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EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHY: A
RHIZOMATIC NETWORK IN THE REAL
AUDIENCIA DE QUITO (RAQ)

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Dedication

To those who were eaten by the colonial machine...

I am very grateful to my mom, dad, sister, brother, and my grandmother (from somewhere in the universe) for giving me support, love, and everything I need. This would be impossible without you, every word I owe to you.

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Abstract

This work studies the assembling of the education network in the Real Audiencia de Quito (RAQ) from 1534 to 1788, emphasising teaching and production of philosophy. The so-called ‘rhizomatic method’ – following Deleuze and Guattari – is applied to specialised scholarship and archival sources from Quito, Madrid, and Seville, in order to underline the relationship between education, philosophy, and deterritorialisation. Colonial society resembled more a rhizome than a monocentric hierarchical structure, and among its main actants were religious orders and their educational institutions. Thus, convents, *colegios*, *universidades*, friars, professors, manuscripts, and documents from Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, are analysed to evidence that RAQ was not a marginalised jurisdiction within the Spanish empire, but an active and interconnected centre of knowledge production. Regarding philosophy, renowned works and little-studied manuscripts of *Quitense* professors were reviewed, so that is possible to suggest that the long-lasting Aristotelian-Thomist tradition was prevalent in Quito until late eighteenth century when a modern renewal was possible due to circulation of scientists, religious, books, and ideas. The work conclusion is that RAQ and its actants were characterised by being unstable, conflictive, and heterogenous, and for being guided by a desire of continuous territorial expansion, conditions from which the educational network and its philosophical instruction were not exempt.

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Introduction

Friar Juan de Cabrera, chaplain of the Dominican convent in Quito, wrote a letter to the king on 24 January 1577, reporting on his actions and providing some suggestions on education for indigenous children, saying the following

Es la fundación de la s[an]cta fee (sic) católica entre los naturales de estos reynos (sic) del Piru la qual por muchas causas hasta [h]oy está por fundar y lo estava (sic) perpetuamente sin que indio ninguno conozca ni sepa que cosa es Dios si no es de práctica como el papagayo porq[ue] enseñados desde niños como se enseñan saben la plática y no creen poque en la doctrina están una [h]ora y en los ritos y ceremonias de sus padres todo el año día y noche y aq[ue]llo tienen aprender y creen y los padres y viejos les hacen entender que lo que les enseñan los sacerdotes es engaño y acuden a ello por miedo del azote y no por otro. El rem[edi]o de esto es q[ue] se hagan casas o colegios los q[ue] fueren necesarios conforme a la disposición de la fiera gente (...) y estén los niños sin comunicación de sus padres desde edad de cuatro años a doce años sino seguirán idolatras como son ahora... (AGI, QUITO,82,N.6, f.1)

Such a statement evidences not only the relevance of education and colegios for early colonisation, but also the relationship of instruction¹ with *doctrinas* and indigenous overcoding through child indoctrination that did not always resort to non-violent methods. Traditional scholars (Compte, 1883, 1885; González Suárez, 1970; Jijón y Caamaño, 1923; Jouanen, 1941; Vargas, 1965b; Velasco, 1941) who were a keystone for Ecuadorian history, have always studied education in relation to urban institutions (*escuelas, colegios, conventos, and universidades*) and prominent figures, whether by their undertakings or by their written works. However, it was not restricted to the so-called lettered cities in Spanish America (Rama, 1996, 1998), having in fact ‘indigenous lettered cities’ that were defining and dealing with colonial culture (Rappaport & Cummins, 2012, 2016). Moreover, instruction was directly related to processes of colonial deterritorialisation, such as the erection of the *doctrina* system in the hinterlands, missionary missions to unconquered regions, and administration of estates. It does not mean that instructional centres are not a matter of interest, rather they are a relevant issue in this work with the only difference that they are studied as nodes of a larger knowledge network.

¹ Given the particularities of the colonial period the terms education and instruction are indistinctively used in this work.

A traditional approach on the colonial period usually outlines a highly centred system following a pyramidal structure, portraying thus colonisation as a homogenous, hierarchical, mechanic, and monological process. However, it can neither be understood as an ultimate massive destruction of ancestral civilisations nor as a mechanic replacement of subaltern cultures by a hegemonic one. Since conquest and later colonisation were characterised by complexity, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and plurivocity. It was not only an encounter between two worlds but a progressive, unstable, conflictive, and violent assembling of several worlds. We aim by studying education and, particularly philosophy teaching, at refashioning such a traditional stand through assuming a methodology that problematises it. Then, this work does not follow the ‘history of philosophy’ approach, rather it adheres to the so-called ‘history of ideas’ that is nothing more than an empirical discipline based on the research of cultural products of a given society (Tagliapietra, 2018). In consequence, it is adopted a standpoint that could be named ‘rhizomatic’ after following the thought of the French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari, once the intention is not to study the history of the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ) endorsing a linear, hierarchical, and chronological perspective, which defines colonisation as a stage within a successive history having a discernible beginning and ending, because on the contrary it was a diffuse, complex, and heterogeneous period.

Regarding education in colonial Spanish America significant scholarship has been published (Alaperrine-Bouyer, 2007; Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 1990, 2001; Kobayashi, 1996), emphasising how schooling was essential to organise the colonial order by subjecting indigenous peoples to a new socio-cultural regime: a ‘spiritual conquest’. The current state of literature on RAQ mostly focuses on studying the trajectory of particular educational centres (Campo del Pozo, 1998; Fernández Rueda, 2005; Gil Blanco, 2022; Hartmann & Oberem, 1981; Jijón y Caamaño, 1923; Lepage, 2007, 2008; Moncayo de Monge, 1944). Thus, this work attempts at contributing to the discussion about colonial instruction, understood as a stratum within a knowledge network that was not limited to the borders of Quito. That is why, a greater emphasis is devoted to analysing philosophical teaching and production, which were mostly carried out by religious orders and intellectuals related to them in one way or another. The historical period to be considered goes from 1534, the year

of the Spanish foundation of the city of Quito, to 1788 when the *Real y Pública Universidad secularizada Santo Tomás de Aquino* was inaugurated.

The philosophical production of such a period in Latin America is often defined as colonial Scholasticism, which is usually understood as a continuation of the Baroque Scholasticism – also called ‘second Scholasticism’ – that emerged during the sixteenth century in the Iberian peninsula from Renaissance ideas to discuss the current social and politics issues, then it meant a recovery of medieval Scholastic philosophers, such as, but not exclusively, Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus, including Aristotle and his medieval commentators in philosophical instruction, whose main schools were Salamanca, Alcala de Henares, Coimbra, Evora, as well as universities and colegios around Europe and the Spanish America colonies (Pich, 2010, 2014; Pich & Culleton, 2012). Thus, Baroque Scholasticism was as one of the first truly global intellectual movements since its language and methods were spread, by means of European colonisation, in *colegios* and universities from Spanish America to Asia until the early-modern period (Dvořák & Schmutz, 2019). In this vein, there is an important tradition on studying the philosophical production of said period in Quito, including relevant works by Sánchez Astudillo (1959), Redmond (1972), Keeding (1983, 2005), and Guerra Bravo (2021), in addition to existing scholarship (Paladines, 1981, 1990; Roig, 1977, 1984). All of them are analysed and discussed in this proposal to provide a broad panorama about authors, currents, and debates, underlining that an Aristotelean-Thomistic tradition was predominant in RAQ, in an attempt to contribute to the studies on colonial Scholasticism in South America.

Philosophical production in RAQ was expressed mainly in the form of manuscripts and treatises, which have been traced in diverse archives and libraries in Quito, Madrid, and Seville. However, a comprehensive revision of those manuscripts is not offered in this work, but they are analysed as elements in constant circulation within an always expanding knowledge web. Then, the main objective of this project is to study the assembling of the education network in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* from 1534 to 1788, emphasising teaching and production of philosophy. Knowledge production in such a period took place in a vast diversity of ways and places, including individuals from all socio-economic strata, but given our emphasis in formal instruction and philosophy teaching the discussion focuses on four

religious orders that were the most active agents in configuring spaces for education and knowledge production in RAQ. Thus, the Order of Friars Minor, the Order of Preachers, the Order of Saint Augustine, and the Society of Jesus, are studied in different chapters. For said end, we partially adhere, from a historiographic standpoint, to what Guerra Bravo (2021) suggests² about characterising the Quitense philosophical production in four different moments, an aspect to be discussed throughout the work regarding the aforementioned orders and the more relevant debates, such as the Indian condition (*cuestión indígena*). Yet, it is worth to say that such a criterion does not preclude the continuity that scholasticism enjoyed in Quito, but actually highlights the particularities that it had according to different stages and events of the colonial period in the *Audiencia*. A similar opinion is held by Egoavil (2023) who claims that a different historiographic scheme³ is necessary to study philosophy in the American viceroyalties, mainly for three reasons (1) to overcome the idea that original philosophical production was inexistant in said period; (2) to organize in a better way the intellectual production according to viceregal sources, books, and issues, and not only as a continuation of the Baroque Scholasticism; and, (3) to offer a better answer to the question about the sources and origin of Latin American philosophy.

Thus, the philosophical production in RAQ developed, in first place, a ‘Renaissance Scholasticism’, typical of the early Quitense period, lasted from 1534 to 1594 and it was deeply influenced by the so-called Baroque Scholasticism of Domingo de Soto, Melchor Cano, Francisco de Vitoria, including to some extent Suárez. Thus, it was a period moved by Renaissance ideas to discuss about humanist concerns and social issues related to the conquest and colonisation in the sixteenth century. It was not restricted to a systematic production in manuscripts and treatises by religious, since it was also expressed in official and legal documents, as well as public manifestos and pamphlets. Secondly, a ‘Scholastic

² Guerra Bravo (2021) suggests four moments to characterise philosophy in RAQ: *escolástica renacentista, restauración escolástica, escolástica decadente, and escolástica modernizante*. However, we consider necessary to adjust the second and third moments, for the denomination ‘Scholastic renewal’ and ‘hardcore Scholasticism’, in order to denote the continuity and fruitful production that Scholasticism had in Quito.

³ Egoavil (2023) proposes to analyse the philosophical production in the *Virreinato de Nueva España* and the *Virreinato de Lima* taking into consideration the main issues and debates in those jurisdictions and not only as a continuation of Spanish Scholasticism. Thus, it is suggested that philosophy in sixteenth century New Spain was focused on debating the Indian condition (*cuestión indígena*), and that the main issues in seventeenth century Lima were logic and language, regarding both the mutual understanding among the different individuals that existed in the viceregal society.

renewal' from 1594 to 1688, marked by the arrival in the new world of philosophers such as, Alonso de la Veracruz, Antonio Rubio, Diego de Avendaño, Juan de Atienza, Ignacio de Arbieta, and many others who brought the scholastic renewal of the Salamanca school, which was widely studied, discussed, and enriched. In RAQ, particularly, a milestone was the opening, in 1594, of the *Seminario San Luis* that became a regional niche of thought and a seminal boost for the systematic production of philosophy. Among the renowned scholars studied in Quito during this time were Gabriel Vázquez, Luis de Molina, Gregorio de Valencia, Antonio Rubio, John of St. Thomas, and Antoine Goudin. Yet, each order had its peculiarities, for instance, the Dominicans opted to study – in addition to the *Summa Theologica* – Cano's *De Locis Theologicis* and the *cursus* of Antoine Goudin. The Franciscans devoted their efforts to spread Scotus in the *Convento de Recolectión San Diego* and the *colegio San Buenaventura*. The Augustinians focused their work on the *Universidad San Fulgencio*. The Society administered the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* that in its first years predominantly followed Antonio Rubio.

Third, a 'hardcore Scholasticism' that went from 1688 to 1736, it could be understood as a continuation of its predecessor in the sense that the study of Baroque scholasticism was deepened, preferring its principles before the postulates of diverse philosophical currents and modern authors of the time which were refuted and even censored. Guerra Bravo (2021) gives as an example the 1706 censorship, by the Jesuit Superior Michelangelo Tamburini, of 30 philosophical propositions that included Pierre Gassendi, Descartes, Locke, Malebranche, and Leibniz. Nonetheless, and despite such an official position, there was a dialogue between several Scholastic authors and those modern currents of thought in Quito. This period began with the foundation of the *Real Colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás*, both administered by the Dominicans that initially restricted the philosophical instruction to Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, Thomas Cajetan, Melchor Cano, and Antoine Goudin. Whereas the Jesuits continued their Ratio Studiorum tradition with professors such as, Fernando de Espinosa, Luis de Andrade, Pedro José Milanesio and Jacinto Serrano. The Seraphic order deepened the *Via Scoti* having as its Quitense representatives Pedro Alcántara Mejía, Bermabé Serrano, Cristóbal López Merino, and Bartolomé Ochoa. While the hermit brothers were facing an internal crisis that ultimately meant the closure of San Fulgencio. Finally, a

‘modernising Scholasticism’ that lasted from 1736 to 1767, it began after the arrival of the French Geodesic Mission to the Equator which meant a breakthrough in the study of philosophy and experimental sciences in the *Audiencia*. In this context, Scholasticism had an encounter with modern philosophy and sciences, although the tradition prevailed, it had in order not to disappear to integrate ideas and debates from non-traditional authors, creating thus a sort of eclecticism that broadened the philosophical production within the diverse RAQ educational institutions, becoming the most fruitful period for philosophy in Quito as later discussed.

On the other hand, the framework regarding the so-called rhizomatic method is presented as a toolbox in the first chapter, including an explanation of the key concepts to be applied throughout the text, which are taken also from decolonial philosophy, history of ideas, contemporary philosophy, and the Actor-network-theory. In this context, we claim for an epistemological pluralism that points to an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research, based on a critical thought about plurality, events, and moral singularities, in opposition to a unique universal thought or a restrictive modern science (Miller et al., 2008; Prada Alcoreza, 2014). Moreover, decolonial authors, such as Fanon ([1961] 2004), Dussel (1995, 1999, 2000, 2012), Mignolo (1992, 2011), Quijano (2000, 2007b), Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b), and Castro Gómez (2005) are considered in order to state that colonialism is not restricted to coercive violence, but it is a long-term regime that subjected people, territory, resources, symbols, codes, images, and knowledge. Thus, a colonial horizon arose based on diverse forms of oppression: cultural, political, economic, racial, and gendered. This is why, decoloniality is about de-linking and re-interpreting alternative ways of knowing, presupposing a ‘colonial difference’ that identifies the Other (the colonised barbaric/salvage/*indio*) as the exteriority constructed by the civilised inside (Mignolo, 2011). A stance that implies a critical dialogue with traditions of European thought, assuming the *locus enuntiationis* of the colonised.

The philosophical thought of Deleuze and Guattari is assumed to problematise the traditional approach for studying education in colonial Quito, e.g., the long-lasting Aristotelian-Scholastic school is interpreted, not only as a prevalent philosophical current, but as a line of segmentarity that was significant for organising the colonial regime by

imposing a hegemonic cosmovision. To better understand said approach, the principles of the rhizomatic method: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, asignifying rupture, cartography, and decalcomania are explained in chapter one, including concepts like assemblages, lines of segmentarity, strata, lines of flight, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, plan of consistency, and machines. On the other side, colonisation is mostly identified with the looting and accumulation of resources based on exploitation and dispossession. Yet, it could be also seen as a production process made of synchronised machines, which are driven by desire that inevitably leads any society to instability and crisis: a process of anti-production that takes individuals to their limits. From a Marxist standpoint the colonial empires were founded on primitive accumulation, i.e., enslavement, extirpation, and plunder. However, it can be contrasted by reviewing the aforementioned decolonial authors for claiming that colonisation was about ‘originary accumulation’ in the sense that indigenous civilisations were not pre-capitalistic as Marx suggested, but they had diverse kinds of logics, cultures, codes, and economies. Then, from a rhizomatic viewpoint, the colonial order was imposed by means of a double repression: a primary one in which the violent conquest enabled the originary accumulation, and a second one – a social repression – that took place later to configure technical and social machines under the new regime, after deterritorialisation and decoding (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000).

The education network and its philosophical instruction were assembled as a result of said second repression, which was more related to transcoding and overcoding, meaning the former the modification of a milieu by the transduction of another, whereas the latter is about converging codes from a diverse matrix into a new regime of signs (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). Something that started in America with the ‘two worlds encounter’ and that later resulted in a take-over: the conquest was a line of flight between two crashing rhizomes or as Guamán Poma ([1615] 1988) calls it “*el mundo al revés*” (the world upside down) portraying thus the social collapse that took place. Therefore, a new *signifying regime of the sign* was configured throughout the colonial period comprising three elements: “repressing representation”, “repressed representative”, and the “displaced represented”. These concepts are applied, in chapter two, to analyse the debate on the condition of *indios* that took place in Quito, broadly influenced by the Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition, and which changed

from time to time as the colonial order consolidated. Four moments are identified in said discussion: passing from a ‘condescend stance’ to an ‘inferiorist discourse’, for later structuring a ‘merciful position’, to end with a ‘symbolic exoticisation’ of the *indios*. Such a debate was not an isolated dispute within convents and courts, but it was related to the permanent deterritorialisation of indigenous people, and all the different stances in dispute despite contradictions were articulated by one line of segmentarity – originary accumulation – which sought to adapt and trap the *indios* into the colonial assembling, making them instruments of land production, mining, labour exploitation, and evangelisation.

The *Real Audiencia de Quito* itself can be thought as a rhizome that was in continuous assembling of new territories, exploratory missions, annexed indigenous peoples, creation of convents, and many other aspects. A better way to illustrate that is to study the early configuration of the *doctrina* system that allowed the political and economic organisation of hinterlands in favour of RAQ. Religious orders and the clergy were the ones in charge of arranging such an essential institution for deterritorialisation, since it was a territorial device to legitimise colonisation in everyday life by Spanish literacy, indoctrination, law enforcement, tax collection, land production, and labour exploitation. The *doctrinas* (parishes) formed a network of *pueblos de indios* that were overseen by convents, and whose *doctrineros* were instructed in colegios and universities ruled by the orders. The existing scholarship on RAQ *doctrinas* (Albuja Mateus, 1998; Guerra Moscoso, 2008; Lavallé, 1982; Moreno Egas, 1991) provides a thorough description of their location, origin, administration, population, and production. Thus, this work attempts at discussing these parishes as a colonial device in which education and philosophy were territorialised at the lowest level, for instance, in remote and marginal towns of the Andean region.

On the other hand, extensive research was carried out on primary sources from – physical and electronic – archives in Ecuador and Spain regarding RAQ history, the *doctrina* system, educational institutions, and intellectuals. For that reason, Latour’s Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) was assumed as an empirical methodology to interpret said documents by tracing existing associations among human and non-human actants, which are illustrated by means of a cartography about nodes, networks, paths, and connections of all kind of social actants, such as books, manuscripts, ideas, and people. This standpoint is employed in the third

chapter to clarify the concept of rhizomatic knowledge network, which was formed by ‘spaces of circulation’ entwined by ideas, signs, values, laws, and familial ties, that boots knowledge circulation to spread their beliefs and to preserve their privileges (Raj, 2017). In colonial situations, the conqueror’s knowledge subjugates local knowledges that are forgotten or unacknowledged by governing groups (Burke, 2016). For the sake of the argument knowledge production is understood here in a broad sense, since knowledge was not restricted only to the so-called modern sciences and humanities, including philosophy, it also included indigenous knowledges, practises, products, and specimens that were aligned with colonial priorities. But, despite its imperial nature, colonial knowledge was not uniformly disseminated and accepted, giving thus way to a rhizomatic knowledge network that comprised *doctrinas*, convents, colegios, and universities, whose connections went far beyond RAQ borders, even reaching sometimes the metropolis. Then, such a network was not entirely centralised but a fuzzy web – a rhizome – whose actants were in constant movement among the ‘nodes of power’, which mostly were lettered cities like Santo Domingo, México, Lima, Quito, Bogotá, Charcas, and many others that nested in their urban centre administrators, notaries, lawyers, educators, clergymen, and other ‘wielders of pen and paper’, all of them *letrados* and intellectuals (Rama, 1996).

Instruction was essential for colonisation, and although massive indigenous indoctrination was out of question, schooling for elite Indigenous and *mestizos* was a matter of discussion. As Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007) summarises there were two positions, one in favour, affirming that a well-educated *cacique* would be the best evangeliser, the other against, holding the opinion that an educated *cacique* would be a threat against the colonial regime. The favourable stance was typical of the first decades as a result of the few priests and the precarious infrastructure existing in the new world. A standpoint shared by the 1570 Quitense⁴ synod that ordered *curas doctrineros* to have in each church one or two well-indoctrinated *indios ladinos* – preferably descendants of caciques – to be respected and understood by their people. The first religious order to deal with such a dilemma in Quito was the Order of Friars Minor that arrived along with the conquering mission that founded

⁴ In this work we use the adjective *Quitense* typical of the time, instead of the modern *Quiteño* to refer to those from the city of Quito or related to the Real Audiencia de Quito (RAQ).

the city in 1534. They erected the *Convento San Pablo* two years later and by 1552 the *Colegio San Juan Evangelista* was already created to instruct the offspring of the indigenous elite including orphans, poor Spaniards, and *mestizos*. Later renamed *Colegio San Andrés* around 1558, it became the first of its kind in South America and was devoted to literacy, preaching, crafts, and teaching Spanish and Latin. The colegio was not an isolated effort of Franciscans in RAQ, since its first teachers the friars Jodoco Ricke, Peter Gosseal, and Peter of Ghent had previous experiences in Nicaragua and Mexico (*Nueva España*), where they learnt about the instructional experiences of Toribio de Benavente and the *colegio de Tlatelolco* for Indigenous.

Chapter four also analyses the sudden success of the Seraphic order, for instance, in 1566, the king instructed to establish more convents throughout RAQ, so that in 1583, the friars became the largest order having twenty-two *doctrinas* under their supervision, and by 1650 a total of eleven convents, two nun monasteries, and circa forty-eight *doctrinas*. Nonetheless, the colegio administration was problematic given the the scarce resources during the first years. Besides, the bishopric together with the other orders began a dispute against the Franciscans that affected the normal operation of the colegio, probably because its increasing importance could represent a threat to the interests of the bishopric in terms of having access to lands and influence over the population. As a result, in 1581, San Andrés was transferred by decision of RAQ to the Augustinians, a resolution that Franciscans did not agree with as discussed in chapter 4. In spite of its short lifetime, the colegio that was influenced by the Renaissance Scholasticism, was envisioned as a node for territorial and religious expansion, it was deeply related to *doctrinas* and indigenous evangelisation, since its students later became caciques, teachers, and even preachers.

In this vein, San Andres alumni were essential for colonial intermediation, some of whom became friars, missionaries, and fluent caciques preaching in local tongues, producing evangelising material, schooling, and mediating between indigenous peoples and colonial society. For that reason, two outstanding San Andres alumni are studied. Diego Sancho Hacho de Velasco, cacique of Latacunga, who was crucial for early colonisation participating in conquering missions and collaborating with the crown. Often Sancho Hacho is sketched as a traitor, we suggest that he was an intermediary between the assembling worlds in early

colonial society. Additionally, it is given greater emphasis to discussing his request with the king for a coat of arms for his family; an example of the active indigenous agency in which the Franciscan education had a great impact. The second alumnus is Diego Lobato de Sousa, a *mestizo* and indigenous tongue preacher, whose education and thought was marked by humanism coming from Franciscans and Dominicans. His *Memorial de la visita a la Gobernación de Quijos* is examined in order to evidence his humanist position – as a defender of *indios* – which was framed by the Seraphic action to consolidate colonial society. Both cases, Hacho and Lobato, were relevant for colonial overcoding either by systematising local languages as did the latter, or by assuming the Spanish codes and institutions as occurred with the former.

After the closure of San Andres formal instruction declined within the Franciscan convent until 1665 when the *colegio San Buenaventura* was opened, which enabled the order to develop a systematic study of philosophy, and mainly the dissemination of the so-called *Via Scoti* in RAQ. This new educational centre sympathised with the ‘Scholastic renewal’ that took place in Quito, according to Guerra Bravo (2021) from 1594 until 1688 and was characterised by deepening the Aristotelean-Thomistic tradition based on Spanish authors, such as Gabriel Vázquez, Luis de Molina, Antonio Rubio, John of St. Thomas, Antoine Goudin, and among others. However, Franciscan philosophical work focused on studying Duns Scotus, whose thought became the official doctrine for the order in 1633 when the General Chapter of Toledo assumed the *Via Scoti*. Thus, the academic structure and the friars who lectured at San Buenaventura are discussed. A list of the manuscripts and treatises written by Franciscan professors in Quito is also provided, emphasising authors and debates from the second half of the eighteenth century, when the order engaged with the so-called modernising Scholasticism.

Chapter 5 studies the Order of Preachers in RAQ that was similarly related to deterritorialisation, indigenous overcoding, and the configuration of a network of convents, *doctrinas*, and educational institutions that by 1688 included a university, two *colegios*, nine convents, one vicary, and forty-six *doctrinas*. Unlike San Andrés, the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* was created in the 1590s according to the order constitutions and its *Ratio Studiorum* that established a formal curriculum. For example, to start the aspirant before or during the

novitiate had to follow four years of Humanities, second, two years of ‘*Summulas*’ and logic; then, three years for natural philosophy and metaphysics; and finally, four years of theology that included courses of dogmatics and moral. The compulsory bibliography comprised the introduction to logic of Peter Spain, the works of Aristotle including the commentaries of Aquinas, and the whole *Summa Theologiae* based on the interpretation of John Capreolus and cardinal Cajetan (Ashley, 2009). However, some curricular adaptations were necessary in Quito: the colegio was compulsory for Dominican aspirants and was open to clerics and secular students, who had to follow three years of Arts comprising logics, metaphysics, and natural philosophy, and later four years devoted to study the *Summa Theologiae*, in addition to optional lectures on sacred scriptures, Canon law, and ecclesiastical history. Yet, a particularity of San Pedro was the teaching of the so-called *lengua del inga* which was required for *doctrineros* and was instituted in the convent since 1581. The colegio, precisely, became relevant for early colonisation by means of two strategies, one the instruction of friars who later were *doctrineros* and missionaries all over RAQ, and second, by hosting the *chair of lengua del inga* that allowed the Dominicans to influence in the education of all religious and even regulars who were involved in colonial expansion.

Philosophical studies flourished at San Pedro that were basically dedicated to the logic of Peter Spain, the Aquinas’ commentaries of Aristotle, and the *Summa Theologiae*. Additional authors were reviewed as evidenced by manuscripts still preserved in Quito, such as Melchor Cano and his *De Locis Theologicis*, the commentaries to the *Summa* by the cardinal Cajetan, the *Summa contra Gentiles* commented by Francesco Silvestri aka Ferrariense, the so famous *Thomistarum Principis* by John Capreolus, the *Summulae* by Domingo de Soto O.P., the *Explicationis articulorum* by Ruard Tapper, the *Disputationes Theologicae* by Pedro de Godoy O.P., the *Novarum deffensionum doctrinae Angelici doctoris beati Thomæ de Aquino* by Diego de Deza O.P., and the Aquinas’s commentaries by Domingo Bañez O.P. It is noteworthy that there was already a nascent philosophical production at San Pedro from its early period, e.g., a 1584 philosophy manuscript entitled *In Logicam, aris, Comentaria prologus, Commentaria In Purfirri Introductione. Comentaria in Posteriora Analytica Arist. Prologus* (sic), is found in the present-day *Biblioteca Fray Ignacio de Quesada* in Quito, which is briefly reviewed in chapter four. Furthermore, in order to demonstrate the presence

and influence of early Dominican thought in RAQ two relevant friars are considered. First, Gregorio Garcia who spent circa ten years being *doctrinero* in the Southern Andean region of RAQ in late sixteenth century, and whose *oeuvre Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*, offers a philosophical discussion about the argument from authority including an opposition to classical authors like Aristotle, and about the overcoding of indigenous knowledges in the discussions on the new world. Second, the life trajectory and thought of the Quito-born friar Pedro Bedón is reviewed, underlining two aspects. A discussion on his public statement about the *Revolución de las Alcabalas* to identify his solid philosophical instruction influenced by early Dominican Humanism, and also an analysis of his painting style – Mannerism – that was deeply related to evangelisation and colonial overcoding, giving thus way to the *escuela quiteña*. Then, Bedón is defined as a mediator between Spanish-guided early colonisation and the later *criollo* colonial society.

It is noteworthy that originally *San Pedro Mártir* did not have the power to grant degrees, it was just devoted to instructing future preachers something that apparently was not a great concern for the order until the 1624 provincial chapter, after Augustinians and Jesuits erected their own universities. But just the idea of having a Dominican colegio and university to concede degrees generated a long dispute between the Society of Jesus and the Order of Preachers, which ended only when the *Real Colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás* were officially inaugurated in 1688. It is worth to say that San Fernando and Santo Tomas were not entirely open institutions, their constitutions established that applicants had to submit two statements, one the so-called *moribus et vita* and the other on blood purity. In this vein, Dominicans took advantage of those institutions to accredit people that later will become bureaucrats, judges, and political and ecclesiastical officers, but mainly their own fellows to teach and administer the *colegio-universidad*, for instance, all the professors at Santo Tomas were Dominican alumni in 1747. Yet, despite of this policy, the order was related to RAQ spheres of power and was not limited just to internal networks, since the *colegio-universidad* was articulated to the existing knowledge network thru the Spanish empire, as it is shown by the remarkable life trajectory of Luis Antonio de Torres a Panamanian priest who studied in Quito and had an important career in Mexico.

Unlike the colegio San Pedro, the brand-new San Fernando and Santo Tomas had their own constitutions approved by the king in 1694. Regarding philosophy teaching, three classes were established: one for studying *Summulas* and logic, the second devoted to physics and *De caelo et mundo*, and finally one for the Metaphysics, *De Anima*, *De Generatione et Corruptione* and Cano's *De Locis Theologicis*. Philosophical instruction and production at Santo Tomas had two moments. The first one characterised by a 'hardcore Scholasticism' that chose to continue the Dominican Scholastic tradition by studying the most accepted Thomists, such as Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, Thomas Cajetan, Melchor Cano, and Antoine Goudin (Guerra Bravo, 2021). In addition, modern and alternative Thomists were known in Quito including Domenico Gravina, Vicent Baron, Thomas Malvenda, Noël Alexander, Daniele Concina, Carlo Noceti, Vincenzo Ludovico Gotti, John of St. Thomas, Antoine Goudin, Salvatore Maria Roselli, Juan Briz, and Tomás Vicente Tosca. The second moment was related to a modernising Scholasticism that still defended the tradition but opting for an eclecticism that incorporated modern ideas and debates. It was prevalent until late eighteenth century, even after the royal decision to secularised Santo Tomas university, as it is evidenced by the theses to be defended by Arts students in their final examination: the *Theses recentioris Philosophie publica literatura concertatione in Concursu ad Philosophicam clacem*, which are analysed in the final part of chapter five.

The colegio policy for instructing elite Indigenous was continued by the Order of Saint Augustine when they took over the colegio San Andrés, which was renamed as *San Nicolás Tolentino*, in 1581, and became a relevant centre for early evangelisation until its closing for uncertain reasons in 1596. Yet before, the order was devoted to assembling a network of seven convents throughout RAQ, which was expanded to ten by 1588. Unlike Franciscans and Dominicans, the hermit brothers did not prioritise the *doctrina* administration but prefer to create convents, which were devised as educational centres with a regional reach. The efforts of friar Gabriel de Saona to found convents in Spanish American and a university in Quito along with the discussion on clashes between religious, are considered in order to highlight the rhizomatic network of early Augustinians. Chapter six also reviews the long creation process of the *Universidad San Fulgencio* including details about additional clashes after its foundation. Once said university started to operate students from all over RAQ and

even beyond came to study there, a feature that is stressed for illustrating the Augustinian network, which was under constant surveillance from ecclesiastical and royal authorities given internal conflicts between Spanish and *criollos* friars, a condition that hindered the philosophy studies, and caused the closing of the university as part of the Bourbon reforms in 1786. Despite these difficulties, San Fulgencio was fully structured according to its 1603 constitutions, in compliance with the 1581 Augustinian constitutions that established that once a student was admitted there was a two-years course to be granted the degree of *Baccalaureo* in philosophy, and then a three-years course for the degree of *Doctoratus* in theology.

The Augustinian philosophical instruction was officially focused on Aristotelean oeuvres, such as the Logic, *De generatione et corruptione*, *De Anima*, and the Metaphysics, in addition to authors, such as Peter of Spain, Ptolemy, Euclid, Thomas of Strasburg (aka *Thomas de Argentina*), Gregory of Rimini, James of Viterbo, Gerardo de Sena, Alfonso Vargas de Toledo (aka *Alphonsus Toletanus*), Michael of Massa (aka *Michaelus Massensis*), Giles of Rome (aka *Aegidius Romanus*), and Augustinus of Ancona. In this vein, the last section of chapter six examines the biography and thought of Gaspar de Villarroel, an Augustinian friar born in Quito who became bishop of Chile during the seventeenth century, by means of analysing his treatise *Gobierno Eclesiástico* we aim at underlining how that Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition was imparted by the hermit brothers in that time.

Furthermore, the Augustinian library was characterised for having a great diversity of authors and topics, demonstrating that the hermit brothers were opened to study thinkers from other orders, such as Cajetan, Bartolomé Carranza, William Perault, Juan de Granada, Sylvester Mazzolini, and Domingo de Soto from the Order of Preachers. Johann Wild, Titelmans, Felipe Diez Lusitano, Pedro Varona de Valdivieso, and Alfonso de Castro from the Seraphic order. From the Society of Jesus, Robert Bellarmine, Bartolomé Bravo, Juan de Pineda, Melchor de la Cerda, Francisco Ribera, and Alonso de la Peña Montenegro and Leonardo de Peñafiel, both relevant authors in Quito. However, what most distinguishes the Augustinians was their openness to study modern authors, from diverse branches, including Tomás Vicente Tasca, Lazare Rivière, Francisco Calmette, Claude Buffier, Voltaire, Charles Rollin, Marie de Maupeou Fouquet, Benito Feijoo, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, and among

others, as it is shown by existing manuscripts at the Augustinian convent in Quito. Such a condition enabled the hermit brothers to contribute to the ‘modernising Scholasticism’. Pedro de Lepe, Simón Vásquez, Francisco Javier Espinoza, Juan Trujillo, Pedro Yépez, and José Carrillo were some of the Arts lecturers at the Augustinian convent during said period, being influenced by rationalism, sensualist pedagogy, medicine, and experimental sciences coming from France, including Enlightenment ideas. Moreover, despite San Fulgencio was already extinct, Alejandro Rodríguez on behalf of the order participated without success in the opposition calls to occupy the philosophy chair at the secularised Santo Tomas university⁵ in 1792 and 1794. In conclusion, it is possibly that since they no longer had an official university, enjoyed a certain freedom and openness to introduce authors and debates even censored by the crown, or outside the official university curriculum in Quito.

Although the Society of Jesus was the last order to arrive in RAQ circa 1586, its influence was fundamental for the Quitense assembling and not exclusively in the education field. Yet, the last chapter is devoted to study the Jesuit knowledge network that was in continuous expansion and started with the creation of the *colegio Santa Barbara*, in 1588 and later renamed *San Jerónimo*, which were only the preface for the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* erected under royal and bishopric auspices in 1594. The Jesuit colegio worked as a device for colonial deterritorialisation for two reasons: it was a headquarter for evangelising missions in unconquered regions, and it eased the collection of donations and offerings that included land and estates around RAQ. Such conditions allowed the order to have a steady growth that by 1750 reached the total of nine colegios, one novitiate, one university, and several evangelising missions in Maynas and Barbacoas. The seminary San Luis as usual was a matter of conflict among religious, mainly, for the grating of royal funded scholarships that were created to favour the elite and the dissemination of Jesuit doctrine. San Luis curriculum was deeply influenced by Scholastic-Aristotelian tradition that included studies on grammar, Humanities, rhetoric, sacred scriptures, languages, Scholastic theology, philosophy, and mathematics. The philosophy lectures were relevant within the seminary, for which, many of the reviewed manuscripts found in archives are detailed in chapter seven.

⁵ It was originated from the Universidad Santo Tomás administrated by the Dominicans, which was secularised by royal order in 1786 (see Chapter 5)

Another Jesuit keystone, in 1622, was the foundation of the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* which similarly entailed bureaucratic issues and disputes amid religious orders. The philosophy lectures at *San Gregorio* were based on the so famous *Cursus Philosophicus* that covered a three-years instruction for becoming a *Maestro en Filosofía*. Moreover, available sources allow to describe the names of professors and *cursus*' titles employed until the seventeenth century. A relevant discussion within this work is related to the Jesuit philosophical production from the eighteenth century, which was distinctive for its considerable production of manuscripts based on the lectures given at San Gregorio and San Luis. In order to illustrate the Jesuit knowledge network two authors are discussed: José de Aguilar and Jacinto Morán whose works were related, since the former influenced the lectures of the latter. Furthermore, the life trajectories of both intellectuals are studied, also emphasising particular and related aspects of their main works which were part of the so-called 'hardcore Scholasticism' in Quito. Finally, the role of the Society of Jesus within the 'modernising Scholasticism' during the eighteenth century is discussed considering three elements. First, a revision of two striking events during early eighteenth century in Quito: the French Geodesic mission and the greater circulation of knowledge. Second, the relationship between Jesuits and modernity is presented. Third, the life trajectory and some works of Juan Bautista Aguirre are considered to stress the Jesuit influence in the innovation of philosophy during late eighteenth century.

The work concludes that the unique situation of having three universities and circa thirteen colegios by the second half of eighteenth century, created an adequate environment for the burgeoning of philosophical studies that began a critical discussion on long-lasting Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition. Despite the permanent clashes, there was a critical dialogue between intellectuals coming from those educational institutions, a debate that was deepened by external historical events – the French Geodesic mission and improvement of trade networks – that allowed the introduction of manuscripts and ideas that contributed to overcome the self-referenced dispute among religious that followed tradition. However, the Quitense philosophical dialogue was actually cross-referential considering thinkers and ideas from diverse schools, as demonstrated by the existing manuscripts. Such a distinctive RAQ condition was mostly due to its strategic location near the Amazon, a region under constant

colonial exploration. Finally, it is stated that the colonial knowledge network was the basis for the educational system to be implemented in the early republican era, even more we can affirm that modern assembling of present-today Ecuador owes a considerable part to the arrangements undertaken by religious orders during the colonial period in diverse fields, such as culture, languages, crafts, arts, humanities, sciences, urban planning, political-administrative organisation, and evidently philosophy

Chapter 1. Framework: a rhizomatic toolbox for studying Spanish colonisation⁶

This chapter provides a framework understood as a toolbox that includes the key concepts to be used in the following chapters, which are taken from diverse theory and approaches, such as decolonial philosophy, rhizomatic thinking, actor-network-theory, history of ideas, and contemporary philosophy. Thus, three sections are presented. The first discusses decolonial philosophy and its notion of coloniality in order to underline the history of the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ) from a world-system perspective, in this vein, colonialism is not reduced to coercive violence, but is a long-term regime that subjected people, territory, resources, symbols, codes, and knowledge. Thus, a decolonial approach implies acknowledging epistemic diversity that in this work means to analyse education and Aristotelian-Scholasticism as a line of segmentarity, recognising their significant role within the colonial regime. Section two is devoted to explaining Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomatic method and its main concepts: assemblages, lines of segmentarity, strata, lines of flight, deterritorialisation, plan of consistency, and machines. In a first subsection the processes of desiring-production and antiproduction are discussed to underline that colonial assemblage was a production regime guided by a desire: primitive accumulation. The second subsection stresses that colonisation was about overcoding Indigenous and Spanish representations giving way to a new regime of signs, or what is the same a system of representation comprising three elements: "repressing representation", "repressed representative", and the "displaced represented". The third section outlines Latour's Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) which is assumed in this work as an empirical methodology to study education and philosophy in RAQ, which seeks to highlight the existing associations among human and non-human actants refusing any fixed social context and vocabulary. In conclusion, this work's intention is to underline the territorial association of philosophy, education, and colonial regime, by means of a cartography that reassembles their paths and connections; then, RAQ and its education network are considered as a gathering of associations that includes all kind of social actants including books, manuscripts, ideas, and people.

⁶ Some parts of this section have been discussed by the author somewhere else (Ambrosi De la Cadena, 2022).

1.1 The toolbox

This framework is defined as a “toolbox” understanding that theories, concepts, and hypotheses are open instruments to be used – not closed systems to be repeated – without any disciplinary restriction but only following a “logic of the specificity” of contexts, power relations, and struggles which are scrutinized step by step on the basis of reflection on given situations (Foucault, 1980, 1994; Foucault & Deleuze, 1977). A toolbox in the sense of being an instrument to grasp the colonial order complexity and specifically the philosophical instruction of intellectuals; the tool selection that makes up this box responds to criteria of usefulness, complementarity, and diversity, acknowledging that concepts are flexible and limited once they fail to fully explain any historical situation. Then, the toolbox and its application are guided by a “epistemological pluralism”⁷ which seeks an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research that requires more than one epistemology or theory in order to enrich knowledge about any topic or problem (Miller et al., 2008). According to Prada Alcoreza (2014) one should differentiate between ‘epistemological pluralism’ and ‘pluralistic epistemology’, since the first refers to an eclecticism encompassing various paradigms, models, knowledges, theories, and thoughts; while the second is a critical thought about plurality, events, moral singularities, virtuality, and materiality, opposed to a universal thought or a restrictive modern science. However, recognising their differences and coincidences, both somehow are together in this work because it is not achievable or desirable to understand – even less to explain – the complex phenomena that took place during the colonial period in Spanish America from one approach or theory.

⁷ It is important to state that this framework steps aside of what is called by the analytic tradition as ‘epistemic pluralism’ (see Coliva & Jang Lee Linding Pedersen, 2017), and rather, it is somehow closer to what Feyerabend (1993) calls “theoretical anarchism” based on the principle of “anything goes” in the sense of assuming a pluralistic methodology for knowledge production.

1.2 Decolonial philosophy: a broadening of perspective

The decolonial approach transversally assumed by this work endeavours to emphasise ‘coloniality’ as a structural aspect for RAQ history, aiming at underlining that socio-historical phenomena, such as modernity, colonisation, and capitalism, do not belong exclusively to a local or internal European history but instead are events attributable to a world-system, including apparently singular occurrences like life trajectories of intellectuals or the conformation of the instruction system in Quito. Moreover, decolonial philosophy is born from dispossession, deprivation, violence, dominion, and particularly from the experience of colonised bodies whose potentialities to act, struggle, and mobilise are rendered visible (Prada Alcoreza, 2014). Quijano (2007b) claims that colonialism was the result of a systematic repression of peoples, resources, symbols, images, meanings including knowledge and modes of producing knowledge; yet coloniality consists in the “most general form of domination” based upon racial and cognitive superiority which is justified from an Eurocentric⁸ framework.

Spanish rule tried to eliminate the ancestral “ways of knowing” seen as useless according to their paradigm for being replaced by others which were functional to the civilising project, in a process of epistemic violence that naturalised the European imaginary as the only way to relate to nature, people, and subjectivity (Castro-Gómez, 2005). Colonisation was not reduced only to coercive and deathly violence: Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b) states that the “colonial horizon” was structured from patriarchy, racism, sexism, and classism, forming thus a long-term “internal colonialism” present in political and cultural identities until today. In that sense, Lugones (2010) defines gender as a colonial imposition, outlining “coloniality of gender” to understand such oppression as a complex interaction of “dichotomous hierarchical distinctions” upon economic, racializing, and gendering systems in which every person is dehumanised, classified, gendered, and ‘subjectified’. Therefore, colonisation was a deep and cross ontological repression in which the genetic, existential, and historical levels from the colonised were fractured by a “coloniality of the being” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

⁸ According to Quijano (2000) Eurocentrism is a concrete mode of producing knowledge based on a global model of power that assumes a colonial/modern, capitalist, and Eurocentred character.

Following Mignolo (2011) decoloniality is about opening and de-linking alternative cosmovisions, ways of knowledge and interpretations from colonial logic and modern rhetoric as universal paradigms, always presupposing a “colonial difference” that identifies the Other (the colonised barbaric/salvage/*indio*) as the exteriority constructed by the civilised and imperial inside, albeit without leaving away a critical – and sometimes conflictive – dialogue with traditions of European thought. Hence, the decolonial approach assumes a *locus enuntiationis* that of colonised peoples, women, cosmovisions, and cultures, in order to criticise and ‘decode’ the hegemonic interpretation about themselves. As Grosfoguel (quoted by Restrepo & Rojas, 2010) claims decolonial approach entails acknowledging an epistemic diversity that criticises the utmost belief about the existence of a superior mode of knowing, thinking, and being. Indeed, on such diversity lays the analysis of Aristotelianism and Scholasticism as a line of segmentarity, which was the matter of several interpretations and schools, most of them supporting imperial power but few of them in favour of the oppressed. In this vein, a decolonial reading about philosophy in RAQ might be understood not as a pure critique to those philosophical currents, but as the recognition of their significant role within the colonial matrix, as one of hegemonic strata in the colonial regime of signs. That is, to unravel the Aristotelian-Scholastic thread inside the rhizomatic new world, emphasising its influence in the shaping of the so-called “colonial subject” who, according to Fanon ([1961] 2004), is made up of the colonised and the coloniser, both assembled although in uneven conditions by a greater conquering desire. Thus, education and philosophy in Quito are understood as lines of that colonial project and not as isolated events.

1.3 Rhizomatic assemblage, a different approach on Spanish colonisation

Once these premises have been said, it is important to precise some guiding concepts of Deleuze and Guattari, it does not mean an acritical and definitive adhesion to their ideas and statements though. In first place, let’s summarise the principles that drive the rhizomatic method (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, pp. 7–12) and that substantiate this proposal:

- Principles of connection and heterogeneity: In a rhizome any point can be connected to anything other, ceaselessly establishing connections by diverse modes of coding (biological, political, economic, etc.) between semiotic chains, organizations of power, sciences, struggles, or individuals.

- Principle of multiplicity: The rhizome is nothing but the opposite to the One or to the multiple, it is multiplicity that has “neither subject nor object, only determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions that cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing in nature”.

- Principle of asignifying rupture: The rhizome is an anti-genealogy which contains lines of segmentarity⁹ and lines of deterritorialization. Thus, a rhizome may be broken, ruptured, shattered, but it will start up again on any line to be stratified, territorialized, organised, signified, etc.

- Principle of cartography and decalcomania: The rhizome is a map, not a tracing. It is irreducible to any structural or generative model because a map is always open, performative, acentred, connectable, modifiable, reversible, with multiple entryways unlike the tracing that always comes back “to the same”. The tracing is a dangerous reproduction of the map that only displays impasses, blockages, points of structuration, blurred images, or smoothness.

Rhizomes are everywhere, or rather, there can be a rhizome as a signifying totality in anything: a book, a film, a burrow, a school, a conquest mission, or a continent as long as they are assemblages articulated by lines of segmentarity, strata, lines of flight, moves of deterritorialization, plans of consistency and machines; all of them concepts to be studied in this section. Distinctly, the rhizome method steps aside of the ‘arborified’ systems characterised by their hierarchical and standardised model that resembles the root-tree structure in which information derives from or heads to a centre or a high unit roaming along fixed paths. Even though for Deleuze and Guattari “the tree has dominated Western reality and all of Western thought, from botany (...) to philosophy” (2005, p. 18) the rhizome is not

⁹ Also referred as lines of articulation.

defined as an opposed model because it overturns the model itself and outlines a map: from a tree or root may burgeon a rhizome. Something that is particularly noticeable in the new world thru the extensive *haciendas* in the Andes or the sugar cane plantations in the Caribbean. Thus, a static, definite, universal, and all-encompassing explanation is what is intended to be left behind to instead outline a critical, nonsignifying, and ongoing description of assemblages.

An *assemblage* is a multiplicity composed by heterogenous terms and flows simultaneously coming from assorted orders: semiotic, biological, political, social, economic, etc., establishing liaisons and relations between them across ages, sexes, reigns, and natures (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987). That is why assemblages project a tetravalence (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005): first on a horizontal axis which includes two segments, one of *content* (also called machinic assemblage) that develops a pragmatic system seen as an intermingling of bodies, actions, and passions; and other of *expression* (also named collective assemblage of enunciation) which is a semiotic system that becomes a *regime of signs*. Second, on a vertical axis, the most relevant characteristic of the assemblage is expressed on two aspects, territoriality and deterritorialisation. According to several scholars (Llanos-Hernández, 2010; Montañez & Delgado, 1998; Sack, 1986; Valbuena Rodríguez, 2010) territory is defined as a notion of spatiality in which flows, exchanges, phenomena, social relationships, and conflicts take place through the interaction of biotic and abiotic agents, be they individual or collective.

In this vein, Deleuze and Guattari (2005, p. 504) outline territory as a place of passage “made of decoded fragments of all kinds, which are borrowed from the milieus but then assume the value of “properties””, in a process called *territoriality* that is formed by deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation, including the segments of content and expression. Then, deterritorialisation is a multiple movement that attempts to recompose any territory, that is, opening it up to take *lines of flight* or to crumble or even destroy itself, for later through its indissociable “flipside” process, reterritorialization, imbue on such territory diverse flows, codes, and lines (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005; Guattari & Rolnik, 2006). Moreover, there are lines of deterritorialisation of different kinds: negative when the network of reterritorialisations is set up so as to block a line of flight; positive when deterritorialisation

prevails over reterritorialisation whose role is secondary; relative when its line of flight is segmented into successive proceedings, relating in this way a body considered as One to a striated space with straight lines; and, absolute when it brings creation/destruction, it relates a body considered as multiple to a smooth space which is occupied as a vortex.

Finally, two concepts that remain to be defined are *strata* and *lines of flight*: the former is clearly taken from geology – just like the notion of *plateau* – to refer the stratification of the earth by layers, which consist of giving form to matters, of capturing flows, “of producing upon the body of the earth molecules large and small and organizing them into molar aggregates”; then, each stratum¹⁰ has a double articulation: the first concerning content, chooses molecular units or substances to impose upon them connections and forms, the second concerns expression and establishes functional structures, and configures the molar compounds in which the structures are actualised (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, p. 40). Thus, a regime of signs or a pragmatic system are strata in “their own right”. On the other hand, a line of flight arises when there is a rupture in the rhizome, yet said line is part of the rhizome being a segmentary line of deterritorialisation after which the “multiplicity” undergoes a change (metamorphosis). However, there might be lines of flight that “themselves emanate a strange despair, like an odour of death and immolation, a state of war from which one returns broken” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, p. 229). For instances, such line of flight is exemplified by mines – a decisive machine during colonisation – which are in communication with smooth spaces as a source of flow, mixture, escape, and decoding.

Having detailed the rhizome method at some extent, we could say that its application to study education and philosophical instruction in RAQ aims at refashioning the traditional stand about colonisation as a homogenous, hierarchical, mechanic, and monological process studied from a mere chronological viewpoint. Colonisation can neither be understood as an ultimate massive destruction of ancestral civilisations nor as a mechanic replacement of subaltern cultures by a hegemonic one. Instead, the conquest and later colonisation were characterised by complexity, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and plurivocity. That is, it was not simply an encounter between two worlds but a progressive, conflictive, and violent

¹⁰ There are three major strata: physicochemical, organic, and anthropomorphic or alloplastic (see Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, pp. 502–503)

assembling of several worlds. As Ingold (2007, p. 3) puts it “colonialism, then, is not the imposition of linearity upon a non-linear world, but the imposition of one kind of line on another”. Hence, the figure of the “encounter of two worlds” for Dussel (1995) elaborates a euphemistic myth that pretends to cover the systematic exclusion and destruction by Spaniards of the diverse cultures that constituted the so-called Indies. *Abya-Yala*¹¹ was abruptly segmented (broken) as rhizome by a line of flight coming from another rhizome: the Spanish Empire, a process that released flows, codes, strata, signs, and bodies in such a way that they will give rise to the ‘new world’ and later ‘America’ as a reterritorialised rhizome in which there will be an unceasing attempt to impose institutions and relationships based on the tree-root structure. As Deleuze and Guattari state “in America everything comes together, tree and channel, root and rhizome” (2005, p. 19), since colonial deterritorialisation acted upon the territoriality of ancestral assemblages opening them onto an “eccentric”, unknown, and conflictive land.

Thus, the colonial order could be defined as a continuous assembling within a *signifying totality* that was not limited to political or economic matters, but it was a territorial intermingling of bodies/machines including flows, codes, signs, lines, repulsions, sympathies, amalgamations, and languages that arranged all kinds of relations among those bodies. As any assemblage colonisation was double articulated: on one side by content through a pragmatic system constituted by institutions, customs, laws, knowledge, and sciences; on other side by expression with a regime of signs that resulted from de/reterritorialising the Indigenous and European worlds. Several colonial bodies might be stressed, such as the crown and its system of viceroyalties and audiencias throughout the continent; the church with its territorialised structure of *doctrinas*; *haciendas* or *encomiendas* activated by *indios repartidos*; *cacicazgos* reterritorialising indigenous authority; the body itself of an Indigenous person being marked by labour, dispossession, and Christianity; or the market circuit jointing both worlds by means of caravels and slaves. Similarly, a religious and Eurocentric regime of signs was erected encompassing a set of contradictory statements, discourses, expressions, philosophical ideas, symbols, and meanings. In this context, both

¹¹ It is the term employed by the Kuna people to refer the land later called “America”, could be translated as “land in its full maturity or “land of vital blood” (Cabnal, 2019; Espinosa Miñoso, 2018)

content and expression are understood as strata within an ever-expanding articulation among themselves: a notorious quality of the colonial order will be its indefatigable attempt for territorial expansion in a broad sense, i.e., not only on land but on every aspect. Take for instance the Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition that might be defined as an inner stratum of the signifying regime, for which it will be studied as a line of articulation/deterritorialisation of ‘molecular’ instances that gave way to ‘molar’ congregates in the new world.

1.3.1 Desiring-production and its other side: antiproduction

Colonial assembling in Deleuze and Guattari’s terms, could be also described as production of actions, actors/actresses, passions, registers, consumption, anguish, violence, institutions or meanings, whose immanent principle for all was desire. A principle that for this work is assumed as a “synthesis of machines” arranged in the order of production; desire is production, and “all production is at once desiring-production and social production” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 296). Hence, any process aims at its completion not to its perpetuation, which in the case of colonisation was the sharpening of primitive accumulation and the global market consolidation, both understood as production that employed desiring-machines or binary devices always coupled with another, whose associations and connections were also guided by desire that “causes the current to flow”. A form of connective synthesis thus is the “product/producing identity” once “desiring-production is production of production, just as every machine is a machine connected to another machine”. Machines are like a “set of cutting edges that insert themselves into the assemblage undergoing deterritorialization, and draw variations and mutations of it” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, p. 333). As Tagliapietra (2018) points out the conquest of the new world was the story of a *boucherie* in which the Europeans got the better thanks to the machines, technique, artillery, arquebuses and horses. Several other devices could be enumerated caravels, *indios*, mines, mills, agriculture tools, non-endemic plants, farming animals, dogs, slaves, priests, *doctrinas*, manuscripts, *escuelas*, *colegios*, and many others, all of them configured as machines contributing to a desiring-production as discussed throughout this work.

From the standpoint of desire, colonisation is also explained by the imposition of Oedipus (see Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, chap 3.4): considering the Oedipal triangle – father, mother, son – ancestral social relationships did not conform to it and, rather, resisted it for being related to “agents of oppressive social reproduction”, such as the *cura*, *hombre blanco*, *conquistador*, *encomendero*, *oidor*, *yanacóna*¹², or even the Christian family model. Thus, the colonial assemblage gave existence to Oedipus as “pure oppression” insofar as the ‘savages’ were deprived of controlling their social production and of an imposed familial reproduction. Nonetheless, as Césaire ([1955] 1972) puts it such social deprivation was not exclusive of the colonised, since colonisation has a “boomerang effect” by which decivilizes, brutalizes, and degrades the coloniser as well, awaking in him violence, racism, covetousness, and moral relativism, to finally transform him into an animal too.

