10,000; y así 10,000 a 1,000,000. (LF 314, 9.30.2; n. 23)³¹

The footnote refers the reader to Cassini's theory on the diameter of the Sun. Giovanni Domenico Cassini is one of science's best known astronomers, famous for a long list of discoveries, including the discovery of the Red Spot on Jupiter, Saturn's four moons, and a division between Saturn's rings. With a colleague he calculated the dimensions of the solar system, for the first time allowing the accurate measurement of longitude.³² Peralta cites the contemporary science on the Sun as performed by a top-ranked astronomer on the cutting edge of scientific discovery, a scientist recognized and honored by Europe. Peralta's poetry and footnotes unite to educate the reader in both the history of the Sun in the classical authorities like Cicero and the latest in Cassini's solar research.

The next footnote for this octave provides the references that underlie Peralta's description of the solar flares or solar eruptions. He compares them to the earthly phenomenon of pirofilacio,³³ a theory developed by Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher from his physical examination of Mount Aetna after a volcanic eruption.³⁴ Footnote 24 reads, "Por observación del P. Kircher, hecha con grande telescopio, se halló tener el Sol muchos fuegos a manera de volcanes, que llamó Pozos de luz" (LF 314; 9.30.4).³⁵ Peralta refers to Kircher and his theory because of his fame as "a one-man intellectual clearing house"; even today, a recent volume on his work carries the subtitle, "The last man

³¹ "(23) According to the precise observation of Cassini the sphere of the Sun is a thousand times larger than the earth because, being as its diameter is one hundred times larger than this one (which is a one hundred-fold proportion) and as spherical bodies are in a triple measure of their diameters, that of the Sun constitutes to the earth three hundred-folds, that is, as 1 to one hundred, as 100 to 10,000, and thus 10,000 to 1,000,000."

³² "Cassini, Gian Domenico (Jean-Dominique)," in *History of Astronomy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Lankford (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 122–23.

³³ Rienk H. Vermij, "Subterranean Fire. Changing Theories of the Earth During the Renaissance," *Early Science and Medicine* 3.4 (1998): 323–47, http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/11620558?ordinalpos=3&itool=EntrezSystem2.PEntrez.Pubmed.Pubmed_ResultsPanel.Pubmed_DefaultReportPanel.Pubmed_RVDocSum (accessed 3 January 2009).

³⁴ The German Jesuit, according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, explored an astonishing range of subjects and wrote forty-four folio volumes during his sojourn in Rome. "Kircher," Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08661a.htm> (accessed 4 January 2009).

³⁵ "By observation of Father Kircher, done with a great telescope, the Sun was found to have many fires in the same way volcanoes [do], that are called 'light wells.'"

who knew everything.”³⁶ So Peralta again refers to a scientific superstar—a man on par with, for example, Albert Einstein or Stephen Hawking in our day, but with a far wider range of interests. While combating the contemporary degeneracy theory by demonstrating his intellectual knowledge, Peralta simultaneously illustrates the principals of the Catholic Enlightenment, accepting both classical authority and modern experimental science, even as his footnotes evidence concern with accuracy and attribution.

Many of the footnotes to the section on the Sun exemplify the bibliographical interests of the Peruvian scholar. In footnote 25 Peralta catalogs Padre Scheiner and other experts, most of whom did not agree with one another. For example, he cites: “El Padre Scheiner fue el primero que observó la [*sic*] manchas del Sol, de que hizo el libro intitulado Rosa ursina. Estas se suelen juntar en una, o dividirse en muchas: he observado varias.”³⁷ Scheiner had a longstanding, acrimonious argument on both scientific and personal levels with Galileo. They eventually became sworn enemies.³⁸ But Peralta cites them together because Scheiner and Galileo are both significant scientists whose works form a critical link in the scholarly record.

Peralta uses the final footnote on the Sun as a bibliographical reference that reiterates and augments the list of famous scientists who contributed to the discourse on the Sun’s nature: “(25) Discúrrese ser efluvios, o humos densos de aquella inmensa hoguera; aunque otros opinan variamente. Véase el citado Schiner [*sic*], Kircher ubi supra c. 4. Tacquet. Astron. l. 1. tr. 3. n. 9. Dechaes Mund. Mathem[.] to. 4. Astron. l. 2. Prop. 1., Riccioli Almag. to. 1. l. 3. c. 3” (LF 314, 9.30.8; n. 25).³⁹ This short footnote represents a “who’s who” of solar studies, and an even-handed representation of scien-

³⁶ Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

³⁷ “Father Scheiner was the first person who observed the sun spots, on which he wrote the book titled *Rosa ursina*. These (sun spots) tend to join together, or to divide themselves in many spots: I have seen various [of them.]”