This double side of desiring-production could be understood by referring to another key concept of rhizomatic thinking the “body without organs” (BwO), that derives from the producing/product identity, constituting a third term in the binary-linear series, and which is characterised for being unproductive, sterile, ungendered, unconsumable. Besides, it is a body without images of itself but that results from the machinic synthesis and despite being unproductive is howsoever continuously reinserted into production. So, there is always an element of antiproduction within the machinic-synthesis that a certain point becomes/functions as a *socius* “constituting a surface over which the forces and agents of production are distributed, thereby appropriating for itself all surplus production and arrogating to itself both the whole and the parts of the process, which now seem to emanate from it as a quasi-cause” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 9). In this vein, it is possible to suggest that the resulting *socius* after the ‘encounter’ in the new world was ‘originary accumulation’ which covered the surface of the vast conquered territories, including their existing actants, relations, and signs.

Marx discusses “primitive accumulation” as a moment preceding the capitalist form of accumulation written in the annals of humankind “in letters of blood and fire”; in a really well-known paragraph of *The Capital*, he states:

¹² It is a polysemic term, frequently used to designate an indio who is a Spaniard’s servant, but also it could refer to an indigenous who collaborates with Spaniards against other indigenous peoples (see Matallana Peláez, 2013).

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of that continent, the beginnings of the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of blackskins, are all things which characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. Hard on their heels follows the commercial war of the European nations, which has the globe as its battlefield ([1867] 1990, p. 915).

Then, primitive accumulation is nothing but the historical process of divorcing the worker from the ownership of the conditions of her/his own labour through plunder, expropriation, and violence. Despite agreeing with Marx's historical account, we differ with his 'stage approach', which defines such a process as primitive for being the prehistory of capital and capitalism from a Eurocentric point of view. In America capitalism and labour market were not the result of a unilineal historical sequence nor were they an extension of pre-capitalist forms (Bautista Segales, 2018). The ancestral assemblages were not pre-capitalistic but simply different and diverse with their own logics, flows, codes, and machines. It suits better therefore to talk about "originary accumulation" as suggested by several decolonial scholars (Dussel, 1995, 1999; Federici, 2009; Quijano, 2007a) understood as a historical and violent process that backed capitalism development and that continues to reproduce itself by the same means. Therefore, the conquest – as a line of flight – laid the foundations for said originary accumulation under the colonial mercantilist regime based on the racial, ethnic and, labour division founded in Latin America (Rivas Monje, 2019). Moreover, from a gender standpoint in Federici's words (2009) Marx overlooked the significance of women's subjugation to reproduction of the workforce employing strategies as witch-hunt, undermining of public feminine role, and dispossession of commons, because "primitive accumulation" was also the accumulation of differences and divisions built upon gender, race, and age that became constitutive of modern capitalism.

According to Dussel (1995, 1999, 2000) it was originary accumulation that gave Europe a comparative advantage over its antagonistic cultures: Turkish, Muslim, Chinese, Indian and so on, whereby the European centrality in the modern¹³ world-system it is not the result of

¹³ For Dussel there are two concepts of modernity: the first states the modernity is an intra-European phenomenon resulting from its own rational, historical, and productive development, i.e., a Eurocentric vision represented by authors, such as

an accumulated internal superiority but of world colonial expansion. Thus, colonial assembling introduced machines and technologies which dramatically changed every aspect of daily life, creating thus the conditions for the subsequent consolidation of capitalism, such as private property, surplus, labour exploitation, and accumulation. While some *conquistadores* thought that their deeds were in their personal interest or at best for the crown, other priests pilgrimaged through inhospitable lands believing they were saving Christianity, nonetheless, all of them were desiring machines already trapped in a process of production/antiproduction within a BwO.

For Deleuze and Guattari “[t]here is only one kind of production, the production of the real” (2000, p. 32), but production portrays a bi-dimensionality so to say: on one side, desiring-production is pure multiplicity whose machines systematise the antiproduction by continually breaking themselves down; on the other side, social production that “*is purely and simply desiring-production itself under determinate conditions*” (2000, p. 29 emphasis in original). Hence social and technical machines are restricted to a general form of social production¹⁴, however, the distinction desiring-production/social production allows to describe how the BwO imposes itself through a double repression: first, a conflict arises when the desiring-machines try to break into the BwO which in turn arranges a “primary repression” that repels them by setting up a counterflow that interrupts all links and connections. Second, at the level of social production a “social repression” takes place in order to configure technical and social machines under determinate social regime after deterritorialization and decoding.

In this context, conquest was a “primary repression” in which ancestral peoples, indigenous civilisations, and individuals – including Spaniards – seen as desiring machines, were struggling against the imposition of a production based on originary accumulation, whose repulsion was death and disarticulation through massacres, battles, and conquest missions. Later, a “second repression” was developed articulating institutions, laws,

Descartes, Kant, and Hegel. The second portrays Modernity as a global process in which Europe becomes “centre” of Global History only after 1492 that consolidated its worldwide presence.

¹⁴ For instance, technical machines within capitalism are characterised by a strict distinction between the means of production and the product, allowing the machine to transmit value to the product, but only after losing that value from itself.

productive relations, and machines all framed in the regime of originary accumulation and its correlated expansion of world market. Thus, during the conquest the BwO reproduces itself conforming the *socius* in which all production is registered. Desiring-production – and consequently social production – is attracted and appropriated so that machines seem to emanate from that *socius* by an “apparent objective movement”¹⁵ that replaces the previous productive connections with a distribution based on points of disjunction by which machines are now attached themselves to the BwO. That apparent movement is found according to Deleuze and Guattari in the pass from labour to capital, similarly, the colonial regime, after the conquest decoding, stands as the apparent cause of every connection, desire, and production: covering/overcoding elements, such as accumulation, violence, indigenous exploitation, destruction of territories, and appropriation of resources that are configured as disjunctions instead of connections.

Besides, the apparent objective movement might be described in this work as a “transcoding” meaning the transduction of a milieu that is modified or served as the basis for another (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). Something that started with the ‘two worlds encounter’ and that later resulted in a take-over: the conquest was a line of flight between two crashing rhizomes or as Guamán Poma ([1615] 1988) calls it “*el mundo al revés*” (the world upside down) portraying thus the social collapse that took place. Columbus’ expedition since its departure and before was already a line of deterritorialisation allegedly pretending to reshape trade routes, but that in fact, it opened the body earth to colonial coding. Swords, horses, dogs, arquebuses, and *conquistadores* were desiring machines drawing lines of segmentation that fractured the ancestral assemblages while interlacing them with codes eager to expand in ‘undiscovered’ territories. However, there is no simple correspondence between codes and territorialities, e.g., a code might mean a deterritorialisation and a reterritorialisation could be a decoding, yet what normally happens in a process like a conquest is that all of them are intermingled on the strata: deterritorialising/reterritorialising and coding/decoding everything that makes up the rising assemblage. So, given those conditions colonisation was

¹⁵ This “apparent objective movement” is explained by Deleuze and Guattari (see 2000, pp. 10–11) by the constitution of the capital as a body without organs, e.g., the production of surplus seemly is a result of capital itself, when in reality is the product of extorting surplus labour.

a positive-absolute deterritorialisation that changed the nature of the existing assemblages by means of destruction and imposition of a highly centralised smooth space predisposed for accumulation. That was how the colonial regime arose because the territoriality of any assemblage starts with decoding a milieu, for instance, the Spanish hegemony during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is explained by its capacity “to striate the sea”, that is, to turn the Atlantic into a “territory” where the passage of goods, slaves, conquerors, and machines between the new and the old worlds was perfectly controlled (Castro-Gómez, 2005).

It does not imply that the colonial BwO was originative in some sense. For Deleuze and Guattari (2000, p. 53) a BwO is not an original primordial entity since earth, money or primitive accumulation might be the body of the *socius*, and actually a body without organs is the “ultimate residuum of a deterritorialized socius”. Hence, colonial assemblage was not created from nothing but was the result of the violent deterritorialisation: before the ‘1492 encounter’ there were already social machines that could be called *ancestral machines*¹⁶ whose codes were configured based on territory as a notion of desire, production, and identity. Opposed to capital as BwO that has no images of itself and that decodes and disjoins, ancestral deterritorialisation/reterritorialisation were codifying processes characterised by an experiential spirituality – a symbolic/signifying appropriation – that imbued surrounding elements (sun, moon, mountains, *huacas*, etc.) and phenomena (rays, tremors, floods, volcanic eruptions, etc.) with collective meanings as a process of social constitution¹⁷. As Haesbaert (2011) states indigenous cultures have developed their identities in intrinsic relationship with territory, since spatial referents are indissociable elements in the creation and recreation of symbols and in their own definition as a group. In other words, a sequential binary production that established by means of codifying flows a territorial continuum from earth to ancestral machines. The so-called “territorial representation” applies to some extent

¹⁶ At this point we disagree with Deleuze and Guattari who name “primitive machines” all of those related to precapitalist production and as prior to the appearance of the State, our refusal is based on the idea that primitive is a term that refers to a lineal and developmental conception of history, for that reason, we opt for ancestral machines to underline Indigenous machines and production as long-term processes that are not always related to capitalism or European history.

¹⁷ For the sake of theory, one could say, that this ancestral process somewhat resembles the primitive machine of Deleuze and Guattari for whom it does not divide Earth, wherein connective, disjunctive, and conjunctive relations are inscribed regarding relations of coexistence and complementarity (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 145).

to ancestral machines given their complex network that covered the socius by “radiating” flows, disjunctions, consumption, surplus extraction, and connecting words, bodies, things, formulas, affects and also desires, sufferings, and conflicts (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 204).

The ancestral assemblage had a production counterpart including biotic and abiotic organisms that conformed its socius: although there were political hierarchies and concentration of land and resources in certain social groups, such social production was not limited to private property or to accumulation and commodification. Moreover, it is possible to assert that there were collective mechanisms of production that relied not on an idealised or egalitarian primitive communism, but on relations of alliance and filiation¹⁸ that designed institutions for power management and political control, sometimes even by means of repression. As Cabnal (2019) points out there was already before que Spanish conquest a “*patriarcado ancestral originario*” (originary ancestral patriarchy) completely different from the one that arrived in 1492, which was sharpened by colonisation against Indigenous women. Then, ancestral civilisations were not dominated by archetypes or composed by simple social structures, once exchange, conflicts, territorial expansion, struggles, commerce, industry, art, politics, or religion were some of the flows of those machines that far from harmony were in a constant functional disequilibrium as same as what is called history; because unlike what is affirmed by the colonial discourse ancestral peoples have past, memory, and history (Cumes, 2019). For instance, in the Central and Northern Andean regions some of those relationships were shaped as *cacicazgos*, *curacazgos*, *mitas*, *mitimaes*, *ayllus*, or *chakras* that were later appropriated and taken advantage by the colonial order as discussed later.

Once the BwO was articulated to colonisation as antiproduction the whole assemblage was always at the limit¹⁹ of desiring-production risking its own existence, but there was something that pushed it back. Colonial society was continuously on the verge of collapse.

¹⁸ In this case, we do partially employ Deleuze and Guattari’s meaning for alliance and filiation, assuming both as forms of primitive capital, being the first political and economic, whereas the second administrative and hierarchical. Nevertheless, both cannot be assumed just as modern State features, since several Indigenous civilisations were characterised by centralised political organisations that somehow resemble the western notion of a State.

¹⁹ Deleuze and Guattari (2000, pp. 176–177) define five types of limit: absolute, relative, real, imaginary, and displaced.

From very early times, productive and social crises became frequent in Spanish America as a result of violence, social collapse, overexploitation, epidemics, i.e., of colonial antiproduction. According to Lamana (see Chap. 4, 2008) after the conquest a successful way of overcoming a cataclysmic crisis was the articulation of what could be called ‘colonial normal’ which is nothing more than a series of quotidian habits, customs, and values that involved implicit relations between people, and between people and objects. Such project has as its counterpart violence that daily interpellated the colonised by a way of acting and feeling that embodied the coloniser’s sense of normalcy, thence, it was not only about defeating at the battlefield, but also about ‘disarticulating local positivities’ that assured the previous indigenous societies (Lamana, 2008). This is why the colonial regime at certain points attempted to control, regulate, and dispose desire, social production, demographic growth, urbanisation, etc., through overcodified flows to assemble the BwO back to a sustainable socius. Here lies schizophrenia as an absolute limit – in words of Deleuze and Guattari – because after the positive-absolute deterritorialisation flowing from conquest, the BwO did not possess an image of itself, of what it represented and implied, it was (de)centred on primitive accumulation of which it was both part and result. Therefore, this schizophrenic self-referencing was a severe disorder that hindered the interpretation of its reality as antiproduction due to an internal identity conflict: on one side, stands its product/desire that was accumulation be it gold, land, or labour, on the other side, its decodifying flows, such as exploitation, violence, and dispossession that reached the extreme limits of production and existence itself.

Antiproduction is not a contradiction for production anymore, after it is “wedded” to every level of production “in order to regulate its productivity and realize surplus value” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 235), a function that it exerts employing a complex network – an “apparatus of antiproduction” – composed in our case by the crown and its army, the church and its clergy, the *conquistadores* and their machines, the bureaucracy and its officers, or the education network and its Scholastic tradition. Everything was designed to guarantee the extraction and accumulation of surplus value on the conquered lands: “[i]n such a system no one escapes participation in the activity of antiproduction that drives the entire productive system” (Ibidem). In this sense, productive crises, revolts, and struggles were constant events

described as reliefs from the colonial assembling, although they were similarly lines of flight drew by *indias*, *indios*, *mestizos*, slaves and even Spaniards on the multiple strata that oppressed them. In this aspect we adhere to Deleuze and Guattari (2005) when assert, from a micropolitical standpoint, that a society is defined by its lines of flight and not necessarily by its contradictions.

1.3.2 Colonial overcoding: a new regime of signs

On other hand, the progressive assembling of colonial order is somehow similar to the founding of the so-called “despotic machine” (see Deleuze & Guattari, 2000 chap 3.6) that disrupts old alliances and filiations in favour of the despot’s centrality in direct filiation with the deity. A strange machine results from the disruption of the despotic machine, “whose locus is the desert” where the old system resists against the validation of the new one; an endorsement that in Quito or Mexico will draw on soldiers, priests, nuns, *caciques*, *encomenderos*, a whole army of actors and actresses who will spread/impose the despotic codes. In Deleuze and Guattari’s words “[t]he full body as socius has ceased to be the earth, it has become the body of the despot (...). He is the sole quasi cause, the source and fountainhead and estuary of the apparent objective movement” (2000, p. 194). Whereas for Europe the despotic figure fits well for kings or emperors as the body of socius, for Spanish America the despot does refer to the king not as the centre but as a mean for originary accumulation and market expansion, i.e., it is not a royal despotism but a productive despotism. Thus, the apparent movement goes towards the king, however, a cause for colonial coding is accumulation: geographically speaking at the beginning the colonial centrality was the Spanish Empire, yet in productive terms that centre was gradually displaced to the later European powers which actually configured the core of the nascent global capitalism. A point that coincides with Dussel (1999) for whom after the 1492 accumulation the world centrality is represented for the first time in history by Spain until 1557 with the abdication of Charles V and the liberation of Flanders in 1610, giving thus way to the later consolidation of Netherlands, England, and France.

Deleuze and Guattari (2000) portrays the progressive assembling of the despotic machine in the following terms:

The entire surplus value of code is an object of appropriation. This conversion crosses through all the syntheses: the synthesis of production, with the hydraulic machine and the mining machine; the synthesis of inscription, with the accounting machine, the writing machine, and the monument machine; and finally, the synthesis of consumption, with the upkeep of the despot, his court, and the bureaucratic caste. Far from seeing in the State the principle of a territorialization that would inscribe people according to their residence, we should see in the principle of residence the effect of a movement of deterritorialization that divides the earth as an object and subjects men to the new imperial inscription, to the new full body, to the new socius (2000, pp. 194–195).

The colonial deterritorialisation did not rule out the ancestral alliances and filiations, but they were freed to the despot's codes, so that ancestral signs were gradually altered by extraneous abstract signs coming from production, religion, philosophy, and imperial politics. For instance, regarding stratification and ranking, there was no replacement of indigenous social patterns by Spanish ones, but the colonial rule did 'modify' the traditional reference codes by incorporating new criteria to assign a social position (Spalding, 1970). Such an operation is defined as "overcoding" in which the indigenous symbols were converged into the despot who had the property of desire, establishing new inscriptions by (over)codifying the flows of desire and consequently of production. In this vein, the ancestral socius was overcodified in favour of colonial deterritorialisation that gave way to the BwO, e.g., earth is not anymore, a spiritual/experiential socius but land which is a resource to be accumulated, exploited, and appropriated.

Such a process of overcoding required social repression – namely second repression – which was woven with and through a system of representation that comprises three elements: the "repressing representation" which performs the repression, the "repressed representative" on which the repression actually comes to bear, and the "displaced represented" which gives a falsified apparent image that is meant to trap desire (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, pp. 115; 184). This system also defined as plane of consistency allowed the inscription of BwO into the previous socius, because instead of connotation it depicted subordination. Then, in order to modify the codifying ancestral flows of desire for colonial decoded flows "signifiers" were required that were nothing more than signs that had become a sign of the sign – a desire of

the despot's desire – or what it is the same a deterritorialized sign itself (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, p. 206). Given these conditions a *signifying regime of the sign* arises in which a negative line of flight deterritorialises the signs as symbols whose reference only leads endlessly to other signs and subsequently to signifiers (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005). Nevertheless, the signifying regime is not completely alien to those decoded signs once they become part of the signifiers that incorporated functional features from them. Thus, colonial signifiers acted as *repressing representations* and *displaced represented* disjointing and decoding the indigenous signs that after being deterritorialised are trapped in the signifying regime with modified significations, something named by Deleuze and Guattari as *circularity of the deterritorialized sign*. Because words within colonialism perform a peculiar function: they do not designate but cover over (Rivera Cusicanqui, [1987] 2006). As Spalding (1970) suggests, Indigenous were aware of their subordinate position within colonial society, yet their system of representation was not made up of Spanish codes but their own, so for themselves, they were not “at the bottom of social hierarchy”, they were “outside all together”. But it was the continuous overcoding and intermingling that webbed the indigenous communities in the colonial regime, preserving their codes and representation but not without having undergone a colonial alteration.

The functioning of the colonial system of representation might be described by referring to Dussel's account (1995) about the “invention of America” as the outcome of Columbus' construing of the found islands as Asian/Indian, so that the Other – the ancestral inhabitants of those lands being Tainos, Aztecs, Mayas, Incans – disappear within the aesthetic and contemplative fantasy of Mediterranean navigators. Henceforth, the Indies operated as a repressing representation over *Abya-Yala*, *Tenochtitlán*, *Chichén Itzá*, *Cusco*, *Quito*, and several ancestral places that became repressed representatives which gave way to colonial signifiers, such as new world, America, *Nueva España*, or *Audiencia de Quito* that constituted images of desire or displaced represented. However, the invention of the Indies did not end up with Columbus, but it was a continuous process of overcoding throughout the colonial period. The example *par excellence* of a colonial signifier is the *indio* to be analysed afterwards, yet another remarkable case is the one of *Peru* the name assigned by the Spaniards to the region that made up the *Tahuantinsuyo*, the former Inca empire. As Turner

(2015) states Peru is a “colonial invention of global scope” after being introduced in historical theory as the result of a mutual misunderstanding between the *conquistadores* and an *indio* during a conversation in the middle of the exploring mission of Nuñez Vela’s army²⁰, for which, Peru is a “collective product of a transoceanic exchange of bodies and anti-bodies, fluids and metals” (2015, p. 28). Such misinterpretation was not incidental, as the colonial chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega points out “los cristianos entendieron conforme su *deseo*”²¹ ([1609] 1976, p. 15 italic added), yet Peru’s name creation was in fact an ‘abysmal event’ (Turner, 2011). Therefore, the misreading was completely functional to the forthcoming deterritorialisation of the Inca empire. Peru became a colonial signifier since it was a repressing representation and the displaced represented – coming from the conquering imagination – that covered the disjoining and resignification of *Tahuantinsuyo*. After the collapse of most Andean cultures, the *Virreinato de Perú* will reterritorialise the region including the *Real Audiencia de Quito* through institutions, values and representations based on Christianity, Scholastic philosophy, Spanish culture, and overcodified indigenous meanings.

The colonial regime was nothing but an unceasing attempt to impose a single centre, an arborified structure over the ancestral worlds, or as Castro-Gómez (2005) claims a “zero-point hubris” understood as the intention to set the European cosmovision and science as the definite and uncontaminated “epistemic place” able to know and explain everything without any *locus enuntiationis* but from an alleged objectivity and universality. To that end, colonisation pursued a policy of *tabula rasa* to eliminate indigenous beliefs and knowledges for being replaced by Spanish culture and Christianity (Dussel, 1995). Nevertheless, that was never successfully achieved not because a lack of political power from the Spanish Empire that willingly put all its effort to complete it, but as a consequence of the rhizomatic network resulting from the encounter that had the indigenous agency as one of its protagonists. Because, despite the existing power asymmetry, reality could not be entirely defined by Spaniards who had to take hand of imitation and appropriation of indigenous

²⁰ This version about the origin of the name Peru is described by the renamed chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega (see [1609] 1976 chap. 4)

²¹ “Christians understood according to their desire” (translation of the author).

practises (Lamana, 2008). According to Castro Gutiérrez (2019) the monarchy delegated its government faculties to corporations (tribunals or *audiencias*) and local authorities who purchased their offices given the lack of a state apparatus to govern the conquered lands, hence, such instances had to constantly negotiate with each indigenous people or group. Rendering thus impossible to rigidify the existing segmentarity in the new world, because it wasn't all about *indio/español* dualism in colonial society which rather favoured the displacement of an imbricated scheme in which Scholastic tradition will play a key role.

1.4 Actor-network-theory: an empirical approach to colonial assembling

At this point, after outlining concepts of the toolbox based on rhizomatic thinking, the methodological approach of this work is detailed. History of ideas is not only theoretical-reflexive research but also an empirical inquiry following certain methodologies and practices. For studying education and philosophy in colonial Quito, the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) was chosen in order to highlight the existing associations in said period. Besides, it offers from an empirical perspective a “concrete conceptual and methodological apparatus” that perfectly blends with rhizomatic thinking (Müller, 2015). Bruno Latour (2005) defines ANT as a tracing of associations among human and nonhuman aggregates, refusing any fixed social order or context. These groups that are varied and contradictory are made up of actors and actresses who leave behind a trace to be followed by social sciences. This means that ANT as an open methodology does not pretend to impose some order to actors or to restrict their patterns or behaviours from preestablished categories or schemas, but rather advises to track them for sketching a cartography that reassembles their paths and connections. Precisely, this work points at unfolding the Real Audiencia de Quito (RAQ) as a gathering of associations – within a bigger cluster: Spanish America – whose actors and actresses kept ever-changing relationships.

According to ANT such a thing as the ‘social world’ does not exist as an explanation of social facts and instead it is the ‘social’ that must be explained. Groups are not held together by any historical force or by any significant event, they exist as long as the actors keep them

somehow through performative²² actions of “group makers, group talkers, and group holders”, so a group or any action “vanishes when it is no longer performed—or if it stays, then it means that other actors have taken over the relay” (Latour, 2005, pp. 37–38). In this sense, actors as performers are specific “mediators” whose input is never a good output predictor and whose actions are dislocated, distributed, influenced, betrayed, translated and, for that reason, the expression actor-network attempts at underlining the uncertainty about the origin of action. For instance, within the colonial context, *caciques* and *kurakas*²³ were mediators between the Spanish and the ancestral worlds (Castro Gutiérrez, 2019) whose agency was indispensable to structure colonial society defusing conflicts and normalising the conquering codes.

Also, one might recur to the so-called “assemblage thinking” of Deleuze and Guattari to contribute to ANT in employing desire for conceptualising the capacities of actresses in affecting others or in holding relationships and groups together (Müller & Schurr, 2016). Moreover, individual agencies are not restricted to anthropomorphic figurations: “objects too have agency”, and therefore, what should call the social scientist’s attention are controversies – “matters of concern” – among those heterogeneous and associated actants. Then, an actor-network is a tool for mapping the empirically recordable trace left by the actant mediators leaving out what is not associated, since everything is attainable by three “moves”: localizing the global, redistributing the local, and connecting sites (see Latour, 2005, p. 173 ff). In this vein, the spotlight actants in this work are intellectuals and the objects related to their instruction. The employed characterisation of intellectuals mostly relies on Ramos and Yannakakis’ (2014) definition which comprises any person related to ancestral knowledge, education, political administration, and production, the only difference we sketch is that it is not applied exclusively to Indigenous, since all the (ethnic, political, and epistemic) diversity of actants studied here contributed in one way or another to assemble colonial society. Hence, the intellectual is assumed in a broader sense as any person related to the rhizomatic

²² Latour refuses ostensive definitions for trying to be definite and all-encompassing explanations with an unproblematic relation between inputs and outputs.

²³ González Holguín ([1608] 1952) defines *kuraka* as town lord, *señor del pueblo*, it was term mainly used in the northern Andean region.

knowledge network which includes ancestral knowledges, trades, offices, evangelisation, education, and why not Scholastic-Aristotelean philosophy.

As Gramsci (1971) states everyone is an intellectual, but not everyone performs in society the function of an intellectual whose role is to lead, mediate command, and transform, always regarding a specific ensemble of relations within the general complex of social relations. Furthermore, taking into account the traditional/organic distinction²⁴ of intellectuals, most of *mestizos* and indigenous (including Spaniards) intellectuals were traditional intellectuals, of whom the discussion deals the most, whereas proper ‘organic intellectuals’ could be defined the Jesuits ‘whose counter-reformation project aimed to create a new hegemony in America for an emergent order of Catholic and (...) ecumenical modernity (Platt, 2014, p. 268). Although this proposal focuses on written-codified knowledge (manuscripts, letters, royal decrees, books, archives) and formal instruction (schools, *colegios*, *universidades*), it does not mean that there were not various forms of production, circulation, and application of knowledge, both for resisting and for complying with the regime. The emphasis responds to the fact that such knowledge was unfolded precisely to overcode those ‘other knowledges’, however, subjects coming from the oppressed groups permeated this colonial knitting either to pursue their interests or to challenge the status quo, an element to be highlighted throughout the discussion. For instance, many Indigenous moulded their skills and knowledges according to colonial paradigms becoming *escribanos*, notaries, interpreters, and assistants, while few kept traditional practises, for which from time to time were persecuted and punished by authorities in name of idolatry extirpation (Ramos & Yannakakis, 2014).

On the other hand, colonial aggregates in Spanish America despite being unstable were highly connected, e.g., by maritime and terrestrial routes throughout the continent but also by means of a network of religious, political, and cultural entities, such as *colegios*, universities, and convents that are analysed in this work. The aim is to identify colonial associations not to ‘solve’ the colonial regime. As aforementioned, variability, flux, or uncertainty are distinctive of social connections due to power relations, inequalities, and

²⁴ Gramsci (1971) differentiates traditional intellectuals from organic intellectuals, the former act through an ‘*esprit de corps*’ that keeps a historical continuity, and whose social position derives from past and present class relations to which are attached. The latter result from every new class alongside its development as the thinking and organising element, whose function is also directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong.

asymmetries, however, there are exceptions which are stable in time and that according to ANT are these those that need to be explained. One outstanding case indeed is Aristotelean-Scholastic instruction that remained as the mainstream philosophical current and educative model in the new world for almost 300 years. This is why intellectual instruction and Scholasticism during the colonial period are considered as ‘matters of concern’ for being a bonding aspect among the diverse actors and actresses. Besides, the actants of this study *indias, caciques, curas, encomenderos*, teachers and specially intellectuals and manuscripts were chosen by their detectable trace and not for their alleged social function previously assigned. Take for instance *caciques* and *cacicazgos* that despite being an institution appropriated by the Spaniards for control, it developed as a complex tie among indigenous and colonisers.

In conclusion, our intention is to underline the territorial association of philosophy, intellectuals’ instruction, and the colonial regime in RAQ, in this vein, the empirical approach that contributes ANT allows to elaborate an specific account of assemblages, that in Latour’s (2005) words is a description where all the actants as mediators render the movement of social visible. A stand that implies recognising blank spots on the networks: the “*terra incognita*” in our maps, i.e., there exist several aspects or actants that are left out due to the difficulty of accessing sources to trace them, yet what is important is to include intellectual technologies like documents, files, writings, or manuscripts to illuminate the paths travelled by those actants. Mapping was also essential for colonialisation, e.g., Castro-Gómez (2005) states that during the eighteenth century there was a vice royal interest in Nueva Granada²⁵ to measure space for being represented in terms of meridians, parallels, longitudes, and latitudes – conforming both a “royal science” and a “striated space” – in order to implement a model of governmentality that controls and takes advantages of existing resources. Thereupon, this works adheres to ANT that looks to overcome traditional dichotomies, such as micro/macro, global/local, description/explanation, useful/useless – just as the rhizomatic thinking with the distinction macropolitics/micropolitics – because instead everything is

²⁵ *The Virreinato de Nueva Granada* was created in 1717 by the “Bourbon Reforms”, encompassing the territories of present-day Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador; the *Real Audiencia de Quito* was part of this viceroyalty during two periods 1717-1723 and 1739-1819.

about tracking down local and connected sites for increasing the number of actors in groups or controversies. For that end, ANT suggests avoiding any fixed “social vocabulary” on agents’ actions and instead to follow the “queerest, baroque, and most idiosyncratic terms offered by the actors” (Latour, 2005, p. 47). Then, it is sought in this proposal to preserve the terms and expressions employed during the colonial period, despite source difficulties and our lack of knowledge. “Writing has nothing to do with signifying. It has to do with surveying, mapping, even realms that are yet to come” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005, pp. 4–5), because there is no such thing as an individual statement, every statement, theory or manuscript is the result of an assemblage, for which, all the archives, manuscripts, and writings are analysed not as isolated elements but as rhizomatic parts whose trace allows to track colonial agents. Thus, in the next chapters a cartography about the rhizomatic network of colonial knowledge will be offered emphasising the influence of philosophy in the *Real Audiencia de Quito*.

Chapter 2. The Real Audiencia de Quito: a continuous rhizomatic assembling

This chapter proposes a rhizomatic reading of some of the strata that constituted the Real Audiencia de Quito (RAQ), for this end, the constitutions of the three Quitense synods are reviewed, including primary sources from archives in Ecuador and Spain, and secondary references. The aspects to be analysed are: first, a short summary about the history of RAQ and its synods. Second, a discussion about *mestizaje* understood as a double-sided strategy for colonisers and colonised, in which the latter found a way of cultural survival, whereas the former took advantage of social stratification to impose the ‘whiteness’ paradigm. Third, it is emphasised the territorial character of the system of *doctrinas* promoted by the church, which, in addition to being a political-ecclesiastical structure, was a ‘zone of contact’ between the hegemonic and the subaltern codes. Fourth, the violent life conditions of *indios* are studied, as an antecedent for a historical-philosophical review of the long-standing debate on the Indian condition in Quito. Four moments are identified in said discussion: passing from a ‘condescend stance’ to an ‘inferiorist discourse’, for later structuring a ‘merciful position’, to end with a ‘symbolic exoticisation’ of the *indios*. Fifth, the relationship between the network of *doctrinas* and the process of indigenous conversion is briefly explored, in order to underline its seminal connection with the colonial education system.

2.1 Real Audiencia de Quito: a continuous assembling

In first place, the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ) was created by a 1563 royal cedula of Phillip II after a request from the citizens of Quito, but it was formally established on 1564 by Hernando de Santillán its first president (González Suárez, 1970; Velasco, 1941). It included territories of present-day Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru: its boundaries the port of Buenaventura to the north, the Paita region to the south, and the eastern limits²⁶ were not

²⁶ Actually, the eastern region which included a part of the Amazon River – also called *Marañón* – was a zone of permanent conflict between the Spanish jurisdictions themselves (i.e., *Virreinato de Lima*, *Audiencia de Quito*, and *Virreinato de Nueva Granada*) and the Portuguese empire.

defined since it was a region yet to be known and conquered. Before, the city of San Francisco de Quito was founded on December 6th, 1534²⁷ as well as other towns such as Latacunga (1534), Ambato (1534), Portoviejo (1535), Tulcán (1535), Santiago de Guayaquil (1535), Cali (1536), Popayán (1537), Pasto (1537), Loja (1548), Jaén de Bracamoros (1549), Zaruma (1549), Zamora (1549), Cuenca, (1557), Baeza (1559), and Archidona (1560), most of them over indigenous towns and settlements (Figure 2). As a royal jurisdiction it was in charge of a *Presidente* who was appointed by the king to exercise political and judicial power, albeit the Audiencia was under the control of the Virreinato de Lima in two periods 1563-1717 and 1724-1739, and also of the Virreinato de Nueva Granada from 1722 to 1724 and later from 1740 to 1808 (Figure 1), RAQ was also extinguished from 1718 to 1722 when it was annexed to the Audiencia de Santa Fe. Finally, a remarkable fact about the Audiencia de Quito is that was a continuous assembling, not only because its borders were always changing, but also because it was always looking for territorial expansion, a process that will continue until the eighteenth century in regions such as Quijos, Maynas, and Esmeraldas.

²⁷ It was actually the second attempt to found a city in the region, months before, in August 1534 the city of Santiago de Quito was established near what is now Riobamba.

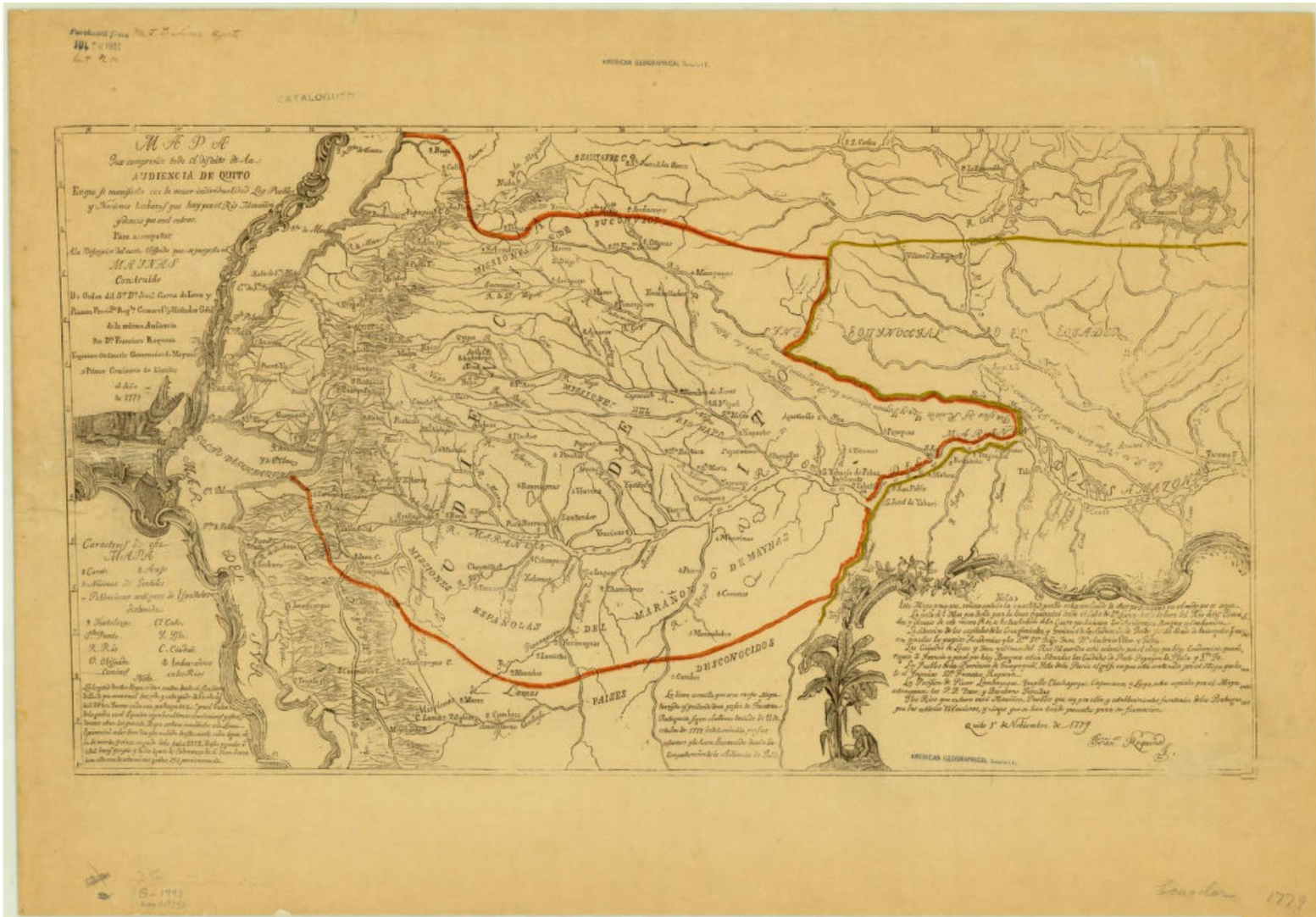


Figure 1: Map of RAQ

Author: Francisco Requena y Herrera (1779)

Repository: American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries

<https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/19632/>



Figure 2: Map of RAQ (1775)

On the other hand, the configuration of RAQ and its later education network could not be understood without analysing the development of the church that had to establish guidelines and an ecclesiastical structure to homogenise evangelisation in the new world; for that end, several meetings and councils²⁸ were held throughout the continent during the first decades after the conquest. The Quitense bishopric was founded in 1515 by pope Paul III, and it organised three synods: the first in 1570 which was led by the bishop Pedro de la Peña Montenegro, the second in

²⁸ Some of them were the 1524 Junta Apóstolica in Tenochtitlán, the Juntas Eclesiásticas in 1532 in New Spain, the first Limense Council in 1551-1552, the first Mexican Council in 1555, the synod of Popayán in 1555, the second Limense Council in 1567, and the third Limense Council 1583-1591.

1594 and the third in 1596, both were arranged by the bishop Luis López de Solís. The constitutions resulting from these three meetings are analysed in this chapter since they offer a wide-ranging description on several aspects of early RAQ such as indoctrination, tax collection, church structure, urban development, and life conditions of *indios*. According to scholars like Campo del Pozo (1996) the Quitense synods present a continuity in terms of a pastoral spirit that sketched an “*iglesia indiana*” (Indian church) that defend the *naturales* from the colonial abuses. However, from a rhizomatic approach, those conclaves could be considered as necessary tools for the colonial assembling that pointed to a continuous territorial, economic, religious, and political expansion in the recently colonised regions and in those to be conquered.

2.2 Mestizaje: a strategy for deterritorialisation and overcoding

Racial hierarchies were a fundamental axis of RAQ assemblage albeit they were not explicitly described by any official documentation. Nonetheless, this section highlights the complexity of *mestizaje* which was not reduced to racial matters, it was a process of deterritorialisation and overcoding, that was expressed as a double-sided strategy in which Spaniards, *indios*, and *mestizos* played different roles. Because race itself in Spanish America was related also to social and economic position, as Castro-Gómez (2005) claims such colonial notion was built on “whiteness” as the hegemonic cultural imaginary woven by religious beliefs, types of clothing, ownership, nobility, modes of producing knowledge, and even possession of European artifacts, machines, books, i.e., a gathering of qualities that were constantly staged by subaltern individuals in order to be accepted by the elites. Then, racial difference was used to exert control over population, which was expressed by a detailed racial taxonomy that included a “florid terminology” about skin colour and blood linkages, created just to segregate non-Spanish strata (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a): *criollos*, *castizos*, *mestizos*, *indios*, *negros*, *mulatos*, *zambos*, *chinos*, *cholos*, all of them categories that made up a ‘system of representation’ by which colonial regime was held. These strata were usually represented by a tree figure resembling a pyramid model in which Spaniards were the apex followed by the subalternised groups based on the religious canon of *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity). Although such a caste system was a “way of creating order out of an increasingly confusing society” (Katzew, 1996), since these imposed socio-ethnic boundaries were permanently blurred by the complexity and mobility of relationships among colonial actants. However, as Cope (1994)

points out the *castas* for Spaniards were conceived, in first place, an anomaly since they were alien to the Spanish/Indian division which stabilised, in political and socioeconomic terms, early colonial society, then *castas* represented a threat and a fear of a possible rebellion, that is why the crown, from the first half of the sixteenth century, began to legislate on the castas segregation and the two republics regime, which ultimately was rendered meaningless given the complexity of colonial society.

On the other hand, the best pictorial representations of Quitense society are the works of Andrés Sánchez Gallque (1599) and Vicente Albán (1783) who depicted characters, landscapes, clothes, and goods coming from RAQ; but above all, they show the rhizomatic nature of such period in which *indios*, *mestizos*, and *negros* were overcodified by Spanish meanings and signs.



Figure 3: Señora principal con su negra esclava

Author: Vicente Albán, 1783

Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América



Figure 4: Indio principal de Quito
Author: Vicente Albán, 1783
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América



Figure 5: India con traje de gala
Author: Vicente Albán, 1783
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América



Figure 6: Yapanga²⁹ de Quito
Author: Vicente Albán, 1783
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América



Figure 7: Indio Yumbo de Quito
Author: Vicente Albán, 1783
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América

²⁹ The term yapanga probably refers to ñapanga that derives from the quechua word llapanga that means barefoot or llanttanlla which means poor or bad dress (see González Holguín, [1608] 1952), however, in Quito and Pasto it was employed for referring low-class women who worked or exercised trades in public places, for which they were accused of leading a “vida alegre” (see Muñoz Cordero, 2013).



Figure 8: Indio Yumbo de Maynas
Author: Vicente Albán, 1783
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América



Figure 9: Los mulatos de Esmeraldas
Author: Andrés Sánchez Gallque
Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América

In this vein, *mestizaje* was not a racial policy, but was a “forced acculturation process” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a) that contributed to the de/overcoding and de/reterritorialisation of the new world. One might think *mestizaje* as a double-sided strategy, on the part of the colonisers, it eased social stratification and the imposition of ‘whiteness’ as the hegemonic imaginary. Nonetheless, there was no a fix official position on *mestizaje*: on one side, marriages among Spaniards and elite Indigenous women were encouraged to assure colonial dominance, whereas on the other side, royal ordinances were issued to prevent interracial marriages and also to impede *mestizos* from accessing administrative positions (Ibarra Dávila, 2002). Furthermore, the term *mestizo* initially acquired a negative connotation referring to individuals who were not fully included in either Spanish or indigenous society, due to the lack of a Spanish patron or because of their identity and appearance that prevented them from being accepted by indigenous groups, for which, *mestizos* could, at best, occupy marginal positions bearing most of the prejudices assigned to non-Spanish strata (Cope, 1994).

In the case of Quito, *mestizaje* turned out to be relevant at late seventeenth century and predominantly in the eighteenth century, once ‘racial’ definition became troublesome for tax officers at the moment of tribute collection to Spaniards, *criollos*, and *mestizos*³⁰. As Cope (1994) states, by the end of the sixteenth century, *mestizo* was almost a synonym of illegitimate, when the offspring of Spaniards and *indias* were no longer recognised as Spanish, as a result of fuzzy racial barriers. Hence, when ethnic boundaries were not easily distinguishable anymore, to be recognised as a *mestizo* became a legal process through the well-know “*Declaraciones de mestizos*”³¹ that were requests made before the prosecutor lawyer of the king, explaining the reasons to be declared a *mestizo*³². There was no official procedure, so a final decision was made considering ambiguous aspects such as legitimacy of parents’ marriage, genealogical and nobility relationships, economic position, customs, testimonials from acquaintances, and even a visual inspection of physical traits. Then, to be *mestizo* became a legal status more than a racial condition, which allowed individuals to occupy certain social position and to deal with colonial institutions; for instance, admission to convents, *colegios*, and universities was subject to the presentation of a certificate of blood purity.

³⁰ All of them were exempted from tributes until the Bourbon reforms that established taxes for *mestizos*.

³¹ Just in the RAQ jurisdiction around 350 petitions were filed between 1680 and 1815 which could be found in the National Archive of History (ANHE) in Quito, for a detailed study about them see Ibarra Dávila (2002 Chap. 3) and Minchom (2007 Chap. 2.3).

³² As everything during colonial period, *mestizo* was not a uniform concept, and rather, it is possible to find several categories in documents like *mestizo fino*, *mestizo común*, *mestizo libre*, *mestizo romo*, *mestizo sujeto a tributos*, *mestizo limpio*, all of them referring to ethnic, social, and economic aspects.

As the colonial assembling consolidated, *mestizos* overcame the most oppressive positions crafting a “heterogenous social space” in which they were distinguished among themselves by their performative actions in regard to education, clothing, customs, prestige, trades, and location (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a). However, Spanish elites continued to identify them as a lower stratum, not necessarily for racial matters, but because *mestizos* were seen as a threat, conforming a middle group that was looking for social advancement, being a “new category” that messed up the ideal racial-hierarchy (Minchom, 2007).

On the side of the colonised, indigenous peoples were not mere passive actants that were ‘covered’ by the colonial codes, but during *mestizaje* the *indios* assumed an active role in the configuration of the colonial regime, without ruling out acts of resistance against the colonisation. Then, there was “resistant adaptation” which means that indigenous actants appealed, to some extent, to accommodation to colonial authority without leaving behind a resistant assertion and self-protection, a condition that enabled them to shape their societies by assuming a political role to deal with both external and internal actors, including from time to time collective violent actions against colonial rule (Stern, [1987] 2003). Likewise, *mestizaje* was a strategy of cultural survival as Echeverría (2008) emphasises, since *indios* and *mestizos* tried to rebuild a possible civilising project after the social collapse that followed the conquest. They were weaving a new society by “playing at being Europeans” not by copying but by mimicking themselves through a continuous staging of the European: “*los indios que mestizan a los europeos mientras se mestizan a sí mismos*”³³ (Echeverría, 2008). Therefore, the resulting society was not a trace of the European world but a peculiar map of representations about that world including meanings, codes, and flows from the ancestral worlds. The indigenous signs and codes did not disappear nor were destroyed, they were de/reterritorialised by Spaniards and *indios* in what Echeverría (2008, [1998] 2011) called *ethos barroco*³⁴ (baroque ethos), i.e., a resistance strategy “of life after death” adopted by *indios* and *mestizos* “*para hacer vivible lo invivible*” (to make the unliveable liveable). Thus, in such a rhizomatic society, social advancement consisted of a performative transit in which *indios* and *mestizos* had to assume turncoat (*tránsfugas*) behaviours – like a “caricature of the Spanish” – in order to avoid discrimination, a strategy that was not always successful since new segregated strata were permanently created (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a). In this context, as argued in this work,

³³ *The indios that mix the Europeans while they were mixing themselves (translation of the author).*

³⁴ *For Echeverría it was also an effort to “catholise” modernity and to modernise the Church in a moment when Europe witnessed the ecclesia being substituted as centre by capitalist market.*

education network had also a double function within this matter: on one side, it allowed social inclusion for some elite Indigenous and *mestizos* who studied under the tutelage of religious orders, yet on the other side, it deepened social discrimination by closing its doors to the vast majority of the population.

Finally, colonial society was assembled on a whiteness paradigm that settled a web of performative values self-validated by the elites and imposed to all colonial individuals. Race beyond a phenotypic trait was a signifier from the hegemonic ‘plane of consistency’, used to overcode the socio-cultural diversity for an ethnocentric/racist ‘signifying regime’. *Otavalos, cañaris, inkas, puruhuaes, quillacingas* and all the cultures from the Northern Andean region were deterritorialised/re-signified as *indios* regardless of their heteronomous historical heritage and political organisation. Similarly, the *mestizo* was configured as a ‘repressing representation’ to make invisible the complexity and violence of social relationships while assuring white elite dominion; it was a way of denying the possibility of a person, meaning or flux from the new world to be equal to those from Europe.

2.3 Doctrinas: a territorial device

As aforementioned this work attempts at emphasising the territorial character of colonisation, particularly, in the configuration of educational institutions in the Real Audiencia de Quito (RAQ). For that end, this section analyses the assembling of the system of *doctrinas*, which were the basis for said colonial scaffolding. One of the greatest troubles after the violent encounter in the new world was demographic decline and dispersion; the 1570 constitutions mention that RAQ was constituted by several *pueblos de indios* (Indian villages) that were made up of *caseríos* (small hamlets) far apart of each other, a condition that hindered political control and religious work (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40). In reply, the so-called *doctrinas de indios* (parishes) were assumed as an organisational mechanism of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which consisted of delegating a territory to a priest who was in charge of evangelisation, sacramental granting, and political organisation of inhabitants. Then, the *curas doctrineros*³⁵ or *curas de indios* were clerical priests or friars coming from the different orders whose official appointment was a share

³⁵ The *curas doctrineros* could count on other religious, novices, sacristans or Indian coadjutors who helped in evangelisation and control, they were also known as *doctrineros*.

responsibility of the bishopric and the orders themselves³⁶. However, *doctrinas* were initially thought to be appointed to the secular clergy in order to be directly controlled by the bishopric and the crown but given the dramatic shortage of priests the crown had to rely on the religious orders, never giving up the plan to secularise the parishes³⁷. In RAQ, such a process of secularisation took place during the eighteenth century, when the *doctrinas* were entrusted to the bishopric as a part of the so-called Bourbon reforms (*reformas borbónicas*) that attempt at counteracting the loss of royal influence and control in the colonies (see Guerra Moscoso, 2008).

Then, the *doctrina* system was supported from the beginning by the Audiencia once it was of great help for keeping *repartimientos*³⁸ and *encomiendas*³⁹ working through indigenous gathering and conversion that was supposed to be an obligation of *encomenderos*⁴⁰. The *doctrinas* themselves were not created by the synod, they were already in operation for a long time, but the synodal decision made them official and determined the church's linkages to them. In first place, they were administered by each *cabildo* (city council) as evidenced by a resolution of Quito city council in October 1547 when decided to raise the priests' salaries from 300 to 400 gold pesos per year because they did not want to attend to their *doctrinas* (Cabildo de Quito, [1547] 1934). Later, in 1568 the Audiencia president Hernando de Santillán, the bishop Pedro Peña de Montenegro, and the superiors of Franciscans, Dominicans, Mercedarians, and Augustinians, held a meeting to organise the parishes of RAQ – that were the basis for the future *doctrinas* – considering clergy availability and the bishopric capacities (Guerra Moscoso, 2008).

Unlike, for example, Bartolomé de las Casas' idealised communities where *indios* and Spanish labourers lived together, *doctrinas* were thought just for *naturales*, allegedly, to ease conversion and to avoid abuses against them. The 1570 synod and bishop Peña requested the king to prohibit Spaniards, *mestizos*, *negros*, *yanaconas*, and *ladinos*⁴¹ from living in *pueblos de indios* and even from entering in those villages due to mistreatments and scams when trading gold, silver, cotton,

³⁶ Normally, the religious orders used to call provincial councils every three years to form a shortlist of candidates for each *doctrina* who had approved a suitability exam, to later be sent to the viceroy or to the Audiencia's president whose decision was communicated to the bishop for the definitive appointment (Albuja Mateus, 1998; Lavallé, 1982).

³⁷ At this point, I want to thank the valuable feedback of Professor Linda Newson on the configuration of the *doctrina* system in Quito.

³⁸ It was a Spanish practise even before 1492, consisted of handing over lands to conquerors or any person for their services in favour of the crown, mainly during a military mission.

³⁹ The *encomienda* specifically developed in Spanish America and already recognised by the 1512 *Leyes de Burgos* was the concession, granted by the crown, of a group of *indios* to a conquistador or officer who were in charge of their labour, evangelisation, and life conditions.

⁴⁰ According to the 1542 *Nuevas Leyes* the priests' stipend had to be covered by the *encomenderos*, however, it was rarely accomplished with which the obligation fell on the *caciques* and parishioners.

⁴¹ It refers generally speaking to an indoctrinated and literate indigenous.

vests, and any product (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10). Indigenous isolation was a policy endorsed at every level, for instance, the Council of Indies issued in 1580 a royal cedula ordering the Peruvian viceroyalty to prevent “commercial deals” between *negros* and *indios* for being detrimental for the latter who were vexed from the former (AGI, INDIFERENTE,427,L.30,F.322R-322V). The 1594 synod also ratified the restriction for Spaniards, *mestizos*, *negros*, and other “*misturas*” (mixtures) to live among *indios*, asking *doctrineros* to send them back to *pueblos de españoles* (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, p. 111). Moreover, as late as 1728, RAQ still informed that was seeking to remedy the damage caused against *indios* by *mestizos*, *negros*, and *mulatos* “who are the ones that cause the most problems” (AGI, QUITO,131,N.22). Thus, the general argument to justify that measure was that *indios* were learning vices, sins, and bad manners from people who were living in cities; but in fact, isolation although not effective, was intended to facilitate their control and exploitation.

In this vein, priests were ordered by the 1570 synod to arrange *indios* in villages that were located in ‘comfortable’ places close to parish churches where “*la justicia los vea*” (justice sees them) (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10, f.1). The population for each *doctrina*⁴² should be chosen according to the disposition and conditions of land, since forced displacements of Indigenous between different regions of RAQ had caused excessive deaths given the variety of temperatures and latitudes. This strategy was also called ‘*reducción*’ and as its name implies it was about ‘reducing’ the disperse Indigenous to a controlled territory for their productive, political, and ultimately religious organisation. Initially, this policy was quite successful as Francisco de Auncibay, *oidor*⁴³ of Quito, manifested in 1580:

...Las poblaciones q V.Mt. tanto no[s] manda se hagan se van haziendo y estos yndios sienten el bien q’ les viene de ellas porq’ en efecto están juntos y el demonio no les bexa como solia y se recrean con la comunicación y son mas y mejor doctrinados y se siguen otros mill buenos efectos y assi nos ocupamos en esto poco a poco en los lugares q’ ay necesidad aunq con mill dificultades... (AGI, QUITO,8,R.14,N.41, r.3)⁴⁴.

⁴² Usually, a *doctrina* encompassed several *pueblos* and wide tracts of lands, its ideal population was suggested to be from 800 to 1000 *indios* (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10, v.3), but it was never fulfilled due to the lack of clergymen.

⁴³ The *oidor* was a judge from Chancillerias and councils of the king, whose duty was to hear (*oír*) testimonials and complains to take a decision (Covarrubias, 1611).

⁴⁴ The towns that Your Majesty so much orders us to do are being built, and these Indians feel the good that comes from them because in effect they are together and the devil does not harass them as he used to, and they recreate themselves with communication and are more and better indoctrinated, and a thousand other good effects are followed and thus we deal with this little by little in the places that there is need despite a thousand difficulties (translation of the author).

Nevertheless, the second synod already warned that the *reducciones* were decreasing in terms of population, according to the conclave assistants it was a consequence of the excessive freedom granted to *indios*. The 1594 constitutions claim that *naturales* were unable to take advantage of the good aspects from *doctrinas* doing everything for the worse, because they were fleeing from villages and hiding in remote areas allegedly due to their inclination to be lazy (see López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, pp. 98-101). However, what was actually happening is that Indigenous were trying to avoid excessive tax collection, evangelisation, forced labour, and mostly the *mita* system⁴⁵. The official alternative was to give greater authority to *curas* to govern *indios* as “pupils and minors” making them “reduce and return” to their *pueblos* without consenting so many *chinas*⁴⁶ and *yanacunas*⁴⁷ in cities either. Later the third synod (López de Solís, [1596] 1996a) declared that due to the carelessness of *doctrineros* many *reducciones* have been undone and *indios* have gone back to their old towns and others were living in *guaycos* (ravines) where they cannot be indoctrinated. For which, priests were ordered to search and force *indios* to go back to the *reducciones*, being also authorised to burn down houses of *naturales* and take possession of their lands.

Despite the mentioned difficulties several towns resulting from *reducciones* – some of them erected on pre-colonial settlements – lasted throughout the colonial period as the base of rural development and land exploitation (Poloni-Simard, 2006). Because once the indigenous populations were reduced, the *doctrina* became a space of vigilance and direct contact between the church and the *naturales*, a place for acquiring the Christian religion and the Spanish “*policía*” (polity) by means of indoctrination and from the “good example” of clerics. Thus, *doctrinas* could also be understood as what Pratt (2008) calls ‘contact zones’, that is, social spaces where imperial encounters among disparate cultures take place, often in asymmetrical relations of inequality, domination, and subordination. The creation of *doctrinas* was a process of colonial deterritorialisation, mainly of hinterlands, that did not cease in RAQ between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, as Guerra Moscoso (2008) remarks in 1583 there were fifty-five *doctrinas*,

⁴⁵ *Mita* was a system adopted by the Spaniards from the Inca empire in order to organise indigenous labour, predominantly in mines, construction, and agriculture; it consisted of imposing rotative shifts for *indios* between the ages of 18 and 50, a range that was rarely respected. In Peru, it was implemented by viceroy Francisco Toledo in 1573 mainly to increase productivity in the mines of Potosi and Huancavelica (see Dell, 2010; Kang, 2013; Ruiz Rivera, 1990).

⁴⁶ It was a servant female indigenous working as a maid or in charge of housework for Spaniards.

⁴⁷ It is a polysemic term, frequently used to designate an *indio* who is a Spaniard’s servant, but also it could refer to an indigenous who collaborates with Spaniards against other indigenous peoples (see Matallana Peláez, 2013).

in 1596 there were seventy-seven, and 124 *doctrinas* were already erected by 1650⁴⁸. The significance of *doctrinas* was social and economic allowing priests and orders to obtain resources, commodities, lands, and labour force (Lavallé, 1982), consequently, *curas doctrineros* amassed a great power in RAQ hinterlands beyond the nascent cities. Therefore, the administration of those parishes generated a constant dispute between religious bodies, for instance, the Audiencia sent a letter to the king in 1580 informing that clerics and friars are “moved” against each other for an *indio* whose labour was exploited to produce cotton, food, blankets, cattle, tanneries, and to satisfy their ‘exquisite treatments’ (*esquisitos tratos*) (AGI, QUITO,8,R.14,N.41). There exists vast documentation that registers the frequent disputes among orders in Quito: in 1557 the Spanish court asked the archbishop of Lima and the bishops of Cusco, Quito, and La Plata to not ‘put a cleric’ where there were Dominicans, Franciscans or Augustinians to “avoid competition” and for the good of the *indios* (AGI, LIMA,567,L.8,F.297V-298R).

Similarly, in 1597, the provincials of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians sent a letter to the king denouncing that bishop Luis López de Solís intended to take their *doctrinas* away to hand them over to clerics for increasing the bishopric income, for that purpose, López had allegedly ordained insufficient, unskilful, and impassive clerics including some *mestizos*, contrary to royal provisions⁴⁹ (AGI, QUITO,84,N.7). On the other hand, complaints between orders were also common, for instance, a remarkable quarrel⁵⁰ between Augustinians and Jesuits, that included insults and grievances, was informed in 1640 by bishop Pedro de Oviedo y Falconí who suggested the king to withdraw their *doctrinas* to be administered by the bishopric (AGI, QUITO,77,N.66). Precisely, as aforementioned, the Spanish crown decided during the eighteenth century to hand over the *doctrinas* to the bishopric in the so-called “secularisation of *doctrinas*” (see Guerra Moscoso, 2008) as a strategy to concentrate power in the crown and as a response to the loss of hegemony in rural areas.

⁴⁸ They were distributed in Quito according to their geographical location and the resources that possessed, thus, those located in richer and more populated zones in valleys or plains were called “*doctrinas de afuera*”, while the “*doctrinas de adentro*” were found in mountainous areas and were characterised for their poverty (Lavallé, 1982).

⁴⁹ Besides, the bishop was also accused of demanding contributions for the seminary construction that were taken from the stipends of the religious whom he threatened with “*visitas*”, something that was against the papal bulls which guaranteed autonomy to the orders in the exercise of *doctrinas*.

⁵⁰ According to Augustinians some of their lands were occupied by the Jesuits (AGI, QUITO,89,N.31) who indicated in their defence that the former were those who wronged and confronted them (AGI, QUITO,89,N.32). To solve the conflict the Augustinians suggested that the *doctrinas* should be taken away from the orders that neglected the conventual closure and Christian discipline, to be transferred to the bishopric leaving each order with only one *doctrina* for their maintenance (AGI, QUITO,88,N.45).

Hence, *doctrineros* and their assistants emerged as powerful authorities in colonial daily life, they were in charge of indoctrination, literacy, conflict resolution, and mainly to exercise a biopolitical control in villages, once they were ordered to elaborate a detailed census about births, baptisms, illnesses, marriages, confessions, orphans, homeless children, stripped widows, and deaths. Moreover, *doctrineros* were advised by the synods⁵¹ to frequently ‘visit’ the towns under their surveillance in order to supervise the fulfilment of good Spanish customs and doctrine teaching. Politically speaking, every *visita* was the opportunity to ensure that each town was following the Spanish urban policy that defined the construction of ‘good houses’, schools, cemeteries, roads, and fields where *indios* could progressively acquire cattle, horses, rams, and cows so that their jobs were alleviated (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40, v., 14). As an obvious consequence, mistreatments and abuses coming from *doctrineros* became a persistent issue: the 1594 synod decided to decree restrictions to priests such as prohibition of personal services from *indios*, physical punishments and financial penalties to the congregation, and ban on extra tributes. As the priestly abuses did not stopover, the third synod in 1596 established limits to the *doctrineros*’ assets⁵², a decision that met little success. Indigenous mistreatment was even recognised by the crown that in 1674 issued a decree addressed to Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians, to warn about “vexations” committed by *doctrineros* and soliciting to take the necessary care to prevent such abuses (AGI, QUITO,210,L.4,F.248R-249V).

An extensive eye-opening testimony about conditions and maltreatments in *doctrinas* of Perú, and which could be extended to the Andean region, is narrated by the indigenous chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala:

... los dichos padres y curas de las doctri[na]s tienen en su compañía a los dichos sus ermanos, y a sus hijos o parientes o algún español o mestizo o mulato o tiene esclabos o esclabas o muchos yndios *yanaconas* o *chinaconas*, cozeneras, de que hazen daño. Y con todo este dicho rrecrecen muchos daños y rrobamientos de los pobres yndios de estos rreynos. (...) tienen en sus cocinas quatro solteras *mitayas* y depocitadas muchas hermosas solteras. Y tiene más de ocho muchachos y otros cavallirizos y mayordomos (...), todo a la costa de los indios. (...) Y estas indias paren mestizos ... ([1615] 1988, pp. 533–534)⁵³

⁵¹ For instance, the 1570 synodal constitutions advised priests to visit *pueblos* as much as possible because it was of “great benefit”, it was established that all *pueblos* that were four *leguas* away from the parish church should be visited six times a year, those that were five *leguas* away five *visitas*, and the farthest ones at least three times.

⁵² The synod established as the limit for a priest to have 50 rams, 24 goats with their offspring, 3 pigs, and a land extension defined by each *cabildo* – and *chinas*, *indias*, and young girls (*muchachas*) were not allowed to serve in churches and sacerdotal houses, instead, young boys (*muchachos*) and elder *indios* had to attend clerical requests (López de Solís, [1596] 1996a).

⁵³ The said fathers and priests of the *doctrinas* have in their company their said brothers, and their children or relatives, or some Spaniard, mestizo o mulato, or they have slaves and female slaves or many *indios yanaconas* or *chinaconas*,

Although the *doctrina* system was widely deployed throughout the *Audiencia*, it never fully achieved its objectives of massively evangelizing, and specially of keeping together the *pueblos de indios*. The persistent non-compliance with ecclesiastical provisions resulted in inefficient *doctrinas* administration according to the synods either due to the lack of religious or due to the excessive and uncontrolled ambition of priests. It is noteworthy that even provincial synods and general *visitas* were not carried out as the Council of Trent ordered (1848, pp. 207–211), i.e., synods every three years and biannual bishopric visits. It is possible that both aspects were not followed in RAQ given the territory extension, difficulties in travelling, bishopric vacancy or disagreements between orders (Campo del Pozo, 1996; González Suárez, 1970). Moreover, small *pueblos* were rarely visited because *curas doctrineros* preferred to stay in *pueblos de españoles* or cities, therefore, evangelisation and surveillance relied on sacristans, caciques, and *indios coadjutores* who became central pieces of the colonial assembling. The synods from 1594 and 1596 tried to control such clerical absenteeism by decreeing that no priest could spend more than three days in any city regardless of the motivation and always with the authorisation of their superior. None of this worked, resulting in indigenous dispersion as an unsolved issue for tax collection and labour exploitation, e.g., José de Villalengua a *protector de indios* in late colonial Latacunga wrote the Marquis of Solanda, a local noble, a letter in 1787 suggesting that “*indios dispersos*”, who were an inconvenience for the *Audiencia*, could serve as *yanaconas* to make them come back and facilitate in this way tax collection (QUITO,245,N.43).

In conclusion, *doctrinas* became an essential institution to ensure the Spanish regime by means of decrees, law enforcement, and permanent control: tax collection, land production, labour exploitation, and colonial expansion in hinterlands were possible thanks to them. In the Andean region *doctrinas* mainly acquired an agricultural character closely related to *repartimientos* and *encomiendas*, which were strategies to enclosure lands and labour force by replacing community structures based on territory for private ownership, servitude, and in certain cases wage labour. As Deleuze and Guattari (2005) state agriculture implies deterritorialisation, because pieces of land are distributed among people regarding a common quantitative criterion, instead of people being

cooks, to whom they [the fathers] harm. And with all this, many damages, and robberies to the *indios* of this kingdom grow (...) [The priests] have in their kitchens four single *mitayas* and deposited many beautiful single women. And they have more than eight boys, syces, butlers (...), everything at the expenses of *indios*. (...) And these *indias* give birth to mestizos... (translation of the author).

distributed in the territory. Then, *reducciones* and *doctrinas* – most of them assembled over ancestral towns – were significant for early colonial deterritorialisation in which an overcoding process took place, detaching any identity or community element from the earth to deterritorialise it as productive land. Religious orders played a key role, as later discussed, in these ‘zones of contact’ that point towards indigenous acculturation and indoctrination, but also to a biopolitical concern after the demographic collapse that followed the conquest. Then, *doctrinas* were thought by the colonial power as territorial devices to legitimise colonisation in everyday life, since parishes became an extension of the (de)centralised power based in Quito, Lima, Sevilla, Castilla, and beyond.

2.4 The Indian condition debate in Quito

In this section, two elements are discussed after revising official documents and chronicles about RAQ: first, life conditions of *indios* and their agency within the colonial assemblage, emphasising that violence was a long-term policy related to deterritorialisation; second, the ever-changing debate on the Indian condition, which is analysed by applying some concepts from rhizomatic thought, in order to assert that said argument became an essential component of the colonial ‘system of representation’, and thus a hint of the philosophical discussion that took place in colonial Quito.

It is well-known that *indio* was a term mistakenly applied to the inhabitants of the new world after Columbus’ belief about his arrival to India, but shortly after it turned out an all-purposes label to refer to all the ancestral peoples in America. Then, the term did not fulfil only a function of denomination but mainly allowed indigenous deterritorialisation. In the case of RAQ *Otavalos*, *Cañaris*, *Puruhaes*, *Quillacingas*, *Pastos*, *Caranquis*, *Huancavilcas*, *Manteños*, *Paltas*, and several other cultures became ‘repressed representatives’ after being homogenised and decodified under the label of *indios*. It was a process of overcoding that required in first place – always as a line of flight – violence as a systematic policy which was symbolic and also physical. Life conditions of most *naturales* in Quito were deplorable after the conquest: Alonso Téllez, a royal officer, sent the king a *relación* in 1552 condemning bad treatments and grievances against *indios* in RAQ (AGI, QUITO,20B,N.15). He describes how “*quadrillas de indios*” (groups of Indians) were forced to labour in gold mines in remote locations causing them severe harm for the

workloads and change of weather conditions; additionally, tax calculation is mentioned as an untenable policy that included children and elder people.

Minimum life and labour conditions for Indigenous including their freedom, were defined by the so-called *Nuevas Leyes* of 1542 which were not efficiently enforced by RAQ. For instance, the Audiencia received in 1566 a *cédula* asking the president and *oidores* to make respect Indians' freedom and the impossibility of forcing them to work (AGI, QUITO,211,L.1,F.122V), a request that was reissued by the Spanish court in 1576 (AGI, QUITO,211,L.1,F.308R). Likewise, the 1570 synod tried to tackle this situation by expressly prohibiting *indios* to carry heavy loads for long distances and forced displacements to remote places with different weather conditions. Afterwards, the 1594 Quitense conclave "*deseando el bien spiritual y corporal de los yndios*"⁵⁴ demanded that the 1582 Philip II royal cedula⁵⁵ be respected which stated that in order for Indigenous "not to disappear" it was necessary to give them freedom as Spanish vassals providing good treatments, indoctrination, and rest from work (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, p. 96). Yet, these provisions and exhortations were noticeably not obeyed and, on the contrary, the overload of labour was from time to time justified by appealing to conditions such as laziness; e.g., a royal decree was issued in 1577, after the request of the city council of Popayán, which left in consideration of the Audiencias of Quito and Santa Fe to employ *indios* in mining "*para que no anden ociosos*"⁵⁶ (AGI, QUITO,215,L.1,F.177V-178R).

A predictable outcome of such treatments was the progressive RAQ population decline: Álvaro de Cárdenas, governor of the south-eastern regions of Quijos and Macas, informed by 1623 to the court that *indios*' conditions were precarious and there were very few of them because of gold mining. Nonetheless, the more remarkable fact is that the governor himself did not suggest stopping forced labour but to "*agregar los jíbaros*"⁵⁷ (add the jíbaros) to mining work once their pacification was achieved (AGI, QUITO,30,N.30). Still in 1636, Melchor Suárez de Poago prosecutor of Quito remitted a letter to the crown claiming that Spaniards were profiting from the blood, sweat, and personal labour of the poor and miserable *indios*, who were in a state of "*necesidad extrema*" because all kind of people abuse them appealing to their supposed idleness.

⁵⁴ "... desiring the spiritual and corporal good of the indios" (translation of the author).

⁵⁵ It refers to a real cedula issued by the Council of Indies from Lisbon in 1582 and sent to all archbishoprics and bishoprics requesting them to monitor compliance with royal provisions in defence of Indians by viceroys and Audiencia presidents (AGI, INDIFERENTE,427,L.30,F.345V-346V).

⁵⁶ "...so that they do not remain idle" (translation of the author).

⁵⁷ *Jíbaro* was a mistaken and disrespectful term applied to the peoples of the RAQ eastern region, characterised by their tenacious struggle to Spaniard colonisation.

But, in the officer's opinion, the worst problem in Quito was the normalisation of said condition which was exerted “*con grande exorbitancia, publicidad, notoriedad y exceso en toda esta provincia (...) más que en ninguna otra de todos estos reynos del Piru*”⁵⁸ (AGI, QUITO,12,R.3,N.27; r.1). Therefore, violence was a long-term policy upheld thru the colonial period⁵⁹ in order to maintain the political order; an issue that was also discussed in the philosophical and religious fields as analysed below.

The described violence was based on a colonial conception assembled by definitions, codes, stereotypes, and philosophical currents, that place the *indio* between two contradictory positions: one in necessity and vulnerability, the other in ignorance, infidelity, and sinfulness. Thus, this section attempts to review the turns within the debate on the Indian condition in RAQ, employing the categories of the so-called ‘system of representation’ as defined by Deleuze and Guattari⁶⁰ (see Chapter 1). Said discussion remained open throughout the colonial period, even more so after the so famous Las Casas-Sepulveda dispute was inconclusive, and despite the existence of legislation regarding *indios* the Spanish crown avoided to take a clear position on the topic. As Ramos and Yannakakis (2014) affirm the definition of the ‘colonial Indian’ was never definitive because it derived from a permanent negotiation among Spanish and Indigenous intellectuals who actively participated in its construction and ongoing formulation. In this vein, diverse and ambiguous opinions were held in Quito that could be identified in four moments: passing from a ‘condescend stance’ to an ‘inferiorist discourse’, for later structuring a ‘merciful position’, to end with a ‘symbolic exoticisation’ of the *indios*. These narratives go from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, employing in their argumentation mainly Aristotelianism and Scholastic philosophy, however, it should be stated that these stances and discourses did not follow a straight timeline, but rather, many of them were contemporary and interrelated, as happened with most of the philosophical production of the time.

⁵⁸ “...with great exorbitance, publicity, notoriety, and excess in all this province (...) more than in any other of all these kingdoms of Piru” (translation of the author).

⁵⁹ Documents referring to abuses executed by different entities and agents can be traced still in the eighteenth century. Some noteworthy cases are: a grievances complaint filed by the *indios* of Otavalo in 1701 (AGI, QUITO,142,N.7), a notification from Madrid to the bishop of Quito to take action for the “committed excesses” by the cura of Guano in 1707 (AGI, QUITO,210,L.6,F.17R-19R). Later in 1723 Francisco Ramírez de Arellano, protector de *indios*, communicated to the Council of Indies about the maltreatments derived from the *mitas* servitude (AGI, QUITO,129,N.81), or the in-depth investigation announced by the Audiencia in 1740 for the excesses perpetrated against the *cacique* and *indios* of Guambia (AGI, QUITO,134,N.31).

⁶⁰ In other terms, how the concept of *indio* became a ‘repressed representative’, then a ‘repressing representation’, to finally be configured as a ‘displaced represented’.

2.4.1 *The condescend stance: the vegetative soul of the Indio*

What we have named the ‘condescend stance’ is typical of early colonisation, it was based on the so-called Christian humanism that vindicates the ideals of human dignity, peace, moderate rule, and self-restraint (Southern, 1970), which were proclaimed by the mendicant orders, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, from the fourteenth century by placing voluntary poverty at the centre of Christianity (Baron, 1989). Roig (1984) defines this current as ‘paternalist humanism’ whose central subject was the European himself who was troubled because of the brutal conquest and that, based on Renaissance humanism, recognised the indigenous subject as the other. In Quito, it could be identified in the 1570 constitutions which defines *indios* as ‘*plantas que se plantan en la casa de Dios porque son cogollos muy tiernos que se deben criar como dice el apóstol con mantenimiento tierno de niños*’⁶¹ (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; v. 11). This great-telling metaphor reveals that also the Quitense church adhered to the conception on *indios* as incapable and vulnerable beings who are in a state of nature and necessity. According to Bravo Cisneros (1994) such a definition expresses the Christian concern about Indian protection, however, it could also be interpreted from Aristotelean philosophy, particularly, resorting to its concept of ‘vegetative soul’ which was well-known by the synod members.

Then, the soul theory of Aristotle should be recalled (see *de An* II-III) that states that there are different soul faculties: motion, sensation, and intellect (*de An*.II.2,I3a23) which are present in diverse ways⁶² in plants, animals and humans. Among the latter both soul and reason are present in all of them but in different degrees (*Pol*.I.13,1260a12-17). Masters and slaves, for example, have virtues from different kinds, but the soul parts are varyingly present in them; the same could be said for Spaniards and *indios* whose souls, reasons, and customs were in different degrees. According to the Christian doctrine discussed in Quito, *naturales* were private from some faculties of the rational soul, that is why the aforementioned plant analogy particularly underlined the Indian lack of alphabetic writing, which was part of the discursive faculty of reason. In consequence, the priest’s good example was defined as the proper mechanism of indigenous indoctrination “*porque los yndios no tienen otra escritura de que aprender sino la predicación y buen exemplo de los*

⁶¹ “...plants that are planted in the house of God because they are very tender buds that must be raised as the apostle says with tender maintenance of children” (translation of the author).

⁶² In the Aristotelean theory they are called: nutritive, sensitive, and rational.

sacerdotes”⁶³ (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40: v. 11). Therefore, the *indios*’ inferiority demanded a tender nurturing to leave behind their childish state, moreover, given the limited discursive capacity of the ‘buds’ the Quitense church decided that a suitable guide should be accompanied by the priest’s knowledge of the “*lengua general del inga para que entiendan los yndios y los yndios se entiendan con los sacerdotes*”⁶⁴ (Ibídem). A decision that normally is understood as a minimal concern for ‘provincialising’ catechism, but that was actually part of the indigenous colonial overcoding.

At this point, similarities between the thought of Bartolomé de las Casas and the ‘condescend stance’ are identifiable; this could be explained by the life trajectory of Pedro de la Peña Montenegro, organiser of the 1570 synod, a Dominican religious who was born in Covarrubias in 1520 and studied at the colegio San Gregorio in Valladolid having there friar Domingo de Soto⁶⁵ as one of his professors (Dussel, 1970; González Dávila, 1649; González Suárez, 1970). Peña was ordained as priest in 1550 at the convent of San Pablo de Burgos in Spain and shortly after was delegated to Mexico where he was one of the forerunners of the *Universidad de México* in 1550, lecturing the chair of *Theologia Prima*. In 1558 he was appointed Dominican provincial; four years later, he succeeded Pedro de Ángulo as bishop of Verapaz where years before Las Casas and his fellows applied the so famous treatise *De Unico Modo*. Finally, in 1565 Peña was appointed as bishop of Quito, jurisdiction to which he arrived in 1566 until his death in 1583. In this vein, the bishop experienced and was formed by the first Dominican current in the new world based on the thought of Las Casas, Cano, de Soto, or Francisco de Vitoria, whose ideas are echoed in the 1570 synodal constitutions and mainly in his 1572 letter⁶⁶ to the king (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10) which alleges in favour of the *indios*’ status as vassals of the crown.

In general terms, the condescend stance certainly aimed at alleviating the condition of *naturales* in RAQ, but, at the same time, it did not neglect the colonial project itself, having as priorities indigenous urbanisation, pacification of unconquered peoples, and improvement of tax collection. Therefore, the vindication of freedom and vassalage condition for *indios* did not deny their status of helplessness and inferiority, since Indigenous are portrayed by the 1570 constitutions as

⁶³ “...because *indios* do not have another writing to learn from but the preaching and good example of the priests” (translation of the author).

⁶⁴ “...general language of Incas to understand *indios* and for *indios* to understand priests” (translation of the author).

⁶⁵ It is possible that he also had Melchor Cano as a professor who taught the chair of Theology in that colegio from 1536 to 1543.

⁶⁶ The letter included a proposal for a tax reform for “*el bien y sustento de los yndios y la conservación de la tierra*”⁶⁶ (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10, v. 2), which was based on his previous experience in Mexico and his probable acquaintance about the Lascasian project of Verapaz.

insufficient, poor, and meek who suffered grievances, humiliations, abuses, and excessive punishments. Such a narrative, in a name of indigenous protection, was used to endorse the whole colonial structure and its double justice system, the so-called *dos repúblicas* regime in which *naturales* enjoyed an own legal jurisdiction “*para questos yndios empiecen a tener pulicía*”⁶⁷ (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10; r. 5). It was represented by indigenous *alcaldes*, a *protector de indios*⁶⁸, *regidores*, notaries, and *alguaciles* with the power to solve civil and criminal minor crimes, yet the “*vara de justicia*”⁶⁹ was still in charge of Spanish judges and officers. Furthermore, the *doctrina* system was also validated claiming that indigenous-exclusive *pueblos* was the best strategy to prevent disturbances, uprisings, and acquisition of ‘bad habits’ and ‘avidity’ from *españoles*⁷⁰, *mestizos*, *negros*, *yanaconas*, and *ladinos* who were a ‘pestilence’ and very harmful for spiritual nurturing⁷¹ (AGI, QUITO,76,N.10; 5).

Hence, the condescend discourse assumed that *indios* were subjected to colonial power, for instance, Francisco Galavís⁷², archdeacon of Quito and a close associate of bishop Peña, claimed in 1577 that *naturales* should understand for their conversion and polity that “*lo spiritual*” belongs to the ecclesiastical state from which they received doctrine, whereas, “*lo seglar*” (secular) embodied by the crown was on charge of their bodies and *haciendas* (AGI, QUITO,80,N.10; f. 15, r.7). Thus, the *indio* was trapped by an all-encompassing dominance which restricted him to a powerlessness situation that, in turn, justified the symbolic, epistemic, and even physical violence derived from colonisation. Moreover, the *natural* was also defined as an infidel sinner albeit he deserved forgiveness and amendment for him simplicity, that is why, the obligatoriness of catechism was out of the question. In conclusion, the condescend stance contributed to early assembling of colonial society, because initially, during the conquest, indigenous peoples constituted a ‘repressed representative’, but afterwards the very concept of *indio* became a ‘repressing representation’ based on images such as the one about the quasi-vegetative status of

⁶⁷ “...so that these indios start having polity” (translation of the author).

⁶⁸ The same title as granted to Bartolomé de las Casas in 1515 that, after this request, became a generalised figure in RAQ. Frequently, they were well-instructed Spaniards that performed as “binges” between indigenous and the courts, being their lawyers and representatives in litigation (Bonnert, 1992),

⁶⁹ Understood as the authority to sentence and punish those who committed crimes considered as serious, but also as the legal capacity to revoke decisions taken by minor courts.

⁷⁰ The first Quitense synod decided, following the 1542 Nuevas Leyes, that was forbidden for Spaniards (men and women) and religious to have cattle, servants, yanaconas, land, or crops in *pueblos de indios* and their surroundings.

⁷¹ In fact, there was no a peaceful coexistence among oppressed groups within RAQ as evidenced by complaints filed by caciques requesting that restrictions on Spaniards, mestizos, negros, and mulatos from living in *pueblos de indios* be complied with (see AGI, QUITO,212,L.4,F.71V-72R).

⁷² Galavís in 1577 sent the king on behalf of bishop Peña several instructions to amend the problematic political and religious situation of RAQ (see AGI, QUITO,80,N.10).

the *natural*. In this way, the indigenous subaltern condition was legitimised, claiming that it was the result of their nature and inferior socio-political development, and not the outcome of colonisation.

2.4.2 *The inferiorist stance on Indios*

During the sixteenth century, there was an antagonistic current to the condescend discourse, which was present in writings and official documents: the inferiorist stance. In 1573 an anonymous chronicle sent to the king stated the following:

Los naturales son de mediana estatura, buenas faiciones [sic], de buen natural; imprime en ellos cualquier oficio ó arte en que son enseñados; son de medianas fuerzas, haraganes y para poco trabajo; mentirosos y amigos que les digan verdad; casi tienen por honra estar borrachos; noveleros, inconstantes; fácilmente, si han dicho un dicho, les harán en la retificación desbazar [sic] el dicho que dijeron primero, con cualquier interese o dadiva. (...) Ninguna estimación tienen ni pulicia [sic] de gente de razón. En granjerías tienen agudeza y en maldades, y tales, que muchas veces es necesario compelerlos que hagan sus labranzas para su sustento y de sus hijos (Anonymous, [1573] 1881a)⁷³.

Despite recognising some physical features and their capacity for learning crafts and arts, this Spanish officer sought to outline the *naturales* as liars, lazy, drunkards, wicked, and even politically irrational; all conditions that make necessary from time to time to ‘compel’ them in order to work for their own living. This last idea offers a hint about the reason for upholding the inferiorist position, that is, to justify the overwhelming labour regime and the violent ways to endorse it. On the same line, a further philosophical argumentation is proposed by the priest Lope de Atienza who wrote, between 1572 and 1575, in Quito the treatise *Compendio historial del estado de los Indios del Perú* on traditions and practices from the Andean regions surrounding Lima. He broadly discusses on the Indian condition recognising that despite having the same end – the salvation of *indios* – it differed with Las Casas’ account about the history of the Indies. Atienza appealing to Aristotle represented *indios* as ‘*plantas nuevas en la fe*’⁷⁴ with the intention of linking them to a natural state which was inferior to Spanish civility: ‘*porque, según el Filósofo,*

⁷³ *The naturales are of medium height, good features, of a natural good; it is printed on them any trade or art in which they are taught; they are of medium strength, lazy and for little work; liars and friends of being told the truth; for them being drunk is almost an honour; fanciful, inconstant; if they have said a saying, they will easily dismantle the saying already said in the rectification, for any interest or gift. (...). They have no estimation or polity from people of reason. They are sharp on farms and on wickedness, and such, that many times it is necessary to compel them to work their farms for their livelihood and of their children.*

⁷⁴ “...new plants in faith” (translation of the author).

*siendo la naturaleza en muchas maneras sierva y con muchas angustias oprimida, hallóse arte (...) para suplir el defecto de naturaleza*⁷⁵ (Atienza, [1575] 1931, p. 31).

One might think that such a reference is not coincidental, since Aristotle understood the *polis* as a relational set between “those who cannot exist without each other” (*Pol.I.2,1252a4-5*) like male/female, child/adult, and master/slave who are not equals for natural conditions. But despite their differences, they establish among them asymmetrical relationships in which one part is dependent on the other while the latter is fully autonomous. This is explained by the so-called “ruling principle” (*Pol.I.5,1254a18-21*) that determines that some individuals are born to rule while others are born to be ruled. In this vein, Atienza establishes between Spaniards and *indios* an asymmetrical relationship in which the coloniser becomes necessary for indigenous political progress by means of education and customs. Thus, the *natural* is defined – employing again the plant metaphor – as an individual in natural state, whereas the Spaniard is implicitly portrayed as a rational being and a full citizen. Hence, instruction and conversion were a political and religious duty for colonisers to emend the natural deficiencies of the other. Although old customs are burdensome to modify according to Aristotle, as quoted by Atienza, Spanish devotion and tenacity were enough for correcting those natural errors.

Atienza’s ideas echo at some extent the 1570 Quitense synod, given that he participated in the first two synods and became later the *Maestre Escuela* of Quito from 1576, working together with Pedro de la Peña Montenegro (Jijón y Caamaño, 1931; Landázuri, 2008). However, he assumed a more radical definition about the inferior condition of *naturales*, having a resemblance to the position of Ginés de Sepúlveda, although he is not mentioned in the treatise. Atienza asserted that *indios* hardly could be called men in Aristotelian terms because these ‘neophytes’ were characterised by a “*miserable condición, la falta y rudeza de entendimiento, la torpeza y bestialidad que, en todos sus actos y costumbres, estos miserables tienen, según la noticia que se ha dado de ellos y realmente es así verdad*”⁷⁶ ([1575] 1931, pp. 215–216).

This polemic definition does not imply denying the human condition of *indios* or assigning them a complete irrationality, what it does claim is the inferior – natural and political – condition of *naturales* before the Spanish. One could say that Atienza’s proposal recalls the Aristotelean

⁷⁵ “...because, according to the philosopher, nature being a servant in many ways and oppressed with many anguishes, art was found to supply nature’s flaw’ (translation of the author).

⁷⁶ “...miserable condition, lack and rudeness of understanding, clumsiness, and bestiality, that these miserable people have in all their acts and customs, as has being said about them and which actually is true”

concept of ‘despotic rule’⁷⁷ in the sense that *naturales* given their ‘rudeness’ and ‘bestiality’ should be governed and guided by Spaniards, whose political condition places them as full citizens. Indigenous people possess a servile that determine them to be incapable of full freedom, self-government, and political authority. In consequence, *naturales* are reliant on Spanish people in order to reach a full development in political and religious terms, moreover, such a condition of subjugation is convenient for them in order to leave behind the barbaric status. It coincides with what Aristotle thought about slavery as expedient for barbarians, because living under the master’s rule is not slavery but salvation (*Pol.V.9,1310a45-47*), correspondingly, for *indios* accepting and living under the Spanish rule is not slavery but a possibility to improve their miserable condition. Finally, said misery which was seen as a political, religious, and social condition was derived from the natural qualities of the inhabitants of the new world, not from the violent circumstances surrounding conquest and colonisation.

It is remarkable that this position in Quito occupied a marginal place within official circles that supported – at least in speech and documents – the condescend stance. Nevertheless, the inferiorist discourse was relevant during the sixteenth century for constituting a ‘repressing representation’ of *indios* that endorsed symbolic and physical violence. Atienza’s thought attempted at sketching the *indio* as socio-politically inferior and naturally pernicious in order to justify early violent colonisation. On the other hand, the inferiorist stance shares with the condescend stance two elements: acceptance of indigenous subjection, and definition of conversion as a Spanish duty in terms of tutelage. Yet, a great difference between both positions might be told, whereas the latter was thought mainly to defend evangelisation and the Church assembling by means of *doctrinas* and education, the former was intended to argue in favour of the imposition of the colonial order in economic and political terms, by emphasising the alleged inferiority of indigenous peoples.

2.4.3 The miserable indio in Quito

The seventeenth century was allegedly a period of consolidation including the continuous attempt for territorial expansion to the regions of Quijos in the east and Esmeraldas in the northwest coast of RAQ, however, the *mita* system was already in crisis and the decline of indigenous

⁷⁷ For Aristotle, the ruling principle is manifested in living creatures through “the soul [that] rules the body with a despotic rule, whereas the intellect rules the appetites with a constitutional and royal rule” (*Pol.I.5,1254b6-7*).

population had a great impact in productive capacity. In parallel, there was a turn in the discussion about the condition of Indians: the dichotomy between the condescend stance and the inferiorist position was overcome to a certain extent by the consolidation of a merciful discourse. For instance, Alonso de la Peña Montenegro⁷⁸ bishop of Quito from 1653 until 1687 wrote the so famous *Itinerario para Párrocos de Indios* whose first edition was published in Madrid in 1668 becoming a manual guide for *doctrineros* in America and even achieving recognition in Europe, for which, the book had several later editions. The bishop claimed that the first discoverers were wrong in proclaiming that *indios* were not rational men but “*brutos incapaces de razón*” unable of receiving the Christian sacraments, an error that caused the annihilation described by Bartolomé de las Casas of the population of Santo Domingo (Peña Montenegro, [1668] 1726, pp. 342-343). A mistake that was amended by the 1537 bull of Paul III that declared *indios* as rational men and capable of Christian faith; however, despite of such a recognised condition, for Peña Montenegro *indios* were characterised by a limited and imperfect *uso de razón* that makes it difficult for them to recognise good and evil, as a result of their ‘clumsy nature’ and lack of teaching, for which, young *indios* and also the illiterate could not be judged for their infidelity as sinners. Rather, Indigenous were defined by their double-side misery: corporally, they were defenceless (*desvalidos*) without a mouth to complain and with abundant patience to endure endless sufferings. On the other side, in the soul, they also suffer miseries with a very short understanding and speech, having a will inclined to theft, drunkenness, and dishonesty without respecting their own honour being thus faint-hearted and pusillanimous. Hence, life conditions of *indios* were a vivid representation of misery:

Si en el mundo [h]ay alguna gente, que pueda con todo verdad llamarse miserable, son los indios de esta América, porque son tantas, y tan sensibles sus miserias, que vistas a los coraçones más de bronze [sic] moverán a piedad: las que padecen en el cuerpo, son indezibles [sic], su comida son unos mal tos[t]ados granos de maiz, unas yervas [sic] tan mal cocinadas, que el más común condimento es la sal, les falta, su bebida es una poca de chicha: su vestido una sola camiseta de xerga, tan menguada que no les llega a cubrir las rodillas, ni alcança a tapar los codos, su cama el duro suelo, aforrado en un áspero cuero de vaca, sin mesa, sin vanco [sic], sin manteles, sin plato, ni escudilla, ni alhaja alguna, con que no necessitan de poner guardas en su casa, ni aun tener puertas cerradas en ella (Peña Montenegro, [1668] 1726, p. 177)⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ Peña Montenegro was born in Padrón close to A Coruña in 1596, he studied at Colegio de San Bartolomé de Salamanca and at Universidad de Santiago de Compostela from which he obtained his degrees in Arts and Philosophy, and Theology becoming later its lecturer of Sacred Scriptures and rector (see Bandin Hermo, 1951).

⁷⁹ If there are any people in the world who can truly be called miserable, they are the Indians of this America, because their miseries are so many and so sensitive that even the hearts of bronze will move to pity: the ones they suffer in the body are unspeakable, their food are some poorly roasted grains of corn, some poorly cooked herbs, they lack the most common seasoning that is salt, their

Peña Montenegro thought that by portraying *indios* as miserable it could improve their life conditions by appealing to mercy, because according to Christianity miserable people such as pupils, widows, and sick people enjoy privileges for being protected and helped, that is why the Catholic kings had issued several decrees and *cédulas* to defend *naturales* and punish those who abuse them. Following Las Casas, who is quoted several times and particularly his treatise *Treinta proposiciones*, the Quitense bishop advocated the prohibition of the so-called personal service of Indians to Spaniards, the end of *encomiendas*, and a tax reduction in metals and goods. Besides, Peña Montenegro – following the condescend stance and Las Casas – assumed that the miserable condition of the new world inhabitants was a consequence of their own nature. Resorting to Aquinas and Francisco Suárez, within the *Itinerario para Párrocos*, it is claimed that the Indian capacity is that short that although *lumine natura* is possible to know that there is only one true God, it is not reached *in re* by *indios*, because for such knowledge *in actu* is required to philosophise, using syllogisms to draw the truth by consequences, all of which demands instruction and doctrine that are brought by the Spaniards. Then, in moral terms *indios* cannot get to know a single God, *lumine intellectus*, once what they lack is not in their hands (Peña Montenegro, [1668] 1726, p. 230).

For Moreno Egas (1991), Peña Montenegro was the most enthusiastic defender of *naturales* during the seventeenth century, for which, his *Itinerario* could be considered a spiritual guide for *doctrineros* resulting from his experience in Quito where he sought to reform the whole doctrina system by its secularisation. Nevertheless, one might affirm, from a different perspective, that the image of the miserable *indio* also became a ‘repressing representation’ which justified the whole system of indoctrination. It affirmed the political and rational superiority of colonisers based on the alleged natural inferiority of indigenous peoples who were incapable of structuring any philosophical reflection about their own condition or even worse about religion and politics. The miserable *indio* needs the wise and learned Spaniard for their salvation and enlightenment, then it is justified his exclusion from the instruction system and political institutions which were beyond his capacities. Furthermore, this merciful position could be understood as an attempt to ease the dramatic indigenous population decline that had a clear impact for production but also for

drink is some chicha. Their dress is a single jerga t-shirt so small that it does not cover their knees, nor does it cover their elbows, their bed the hard floor lined with coarse cowhide, without a table, without a bench, without tablecloths, without a plate or bowl or any jewelry, so they do not need to put guards in their house, nor even have closed doors on it (translation of the author).

evangelisation and its enterprise. Finally, the Christian figure of the miserable *indio* was an important antecedent for the narrative about the noble savage that pervaded Europe from the eighteenth century particularly in France with the Romantic generation.

2.4.4 The symbolic exoticisation of the indio

Although the discussion apparently lost relevance throughout the seventeenth century, the debate continued between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, a time of progressive collapse for the colonial regime in which the representation of the *indio* changed, since an exotic image of the native was developed including elements from the dichotomy miserable *indio*–irrational *indio*. Such an image is evidenced in RAQ by José Martínez de Loaysa, a royal officer who informs the king about the mines in Zaruma⁸⁰, who drew an appealing illustration around 1815 that has been entitled “*el signo americano*” (Figure 10) whose inscription could be translated as follows:

⁸⁰ A village located in the southern region of RAQ.

My Lord

The reverent American sign prostrated at your royal feet says that the soil of Zaruma is committed to your performance, prudent king. Its entrails of earth, excellent gold will become, if your sacred asylum gives to your zeal this incentive. With 35 gold mines in total and four silver mines, how many millions will your Zaruma give you, sir?

The royal ordinances including sanctions were established, without being consumed by time or enemy intentions. They are uncontested in force, since they were approved by the Magistrate, a territorial deputation with his well-trained public fund. Your royal confirmation is requested so that this service may be admired cheerful Spain, and from Loaysa (creator of this oeuvre) the eternal memory in our history.



Figure 10: El signo americano ofreciendo a S.M. las minas de oro y plata de Zaruma (1815)
 Author: Pedro Martínez de Loaysa (AGI, MP-ESTAMPAS,199)

It is noteworthy to state that Martínez Loaysa was a priest who studied at the *colegio San Carlos* and at *Universidad San Marcos* in Lima obtaining a bachelor's in arts and theology in 1808. He moved to RAQ in 1809 to support the royal troops for controlling the nascent independence incidents, in 1811 he was appointed general collector of the royalist troops in Cuenca, where the royal headquarters were settled (Paniagua Pérez, 1996, 1999). In order to finance the empire defence Martínez Loaysa suggested the king to deepen mining exploitation in the southern regions of Quito, mainly in Zaruma, a commission that he undertook until 1817 when he was sent back to church services (AHN, CONSEJOS, L.1409, Exp.144). In this vein, according to Paniagua Pérez (1996, 1999) Martínez y Loaysa could be defined as a representative of the Bourbon reformism which sought to foster a mining trade policy and to centralise the imperial power in the face of subversive outbreaks in Spanish America. Hence, it is not a coincidence that during the late colonial expansion a realist officer depicted the *indio* as a '*signo americano*' who after centuries of colonisation was overcodified by a narrative that portrayed indigenous peoples as exotic noble savages who were 'reverent', 'prostrated', and willful to give away their territories, bodies, resources, and meanings. The definition of the *indios* as a sign was the final phase of their deterritorialisation, a symbolic exoticisation that sought to hide any resistance or agency of the *naturales* in the late colonial regime, i.e., it was a strategy to overlook the role of the Indigenous in the deconfiguration of the colonial regime. Thus, the 'exotic *indio*' constituted a 'displaced represented' that is a falsified image to trap desire within the colonial 'system of representation' that was made up of 'repressing representations' and 'repressed representatives' like the aforementioned condescend stance and the inferiorist discourse.

Then, the *indio* actually became an image of exoticized desire, which did not mean that he was free from deterritorialisation and exploitation because imperial power was looking for further appropriation and accumulation. Martínez's image somehow illustrates that desire by means of the mine hole or the caravel, drew in the background, a desiring-machine that was segmenting and articulating both worlds by transporting gold and goods. The colonial machinery until its end was activated by indigenous workforce whose exoticisation allowed to close the "circularity of the deterritorialised sign" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2005) from which

indigenous peoples could not escape, since the *indio* was no longer only the inhabitant of the new world but a colonial representation of the ‘other’ – the sign of a sign – it was a decalcomania designed by an expansionist reason based on values, biases, interests, meanings, and signs coming from the colonial regime. As Dussel (1995) states the Spaniards constituted themselves as the ‘Same’ and violently reduced the ‘Other’ to itself through conquest, thus the Other is denied as Other and is obliged, subsumed, alienated, and incorporated into the dominating totality like an instrument: the *conquistador* reduces the *indio* to the same.

In conclusion, this long-lasting debate was related to the permanent deterritorialisation of indigenous people, and all the different stances in dispute despite contradictions were articulated by one line of segmentarity – originary accumulation – which sought to adapt and trap the *indios* into the colonial assembling, making them instruments of land production, mining, labour exploitation, and evangelisation, aspects which they never freed from. It should be underlined that this recurrent discussion demonstrates that RAQ was not isolated from other jurisdictions around Spanish America and Spain, and rather, it allows to track the existing rhizomatic network in colonial times which included ideas, currents, books, and characters. Finally, both Batallas and Martínez Loaysa although having different aims, meant a break with the long-standing colonial debate based on the dichotomy miserable indio – inferior indio, the new representations depicted by them were crucial for the social phenomena that occurred from late eighteenth century such as the independence process, the defence of Spanish empire in America, and the later configuration of a republic in the RAQ territory. Finally, the debate on the *indio* condition evidences what León Pesántez (2013) states that Scholasticism was not the only and the most significant philosophical expression in colonial Quito, given that Humanism was a long-term tradition until the independence process in the nineteenth century.

2.5 Christian indoctrination and conversion: a network of *doctrinas* and missionaries

This section deepens the role of the *doctrina* system in evangelisation and early instruction, underlining its reliance on indigenous actants. As previously stated, the *doctrinas de indios* were the official institution for Indian conversion applying the Tridentine provisions that stated that preaching was the principal duty of bishops, primates, and parochial prelates who had to appoint “fit persons” to instruct people in what is necessary for salvation⁸¹ (Council of Trent, 1848). Thus, the *curas doctrineros* were supported in each town by a network of agents such as sacristans and coadjutors whose assignments were catechism and guarding churches, altars, ornaments, choruses, and the sacristy. In remote areas the missionaries relied on local indigenous elites for alphabetising and standardising native languages to produce catechisms (Ramos & Yannakakis, 2014). That is the case of the so-called *indios coadjutores* who were well-indoctrinated *ladinos* preferably descendants of caciques so that “they were understood and respected by people”, their main duties were: a daily gathering of *naturales* for preaching, and information collecting on births, deaths, public sins, and illnesses in order to deliver the respective sacraments and punishments (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40).

Then, *curas*, sacristans, and coadjutors were in charge of the *doctrina general* which was intended for teaching the faith rudiments, mainly to adults who were supposed to attend church daily before going to work, e.g., during the early years, two months of doctrine were required for an infidel adult to be baptised (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; r.12). According to the first synod (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; r.6) *curas doctrineros* were obliged to teach “*los primeros rudimentos de la fe para la salud de las ánimas*”⁸² for both Spaniards and *indios* who were expected to know at least the following elements:

- The four prayers: Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, and Salve Regina.
- The articles of faith

⁸¹ For a full reference about preachers (see Session the Fifth, Decree on Reformation, Chapter II Council of Trent, 1848)

⁸² The first faith rudiments for the health of souls.

- The ten Commandments
- The seven Church Sacraments
- The seven virtues: four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance; three theological virtues: faith, hope, charity.
- The seven capital vices: gluttony, lust, greed, sloth, wrath, envy, pride.
- Works of mercy both corporal and spiritual
- The five corporal senses
- The three soul potencies: intellect, free will, and memory.

The *doctrina general* scheme also included an explanation about fundamental Christian concepts, particularly, the ones that were alien to indigenous cosmovisions such as: forgiveness of sins by sacraments, resurrection of the dead, dualism body-soul, afterlife in heaven and hell, and the final judgement (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; r.14). Thus, the *doctrina general* was aimed at providing messengers (*mensajeros*), four in each town⁸³ who were *indios* that learnt by memorisation the four prayers and the commandments for then going to the *pueblos* and teaching them to the others, as a mechanism to amplify a rudimentary knowledge of Christianity. Although, priests were ordered to teach and command to learn prayers and commandments to *naturales*, most of the teaching was actually carried out by coadjutors and helpers who in many cases were Indigenous. Besides, the 1570 synod in an attempt to ease massive indoctrination approved the placement of tablets⁸⁴ (*Tablas*) in churches summarising the Christian doctrine in Castilian. Likewise, the use of *cartillas* – short notebooks and catechisms to literate and indoctrinate – among missionaries was generalised, having printed some of them in Lima during the sixteenth century (see Alaperrine-Bouyer, 2007 Cap. 6; Martínez Sagredo, 2020; Torre Revello, 1960; Zafra Molina, 2020).

The *doctrina* system started to work early in Quito, but it was a long-winded task especially in hinterlands whose conditions sometimes were adverse for religious. For

⁸³ Priests were meant to recruit four *mensajeros* for each visit to the different towns under their charge.

⁸⁴ Another tablet (*tablilla*) was required to *curas de españoles* for recalling chaplaincies, anniversaries, memories, brotherhoods (*cofradías*), and relevant dates to be celebrated at mass.

instance, a remarkable case of early conversion was the town of Lita in the northern Andean region of RAQ⁸⁵, a process that was described by the Mercedarian friar Andrés Rodríguez in 1582 ([1582] 1881). In first place, Lita is portrayed as an area whose climate and productive conditions frightened Spaniards that only appeared once in a while for collecting tributes, a condition that eased indigenous conversion. The *Litas* people were depicted as “*gente muy belicosa*” that had recently been conquered and that after 6 years of dedicated work were brought to faith and tranquillity “*aunque son bárbaros y de poco entendimiento*”⁸⁶. The evangelisation was carried out following the Tridentine and Quitense provisions since 200 *muchachos* and 80 *niñas y muchachas* attended the *doctrina*, which was taught in the “*lengua del inga*” twice a day in the morning and in the afternoon. However, a great inconveniency for early preaching was language, as it is described by the friar since the *Litas* had their own ‘obscure’ tongue knowing little or nothing of the *lengua general*. A detail that was not irrelevant given the linguistic diversity of the Andes, an issue that was discussed by the Quitense synods and that would later be related to *colegios* and *universidades*.

Precisely, preaching in indigenous tongues was necessary and a priority for the council of Trent that aware of evangelisation difficulties in the expanding areas of European Catholicism, authorised catechism and creed explanation in “vulgar tongue” (Council of Trent, 1848 Sess. XXIV, Dec. on Reformation, Chap. VII). Then, in accordance with those provisions the 1570 synod dictated that priests had to learn the “*lengua del inga*” (Inca tongue) in a period of six months to be able to confess *naturales* and making them understand good customs and Christian faith (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; r.12), since the most important aspect was not only that *indios* know the prayers but that they understand them. Thus, as a mechanism of inspection, *curas* were responsible to examine before granting any sacrament whether every Christian – either Spaniard or Indian – knew the prayers and commandments pronouncing them well and by heart (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; r.6). Nonetheless, the mass was incomprehensible for most people after the Tridentine council decided to keep the prohibition of celebrating mass in “vulgar tongue”, for which, teaching

⁸⁵ Present-day province of Imbabura in the northern area of Ecuador.

⁸⁶ “...although they are barbarians and of little understanding” (translation of the author).

of Latin – under the direction of religious orders – remained necessary at least for those involved in liturgical services.

The 1594 synod to enhance indigenous indoctrination approved the catechism and confessionary translation into various “*lenguas maternas*” (mother tongues), other than Aymara and Inca such as “*lengua de los llanos*⁸⁷ y *tallana*⁸⁸, (...) *lengua cañar*⁸⁹ y *purbay*⁹⁰, (...) *lengua de los Pastos*⁹¹ (...), [and] *lengua de quillaçinga*⁹²” (López de Solís, [1594] 1996a, pp. 72-73). Although some religious⁹³ were appointed as responsible for those translations, the attempt to bring faith closer to indigenous peoples was never completed. But the synod also designated Alonso de Aguilar and Diego Lobato de Sosa – who we discuss later about – as official examiners of the *lengua del inga*, since no priest or *doctrinero* could leave Quito to take possession of their *doctrinas* without approving its sufficiency⁹⁴. These synodal decisions were not isolated actions because, as López Parada (2013) claims, Christianity and translation in the sixteenth century entered into an “indissoluble relationship” without which neither of the two could be thought of, and which was based on the paradox of converting the other ‘in terms of me becoming him’. Therefore, more than a condescend gesture of the Quitense church, catechism translation was a reterritorialising strategy in order to provincialise – indigenise – Christian doctrine. A process that resulted in the loss of said linguistic diversity once the absolute colonial deterritorialisation imposed the *lengua del inga* as the general tongue for indigenous, better defined by Durston (2014) as

⁸⁷ There is no consensus within scholarship (see Gómez Rendón, 2010; Jijón y Caamaño, 1941; Paz y Miño, 1961), apparently, the so-called *pueblos de los llanos* were peoples who spoke several dialects and inhabited in the central and northern coast areas of present-day Ecuador, namely, the provinces of Guayas, Santa Elena and Manabí.

⁸⁸ It refers to the Atallana linguistic family that included several dialects from central and southern coast regions of present-day Ecuador and the northern coast area of Peru in Tumbes (see Gómez Rendón, 2010; Paz y Miño, 1961).

⁸⁹ Usually called nowadays *lengua cañari* was spoken by the *pueblos de los cañares* who were situated in Chimborazo, Cañar, Azuay, and Loja which are southern Andean provinces of Ecuador (see Montaluisa Chasiqiza, 2019).

⁹⁰ The tongue *purbay* also called *puruhá* or *puruguay* belonged to the *Puruhaes* people who inhabited the present-day Ecuadorean provinces of Chimborazo, Bolívar, Azuay, and Cañar (see Montaluisa Chasiqiza, 2019) in the central and southern Andean regions of RAQ.

⁹¹ This tongue belonged to the *pueblo de Pasto* located in present-day southern Andean region of Colombia and the northern region of Ecuador (see Montaluisa Chasiqiza, 2019; E. Moreno, 1980).

⁹² The *quillaçinga* tongue was spoken by the *quillaçinga* people who inhabited in the region of Popayán in the southern Andean region of present-day Colombia (see E. Moreno, 1980).

⁹³ The synod appointed Alonso Nuñez de san Pedro and Alonso Ruiz to translate the catechism into the *lengua de los llanos* and the *lengua atallana*, the priest Gabriel de Minaya for *lengua cañar* and *purbay*, the Mercedarians Francisco de Xerez and Alonso de Xerez for the *lengua de los Pastos*, and the priests Andrés Moreno de Zuñiga and Diego Bermudez for the *lengua quillaçinga* (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, p. 72).

⁹⁴ In case of any cleric who did not speak the *lengua*, he had to put another priest at his expense and was reprimanded with a salary reduction.

“Standard Colonial Quechua”, a quite successful policy in the northern Andean region⁹⁵. In this vein, a doctrinal pragmatism prevailed as manifested in the 1596 constitutions when declaring that teaching Christian doctrine first in Castilian and later in the mother tongue, as ordered by the Second Limense Council, was a “superfluous and very prolix thing”, deciding ultimately that doctrine should be taught in one tongue always preferring the mother one (López de Solís, [1596] 1996a, p. 179).

On the other hand, due to the ever-increasing demand of workforce the *doctrina general* scheme was reformed by the 1594 synod, restricting compulsory *doctrina* teaching for *muchachos* and *muchachas* up to ten years of age all together, after which they could help their parents at work excepting feast days. Despite encompassing both man and women in *doctrinas*, the Quitense conclave gave priority to boys, ordering the *curas* to frequently examine them, leaving a certain permissiveness to girls who “*aunque no la sepan enteramente, las dejen yr*”⁹⁶ (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, p. 79). For adults instead it was determined that slave owners and those who use “*morenos e yndios y de otras personas*” were in charge of their indoctrination, confession, communion, and mass attendance. In 1596, the third synod reformed again the indoctrination system for being inconvenient, because putting all the *naturales* together to learn the doctrine made it difficult for some of them in spite of spending several years. Hence, it was requested to *curas* to prepare a *padrón* (register) according to the doctrine acquaintance of each *indio*, in order to divide them in different levels which were in charge of assistants who had to report daily progress and the promotion from one level to another depending on the learning of the catechism. Furthermore, another problem in Quito was the poor knowledge about the doctrine by the priests, which is why the synod demanded them to study devotional books⁹⁷, particularly, the

⁹⁵ It is worth mentioning that there were several efforts for systematising and translating some of the tongues existing in the RAQ jurisdiction, albeit such works were influenced by a nascent encyclopedism spirit and Latin grammar that somehow reconfigured the Indigenous languages. For instance, the chronicler Pedro de Valencia (1608) when describing the *Gobernación de Quijos* in 1608 included a vocabulary of indigenous terms used in Quito in order to understand the local inhabitants; likewise, the Jesuit Tomás Nieto Polo (1753) wrote *Breve Instrucción o arte para entender la lengua de los indios, según se habla en la provincial de Quito* which was published in Lima.