³⁸ Galileo was the first scientist to record sunspots, but Scheiner’s observations came within the year. Scheiner initially believed with Aristotle that the heavens were perfect, and thus unchanging, so was forced by his presuppositions to argue that sunspots were produced by solar satellites that cast shadows (“Scheiner, Christoph,” in *Encyclopedia of Astronomy and Astrophysics*, ed. Paul Murdin [Bristol: Institute of Physics Publishing: 2001], 2386.) His opinions had changed by 1630, when we see the first publication of *Rosa Ursina*.

³⁹ (25) Some say that it is effluvia, or dense smoke of that immense bonfire, although others have various opinions. See the cited Schiner [*sic*], Kircher ubi supra c. 4. Tacquet Astron. l. 3. tr. 3. n. 9. Dechaes Mund. Matern. to. 4. Astrou. l. 2. Prop. 1., Riccioli Almag. to. 1. l. 3. c. 3.” [Dechaes is also spelled Deschaes by reputable sources.]

tists who disputed the question of heliocentricity. Some defended the side of accepted theology and others advocated the side of science, and at least one advocated whichever theory was more convenient for his research.⁴⁰ Peralta's notes point the reader to the available knowledge on the Sun so as to update the classical text with more modern science, and to provide the reader with a bibliography on the topic.

To summarize my second point, in this description of the Sun the combination of a classical authority and science is perfectly evident. Any scholar at this time would have recognized Peralta's passage on the universe as an imitation of "The Dream of Scipio." But Peralta updates his description with an encyclopedic list of scientific discoveries, including a catalog of scientists and their work. He relies on the prestige of his Baroque Gongorine verse, the epic genre, and his parent text even as he introduces the names of respected authorities to show his currency in academic endeavors and his mental acuity. Peralta counters the degeneracy theory, uses his text to place himself in the Republic of Letters, and simultaneously reveals two important tenets of the Catholic Enlightenment: the blend of science and religion, and the preoccupation with organizing scholarly works.

Peralta established his credentials as an academic and a member of the Republic of Letters in this digression, manifesting his early-Enlightenment sensibilities. Within *Lima fundada* the iterative authentication of this particular passage may serve also to authorize an audacious claim that Peralta makes immediately afterward. When he returns the reader to the throne of God, the Angel of the Americas asserts that the conquest of America is so great a deed that only the act of the Creation of the universe by God and the incarnation of Christ can rival it:

De esta conquista la inmortal proeza,
Que con la que a Cortez tanta es victoria
Solo a la creación cede en grandeza,
Solo a la redención cede en la gloria;

⁴⁰ Tacquet's works dialogue with the positions of Scheiner and Riccioli. Riccioli rejects Capurnicanism because it is rejected by Church doctrine. According to Hielbron, Tacquet accepts a geocentric argument when his mathematical treatise discusses the earth, but no such theory appears in his treatment of stars and planets. Deschales accepts the Capurnican system with a note that "if his hypothesis were not contrary to Scripture, it could be called divina prorsus, utterly divine" (Deschales, *Cursus* (1674) 287, cited in J. L. Hielbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 189–90.

Pues producir de un mundo la extrañeza.
 Convertir lo que aun no numera historia,
 Fue, para reducirlo a tu clemencia,
 Dar una comisión de omnipotencia.
 La inmensa multitud, que ya preveo,
 De tus futuras aras celestiales,
 Que de tus armas contra el cruel Leteo
 Han de ser luminosos arsenales;
 Los que contra el postrero atroz Tifeo
 Rayos se habrán de anticipar fatales
 Pues aunque abismos arme allá profundos
 Contra un infierno le pondrás dos mundos.
 (LF 317-18; 9.41-42)⁴¹