⁹⁶ “...even if they do not know it entirely, let them go” (translation of the author).

⁹⁷ As Campo del Pozo and Carmona Moreno (1996) indicate the *summas* mainly used were those of Raimundo de Peñafort, Toledo, and *Manipulus curatorum* of Guido de Monte Roterio.

Directorum curatorum, and to learn the faith rudiments and the whole catechism by heart in indigenous tongue, under penalty of fines and even a 1-year suspension of their offices.

Although the *doctrina general* scheme became the widespread apparatus of indoctrination in RAQ, from the beginning child catechism was prioritised because “*la doctrina y costumbres que en la niñez se aprende es lo que más sea (sic) fija en la memoria y (...) para siempre se aficionan...*”⁹⁸ (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.40; v.12). In fact, the Tridentine council (1848, p. 212) requested bishops that “*the children in every parish be carefully taught the rudiments of the faith*”, for which, parochial schools had to be created having clerics and sacristans as teachers. Consequently, the 1570 synod ordered to have a school in every parochial church for children of caciques and *indios principales*, also inviting progenies from nonelite *indios* who were willing to learn ‘for grace and without any interest’. These parochial schools were designed as places to ‘raise’ children in the Spaniard polity and the Catholic faith, including teaching of Spanish, reading, writing, singing, catechism, and liturgical knowledge. Then, in order to endorse this instructional system, it was outlawed for Indians to hide their children from school under penalty of punishment or excommunication. In 1594, the Quitense church – following a continental trend as discussed later – changed its educational strategy, keeping the parochial schools to teach reading and writing, but this time they were restricted to children of caciques and *principales* to become church assistants under the tutelage of sacristans and chanters (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, pp. 94-95).

Despite the bishopric efforts, the synodal constitutions were not fulfilled in Quito, and even resulted ineffective when it came to evangelising. For instance, Juan de Cabrera a Dominican chaplain from Quito informed the king in 1577 that *indios* in the Kingdom of Peru knew nothing about god and only repeat doctrine as parrots (*papagayo*) (AGI, QUITO,82,N.6). According to the friar the problem was that children knew the practicality of religion without believing on it, because they were taught in *doctrinas* one hour a day but the rest of the time they were with their parents who instilled in them infidel rites and ceremonies. Furthermore, *indios* sent their kids to the *doctrina* just to avoid punishments telling them that Christian beliefs were false, for that reason, Cabrera suggested as a remedy

⁹⁸ “...the doctrine and customs that are learnt in childhood is what is most fixed in memory and (...) they are forever fond of...”

to establish '*colegios*' in which children were isolated from their parents to be instructed from the age of four to twelve, otherwise, *naturales* would continue to be infidels. It is worth to say that a similar school system was adopted in Quito and largely applied in the whole continent precisely following both the Tridentine council and the Quitense conclaves as later discussed (see Chapter 3).

Apart from these difficulties, evangelisation faced another obstruction: the overexploitation of indigenous workforce in *mitas*, *encomiendas*, and *obrajes*. A trouble already acknowledged by the 1570 synod that prohibited encomenderos, caciques, and priests to take *indios* out of the *doctrina*, because – following the Lascasian thought – conversion needs a peaceful setting, a condition that was being shrivelled by forced work. Thus, the non-attendance to mass and catechism due to labour was a generalised issue which was defined as a great concern for the Quitense church; the 1594 constitutions to counteract "*el descuido que muchos tienen en las cosas de sus almas*"⁹⁹ requested *curas* to organise a register of confessed people and to declare and denounce as excommunicated "*todos los españoles y montañeses*" who have not communicated and confessed without exception of *vagantes*, *forasteros*, *mulatos*, *negros zambygos*, or *reveldes* (rebels) who should be punished (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, pp. 74-75). In addition, vicars were granted the power to punish *indios* for not taking communion and for any problems they cause (López de Solís, [1594] 1996b, p. 130), allowing public punishments for *caciques*, and *indios viejos* for not attending mass. Later, the third synod in 1596 given the little efficacy of these policies established an entire punishment system to correct religious faults from Indigenous (Appendix 1), which in the end would be unsuccessful.

In conclusion, the early *doctrina general* scheme was not only the foundation for the politic-ecclesiastical structure of RAQ, but also an essential element of the educational network to be developed in the following centuries in Quito. The *doctrinas* will be with the passing of the years, the places where the alumni of *colegios* and universities will hold public and ecclesiastical positions, whereas, for the religious orders will be spaces for administering lands, resources, and labour. Finally, *doctrinas* were a quite successful policy to ground the

⁹⁹ "...the carelessness that many have in the things of their souls" (translation of the author).

colonial assemblage, however, they were not exempt from resistance coming from indigenous peoples, the aforementioned difficulties for conversion were not necessarily a result of the inefficiencies of the Quitense church, but a consequence of indigenous agency that was struggling against its overcoding and deterritorialisation.

CHAPTER 3. Colonial Quito and its rhizomatic education network

This chapter offers an introduction to the study of education institutions and teaching of philosophy in RAQ by deepening two significant aspects, first, the colonial debate on education, particularly the one regarding indigenous and *mestizos* once it was related to historical matters and to the philosophical discussion of that time. Moreover, it is included an analysis on the interpretation of colonial education from the standpoint of the Indigenous. Second, the concept of ‘rhizomatic knowledge network’ is outlined based on the aforementioned framework, underlining how *colegios* and universities were interrelated exceeding the colonial borders, but the main focus is devoted to discussing how such a system was erected on an already existing network.

3.1 The colonial debate on education

It is clear that education from the beginning was a strategy of Spanish colonisation within the continuous process of overcoding and deterritorialisation. Instruction in general was a key stratum to stabilise the regime by legitimising in all the social groups the ‘colonial normal’ (see Lamana, 2008), i.e., all the values, meanings, codes, customs, and policies coming from the empire. For instance, early in 1503, one of the instructions given to Nicolas de Ovando governor of the Hispaniola Island by queen Isabella and king Fernando, was to establish in each founded village, close to the church, a house for kids to learn reading, writing, and Christian rudiments (AGI, INDIFERENTE,418,L.1,F.94V-98V, f.3). Later in 1512 the *Leyes de Burgos*, the first body of laws for the good treatment of *indios*, were issued ordering that each *encomendero* had the duty to literate and indoctrinate one or two *muchachos* who would later be in charge of teaching their peers (AGI, INDIFERENTE,419,L.4,F.83R-96V). The 1542 *Nuevas Leyes* were issued to regulate the excesses of the ‘encounter’, defining as its main “intention and will” the conservation and instruction of *indios* to be taught the Catholic faith (AGI, PATRONATO,170,R.47, f.6). Therefore, indigenous instruction was a colonial policy that initially aimed at Christian conversion in order to compel with the so-called ‘Royal Patronage’ between the Catholic

Church and the Spanish Monarchy, derived from the 1493 Alexandrine bulls. As previously said, this approach was straightly assumed in Quito: in 1563 the Audiencia was asked by the king to inform if there were enough ministers for indigenous indoctrination, otherwise to contact the religious orders to build monasteries within a distance of six *leguas* between each of them to “*repartir*” the doctrine among the *naturales* (Cabildo de Quito, [1563] 1935). However, by that time many convents were already established by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Mercedarians who started to assemble an educational network as discussed in the following sections.

Before delving into the instruction system in RAQ, it is worth to examine the debate on education – for *indios* and *mestizos* – that was held in Spanish America, an aspect that is essential to analyse later the teaching of philosophy and the very structure of *colegios* and universities. Although massive indoctrination was out of the question, there was an ambiguous position regarding indigenous schooling, particularly for elite representatives. As Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007) summarises there were two well marked positions, one in favour, affirming that a well-educated *cacique* would be the best evangeliser of *indios*; the other against, holding the opinion that an educated *cacique* would be a threat against the colonial regime. The favourable stance was typical of the first decades as a result of the few priests and the precarious infrastructure existing in the new world. The background idea was that it was more effective to form an indigenous clergy who knew the territory, customs, and more important the language, and for whom the conversion of their peers would be easier than for clerics representing the violent conquest (Alaperrine-Bouyer, 2007). A standpoint shared by the 1570 Quitense synod that ordered *curas doctrineros* to have in each church one or two well-indoctrinated *indios ladinos* – preferably descendants of *caciques* – to be respected and understood by their people.

An important antecedent for education in RAQ was the experience of Franciscans in Mexico during early sixteenth century. Juan de Zumárraga, a Franciscan friar and first bishop of Mexico, together with the bishops of Oaxaca and Guatemala wrote Charles V a letter in 1537 (see García Icazbalceta, 1881) to state that due to the lack of religious and the large number of *naturales* it was necessary 1000 friars to be sent to cover all the duties, but in the meantime, it was decided to instruct as grammarians the most talented *indios* in *colegios*,

who would teach better than any lecturer from Castille, given their knowledge of local tongues. Besides, the bishops asked a monastery of nuns for daughters of *naturales* and *mestizas* from the age of five years to literate and indoctrinate them, so when they get married, they can teach the doctrine, ‘honest polity’, and a good way to life to their husbands and families. Hence, Franciscans and the first missionaries to arrive supported education for elite Indigenous as a consequence of an ecclesiastical optimism: the New World was seen as a unique opportunity to build a new church free of dissensions and controversies specially with Lutheran reformism. Friars undertook indigenous conversion as a transcendent labour to save the church and to contribute the crown because Indian souls were the “true silver to be mined” (Hanke, 1970, 1974). The idea was that the old world was already debased, and that America was the right place to nurture an ‘*Iglesia Indiana*’ based on real Christian values, consequently, such a project required a clergy cultivated in those values whose members were thought to be the *indios* in whom there was a trust about their capabilities and values during the first years (Ricard, 2013).

A noteworthy case is Toribio de Benavente, aka Motolinía, one of the twelve Mexican apostles who, to defend indigenous education, reviewed his experience in the *colegio* Santiago de Tlatelolco in these words:

El que enseña al hombre la ciencia, ese mismo proveyó y dio a estos Indios naturales grande ingenio y habilidad para aprender todas las ciencias, artes y oficios que les han enseñado, (...). Tienen el entendimiento vivo, recogido y sosegado, no orgulloso ni derramado como otras naciones.

Deprendieron a leer brevemente así en romance como en latín, y de tirado y letra de mano. (...) Escribir se enseñaron en breve tiempo, porque en pocos días que escriben luego contrahacen la materia que les dan sus maestros, y si el maestro les muda otra forma de escribir, (...), luego ellos también mudan la letra (...). En el segundo año que les comenzamos a enseñar dieron a un muchacho de Tetzco por muestra una bula, y sacola tan a lo natural, que la letra que hizo parecía el mismo molde, (...). Letras grandes y griegas (...), así canto llano como canto de órgano, hacen muy liberalmente, y han hecho muchos libros de ello.

El tercero año les impusimos en el canto, y algunos se reían y burlaban de ello, así porque parecían desentonados, (...); pero como hay muchos en que escoger, siempre hay razonables capillas (...).

Hasta comenzarles a enseñar latín o gramática hubo muchos pareceres, así entre los frailes como de otras personas, y cierto se les ha enseñado con harta dificultad, mas con haber salido muy bien con ello se da el trabajo por bien empleado, porque hay muchos de ellos buenos gramáticos, (...) y lo que en más se debe tener es el recogimiento de los estudiantes, que es como de novicios frailes, y esto con poco trabajo de su maestro; porque estos estudiantes y

colegiales tienen su colegio bien ordenado, adonde a solos ellos se enseña; (...), adonde [Santiago de Tlatelolco] ahora están con dos frailes que los enseñan, y con un bachiller indio que les lee gramática (de Benavente, [1541] 2012, pp. 199-201)¹⁰⁰.

The *Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco* was founded for caciques' instruction by Juan de Zumárraga together with the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1536 and lasted until 1572 when it closed due to several reasons: lack of financial support, loss of interest from the Franciscans, idolatry persistence, and a 'great plague' that decimated students (see Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 1990; Hernández & Máynez, 2016; Kobayashi, 1996; Ricard, 2013). As inferred from Benavente's words, it was not dedicated only to indigenous elementary literacy, but also to the formation of bachelors, grammarians, chanters, and artists who were competent in Latin, Sacred Scriptures, and sciences. Rhetoric, logic, philosophy, theology, and even indigenous medicine were taught in the *colegio* following the Franciscan tradition. However, it never achieved its ultimate aim of ordaining elite indigenous as priests. In Kobayashi's (1996) opinion one of the significant elements that influenced the loss of royal interest in elite Indian education was a 1540 letter from Juan de Zumárraga himself, former promoter of *colegios*, in which the Franciscan affirms that it is unknown how long Tlatelolco will last since Indian students the best grammarians "*tendunt ad nuptias potius quam ad continentiam*"¹⁰¹, suggesting to the king that it would be better to earmark the houses of the students for a hospital (AGI, PATRONATO,184,R.32, f.12).

¹⁰⁰ *The one who teaches science to man, that same provided and gave these natural Indians great ingenuity and ability to learn all the sciences, arts and crafts that they have been taught, (...). Their understanding is alive, collected and calm, not proud or spilled like other nations.*

They briefly learned to read both in Romance and Latin, print and handwriting. (...) Writing was taught [to them] in a short time, because in a few days [after] they write, they repeat the subject that their teachers give them, and if the teacher changes another way of writing, (...), then they also change the letter (...). In the second year that we began to teach them, a boy from Tetzococo was given a bull as a sample, and he copied it out so naturally that the letter he made looked like the same mold, (...). Large and Greek letters, (...), both plain singing and organ singing, they do very liberally, and they have made many books about it.

The third year we imposed singing on them, and some laughed and made fun of it, because they seemed out of tune, (...); but since there are many to choose from, there are always reasonable chapels (...).

Until we began to teach them Latin or grammar, there were many opinions, both among the friars and other people, and it is true that they have been taught with great difficulty, but it has turned out very well, because there are many of them good grammarians, (...) and what is most important is the recollection of the students, which is like novice friars, and this with little work from their teacher; because these students and colegiales have their colegio well ordered, where only they are taught; where [Santiago de Tlatelolco] they are now with two friars who teach them, and with an Indian bachelor who reads grammar to them (translation of the author).

¹⁰¹ "...tend toward marriage rather than restraint" (translation of the author).

On the other hand, the second position, namely the opposition to instruction, was argued by appealing to the alleged incapacity of *indios* for learning and knowing the Christian principles. Domingo de Betanzos, founder of the Dominican order in Mexico, together with Diego de la Cruz, Mexican provincial of the order, sent to Charles V a letter in 1544 claiming that no benefit may be expected from educated Indians since they lack the required authority to preach and, moreover, they are unstable persons incapable to “understand correctly and fully the Christian faith, nor is their language sufficient or copious enough as to be able to express our faith without great improprieties, which could lead easily to serious errors” (cited by Hanke, 1974, p. 26). Thus, one can implied that the provision of higher education in the new world was seen somehow as a questioning of the naturalised hierarchy between Spaniards and Indigenous. To this is added that there was a kind of envious rivalry of the Spanish clergy towards the educated *indios*. According to Bernardino de Sahagún ([1585] 1830, pp. 81-82), grammar professor in Tlatelolco, “*when the laymen and the clergy were convinced that the Indians were making progress and were capable of progressing still more, they began to raise objections and oppose the enterprise*” (translated by Hanke, 1974, p. 22).

Some Spanish clerics feared that their authority and their supposed superiority would be diminished before the literate Indians, then, in order to prevent *indios* from being part of the clergy as equal members, two main arguments were raised: first, their incapability of understanding and preaching the catholic faith, and second, that their education could backfire on the empire. Regarding the former argument, Sahagún ([1585] 1830, pp. 72-73) recounts that during the first years the Franciscans ordained two Indians as friars, founded the *colegio Tlatelolco*, and started monasteries for women, believing that *indios* and *indias* would be suitable for ecclesiastical matters, but “*from experience we understood that at that time they were not capable of such perfection*”. Similarly, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar ([1545] 1914, p. 320) who was rector of the University of Mexico, wrote that despite having good grammarians in Tlatelolco there is no need of them because given the *indios*’ incapacity they should not be ordained and, moreover, they do not use well what they have been taught. Several scholars (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 2001; Kobayashi, 1996; Ricard, 2013; Romero Galván, 2016) agree on pointing out Jerónimo López, one of the conquerors of México, as influential in the decline of early indigenous education; he claimed in a 1541 letter that was an error

from Franciscans to teach sciences, grammar, Latin, painting, chanting, and specially all the Christian articles, because Indians were so new to the faith that it could be a path for irreverence, heresy or misinterpretations of the holy scriptures¹⁰², being enough for them to learn the prayers and the commandments (AGI, DIVERSOS-COLECCIONES,22,N.33). Then, as it is evidenced, the debate on the Indian condition was present to some extent in the discussion about education, one side, there were the optimistic defenders of the ‘good *indio*’ who was capable and pious but not enough, therefore in need of an all-encompassing guide, while on the other side, the fierce opponents dismissed the *indio* as sinful, incapable, and unruly. However, both positions share a belief, that is, the Indigenous was not an autonomous individual with their own will and interest, in spite of having repeatedly demonstrated otherwise.

The crown got involved in the discussion in 1542 when prince Phillip requested the Franciscan theologian Alfonso de Castro to draft a treatise about the topic. According to Kobayashi (1996) in said text three main arguments were stated in favour of indigenous education, first, that schools were employed by Christianity since its beginning, following Saint Paul who commanded to instruct selected groups for indoctrination, besides, it was a strategy to tackle the lack of priests and to legitimise Spanish rule. Second, just as the Indians were granted baptism and doctrine, they cannot be denied the priesthood as long as they are Christians. Third, the mysteries of the Christian faith, including the study of the Scriptures, cannot be hidden from the people, but rather taught to the public like the Eucharist as long as they are converted people. But, despite Castro’s treatise, the ordination of Indigenous and mestizos and, consequently, the development of *colegios* for them were discouraged by the court and the bishoprics. One might say that the second stance – against elite indigenous instruction – triumphed once the 1555 Mexican ecclesiastical council forbade the creation of an indigenous priesthood, including mestizos. A decision that was also confirmed by the first (1552) and second (1567) Limense Councils, with which *colegios* for *caciques* lost one of the principal reasons for their existence (Alaperrine-Bouyer, 2007; Hanke, 1974; Lundberg, 2009). Likewise, RAQ was not stranger to this position, where the *colegio San Juan*

¹⁰² López highlights his concern about the Old Testament interpretation mentioning the stories of Abraham or David which could be employed by the Indians to defend their non-Christian traditions.

Evangelista was founded by the Franciscans around 1552. In 1570 the friar Domingo de Ugalde, on behalf of bishop Pedro Peña, suggested the king through a memorial for the “*spiritual and temporal good of those lands*” that in no way should any mestizo be ordained even though he is son of a conqueror or has the approval of his holiness, for being harmful and vicious people (AGI, PATRONATO,189,R.34; f.11, r.1). Afterwards, it is remarkable the bishop of Quito received in 1575 a specific royal cedula not to ordain mestizos¹⁰³ (AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.22R-22V), before the rest of archbishoprics and bishoprics to whom a decree was sent in 1578 (AGI, INDIFERENTE,427,L.30,F.297V-298V). Peña in response informed the king in 1577 that during his twelve years as bishop only 4 mestizos¹⁰⁴ had been ordained as priests and that hereafter the royal provision of not ordaining any more would be complied with (AGI, QUITO,76,N.22; f.3, r.2).

The opposition to indigenous higher education and consequently to the formation of an indigenous clergy ultimately prevailed by the end of the sixteenth century, a time where there was already an ever-growing Spanish priesthood capable to cover most of the territories and to preach in native tongues. As a consequence, the *colegio* of Tlatelolco closed down in 1572 and the *colegio San Andrés* in Quito in 1581 when it was taken away from the Franciscans, as discussed later. Nonetheless, it did not mean the end of schooling for *naturales* since several *colegios* for caciques were created throughout the colonial period such as *Colegio Seminario San Gregorio* in Mexico (1586), *Colegio del Príncipe* in Lima (1619), and *Colegio San Francisco de Borja* in Cuzco (1621), which were pursuing more political than religious aims. Moreover, the crown reversed its policy in 1588 instructing all bishops and archbishops to ordain qualified mestizos (Hyland, 1994 cited by Durston, 2014), and issued decrees in 1691, 1697, and 1725 for granting the privilege of ordaining elite *indios* (Alaperrine-Bouyer, 2007). These decisions were not fully complied with and allowed only a partial inclusion¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ This cedula was issued before Pope Gregory XIII authorised the ordination of mestizos and persons born out of wedlock, by decrees in 1576 and 1577 (Durston, 2014, p. 80).

¹⁰⁴ Although, there is a complete file against bishop Peña from 1577 to 1579 in which he is accused that after receiving the royal cedula to ban mestizos' ordination, he has ordained nine of them who were occupied in the best bishopric positions, for which the Audiencia asked Peña to take their benefits away (see AGI, QUITO,80,N.19).

¹⁰⁵ For example, according to Hanke (1974) Indians sporadically began to enter to the priesthood in the 17th century, but they were relegated to marginal positions in rural parishes.

of *indios* and *mestizos*, since education for *criollos* and elite members was prioritised in order to strengthen dominant groups and to boost the growth of a Spanish-related clergy.

Also, one can think that the disapproval of schooling for *indios* replied to productive interests. Luis López Solís, bishop of RAQ and promoter of the first Quitense Seminar, communicated the king in 1603 that a great number of *indios* and *mestizos* are becoming “*muy ladinos*” – something that he opposes – since they were acting as officers, servers of Spaniards, writers, and even *caballeros*, all of them exempting themselves from the ordinary *mita* service which was ending. Furthermore, the bishop claimed that the ‘*república de los españoles*’ could not be sustained without the ‘*república de los indios*’ and with the latter ending everything was over (AGI, QUITO,76,N.68, f.4, v.2). Thus, the distinction between republics also included instruction once the Indian republic which was devoted to labour required an education limited to these ends, since it was not thought for social mobility but as an assemblage that strengthened values, knowledge, and meanings corresponding to the colonial signifying regime. In this vein, instruction adopted a deep (de)territorial character in which the system of doctrine schools advanced hand in hand with *pueblos* and *repartimientos* to later be intellectually nourished from *colegios* and universities located in the *ciudades de españoles*.

Yet, regarding *mestizos* and *criollos*, it was thought on the contrary that education could contribute to increase production. In 1626, Andrés de Sola, Augustinian provincial in RAQ, wrote a letter exclaiming that the freedom with which mestizos and Spanish offspring live is harmful for the rich lands of Quito, since none of them are dedicated to farming or raising cattle, all of them are *jinetes* (horsemen) or harquebus shooters without any occupation, by which the *indios* are finishing due to excessive labour. Therefore, it was necessary for the kingdom conservation, according to the friar, that all *mestizos* should learn a trade and *criollos* should have an occupation so that they are not idle and contribute the Audiencia’s improvement, something that could be resolved by establishing a house of the Society of Jesus in each *pueblo de españoles* to properly teach the youth (AGI, QUITO,88,N.4). Hence, from Sola’s statements one can suggest that education within colonial society was conceived for the dominant sectors as a mechanism to develop higher production and accumulation,

whereas instruction for elite Indigenous was thought mainly for social organisation by strengthening colonial bonds, codes, and meanings.

3.1.2 Education from the indigenous standpoint

Indigenous peoples were not only passive subjects to be taught, but they were active participants in the colonial education network. As Mignolo (1992) states the spread of Western literacy was not as smooth as the early missionaries thought, rather, the outcomes sometimes were completely unexpected when, for example, the European systems of writing and discursive genres were used by Indigenous to retain their traditions, and also, to resist colonisation through adaptation and reinterpretation. Instruction was a vehicle that gave *indios* access to comprehend the new order, early on they appropriated without difficulty all the codes, material elements, objects and technique that colonisation brought (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 1990). Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007, pp. 10–11) emphasises that indigenous elites soon after the conquest realised the importance of literacy, they learnt to read and write not only to fulfil the office of cacique, but also for their own benefit, or to reconstruct the Inca history with ideological purposes as happened with Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, Tito Cusi Yupanqui, or Guamán Poma de Ayala. Moreover, she continues by affirming that once the *indios* penetrate the writing culture, they did more than obey the ruler understanding that in order to resist them, or to better integrate into colonial society, pens and books were as important as horses and firearms. Then, as the colonial assembling advanced, education became a desire for the subalternised groups as a way to social ascent, since it allowed to obtain offices and prestige, defence of grants and lands, and mostly to avoid taxes and forced labour.

Indigenous elites saw in convents and *colegios* a path for social preservation to protect local self-rule and their own interests by learning the law and how to deal with it. As aforementioned, the presence of *indios* at court was unpleasant for the colonial regime, that is why, prince Philip IV, in 1637, asked the Limense viceroy Cabrera y Bobadilla to determine the desirability of continuing *colegios* since lettered *caciques* were constantly filing lawsuits against *corregidores* and priests (Charles, 2014). Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007)

highlights, when analysing the request from a *cacique* to learn Latin and Law in Peru, that for many colonisers and priests providing a good education to Indians meant giving them weapons to rebel. Because Indians desired letters not to understand better the catechism, but instead to make better lawsuits according to countless Spanish authorities (Charles, 2014). For instance, Lope de Atienza ([1575] 1931, pp. 28-29), a priest in sixteenth century RAQ, affirmed that *indios* who were raised and taught by friars and Spaniards really knew how to read, write, sing, and play instruments, nonetheless, instead of using that knowledge for virtue and reading books of good doctrine, they act like '*letrados modernos*' who, with little practice and less theory, tangled up lawsuits and criticised all their questioners pointlessly. For Atienza literate Indigenous were taking advantage of their knowledge to produce letters, petitions, and complains that were mobilising people, something that was diminishing the crown.

On the other hand, for indigenous intellectuals such as Guamán Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1988) colonial instruction was understood as a political, ideological, and territorial device at the service of the empire: idolatry extirpation, adequate polity, Christianity and a correct service for the king were only achievable by means of massive literacy of girls and boys. Yet, at the same time, education could be for *caciques* and *indios principales* a tool for protection from abuses and to deal with authorities; in this context, Guamán Poma ([1615] 1988, pp. 692–705) suggests different levels of instruction for local hierarchies according to their interaction with authorities: for a *cacique principal* and his family was desirable to know Spanish customs, Latin, writing, reading, accounting, and legal procedures to redact complains, whereas a *cacique de guaranga*¹⁰⁶ and his family would require to know reading, writing, accounting and having a trade, and finally for minor *caciques*¹⁰⁷ to be competent in Spanish, writing, reading, accounting, and singing. Instead, Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua ([1613?] 1993), an Aymara chronicler from the Orcosuyu region close to Titicaca lake, sympathised with colonial instruction as a mechanism to earn recognition

¹⁰⁶ A *cacique de guaranga* or *waranqa kuraka* was responsible for at least a thousand tributary Indians.

¹⁰⁷ Guamán Poma (see 1988, pp. 696–705) defines a hierarchy of *caciques*: the *mandón mayor* (*pisqa pachaka kamachikuq*) who controls 500 tributary Indians, the *mandoncillo de cien* (*pachaka kamachikuq*) responsible for a hundred tributary Indians, the *mandoncillo de cinquenta* (*pisqa chunka kamachikuq*) responsible for fifty, the *mandoncillo de diez* (*chunka kamachikuq*) responsible for ten, and the *mandoncillo de cinco* (*pisqa kamachikuq*) responsible for five.

from imperial power for indigenous lineages and rulership; he claimed that *indios* were infidels due to their ‘idiocy’ and lack of instruction, for which, they were easily fooled by demons choosing mountains, rivers, lagoons, or water ravines as divinities. Furthermore, he described as an example his family that was awarded by the court with some merits for chasing *hechiceros* (sorcerers) and knocking down *wakas*, after being one of the first cacical families to renounce their idols in Cajamarca¹⁰⁸.

Despite the fact that education was functional to colonisation, its main detractors in words of Guamán Poma were the priests themselves who hindered schools and prevented *maestros* to teach in towns, so that *indios* did not know ordinances, doctrines, nor can they complain. Clerics disrespecting the council provisions preferred idolatry, idleness, rascality, and vices, rather than *ladinos* or literate *indios*, since in that way they could easily steal, take away, and abuse Indians. For this reason, Guamán is reluctant to the education in force until that moment, because just as it allowed social mobility, it also opened the door for greater abuses ‘*los dichos padres se echan a perderse con la soberuia, doctores, lecinciados, bachelleres, maystros, letrados, digo verdaderamente que las letras y soberuia os echan a perder*’ (Ibídem, p. 575). Spaniards, mestizos, and *ladinos* mistreated *indios* or usurped offices in name of having a degree or even just pretending to have one, therefore, a solution for Guamán Poma was to adequate instruction to the true Christian values especially considering the one offered by the Jesuits, since education itself was not the problem but people who were abusing of the generalised illiteracy of Indians. Education then was thought by Indigenous as an instrument to face the conquering regime, while they were – consciously and often unconsciously – incorporated within the colonial assemblage. But this rush to acquire literacy could also be explained as a response to the spread idea that *indios* were incapable and powerless, it is worth to recall that early missionaries defined *naturales* as ‘tender buds’ or ‘delicate plants’, a metaphor referring to the Aristotelian concept about the vegetative soul to highlight the alleged lack of discursive faculties as writing. As Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007) claims learning to write served for the resistance, but also was an onto-political reaffirmation

¹⁰⁸ In Cajamarca, Atahualpa the Inca emperor was executed by the Spaniards in 1533, after which the conquest of the Inca empire began.

at least for some elite Indigenous who could enter the colonial institutional body with their own agency, which sometimes was compliant and others antagonistic to the regime.

In conclusion, indigenous schooling was a latent issue throughout the colonial period, in spite of its early decline during late sixteenth century. In general, the whole education system – as Pérez Marín (2021) states – were shaped by concerns over the organisation of a local clergy, an issue that was not unrelated to social stratification and racial conditions, as evidenced in the next chapters. Thus, this work focuses on the educational institutions erected by the religious orders in RAQ, which actually concentrated their efforts on instructing the offspring of officers and *conquistadores*, wealthy *criollos*, and certain *mestizos* with social prestige. In this context, it is not the aim to offer a chronological reading on that elite education, but to understand colonial instruction as a stratum from a rhizomatic network of institutions, interests, characters, and codes, all of them linked to the assemblage of the imperial project.

3.2 Rhizomatic knowledge network

Peter Burke (2016) claims that in colonial situations knowledge coexisted in unequal terms, becoming dominant the conqueror's knowledge by subjugating local knowledges which are forgotten or at least unacknowledged by the governing groups. Thus, throughout three centuries the Spanish empire spread-out in the new world a series of institutions, laws, codes, practises, officers, and objects dedicated to knowledge production and education. As a result, a network emerged whose nodes were profusely – but not homogenously – connected to each other, sometimes even blurring the borders between the metropolis and the new world. For the sake of the argument knowledge production is understood here in a broad sense, since knowledge was not restricted only to the so-called modern sciences or to humanities, including philosophy, but rather it included indigenous knowledges, ancestral practises, crafts, products, or specimens that were aligned with colonial priorities. Despite its imperial nature the colonial knowledge network was characterised by its dispersion and lack of uniformity, giving shape to a rhizome rather than a centralised web. From such a rhizomatic linking a non-lineal 'circulation of knowledge' arose from the old world to the

new world and vice versa. So, a cross-cultural interaction was involved in which encounter, negotiation, reconfiguration, (re)interpretation, struggling, and disagreement took place; hence, concepts, ideas, meanings, characters, and objects flew in a double movement back and forth, transforming themselves most of the time (Raj, 2017). Thus, for studying this circulation four areas are emphasised: (1) relationships between institutions at local, regional, and ultramarine level; (2) mobility and locality of intellectuals; (3) circulation of manuscripts and printed works; and, (4) cooperative interregional contexts (Goering, Parry, & Feingold, 2021).

It must be remarked that despite this proposal heavily relies on Latour's Actor-Network-Theory (see Chapter 1), the critiques of Raj (2017) to ANT are appraised in the sense that knowledge does not circulate freely and homogeneously once a network is settled, because there exist restrictions and limitations among links that go beyond the agents' agency very often as a result of unequal power, social, and racial relationships. Then, agreeing that knowledge production is not a point-to-point connection as a simple web, the concept of network is maintained to be complemented by rhizomatic thinking for highlighting its diffuse, complex, disparate, heterogeneous, and interconnected character, ultimately, it is thanks to this network that circulation occurs. For instance, circulation of philosophical manuscripts throughout the Spanish empire was made possible by the Jesuit network of *colegios* and universities, as discussed below. Besides, a risk of focusing only on circulation could be to overlook the actants' agency when producing knowledge and questioning imperial knowledge.

The rhizomatic network was structured by uneven and asymmetrical 'spaces of circulation' (Raj, 2017) being both social and physical: the former are social groups or communities entwined by knowledges, ideas, values, laws, and familial ties, that support knowledge circulation to spread their beliefs and to preserve their privileges. The latter are specific places, areas, or institutions identified by geographical, religious, or any thematic reason, e.g., cities, universities, scientific associations, religious orders, among others. Moreover, this circulation could be discontinuous and subject to change over time, because among said spaces different knowledges and currents circulate having thus from time-to-time controversies, debates, disputes, and even deep ruptures. In the case of RAQ, for instance,

from the seventeenth century the circulation of critical knowledge with hardcore Scholasticism began including Cartesianism and the Enlightenment ideas which will be influential in the later independence movement.

In this vein, for Crawford (2016) the Spanish empire by the eighteenth century had managed to stamp in its knowledge network a distinctive 'epistemic culture' characterised by three features: 1) empiricism: officers and intellectuals appraised 'first-hand experience' regarding medical treatments, agriculture practises, cartography, local history, routes, and even astronomical knowledge coming from indigenous sages, artisans, and expert workers. 2) overtly political: knowledge collection was an imperial policy mostly guided by political and economic interests rather than by scientific aims, for which, production was competitive and contentious as several actants (being officers, intellectuals, indigenous healers, traders) claimed the authority to speak and to know. 3) hierarchical: knowledge was a product of an epistemic and labour division between imperial centrality and colonial peripheries, officers and informants from the new world were to provide empirical observations, accounts, or specimens, whereas officials and experts in the metropolis were to analyse such materials and to produce true knowledge. That is, knowledge appropriation and exclusion were part of imperial policy in Spanish America, however, the central-periphery relationship was not always uniform and from time to time it was also subverted and questioned.

A trace of said Spanish epistemic culture might be the Salamanca school that, according to Duve (2021), was both an epistemic community and a community of practice that shared a common knowledge, methods, expertise, style, beliefs, practices, books, and actors; but despite of starting in Spain, it was not a group restricted to the Iberian peninsula in geographical terms, nor was it isolated from the global knowledge network that was already germinating in the sixteenth century. The Salamanca school was one of the existing epistemic communities within the rhizomatic knowledge network. Then, it was not a unique centre in the metropolis from which knowledge irradiated to the peripheries, it was one of many nodes within a web where knowledge and information flowed in diverse directions and intensities transcending even the imperial boundaries, having a global reach and becoming a very influential school, particularly, in Spanish America (Duve, 2021). Furthermore, such a global network eased the assembling of colonial order by enabling, for instance, a continuous

process of translation of normative knowledge coming from religious and philosophical literature into quotidian codes of behaviour and specific normative, an event taking place not only in imperial centres, such as Lima and Mexico, but in a global scale as part of the forthcoming modern world (Danwerth, 2017, 2020; Duve, 2020).

Likewise, knowledge network and its philosophical production contributed to configure the colonial identity of Spanish America, as Renn and Hyman (2012) claim actants in transitional contexts – such as colonisation – define their social identity in relation to the knowledge from their place of origin, but also in relation with diverse knowledges they found in the new space of arrival. Thus, philosophy in Spanish America was not a mere continuation of Baroque Scholasticism but a very own way of studying and producing knowledge that evidently took into consideration the European tradition but without ignoring local knowledges, traditions, and events. We agree with Reen and Hyman (2012) in that transmission knowledge, even in colonial settings, resemble an “epistemic network” in which many nodes – being these individuals, scientific communities, or group of artisans, all of them possessors of knowledge – are linked to make knowledge travel amongst them. Nevertheless, we claim that knowledge circulation within a colonial context is not a mere transmission since said circulation does not consider all the constituent nodes in equal conditions and relevance, i.e., some agents and clusters would be prioritized, others relegated, and some even would be out of the web, but what is more important is that some agents – very often the colonised subjects - are seen as depositaries of imperial knowledge and repositories at the service of the imperial project, of which the network itself is not alien. Therefore, we stress the rhizomatic character of said network given that it was not a stable web extending a lineal communication and transmission, but was characterised by instability and diffuseness, unfolding thus from time to time a heterogenous, fuzzy, and difficult-to-trace knowledge circulation, where diverse forms of knowledge and interests were at stake.

On the other hand, in order to make sense of education and philosophical formation in RAQ special emphasis is placed on cities, as one of the mediators of the knowledge network. Santo Domingo, México, Lima, Quito, Bogotá, Charcas, and many others were configured as ‘lettered cities’ that nested in their urban centre administrators, notaries, lawyers, educators, clergymen, and other ‘wielders of pen and paper’, all of them *letrados* and

intellectuals (Rama, 1996, 1998). Colonial urban planning replied to a desired rationalized social order, so did the lettered city whose core function was the instruction of the specialized group involved in transmitting, applying, and keeping the imperial power. The colonial guiding ideals for cities and knowledge production – being they centralised power, the grid (*damero*) urban model or the fixed university hierarchy – were not always achieved either due to lack of resources and personnel or due to the political-economic instability of colonial society. Nonetheless, the translation of those ideals into reality required the elaboration and dissemination of ‘rationalizing symbolic languages’ such as geometry, mathematics, urban planning, writing, reading, trades (Rama, 1996, p. 4), and we should add Aristotelianism the philosophical background of all of them. Besides, Rama, resorting to Foucault, asserts that cities in America were unfolded

in a time when signs became no longer “direct representations of the world, kinked to it by secret, solid ties of likeness or affinity with what they represent”, and began instead “to signify from within a body of knowledge” and “to take from it their probability of certainty” (1996, p. 3).

The resulting knowledge network, precisely, was nurtured by schools, convents, *colegios*, universities, and informal spaces that served to create and mainly to spread that body that gave meaning and certainty to the colonial assembling. Although that knowledge sprang from imperial power in its image and likeness, there was no exact transposition in the overseas territories but rather a hierarchical and racialised overcoding of it in response to colonisers’ interests. For this reason, very often what was materialised in the new world was, in terms of Deleuze and Guattari, a decalcomania understood as a reproduction of a map that displays impasses, blockages, blurred images, or crises. Therefore, such a power through the web of interconnected cities somehow constantly attempted to build and maintain a centralised order, conceiving them as ‘focal points’ of an ongoing colonisation which in first place ‘evangelise’ and later ‘educate’ barbarians and rural hinterlands (Rama, 1996). Yet, a discrepancy with Rama must be remarked: it is true that cities were the residencies of viceroys, governors, archbishops, caciques, the seats of universities, courts, and inquisitional tribunals, all of them representations of a unique royal power located in Lima, Madrid, or Rome. Nevertheless, the network that they configured was not necessarily centralised but

very often a fuzzy web – a rhizome – whose actants were in constant movement and rotation among the ‘nodes of power’ according to political and productive priorities, responding to local and particular interests even sometimes contrary to those of the centrality.

Then, the lettered city was not only urban planning and buildings, but it was also a ‘space of circulation’ that hosted a select bunch of intellectuals – ‘a priestly caste’ – who were conscious of their ‘lofty ministry’ possessing dominion over the colonial ‘subsidiary absolutes of the universe of signs’, since the political and metaphysical absolutes were restricted to the metropolitan intelligentsia (Rama, 1996, 1998). The lettered functionaries were at the top of the social pyramid, always close by the church and crown representatives, they were a reduce literate elite whose paramount functions were to conduct communication between both worlds by letters and decrees, and to oil the colonial machinery by making known and enforcing the dispositions that they redacted and enacted. These *letrados* were members of a ‘double closed circle’ that was turning around itself and always returning to the viceregal power from which was originated; they were consumers of the colonial economic surplus having extraordinary life conditions superior sometimes to those of Europe, but also, they were the exclusive consumers of their intellectual production – ‘an exaggerated imitation of contemporary European style’ (Rama, 1996, p. 18).

The lettered city was beyond the ordinary regime enjoying great autonomy from local political affairs ruled by *Audiencias* and *Gobernaciones*, being directly subjected to the king, the council of Indies, the pope, or in last to viceroys. Thus, the *letrados* were more related to the order of signs away from quotidian banalities, in charge of the ‘cultural dimension’ within the ‘realm of the Spirit’: elaborating ideological messages, enacting ordinances, writing books, and manipulating symbols. A universe of signs that was marked by Aristotelianism and Scholastic philosophy which in turn were a line of segmentarity woven by the ecclesiastical establishment, religious orders, political instances, and all kind of intellectuals. ‘*In the late seventeenth century, this network of signs seemed to float autonomously over the material world, a tissue of meaning that overlaid reality, disclosing its existence and granting its significance*’ (Rama, 1996, p. 25). And it was, by the way, said autonomy that allowed the knowledge network to be unfolded as a long-lasting stratum of new world society. Yet, it does not mean that colonial government was alien to knowledge

production, quite the opposite, as Crawford (2016) asserts when studying the *quina* market of Loja and its relation to imperial science, royal officers and representatives in Spanish America were engaged to collection, production, circulation, and certification of knowledge, including merchants, travellers, indigenous *curanderos*, and workers, whose labour and knowledges were indispensable.

Intellectual production was also immersed in a global trade network when objects of knowledge were travelling together with goods. For instance, the circulation of books and manuscripts was one of the most important strata of the rhizomatic network, which is emphasised in this work by tracing and analysing relevant volumes for philosophical production in RAQ. As Danwerth (2020) points out the 15% of existing books were printed in Spanish America, the rest were imported from Europe; a commerce that was mostly covered by press houses and typographers located in Seville, being one of the most important the Cromberger workshop (González Sánchez, 2014; Maillard Álvarez, 2014). A whole bureaucratic regime was erect around books including legislation, restrictions, controls, indexes, and a body of officers from the ecclesiastic and the civil powers, but despite these efforts the book market was highly profitable and elusive, e.g., forbidden books will be found all over Spanish America (Calvo, 2003; Danwerth, 2020; Guibovich Pérez, 2014; Maillard Álvarez, 2004, 2018; Márquez Macías, 2004; Roldán Vera, 2018). Once in the new world, the books were sold and distributed by merchants to private clients, officers, and religious orders (see Hampe-Martínez, 1993; Maillard Álvarez, 2014; Rueda Ramírez, 2014). Among the latter important libraries were created in convents, *colegios*, and universities in the most relevant cities, becoming essential clusters for philosophical instruction and production. A related process but on a minor scale in Spanish America was pressing which was mostly restricted to support evangelisation and missional work, so that the local intelligentsia was highly dependent on European presses for acquiring but also for publishing its works, which were until the eighteenth century, were thought more for local relations than for establishing a dialogue with Spain and Europe (Calvo, 2003). The first press to arrive was to Mexico in 1539, in the *Virreinato de Lima*, the city council of Lima asked the king, in 1581, permission to print books, which materialised in 1584 when the first press arrived, that was initially devoted in the sixteenth century to publish ecclesiastical documents, such as the Limense

councils, and catechism materials in Spanish and indigenous languages, for example the *Doctrina Christiana* and *Catecismo para instrucción de los indios*, years later the offer will be expanded to include historical, literary and even philosophical manuscripts (Gehbald, 2023; González Sánchez, 2000; Guibovich Pérez, 2001, 2019). In the case of Quito, the press only arrived in 1759 and it was under the direction of the Society of Jesus that used it mostly for religious and ecclesiastical matters. Although some volumes on philosophy and experimental sciences were printed, the press in RAQ played a marginal role within knowledge production, which instead benefited from the wide circulation of books that existed throughout the empire from the sixteenth century (Rueda Ramírez, 2000), but mainly during the eighteenth century as discussed later (Chapter 7).

In this context, it is worth stating that knowledge circulation did not follow a centre-periphery model, rather very often there was a dialogue from the periphery to the periphery once knowledge did not require a centre to be disseminated - and sometimes not even to be validated. The rhizomatic approach makes it possible to recognise that such a dialogue took place not between the so-called peripheries, i.e., marginalised places in the world system, but between nodes of knowledge whose communication followed diverse paths and forms. It does not mean that all the nodes were equally relevant in the global context, e.g., the imperial cities concentrated power, resources, professors, *colegios*, universities, convents, libraries, and presses. There were indeed peripheral cities within the context of the nascent capitalism, yet our argument is that the concepts of centre-periphery, in the context of knowledge production, are very problematic since, for instance, Madrid or Seville could be defined as peripheral in economic terms already in the eighteenth century, but they were still largely influential in knowledge production even beyond the Spanish empire. The point is that less relevant and distant cities were in fact interconnected within the knowledge network – regardless of their location – because knowledge circulated between epistemic communities, schools of thought, and actants that were in constant movement outside the relevant borders and routes, like the aforementioned School of Salamanca or the Jesuit network of *colegios* around the globe. Then, the rhizomatic distribution and production of knowledge enabled a long-distance dialogue between authors coming from remote and secondary jurisdictions. So, we can discuss how Quitense Franciscans were studying a

Minorite friar like Fortunato of Brescia coming from the Republic of Venice, or that Jesuit were studying their fellow Pietro Alagona from Sicily and the priest Willem Hessels van Est (aka Guilielmus Estius) from Gorinchem (Netherlands), while they were also discussing the Italian Dominicans Domenico Gravina and Vincenzo Ludovico Gotti. But also. we can highlight how authors from the new world were discussed in both sides of the Atlantic ocean, take for instance, the Quitense Augustinian Gaspar de Villarroel whose *Gobierno Eclesiástico...* is found in Quito, Cuenca, Lima, Bogotá, Santiago de Chile, Mexico, Buenos Aires, and Madrid. Likewise, the Limense Jesuit José de Aguilar whose *Cursus Philosophicus* can be traced in Lima, Quito, Bogotá, Sucre, Santiago de Chile, Madrid, Córdoba, and Granada.

Moreover, the rhizomatic network was not restricted to lettered cities and their universities, *colegios*, and convents. Regarding elite indigenous instruction, Ramos (2014) states that it often took place beyond/outside official institutions in informal spaces within convents, notaries, homes of mestizo teachers, private lessons, or by entering houses of devotion. For instance, in Quito as late as 1794 a civil and criminal complaint was filed by doña Rafaela Motatigsi, *cacica* of the town of Aloasí, against Mariano Calderón, teacher at the town school, for physical assault on two of her children and for failing to comply with the agreement to teach one of them to read and write in exchange for doing his beard twice a week (ANHE, SE, C.137, Exp. 31). Therefore, following Rappaport and Cummins (2012, 2016) beyond the Spanish lettered city there was also an ‘indigenous lettered city’ in which *caciques*, *cacicas*, and local nobles were actively defining and dealing with colonial culture. Just as the central lettered cities were interacting and exchanging between themselves, beyond their walls, indigenous peoples through literate officers and notaries – being them *indios*, *mestizos* and Spaniards – established communication channels from the *república de indios* to the *república de españoles* and vice versa. Wills, contracts, and *títulos* in addition to being legal documents, they were elements of the colonial culture amalgamated by the infusion of colonial indigenous and Hispanic American symbolic systems (Rappaport & Cummins, 2012, 2016). Thus, indigenous literacy was an overcoding process that modified the ancestral ways of understating symbols, society, communication and even the world, however, the Spaniard way of writing, speaking, or producing knowledge was also altered

by indigenous agency. As Crawford (2016) points out Europeans had a significant dependency on Indigenous, Africans, and *mestizos* due to their knowledges about animals, plants, and minerals, so circulation took place actually because those actants were already assembled in a net of commerce and imperial politics, regardless of the fact of their resistance and opposition.

The assembling of such a rhizomatic network took centuries and it was not exempted from all kinds of violence: education was territorialised by overcoding flows that included epistemic violence, physical coercion, breakdown of communities, displacement of indigenous peoples, and appropriation of indigenous knowledges. It means that the instruction system was not created out of nothing, as previously discussed (see Chapter 2), it started by establishing a scheme of *doctrinas* in the Quitense hinterlands, all of them related to religious orders and the bishopric; but it was not a Spanish invention, since they were founded over former indigenous towns and following the Inca organisation. In 1564, Hernando de Santillán, first RAQ president, suggested the king to establish a *colegio* in each bishopric following the Inca system of education, which consisted of sending the offspring of *caciques* to Cusco where they were indoctrinated and taught religion and customs, to later be sent to their hometowns to govern (AGI, QUITO,8,R.1,N.1, f.12). Then, the colonial knowledge rhizome itself was assembled on top of an already existing network, evidencing once again that colonisation was nothing more than a process of continuous overcoding.

The knowledge network was an always-growing rhizome that was interchanging professors, books, manuscripts, ideas, and philosophical debates within and beyond Spanish America. Outstanding moments in its configuration were the continuous foundation of institutions: from 1538 to 1812 about 30 universities were created, starting with the *Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino* on the island of Hispaniola and concluding with the *Universidad de León* in Nicaragua (Rodríguez Cruz, 2005). For Martínez López Cano (2006) this foundational process was divided in four moments: first, universities supported by the crown during the sixteenth century in Santo Domingo, México, Lima, and Charcas; second, during the seventeenth century when Jesuits and Dominicans were conceded authorisation to establish universities in their *colegios* in Quito, Guatemala, Bogotá, Santiago de Chile, and Córdoba; third, universities administrated by the clergy at the late seventeenth century in

Huamanga, Cusco, and Caracas; fourth, the secularisation of universities after the Jesuit expulsion and some new universities in Quito, Guadalajara or Nicaragua. Particularly, in the case of Quito, the first *colegio* was *San Juan Evangelista* founded by the Franciscans in 1552 to teach writing, reading, Christian doctrine, and trades to Inca descendants, sons of Caciques, mestizos, children of poor Spaniards and orphans (González Suárez, 1970). Later the Jesuits established the *Seminario de San Luis* in 1594 and the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* in 1622, same year in which the Augustinians founded the *Universidad San Fulgencio*; likewise, the Dominicans controlled the *Colegio Real de San Fernando* since 1667 and the *Real Universidad de Santo Tomás* from 1688. In the following chapters, we analyse the assemblage of the RAQ knowledge network by tracing these educational institutions and others, run by religious orders, emphasising in what refers to the teaching of philosophy and the trajectories of Quitense intellectuals.

Chapter 4. The Franciscans: early colonial deterritorialisation and philosophical production in Quito

This chapter studies the action and thought of the Order of Friars Minor in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ), where they built a rhizomatic network of convents and doctrinas which were indispensable for early colonial deterritorialisation and the later philosophical production that took place in Quito. This chapter includes five sections. The first contains a brief historical account of the configuration of the network, accentuating that Franciscans were essential for the ‘spiritual conquest’ of indigenous people and the necessary overcoding of colonial society. The second section describes the foundation of the *colegio San Andrés* in 1552 (originally called *San Juan Evangelista*), the first educational institution in RAQ dedicated to instructing elite Indigenous and lower-class offspring. Furthermore, the economic difficulties of San Andrés and the conflicts that arose with other orders and the bishopric are summarised in order to evidence the unstable assemblage that was rising in Quito. Section three describes the instructional guidelines of San Andrés, which were literacy, preaching, and crafts. However, the colegio should not be understood as an isolated effort for literacy, but as a node within a prospering knowledge network in Spanish America that was crucial for colonial expansion. The fourth section provides a description of early Franciscan students in Quito, some of whom dedicated themselves to the production of evangelising material and education, while others became mediators between indigenous people and colonial society. In this vein, two San Andrés alumni are reviewed as instances of a nascent rhizomatic network. The first is Diego Sancho Hacho de Velasco, cacique of Latacunga, whose life trajectory is summarised as being crucial for early colonisation (greater emphasis is devoted to discussing his request to the king of a coat of arms for his family, an action that exemplifies the active indigenous agency in which the Franciscan education had a great influence). The second is Diego Lobato de Sousa, a *mestizo* and indigenous-tongue preacher, whose education and thought was marked by the early humanism of Franciscans and Dominicans. For that reason, his *Memorial de la visita a la Gobernación de Quijos* is reviewed to evidence his humanist position – as a defender of *indios* – which was framed as part of the Franciscan effort to consolidate colonial society. Finally, the fifth section discusses

the philosophical training and production of the *colegio San Buenaventura*, that from 1665 allowed the Franciscans to develop a systematic study of philosophy and especially the dissemination of the *Via Scoti*. Thus, the academic structure as well as the authors who were studied at the colegio are discussed, including a list of the manuscripts and treatises written by Franciscan professors in Quito.

4.1 Franciscans and early deterritorialisation: a historical account

Much of the creation of the *Audiencia de Quito* is due to the early action of the seraphic order that in seventy years was able to erect a complete network of convents and *doctrinas*. In this section, some details of this assemblage are provided. As mentioned before, Franciscans were a keystone for education and knowledge production in Spanish America, having founded the colegio of Tlatelolco in Mexico, the first of its kind (see Chapter 3). In the case of RAQ, they were the first order to arrive, even participating with friar Marcos de Niza in the conquering mission commanded by Sebastián de Benalcázar that founded the city of San Francisco de Quito on 6 December 1534. Shortly after, in late 1535, the friars, Jodoco Ricke, Pedro Gocial, and Alonso de Baena, arrived in Quito. They established the *Convento de San Pablo* in early 1536 (Compte, 1883, 1885; González Suárez, 1970; A. Moreno, 2001; Vargas, 1965b). It was the first religious institution in the Northern Andean region. Later, in 1548, seventeen friars arrived in Quito. They were distributed among the nascent *doctrinas* of Cotacollao, San Andrés de Chunchi, Otavalo, Pasto, Tixán, and Guano (A. Moreno, 2002), after the Council of Quito banned the Franciscans from building convents outside the city (see Rumazo González, 1934b). By 1552, Prince Phillip II ordered the Peruvian commissar of the Franciscans, Hernando de Armellones, to send twelve additional friars to Quito to support indigenous conversion and instruction (AGI, LIMA,567,L.7,F.239V). They performed a significant role in early evangelisation, as well as in the development of the Audiencia de Quito and its bishopric, founding several *doctrinas* and convents throughout RAQ (Figure 11), such as the nunnery of Franciscan Conceptionists in Quito (1577), the convent of San Bernardino in Popayán (1578), the nun monastery of *Inmaculada Concepción* in Pasto (1588), the convent of *Santa Clara* in Quito (1596), the nun monastery of *Nuestra*

Señora de las Nieves in Loja (1596), the nun monastery of *Limpia Concepción de Santa Ana* in Cuenca (1599), the convent of *Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles* in Guayaquil (1603), and the nun monastery of *Inmaculada Concepción* in Riobamba (1605) (Compte, 1883, 1885; Córdova Salinas, [1651] 1957; González Suárez, 1970). Moreover, the Franciscan order carried out several missions in remote areas within the Amazonian region, such as Sucumbíos, Putumayo, Quijos, Napo, and Maynas, including an exploratory mission to the Amazon river from 1632 to 1637 (see Córdova Salinas, 1957, Chap. XXXII-XXXIV).



Figure 11: Franciscan doctrinas and convents in RAQ (1650)
 Source: Rodríguez Docampo ([1650] 1897)

As Rex Galindo (2020) points out in his analysis of early Mexican conversion, the Franciscans built up a network of convents, churches, and parishes that quickly spread their evangelical programme among indigenous communities by following the strategy of turning the ever-increasing frontier missions into *doctrinas*, and custodies into independent provinces, just as happened in Quito during the first two centuries. Franciscans were indispensable for the ‘spiritual conquest’ of indigenous peoples in RAQ, something of which they were very aware, as the friar Bartolomé Ochoa de Alácano¹⁰⁹ claimed in 1739:

...después que los religiosos de mi sagrado instituto conquistaron espiritualmente a todos los indios infieles que habitaban las tierras llanas y descubiertas desde el Cabo de San Francisco (...), hasta las dilatadas regiones de los Pastos y Popayanes, (...), erigiendo todos los pueblos y doctrinas, que hasta el presente se conservan en todas las provincias, (...), habiendo medrado con el tiempo, el pasar, unas a ser villas y ciudades, y otras a ser cabeceras de Obispado, con la gloria de ver también logrados sus afanes, se enardecieron sus ánimos a continuar los propósitos de ganar para Dios más almas, y sujetar a la Majestad Católica más vasallos; y así se empeñaron en descubrir y conquistar las innumerables almas infieles y bárbaros que habitan las dilatadas orillas, islas y tierra firme que baña el gran río de San Francisco de Quito y su Provincia la Franciscana, en reconocimiento de haber sido sus primeros descubridores.... ([1739] 1886, pp. 38-39)¹¹⁰

4.2 San Andres: the early founding of a colegio in colonial Quito

This second section analyses the foundation of the first educational institution in RAQ: the *colegio San Andrés*, which was created to instruct indigenous elite and Spanish lower-class offspring. In this vein, the economic difficulties of the *colegio* and the conflicts that arose with other orders and the bishopric are summarised in order to evidence the unstable assemblage that was rising in Quito. Hence, a very important event for the spiritual conquest and its correlated deterritorialisation of Quito was the creation of the *colegio San Juan*

¹⁰⁹ He was lecturer of philosophy at the *Colegio de San Buenaventura* in Quito and provincial minister of the Franciscan order in 1725 and later in 1738 (Compte, 1883, 1885).

¹¹⁰ ...after the religious of my sacred institute spiritually conquered all the infidel Indians who inhabited the smooth and discovered lands from Cabo de San Francisco (...), to the extensive regions of Los Pastos and Popayanes, (...), erecting all the towns and doctrinas, which up to the present are preserved in all the provinces, (...), having grown [the towns] over time, passing, some to be villages and cities, and others to be bishopric heads, [the Franciscans] seeing the glory of achieving their toils, their spirits were inflamed to continue the purposes of winning more souls for God, and subjecting more vassals to the Catholic Majesty; and so they insisted on discovering and conquering the innumerable infidel and barbarian souls that inhabit the extensive shores, islands and mainland that bathes the great river of San Francisco de Quito [the Amazon river] and its Franciscan Province, in recognition of having been its first discoverers... (translation of the author).

Evangelista in 1552, to instruct the offspring of the indigenous elite including orphans, poor Spaniards, and *mestizos*. Among its first students were Francisco Topatauchi, Pedro de Zámbriza, Juan Sangolguí, and Alonso Ango (A. Moreno, 2002). Between 1555 and 1557¹¹¹, under the initiative of friar Francisco de Morales, it changed its name to *colegio San Andrés* after the viceroy, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, who was protector of the order and benefactor of the nascent institution (Castro & Fernández, 2011; Compte, 1883, 1885; A. Moreno, 2002; Tobar Donoso, 1953). As Morales (2010) emphasises, the Franciscans in America established their first contacts with indigenous communities in educational centres, which were erected alongside their friaries. The *colegio* was essential to stabilise the early colonial society after the violent conquest of Quito and the subsequent conflicts among the conquerors themselves. For example, it is noteworthy that two sons of Atahualpa, and one of Huayna-Capac, both former Inca emperors, were educated by the Franciscans (see AGI, LIMA,567,L.8,F.163V), who would later be key to the negotiation and pacification of various indigenous peoples, actions for which they received grants from the crown.

Although San Andrés was the first of its kind in South America – even before the *colegios* of Lima and Cusco – it should not be understood as an isolated effort, but as an element within a blossoming knowledge network. Fernández Rueda (2005) asserts that San Andrés was functional in the Franciscan missional project, based on a humanitarian approach and massive indoctrination, yet it was also part of an imperial project guided by acculturation and Spanish literacy. It is no coincidence that the Belgian friars, Jodoco Ricke and Peter Gosseal aka Pedro de Gocial, who played a fundamental role in defining the structure of San Andrés, were, before arriving in Quito, in Nicaragua during the first months of 1534, where they met with friar Toribio Paredes de Benavente aka Motolinía – one of the twelve founding apostles of México – with whom they would have shared the Franciscan experiences in *Nueva España* regarding indigenous education, particularly those of another religious Belgian, Peter of Ghent aka Pedro de Gante, one of the first missionaries to learn indigenous languages and to establish schools in the new world (A. Moreno, 2002). These shared educational experiences

¹¹¹ It is highly probable that the change of name took place during or after late 1557, because friar Francisco de Morales, in a *probanza* made before the governor, Gil Ramírez Dávalos, in July 1557, still refers to the *colegio* as *San Juan Evangelista* (see AGI, QUITO,46,N.4).

are evidenced by a letter sent to the king in 1552 by friar Francisco de Morales, who informed him that a *colegio* was founded in Quito following the experiences of *Nueva España*, which at that time required more clerics for it to function (AGI, QUITO,81,N.6).

The Franciscan enterprise was quite successful during the following years; so much so that in 1566, the king instructed, by request of the Council of Indies, to establish more Franciscan convents in the towns of RAQ to enhance the indoctrination of *naturales* (see Garces G., 1935). Thus explains the sudden growth of the Seraphic order in Quito, which by 1583 was the largest, having twenty-two *doctrinas* under its administration, whereas the Mercedarians had three, the Dominicans eight, the Augustinians two, and the secular clergy twenty (Atienza, [1583] 1897). But, despite its success, San Andrés faced resistance and difficulties from an early stage. Firstly, funding was a persistent drawback given the scarce resources of the order during the first years: in 1559 the viceroyalty of Lima allocated to the *colegio* four years' worth of tributes coming from the doctrinas of Alangasí, Pusulqui, and Parapuru (including the values obtained from the sale of a *negro* slave), an income that was replaced by a yearly 300 pesos 'favour' (*merced*) granted by Phillip II in 1562, after the doctrinas of Pusuqui and Parapuru were given to the *encomendero*, Francisco Ponce (Compte, 1882, 1883, 1885). Later, in 1564, Hernando de Santillán, first RAQ president, informed the king that royal commissioners had taken away the alms conceded by the viceroy, Hurtado¹¹². Subsequently, the *colegio*'s mission of conversion began to decline (AGI, QUITO,8,R.1,N.1, f.12,v.6). However, in 1565, friar Juan Cabezas de los Reyes, chaplain of the convent, 'begged' the king to grant some alms (*limosnas*) for the *colegio* after the rents, conceded by the viceroy, were cancelled two years earlier; a situation that put its existence at risk (AGI, QUITO,81,N.20). Apparently, after this, the *colegio* achieved some economic stability. In 1568, friar Alonso de las Casas, custodian of the order, asked for a royal grant of between 400 and 500 pesos, including a contribution of food for the increased members of the *colegio* (see AGI, QUITO,81,N.51, r.2); a petition that was welcomed by

¹¹² Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza died in 1560 and his successor Diego López de Zuñiga was murdered in 1564 starting thus a period of political instability in the Viceroyalty of Peru until the arrival of the viceroy Toledo in 1569.

the king, who ratified, in 1573, that San Andrés should receive tributes from *indios vacos*¹¹³ of 300 pesos for an additional period of four years (AGI, QUITO, 211, L.1, F.277R-277V).

Although funding was no longer the main issue, the colegio had to struggle with the opposition to indigenous education, as happened to the colegio of Tlatelolco in Mexico, and to the Franciscan mission in Quito. In 1567, only fifteen years after the opening of San Andrés, a *cédula real* required the Audiencia to provide information on the advisability of instructing *indios*, and the reasons why they were prevented from attending school (AGI, QUITO, 211, L.1, F.134R-134V). In this vein, one of the main obstacles for indigenous instruction were *encomenderos* and miners, who forbade their workers and caciques from leaving the *haciendas* and mines. In some towns, they refused to give the Franciscans the corresponding tributes, which also hampered them from founding their convents (González Suárez, 1970). For this reason, it was necessary, as early as 1553, for RAQ to issue a decree demanding *encomenderos* and *caciques* not to disturb the friars' work and to comply with their duties regarding tributes, indoctrination, and labour (Compte, 1882). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that resistance to indigenous instruction came not only from Spanish actors, but also from indigenous people who were struggling against forced literacy; many families hid their children so as not to send them to school (see Chapter 1).

On the other hand, bishop Pedro de la Peña Montenegro¹¹⁴, together with the other orders, began a dispute against the Franciscans that affected the normal operation of the colegio. It was probably because the *colegio* and its increasing importance could represent a threat to the interests of the bishopric in terms of having access to lands and influence over the population¹¹⁵. For instance, the *doctrinas* of Pusuquí and Parapuro that were granted to San Andrés by the viceroy Hurtado de Mendoza, were previously under the charge of the bishopric. In 1570, friar Domingo de Ugalde and the *escribano*, Alonso de Herrera, on behalf of bishop Pedro de la Peña, sent an *Instrucción* to the king informing him about RAQ conditions in which they claimed that San Andrés '*de ninguna cosa sirbe [sic] más de*

¹¹³ *Indios vacos* was referred to *doctrinas* or *encomiendas* which were not under the control of an *encomendero* and whose production was delivered directly to the Audiencia.

¹¹⁴ By 1570, for example, the bishopric had already instigated a process against friar Juan de Cabezas de los Reyes, guardian of the Franciscan convent, due to the content of his sermons (see AGI, QUITO, 76, N.8)

¹¹⁵ As later discussed, it will be the *caciques* themselves who will defend the action of the order in Quito.

*nombre de colexio*¹¹⁶, suggesting that it would be more beneficial for religious orders and clergymen to support a chair of *Gramática* with the same amount of tributes that the Franciscans received (AGI, PATRONATO, 189, R.34; ff.16-17, v.1-r.2). Likewise, RAQ and the bishopric moved away from the *doctrina* of Guano, which was administered by Franciscans for more than twenty years, to Riobamba, where *indios* could work for the Audiencia, a decision that was revoked by the royal court in 1572 (see Compte, 1882, pp. 82–84). Yet, it did not mean that the animosity with the bishopric was resolved; the Spanish court asked bishop Peña, in 1580, to explain why several *doctrinas* were taken away from the Franciscans to be given to ordained *mestizos* (AGI, QUITO, 209, L.1, F.52V-53R).

The dispute escalated the following year when RAQ informed the king that for the benefit of *indios* and the crown, the *colegio* was transferred to the Augustinians, as the Franciscans had decided to ‘leave’ it due to their own reasons and causes (AGI, QUITO,8,R.15,N.43, r.2). Nevertheless, and contrary to the version of the Audiencia, the Franciscans did not willingly leave San Andres¹¹⁷. This is evidenced by a letter dated March 1585, from the provincial attorney, friar Juan de Alcocer, who denounces the bishopric because they took away *doctrinas*, excommunicated some friars, and sent a commissioner to the colegio against the will of the *indios* and the order. He asked the king to restore the *doctrinas* and the colegio, and to continue the instruction of *naturales* who were no longer attending the indoctrination (AGI, QUITO, 82, N.48). In June 1585, two *cédulas reales* were issued from Spain: the first, requesting information from RAQ about the intention of the Augustinian order to be confirmed in the possession of the colegio San Andrés (AGI, QUITO,211,L.2,F.141V-142R); the second, requesting a report about the controversy between Franciscans and Augustinians, highlighting that the former were suggesting that the Audiencia was influenced by the bishop to favour the latter, and in this vein, they were asking to have the colegio back (AGI, QUITO,211,L.2,F.141R-141V). Nevertheless, despite this royal initiative, San Andrés was retained by the Augustinians, who changed its name to *San Nicolás de Tolentino*. According to Lepage (2008), the San Andrés’ closure pointed to a rebalancing of the power

¹¹⁶ It is of no use, except as a school name (translation of the author)

¹¹⁷ Hartmann y Oberem (1981) state that according to official documents, bishop Peña would have attempted to induce friar Pedro Rangel, Franciscan vice commissioner, to close the colegio, appealing to the argument that it was no longer necessary since most of the region has been sufficiently introduced in Christianity and moral polity.

relationships between the regular and secular religious, so that such a transfer was an attempt to undermine the Franciscan influence in Quito in favour of an order of newcomers. However, in terms of Vargas (1965b), the Seraphic order willingly left the colegio to prioritise the administration of their thirty-seven doctrines, conceded by bishop Peña Montenegro in 1568. Finally, the order continued to indoctrinate and instruct in their network of convents throughout the Audiencia. In 1655, the *Colegio San Buenaventura* was (re)opened¹¹⁸ in Quito to give higher education, but this time, for *mestizos*, *criollos*, and Spaniards, being devoted to chairs of Theology and particularly to studies on Duns Scotus as later discussed.

4.3 San Andrés: a node of colonial assembling

The guidelines of San Andrés are described in this section. First letters, doctrine, crafts, and trades were the priorities of the Friars Minor, yet it was never thought solely as a colegio but was envisioned as a node for territorial and religious expansion. For that reason, its deep relation to the network of *doctrinas* is stressed. Thus, according to several authors (Compte, 1882; González Suárez, 1970; A. Moreno, 2002), San Andrés was thought of as a colegio of first letters, doctrine, arts, and trades: *indios* were taught Christian doctrine, Spanish, Latin, *lengua del inga*, to play instruments, sing in choirs, plough the land, build agricultural tools, combine agriculture techniques and products, masonry, painting, sculpture, and a series of indispensable trades for a new society. As happened with schools in Mexico, the Franciscan education in RAQ was based on a ‘humanist formation’ including a practical theology, the seek for the good, anthropological optimism, and freedom vindication (Lázaro Pulido, 2011). Guerra Bravo (2021) claims that such a philosophical tradition could be defined as a ‘Renaissance Scholasticism’ during the period 1534-1594, which was characterised by the filtering of some humanistic elements within the Scholastic tradition from Spain that included Aquinas, Scotus, and Suárez. In this context, Tobar Donoso (1953) asserts that early Franciscan education in Quito was divided into three educational blocks: (1) reading, writing,

¹¹⁸ *Compte (1883, 1885) affirms that this colegio was first established between 1550 and 1557 but was destroyed soon after by an earthquake.*

and catechism; (2) Latin and Spanish grammar, and (3) crafts and mechanical trades. In this vein, friar Juan Cabezas de los Reyes informed the king in 1568 that,

...los naturales an sido y son muy aprovechados en la música, leer, y escrevir [sic] y latinidad de lo qu[al] n[uest]ro s[eñ]or es muy servido y toda esta pr[ovinci]a y civdad muy aprovechada porque de aquí salen cantores y habilidades [sic] q[ue] sirven los divinos officios en todas las demás yglesias sin los quales no se haría por la gran penuria que ay de clérigos y sacerdotes... (AGI, QUITO,81,N.20, r.1)¹¹⁹

This shows that the Seraphic order never thought of San Andrés only as a colegio; it was also conceived as a node for territorial and religious expansion. Students were educated not only to consolidate the lettered city, but also to assist or replace the always scarce friars in the growing network of *doctrinas*. An outstanding characteristic of RAQ was its permanent contact among *doctrinas* and educational institutions in what constitutes the aforementioned ‘indigenous lettered city’: literate caciques were in charge of teaching doctrine, crafts, and first letters in their towns. In this way, Moreno (2002) claims that they were really the ones who shaped the identity of Quito, developing the pueblos and cities to come. It means that colonial reterritorialisation of the Northern Andean region was mainly carried out by Franciscan Indigenous alumni whose work was essential to the ‘republic’. This is evidenced by the previously quoted letter of friar Alonso de las Casas, who states the following:

Los naturales an sido enseñados en las cosas pertenecientes a su salvación y de muchas buenas costumbres y habilidades para poder bibir [sic] christiana y chatholicamente y la rrepublica desta ciudad y de toda esta provincia [h]a sido muy aprovechada porq[ue] de aquí [h]an salido oficiales de todos officios y indios q[ue] saben la lengua española mediante los quales se puede enseñar a los indios q[ue] no la saben la doctrina y en especial sería esto de mas utilidad si se tuviese cuidado de traer al collegio indios de diferentes lenguas q[ue] ai[sic] muchas en este distrito q[ue] no se entienden con la lengua general del inga porq[ue] estos aprenderían la española y la del inga y servirían de interpretes con las d[ic]has naciones q[ue] de otra manera es imposible poderlos convertir... (AGI, QUITO, 81, N.51, r51)¹²⁰.

¹¹⁹ *Naturales have been and are very skilled in music, reading, writing, and Latin, of which our Lord is greatly served, and this whole province and city take advantage of it, since from here [the colegio] come out chanters and artisans who serve the divine offices in all the churches, without whom it would not be done due to the lack of clerics and priests... (translation of the author).*

¹²⁰ *The naturales have been taught in the things pertaining to their salvation and in many good customs and abilities to be able to live in the Christian and Catholic way. The republic of this city and of the whole province has taken advantage of this, since from here [the colegio] have come out craftsmen of all crafts and indios that know the Spanish language, through which is possible to teach the indios who do not know the doctrine. It would be especially more useful if care was taken to bring indios of different tongues, of which there are so many in this district, that are not understood with the lengua general*

The catholic salvation was not limited to religious matters, but it was related to a ‘way of living’ which included a set of rules and codes that demanded *visitadores*, craftsmen, interpreters, preachers, coadjutors, caciques, artists, and teachers; all were instructed by Franciscans. Furthermore, the intention of educating *indios* with different tongues – apart from being a duty dictated by the first Quitense synod – responded to the civilising project that was always expanding itself. It was indispensable to imbue other cultures with the colonising codes by entangling them in the knowledge network; a process that was more effective with the participation of *indios* as intermediaries for such overcoding, otherwise it was an impossible mission, as Alonso de las Casas stated.

It is also worth mentioning that the Seraphic order had a long tradition regarding the codification of non-European languages in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia; Therefore, the systematisation of indigenous languages – understood as an overcoding strategy – was not a mere coincidence in Quito. As McClure (2019) asserts, the Franciscans from the thirteenth century, by means of their missional travels, produced knowledge about the people and places of the world. Especially important was their extensive network of convents which facilitated the movement of scholars, skills, and manuscripts that enabled the order to achieve a great knowledge about languages and linguistics, something which traced back to Ramon Lull and Roger Bacon. Therefore, what Morales (2010) asserts about Franciscans in *Nueva España* could also be applied to the order in Quito, in the sense that the translation of the holy scripture into ancestral languages was an expression of a close relationship between the so-called *devotio moderna* and humanism, which sought to build solid bases for conversion and an indigenous mysticism that sympathised with the seraphic tradition. Thus, the main function of San Andrés was not indigenous instruction itself, but an early colonial intermediation which required indigenous instruction. However, this does not mean that the colegio did not perform other functions at RAQ, such as a centre of arts, or an outstanding centre for Quitense architecture (see Castro & Fernández, 2011; Lepage, 2007, 2008; Stevenson, 1962).

del inga, because [they] would learn Spanish and that of the inga to serve as interpreters with those nations, otherwise, it is impossible to convert them (translation of the author).

4.4 The colonial intermediation: two cases of early Franciscan alumni

This section discusses the contribution of early Franciscan students in Quito, some of whom became friars, missionaries, and fluent caciques preaching in local tongues, producing evangelising material, schooling, and mediating between indigenous peoples and colonial society. In this context, two outstanding San Andres alumni are studied. The first is Diego Sancho Hacho de Velasco, cacique of Latacunga, who was crucial for early colonisation by giving greater emphasis to discussing his request with the king for a coat of arms for his family; an example of the active indigenous agency in which the Franciscan education had a great impact. The second is Diego Lobato de Sousa, a *mestizo* and indigenous tongue preacher, whose education and thought was marked by the early humanism coming from Franciscans and Dominicans. His *Memorial de la visita a la Gobernación de Quijos* is analysed in order to evidence his humanist position – as a defender of *indios* – which was framed by the Franciscan action to consolidate colonial society.

The formation of an intellectual indigenous elite at San Andres gave some early results. Some of the best students were recruited as teachers, such as Diego Hernández (who was chapel master), Pedro Díaz from Tanda, Juan Mitima from Latacunga, Cristóbal Collaguazo from Quito, Juan Oña from Cotocollao, Diego Guana from Conocoto, Antonio Fernández from Guangopolo, and Sancho from Pisulí (A. Moreno, 2002). This strategy gave the friars the option to prioritise the evangelisation of recently conquered regions and the administration of their doctrinas, instead of investing time for indigenous instruction. Likewise, indigenous instruction enabled Franciscans to enhance their intellectual and missional production, since friars and lettered *indios* used to write confessional writings, pamphlets, sermons, catechisms, manuals, and treatises that became functional to the new setting by spreading doctrine, letters, and normative knowledge (Rex Galindo, 2020).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the precise number of San Andres' alumni; however, according to a letter written by some caciques¹²¹, there were about 200 students, of

¹²¹ This letter is dated 1595 and was sent to king Phillip to acknowledge the work carried out by the Seraphic order in favour of indigenous evangelisation, which was free and respectful of indios; among the caciques who signed it are Diego de Figueroa Cajamarca, Ventura de San Francisco, Francisco Morocho, and Pedro Sotali (see A. Moreno, 2002, p. 29)

which Moreno (2002) provides some of their names and offices (Appendix 2). Once the studies were finished, these lettered indigenous people used to return to their hometowns as caciques for the teaching of catechism, first letters, and the organisation of towns and *doctrinas*. It is not coincidental then, that some of these caciques came from *doctrinas* under Franciscan supervision, such as Cotocollao, Otavalo, Caranqui, Mulaló, Latacunga, Calacalí, and many towns near Quito. Nonetheless, former San Andres students enjoyed economic and political independence from the order, which sought to promote liberty and professional identity as a way of providing students with the ability to ‘manoeuvre’ the colonial system (Lepage, 2008). Thus, in this subsection, we attempt to evidence the agency that these students performed for colonial intermediation in RAQ, for which two cases of well-known students, Sancho Hacho and Diego Lobato, are detailed.

4.4.1 Sancho Hacho, a mediator cacique

Tacunango Hacho, baptised as Diego Sancho Hacho de Velasco, was cacique of Latacunga and probably related to the Inca elite, whose role was crucial for the conquest of Quito and subsequent colonisation. He defined himself as one of the most old and principal caciques of the provinces of Peru, collaborating with the crown since the clash against the Incas: *‘fui enprender [sic] los yngas y tube [sic] en mi cassa pressos hasta que dieron la obediencia a su mag[estad]’*¹²² (AGI, QUITO, 46, N.49, r2), thus acting against Rumiñahui (captain of Atahualpa, the Inca emperor) in his struggles during 1534. Later, and for almost five decades until 1587, Sancho Hacho was a close ally of the Spaniards (Mejía Salazar, 2015; AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216; Oberem, 1993). Between 1545 and 1546 he supported viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela against Gonzalo Pizarro in the battle of Iñaquito, providing 200 soldiers and settlements for troops in his hometown. In 1547, captain Rodrigo de Salazar received from Hacho provisions and men to join Pedro de la Gasca in order to finish the conflict with Pizarro; the cacique of Latacunga also had an active participation in the conquest of the region of Quijos. In the eastern region of RAQ, in 1558, he arranged a meeting between the governor, Gil Ramirez Dávalos, and his brother-in-law, the cacique of

¹²² “I kept the Incas prisoners in my house until they gave obedience to His majesty” (translation of the author).

Atunquijos, in order to settle the Quijos pacification, which had a successful ending when in 1559, the city of Baeza was founded; as was the city of Tena, in 1560 (it had Hacho as one of the organisers who provided 200 men and provisions for said mission). However, in 1562, the *indios* of Baeza rose up because of bad treatment and abuses, forcing governor Melchor Vásquez Dávila to ask Sancho to act as mediator, for which he invested 3000 gold pesos in gifts and moved 200 men to Quijos. In 1566, forty soldiers were provided by the cacique, who also partook in the mission, to support the pacification of Lita, whose inhabitants rebelled against Spaniard dominion. Finally, Sancho Hacho participated in the Spanish led foundation of the towns of Pujilí and Pomasqui in 1573, and in 1580 he was appointed *alcalde de naturales* until his death in 1587.

In 1548, Hacho learned about and took advantage of Spanish institutions. He claimed land around the city from the Cabildo de Quito to build houses for himself and his *indios*, since his previous lands had been distributed among the Spaniards (Rumazo González, 1934a). A yet more outstanding action took place in 1559, when Hacho began a request in the Spanish court, asking for grants for his services to the king; among them, an annual rent for 1000 pesos from the tributes of Latacunga, a tax reduction for his *indios*, permission to carry weapons and “*dos negros con espadas*” for his personal defence, authorisation for moving freely to Quito, restitution of the lands taken from him and his *naturales*, and the concession of a coat of arms (Figure 12) (AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216, ff.6, 11). Later, in 1575, he asked for an exemption from tributes and forced labour for his sons, and a royal confirmation for an *encomienda* in the town of Cocque, which was conceded in 1563 for his actions in the Quijos province (AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216, ff.4,8). Moreover, in 1564, Sancho settled a commercial association with cacique Juan de Latacunga, and the Spaniard Andrés de Vallagera for the establishment of an “*obrajes de paños*” (clothing factory) in Latacunga (see ‘Contrato Sobre La Fundación de Un Obraje de Paños En Latacunga’, 1993); and after the Quijos pacification, fifty miners were sent, paid by him, to take advantage of the region (AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216, f.4). Hacho’s will mentions lands and properties – including houses, fullers (*batán*), a mill, a hat factory – in more than twenty-three places; among them were Latacunga, Patate, Guaranda, Cotocollao, Quito, and San Miguel.

It is well-known that Sancho Hacho was educated by the Franciscan order in the first decade of Quito's colonisation. It is very likely that he was instructed by friar Jodoco Ricke, as Moreno (2001) asserts, but unlikely that he was a student at San Andrés, as Moreno claims elsewhere (2002). A citizen of Baeza testifies the following in one of Hacho's requests at court: '[él] *es de mucha rrazón e muy ladino dela lengua española e ha visto que se ha criado con frayles y españoles y los cargos que ha tenido a ssido por medio de esta real audiencia*'¹²³ (AGI, QUITO, 46, N.49, r2). Without a doubt, the offices and responsibilities undertaken by Hacho required at least an advanced literacy and knowledge of Christian doctrine; in fact, his Christian marriage to Francisca Sinasigchi, also cacica of Latacunga, was blessed by bishop García Dias Arias, who would not have married two unconverted people. Evidence of his instruction is the long-lasting relationship with the seraphic order: Latacunga, the district under his rule had a Franciscan convent that administered several doctrines (see Figure 11) in which Sancho had lands such as San Miguel, Pujilí, and Mulaló. Likewise, the towns he helped to found, Pomasqui and Pujilí, became Franciscan doctrines. On the other hand, the cacique trusted the order with his personal and business affairs. For instance, his commercial alliance with the clothing factory had as its witnesses friar Francisco de Morales, one of the founders of San Andrés, and the Dominican friars Jeronimo de Cervantes and Diego Jiménez. However, what is even more noteworthy is that the Guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Latacunga was in charge of keeping a key to the factory to control a fair distribution of the production among partners and workers ('Contrato Sobre La Fundación de Un Obraje de Paños En Latacunga', 1993), something for which the order surely received a benefit. In 1578, Hacho gave a power of attorney to friar Juan de Viveros, prior of the Augustinian order, and friar Francisco de Morales, to be represented at the court in Spain (AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216, f.10). Finally, in his will, he asked to be buried in the Chapel of the Franciscan convent of Latacunga wearing the habit of Saint Francis, and to give (under his expenses) fifty masses in his name at the Franciscan convent in Quito, to provide alms from his assets to the Franciscan order and to the priests of his district, and to bequest to his relatives the seats that he possessed in the convents of Quito and Latacunga.

¹²³ [He] is of great reason and very ladino of the Spanish tongue, and he has been raised by friars and Spaniards, having all his offices because of this real audiencia (translation of the author).

Some scholars (Estupiñán Viteri, 2018; Villalba Freire, 2001c) sketch Sancho Hacho as a traitor of the Incas for his collaboration with the Spaniards during Rumiñahui's resistance. However, such a stance ignores the tensions typical of a moment of social collapse and the existing rivalries against the Inca empire in the Northern Andean region – not all were Incas, nor did they want to be – and even the particular interests of indigenous peoples. Besides, the trajectory of Sancho Hacho does not imply a complete submission to the colonial rule, since there was a sort of resistance that was looking to defend his own interest, or what Stern ([1987] 2003) calls 'resistant adaptation' which implies that some Indigenous accommodated themselves to colonial rule in order to assume a political role within both societies the colonial and the indigenous, without giving up their interests and protection, and even resisting elements from the regime. From another standpoint, Sancho could be defined as a 'social climber' in the sense that some Indigenous occupied relevant (civil and religious) positions as a sort of alliance with the regime, a condition that enabled to some individuals – beyond customary indigenous society – to amass wealth and power and, therefore, to climb within both indigenous and colonial setting (Spalding, 1970). Then, the colonial order offered opportunities to marginal individuals by decoding the traditional kin ties giving greater relevance to economic and political matters (see Chapter 2). It is precisely these confusing and ambiguous kinds of events that the rhizomatic character of the colonial order relies on. In this vein, Sancho Hacho could be seen as an intermediary between the assembling worlds; something to which can be added the drawing of his coat of arms (Figure 12)



Figure 12: Coat of arms of the Hacho family
 Source: AGI, MP-ESCUDOS,216

Clearly, there could be several interpretations of Hacho's coat of arms, yet the description provided by himself in the request gives us some hints. The upper right-hand part contains a '*hombre armado con un estandarte Real en la mano*', which for Mejía Salazar (2015) represents an *alferez*, i.e., the man who carried the battalion pennant. The position is not fortuitous, as it might symbolise Hacho's compliance with the Spanish armies to which he had served, and especially to the king, because the *alferez* in medieval Spain was the mission commander when the monarch was absent. Therefore, given the royal absence in Quito, the imperial power was represented by the *conquistadores* who were actually leading the colonisation to which Sancho was loyal. The upper left-hand part depicts '*unos indios con sus flechas q[ue] vienen de guerra*'. It seems from the graphic itself that the indigenous army is following the *alferez*'s lead; a scene that denotes Hacho's services to the Spaniards and all his efforts and expenses during the conquering missions. The inferior, right-hand square portrays '*un caballo blanco ensillado y enfrenado con una lanza (...) con un indio de su color que le tiende rienda*'.

According to Mejía Salazar (2015), the horse represents the services provided by the cacique of Latacunga, remembering the time when Hacho's men opened the roads for the horses during the pacification of Quijos. We can add that the horse could also indicate the role and position of Hacho as cacique. During early colonisation, *indios* were not allowed to have or ride horses. However, due to his services and his important political position, Sancho had horses and some privileges – as mentioned earlier, he asked permission to carry guns and have his own security. In the grants petition at court, it was emphasised that Hacho provided money, services, men, and horses, being a good and loyal vassal (AGI, MP-ESCUDOS, 216, f.6). Thus, one can argue that the best way to portray Sancho's authority and relevance was to characterise his privilege to ride a horse, which is guided by an indigenous man and not by a Spanish soldier. The inferior, left-hand part presents '*un león puesto en salto con una espada en la mano*'. Mejía Salazar, in this case, suggests that the lion symbolises the warrior spirit highlighted by the sword in its hand, an element that also rings the coat of arms in its upper part. Furthermore, the lion, which is not indigenous to America, has always been part of the royal heraldry; something that could be interpreted as an example of Sancho's assimilation of Spanish codes. In conclusion, there is no image of the submission or surrender

of Sancho Hanco and the people he represented, but on the contrary, it is the representation of an active indigenous agency that sought to permeate the conquering codes, a 'resistant adaptation' that enabled *caciques*, *kurakas*, and elite indigenous to permeate the colonial system and to exercise a political role within their spheres; a process over which the Franciscan educational establishment undoubtedly had a great influence.

4.4.2 Diego Lobato de Sousa: a mestizo defender of indios

Diego Lobato de Sosa Yarupalla was born in 1541, in Quito. His father was captain Juan Lobato, one of the first conquerors of Quito together with Sebastián de Benalcázar. His mother was Isabel Yarupalla, "*una de las mujeres más principales de Atagualpa ynga*" (AGI, QUITO, 83, N.41, v.4). He received an elementary education at San Andrés with the Franciscans. Later, he studied grammar, logic, philosophy, and theology at the Dominican convent¹²⁴, together with the friar, Pedro Bedon. He completed his ecclesiastical studies at the cathedral of Quito where he spent most of his career from 1549 holding various positions: organ player, choir singer, choir director, sacristan, priest, chapel master, majordomo, and priest rector (Corbalán, 2018; González Suárez, 1970; Oberem, 1981). Referring to the education he received from the Franciscans, Lobato stated, during a testimonial in favour of a former San Andres fellow, the cacique Pedro de Zambiza:

Se crío e yndustrio en las cossas de nuestra sancta fee catholica en el monasterio de señor sant francisco de esta mi ciudad en el colexio dee donde aprendio a leer y escribir y el canto de órgano y otrs ejercicios virtuossos (AGI, QUITO, 26, N.15, r.48)

Lobato was given an instruction; for instance, in 1567, he was paid a salary by the cathedral for producing some embroideries and capes (Corbalán, 2018), surely a trade he learnt at San Andres. However, despite his training and education, Lobato's ordination was problematical given his position as mestizo. It was not until the arrival of bishop Pedro de la

¹²⁴ According to Vargas (1965a, p. 22) there is a 1554 copy of the *Summulae* by Domingo Soto in the Dominican convent in Quito that has an annotation by Lobato which says 'Comencé a oir *Súmulas* el 16 de Agosto del año de 1575'. Unfortunately, we have not been able to access the Dominican library in Quito due to a process of restoration in the convent.

Peña – with whom he maintained a close relationship – that he was ordained circa 1566¹²⁵, the same year he was appointed as the cathedral sacristan (Garces G., 1946a). As a priest, he was in charge of the parish of San Blas in Quito and also of the *doctrinas* of Cotocollao and Cumbayá, and due to his knowledge of the Inca tongue, bishop Peña appointed him as general preacher of naturales; a position that he held his entire life. In 1582, bishop Peña nominated Lobato to be one of the provincial representatives in the Third Limense Council. However, the Quitense provincial council rejected him for the position of mestizo due to his close relationship with Peña, which irregularly allowed him to obtain his position as the cathedral majordomo (Garces G., 1946b). The second Quitense synod in 1594, elected Lobato as general examiner of the *lengua del inga*, and later, in 1600, he was designated *visitador general* by bishop Lopez de Solís. Similar to Sancho Hacho, Lobato de Sosa acted several times as a mediator among Spaniards and indigenous peoples: he, together with Francisco Atahualpa, son of the Inca emperor, visited the Cañaris people in the RAQ southern region between 1578 and 1579, to prevent them from joining the uprising of the Quijos province (Hartmann, 1996). In 1590, Lobato accompanied the officer, Diego Suárez de Figueroa, in the funding campaign for the holy crusades in the provinces of Panzaleo, Latacunga, Ambato, Puruhaes, Riobamba, and Chimbo, collecting a total of 10,000 pesos for the king (see AGI, QUITO,83,N.41, r.3). In 1600, he was commissioned to carry out a *visita* to the Gobernación de Quijos, from which he wrote a memorial that is discussed below.

We suggest defining Lobato de Sosa as a mestizo defender of *indios* for his actions and for his education and thought. He had the opportunity to be instructed and influenced by the early Franciscan humanism that guided the colegio San Andres, and the ‘condescend humanism’ of Dominicans that outlined the aforesaid first Quitense synod; both clearly marked by Aristotelianism and Scholasticism (see Chapter 2). Lobato himself stated that he studied logic, philosophy, and theology, but he did not graduate as bachelor because he was poor and could not afford the transfer to the University of Lima, which was 300 *leguas* from Quito. Notwithstanding this, he used to preach and argue in public squares and churches in

¹²⁵ However, in one of his grant requests to the king, Lobato reported in 1592 that he was ordained 24 years ago (see AGI, QUITO,83,N.41, v.4).

favour of *indios* (AGI, QUITO, 83, N.41, v.4). Lobato's experience was also acknowledged by Spaniards. Ferrer de Ayala, an RAQ officer, testified in a grant request that the cleric was a '*buen latino y leído en materias scholasticas y morales*', whose good preaching benefited *naturales* (AGI, QUITO, 48, N.35, v.3). For instance, Lobato advocated persuasion instead of violence and enslavement as an effective strategy for persuading indigenous people to accept the king's authority and their conversion; an approach that he used for the holy crusade campaign and the cañaris agreement (AGI, QUITO,83,N.41, r.3). Likewise, freedom of *naturales* was out of scope for him; rather, it was something that *indios* and Spaniards 'should understand' by complying with the provisions in force, whose breaches were underlined as the main cause of the dismal condition of RAQ inhabitants (AGI, QUITO, 83, N.18).

Much of his thought is expressed in the Memorial of the *visita* to the Gobernación of Quijos (AGI, QUITO, 25, N.52), in which some 'remedies' are suggested for the good treatment of indigenous people and their conversion: (1) to concentrate the scattered indigenous population in one or two towns, having their own caciques; (2) a ban on priests from having *obrajes*, *granjerías*, properties, and employing *mitayos* for their personal benefit; (3) *encomenderos* should live in neighbouring areas and should not leave *escuderos* or *indios yanaconas* in their place, because the latter abused the *naturales*; (4) all *indios* are free and should be well treated so that they do not rise up, having the right to live in their lands or in other cities, to be free from work to attend the doctrine, and not to pay excessive tributes.

In this context, the missional work of Lobato de Sosa should not be understood as an isolated effort to improve the *indios*' life conditions, but as an articulated action following the Franciscan practise in order to consolidate colonial society. He, like most of the thinkers of his time, supported Spanish rule in the new world and even backed the encomienda system, yet his humanist instruction favoured the vindication of minimum life conditions for *indios* to prevent a social collapse. Although Lobato faced difficulties in his career and had restricted access to royal grants due to being a mestizo, it was precisely this condition that gave him the opportunity to act as a mediator between indigenous and Spanish codes. This is why bishop Peña quickly ordained at least nine mestizo priests in the first years of his bishopric (see AGI, QUITO, 80, N.19). In conclusion, Lobato's work as an indigenous-tongue preacher

was essential for early colonial overcoding; a *conditio sine qua non* for the unfolding of RAQ since the study and systematisation of local tongues allowed the achievement of a certain political stability through negotiation with unconquered or rebel peoples. Besides, evangelisation was only possible by the overcoding of language¹²⁶; a process in which the Franciscan order was a pioneer, because doctrinas and convents became the zones of contact between the assembling worlds.

4.5 Philosophy and higher studies in the Franciscan order

This section analyses the teaching and production of philosophy in Quito by the Franciscans during the colonial period; particularly in the *colegio San Buenaventura* from its reopening in 1665, that allowed the seraphic order to develop a systematic study of philosophy, and mainly the dissemination of the *Via Scoti*. Thus, the academic structure and the friars who lectured at the colegio are discussed. A list of the manuscripts and treatises written by Franciscan professors in Quito is also provided, emphasising authors, manuscripts, and debates from the second half of the eighteenth century, when the order engaged with the so-called modernising Scholasticism.

It is noteworthy that philosophy in early colonial Quito was focused on European medieval philosophy and its various Scholastic currents, which had to face the humanist inquiries that followed the conquest and early colonisation of the new world. For this reason, the ‘Scholasticism with humanist overtones’ that emerged in Quito was not an academic philosophy but rather a system of thought disseminated in legal pleading and official documents (Guerra Bravo, 2021). Indeed, some early philosophical production in RAQ is found in ecclesiastical documents such as the aforementioned Quitense synodal constitutions, as well as memorials written by clerics and officers. In the case of Franciscans, this situation changed when the colegio San Buenaventura was reopened in 1655 (probably after the General Chapter of the order, celebrated in Rome in 1639, that ordered the creation of studies in logic, philosophy, theology, and grammar, in the provinces where they did not exist (see

¹²⁶ An example of Lobato’s work as a local-tongue examiner is a 1604 grant request from the cleric Francisco del Castillo de Figueroa, which contains the evaluation and approval of Lobato regarding his skills in *lengua del inga*; a document that allowed him to become vicar of the town of Tumbaco (see AGI, QUITO,85,N.24, r.5)

Cozzae, 1718)). Such an important event allowed the Seraphic order to enter into the so-called ‘Scholastic renewal’ of Quito that began in 1594 and lasted until 1688, in which the most studied scholars were Gabriel Vázquez, Luis de Molina, Gregorio de Valencia, Antonio Rubio, John of St. Thomas, among others (Guerra Bravo, 2021).

Franciscan philosophical work was characterised by the influence of Duns Scotus, whose thought became the official doctrine for the order in 1633 when the General Chapter of Toledo assumed the so-called *Via Scoti*, which defined the compulsory reading of the Scottish philosopher for theology and philosophy (Cozzae, 1718). However, as Lazaro Pulido (2011) states, throughout the Scholastic period, the Seraphic order progressively structured a philosophical tradition, so that some university chairs¹²⁷ assumed Thomism or Nominalism as a philosophical project of its own. Then, the *Via Scoti* and the Franciscan curriculum was not the result of a single Chapter decision, for instance, the 1500 General Chapter already decided to include in the *studiis generalibus* the Sentences of Duns Scotus, in addition to Alexander de Hales, Saint Bonaventure, Francis of Mayrone (aka Franciscus de Mayronis), and Ricardus de Mediavilla (Vaginari, 1650). Thus, the Seraphic order supported an educational curriculum – the *studium generale* – which was mainly theological and Scholastic, i.e., regularly teaching biblical studies, lecturing standard theological works such as the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard or one of the *Quaestiones* of Duns Scotus, and holding disputations and public speeches on selected topics (Mulchahey & Noone, 2002). Furthermore, the 1563 General Chapter in Salamanca established that to study made part of the *schola virtutum* as Scotus claimed, so that those able to lecture grammar should study for three years; likewise, the 1565 General Chapter in Valladolid recognised that the *artium studium* were important, exhorting the friars to promote the studies, *cum scientia sit donum Dei*. The Naples General Chapter in 1590 expressly decided that lecturers in universities should offer every single day a lecture on Scotus; then, the 1593 Chapter in Valladolid ratified that Saint Bonaventura and Scotus should be preferred, choosing thus authors who are convenient and suitable for *doctrinam Scoti*, a similar decision was taken in the 1621

¹²⁷ As Lazaro Pulido (2011) points out there was a chair on Scotism at Salamanca university from the fifteenth century, besides in Spain there was a long-lasting tradition on Scotism that goes back to the XIV century (see Muñiz Rodríguez, 1996), not even to mention the discussion about Scotism and the foundation of the Alcala university in the fifteenth century (see Prieto López, 2018).

Intermediate Chapter in Segovia. As abovementioned, the 1633 chapter in order to “...conseruetur etiam in Ordine nostro uniformitas Philosophicarum sentētarium Subtilissimi nostril Doctoris”¹²⁸ decided to commission a *Artium cursum in Scoti doctrina* (Vaginari, 1650, p. 697).

Afterwards, the 1639 chapter also established that every ‘general studies’ course should have two lectures on logic and philosophy, one lecture on theology, and another on moral theology. Thus, the academic itinerary of a student began with logic, continued with philosophy, and ended with theology. Between each course, the approval of an exam, before three examiners, was required. The courses of logic and philosophy lasted three years in which the lecturer had to read “*buoni filosofi e la dottrina di Scoto*”. The theology course lasted four years, in which the four books of Scotus’ sentences could be complemented by ‘*S. Bonaventura, ed altri approvati Scolastici, servendosi soprattutto de Santi Padri, e Concilii...*’ (Cozzae, 1718, f. 39). Later, the 1651 General Chapter established that every *colegio* should have a lecture on *Artium Liberalium*, in which the first book of Porphyry’s *Preadicabilium*, the second book of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, and the third book of *Physics* should be studied. Moreover, as was usual for that time, the lecturer was encouraged to follow a ‘*cursum*’ based on the ‘*probatoribus Doctoribus*’, which considered the most modern writings of Scotus (Ib., ff. 72-73).

Such a programme was implemented in America. In Quito, the *colegio* San Buenaventura based its higher studies on those guidelines for the forthcoming friars, and later it was also followed, from 1699, at the so-called *Colegio de Misioneros* in Pomasqui, a town near Quito, which was devised for the novitiate, having chairs of theology, philosophy, and indigenous language. Thus, Franciscan philosophical teaching in Quito was focused on Scotism until at least the late seventeenth century, as evidenced by manuscripts written by San Buenaventura professors and alumni. Nonetheless, as Morales (2010) asserts, some works of Saint Bonaventure were also emphasised in the new world, such as the *Speculum disciplinae ad*

¹²⁸ “ to preserve also within out order the uniformity of the philosophical sentences of our Subtle doctor...” (translation of the author).

*novitios*¹²⁹, and the *Teología mística*¹³⁰. The first was a sort of guide for young men looking to become a friar; the second was an introduction to the three classical ways of reaching a divine mystical experience: purgative, illuminative, and unitive (Morales, 2010). In this vein, the seminal works of Compte (1883, 1885), Herrera (1895), and Redmond (1972) enable us to offer a list containing some of the manuscripts and treatises produced either by Franciscan lecturers or compiled from their Art courses by students, evidencing the important Seraphic philosophical work that took place in Quito¹³¹.

Bartolomé Rubio was provincial and founder of the *convento de San Diego* in 1598. One treatise of his authorship is known:

- *Disputatio unica de praedestinationibus.*

Pedro Mon was lecturer in the San Diego convent, he wrote one treatise:

- *De Sacra Scriptura et ejus sensibus aliquibusque quaestionibus breves disputationes, ad mentem D. Augustini aliorumque Doctorum, per R.P.Fr. Petrum Mon, subtilitate atque solita claritate accuratissime tractatae in S. Didaci Conventu.*

Dionisio Guerrero, was originary from Spain. He was lecturer of *Prima* from 1666 in the *convento máximo*, and was elected Provincial in 1675, having a relevant participation in the reopening of the *colegio San Buenaventura*. His preserved manuscript is:

- *Declaración del Patronazgo del Colegio de San Buenaventura de Quito. Derechos y privilegios del.*

¹²⁹ According to Morales (2010), there are several Spanish versions of this work in Mexico and several commentaries written in Nueva España.

¹³⁰ This work had three versions printed in Mexico during the sixteenth century: 1549, 1575 and 1594 (see Morales, 2010)

¹³¹ Due to the COVID-19 restrictions, it was not possible to visit the Franciscan historical archive in Quito, for which, the following information regarding manuscripts and treatises relies on the works of Compte (1883, 1885), Herrera (1895), and Redmond (1972). In this vein, the titles of manuscripts and treatises follow the transcriptions made by the referred authors.

Bartolomé de Ibarra, arrived from Spain to Quito in 1675, was the first lecturer of *Vísperas* at San Buenaventura, and his manuscripts include:

- *Summularum Tractatus, subtilissimo Scoto conformis a R.P. Fr. Bartholomeo Ibarra proditas.*
- *Commentaria in universam logicam, cum quaestionibus hoc agitari tempore solitis, juxta D. Subt. Scoti mentem tradita. Auctore R.P. Fr. Batholomeo Ibarra.*
- *Commentaria in universam Aristotelis metaphysicam, juxta mentem Scoti. Auctore R.P. Fr. Bartholomeo Ibarra.*
- *Commentaria in octo libros physicorum, juxta mentem Subt. Scoti tradita. Auctore R.P. Fr. Batholomeo Ibarra.*

Juan Cavallero, originary from Quito, was ordained in 1679, later became Arts lecturer at San Buenaventura whose *cursus* is preserved in the Franciscan convent in Quito:

- *Cursus philosophicus juxta Subt. D. Fr. Joan Mariani Duns Scoti mentem, Logicam parvam magnamque Aristotelis, octo libros de physico auditu, duos libros de ortu et interitu, tres libros de anima copiose complectens, elaboratus a R.P. FRE. Joanne Cavallero ex Minorum Familia dignissimo liberalium artium Moderatore in hoc imperiali Collegio S. Bonaventurae de Quito.*

Manuel Argandoña, born in Piura, became friar at the convent of Quito in 1667. He was appointed *lector jubilado* in 1691 and was also rector of the *colegio San Buenaventura*. He wrote the following treatise:

- *Conmentaria in Duos Libros Aristotelis. De Ortu et Interitu sive de Generatione et Corruptione, juxta S.N.D. Scotum. Auctore R.P.FR. Emmanuele Argandoña (WRed, 91).*

José Janed, born in Zaragoza, he was elected twice as Provincial Minister in 1694 and 1707. Being the author of one manuscript:

- *Expositio clara in octo libros physicorum secundum mentem D. Subit. Et Mariani ac ómnium Theologorum Principis Joannis Duns Scoti. Per Rdum.P. Fr. Josephum Janed, in hoc S.P.N. Francisci Quitensi conventu.*

Francisco Guerrero, originally from Quito, was lecturer of *Vísperas* at San Buenaventura during the late seventeenth century, and definer and regent of studies at the convent of Quito since 1701. His production included:

- *Commentaria in universum tractatum de Angelis, secundam principia S.N.D. Scoti, in quo ejus legitima mens aperitur. Per R.P.Fr. Franciscum Guerrero ejus legitimum sectatorem ac Lectorem vespertinum in hoc S. Pauli conventus Imperiali Quiti Collegio.*
- *Commentaria R.P.Fr. Francisci Guerrero S.T. Lectoris Sanctaeque Inquisitionis Qualificatoris, aenujus Imperialis Quiti Collegii D.D. Bonaventurae Rectoris, super Universum tractatum de Iure et Iustitia, juxta mentem N.S.M.D. Joanis Duns Scoti.*
- *De Justitia et Jure* (WRed, 353).

Pedro de Alcántara Mejía was professor of philosophy during the early eighteenth century at San Buenaventura, where his *cursus* was compiled:

- *Cursus philosophicus juxta legitimam mentem V. Servi Dei Joannis Duns Scoti, Theologorum Principis, cui Fr. Petrus de Alcantara Mexia, Minor in Seraphici D.S. Bonaventura imperiali Collegio, Lector, operam dedit.*

Francisco Montoya, born in Quito, was lecturer since 1670 of philosophy and theology at the Franciscan convent of Ibarra. He was appointed as the first lecturer of Vespers at San Buenaventura and later lecturer of *Prima* in 1682. He wrote two treatises:

- *Tractatus de ineffabili Incarnationis misterio, juxta subtilissimi Doctoris J.D. Scoti mentem. Per R.P.Fr. Franciscum Montoya sacrae theologiae vespertinum Lectorem hoc in almo Divi Bonaventurae Seraphici Doctoris Collegio Quitensi.*
- *Tractatus de fide divina et de Praedestinatione. Auctore R.P.Fr. Francisco Montoya.*

Félix de Zea, natural from Lima, was lecturer of philosophy at San Buenaventura from 1682 to 1697, writing down one treatise:

- *Tractatus de ineffabili Verbi incarnati misterio juxta doctrinam N.S.D. Joannis Duns Scoti. Per R.P.Fr. Felicem Zea, sacrae Theologiae primarium Lectorem.*

Bernabé Serrano de Ugarte, originally from Quito, was regent of studies and lecturer of philosophy and *Prima* at the San Diego convent from 1701. Two treatises from him are preserved:

- *Physica naturalis juxta D. Joannem Duns Scotum mentem, per R.P.Fr. Barnabam Serrano de Ugarte, theologum Minoritam et in hoc S. Didaci Recollectorum convent. Artium dignissimum atque peritissimum Moderatorem, anno Dni 1699 (WRed, 676).*
- *De Animastica, juxta mentem Duns Scoti*¹³² (WRed, 677).

Cristobal López Merino, born in Riobamba, he was lecturer of Arts, *Prima*, and Vespers at the maximum convent of Quito. His lectures were compiled as:

¹³² *Compte (1883, 1885) suggests another transcription of the title manuscript: Exornatio peregrina in tres Aristotelis animasticos libros, juxta mentem N.S.D. Joannis Mariani Duns Scoti, elucidate per R.P.Fr. Barnabam Serrano de Ugarte, Theologum Minoritum et in hac sancta Snacti Didaci Recollectione publicum Philosophia professorem.*

- *Cursus Philosophicus ad mentem (quantum licet) Joannis D. Scoti, subtilium Principis. Opera et studio P. Fr. Lopez Merino Ord. Min. S. Francisci Reg. Obs., Artium Professoris in caenobio maximo S. Pauli de Quito. Tomo 1 Dialecticae institutiones, magnam Logicam et Methaphysicam complectens.*

Clemente Rodríguez, originally from Quito, was lecturer of theology at the convent of Quito and became Provincial Minister in 1734. His works include:

- *Cursus Philosophicus ad mentem N.S.M.D. Scoti elucidatus* (WRed, 597).
- *Tractatus super octo libros phisicorum, ad mentem N.S.D. Scoti* (WRed, 598).

Agustín Marbán, originally from Quito, was lecturer of Arts at San Buenaventura since 1736, writing down the following treatise:

- *Tractatus philosophiae naturalis Aristotelis in octo libros phisicorum, juxta mentem N.S.D. Scoti. Per R.P.Fr Augustinum Marban, Lectorem Artiumque Moderatorem in hoc S. D. Bonaventurae Collegio.*

Pedro Ceballos y Tena, born in Quito, was appointed as *Lector jubilado* in 1753, and later was elected Provincial minister in 1764. His works include:

- *Brevis In sumulas exaratio Xta subtilis Numen Subtilioris Ducis... Dictavit eam olim qui in Conbentu Imperiali Colegio S.D.D. Bonaventurae, ipsum opus pertrataverat Pr. silicet Fr. Petrus Ceballos, et tena, in hoc Maximo Cenobio Sti Pauli de Quito. Die 4^a Julii Anni Momini 1741. Dia 14 del mes de junio del año 1744 as.*
- *Philosophia Naturalis Aristotelis super octo libros phisicorum. Tratatus Super methaphisica ...*

- *Articulus vtilis de Sylogismo falso grafo* (WRed, 189)¹³³.

José de Salazar was lecturer of Theology at San Buenaventura from 1768 to 1782, and also Chapel Master of the cathedral of Quito. One treatise of his authorship is preserved:

- *Breve resumen de la Retórica panegírico-moral*.

Gregorio Tomás Enríquez de Guzmán, born in Quito, was ordained in 1723 at the convent of San Pablo, was lecturer of theology and Arts at the *colegio San Buenaventura*, where he retired in 1763 (Herrera, 1895). He took one of the theology chairs at San Gregorio university, after the Jesuit expel. His works include¹³⁴:

- *Tractatus summularum ad mentem N.S.D. Mariani Duns Scoti elaborates per P.Fr. Gregorium Enriquez, in hoc maximo S. Pauli de Quito caenobio, Artium Lectorem.*
- *Brevis logicae tractatus, juxta mentem Aristotelis in via N.S.D. Scoti, editus a P.Fr. Gregorio Thoma Enriquez, Artis Lectore in hoc D. Pauli Quitensi caenobio.*
- *Physica Aristotelis juxta D. Juan Duns Scoti mentem, per Fr. Gregorium Thomam Enriquez, Minoritam et in hoc maximo S. Pauli Quitensi conventu Artium praeceptorem.*
- *Tractatus super Metaphysicam in Scoti via, depromptus per P.Fr. Gregorium Thomam Enriquez, in hoc maximo S. Pauli Quitensi conventu Artium Lectorem.*

Antonio José de la Concepción Arroba, professor of philosophy at San Buenaventura during the 1760s. His philosophical production includes:

- *Philosophiae universae, sive magnae logicae Tractatus, juxta subtilissimi D.J.D. Scoti mentem, dulcissimo ac amabilissimo Nomini Jesu dicatus, per Fr. Josephum*

¹³³ These treatises are identified by Redmond (1972) as a single manuscript found in the Dominican Library in Bogota.