In a poem that sings the greatness of Lima and its viceroyalty, Peralta inserts a climactic moment that declares the all-surpassing value of Peru and the Americas to the world and to the Catholic faith—and thus to God. In Peralta's view, these territories are the weapons of Heaven against Satan, allied with the European world against chthonic forces that are attempting to undo the Christian victories. He asserts a hyper-Catholic identity for the Spains which is then authenticated by God's swift and decisive response to the Angel's plea.⁴² The Almighty calls on the iconic saints of Spain to assist in making the New World as Spanish as the Old World was, reassuring the Angel of America: "Serás orbe español, cielo cristiano" (LF 320; 9.48.5).⁴³ Peralta intercalates Heaven and the heavens as evidence of his wisdom and

⁴¹ "Of this conquest the immortal deed, / [Together] with so much the [victory] which [belongs] to Cortez / Only to Creation does it [the deed] cede in greatness, / Only to redemption does it cede in glory; / So as to produce from a world a singular admiration. / Converting that which is not yet counted as history, / Was, to bring it under your clemency, / To give a commission of omnipotence. / The immense multitude, which I already foresee, / Of your future celestial altars / That as your weapons against the cruel Lethe / Have to be luminous arsenals, / Those which against the latter atrocious Typhoon / Will be anticipated as fatal lightning bolts / Then although deep abysses assemble there, / Against Hell you set two worlds."

⁴² At the end of the angel's plea, God not only promises that Peru will become a Christian land, but Peralta also had Him send Saint James and the Virgin Mary to assist: "Vence ya, o Reyna, y el abismo arruina. . . / Rompe, o Patrón, y el cruel dragón fulmina" (LF 320; 9.50.2, 4). "Conquer already, oh Queen, and destroy the abyss. . . / Break, oh Patron Saint, and strike dead the cruel dragon." Peru deserves battle support from both the mother of God and the most holy of Spanish saints.

⁴³ "You will be another Spanish world, a Christian heaven."

knowledge, attesting to his authority to make this maximum claim to Spanish religious superiority.

Peralta does not, however, make the claim in a vacuum, resting only on the scholarship and talent he has shown within *Lima fundada*. As in prior examples, he footnotes the octaves where he rates the conquest as third on the list of great acts of God (LF 9.41–46) with a list of renowned experts, choosing these particular authorities as much for their fame as for their international backgrounds. He cites various Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian and German sources⁴⁴ specifically noting that some are “[f]uera de nuestros españoles,” [outside of our Spaniards].⁴⁵ Peralta’s evaluation of the Spains is not biased by his identification with the Spanish *Nación*. As Peralta’s text writes the tale, the Viceroyalty of Peru is central in the grand unfolding of the Catholic religion, and the European community agrees with this opinion. In what the French Enlightenment would likely have disregarded as a non sequitur, Peralta uses bibliographical paratext to support his assertion that the approval and reinforcements from Heaven show the supreme Catholic value of the viceroyalty.

To conclude, in Peralta’s *Lima fundada* science and faith form a mutually supporting embrace that establishes a universe ruled by God, explained by the authorities, and understood by science. Peralta himself is an emblem of the intelligence of the peruleros, or those who lived and worked in the viceroyalty, regardless of their birth place. By citing the scientists, authors, and their texts, he shows that the degeneracy theory is patently incorrect. By writing a passage that puts Peru directly before the face of God and by having it gain the Almighty’s full approval and divine intervention, Peralta illustrates the hyper-Catholic nature of the viceroyalty. In doing so, he exemplifies the Enlightenment scholar who is also an adherent to the Catholic religion. This reconciliation of science and religion, not as contradictory but as complementary elements of scholarship, embodies the essence of the Catholic Enlightenment.

⁴⁴ He cites the Spaniards Alano Copo, Córdoba, Torquemada, and Solórzano; the Dutch Erasmus; the Italians Thomas Bosio, Genebrando (“autor francés”) and Botero; and Surio (possibly the German Laurentius Surius), among others.

⁴⁵ “Fue pensamiento de Alano Copo (Diálogo. 6. T. 14 pág. 948) el de haber sido superior al descubrimiento y conquista de este nuevo orbe, solo dos obras, la creación del Universo en lo natural, y la encarnación del Verbo Eternal” (317; 9.41.4, n. 31). “It was the thinking of Alano Copo (Dialog 6 T. 14 p. 948) that there have been only two works superior to the discovery and conquest of this New World: the Creation of the Universe in the natural [realm] and the incarnation of the Word [...]”