¹³⁴ Redmond (1972), based on Herrera (1895) attributes three anonymous treatises to Enríquez: *Treatise on logic* (WRed, 253), *Treatise on physics* (WRed, 254), and *Treatise on metaphysics* (WRed, 255).

Antonium a Conceptione et Arroba editus, in hoc S.D.D. Bonaventurae Imperiali Collegio, Liberalium Artium cathedrae publicum professorem.

- *Physicae universae, sive naturalis philosophiae tractatus, octo Physicorum libros complectens, juxta subtilissimi D. Mariani Joan D. Scoti, Theologorum facile Principis, mentem.*
- *Celebris metaphysicae tractatus ad praestitissimam Seraphici Mariani D. Joan Duns Scoti mentem, juxta seriem Scotticaeque scholae methodum sedule concinnatus.*

As most manuscripts attest, Quitense Franciscans fully adhered to the *Via Scoti*, a condition that did not prevent but rather encouraged the inclusion of modern authors and debates in philosophy lectures. During the eighteenth century at San Buenaventura several authors beyond tradition were studied: Keeding (1983, 2005) have identified at the Franciscan convent manuscripts such as *Teatro Crítico Universal* and *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* by Benito Jeronimo Feijoo, a 1745 copy of *Philosophia Sensuum Mechanica* by the Minorite Fortunato of Brescia from Brescia (Republic of Venice), a 1767 *Institutiones philosophicae ad studia theologica potissimum accomodatae* by the Minim friar François Jacquier, and a 1793 copy of *Institutiones Philosophicae* authorised by Lugdunensis archbishopric, that study the rational sensualism and Cartesian philosophy. Moreover, after the expel of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish empire the Franciscans assumed the philosophy chair at *Seminario San Luis* from 1767 to 1774: professors Manuel Corrales (1767-1768), Francisco Javier de la Graña (1768-1771), and José Salazar (1771-1774) innovated the Arts lectures by discussing about experimental method, modern physics and astronomy in a clear opposition to the Dominican *Universidad Santo Tomás*. As Keeding (1983, 2005) points out the three Franciscan lecturers would have presented at Santo Tomas university the sensualist philosophy of Fortunato of Brescia – influenced by Condillac and Locke – and accepted Newtonian mechanics and its corpuscular theory over Aristotelian physics and the so-called Scholastic accidents. Indeed, the Seraphic order was one step ahead in the discussion of modern authors in RAQ after the Jesuit expulsion, since the Dominicans, for example, were engaged in criticising Descartes and defending the Thomist tradition,

assuming only to a certain extent Newton and experimental sciences (see Chapter 7). Then, one can suggest that late eighteenth-century Franciscans were part of the so-called ‘modernising Scholasticism’, take for instance professors Corrales, Graña, and Salazar who despite of accepting Sensualism, Newton’s theory, the void and pumping, and Gassendi’s claim that matter is not divisible *ad infinitum*, rejected certain Cartesian ideas on the grounds that they were opposed to the Thomistic tradition, such as the affirmation that atoms are pure matter, or the mechanistic notion on animal-machine (Keeding, 1983, 2005). This innovative shift meant for the Seraphic order the opportunity to occupy the Philosophy chair at Santo Tomas university by the end of the century, so that friar Mariano Murgueitio was the Scotus lecturer from 1797 to 1806 (AGUCE, *Libro de exámenes ... 1789-1799*, ff. 214ss).

A last aspect to remark is that the Seraphic order effectively assembled a knowledge network that was not restricted to the Spanish empire, which enabled a fluid circulation of books, debates, and individuals. Then, Quito and the diverse nodes were constantly nurtured from diverse points of the web, even within RAQ as the result of the existing convents. This could be evidenced by bearing in mind the places of origin of Franciscan friars and professors in colonial Quito (Appendix 3), highlighting thus the interconnectedness of said network (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Places of origin of Franciscan friars and professors in RAQ (1534-1775)

In conclusion, one can state that the Franciscan instructions that unfolded in colonial Quito presented two moments. The first was mainly during the second half of the sixteenth century, which was focused on elite indigenous instruction following a humanist approach and widely related to the experiences in *Nueva España*. This strategy allowed the order to consolidate its network of doctrinas and convents throughout RAQ, thus achieving an important influence over the region and considerable access to land and resources. A second moment for the Seraphic order started in the second half of the seventeenth century through the colegio San Buenaventura, which prioritised the study and discussion about the thought of Duns Scotus from a Scholastic approach. Such a stance was essential to educate a compact body of friars who complied with Franciscan morals, but also with a project of expansive evangelisation that was always requiring more religious people to oversee convents, doctrinas, colegios, and missions. The undertaking to spread the *Via Scoti* was subsequently carried out across the whole continent, meeting with great success. For instance, the first book printed in South

America was the 1610 *Logica in Via Scoti*, written by friar Jerónimo de Valera in Lima. Furthermore, the order promoted, in Quito, the creation of a chair of *Prima* to study only the doctrine of the *Sútil Escoto*. It was established in 1701, at the *Real Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino*. Although the university was administered by the Dominican order, one of the chair conditions was that the lecturer should always be a Franciscan, whether from the colegio San Buenaventura or the maximum convent of Quito.

Chapter 5. Overcoding and philosophy within the Dominican network in Quito

This chapter is devoted to the Order of Preachers and its actions in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ), which were closely related to deterritorialisation, indigenous overcoding, and the configuration of a network of convents, *doctrinas*, and educational institutions. The chapter contains ten sections. The first one studies specialised scholarships and archival documents to describe the settlement of the order in Quito and to illustrate the assembling of a network of *doctrinas*, convents, and evangelising missions that contributed to early colonisation. The second section briefly discusses about the educational network that Dominicans created in RAQ, which by 1688 included a university, two colegios, nine convents, and one vicary. Section three deepens the analysis of Dominican instruction and its characteristics by revising the so-called Primitive Constitutions and the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Order of Preachers, in order to explain the creation process and structure of the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* that became an important node by pursuing two strategies: instructing future *doctrineros* and hosting the only chair in Quito on *lengua del inga*. Precisely, the fourth section underlines the importance that the *cátedra de lengua del inga* had for the Dominican order in RAQ, since it gave the friars the opportunity to receive royal funding, but also to influence the instruction of all priests in RAQ. Moreover, the chair was a strategy to being part of early colonisation by means of indigenous overcoding, and later to participate in colonial expansion by educating missionaries and explorers.

Section five offers a brief revision of philosophical studies imparted at San Pedro Mártir during its early period, for which the bibliography defined by the Dominican constitutions are reviewed, to later list the existing manuscripts and books from the convent; additionally, the structure of a 1584 manuscript on philosophy and compiled in Quito is described; finally, it is stated that philosophical instruction at San Pedro was influenced by the so-called ‘Historical triumph of Aquinas’ after the *Congregatio de Auxiliis* dispute. The sixth section is focused on Gregorio García, a Dominican friar that spent circa ten years being *doctrinero* in the Southern Andean region of RAQ in late sixteenth century; his biography is summarised in first place, second his work *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*

is examined, by considering its method and philosophical arguments in order to emphasise García's two main contributions: a relative inclusion of indigenous knowledges in the discussions on the new world, and the questioning of the argument from authority that comprises an opposition to classical authors like Aristotle. Although, García did not teach at the colegio San Pedro, his evangelising action – which represents the so-called 'condescend stance' – demonstrates that Dominican thought from the sixteenth century was present in Quito. The life trajectory of Pedro Bedón an early *criollo* Dominican whose career highlights the early action of the Order of Preachers in RAQ, is reviewed in section seven. It is divided into two parts, the first discusses Bedón's public statement about the *Revolución de las Alcabalas* to identify his solid philosophical instruction influenced by early Dominican Humanism. The second part studies Bedón's painting style – Mannerism – that was deeply related to evangelisation and colonial overcoding, giving thus way to the *escuela quiteña*. Then, Bedón could be seen as a mediator between Spanish-guided early colonisation and the later *criollo* colonial society.

The eighth section studies the cumbrous foundation process of the *Colegio Real San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás*, which took circa 70 years from its ideation, including a twelve-years dispute between Dominicans and Jesuits. In first place, it is studied why the privilege of granting degrees became a priority for the Order of Preachers. Second, the clash between the Society of Jesus and Dominicans is analysed by revising archival documents and the so-called *documento de la concordia*, which for a short period settled things down. Third, the dispute held between the Dominican Ignacio de Quezada and the Jesuit Pedro de Calderón is briefly reviewed, considering their memorials submitted to the Council of Indies. As a conclusion, it is suggested that the long-lasting conflict was not about prestige and recognition, but rather about royal funds for scholarships, and control of missions and doctrines. Section nine describes the academic structure of the colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás, emphasising Santo Tomás alumni to denote that Dominicans were devoted to instructing RAQ elite, and to accredit the future administrators of their own university. The order and its *colegio-universidad* thus were related to internal and also external networks, as it is evidenced by the life trajectory of Luis Antonio de Torres, a Santo Tomás alumnus that had a relevant career in Mexico. The final section attempts at describing

the philosophical instruction and production at San Fernando and Santo Tomas until late eighteenth century, which were characterised by two moments. First, a ‘hardcore Scholasticism’, in the middle of the debates on Jansenism and Probabilism, that resorted to continuing the sixteenth century Scholastic tradition, without ruling out the discussion of modern authors as evidenced by existing manuscripts from the Jesuit and Dominican libraries in Quito. The second moment named ‘modernising Scholasticism’ was defined by a certain eclecticism that combined Scholastic tradition and experimental sciences. For underlining such a period, the 51 theses for the Arts final examination at the secularised Santo Tomas university are analysed.

5.1 The settlement of Dominicans in early colonial Quito

This section discusses how Dominicans were settled in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ), and its following actions in order to configure a network of *doctrinas*, convents, and evangelising missions that contributed to early colonisation. Thus, the Order of Preachers was established in Quito in 1541 by the friar Gregorio de Zarazo who asked the Council of Quito some land to build the *Convento Máximo San Pedro Mártir* whose first vicar was friar Gaspar de Carvajal. From early times, the order was actively involved in the colonisation of the region, for instance, in 1531 the first exploration of the coasts of present-day Ecuador had among its members six Dominican friars¹³⁵; later in 1535, the friar Tomás de Berlanga accidentally arrived in the Galapagos Islands where he made observations to confirm the meridian location; Gaspar de Carvajal himself accompanied in 1542 the mission of Francisco de Orellana to the Amazon, a region that aroused interest to the Dominicans who organised an evangelising mission¹³⁶ to the Quijos province in 1576 and afterwards in 1624 the mission *San José de Canelos*, another mission was organised for the region of Ipiales in 1557 (Almeida, 2001; Melendez, 1681; Salvador Lara, 1988; Vargas, 1962, 1965b). After the first distribution of *doctrinas* by the Quitense bishopric the order administered eight *doctrinas* in

¹³⁵ The eXplorer friars were Vicente Valverde, Reginaldo Pedraza, Pedro de Yépez, Tomás de Toro, Alonso Burgalés, and Pablo de la Cruz; they played a key role during the conquest of the Inca empire and the following organisation of Lima as the colonial capital.

¹³⁶ The preachers were Hernando de Téllez, Hilario Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, Juan Argote y Francisco de Carrera

1583, that quickly increased to twenty-seven in 1596, and to forty-six in 1650 (Figure 14) (Guerra Moscoso, 2008; Rodríguez Docampo, [1650] 1897). Thus, the order assembled to oversee the evangelising missions and *doctrinas* an extensive network of convents throughout RAQ (Figure 14) that included monasteries in Loja (1548), Popayán (1552)¹³⁷, Cuenca (1557)¹³⁸, Baeza (1559)¹³⁹, Cali, Pasto, and Buga (1575), Guayaquil (1581), Riobamba, (1586), Ambato (1598), the retreat convent *Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia* in Quito (1600), Ibarra (1605), and Latacunga (1609). Besides, the order created in 1594 the *Monasterio de Monjas de Santa Catalina de Siena* that initially counted with more than 30 nuns in Quito (see Vargas, 1965b).

¹³⁷ It started as a little monastery in 1552, however, its friars were killed in 1553 by Indigenous in Buga and the house was destroyed by an earthquake in 1566, being thus rebuilt in 1575 (Barrado Barquilla, 1995).

¹³⁸ According to Vargas (1962) this convent was formally recognized only in 1581.

¹³⁹ After the foundation of the city of Baeza in 1559 some lands were conceded to the Dominicans, but the convent started to work in 1576 (Vargas, 1962).



Figure 14: Dominican doctrines and convents in RAQ
 Source: Rodríguez Docampo ([1650] 1897)

Originally, the Dominican convents of RAQ were subjected to the province of *San Juan Bautista del Perú*, but the Quitense province of *Santa Catalina virgen y mártir* was declared autonomous from Lima in 1561 by the Dominican Chapter in Lima, a decision that was known in the 1564 General Chapter in Bologna, rediscussed in 1569 in the Rome General Chapter, and finally ratified in 1584 in the Ferrara Chapter but came into effect only in 1586, such a decision was fundamental for the educational network to come as discussed below. Dominican convents were conceived for being self-sufficient education centres that contributed to culture, spirituality, and religious life of the city that welcomed them (Vrankic, 2016). Yet, convents were also related to processes of colonial deterritorialisation through

doctrinas, missions, and *haciendas*. In 1595, Juan de Lara, Dominican vicar in Quito, sent the king a letter asking that their *doctrinas* not to be taken away as a retaliation for the actions of some members of the order during the so-called ‘*Revolución de las Alcabalas*’¹⁴⁰ when they actually gave provisions to the royal troops; moreover, Lara stated that the *doctrinas* were their only sustenance and trade, in which the friars had spent a lot of work to organise the ‘*indóminos*’ (untamed) and savage *indios*, so it was unfair that at the moment when they were of some benefit the bishopric was trying to take them away (AGI, QUITO,83,N.61). Francisco García, who was provincial friar, solicited Phillip III in 1609 to grant some *repartimientos de indios* to fund the convents which were facing great necessities in RAQ (AGI, QUITO,85,N.45); similarly, friar José Flores, general procurator, started a request in Quito that arrived in Spain in 1626 to get back at least 15 of the 50 *indios* that used to work¹⁴¹ in a sugar mill of the order in the towns of Calacalí and Pomasqui nearby Quito, otherwise it would be spoiled because there was no one who can work there (AGI, QUITO,88,N.10). In reply, a decree was issued in 1629 by the Council of Indies instructing RAQ to deliver some *indios* to the *convento de San Pedro* (AGI, QUITO,212,L.5,F.146R-146V), also the viceroy in Lima received a *real cédula* informing about the Dominican claim of receive *indios* for their *fábrica* (AGI, QUITO,212,L.5,F.145V-146R).

As abovementioned, the participation of Dominicans in the Amazonian region was essential for colonial expansion. King Phillip II authorised in 1579 friar Hernando de Téllez, who was procurator of the whole province of Perú, to take sixteen religious from Spain – 8 from Andalusia and 8 from Castille – to the missions in Quijos, where two Dominican houses were already erected one in Baeza and another in Atunquijo, a village of *indios* (AGI, QUITO,82,N.17) In this vein, the convent of Baeza was erected in 1581 becoming then an important node for missions in the area until early seventeenth century when the Dominicans prioritised the so-called region of *Canelos*. In 1624, the mission *San José de Canelos* departed from the parish of Baños to evangelise the *Shuaras* and *Záparos*, both indigenous peoples from the Pastaza river, an action that was successfully accomplished in 1631 when

¹⁴⁰ The revolt began in July 1592 following the imposition of a *cédula real* from November 1591 that established the *alcabala* that was a 2% tax for all the sales of goods from Castille and the Indies, including transactions of movables and real estate (see Lavallé, 1997).

¹⁴¹ The indigenous workers were removed after a problem in another mill in Popayán (see AGI, QUITO,88,N.10).

friar Sebastián Romero baptised 35 Indigenous and declared the area as ‘reduced’ to a *doctrina* (L. García, 1999). For this mission the Dominican *doctrina* of Patate, in the Central Andean region of RAQ, became an important headquarter until mid-seventeenth century due to resistance of the indigenous population to be converted. Nevertheless, the provincial Jerónimo de Cevallos in the late 1670s prepared a ‘second entrance’ to *Canelos*, which was also supported by the king who in 1679 commanded RAQ (AGI, QUITO,210,L.4,F.330R-330V) and the bishopric (AGI, QUITO,210,L.4,F.331R-331V) to provide all the facilities to the Dominicans to ‘reduce’ and convert the *indios* of that province.

In the meantime, as usual the access to new territories and resources generated conflicts: the Jesuits were also carrying out missions in the region around the Bohono river, which was territory of the *Gayes* people, an area that the Order of Preachers claimed to have discovered. The dispute was settled by the Council of Indies that decided in 1683 that the Society of Jesus was in charge of converting the *Gayes* people and the Dominican order of the *indios canelos* (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.142V-144V). The conflict persisted so that the king in 1694 ordered RAQ to define the area corresponding to Dominicans and to authorize if necessary the construction of a house for missionaries in Patate (AGI, QUITO,210,L.5,F.364V-366R). In this way, the Dominican missions had a certain stability and were fully operative until the first decade of the nineteenth century having a close relation with the existing colegios in Quito. Then, Dominicans were deeply related to early colonisation by means of their convents, *doctrinas*, and preaching missions. Furthermore, such a condition enabled them not only to have access to territories and resources, but also to assemble an educational network that influenced the cultural, symbolic, economic and territorial strata of the colonial regime in RAQ, as analysed in the following sections.

5.2. The educational network of Dominicans in RAQ

This section briefly discusses the assembling of the Dominican educational network in RAQ, which by 1688 included a university, two colegios, nine convents, and one vicary, despite the fact a severe crisis attacked the order during the 1640s. Education was a priority for the Order of Preachers in Spanish America, as early as 1577, friar Juan de Cabrera sent

the king a letter from Quito criticising the existing indoctrination system that taught one hour a day the Christian word to children by heart – only repeating like a papagayo – without believing in it, since they spent more time with parents who deny what has been learnt; then, the solution was to create houses or colegios as many as necessary for keeping children from the age of four to twelve without communication from their parents, so that the holy faith is imprinted on them and thus in twenty years the old people would be dead and the offspring will have forgotten the old customs, otherwise they will continue to be idolaters (AGI, QUITO,82,N.6). Although there was no official response to the missive, the Dominicans applied a quite similar system that started to be assembled in the 1559 Intermediate Chapter of Quito, which decided to accept *criollos* aspirants to be educated and ordained in order to respond to the educational needs of the flourishing region. In this vein, friar Rafael de Segura former professor in the *Universidad San Marcos de Lima*¹⁴² was commissioned to organise the required studies in RAQ, an initiative that was supported by the 1589 General Chapter in Rome that conceded three professorships and six *presentaturas*¹⁴³ to be granted to friars for teaching merits (Almeida, 2001; Vargas, 1965b). Thus, the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* was already arranged by 1598 in the *convento máximo* as it was informed by the provincial chapter of that year. Yet, the demand for instruction was such that the 1611 General Dominican Chapter in Paris decided to increase the staff in Quito to four professorships and nine *presentaturas*. Similarly, in other RAQ cities some religious were assigned in 1598 to Cuenca and Loja to teach Grammar, Arts, and Latin; in 1631, the convents of Loja, Guayaquil, and Pasto – in addition to the studies on Grammar and Arts – created chairs on moral theology, and in 1647 in Popayán lectures of philosophy and moral theology were established (Salvador Lara, 1988; Vargas, 1962, 1965b).

Also in 1631, the order banned the provincial friar from appointing as *doctrinero* or preacher to any religious who had not finished his studies in Arts and Theology, all this to contribute to improving the instruction of the priests, to strengthen the existing convents, and particularly to homogenise the Dominican evangelising action. Nevertheless, as Guerra Bravo (2021) points out the order underwent a crisis in the 1640s, characterised by internal

¹⁴² It was founded in 1551 by the Dominican Vicente Valverde who bishop of Perú.

¹⁴³ A *presentado* is a religious who after being ordained lectures theology or Arts in order to be named maestro.

conflicts, that led to the suspension of lectures at the *Convento Recoleta de Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia* – founded in 1600 as discussed below – and the decline of studies at San Pedro Mártir, given to the death of lecturers or because they were sent to missions (Vacas Galindo (1950) cited by Guerra Bravo, 2021). So, said educational decrease was probably due to the fact that evangelising missions in the Amazon region were prioritised once the Canelos mission just began in early 1630. The irregular situation for studies within the order persisted until the 1660s when a process to founding a new colegio started and which, after a thorny process, give way to the *Real Colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino* in 1688, as later discussed. Hence, the Order of Preachers by the middle of the eighteenth century had assembled an widespread education network in RAQ that included a university, two colegios, nine convents, and one vicary (Figure 15) as evidenced by Vargas (1965b) (Appendix 4).



Figure 15: Dominican education network in 1747
Source: Vargas (1965b)

5.3 Creation and operation of the *Colegio San Pedro Mártir*

The creation and operation of the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* are reviewed in this section; for that reason, it is analysed the so-called *Liber Consuetudinem* from 1228 to emphasise that early Dominican instruction privileged preaching and translation of sacred scriptures. Likewise, the Dominican *Ratio Studiorum* from 1583 is summarised the instruction system of the order, which influenced the erection of the colegio San Pedro, whose structure was adapted to the needs of colonial Quito, becoming an important node after two strategies: instructing future *doctrineros*, and hosting the only chair in Quito on *lengua del inga*, that allowed the order to influence the formation of all religious.

In first place, it is not clear the foundation date of the *Colegio San Pedro Mártir*, according to Tobar Donoso (1953) it was around 1559 and 1560 – after the aforementioned Intermediate Chapter, but it probably refers to the seminary studies that bishop Pedro de Peña Montenegro carried out for some years together with the Dominicans at the San Pedro convent. Since the request for having studies in Quito was confirmed by the Dominican General Father only in 1591 from Bologna, and consequently, as aforesaid the 1598 the Quitense Provincial Chapter informed that a *studium generale* was already working in the *Convento San Pedro Mártir*, thanks to friar Rafael de Segura, and it was devoted mostly to instruct the future friars (Vargas, 1962, 1965b). Then, the colegio San Pedro was not an isolated effort from some Quitense friars but a result of an educational system that was typical of Dominicans. The so-called ‘Primitive Constitutions of the Order of Friars preachers’¹⁴⁴, *Constitutiones prime ordinis fratrum predicatorum* or also known as *Liber Consuetudinem*, date from 1228 and somehow organises early Dominican instruction.

As Dezzutto (2011) states the studies in this documents are substantially associated with preaching, the main mission of the order. Thus, the Chapter XXXI established that for becoming a preacher the aspirants shall listened lectures of theology for one year, after which they were sent out to preach ‘as men as men desirous of their own salvation and the salvation of others’, carrying with them only food, clothing, books, and necessary items. Subsequently, to be named preacher general three years of theology lectures should be followed. Finally, a

¹⁴⁴ In this section we refer to the edition of the Constitutions by Lehner (1964).

friar to become doctor in theology had to studied and listened lectures for at least four years. The educational supervision was in charge of a Master of Students whose permission was required for writing notes and hearing lectures. In addition to correct any error by the students, the Master had also to control that books of pagans and philosophers were not studied and that secular sciences and liberal arts were not learnt, unless it was allowed by the General Chapter or the Master of the Order (see Chapter XXVIII). Regarding students (Chapter XXIX), superiors had to ease the studies without excessive duties and tasks, treating the aspirants in such a manner that they do not easily disavow the services, and rewarding those who deserve with their own cell. Likewise, each province had to provide the obligatory materials for students which were at least three books of theology on Church history, the Sentences, Sacred Scriptures, and glosses. Often those books were *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the Glosses of the holy Fathers, and the *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* by Raymund Penyafort (Dezzutto, 2011).

Education was a matter of constant interest and discussion for Dominicans that frequently were implementing changes on it. For instance, during the so famous General Chapter of Valenciennes in 1259 that counted with Albert Magnus, Aquinas, and Petrus de Tarantasia, important decisions were taken: all convents were commanded to have lecturers, young friars were to be sent to those that did not have one, it was also settled as a conventual priority to look for young people to train them as preachers, and the most competent friars in each convent should cultivate at least one of the Arts (Beuchot, 1993). Undoubtedly, such a resolution meant a boost for the study of the arts, particularly, for philosophy that will have an important tradition within the order. Despite the fact that the *Liber Consuetudinem* was intended for Europe in the thirteenth century, the educational ministry of late medieval Europe – particularly for Franciscans and Dominicans – was oriented towards, first, helping lay persons to attain salvation and cure their souls and, second, teaching scriptures and catechism to tackle ignorance of Christine doctrine and seek pagan conversion, emphasising moral values and including vernacular terms or specialised knowledge when necessary (Kim, 2021). That is, Dominican instruction was always taught to approach the ‘other’, even adapting preaching to make the doctrine closer to laypeople by means of translation or use of vernacular language. Nonetheless, in the case of Spanish America some reforms to that

system were required without leaving out the main guidelines. Considering our aim, we shall focus in the 1583 General Chapter in Rome when a new Dominican *Ratio Studiorum* was issued, this time configuring a more complex studies structure. To start the aspirant before or during the novitiate had to follow four years of Humanities, second, two years of *Summulas* and logic; then, three years for natural philosophy and metaphysics; and finally, four years of theology that included courses of dogmatics and moral. The compulsory bibliography comprised the introduction to logic of Peter Spain, the works of Aristotle including the commentaries of Aquinas, and the whole *Summa Theologiae* based on the interpretation of John Capreolus and cardinal Cajetan (Ashley, 2009).

Thus, the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* in Quito had to consider such a structure, however, it would have defined a different organisation. According to Vargas (1965b) the colegio was compulsory for the aspirants of the order and was open to clerics and secular students, the first three years were devoted to the Arts: logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy, the following four years were dedicated to study the *Summa Theologiae*, and there were also optional lectures on sacred scriptures, Canon law, and ecclesiastical history. Yet, a particularity that characterised this Quitense colegio was the teaching of the so-called *lengua del inga* which was required for *doctrineros* and was instituted in the convent since 1581, as reviewed below. Hence, San Pedro was organised as a *studium generale* which gathered the most competent religious to offer higher studies at a provincial level only after approval of a General Chapter, unlike the *studia provincialia* that were conventual schools under control of a Provincial Chapter to teach grammar, arts, and theology in order to instruct the future preachers (Vrankic, 2016).

It is noteworthy that originally *San Pedro Mártir* did not have the power to grant degrees, it was just devoted to instructing future preachers something that apparently was not a great concern for the order until the 1624 provincial chapter (AGI, QUITO,87,N.58). In 1626, two *cédulas reales* were issued to RAQ (AGI, QUITO,212,L.5,F.37V-38R) and the *Virreinato de Lima* (AGI, QUITO,212,L.5,F.36V-37V) asking to inform on the Dominican request to approve the granting of degrees in their convent. Such a request was not fortuitous since in 1622 the universities *San Fulgencio* and *San Gregorio Magno*, Augustinian and Jesuit respectively, were formally constituted, then the Order of Preachers probably did not want

to be left behind by the others. However, it was not approved given the 1626 royal decree that banned the creation of new convents and colegios in Quito, a decision that was renewed for ten years in 1637 (Jouanen, 1941). As Vargas (1965b) points out the 1676 provincial chapter decided to create a colegio for seculars and a university, a process that was achieved in 1688 and that is reviewed later, yet the *estudios generales* that started in 1588 continued in the convent for future friars even after the closure of the Dominican higher studies in 1789. Finally, it is worth to say that the colegio San Pedro became a relevant node for early colonisation by means of two strategies, one the instruction of friars who later were *doctrineros* and missionaries all over RAQ, a process that boosted the philosophical studies, and second, by hosting the *chair of lengua del inga* that allowed the Dominicans to influence in the education of all religious and even regulars who were involved in colonial expansion, as discussed below.

5.4 Cátedra de lengua del inga at San Pedro: a colonial strategy

This section underlines the importance that the *cátedra de lengua del inga* had for the Dominican order in RAQ, since it gave the friars the opportunity to receive royal funding, but also to influence the instruction of all priests in RAQ, once it became compulsory for being appointed as *doctrineros*. Moreover, the chair was a strategy to being part of early colonisation by means of indigenous overcoding, and later to participate in colonial expansion by educating missionaries and explorers. Then, as analysed before (see Chapter 2), the so-called *lengua del inga* was required for *doctrineros* by the 1570 Quitense synod, a decision that was ratified by the Limense Councils and the following Quitense synods, which even decided to translate catechism to several indigenous languages. Ever since, knowledge of local languages was essential for evangelisation and mainly for early indigenous overcoding. The imposition of the *lengua general* – derived from the *runa simi* that was spoken in part of the Inca empire – for preaching to *indios* in the Andean region was an early but never completely successful policy. In 1580, Phillip II issued a royal decree ordering the bishopric of Quito the creation of a chair of *lengua general* to be funded by the crown, emphasising that all *doctrineros* and preachers should know the indigenous language

(Hartmann, 2001). Thus, the following year the chair was founded under the direction of the Dominican convent and imparted by the friar Hilario Pacheco, who was initially appointed for three years to give one-hour lectures twice a day, but preserved the position for almost nine years (Vargas, 1947). Hartmann (2001) provides the names of some of the following Dominican lecturers: Pedro Bedón from 1590 to 1593, friar Domingo de Santa María until 1613, when friar Luis López Torres was chosen by the Dominican provincial chapter and later reconfirmed for five additional years in 1618.

Once the *lengua del inga* sufficiency was mandatory for *doctrineros* and preachers, the convent of Santo Domingo by means of its lecturer friar was commissioned to certify said proficiency, and consequently had a vast influence among priests, in addition to the royal funds received for those lessons. For which, the so-called *cátedra de lengua* became a matter of desire and dispute. In 1587, the *oidor* Moreno de Mera informed the king that 500 *pesos* were paid to the Dominicans for lecturing a one-hour lesson each day, however, not even 50 were given in the last year since just few people received them (AGI, QUITO,8,R.21,N.60). The reason, according to Moreno, was that clerics were not pleased attending to the Dominican convent, for which, he suggested to give the chair to the Jesuits who could do it better and for only 200 or 300 *pesos*. Likewise, Barros de San Millán, RAQ president, communicated the king in 1588 that Dominicans were getting richer and richer, instead the Jesuits were giving good example to people and, for this reason, the chair of *lengua* should be entrusted to them who could do it for free and having a greater attendance (AGI, QUITO,8,R.22,N.65). The teaching quality of Dominicans was also questioned, e.g., in 1590 during a session of the ecclesiastical council of Quito friar Bedón was accused of handing out certificates of proficiency to preachers who did not speak well the *lengua* (Hartmann, 2001). In 1592, Barros de San Millán insisted that few people attended the lessons at San Pedro convent, but this time advised the king to transfer the chair to the cathedral so that more people can willingly assist (AGI, QUITO,8,R.26,N.100). Afterwards, once the *Seminario San Luis* was erected in 1594, bishop López Solís asked the king to reassign the *cátedra* to the novel seminary once its students would be the future *doctrineros* and preachers (AGI, QUITO,76,N.36). Diego Suárez de Figueroa, on behalf of RAQ, once again informed the king that the other orders and clerics did not attend the lectures at the Dominican convent,

then it would be more convenient to place the chair in the cathedral and the lecturer be appointed by opposition in order to avoid rivalry (AGI, QUITO,9,R.1,N.5). In 1599, bishop López Solís after completing a *visita* around his bishopric criticised the sufficiency level in *lengua del inga* of the priests, suggesting that it would be better to give the chair to the Society of Jesus in the seminary, where the royal funds would be better used (Hartmann, 2001). The *lengua del inga* chair ultimately remained in the convent, the critiques and opposition did not cease though.

Then, one can suggest that one of the reasons for Dominicans to keep the chair was indeed royal funding, nevertheless, it was not received on time and continuously: in 1607 the San Pedro convent complained to the king for the delay of several years – 1604, 1605, and 1606 were unpaid – in the imbursement which was fixed to 300 *pesos* per year (AGI, QUITO,85,N.16). The king ordered the same year RAQ to pay the Dominicans as soon as there were available funds, yet the *Audiencia* replied in 1609 stating that it has been difficult to pay the convent and that it would be more convenient to grant 2000 *pesos* to settle all debts (Hartmann, 2001). In 1610, the Quitense treasurer Pedro de Vera assured that the payment to the Dominicans should have priority over any other duty (AGI, QUITO,19,N.47). However, as late as 1631, the provincial procurator, the friar Jerónimo de la Torre y Prado informed that 18 years the chair stipends had not been paid, for which reason, requested the king to authorise covering said debt with the first group of *indios* to be free (AGI, QUITO,88,N.41). Thus, the monarch immediately asked RAQ to inform about said petition (AGI, QUITO,212,L.6,F.25V-26R), the *Audiencia* replied in 1636 that it was better to appoint the chair to the Theatines (AGI, QUITO,12,R.3,N.31).

Unfortunately, there are not available documents regarding the years following the 1630s. Yet, friar Ignacio de Quezada ([1692] 1983a) in his famous 1692 Memorial on the foundation of a Dominican university in Quito, as analysed below, stated that the *cátedra* was transferred for some years to the cathedral by order of the *Audiencia*, to be restored years later to the San Pedro convent. It is possible that the chair was taken away from the convent during the 1640s when the order underwent a deep crisis in RAQ. What is certain is that the chair was assigned to the *Real Colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás* in 1688 after their foundation, and it was established in their 1694 constitutions that the lectures on *lengua del inga* should

be held every day from 3pm. to 4pm, which was funded by the king with 400 *ducados de plata* (Guerra Bravo, 2021; Hartmann, 2001).

But it would be an error to affirm that royal funding was the only interest of Dominicans in having the *cátedra de lengua* in their convent. Ignacio de Quezada himself claimed in his 1692 Memorial that the chair was *necessarísima* for priests and young people who go on missions, and in general the proficiency in *lengua de indios* was necessary for all kind of people. Thus, the main interest was to have priority on instructing young explorers and preachers who missioned in territories in colonial expansion like Canelos and Quijos where the Dominicans had *doctrinas* and missional communities. In conclusion, the teaching of *lengua del inga* was for the Order of Preachers a matter that was not limited to obtaining royal funds, but mostly was a strategy to participate in early colonisation and its assembling of the *doctrina* system, not to mention that systematisation and knowledge of local languages was essential for indigenous overcoding in the first period. Afterwards, the *cátedra* enabled the order to partake in colonial expansion in unexplored areas like the Amazon region. Furthermore, the Dominicans were aware of the contribution of the chair to the colonial regime, so much so that it was presented, along with the founding of the mission of *Los Canelos*, as a merit of the order at the time of requesting the foundation permit of the university.

5.5 Philosophical Studies at San Pedro Mártir

This section offers a brief revision of the philosophical studies imparted at San Pedro Mártir during its early period, for which the bibliography defined by the Dominican constitutions are reviewed, to later list the existing manuscripts and books from that time in the Dominican convent; additionally, the structure of a 1584 manuscript on philosophy and compiled in Quito is described; finally, it is stated that philosophical instruction at San Pedro was influenced by the so-called ‘Historical triumph of Aquinas’ after the *Congregatio de Auxiliis* dispute.

Then, as aforesaid, the aspirants at *San Pedro Mártir* studied arts – logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy – for three years that, following the Dominican constitutions, were

devoted to the logic of Peter Spain, the Aquinas' commentaries of Aristotle, and the *Summa Theologiae*. For instance, some of the books and manuscripts employed at the convent during late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are still preserved¹⁴⁵, such as: *De Locis Theologicis* of the Dominican Melchor Cano, the commentaries to the *Summa* by the cardinal Cajetan, the *Summa contra Gentiles* commented by Francesco Silvestri aka Ferrariense, the so famous *Thomistarum Principis* by John Capreolus (Vargas, 1965b), the *Summulae*¹⁴⁶ by Domingo de Soto O.P., the so-called *Explicationis articulorum*¹⁴⁷ by Ruard Tapper, the *Disputationes Theologicae* by Pedro de Godoy O.P., the *Novarum deffensionum doctrinae Angelici doctoris beati Thomae de Aquino* by Diego de Deza O.P., and the Aquinas's commentaries by Domingo Bañez O.P. Thus, one can suggest that early philosophical instruction at San Pedro coincides with the 'Scholastic renewal' that Guerra Bravo (2021) places between 1594 and 1688, when philosophical production was deeply influenced by the most renowned Spanish professors from Salamanca.

It is noteworthy that there was already a nascent philosophical production at San Pedro from its early period, e.g., a 1584 philosophy manuscript¹⁴⁸ entitled *In Logicam, aris, Comentaria prologus, Commentaria In Purfirri Introductione. Comentaria in Posteriora Analytica Arist. Prologus* (sic), is found in the present-day *Biblioteca Fray Ignacio de Quesada* within the Dominican convent in Quito, which is reviewed by Guerra Bravo (2021, pp. 60–61). The first part is a treatise on logic that comprises 24 *disputationes* in which preliminaries of logic and dialectic are studied. Second, a treatise named *Comentaria in Porfirii Introductione* (sic) that includes: *Disputatio 2da. De natura universalium; Disputatio 3ra. De na[tu]ra generis; Disputatio 4ta. De na[tu]ra speciei et individui; Disputatio 5ta. Per natura differentiae; Disputatio 6ta, de na[tu]ta. Propriis; Disputatio 7ma, De na[tu]ra. Accidentis; Disputatio 8va, De Comparatione Universalium inter se*. The third part is incomplete but according to Guerra Bravo (2021) it was probably the commented version of

¹⁴⁵ It was not possible to access the library Fray Ignacio de Quesada of the Convento de Santo Domingo in Quito since a restauration process was taking place, in addition to the COVID-19 restrictions.

¹⁴⁶ According to Vargas (1965a) the 1554 copy found in the Dominican library in Quito contains annotations by the Quitense priest Diego Lobato de Sousa (see Chapter 4).

¹⁴⁷ The 1554 copy of *Declaratio articulorum a veneranda facultate theologiae Louaniensis aduersus nostri temporis haereses, simul & earundem reprobatio*, found in Quito contains an annotation by friar Pedro de Bedón (Vargas, 1965a).

¹⁴⁸ Vargas (1965) suggests that it probably was used by friar Pedro de Bedón, yet Guerra Bravo (2021) claims that there is no evidence about that.

Aristotle's *Categories* by Porphyry, since the existing parts are related to the discussion on *de na[tu]ra oppositorum*, and the *disputationes* on *de modis prioris* (concept of priority), *de modis simul* (concept of simultaneity), *de modis speciei motus* (kinds of movement) and *de modis habere* (various modes of having). The last treatise covers the Posterior Analytics of Aristotle in seven disputations: six on *De Demonstratio* and *De Definitio*, and one about *De unitate et distinctione scientiarum*.

Then, the manuscript follows the order constitutions and the Scholastic tradition based on *disputationes*, *lectiones*, and *quaestiones*, but what is more relevant is that those books evidence that Dominican instruction in early colonial Quito was updated on the discussions held at the Council of Trent and the subsequent renewals. Precisely, *De Locis Theologicis* of Cano – which was studied at San Pedro – initiated the so-called positive theology in reply to Luther's debate on biblical interpretation as source of faith. Moreover, the Order of Preachers was protagonist in the Tridentine sessions and the successive *Congregatio de Auxiliis* organised by the pope to settle the controversies between the Society of Jesus and Dominicans about free will and efficacious grace (Matava, 2020). Luis de Molina S.J. and Domingo Bañez O.P. were the main representatives of such a controversy¹⁴⁹: the former argued in favour of human nature to do good based on free will, a fact of which God was fully aware and that do not contradict divine grace; whereas the latter accused the Jesuit of defending Pelagianism, i.e., that grace was not effectively decisive for human salvation that was related to the own human actions; in reply, Molina accused Bañez of supporting Calvinism including its idea on irresistible grace. Both authors were studied in Quito¹⁵⁰, but what is more important as Ashley (2009) states is that a renovation of Augustinianism, Thomism, and Scotism resulted from those disputes, which questioned the prevalent Nominalism giving way to 'Baroque Scholasticism', the spread of Humanism, and a greater preference for the commentaries of Capreolus and Cajetan. Then, the colegio *San Pedro Mártir* was created within this philosophical context that Schmutz (2018a) calls the 'Historical triumph of Aquinas', that is, the prevalence of a *Summa*-centred Thomism over

¹⁴⁹ In what regards the dispute among Molina and Bañez, I am grateful to Alfredo Gatto for his useful comments and guidance on the topic.

¹⁵⁰ For instance, a 1588 copy of Molina's *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, praedestinatione et reprobatione*, is located at BNEE (FJ, FJ02337) (see Chapter 7).

nominalist Dominicans and classical works like the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Such a philosophical movement took place among the Quitense Dominicans as identified by the books they had in the convent, but an additional way to evidence this trend could be an analysis of the thought and works of early Dominicans in RAQ, as discussed below.

5.6 Gregorio García: the sixteenth century Dominican thought in Quito

This section is devoted to Gregorio García, a Dominican friar that spent circa ten years being *doctrinero* in the Southern Andean region of RAQ in late sixteenth century; in first place, his biography is succinctly described; second, the main arguments of his *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales* are analysed, discussing its method and philosophical arguments in order to emphasize García's two main contributions, the questioning of the argument from authority that includes an opposition to classical authors like Aristotle, and the inclusion of indigenous knowledges in the discussions on the new world. Although, García did not teach at the colegio San Pedro, his evangelising action – which represents the so-called 'condescend stance' – demonstrates that Dominican thought from the sixteenth century was part of indigenous overcoding in Quito.

Although the biographical information of Gregorio García has been studied by scholarship (Baraibar, 2021; Gómez Diez, 2020; Guibovich Pérez, 2007; Martínez Terán, 2008; Pease, [1979] 2017), it is still not entirely clear. Gregorio García was born around 1556 and 1561 in Cózar, present-day Castilla-La Mancha, he entered the Dominican convent of Ciudad Real probably when he was fifteen years old. In 1586, he travelled to Spanish America, in first place to the *Virreinato de Lima* within a mission of 25 friars recruited after the Dominican province of Quito was declared autonomous. In 1587, they arrived in Quito where García was appointed to the *doctrina* of Gonzanamá, territory of the *Paltas* people in the Southern Andean region of RAQ. Before going back to Europe in 1598 or 1599, García spent three years in *Nueva España* and *Tierra Firme*; once in Spain he was appointed in 1605 lecturer of moral theology at the Dominican convent in Baeza, two years later he finished to edit his manuscript *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales* (Figure 16).

Afterwards, in 1625 he finished *Predicación del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo, viviendo los Apóstoles* in Baeza; finally, his death is dated between 1627 and 1633 in Baeza.

In the *Origen de los indios*¹⁵¹... García aims at knowing if the gospel was preached in America during the times of apostles. However, a deeper question for the friar, in terms of Guibovich Pérez (2007), was whether or not the new world participated of the same nature as the rest of the known things and creatures in the old world. The Dominican starts his work by quoting the Metaphysics of Aristotle to claim that all men naturally desire to know and from there arises the natural inclination towards science. But before going any further, García explains the method to be followed, for which, it is necessary to assume three things about the origin of the *indios* a) all humans descend from Adan, Eve, and Noah's offspring as the bible says; b) *indios* must have gone to America from one of the populated parts of the known world: Europe, Asia or Africa; c) all theologians and philosophers, both gentile and Christian, agree that everything we know is through one of four ways: science, opinion, divine faith, and human faith. In the case of studying the new world and the *indios*, despite its limitations, the best way to follow is the second one, since from science there is no knowledge about the causes of the *indios*' origin, nor divine faith because the bible does not tell us the relation of indios with Noah's offspring, nor human faith once before Columbus' travel no one had described those lands.

¹⁵¹ We have referred to the 2017 reprint of the 1729 edition by Andrés González de Barcía which has significant differences from the original edition of 1607, however, these are irrelevant for this work.

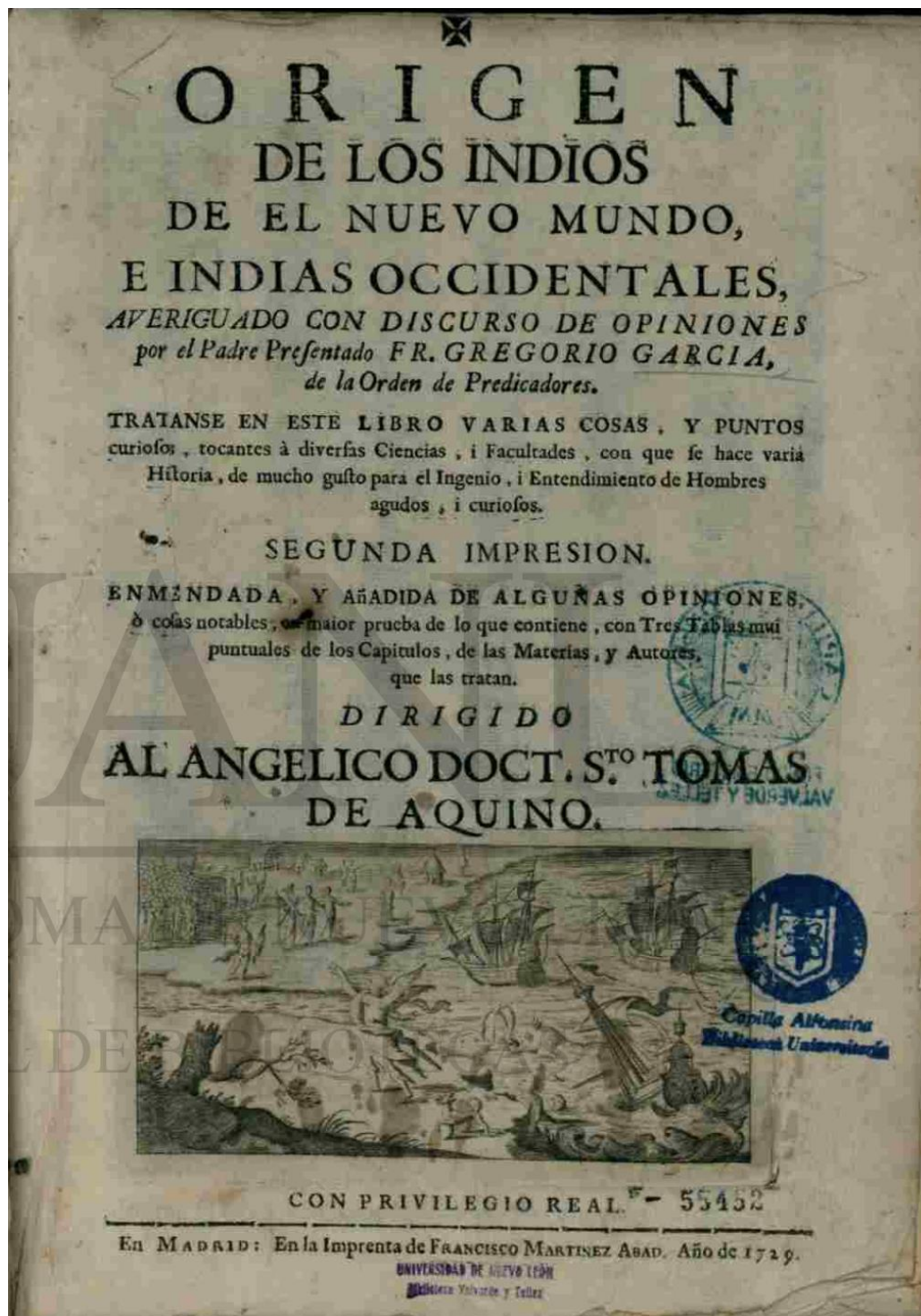


Figure 16: Cover page of *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo* by García (1729)

Repository: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León

Source: http://cdigital.dgb.uanl.mx/1a/1080023658/1080023658_MA.PDF

Therefore, García's arguments are grounded in the opinions of well-known authors, theologians, philosophers, historians, cosmographers, and even the indigenous peoples. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Avicenna, Averroes, Albert Magnus, Aquinas, Bartolomé de las Casas, López de Gómara, Fernández de Oviedo, Juan de Torquemada, Melchor Cano, Petrus Comestor, José de Acosta S.J., Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan de Betanzos, Pedro Cieza de León, and indigenous recounts, are just some of the authors and sources referred to discuss the diverse views on the origin of the *indios*. In this vein, twelve opinions¹⁵² are summarised by the Dominican whose view – a thirteenth opinion – consists in an eclectic position that the *indios* from the new world neither come from one Nation nor did they go from a single part of the old world; but actually, come from different nations and arrived in different ways, some by planned navigation, others by accident, some by land walking, and others by looking that new world following great authors. The main foundation for such an argument is the diversity of cultures, languages, traditions, rituals, laws, and costumes that are found in the new world, combining known elements from Carthaginians, Hebrews, Atlantic, Spanish, Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Chinese, and Tatars, so that it is unlikely to think that *indios* all arrived together and by a single means to this new world; what happened is that they began to mix in such a way that they are *mestizos* from different nations (see G. García, [1729] 2017, pp. 315–316).

One of the noteworthy points of García's work is that indigenous accounts are considered as valuable sources for the new world history, for instance, *quipus* and memorials in Peru are recognised as indigenous sources for knowing, despite the lack of letters, the Inca history. In Chapter VII of Book V, the Dominican summaries the origin of the *indios* from Peru and narrates a version of the story about *Contice Viracocha* (*Wiracocha*¹⁵³) who came out from

¹⁵² 1) The *indios* arrived by sea, in this opinion García refers to Plato and Aristotle; 2) They arrived by accident because of a storm, a thesis defended by José de Acosta S.J.; 3) *Indios* walked to the new world through the Davis strait or the strait of Magallanes; 4) Based on Aristotle, the *indios* descend from the Carthaginians; 5) they are descendants of the ten tribes of the Hebrews; 6) *Indios* are offspring of Ophir, son of Joktan and grandson of Heber, who populated the Eastern Indies; 7) the *indios* come from the isle of Atlantis; 8) *Indios* are offspring of people that come from Europe and Africa before Columbus, e.g., from the Hesperides, Romans, or even Spaniards; 9) they descend from the Greeks; 10) Phoenicians are the ancestors of the *indios*; 11) *Indios* descend from the Chinese and Tatars; and 12) Diverse opinions that *Indios* are descendants of Egyptians, Africans, Ethiopians, French, English, Irish, Norwegians, Danish, and among others. It is worth saying that this last opinion was probably included by Andrés González de Barcia according to Martínez Terán (2008).

¹⁵³ The complete name is *Apu Kon Illa Teqse Wiraqochan Pachayachachiq Pachakamaq*, which could be translated as *Great Lord, eternal splendor, source of life, knowledge, and world maker*.

the Titicaca Lake in the *Collasuyo* province when everything was dark and the lands were populated by some people created by himself, that after a disobedience were converted into stone statues. Then, Viracocha took this time different people with him to a place called *Tiwanaku* where he created the sun, the day, the stars, and the planets; for later ordering his new people to populate the diverse regions of the world and to adore those stone statues as *huacas*. After that, Viracocha on his way to Cusco found the *indios canas* who attacked him since they did not know him, for which, he punished them by sending fire from the sky. Once the deity arrived at his destiny, he founded the city of Cusco and finally he went into the sea in the province of Portoviejo. Although in this case García based Viracocha's story on the account of the Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos, the Dominican attributes a certain validity to the indigenous narrations to explain their own history.

As a consequence of grounding the *Origen de los indios...* on unverifiable opinions, the friar equates to some extent the thoughts of philosophers, theologians with those of indigenous peoples and his own, breaking thus the traditional notion on *argumentum ab auctoritate* (Baraibar, 2021; Martínez Terán, 2001, 2008). Indeed, García tackles this principle by turning to Melchor Cano and his *de Locis theologicis* when analysing Plato's authority, which relies – the authority of an author – on his good morals and knowledge of human letters and scholastics (see 2017, pp. 149–150). Nevertheless, indigenous recounts are not entirely paralleled to the opinions of relevant authors, since the former are reviewed from a Christian-European standpoint rather than considering any criteria related to the storyteller, e.g., he writes the following:

Esto es lo que cuentan los Indios Peruanos de su Origen, conforme à la relación de los Autores arriba citados. De lo qual (sic), lo que podemos vender por verdadero es, que sin duda los Indios tuvieron noticia de la Creación del Mundo, i de la formación de Adàm (sic), i Eva, del Diluvio General, i de Noé, i de su muger (sic), (...), sino que (...) inculcaban i rebolvian (sic) con estas verdades mil Fabulas i disparates, siendo el maestro de ellos Satanás... (G. García, 2017, p. 335)¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ This is what the Peruvian Indios tell about their Origin, according to the relations of the aforementioned authors. Of which, what we can assume as true is that without any doubt the Indios knew about the creation of the world, Adam and Eve, Noah and his wife (...); however, they inculcated and stirred these truths with thousands of fables and nonsense, being Satan their teacher (translation of the author)

Therefore, the Dominican carries out a positive appraisal of those indigenous ideas that can be conveniently adjusted to the Christian doctrine, i.e., it is not that all indigenous cosmogony and knowledge are valid, but rather that certain stories are accepted as long as they do not contradict the creed. Furthermore, the friar claims that the *indios* have been ‘un-fooled’ (*desengañados*) by priests and preachers – among whom García himself – thanks to indoctrination that has showed that their God was false, and ‘...*el que los Christianos tienen, cierto, I verdadero*’ and may He be blessed and praised forever for bringing these miserable *indios* out of the darkness and obscurity in which they were ([1729] 2017, p. 336).

On the other hand, García recognises that all the old wise men were wrong about the new world, for instance, Aristotle himself was wrong when affirming that human life was unviable south of the equator, because the lands were too hot. Yet, in Quito for example – the friar states – which is very close to the Equinoctial, snowy mountains where it is very cold were found. As Baraibar (2021) points out the colonial encounter forced Europeans to rethink a vast amount of knowledge and classic sources given the conditions of the new world and the existing indigenous knowledges. In this vein, it is possible to suggest that Gregorio García belongs to what we have previously called the ‘condescend stance’ (see Chapter 2) that was typical of early colonisation within the mendicant orders, in which the human condition of the *naturales* was recognised and defended but without rejecting their colonial subjection and alleged socio-political inferiority. Thus, the Dominican acted as a mediator between Indigenous and Spanish codes always within the Christian-European tradition, whose interpretation and appraisal was actually part of the colonial overcoding of indigenous narratives that took place during early evangelisation. Likewise, it is noticeable the influence of the renewed Dominican thought of the sixteenth century, once García defines the method as a priority for his work and the bible as a primary source, just as Cano did for example (see Schmutz, 2010). Finally, although García did not teach at *San Pedro Mártir*, his evangelising action and written works are a trace of the presence in Quito of sixteenth century Dominican thought; moreover, the *Origen de los indios...* evidences early colonial overcoding of indigenous accounts that resulted after García spent several years with the *Paltas* people, and his excursions around RAQ, where he made contact with many indigenous peoples, such as *Ambocas, Calvas, Cañaris, Puruhaes, Quillacingas, Paitas, and Manteños*.

5.7 Friar Pedro Bedón: a *criollo* mediator in early colonial Quito

In order to discuss early Dominican instruction, the life trajectory of friar Pedro de Bedón is reviewed in this section. Two aspects are analysed, first, his public statement about the *Revolución de las Alcabalas* that evidences the solid instruction given by Dominicans in Quito, second his painting career that represents the beginnings of the *escuela quiteña*, which was deeply related to evangelisation and colonial overcoding. Finally, it is stated that early Dominican action prioritised the configuration of the colonial regime of signs and deterritorialisation through *doctrinas* and convents.

For summarising the life trajectory of Pedro Bedón y Díaz de Pineda the book of Melendez (1681) and mainly the works of Vargas (1965a, 1965b, 2001a) have been analysed. Thus, Pedro Bedón was born in Quito circa 1555, his father Pedro Bedón de Agüero was a Spanish gold miner and officer, his mother Juana Díaz de Pineda was a *criollo* landlord whose father was Gonzalo Díaz Pineda one of the members of Francisco Pizarro's company to conquer Peru, and later one of the founders of the city of San Francisco de Quito. Bedón entered the San Pedro Mártir convent in 1570, after the novitiate year, he followed a philosophy course with friar Juan de Aller and lectures of theology with friar Antonio de Hervias, who was student of Melchor Cano and Domingo de Soto in Salamanca. It is worth to mention that during those courses Diego Lobato de Sousa (see Chapter 4) was his classmate. In 1576, the order sent Bedón to Lima to complete his studies at the *Universidad San Marcos*, which was under Dominican control, that granted him the degree of *Lector de Teología* that allowed him to lecture philosophy and being appointed *maestro de novicios*; but even more important is that during his stay in the viceregal capital, Bedón had contact with the Italian artists Mateo Pérez de Alesio and Bernardo Bitti S.J., from whom he acquired the Mannerism painting style (Mesa & Gisbert, 1965). The friar went back to Quito in 1586 for being appointed lecturer of Arts, two years later, he organised the *Cofradía de la Virgen del Rosario* a brotherhood that brought together various Quitense artists, such as Andrés Sánchez Gallque (see Figure 9, Chapter 2), Alonso Chacha, Francisco Gocial, Francisco Vilcacho, Jerónimo Vilcacho, Juan José Vazquez, Sebastián Gualoto, Cristóbal Naupa, Francisco Guijal, Diego de Robles, Antonio, Felipe, and Francisco (Vargas, 1965a). According to Mesa and Gisbert

(1965) is probable that throughout these years in Quito he made contact with the Italian painter Angelino Medoro who would have done some works in the Dominican convent. During the ‘*Revolución de las Alcabalas*’ Bedón played a key role that displeased royal authorities and for which he left RAQ in 1593, when he was transferred to the *Nuevo Reino de Granada* to be provincial vicar of Popayán. There, the friar spent four years until 1597 completing in that time some artistic works in the Dominican convents of Bogotá and Tunja (Escudero Albornoz & Vargas, 2000). Bedón went back to RAQ in 1597 and was appointed to visit the Dominican missions in Quijos and Popayán for supervising the compliance of ordinances and the condition of the *indios*. The following year, he became provincial prior and regent of studies at San Pedro Mártir, where he supported the organisation of the new colegio, after which, he was promoted to *Maestro en Teología* for his years of teaching service in Lima, Santa Fe, and Quito. In 1600, he founded the *Convento Recoleta de Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia* in Quito, likewise, established the Dominican convent of Ibarra in 1605 and years before supported the creation of the convent in Riobamba around 1586. Provincial vicar of Quito was his charge from 1600, in 1617 was named as prior of the San Pedro convent and was chosen in late 1618 as General of the Dominican order in RAQ, being the first *criollo* in Quito to hold such a position until his death in 1621.

5.7.1 The thought of a criollo Dominican in RAQ

As abovementioned, Bedón was lecturer of Arts and theology at *San Pedro Mártir* but none of the books and materials employed during his courses are traceable; this is why some of his public statements and paintings are discussed in order to identify his thought which was imparted at the Dominican colegio in Quito. In this vein, during the ‘*Revolución de las Alcabalas*’ Bedón wrote down a statement¹⁵⁵ that was displeasing for RAQ and for which he was forced to leave Quito in 1593. Such a document formulates a discussion about the procedure taken by the General Pedro de Arana who was sent in late 1592 with 70 soldiers by the viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza after a request of RAQ president Barros de San

¹⁵⁵ For this work we have used the statement transcriptions made by Vargas (1965a, pp. 45–48) and Guerra Bravo (2021, pp. 280–284).

Millán, in order to control the protests in Quito for the alcavalas increase. Arana entered the city in April 1593 with 300 men to suppress the revolt that ended with the public execution of 17 of the leaders and other nine were sent to Lima to be processed by the viceregal (see Lavallé, 1997 Chap. VI). Thus, the Dominican friar starts by asking whether or not the repression exercised by Arana against Quito was a just war, using as justifications the punishment of rebels against the crown, or the alcavalas imposition. In case the war was unjust, the city had an excuse to defend itself from a violent punishment, in this vein, the second question was about the most convenient means for God and the king to resolve the conflict and stop the violence against the people. As a reply, Bedón states that in general terms a republic is not allowed to go against a president – even if he is the worst – since he is the image of the king. Therefore, people have to suffer (*padecer*) a monarch's decision as a result of their sins, also considering the great inconveniences that could follow from their disobedience, because in the end with the greater ones (*mayores*) one should not proceed but begging without excesses or mortal or venial sin. Then, about the particular situation of Quito the friar claims two ideas: first, it was not lawful for the RAQ president to send for armed people to castigate the uprising, much less to impose the alcavalas, so said officer sinned mortally and is obliged to make restitution for all the caused damages. Second, the king did not ask to institute the alcavalas by means of violence, because he knew that was unlawful to request new services in these kingdoms by force, since people by natural law has the right to plead if new laws are intolerable for them. Bedón ends by affirming that the alcavalas themselves are not unlawful when they are moderately enforced even more when the king is the one who defends Christianity.

In a second moment, Bedón attempts at justifying to some extent the actions of the Quitense people by saying: although people based on natural law could defend themselves from a tyrant governor by using arms –appealing to blameless moderation (*moderación inculpable*) – for not having easy access to their king, the best thing to do in case of greater inconveniences is to suffer the punishment as a consequence of our sins. Furthermore, he recalls Aquinas' definition of a tyrant who can be of two kinds, one that usurps and exceeds the jurisdiction and to whom is lawful for any citizen to kill; the other who is legitimately in power but acts unjustly causing a revolt, in such a situation it is not lawful to kill him and

constitutes heresy in the manner of Jan Hus, but even so it is by no means legal to move against him a defensive war. And regardless of this, in any case, it is better to defend oneself through the papers, and always choosing the least of the possible inconveniences. In the same vein, some ‘theologians’¹⁵⁶ had positioned themselves in favour of Arana's incursion, describing it as lawful for punishing illegal acts, Bedón contradicts them and states that it was illicit once an officer cannot send armed people to punish his subjects due to particular crimes. In conclusion – states the Dominican – one can have ‘doubts’ about the justice of such an offensive war since it could be very unlawful and unjust. The best thing to do for Arana was to moderate his atrocious rigour, so that the people of Quito could receive him and consider the increasing harms of their guilty way of proceeding. But based on this point the people had a reason to naturally defend themselves, bringing all this as a consequence greater damage, so that it was better to suffer with humility ‘the scourge of heaven so deserved for our sins’.

The statement of Bedón reveals the solid instruction received at San Pedro Mártir in Quito and San Marcos in Lima, in fact it constitutes a sample of the sixteenth century Dominican thought not only because Aquinas, Cajetan, Domingo de Soto, Bartolomé de Medina, Francisco de Vitoria, Juan de Orellana, and Domingo Bañez are referred, but mostly because it resumes and continues the main questions raised by early Dominican Humanism regarding the conquest of the new world. The *ius ad bellum*, the righteousness of war, power and limits of the sovereign, people’s jurisdiction, the justice of royal titles, the Spanish king as protector of Christianity, the right of resistance, and legitimacy of law are some of those topics. Then, the Quitense friar also represents the ‘condescend stance’ that certainly criticised the excesses of the crown representatives in the new world but did not question the authority and legitimacy of the crown. Guerra Bravo (2021) attributes to Bedón an ambiguous position that results from his social condition, being a *criollo* supporting his fellow citizens but still occupying a relevant position in a system which began to oppress his social class, and from which he could not get out.

¹⁵⁶ Bedón was referring to the Jesuit Diego de Torres and the Dominican Domingo de los Reyes who distributed pamphlets supporting the actions of Arana by quoting Aquinas’ idea that a war was justified when it was declared by the authority of the Prince with a just cause and a straight intention (Lavallé, 1997; Vargas, 1965a).

As many scholars (González Suárez, 1970; Lavallé, 1997; Velasco, 1979) point out the ‘*Revolución de las Alcabalas*’ was an uprising of *criollos* who felt that their economic privileges were being affected by the Spanish crown. Precisely, Pedro Bedón was a relevant actor of the Spanish-criollo clash within the convents, his appointment in late 1618 as the first *criollo* Dominican general in RAQ was the result of a long controversy held during the 1617 provincial chapter (see Vargas, 1965a Chap. VII). In this vein, Bedón was a mediator within the existing tension during the transition period of tension from early colonisation a moment entirely controlled by Spaniards and a second moment in which the *criollo* landlord class was decisive in the access and control of resources and labour. The Dominican friar was a defender of the *criollos*’ interests, in 1614 he sent the king a letter informing about abuses and scandals taking place in Popayán and Quito due to the lack of actions by the authorities – including the ecclesiastical ones – and laws that were affecting the ‘*república de españoles y indios*’; but more important is the statement that ‘*muchos hijos y nietos de los descubridores de esta tierra y otros q[ue] sirven a V. Mag. q[ue] mueren de hambre*’ as a consequence of the wrong administration of *encomiendas* which are given to ‘*deudos y criados de oidores*’ (AGI, QUITO,86,N.48, r2). Then, Bedón implies in the missive that people related to the viceroy and governors who do not deserve to receive lands are affecting the merits of those who deserve it, among them the offspring of the discoverers.

The Dominican friar was an enthusiast of *criollo* social advance, for instance, in 1591 together with some capelans¹⁵⁷ he wrote a reference letter for his former classmate Diego Lobato de Sosa (see Chapter 4) which says that one of the things that most illustrate the crown and the esteem for the king is ‘*el dar su liberal y blanda mano a los criollos de cada Reyno (sic), porque con el amor que Dios y la na[tura]leza les imprimió se estimula y alienta a tratar de su aumento (sic) y servicio*’¹⁵⁸ (AGI, QUITO,83,N.41, v.48). The letter was intended to support obtaining from the crown a canonry for Lobato, who was described as one of the most deserving *criollos* in the kingdom for his preaching and judgement. Similarly, in order to support the long-lasting desire for having a university, the friar sent a missive

¹⁵⁷ The friars who signed the letter are Cristóbal de ¿Ordóñez? Pedro de Palenque, Juan de Guerra, Diego Londoño, and Pedro Bedón.

¹⁵⁸ ‘... giving your liberal and tender hand to the *criollos* of each kingdom once the love that God and nature imprinted on them stimulates and encourages to discuss about their advance and service’ (translation of the author).

suggesting the king to establish one in Quito given that it was 300 *leguas* away from Lima, but mostly because a great benefit is derived from the education of those born in this land, as demonstrated by the subjects who studied in Lima and in the convent of San Pedro Mártir (Vargas, 1965a). Thus, Bedón gives himself as an example for his studies in Lima and his teaching on arts and theology in Quito for 13 years and in Santa Fe for 4 years, from which many disciples are doing great work among the *naturales*.

In conclusion more than an ambiguous position towards the Quitense people during the alcavalas revolt, Bedón had a convenient position in favour of the *criollo* class which at that time looked after its interests within the colonial assemblage. Royal authority and its power to impose the alcavalas was out of question, take for instance the conclusive part of his statement before being exiled to Santa Fe that says that he hopes that Arana would proceed with piety and prudence instead of revenge and cruelty, once his way of proceeding was illicit just as it is to enforce violently new laws and tributes. Finally, the alcavalas were approved in RAQ but after the revolt and throughout the colonial period the *criollos* will amass an important economic influence that was most desired stratum from imperial politics. However, Bedón's relevance was not limited to his actions during the riots and his philosophical instruction, his artistic works also resemble the typical overcoding of early colonisation as discussed below.

5.7.2 Painting and evangelisation in Bedón

Pedro Bedón, as aforesaid, learnt painting from having contact in Lima with the Italian artists Mateo Pérez de Alesio and Bernardo Bitti S.J. from whom he acquired the Mannerism style, and which was probably perfected during his encounters with Angelino Medoro and Luis de Ribera in Quito. In this vein, Mannerism is not but a controversial label that derives from the Italian term *maniera*, it is often defined as a reaction to the High Renaissance painting, and which was identified during the sixteenth century as a disgraceful tendency towards the reduction of artistic creation to a stereotype, favouring thus the *practica* over the reality and promoting stylistic convention and technical know-how (Shearman, 1967). One

can suggest that Bedón somehow fits into such an artistic current when considering his reflection on art that was included in the acts of the 1598 provincial chapter of his order:

Tres cosas son en gran manera necesarias para que alguien tenga la ciencia perfecta de un asunto, a saber, el arte, el uso y la imitación. El Arte para enseñar las reglas y documentos; el uso para el ejercicio práctico; y la imitación para poner a la vista los modelos. Esto aparece claro en un perito pintor, que para adquirir a perfección su arte necesita en primer lugar que se le enseñen las reglas del arte, la proporción que debe guardarse en la mezcla para obtener los colores apropiados a las imágenes que deben pintarse; en segundo lugar, el uso, porque si no se ejercita en la pintura, nunca llegará a ser pintor; en tercer lugar, necesita de modelos acabados, en los cuales se pueda apreciar la aplicación de aquellas reglas (Vargas, 1965a, p. 94)¹⁵⁹.

It is more than evident his predilection for imitation, style, and practicality: painting is more about rules and models rather than creativity and expressiveness. As Fernández-Salvador (2018) points out Bedón's words reminds the classic rhetoric of Quintilian, the art theory of Cennino Cennini, and the *Arte subtilissima* of Juan de Iciar, but more important is the probable influence of the Franciscan Diego de Valadés and his so famous *Rhetorica christiana*. The latter was a *mestizo* friar that studied at the colegio Tlatelolco in Mexico whose treatises discusses the relationship between indigenous conversion and rhetoric, memory, and painting, elements that according to the friar were already part of the Mexican culture. The book was known in Quito, e.g., there is a 1579 copy from the Jesuit library (BNEE, FJ, FJ03991). Then it is very likely that Bedón read about the Franciscan strategies for evangelising in Mexico, since for him instruction and painting were deeply associated with indigenous conversion. In this vein, the *Cofradía de la Virgen del Rosario* founded by the Dominican in 1588 was more than a brotherhood, it was a centre for artistic instruction that continued a tradition that started at the Franciscan colegio San Andrés with Ricke and Gocial (Fernández-Salvador, 2018; Kennedy Troya, 1995, 2000). For Escudero Albornoz and Vargas (2000) Bedón was a precursor of the transculturation process in RAQ, being a representative of the '*mestizaje hispano-quiteño*' (Vargas, 1965a), but we should add what

¹⁵⁹ *Three things are greatly necessary for someone to have a perfect knowledge on a matter, namely, art, use, and imitation. The art to teach rules and documents, the use for practical exercising, and imitation to sketch the models. This could be seen in a great painter, who in order to perfect his art, in first place, needs to be taught the rules of art: the proportion that must be kept in the mixture to obtain the colors appropriate to the images to be painted. In second place, the use since without exercising in painting, he will never become a painter. Third, he does need already finished models, in which the application of those can be seen (translation of the author).*

Kennedy Troya (2000) states: painters were mediators in the transformation of both imaginaries – Spanish and Indigenous – when the ones believed they were imposing theirs and the others were struggling to understand it and feel it in the same way. The so-called *escuela quiteña* and the *barroco quiteño* were a result of early colonial overcoding that assembled indigenous elements in the hegemonic imaginary giving way, for example, to a particular kind of Mannerism.

Mannerism in RAQ was related to the evangelising desire that needed an expression with a double message: theological and aesthetic, which resulted in a new iconography that combined such a diversity of elements: Renaissance, Mozarabic, Mudejar, Mannerist, Plateresque, Baroque, and Indigenous (Escudero Albornoz & Vargas, 2000). Probably the most known Bedón's painting is the so-called 'Virgen de la Escalera' (Figure 17), which was painted on the lower side of one stair in the *Convento Recoleta de Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia*, that was founded in Quito by himself as abovementioned. Among his artistic works that stand out are the *Libro de la Cofradía del Rosario* and the *Libro Coral del Convento de Santo Domingo* (see Vargas, 1965a).

Then, the Dominican friar represents the *imagen mestiza* that triumphed in a *barroco Quito* not in the style itself, but in the polysemic content that characterizes it (Kennedy Troya, 2000). Moreover, painting was an effective overcoding strategy that eased evangelisation, particularly, through the massive diffusion of Christian symbology which was the hegemonic one within the colonial regime of signs. Bedón himself became a sign when, for example, after his death was portrayed (Figure 18) presumably by his Dominican fellow Tomás del Castillo¹⁶⁰ in one of the first *post mortem* portraits in Quito (see Justo Estebaranz, 2013). In conclusion, early Dominican action in RAQ was assembled in two strata, the symbolic one by means of preaching, instruction, and arts, that contributed to colonial overcoding and the webbed of the new regime of signs. On the other hand, the order of preachers was essential for early deterritorialisation through *doctrinas*, *haciendas*, and convents which were closely related to labour and resources.

¹⁶⁰ Vargas (1965b) is the one who suggests that friar Tomás del Castillo painted the portrait in the presence of Bedón's corpse.



Figure 17: Virgen de la Escalera by Pedro Bedón

Photo Author: Crespo Toral (1976)

Source: <http://artecolonialamericano.az.uniandes.edu.co:8080/artworks/9040>



Figure 18: Portrait of Pedro Bedón, Anonymous (1621).

Photo Author: Borja, Jaime

Source: <http://artecolonialamericano.az.uniandes.edu.co:8080/artworks/17746>

5.8 Colegio Real San Fernando and Universidad Santo Tomas: a cumbrous creation process

This section studies the cumbrous foundation process of the *Colegio Real San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomas*, which took circa 70 years from its ideation, including a twelve-years dispute between Dominicans and Jesuits. In first place, it is examined why the privilege of granting degrees became a priority for the Order of Preachers, and also how the process to create the colegio and university began. Second, the clash between the Society of Jesus and Dominicans is analysed by revising archival documents and the so-called *documento de la concordia*, which for a short period settled things down. Third, the dispute held between the Dominican Ignacio de Quezada and the Jesuit Pedro de Calderón is briefly reviewed, considering the memorials submitted to the Council of Indies. As a conclusion, it is suggested that the long-lasting conflict was not about prestige and recognition, but rather about royal funds for scholarships, and control of missions and doctrines.

As discussed earlier, the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* did not have royal authorization to grant degrees, and it was not a concern for the order until the 1620s when the Augustinians and then the Jesuits inaugurated their universities. Following the 1624 provincial chapter that appointed Raimundo Hurtado to achieve in Madrid and Rome such a permission for a new colegio (AGI, QUITO,87,N.58) the crown asked in 1626 the *Virreinato de Lima* and RAQ about the advisability of conceding the Dominicans the power to grant degrees in Quito (AGI, QUITO,212,L.5,F.36V-37V; QUITO,212,L.5,F.37V-38R). However, the intention did not prosper due to the death of Hurtado and mainly due to a crisis during the 1640s that considerably affected the studies within the Dominican convents, for instance, the *convento recoleta* suppressed its lectures on theology and philosophy, and students left *San Pedro Mártir* that lacked lecturers (González Suárez, 1970; Guerra Bravo, 2021). In 1656, the provincial chapter decided to retake the project of having a new colegio as in Spain to study theology including this time the idea of creating a university, but it was not until 1676 when the provincial chapter of that year appointed friar Ignacio de Quesada as the provincial procurator in Madrid and Rome, having as one of his duties the achievement of said desire (Vargas, 1983).

Then, Ignacio de Quesada collected in 1677 a series of documents from authorities supporting the creation of a Dominican colegio, e.g., RAQ stated that a new colegio teaching the doctrine of Aquinas would contribute to the development of the city and to cover the lack of positions in the Seminario San Luis (Chiriboga Murgueitio, 1998b), likewise, the bishop of Popayán claimed that there were not enough studies for young people in the city (AGI, QUITO,97). Initially, the strategy followed by the Order of Preachers was to ask permission for a colegio devoted to educating *convictos seculares*¹⁶¹ so that San Luis would not be affected; this is how Quesada obtained in 1681 a bull from Innocent XI to erect the colegio San Fernando and inside it the Universidad Santo Tomás, and later from king Charles II the royal grant in 1683 (AGI, QUITO,210,L.5,F.78R-79), it is noteworthy that the approved university was allowed to grant degrees in all existing and future sciences – including Medicine, and Canon and Civil law – until a *Universidad Real Pública* is created (Vargas, 1983). The same year the order submitted the approval to RAQ, nonetheless, the Society of Jesus filed an appeal affirming that the Dominicans did not have enough resources to fund the colegio, an action that was joint by the bishop Alonso Peña de Montenegro, who years before backed the project, but this time declared that the *Seminario San Luis* and the *Universidad San Gregorio*, both administered by the Jesuits, were sufficient to cover the number of existing students in Quito (AGI, QUITO,97). According to Quesada ([1692] 1983a) both the bishop and RAQ officers were this time against the colegio, since himself had obtained from the Council of Indies a *cédula real* to release the *indios* from paying tithes.

Thus, a long controversy started, and which lasted until 1693 as it is evidenced by a file located in the *Archivo General de Indias* (QUITO, 97): the reply from the Order of Preachers was that the colegio would be funded by some *haciendas* in Tocache¹⁶² which were donated by the San Pedro Mártir convent, moreover, the order declared that already had seven friars available: a rector, a vice-rector, three theology lecturers, one for arts, and one for grammar. The Dominicans declared that the *hacienda* in Tocache, nine *leguas* away from Quito, produced wheat, barley, corn, potatoes, legumes, including sheep and pig cattle that in total sold 17,800 *pesos* annually from which 12,000 were to cover the colegio expenses; besides,

¹⁶¹ A person who studies or lives in a seminary without being part of the clergy.

¹⁶² The Dominicans declared that the *haciendas* in Tocache, nine *leguas* away from Quito,

there were lands in Baya, nearby Guayaquil, that had 6,000 plants of cacao. This funding proposal for *San Fernando* proves that education was interrelated with deterritorialisation, colonial expansion demanded instructed subjects but, at the same, education required territories and resources to sustain itself. For instance, in 1680 friar Quesada gave the king a request which informed that the order had done a '*nueva conquista y reducción de indios bárbaros*' – referring to the missions in the province of *Canelos* – for which reason was required a colegio of Saint Thomas to lecture grammar, arts, scholastic and moral theology, and sacred scriptures, for the new ministers of evangelical law once the only Dominican colegio in RAQ was insufficient for providing studies to the *naturales* from all cities and towns (AGI, QUITO,97).

On the other hand, during the appeal the bishop alleged that was opposed to the new colegio since initially he was told that it was only for Dominican religious and not for regulars; RAQ also adhered to such an argument and revoked in 1681 the support given to Quesada four years before (Chiriboga Murgueitio, 1998a). In their defence, the friars asserted that San Fernando was thought from the beginning as a *colegio de seculares* and not as a *colegio de estudiantes seculares*, so the seminary conserved the privilege to ordain priests and religious; furthermore, the colegio's aim was nothing more than teaching Aquinas as in Lima, Mexico, and Europe. As a counterattack, the Jesuits were accused that were publicly granting unauthorised degrees in all sciences, when they were actually allowed to confer degrees on arts and theology for their members. Although the king approved and ordered RAQ and the bishopric the creation of the colegio in 1680 (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.51V-53R), bishop Peña de Montenegro informed in 1685 that it was not possible since the Dominicans had not submitted the papal bull that authorised an all-privilege university like Lima and Mexico, which could not operate without approval from the Council of Indies. Two years later, the conditions changed for the colegio, the new bishop Sancho de Andrade y Figueroa took office and immediately executed an additional royal decree from 1685 that authorised also the Santo Tomás university (Vargas, 1983). Even the pope was aware of the dispute taking place in Quito who issued in 1687 a letter ordering the bishop of Quito to settle the differences among the orders (Figure 19). Thus, the new bishop arranged in June 1688

an agreement¹⁶³ between Jesuits and Dominicans which is known as the *documento de la concordia* (concord document) that included the following conditions (AGI, QUITO,97):

- 1) The Society of Jesus withdrawn the appeal and complied with all the royal decrees.
- 2) The *colegio San Fernando* will not have the title of *Real* and its students won't use the royal coat of arms, while San Luis will not use the royal title as well until the king makes a decision.
- 3) In all public events the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* had to precede the *colegio San Fernando*, excepting when colegio invited the other.
- 4) The degree granting for both colegios was allowed only to their own students.
- 5) The graduate students from one colegio could not enrol in the other.
- 6) All students were required three years of philosophy for becoming *Maestro de Artes* and four of theology for being *licenciado* or *doctor*.
- 7) Both colegios will alternate in the public conclusions and disputes.
- 8) The Order of Preachers was compromised not to use any privilege in detriment of the Society of Jesus.

Previously, the order committed to a) create 5 chairs: one for grammar, one for arts, and three of theology: *prima*, *vísperas*, and moral; b) the students' uniform was black and white including the Dominican coat of arms; c) each student had to pay 80 pesos annually; d) Confession and communion each 15 days for students; and e) 30 minutes for praying and mass at 5:30am every day. The agreement also established that additional to the *hacienda* in Tocache, the colegio would be funded by a field of wheat in Sangolquí and another in the valley of the river Pisque which included sugar mills and diverse kinds of cattle. Finally, the *colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás* were officially inaugurated the same June 1688 with twenty one students coming from the elite who were given scholarships by the order which also opened a first letters school annexed to the *colegio* for poor and rich children (Vargas, 1983).

¹⁶³ This procedure was also approved by the king in March 1688 (AGI, QUITO,210,L.5,F.256V).

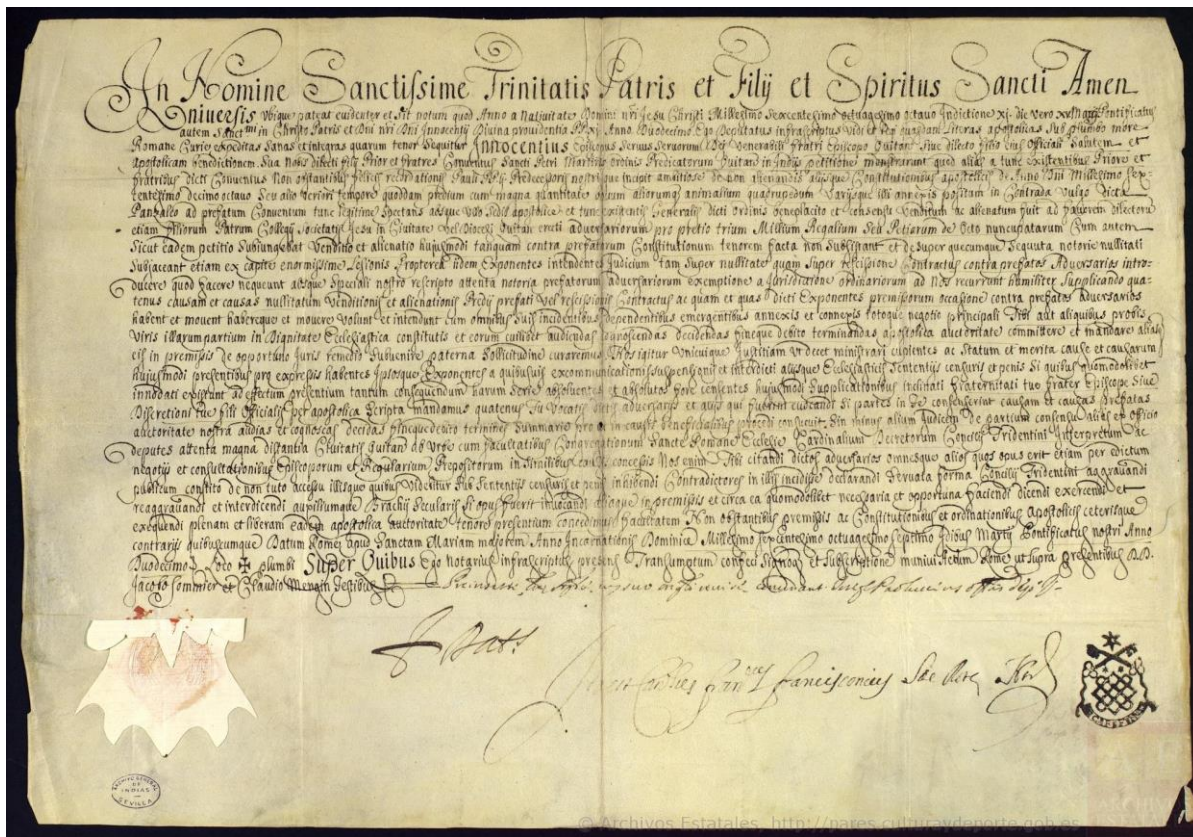


Figure 19: Papal letter about dispute in Quito (1687)

Source: AGI, MP-BULAS_BREVES,527, f. 1

The truce did not last long though, friar Ignacio de Quesada ([1692] 1983a) sent a *Memorial* to the Council of Indies in 1692 claiming that the so-called *concordia* was not valid, since instead of being an agreement it was a ‘seminary of disagreements’ that included violations to the royal patronage and the privileges obtained by the Dominican order. Quesada stated that the order signed the agreement due to superior mediations and to call things down, but regardless of this, each of the points of the *concordia* were null by a series of aspects that are provided in detail. Moreover, taking advantage of the occasion, the friar informed that the Jesuits did not have the power to concede degrees once the papal consent was already expired. From the other side, the Society of Jesus replied in 1693 by means of Pedro de Calderón ([1693] 1983), provincial procurator, who likewise sent a lengthy *Memorial* responding to every allegation of Quesada and that mainly indicated that information and documents provided were inaccurate and tendentious. Hence, it was

requested that the king review the *concordia* and the establish the party that breached the agreement payment so to pay the fine indicated therein which was of 2,000 pesos. In 1695, Quesada ([1695] 1983b) sent a further reply to Calderón's statement, accusing him of defaming, insulting and slandering the Dominican order and the king, and even of falling into support for some Jansenism theses; asking also a sanction to Calderón for stamping his memorial without the royal grant from the Council of Indies.

Charles II in replied to Calderon's appeal decided in 1693 to authorise the colegio San Fernando under royal protection, receiving the title of Real, and having the same privileges as the Seminario San Luis to grant degrees and use the royal coat of arms for students, who were also allowed to pursue studies at both institutions (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.305V-307V). Additionally, the king ordered RAQ to 'rebuke' the ministers who hindered the Dominican colegio (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.310R-311R), and to provide resources for some of its new chairs (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.307V-309R). Finally, the constitutions of San Fernando were approved by the Council of Indies in 1694 (AGI, QUITO,213,L.9,F.316R-334V), which did not mean that the disputes had ended, e.g., the clash about preference in public acts was settled only in 1716 when the king decided to give said privilege to San Luis (AGI, QUITO,210,L.6,F.151R-152V).

The administration of the colegio also created internal conflicts among the friars, the RAQ president informed in 1724 about some clashes within the Dominican order for the position of rector; the provincial chapter had elected, after claims about an academic decline, Joseph de Erique instead of friar Ignacio Padilla who in turn was supported by the *colegiales*, refusing any accusation about the decrease of the studies quality and issues regarding the seminarian behaviour (AGI, QUITO,130,N.9). Unfortunately, the colegio San Fernando and the Universidad Santo Tomás had a relative brief existence, the former was closed down in 1862 by Antonio Flores Jijón, president of Ecuador, when it was transferred to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart to establish a girls' colegio; whereas the latter was replaced by the *Real y Pública Universidad secularizada de Santo Tomás* in 1786 as part of the so-called Bourbon reforms which created a *Junta de Aplicación de Temporalidades* that merged in 1776 the Dominican university and the already extinct San Gregorio from the Jesuits (González Suárez, 1970; Jijón y Caamaño, 1923; Keeding, 2020)

In conclusion, the review of the cumbersome creation process of San Fernando and Santo Tomás allow us to underline the existing conflict of interests for education, since a colegio or a university was the opportunity to influence the elite offspring and the future friars, who afterwards became royal officers in the colonial cities and *doctrineros* in remote parishes. Then, the conflict between the Society of Jesus and the Order of Preachers was not only about social prestige and historical recognition, but also about royal funds for scholarships, and control of missions and doctrines. Finally, it is worth remembering that Dominicans decided to undertake the educative project when Augustinians and Jesuits opened their universities and more important when the missions in the Amazon province of Canelos were booming.

5.9 Instruction and networking at San Fernando and Santo Tomás

This section describes the academic structure of the colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás, emphasising Santo Tomás alumni to denote that Dominicans were devoted to instructing RAQ elite, and mainly to accredit the future administrators of their own university. The order thus was related to RAQ spheres of power, but it was not limited just to internal networks, as it is evidenced by the life trajectory of Luis Antonio de Torres, a Santo Tomas alumnus that had a relevant career in Mexico. Then, the Dominican *colegio-universidad* was articulated to the existing knowledge network thru the Spanish empire.

In first place, in organisational terms, the colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás were guided by the 1694 constitutions and statutes approved by the king. They were founded having two sections higher studies that comprised the faculties of Arts, Theology, and Canon and Law, and minor studies which included the courses of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Humanities. Initially, in 1691 there were two chairs of Scholastic theology, one on Moral Theology, one for Arts, and two for Grammar, having in total circa 120 students from the bishoprics of Quito, Popayán, and Panama as friar Quesada informed the king in 1692 ([1692] 1983a). Yet, after its definitive royal approval the *colegio-universidad* had 17 chairs in 1693: one on Rhetoric, three for Arts, one on sacred scriptures, two on Scholastic theology, one on Moral Theology, three on Canon law, three on Civil law, one for Grammar, one for

Lengua del inga, and the novel one on medicine (Gil Blanco, 2022; Guerra Bravo, 2021; Vargas, 1965b).

Regarding the chair of Arts, the constitutions established as usual that it was divided into three classes: one for studying *Summulas* and logic, the second devoted to physics and *De caelo et mundo*, and finally one for the Metaphysics, *De Anima*, *De Generatione et Corruptione* and Cano's *De Locis Theologicis*. All of them had to be lectured by Dominican religious who should have passed the three-years course on philosophy and the four-years course on theology, in addition to having taught previously in another convent. Moreover, it was ordered for lecturers of Arts, Scholastic theology, moral theology, Sacred Scriptures, Canon law, Civil law, and medicine to organise at least two public disputes each year, and every Saturday on a rotating basis an internal dispute. As several scholars point out (González Suárez, 1970; Guerra Bravo, 2021; Jouanen, 1941; Vargas, 1965b), the public disputes involving the orders and universities became such a relevant event in Quito during the eighteenth century that RAQ had to intervene to regulate them due to continuous clashes and for being time-consuming for officers who had to attend to them. Thus, it was established that each order could organise a maximum of four public disputes each year, the colegios San Luis and San Fernando including their universities a maximum of six on the most convenient topics, and the Franciscan colegio San Buenaventura one annual Act of Conclusions.

On the other hand, San Fernando and Santo Tomas were not entirely open institutions, their constitutions established that applicants had to submit two statements, one the so-called *moribus et vita* and the other on blood purity. Such requirements were intended to restrict entry, not to declared non-Christians who were few in Quito, but to people coming from non-elite strata. Thus, the intention was to assure the instruction for elite offspring as a means to guarantee their permanence and hegemony within local power spheres. As Gil Blanco (2022) points out, according to existing records (Figure 20 and 21), at Santo Tomás graduated 412 bachelors, 6 *licenciados*, 166 *maestros*, and 317 *doctores*, of which 256 in theology, 53 in Canon and law, and 6 in medicine until 1768; besides, it was opened to all the orders and clergy – excepting Jesuits after the abovementioned clash – having as doctoral alumni 38 Franciscans, 30 Dominicans, 19 Augustinians, 2 Mercedarians, and 19 presbyters. Then, San

Fernando and Santo Tomás allowed the Order of Preachers to accredit people that later will become bureaucrats, judges, and political and ecclesiastical officers, but mainly their own fellows to teach and administer the *colegio-universidad* (see Gil Blanco, 2022, pp. 66–87), for instance, all the professors at Santo Tomas were Dominican alumni in 1747.

In this vein, the Dominicans who were granted the degree of *Doctor en Teología*¹⁶⁴ were often related to positions of power within the university. Thus, the first cohort of doctors in theology was constituted by 15 candidates, from which five became rectors of Santo Tomás: Luis de Sasamon (1694-1696), Diego Román (1697-1697), Jacinto de Molina (1698-1701, 1714), Sebastián de Noboa (1703-1705), and Lucas de Solís (1707-1707). Three of them became lecturers at Santo Tomás: Lucas Ordóñez of theology, Agustín de Aguilar of sacred scriptures, and Gregorio de Jesús of Moral theology. Two of them were qualifiers of the holy office: Juan and Mantilla and Joseph Balderrama. Buenaventura de Cárdenas who was an Augustinian friar later became Provincial of his order. In 1703, the degree of Doctor of Theology was granted to Pedro Bermejo, Martín Santos, and Joseph de Erique: the first was lecturer of Arts, the second was rector of Santo Tomas in 1708, and the latter was rector twice 1713-1721, 1725-1725. Jacinto Gómez de Molina obtained in 1710 his doctoral degree in theology for becoming later university secretary from 1710 to 1713. In 1714, a rare situation took place when Joseph Santos became Doctor of Theology and the university rector until 1717. Manuel Román was lecturer of Arts at San Fernando and Santo Tomás rector in 1730 after receiving his doctorate in theology in 1715, as did Ignacio de Andocilla, who was also Santo Tomas rector (1728-1732). Then, Isidro Coronel in 1722 was granted the doctoral degree in theology and afterwards was appointed university rector (1733-1739), like Isidro Santos graduated in 1716 and chosen rector in 1740. Francisco Sanchez obtained the theology doctorate in 1749 and the next year occupied the rector position. Finally, Ignacio de Castro according to the existing records was the last alumnus rector at Santo Tomas (1765-1766) after being awarded his degree in 1744.

¹⁶⁴ Another interesting case were the *doctores en Cánones y Leyes* who in most cases were not religious, e.g., Pedro Quiñonez and Joaquín Gutiérrez were granted their degrees in 1765 and both became lecturers of Canon and Law at Santo Tomás.

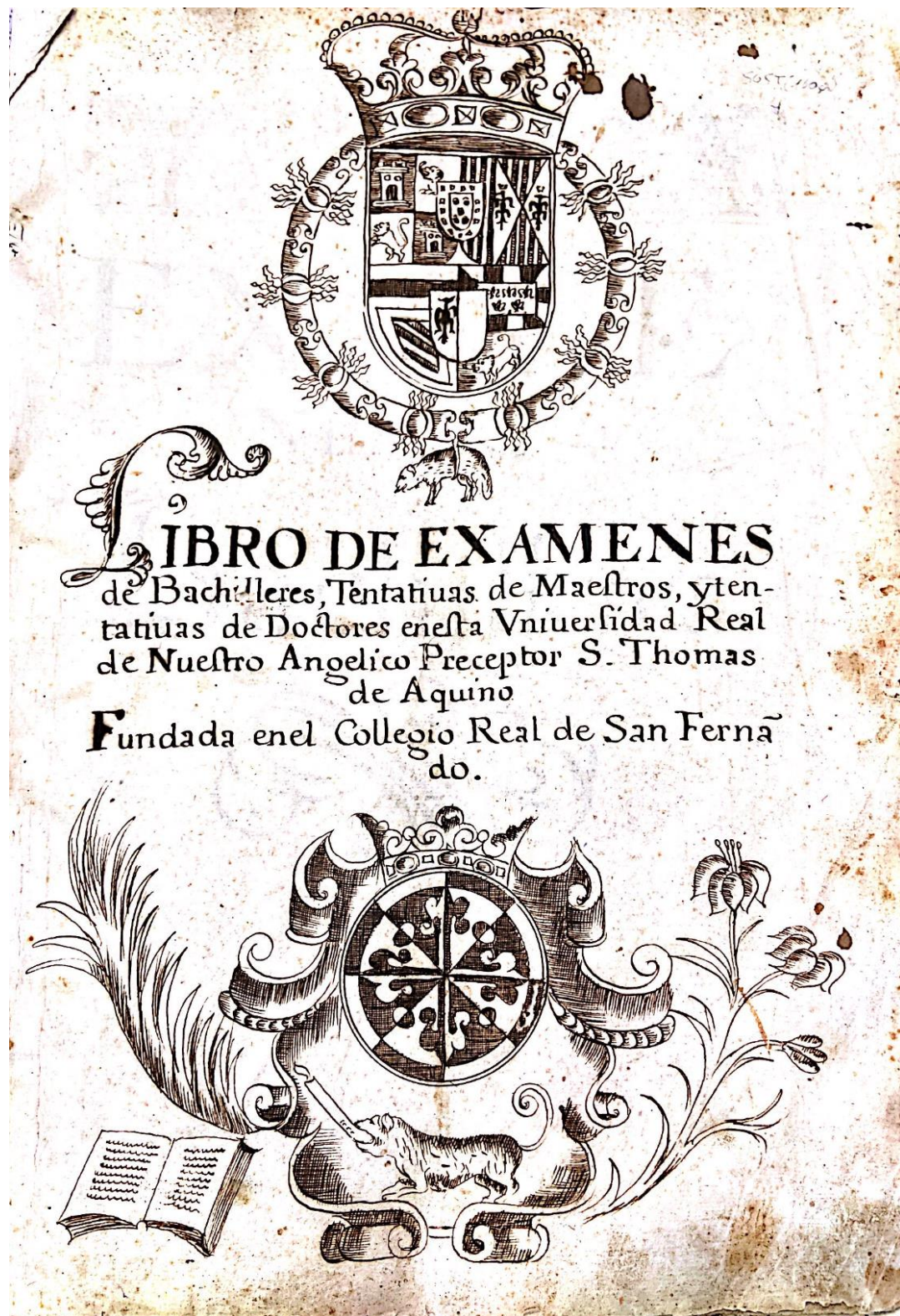


Figure 20: Cover page with coat of arms of Dominican order (1690)

Source: AGUCE, *Libro de Exámenes...* 1690

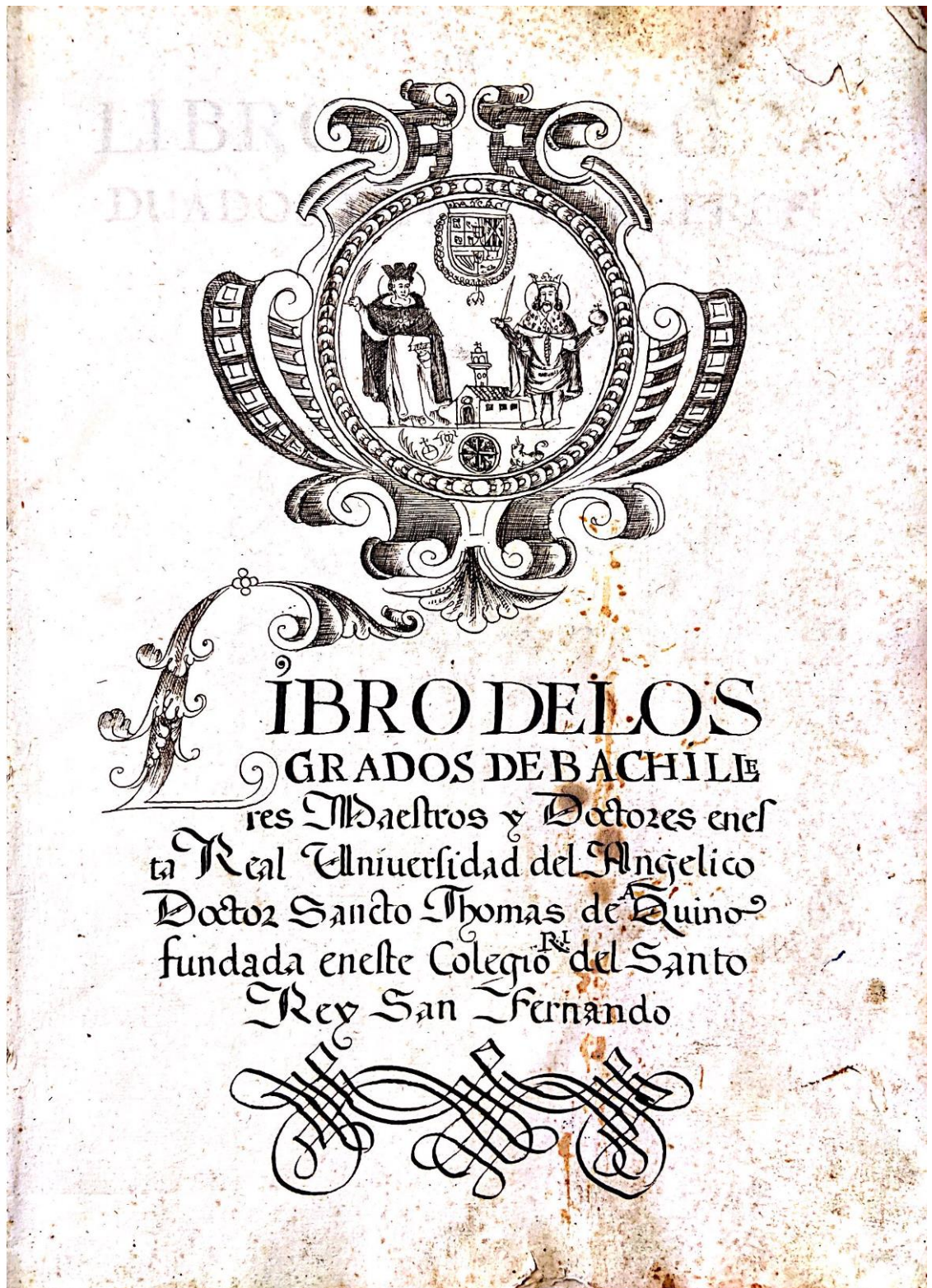


Figure 21: Coat of arms of Colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás (1690)
Source: AGUCE, *Libro de Oro Santo Tomás...* 1690

Hence, Santo Tomás was devoted to instruct the political and ecclesiastical elite of RAQ, rather than being a classical centre for knowledge production (Gil Blanco, 2022). In this vein, the Dominicans were able to assemble an influential web in the *Audiencia*, which sometimes went beyond its borders, thus articulating with the great knowledge network existing throughout the Spanish empire. A remarkable case to evidence said interconnectedness is the life trajectory of Luis Antonio de Torres (Figure 22) a Panamanian priest who studied in Quito and had an important career in Mexico. Luis Antonio de Torres y Quintero (Figure 23) was born in 1675, in Mata de los Caballeros (Santiago de Veraguas) nearby Panama in the province of Tierra Firme, his parents were the captain Antonio de Torres y Doña Juana Quinteros. He was ordained priest in 1699 in Panama where he met bishop Diego Ladrón de Guevara, who two years later appointed Torres as interim priest of Cangallo in the bishopric of Huamanga in Peru. In 1704, Torres was granted the degree on *Maestro en Artes* by the *Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga*. When bishop Diego Ladrón de Guevara was transferred to RAQ in 1706, Torres was assigned as chaplain to the convent of Discalced Carmelites in Quito and the next year was given the parish of Amaguaña nearby Quito (AHN, CONSEJOS,50155,Exp.173). In the meantime, he accomplished all the requirements to obtain the degree of *Doctor en Sacra Teología* by the *Real Universidad San Fernando* in 1708, after being examined by professors Martino Sánchez, Pedro Bermejo, Joseph Erique, and Antonio Ortiz (AGUCE, *Libro de exámenes de Bachilleres, Tentativas...*, f.82v). That year, after receiving a 3-years license from RAQ and bishop Ladrón de Guevara (AGI, ALMODOVAR,C.53,D.9), Torres travelled to Spain to ask the king a better position. In 1712, the priest went back to RAQ, including some *criados* (AGI, QUITO,142,N.86).

Following a new travel to Spain, he was appointed as chaplain of the Queen in 1714, the next year the king gave him the position of *medio racionero* in the Cathedral of Mexico (AGI, CONTRATACION,5791,L.1,F.265V-266V). Torres went to Mexico to take his position in 1716 (AGI, CONTRATACION,5469,N.1,R.3), accompanied by his *criado* José Fernández de Cabrera (AGI, CONTRATACION,5469,N.2,R.1). In *Nueva España*, Torres had a relevant ecclesiastical career, particularly, in the Cathedral of Mexico where he became *racionero* in 1722, obtained a canonry in 1733, and was appointed as Treasurer in 1749 and precentor in 1750 (AGI, INDIFERENTE,235,N.6). Furthermore, the viceroy Juan de Acuña Marquez in

1732 gave Torres the position of rector, administrator, and majordomo of the *Hospital Real de Naturales* in Mexico. During his last years, he was member of the Council of San Pedro de Mexico, Torres died in 1756 and his will included the donation of his personal library to found the library of the Cathedral Of Mexico that will become one of the biggest in the region (Alamán et al., 1853).

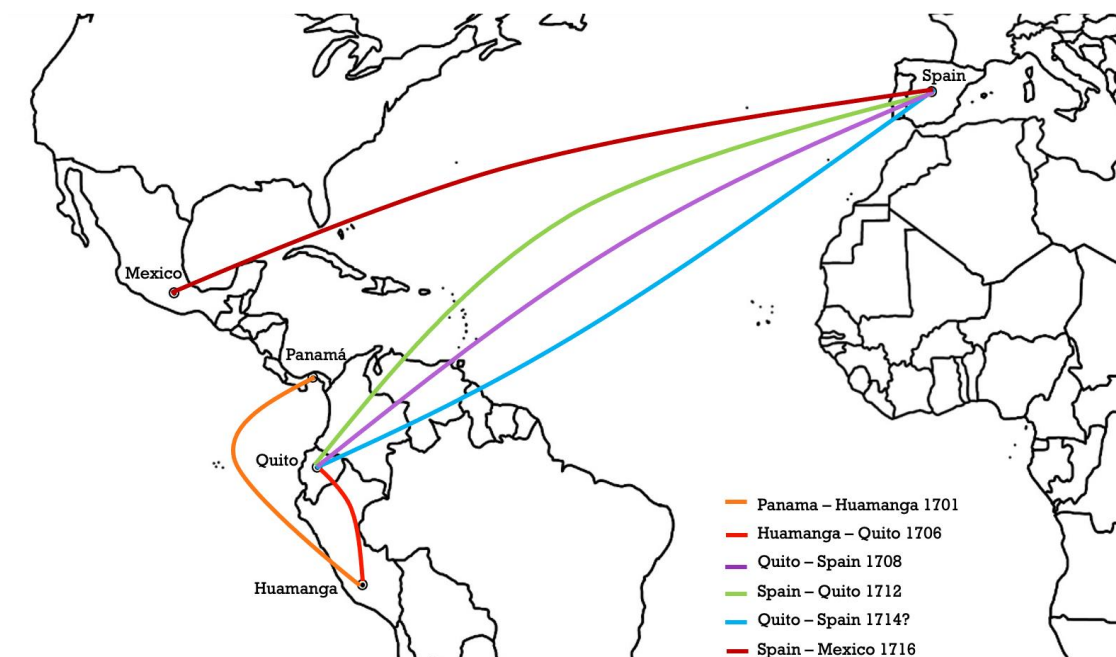


Figure 22: Life trajectory of Luis Antonio de Torres



Figure 23: Portrait of Luis Antonio de Torres (1780)

Author: Vallejo, Francisco Antonio

Photo Author: Katzew, Ilona (2017)

Source: <http://artecolonialamericano.az.uniandes.edu.co:8080/artworks/19731>

Although San Fernando and Santo Tomas were indeed devoted to educating RAQ elite as a mechanism to assure influence and power, it is not utterly accurate to suggest that it was not a centre for knowledge production. The *colegio-universidad* was continuously networking not only within Quitense political spheres, but also to the modern debates that were taking place thru the empire. For instance, some of the aforementioned alumni produced manuscripts and contributions to the colonial intelligentsia, in addition to being officeholders and bureaucrats, as discussed below.

5.10 Philosophy and knowledge at San Fernando and Santo Tomas

This final section attempts at describing the philosophical instruction and production at San Fernando and Santo Tomas until late eighteenth century, which were characterised by two moments. First, a ‘hardcore Scholasticism’ that decided to continue the sixteenth century tradition in the context of the debates on Jansenism and Probabilism, without excluding the study of modern authors as evidenced by the existing manuscripts in Dominican and Jesuit libraries in Quito. The second moment named ‘modernising Scholasticism’ was defined by a certain eclecticism that combined Scholastic tradition and experimental sciences, as evidenced by the 51 theses for the Arts final examination at the secularised Santo Tomas university which are analysed.

In first place, the *colegio San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás* were created in a period characterised by two controversies, first, the discussions about Jansenism and its interpretation on grace following the out famous *Augustinus* by Cornelius Jansen, continuing the never-resolved controversy *Congregatio de Auxiliis* (see Hogan, 1995; O’Connor, 2012), and second, Probabilism a doctrine introduced, in 1577, by the Dominican Bartolome de Medina that claimed that was legitimate to follow any probable opinion even if a more probable counter-opinion existed – *Si est opinio probabilis, licitum est eam sequi, licet opposita probabilior sit*¹⁶⁵ (Schuessler, 2019a, 2019b). Regarding the former, most of Dominicans held that God and his sovereignty were the source of creation, freedom, and truth. About the latter, the doctrine initially had several adherents within the order until the 1640s, when a substantial opposition took shape that ultimately led to the Dominican General Chapter deciding in favour of probabiliorism in 1656, the same year as the publication of the first of Blaise Pascal’s Provincial Letters, who was a defender of Jansenism, in addition to the 1679 Innocent XI’s condemnation of sixty-five propositions in favour of the so-called laxism, including probabilism (Astrain, 1914; Laske, 2021; Mayer Celis, 2011).

¹⁶⁵ Probabilism started a long-standing debate within moral theology and epistemology in the Baroque era about opinions and knowledge, even concerning human will and freedom. It was mainly justified by two principles: the principle of a possessor’s advantage and the principle that an uncertain law does not bind; precisely, due to these principles probabilism was defined as a doctrine that favoured human liberty and casuistry instead of law and authority (see Schuessler, 2019a, 2019b).

In the Virreinato de Lima¹⁶⁶, probabilism had a long tradition that goes back to the Spanish-Peruvian Jesuit Diego de Avendaño (1594-1688) and his *Thesaurus Indicus* from 1668, in which the main discussion regarding probabilism was on the forced labour of indios in the mines (Ballón, 2008; Ponzio, 2019). Thus, the debate in Lima took place especially within the Society of Jesus until its expulsion in 1767, despite the fact that Tirso González de Santalla, Superior General of the order from 1687 to 1705, campaigned for anti-probabilism publishing his out famous *Tractatus succintus de recto usu opinionum probabilium* in 1691. The controversy was such that one of the convening points of the VI Limense Council¹⁶⁷ (1772-1773) was the condemnation of laxism – including probabilism – to somehow justify the Society expel and to reject the Jesuit doctrine in the context of the Bourbon reforms (Jacinto Fiestas, 2000; Vargas Ugarte, 1952). In the case of RAQ the situation was quite similar, Avendaño was studied by his Jesuit fellows who possessed two editions of the *Thesaurus Indicus*, four volumes from 1668 (BNEE, FJ, FJ03838; FJ03842; ML359 AVE; FJ03841), and a second volume from 1676 (BNEE, FJ, FJ03868). Nevertheless, there was never a public defence of probabilism, and Tirso González de Santalla was studied at San Gregorio from late seventeenth century, as it is evidenced by his works found in the Jesuit library in Quito: *Fundamentum theologiae moralis, id est tractatus theologicus de recto usu opinionum probabilium* from 1697 (BNEE, FJ, FJ00398) and two copies of *Synopsis tractatus theologici: de recto usu opinionum probabilium luce...* also from 1697 (BNEE, FJ, FJ04658; FJ02407). Besides, the bishop Pedro Ponce de León y Carrasco did not attend to the Limense Council, alleging health issues, so he did not present the position of the Quitense bishopric on the dispute.

Regarding Dominicans, the trend was not different in Quito in the sense that probabilism was mostly rejected and they opted to continue their sixteenth century Scholastic tradition,

¹⁶⁶ The case of Virreinato de Nueva España was not that different, in first place, there was a support for probabilism, a situation that changed in the 1660s when an anti-probabilistic rigorism was defended by the Dominicans. However, in 1682, the bishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas banned the rigorist theses and backed probabilism that enjoyed, in Mexico, a considerable boost from the Jesuits and the bishopric until early eighteenth century when Tirso González assumed the direction of the Society (see Laske, 2021).

¹⁶⁷ A controversy on a condemnation of probabilism took place in the Council between two sides, those who were in favour Miguel Durán, Pedro Ángel de Espiñeira (Franciscan bishop of Concepción de Chile), and Manuel de Amat (viceroys of Lima), and those against the condemnation Juan de Marimón (Franciscan theologian) and Manuel de Alday (bishop of Santiago de Chile), however, despite all the polemic, a definitive decision on the matter was not made by the Council (see Jacinto Fiestas, 2000; Millar Carvacho, Retamal Fuentes, & Urrejola Santa María, 2011).

in what we have called ‘hardcore Scholasticism’. Precisely, the dissemination of Aquinas’ doctrine was the Dominican objective of founding a new *colegio-universidad* in Quito, thus the statute and constitutions of San Fernando and Santo Tomás established that Aquinas had to be studied according to the most accepted opinions of the Thomist school of the Order of Preachers that included Durandus of Saint-Pourçain, Thomas Cajetan, Melchor Cano, and Antoine Goudin. Dominicans from late seventeenth century to late nineteenth century focused more on seminarian instruction than on the study of experimental sciences, even abandoning the tradition to study the technical issues in Aristotle’s *Physics*, becoming thus the main references¹⁶⁸ Alberto Lepidi, Salvatore Maria Roselli, and the aforementioned Antoine Goudin (Wallace, 1968). Then, as Guerra Bravo points out (2021) philosophical instruction at San Fernando and Santo Tomas was initially restricted to Aquinas, Cano, and Goudin. Besides, the latter was essential for refashioning Dominican education when the classical commentaries on Aristotle were replaced by the renowned *Cursus Philosophicus* (Ashley, 2009). For instance, his *Philosophia iuxta inconcussa tutissimaque D. Thomae dogmata*, in addition to the teaching of Aristotle and St. Thomas, includes discussions on Descartes, Marin Mersenne, Emmanuel Maignan, and Pierre Gassendi, although relevant scientists like Galileo Galilei and Isaac Newton are not considered in its editions of 1671 and 1726¹⁶⁹ (Wallace, 1968). Besides, Goudin was included as compulsory by Juan Tomás Boxadors, General of the order from 1756 to 1777, who officially reformed the order education in 1757 with his treatise *De renovanda et defendenda doctrina Sancti Thomae*, which Charles III assumed to be applied in all universities of the Spanish empire (Tusquets i Terrats, 1923).

Similarly, Salvatore Maria Roselli and his *Summa Philosophica* introduced to Dominican instruction modern authors, such as Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Descartes, Isaac Newton and Gottfried Leibniz, however most of their theses on motion and the system of the world were refuted, defending a non-Ptolemaic geocentric system (Wallace, 1968).

¹⁶⁸ Wallace (1968) refers to this period as the ‘manual tradition’ which, instead of formulating scientific questions on motion and laws of nature, preferred to introduced discussions on creation, subsistence, and problems related to the Eucharist into natural philosophy.

¹⁶⁹ The 1854 edition does include in an footnote a discussion on Newton’s laws, which are rejected as completely false (Wallace, 1968).

Both authors, Goudin and Roselli were studied by the Quitense Dominicans, as it is confirmed by Keeding (1983, 2005), who has traced the *Philosophia juxta inconcussa, tutissimaque Divi Thomae Dogmata* and the *Summa philosophica* in the library of the Dominican convent in Quito. Hence, the so-called ‘hardcore Scholasticism’, in spite of preferring the traditional Scholastic school, did not imply a complete break with the ongoing debates, or a total closure on outdated authors, since the latest Dominican authors were studied, who included several discussions on modern authors and theories. For example, the following manuscripts belonging to said moment are identified by Keeding (1983, 2005) in Quito: *Summa Summarum, quae Sylvestrina dicitur* by Sylvester Mazzolini, *Cursus Philosophicus* by John of St. Thomas, the *Mundus peripatheticus restitutus: a nuperis eius impugnatoribus* by Juan Briz, the *Compendium Philosophicum* by Tomás Vicente Tosca, a hand-written transcription of *Cours de Chymie* in its Spanish translation by Félix Palacios, and the *Elementos de cálculo integral* by François Jacquier.

Moreover, the Dominican school from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was also studied by the Jesuits in Quito, who to defending their own fellows in the so famous public disputes, possessed several of its works, such as the *Veritates aureae supra totam legem veterem...* of Serafino Capponi a Porrecta (BNEE, FJ, FJ00744); the complete collection of *Commentaria et controversiae* on Aquinas by John Paul Nazarius (BNEE, FJ, FJ02557; FJ02487; FJ02746; FJ02709; FJ02707; FJ02685); the *Cursus Philosophicus* (BNEE, FJ, FJ04529) and the *Cursus Theologicus* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02703) by Jean Poinsot (aka John of St. Thomas); copies related to the so-called ‘defenses of St. Thomas’ by Jean Baptiste Gonet that included *Manuale thomistarum...* (BNEE, FJ, FJ01919) and *Clypeus theologiae thomisticae contra novos eius impugnatores* (BNEE, FJ, FJ01985); the *Cursus theologicus* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02473) and the *Cursus Theologico-moralis* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02379) by Domenico Viva; there were copies of the *Cursus Philosophicus thomisticus* (BNEE, FJ, FJ03749) and the *Summae angelicae s. Thomae Aquinatis Compendium resolutorium* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02395) by Alexandre Piny; and the *Summa philosophica ad mentem angelici doctoris s. Thomae Aquinatis* (BNEE, FJ, FJ07577) by Salvatore Maria Roselli. Even the censored and prosecuted Tomasso Campanella was studied by means of his medical studies known as the *Medicinalium* (BNEE, FJ, FJ06555).

Likewise, on the theological and ecclesiastical fields several Dominicans were reviewed by the Jesuits in RAQ, e.g., Domenico Gravina through his *Pro Sacro Deposito fidei Catholicae et Apostolicae...* (BNEE, FJ, ML 5660), *Pro Sacrosancto Ordinis Sacramento ...* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02327), and *Congeminata Vox Turturis...* (BNEE, FJ, FJ06491); by Vincent Baron, such as the well-known *Theologia moralis, adversus laxiores probabilistas ...* (BNEE, FJ, FJ06982), and *Manuductionis ad morale theologiam* (BNEE, FJ, FJ00464); by Thomas Malvenda *De paradiso voluptatis, quem Scriptura Sacra...* (BNEE, FJ, FJ00552), and *De Antichristo libri XI* (BNEE, FJ, FJ02219); the *Praedicatorum Theologia dogmatica et moralis...* by Noël Alexander (BNEE, FJ, FJ04268; FJ04405); the *Theologia Christiana Dogmatico-Moralis* by Daniele Concina (BNEE, FJ, FJ04482); *Veritas vindicata, sive Permultae sententiae auctorum Societatis Jesu* by Carlo Noceti (BNEE, FJ, FJ05013); and *A vera chiesa di Cristo dimostrada da segni, e da dogmi. Contra i due libri di Giacomo Picenino...* by Vincenzo Ludovico Gotti (BNEE, FJ, FJ02376; FJ06045; FJ02377).

Thus, one can suggest that knowledge on the Dominican school was up to date in RAQ. Yet, unlike Franciscans (see Chapter 4) and Jesuits at San Gregorio university (see Chapter 7), there are few manuscripts by Quitense Dominican professors once they were constrained to follow an official recognised *Cursus* as aforesaid. Guerra Bravo (2021) has identified some manuscripts that could appertain to the ‘hardcore Scholasticism’. For example, a treatise from the 1703-1706 Arts course that consisted of three books for dialectic and eight books for logic; another volume on logic and physics *à la Goudin* compiled from the 1718-1721 course by friar Nicolás Fernández; and finally, a logic treatise from the 1732-1733 course. But an outstanding example from this period constitutes the 1709-1712 course lectured by Manuel Román whose first year was dedicated to cosmology analysing debates on matter its causes and effects, the second to discuss a treatise on causes, and the third for studying his *Liber Physicorum Quaestio De Motu, De actione et De Patione* (sic) (Vargas, 1965b). Likewise, Redmond (1972) identifies in the Seminary of Popayán two 1733 manuscripts based on the lectures of Juan Duarte at the San Pedro Mártir in Quito:

- *Naturalis philosophia iuxta mentem A.D.S. Thomae Aquinatis et Aristotelis Tractatus, per P.Fr. Joannem a Duarte artium Cathedrae Moderatorem in hoc alma Sancti Petri*

Martyris Quitensis Coenobio. Auditore Fr. Thoma Barberena ex eius Discipulis minimo. Initium dedimus. die 26 Mensis Iunii Ann. Dni. 1733 (WRed, 246).

- *Justa mentem A.D. Commentarium ex variis tractatibus per P.F. Joanem Duarte, in hoc almo Sancti Petris Martyris d Quito Coenovio Moderatore. Auditore. F. Thoma Berverana, ex eius discipulis minimo. Initium dedimus die 5 Mensis Maii Anno Dni (1733) (WRed, 247).*

Afterwards, on the other hand, a second philosophical moment took place within San Fernando and Santo Tomas that goes from 1736, when the French Geodesic mission to the Equator arrived in Quito, until 1788 when the Dominican university was secularised, we refer to a ‘modernising Scholasticism’ that gained strength in RAQ after the encounter between Scholasticism and modern philosophy during said period. In this vein, Vargas (1965b) provides details about two manuscripts¹⁷⁰ from those years that were taught at Santo Tomas university, the first, the *Cursus Triennalis Phylosophiae juxta mentem Divi Thomae et Aristóteles -Breviter explanatus ad usum studentium. Continent Logicam, Phisicam, Methaphisicam ac Generationem* that was compiled from the 1766-1768 Arts course lectured by friar Juan Albán. Thus, the treatises on logic and metaphysics do not stray from the Scholastic tradition, the book on causes describes the doctrine on physical premotion following Augustine, Aquinas, and the Councils in order to refute the Jesuit position. Instead, the treatise on cosmology is innovative by reviewing modern authors like Feijoo and Descartes whose theory is analysed giving reasons for and against it. The second manuscript, a treatise on physics by friar Lorenzo Ramírez was used during the 1774-1777 Arts course, from which Vargas (1965b) transcribes its introduction (Appendix 5) which confirms the preference for Aristotelean physics over ‘experimental’ natural philosophy which is amusing and contributes to render physics more enjoyable, that is why modern philosophers are to be considered.

¹⁷⁰ Guerra Bravo (2021) has identified additional manuscripts that could evidence the existence of a knowledge circulation among Dominican colegios, for instance, a hand-written transcription of *De Generatione Et Corruptione Tractatus Per Quaestiones Et Articulos Divisus, Juxta Mentem Ang. Doct. D. Thomae* by Froilán Díaz de Llanos, former confessor of king Charles II; and a manuscript on *Physics* by Jonas Castro who was lecturer at the colegio El Rosario in Santa Fe de Bogota.

By the end of the eighteenth century, after RAQ universities were merged and *Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino* was secularised, the ‘modernising Scholasticism’ was still prevalent to a certain extent: Scholastic tradition was the main current but experimental sciences had already widely infiltrated philosophy studies. This is evidenced by the theses to be defended by Arts students in their final examination. The *Theses recentioris Philosophie publica literatura concertatione in Concursu ad Philosophicam clacem*¹⁷¹ ... (AGUCE, *Enunciados de Tesis... 1795-1808*, ff.1-4) includes a series of 51 theses that each candidate had to know and explain in order to graduate: ten *Ex Logica*, ten *Ex Ontologia, et Animastica*, seventeen *Ex physica tam generali, quam particulari*, four *Ex Astronomia*, and 10 *Ex Ethica*.

On logic, the theses to be studied mostly constitute a critique to Cartesian theory of knowledge, attempting at preserving the role of senses, intellect, and revelation, in a still Scholastic way. For instance, the 2nd thesis is about the debate on innate ideas: asking to explain why the *idee pure spiritualis* are acquired with the help of intellect or the use of reason without the senses, instead of the *idee innate* in the Cartesian sense. Continuing the critique of Descartes, the 3rd thesis claims that external senses well prepared and well trained *in representatione objecti, fallere minime possunt*. Similarly, the 5th thesis affirms that God – being supreme truth and wisdom – is unable to reveal what is contrary to reason, hence *sacra Revelationis misteria, nullum modo rationi contraria*; although these revelations are superior to the rational faculties, they are all together in consonance. Thesis 8 establishes that it is necessary in examination and in the search for truth to separate reason from reasoning (*rationem, à ratiocinatione secernamus*). Finally, the 10th thesis asks about the relation of philosophers and revelation, *philosophus est solus iudex in Tribunal rationis*, whereas in matters related to religion revelation *ut pote tutiori, e certiori parti standum est*.

Regarding ontology and *Animastica*, the theses are not limited to a Cartesian critique or a rejection of Leibniz, but also underline the growing relationship that philosophy was having with the experimental sciences. Thus, the 3rd thesis summarises the accepted theory on soul that declares that *anima rationalis* is *substantia*, which is simple, active, spiritual, and

¹⁷¹ The complete title is *Theses recentioris Philosophie publica literatura concertatione in Concursu ad Philosophicam clacem huiusce Regii publicique Academici Conventus Quitensis Divi Thome Aquinatis propugnande proponuntur*.

immortal, and that in humans is *principium et sedes omnium cogitationum, perceptionum, et notionum*. Likewise, thesis 5 claims that *Humana mens per essentialem ejus activitatem*, modifies itself or forges ideas in itself by its innate power. Thesis 6 states that it is indeed impossible that matter *sive homogenea, suo heterogenea*, as fine as the smallest force can be imagined, can think, or produce spontaneous movements. The 7th thesis requests the student to discuss why neither the Aristotelian hypothesis on physical influence, nor the Cartesian *causis occassionalibus*, nor the *Leybnitziana* about *harmonia prestabilita*, were enough to explain the intimate relationship between *animam et corpus*, which still remains unknown. Instead, the 9th thesis evidences the interest on medicine that was typical of Dominicans, it asks why *sensation* does not take place in *organo externo*, but in the brain with the help of the nerves, allowing the soul to perceive and feel.

The theses on physics are a relevant example of how developed the studies and discussions about modern authors were in RAQ. Although the Quitense professors did not have direct and complete knowledge of theories and experiments, they were aware of the main debates that were taking place but still preserving tradition. For instance, the 3rd thesis discusses the incompatibility of eternity of matter with the light of reason and the idea of God itself, rendering necessary to accept the idea of creation. In order to criticise Descartes' idea on body, the 5th thesis inquiries about the way to know the body, the student had to justify why the existence of the body – composed by matter and form – is demonstrated only *a posteriori* by *effectibus sensibilis* and not *a priori*. The 6th thesis asks if, having so many different opinions on cause or *gravitates*, it is safe to consider gravity with *clarissimo Newtono* as a general law of nature. The 10th thesis refutes the Spontaneous generation theory stating that no plant or animal can be generated *ex putredint*, but they are produced from a specific seed. Furthermore, the accepted theories on air, odour, sound, and light had to be known by the candidates, demonstrating thus the existing interest in experimental sciences and in modern authors. Thesis 12 claimed that *aer est corpus fluidum, grave, elasticum, sonorum, et electricum, quod atmosphaeram totam circumagit*. Thesis 14 on odour assures *Odor consistit in emanatione substantiali, seu un particulis minutissimis, et odoriferis à corpore emanatibus, et in athmosphera innatantibus, quae propter aeris inspirationem ad nares trahuntur*. The 15th thesis about sound: *Sonus nihil aliud est, quam motus vibratorius*

acorpore sonoro procedens, qui per aeren diffunditur, et auris tympanum percutit. Finally, thesis 16 evidences the existing sympathy for Newton's light theory as it follows: *Lux non est accidens absolutum; neque in motu vibratorio particularum homogenearum substantie aethereal consistit; sed in emanatione substantiali particularium heterogenerarum à corpore lucido, veluti sole, profluentium, quae per motum rectilineum successive propagantur.*

The Astronomy theses group is the most appropriate to demonstrate the ambiguous position in which the Santo Tomas university was, since authors, such as Copernicus, Brahe, and Kepler were studied and accepted to some extent, even rejecting Ptolemaic and Aristotelian ideas, but trying somehow to adapt them to sacred scriptures. The 1st thesis accepts Copernican system for being consonant with astronomical observations and physical laws, and for not being contrary to sacred scripture. The 2nd one states that six planets (*Astra primaria*) move in ellipses around the sun through a *fluido subtilissimo*, with the help of central forces which are the general laws established at the beginning by the *summo Mundi opifice*. The 3rd thesis refutes Aristotle's theory on meteorites: comets are not meteorites generated in the atmosphere from terrestrial vapours, but they are *corpora opaca* from the beginning of the existential world, that move in elliptical and especially eccentric orbits around the sun by the same laws than planets. Finally, thesis 4 debates about the Ptolemaic and the Tychonian system, rejecting the former for *non idonea ad Mundi Phaenomena Mundi explicanda*.

Finally, the theses on Ethics are the least innovative of all, defending Christian morals based on virtue and divine goodness. Thus, the 1st thesis claims that from the idea of God as infinitely wise, just, and omnipotent, it necessarily follows that he is the *fonte emanant omnes leges, relations, et officia quae hominum in morali ordine ligant*. The 5th thesis rejects Deism and the so-called natural religion since *estque Systema absurdum, impossibile, et societati perniciosum, irreligioni, et Atheismo favens*. The 8th thesis refutes Contractualism asserting that *Homo ad societatem natus est* by will of nature because of God's *voluntate*, therefore, *ideoque falsum omnimò est, Societatem, sive naturalem, sive politicam super contractum initam esse*. Thesis 9 outlines a critique to Leibniz's optimism which is a *systema plus habet ingenij, quam iudicij*, being then false and absurd both in the physical and moral orders,

because if there is the same amount of evil and good in the world a man may rather be called unhappy than happy.

In conclusion, the 51 theses demonstrate how a mechanistic and experimental trend was gaining ground against tradition, which nevertheless was still hegemonic. Anatomy, physiology, chemistry, physics, optics, and astronomy, despite the limitations, were already part of the university curriculum and, in particular, of the late eighteenth-century philosophical instruction. Then, Santo Tomas was not an isolated university, but it was assembled to the knowledge network spread across the empire and beyond. It is noteworthy that the 1791 studies plan for the secularised *Real y pública Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino* (BNEE, FJ, FJ08951), were designed by the Dominican bishop Jose Perez Calama at the request of the RAQ president Luis Muñoz de Guzman. That is why, for example, Aquinas and the Scholastic method were officially required at least for theology chairs, whereas for philosophy lectures François Jacquier was established as the main reference. According to Keeding (2020) the name of the new university was not fortuitous, since it was a strategy to indicate the continuation of Thomistic tradition and also to involve – in academic and economic terms – the Dominican order. Therefore, philosophy was taught at San Fernando and Santo Tomas based on the leading Thomists of the time, having certain openness to modern scientific debates, as long as they did not contradict tradition. That was a typical feature of the so-called modernising Scholasticism, characterised by eclecticism which was relevant for the forthcoming social processes in RAQ. Extra-university thinkers and activists were the ones who introduce Enlightenment ideas and modern experiments in the Quitense network, some of them Santo Tomas alumni like Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo, whose role was crucial for the start of the independentist movement.

Chapter 6. Augustinians: a rhizomatic network of education in RAQ

This chapter is devoted to the Order of Saint Augustine and its influence in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ), mainly regarding education and philosophy. The chapter is divided into five sections, first a historical account of the arrival of the order to Quito, and subsequent configuration of its network of *doctrinas*, convents, and educational institutions; in this vein, the life and trajectory of the friar Gabriel de Saona and some of the conflicts between orders are studied in order to emphasise the rhizomatic character of early Augustinian action. The second section discusses the foundation of the *colegio San Nicolás Tolentino* in 1581 that despite its short existence was an important centre for early evangelisation, training elite Indigenous and religious for preaching in RAQ, a part of the instruction provided to them is described. In the third section the *Universidad San Fulgencio* and its long process of creation are reviewed, including a summary of the conflicts that arose after and before its inauguration. Section four briefly examines the 1603 constitutions of San Fulgencio to describe its structure and operation, besides for stressing the network developed by the order, the birthplaces of the university students are considered to illustrate San Fulgencio influence that went beyond RAQ borders. The fifth section is dedicated to discussing the philosophical instruction imparted at San Fulgencio, by revising the constitutions of the Augustinian order and the Quitense university; it is also provided a list of books and manuscripts found at the Augustinian library, most of them characterised by a diversity of topics including modern authors that enabled the order to be part of the ‘modernising Scholasticism’. The last section examines the biography and thought of Gaspar de Villarreal, an Augustinian friar born in Quito who became bishop of Chile during the seventeenth century; his treatise *Gobierno Eclesiástico* is analysed, since it evidences the philosophical tradition – the Scholastic interpretation of Aristotle – that the Augustinians were given in that time, for which, two philosophical arguments of Villarreal are discussed: the definition of the *indio*, and the virtue of equity.

5.1 The arrival of the Augustinians and its rhizomatic network in RAQ¹⁷²

This section reviews the complex trajectory of the hermit brothers in colonial Quito, which was characterised by permanent conflicts, both internal and external, due to access to resources, *doctrinas*, and spaces of influence after their accelerated growth, in part thanks to Gabriel de Saona. whose life is analysed as a sample of the rhizomatic network configured by the Augustinians. Thus, the order of Sain Augustine arrived in Quito in 1573 following a Phillip II's decree, with two friars Luis Alvarez de Toledo and Gabriel de Saona who oversaw the construction of a church and a convent, Iglesias (1916) suggests that the order arrived before 1569 though. The *Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora de Gracia* was admitted as part of the Augustinian provincial chapter of Lima in 1575, it started with nine priests¹⁷³ including Gabriel de Saona, Agustín López, Luis Alvarez and Juan de Vivero who later became influent figures in the city (González Suárez, 1970). Their work was early recognised as it is evidenced in 1580 by a letter from the Audiencia (AGI, QUITO,8,R.14,N.41) advising the king to send the Mercedarians for their greed back to Spain, remaining only those who decide to join to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. In 1581, there was an outstanding event for the order when the Franciscan *colegio San Andrés* was entrusted to them, instead to the bishopric, due to their hard work in the *doctrinas de naturales* (AGI, QUITO,8,R.15,N.43). The Augustinian province of *San Miguel de Quito* was established in 1579 by the provincial chapter of Lima (Campo del Pozo, 1975; Carmona Moreno, 2001), but it was declared fully autonomous from the province of Lima in 1586, after the friar Saona obtained a bull patent in Rome, having thus complete jurisdiction to manage administrative and religious matters (Calancha, 1638).

Precisely, the missionary work of Gabriel de Saona was essential for the further development of the order and, moreover, his life trajectory (Figure 24) allows us to portray the rhizomatic character of colonial instruction, whose actants were constantly moving around the metropolis and the Indies guided by the desire to 'save souls.' Gabriel de Saona

¹⁷² Part of this section has been already discussed by the author somewhere else (Ambrosi De la Cadena, 2022)

¹⁷³ They were Francisco Velásquez, Antonio de Villegas, Jerónimo Gavarrete, Alonso Maldonado, Juan de Carvajal, Diego de Arenas and Juan García (Calancha, 1638; González Suárez, 1970).

y Sánchez¹⁷⁴ arrived in Lima from Spain in 1569 as a convent lector and a theology teacher. As before mentioned, in 1573 was sent to Quito for founding a convent, also being name as the first provincial of the order at RAQ. Two years later, he participated in the foundation of another convent, this time in Bogotá. In 1576, Saona went back to Lima to take charge of the Sacred Scriptures chair at *Universidad de San Marcos*. He remained there until 1581 when he was designated rector of the *colegio Nicolás de Tolentino* in Quito. In 1584, the Quitense provincial chapter sent Saona to Spain and Rome to gather new missionaries¹⁷⁵ and to obtain a papal license to establish a university, something that was achieved in 1586. He returned to Quito in 1588 bringing with him eighteen friars from different orders. However, the year after, he was called to Lima to fulfil diverse duties for the Augustinians until 1596, when he returned to Spain. He travelled to Lima for the last time in 1603, to assume his chair of Sacred Scriptures for less than two years before he was called to help San Fulgencio University in Quito until his death in 1614.

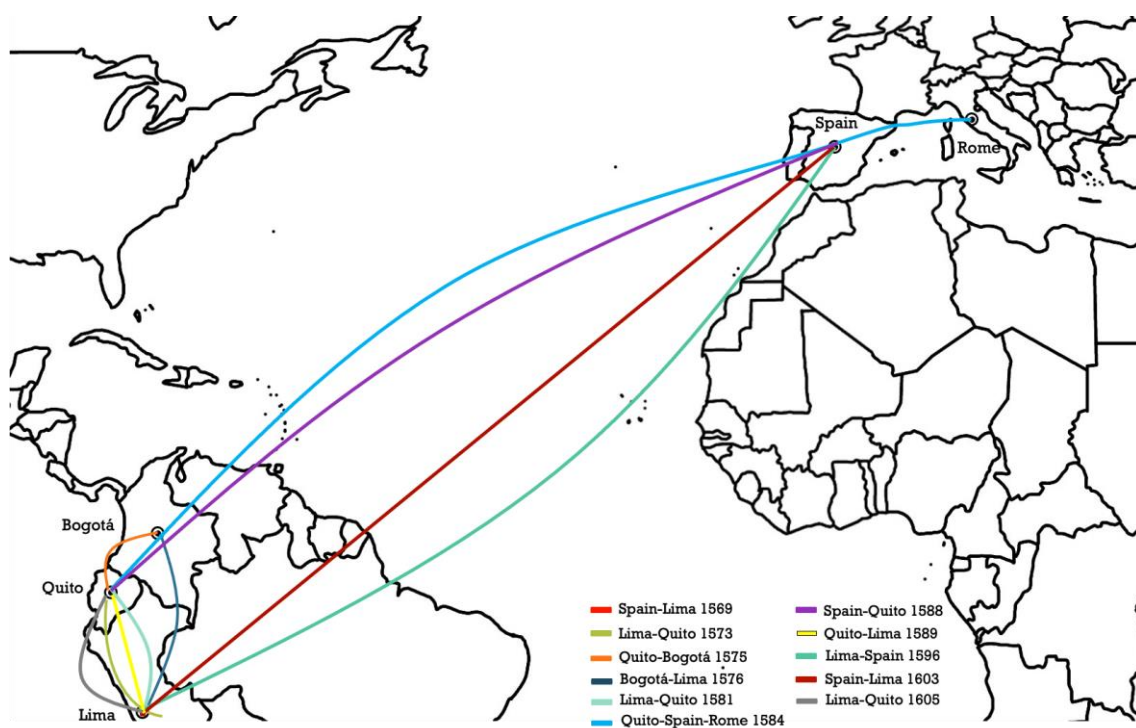


Figure 24: Journeys of Gabriel Saona y Sanchez

¹⁷⁴ This short biography is based on the works of Calancha (1638), Torres (1657), and Pozo del Campo (1996).

¹⁷⁵ Saona even travelled on behalf of the Franciscan order to obtain new missionaries (see AGI, QUITO,82,N.44).

During the first twenty years, thanks in part of Saona's actions, the order experienced steady growth, founding several convents around RAQ: Cuenca (1576), Riobamba (1578), Popayan (1578), Cali (1578), Latacunga (1579), Ibarra (1579), Loja (1583), Pasto (1585), and Guayaquil (1588); all this resulted in that by late sixteenth century fifty-three religious had already professed in the *convento máximo* (Carmona Moreno, 2001). According to Costales & Costales (2003), the Audiencia initially ceded to the Augustinians the lands and *indios* from Yahuarcocha, Caranqui, and Tobavela, later they moved to Zumbahua, Tacunga, Cebadas, Galte, Pull, and Ichubamba. However, unlike Franciscans and Dominicans, the hermit brothers did not have greater access to the administration of *doctrinas*. As Guerra Moscoso (2008) summarises they have two *doctrinas* in 1583, five in 1596, and only nine in 1650 (Figure 25). Then, the hermit brothers prioritised the creation of convents beyond Quito to fund their undertakings, for instance, the friars Agustín de Tapia and Luis de Quesada, in 1575, arrived in Cuenca, founding a convent the next year, which became a centre for teaching grammar receiving from local citizens 3000 *pesos* for this endeavour, moreover, instruction in the city was almost exclusive of the order until the seventeenth century when the Jesuits arrived (Paniagua Pérez, 1998), in this way, Augustinians guaranteed a direct influence on the local population and a permanent funding source



Figure 25: The Augustinian order in RAQ (1650)
Source: Rodríguez Docampo ([1650] 1897)

In 1609 the order asked king Philip III a grant to found four additional convents in RAQ (AGI, QUITO,85,N.43), a request that was not conceded; rather, a royal decree was issued in 1610 consulting the Audiencia on the advisability of reducing some convents of Franciscans, Mercedarians, Dominicans, and Augustinians in cities such as: Cali, Popayán, Ibarra, Latacunga, Ambato, Riobamba, Chimbo, and Guayaquil, mainly because of the continuous clashes among religious (AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.208V-209V). The scarce access of Augustinians to *doctrinas* affected the order's capacity to support the operation of convents and houses, as evidenced by an official accounting from 1615 (AGI,

QUITO,50,N.6), in which, it is affirmed that the Agustín's convents are the poorest in Quito, for being the last order to arrive having few *doctrinas*, but also because of the great expenses for building the church of the *convento máximo*. Then, the control of *doctrinas*, as discussed before, created a permanent dispute among the orders because they meant access to labour, lands, resources, tributes, and devotees. In 1631, the Augustinian order suggested to the Spanish court – probably because it was in a minority position – that, in order to prevent further conflicts and to promote the Christian closure lifestyle, the best alternative was to take the *doctrinas* away from the orders to be given to the bishopric, leaving each order with only one parish for their needs (AGI, QUITO,88,N.45). Although the suggestion was not accepted, a similar process took place in the eighteenth century during the so-called “*secularización de las doctrinas*” that sought to reconcentrate the power in the crown (see Guerra Moscoso, 2008).

In addition to the argument with the Franciscans for the colegio San Andrés (see Chapter 4), the Augustinians had a harsh conflict with the Jesuits as analysed below, and another one with the ecclesiastical and political authorities. In 1631, RAQ sent to Spain a lengthy legal process to report on the altercations that the hermit brothers had with the other orders, mostly, due to their provincial Francisco de la Fuente y Chaves, “*un frayle [sic] criollo de esta tierra (...) sugeto de mucha condición y poca paz*” (AGI, QUITO,32,N.5, f.1). It was also informed that it was decided the closure of two unauthorised *obrajes de paños* (clothing factory) that the Augustinians had in Tanucuchí and Callo, both towns close to Latacunga and Riobamba respectively. Besides, the Agustín's order was planning to build a chapel in said area, which was under Franciscan administration, something that was also stopped by the authorities. Some years later, in 1636 a royal decree was issued for the bishopric asking the Augustinian provincial to punish the excesses of his friars (AGI, QUITO,209,L.2,F.109R-110R). Likewise, in 1637 the court approved the sanction imposed by the bishopric of removing the *doctrinas* of Sigchos, in the province of Latacunga, from the Augustinians as a consequence of their immoderations (AGI, QUITO,209,L.2,F.116R-116V). Like these, there were several processes against the hermit brothers, yet it was not an exclusive condition of them because all the orders faced trials and accusations from the authorities. All as a sample of the power struggle that existed in RAQ for controlling resources, land, and labour. Finally, it is

noteworthy that Augustinians – unlike Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits – given the described conditions opted for centralising their missionary action in Quito, particularly, for educational matters first at the *colegio Nicolás Tolentino* and later at the *Universidad San Fulgencio* (Paniagua Pérez, 1993).

5.2 San Nicolas Tolentino: a centre for early evangelisation

The section briefly reviews the existence of *San Nicolás Tolentino*, the first Augustinian *colegio* in Quito, that more than an education institutional it was a centre for early evangelisation. As discussed earlier, RAQ decided to commission the *colegio San Andrés* to the Augustin order in 1581, allegedly because the Franciscans were not interested in it, and the Augustinians not as busy as the others were (AGI, QUITO,8,R.15,N.43), resulting in a dispute between said orders that apparently was never officially resolved, since the last available document in the Archive of Indies is a royal request for information about the controversy to the Augustinians (AGI, QUITO,211,L.2,F.141R-141V), which did not have a further official response according to the identified sources. Thus, the increasing demand for friars and *doctrineros* was supplied by the *convento máximo* and the *colegio*, now renamed *San Nicolás Tolentino*. Once it became the centre for the Augustinian evangelising effort in Quito, the *colegio* continued the tradition of San Andrés of instructing the offspring of indigenous elite on reading, writing, chanting, playing instruments (*tañer*), crafts, doctrine and policy, with the only difference that it was no longer an internship but a externship (day school) (Costales & Costales, 2003; González Suárez, 1970). It means that Tolentino was still inscribed in the so-called ‘Renaissance Scholasticism’ (Guerra Bravo, 2021) that the Franciscans began in Quito, which defended a humanistic approach towards the debate about the ‘Indian condition’.

On the other hand, its first rector, friar Agustín López, who was lecturer of Latin grammar and Arts, devoted the *colegio* to the instruction of choristers and novices, establishing chairs of *lengua del inga*, *lengua de castilla*, Latin grammar, and Christian doctrine. From the

available sources¹⁷⁶, it is possible to determine a list of novices and students from the colegio and the convent (Appendix 6), most of them *mestizos* and *criollos* who later would be in charge of two main aspects a) conversion at the *doctrinas de indios*, and b) instruction of juveniles in convents, *haciendas*, workshops, and schools of arts and crafts around the province. Then, according to Costales & Costales (2003), the Augustinians during its years in Quito – both at the colegio Tolentino and at the convent – focused its activities in four axes:

a) Formation of novices and choristers: In addition to doctrinal instruction and choral training, the students were taught the *lengua del inga* for enhancing indigenous conversion.

b) Teaching of young lay people (*seglares*): Poor *mestizos* and *criollos* were instructed by novices and choristers in first letters, catechism, and Spanish grammar, in order to improve their social condition.

c) School of arts and crafts: The lecturers from the convent and the colegio were also instructing in arts and crafts to poor *mestizos* and *criollos*, there were a school of music and chanting, school of painting, school of sculpting, school of silversmithing and masonry, school of carpentry, and school of barbers and *sangradores* (empirical practitioners)

d) Schools-workshops (*escuelas-taller*) in neighbourhoods: they were located in the surrounding areas of Quito, within the properties of the order, disseminating an instruction in crafts for *indios*, which included: tinsmith, masonry, weaving, blacksmithing and ironworks, tailoring, shoemaking, saddlery, stonemasonry, and brickwork.

Despite its usefulness for the evangelising project, the colegio closed down in 1596 for reasons that are not completely clear, it could be a consequence of lack of resources (González Suárez, 1970), or it probably was a decision from the 1596 Quitense synod, presided by the Augustinian bishop López de Solís (Costales & Costales, 2003) who chose to support the creation of a *Seminario Mayor*, as later reviewed.

¹⁷⁶ According to Costales & Costales (2003) most of the document regarding the colonial period are lost. Moreover, given the restrictions derived from the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to have access to the historical archive of the Augustinian order in Quito.

5.3 Universidad San Fulgencio: a historical account

The erection of a university was a long-standing request of RAQ, which even became a *criollo* demand. In this vein, the cumbersome creation process of the *Universidad San Fulgencio* is reviewed, such an event implied a series of conflicts for the Augustinians with the other orders, which are somehow summarised in this section. Thus, the history of the Quitense university goes back to August 31, 1576, when the council of Quito (*cabildo*) decided to ask king Phillip II a grant to create a university ‘where all the sciences and faculties can be lectured’. The main reason for such a request was that in the whole province of Quito, including Popayán, *Nuevo Reino de Granada* (present-day Colombia and Venezuela), Quijos, and Yaguarzango there was not a higher education institution; thus, to ‘negotiate’ in Spain said petition the Dominican friar Hernando Téllez was chosen on behalf of the city (see Cabildo de Quito, 1935b). An official response took some years, in 1580 a royal decree was sent to RAQ asking further information about the intention to establish a university (AGI, QUITO,211,L.2,F.48R-48V). The Audiencia replied back in 1581 assuring that Quito was a city which was developing rapidly having suitable conditions for the house of studies:

...esta ciudad se va ennobleciendo mucho en edificios y multitud de gente tiene el mejor temple de todas las yndias pues ni el frio es tanto que daña ni el calor es tanto que haga impedimento, todo el año es casi de un temple que se diferencia un poco y es muy agradable para estudiar pues todo el día y la noche es muy aparejado (..) está sit[ua]da esta ciudad en muy buena comarca porque dista trescientas leguas de la ciudad de los Reyes y doscientos del nuevo Reyno de Granada tiene a la redonda a Cuenca y Pasto y Guayaquil y Baeza y Ávila (...) es ciudad muy sana y donde se crían muchos niños y abundantissima de carnes y pan (...) tiene muchas lanas y obrages de paños y bayetas y aun lienços y assi se hiciese aquí Universidad de leyes y cánones y theologia y artes y medicina y gramática acudiría mucha gente a estudiar deste distrito y fuera del por ser el pueblo sano y abundante y barato (...) y es muy necesaria esta universidad porque ay en este distrito muchas doctrinas y beneficios y monasterios y conviene aya exercicio de letras para que de los estudiantes se pueblen los monasterios y las doctrinas... (AGI, QUITO,83,N.1, r.2).

Another letter was sent to the king in 1581 by the city prosecutor, Juan Velázquez Dávila, asserting that there was a vast offspring of *conquistadores* in and around Quito, who should be indoctrinated and taught in sciences, otherwise a republic with a convenient polity and a correct way of living was unfeasible (AGI, QUITO,17,N.14). Then, it is remarkable the

intermingling of education and the colonial interests: the Audiencia clearly stated that the university project was deeply related to the territorial conditions of Quito once it was located at a strategic point halfway between Bogotá in the *Nuevo Reino de Granada* and Lima in Peru. Besides, the available resources and institutions (e.g., *doctrinas* and convents) made the city an interesting node for colonial expansion in the Northern area of the Andes. RAQ conceived, since the beginning, that a university was a *conditio sine qua non* for acquiring relevance in the region, but also a greater level of autonomy from Lima. Yet, despite the Audiencia efforts, additional royal decrees were issued in 1586, this time addressed to the viceroy of Lima and the bishop of Quito, inquiring once again about the convenience of having a university in Quito (AGI, QUITO,211,L.2,F.164V-166V; QUITO,211,L.2,F.174V-176V).

However, the Augustinian provincial chapter, years before in 1584, decided to send friar Gabriel de Saona to Spain and Rome in order to obtain a papal bull for having a university in Quito. As Jijón y Caamaño (1923) affirms the decision was probably made once the order realised the influence achieved in RAQ by the granting of the colegio Tolentino, which would later serve as the basis for the university. Saona accomplished his mission in Rome on August 20, 1586, receiving from Pope Sixtus V the bull *Inteligente, quam domino grati*, which authorised the foundation of General Studies (*Estudios Generales*) for conceding the degrees of bachelor (*baccalaureatus*), graduate (*licentiatus*), doctor (*doctoratus*), and master (*magisteri*) in Sacred Theology, only for the members of the hermit brothers. In 1587, Saona claimed in the Spanish court that it was necessary to create a university within the convent of Saint Agustin in Quito, because it was a region that included several *pueblos de españoles* and a large indigenous population, in which there was a great need of instruction given the existing errors in the administration of sacraments and evangelisation of *indios* (AGI, QUITO,83,N.1, r.10-v.10). Nevertheless, the Augustinian effort met not success for a while, in spite of having the papal bull.

In 1594, the Quitense bishop, the Augustinian López Solís referring to the same reasons outlined by the Audiencia in 1581, asked once again the king to authorise a university “*pues de ello rresultan tam buenos hefectos, como es tener sabios en la tierra que ayuden a la jus[ticia] de Dios y de V. Mad.*” (AGI, QUITO,76,N.36, r.2). One year later, the Augustinian

friars sent a new letter requesting the king to enforce the 1586 papal bull (AGI, QUITO,83,N.63). But apparently, the crown wanted to buy time before making a decision, in 1596 the viceroyalty of Lima and RAQ were asked to inform about the bishop's intention (see QUITO,211,L.3,F.101V; QUITO,211,L.3,F.102R), later in 1598, another decree was issued to RAQ about the same issue, consulting about the plausibility of what bishop López Solís have said that residents of 70 towns could attend the university, which could be financially supported by conceding the *corregimiento de Otavalo* (see AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.132R-132V). Furthermore, not all officials and authorities agreed with said desire: Miguel de Orozco, prosecutor of Quito, stated in a 1599 report that having “*estudios generales*” with the same privileges and liberties as the one in Lima was very inconvenient. He thought that gathering more free people in the city could be a risk, because if in Spain universities and their students are feared, in these lands they could be even more difficult to control. Besides, a university was unnecessary since in the friars' convents and in the Jesuit seminar the sciences were already properly studied (AGI, QUITO,9,R.2,N.8).

As Paniagua Pérez (1993) assures the university more than anything became a *criollo* desire, given that the Augustinians by the first half of the seventeenth century were mostly *criollos* in RAQ, since being one of the last orders to arrive, it had to supply the demand for preachers with local inhabitants. Such a social pressure pushed the order that, despite of not having royal permission held an *Intermedium* chapter on December 1603 to define the constitutions and all the details regarding the university, once in 1602 they obtained the patent and license in Rome from the prior general of the order, friar Hipólito Ravenas. In such a meeting, it was decided to appoint San Fulgencio as patron of the university, for being the ‘bishop friar’ of the order; it was also stated that the aim of founding the university was the increase of the service of God and the propagation of the holy Catholic faith (AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes...*, ff. 15-15b). Likewise, it was defined the academic structures and procedures, which are discussed below, even the lecturers and academic authorities were chosen: rector and lecturer of *Prima Theologia*, friar Gabriel de Saona; vice rector and lecturer of Arts, friar Pedro de Soto; lecturers of Sacred Scriptures, friar Agustín Rodríguez de Sylva; lecturer of Moral Theology, friar Alonso de la Fuente y Chaves; lecturer of *Theologia de Vísperas*, friar Francisco de la Fuente y Chaves; and, secretary, friar Christoval

Ortiz (Ib., ff. 20b-21). Then, the university was planned and defined long before existing – like most of the institutions in the new world that was a continuous projected hope – because it was conceived as a central node for the evangelising project¹⁷⁷, precisely, the urgency of having this instruction centre was to respond to the growing demand of *doctrineros* and religious.

According to available sources the university project would have lost interest in the Quito authorities during the first decades of the seventeenth century; it will not be until 1618 that RAQ resumed the desire to have a university, sending the king a report in which assured that students from Trujillo (Perú), *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, Caracas, Venezuela, Cartagena, and Panamá could attend to Quito for being instructed in all faculties, excepting Medicine. Yet, the main argument outlined by the Audiencia was that graduate students could in turn be future lecturers generating thus incomes and taxes, a situation that would benefit the offspring of the *conquistadores* (AGI, QUITO,10,R.5,N.42, v.2). In 1620, the council of Quito insisted on the request stating that most of its citizens could not afford their higher studies in Lima, so a university would be a great contribution to the development of the republic (AGI, QUITO,17,N.50). Finally, king Phillip IV authorised the creation of two universities in 1622, one under the auspices of the Society of Jesus, *San Gregorio Magno*, the other for the Augustinians that received the *pase regio* for San Fulgencio on May 24, 1622. However, the royal grant stipulated some conditions: the order did not acquire an irrevocable right to establish a university but an *interim* for having “*estudios generales*” without the jurisdiction and autonomy of a university; moreover, it was stated that this permission did not prevent the king from granting the right to erect another university under royal approval (AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes...*, ff. 11-11b).

The establishment of San Fulgencio was not without controversy, in this case, with the Jesuits as later discussed. Similarly, during its years of existence it was criticised on multiple occasions for its alleged lack of academic rigour. As early as May 3, 1640, bishop Pedro de Oviedo y Falconí reported the king that having two universities – San Fulgencio and San

¹⁷⁷ The constitutions established, for instance, that all the alumni should give a mass during San Fulgencio's day for the extirpation of heresies, for the infidels' conversion from these lands and the whole world (see AHMCP, F.J.J., 01191 *Manual de patentes y bulas de la Universidad de San Fulgencio*, 1699, f. 15b).

Gregorio - in Quito was inconvenient because it eased the awarding of degrees without assuring sufficient knowledge of the faculties and Latin, an issue that in his opinion was arising in one of those universities. In this vein, Oviedo claimed that the Society of Jesus did had a “*modo de estudios y se trata de letras*”, instead, if the Augustinians had a course (*curso*) it should be only for their friars (AGI, QUITO,77,N.66, v.1). This antagonistic position of the bishop towards the Augustin’s order could be explained by two reasons: first, there was an internal dispute between *criollos* who were the majority and Spaniards that even reached acts of violence¹⁷⁸ and that evidently affected the administration of San Fulgencio; second, there was a kind of a rebellious attitude of the hermit brothers towards the authorities and the other orders, which caused continuous acts of indiscipline and little compliance with ecclesiastical and political provisions (Paniagua Pérez & Viforcós Marinas, 1997). Soon after on May 25, 1640, the Augustinians sent the king a letter denouncing grievances by the Jesuits who were also illegally occupying their lands (AGI, QUITO,89,N.31); but, just three days later, the Society of Jesus also sent a letter claiming that the accusations from the Augustinians were unsupported. Then, the hermit order was always under the scrutiny of authorities from RAQ and the bishopric, for instance, a royal decree was issued in 1646 requesting the Audiencia authorities to ask the Augustinian order to present the papal bull for awarding degrees, after the Jesuit prosecutor Baltazar de Lagunilla filed a complaint affirming that the Augustinians were conceding degrees, without having ecclesiastical and royal permission, in Arts, Theology, and other faculties to people without sufficient knowledge and instruction (AGI, QUITO,212,L.7,F.37R-38R).

Despite the surveillance on San Fulgencio, it operated without great inconveniences until 1786 when an official investigation started (AGI, QUITO,330,N.42), after José Félix de Restrepo – a well-known philosophy lecturer in Popayán – accused the hermit brothers of conferring degrees in exchange of money, or to people who had not completed the compulsory studies or who were not even in Quito¹⁷⁹. In the meantime, king Charles III

¹⁷⁸ *The internal conflict was between two sides: one of the criollos represented by friar Francisco Fuente y Chaves and his family, the other of the peninsulares headed by friar Hernando de Córdoba; the differences reached a violent point when in 1625 some friars attempted to kill Fuente, who was the order provincial (see Paniagua Pérez, 1993; Paniagua Pérez & Viforcós Marinas, 1997).*

¹⁷⁹ *Four students were denounced by Restrepo as evidence: first, Juan Senteno from Popayán, a criado of Dr. Josef de Rivera, who allegedly was a tailor that obtained the doctoral degree on Theology without any knowledge other than just*

would have issued a royal decree on August 25, 1786 ordering that San Fulgencio no longer confer university degrees (Campo del Pozo, 1998; Costales & Costales, 2003; González Suárez, 1970; Jijón y Caamaño, 1923). Regardless of such a decree, the process against the order continued and in May 1787 the bishop required the order to prove with documents the university royal authorisation, the papal bull, and the statutes of San Fulgencio. The investigation assures that the Augustinians presented two notebooks that included the 1603 constitutions of the university and the Sixtus V bull, but none on the privilege granted by the king. Furthermore, RAQ authorities stated that the Augustinians' order was authorised to provide only middle instruction to its religious, however, it was awarding doctoral degrees in theology, law, and medicine to any person including *mestizos* and *mulatos*. Thus, the Audiencia suggested in 1787 abolishing San Fulgencio because “*es muy perjudicial a la juventud por el abuso de conferir grados sin competente título*” (AGI, QUITO,330,N.42, f.8), and according to the available official documents that was the last year in which a degree was granted by the Augustinians in Quito (AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes...*, f. 29), although, according to Campo del Pozo (1998) San Fulgencio functioned until September 1791.

For Costales & Costales (2003) the closure of San Fulgencio was the result of an internal crisis that the order had carried since the mid-eighteenth century, due to differences between two sides: on one side, the Spanish religious, and on the other, the America-born friars who were sympathisers of the *criollos*' claims that included the repealing the prohibition for them to hold public leadership positions. In order to solve the dispute, the prior general of the whole order appointed in 1775 the friar Joaquín Iserta as *visitador* and *reformador general* for the Quitense province. The same year, he prepared a report about the university and the religious, said document was discussed during the 1779 provincial chapter, and among its recommendations was the suspension of the awarding of degrees to people outside the order, considering that there was already a university in the city. Said suggestion was accepted, yet

reading and writing, and without even being in Quito. Second, Francisco Holguín who was doctor without studying Theology. Third, Sebastián López from Popayán who had little knowledge of Moral Theology. Fourth, Antonio Beltrán y Caicedo, who was vice rector of the Seminar of Popayán, who awarded a doctoral degree having studied only Grammatica and Moral Theology. During the investigation process, the latter attended to render his version in 1787 accrediting his illustrious family origin and affirming that he studied grammar, philosophy, theology, morals, and Scholastics in the seminar of Popayán (see AGI, QUITO,330,N.42)

it did not mean the immediate closure of San Fulgencio, which only happened officially in 1786 (Costales & Costales, 2003). Nevertheless, the closing could have a different reading from a broader approach, once during the second half of the eighteenth-century the so-called Bourbon reforms were applied in the reign of Charles III. It consisted in a set of policies for the Spanish colonies aimed at concentrating political power in the monarch, improving market conditions and tax collection, deepening extractive economy, military reorganisation, and cultural reform (see Eissa-Barroso, 2017; Pearce, 2014). For instance, it sought to lessen the power and economic interference of religious orders by several means such as implementing a process of secularisation of *doctrinas* which started in 1749, expelling the Society of Jesus in 1767, and restricting the control of orders on educational institutions that, in the case of Quito, will end in the creation in 1786 of the *Real y Pública Universidad secularizada Santo Tomás*, which merged the ones administered by Augustinians, Jesuits, and Dominicans. Then, San Fulgencio closure was not a decision particularly against the Augustin's order, but a necessary measure within a plan of imperial renewal in times of social upheaval, war, and economic crisis.

5.4 The operation and networking of San Fulgencio

In this section, the 1603 constitutions of San Fulgencio are studied emphasising its structure and operation, moreover, for underlining the network developed by Augustinians, the birthplaces of the university students are considered to illustrate San Fulgencio influence that went beyond RAQ borders. In first place, it is worth mentioning that the university was built based on the *convento máximo*, which administered all the matters regarding San Fulgencio that had no plenty autonomy. It was headed by a rector who had to be master of the convent, as well as his four counsellors¹⁸⁰ (*consiliarios*) with whom they managed the academic-administrative affairs, including student recruitment. There was also a secretary and a lecturing staff made up of:

¹⁸⁰ One of them must be the prior of the convent.

- A lecturer of Arts who taught two lessons (*lectiones*) per day, one in the morning another in the afternoon, besides a daily one-hour conference (including Saturdays) to discuss with students about the lessons.

- Three lecturers of Theology: one for Sacred Scriptures and two for Scholastics, one for the morning lessons, the *Lection de Prima*, the other in the afternoon for the *Lection de Vísperas*.

- A lecturer of Moral Theology whose daily lesson was compulsory also for the friars from the convent.

San Fulgencio operated throughout the year excepting the following holidays: 1) from July 25, the day of Santiago Apostol, to September 10, day of San Nicolás Tolentino; 2) from nativity vigil, December 25, until the feast of the circumcision, January 1; and 3) from the Saturday before Palm Sunday to *dominica in albis* (easter Sunday).

Admission to the *Estudios Generales*, as San Fulgencio was, was the last step in the instruction of a hermit brother, normally as Rangel Chávez (2022) summarises young people between the ages of 12 and 14, according to the Augustinian constitutions, entered in first place to the novitiate for receiving religious formation that lasted one year, after which the young became a *profeso* or chorister (*corista*) who was under the tutelage of a friar until he reached the age of twenty; during those years he studied Grammar for one year, Logic and Philosophy for three years, for finally studying Theology for five years¹⁸¹. Although the San Fulgencio constitutions were in accordance with the order constitutions of 1581, the academic structure was diverse probably due to staff and resources limitations. Thus, once a student was admitted (after the recruitment process that included the approval of grammar studies in one of the Augustinian convents and the revision of the blood purity) he had to attend, in first place, the course of Arts (*curso de Artes*) that normally lasted two years, in order to obtain the degree of *Baccalaureo* (bachelor) in philosophy, which included an

¹⁸¹ The Augustinian constitutions determined that the choristers had to pass a one-year course of Grammar in which Elio Donato, Prisciano and Alejandro Villadei were studied, then followed a course of Logic for three years to study the *Preadicamenta*, *Organon*, *Metaphysica* and *De interpretation of Aristotle*, Porfirio, Boethius's treatises, Petrus Hispanus, Alberto de Sajonia, Paulo Veneto. The five-years course of Theology was based on Peter Lombard's sentences, the *Summa Theologiae*, and Augustinian theologians, such as Thomas of Strasburg, Giacomo de Viterbo, or Egidio Romano (see Gutiérrez, 1970; Rangel Chávez, 2022).

examination by a tribunal on Aristotelean philosophy. Then, the student was admitted to the course of Theology for a period of three years to be granted the degree of *Doctoratus* (doctor) in theology, but before it was required the approval of an examination and a one-year internship in the order. The instruction to obtain the degrees of *baccalauretus* and *magisteris* was free for students from the province of Quito, the others coming from different provinces had to pay a *propina* – six *patacones* for the bachelors and twelve for the masters – to each of the tribunal examiners, including the rector, dean, secretary, and counsellors.

The Augustinian university was not a Scholastic cloister for the lettered city, but rather, it was deeply related to the missionary action in the hinterlands of RAQ. For instance, to occupy the position of *doctrinero* in each of their parishes (*doctrinas*), the order had to candidate to the bishopric three friars whose suitability in moral letters and *lengua del inga* was certified by the *convento máximo*, after they studied at the *colegio Santa Caterina Mártir* and San Fulgencio (AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes....*, 1699, f. 32b). It is noteworthy that the university became the centre of Augustinian instruction in the Northern Andean region: students came from diverse jurisdictions beyond RAQ such as the Virreinato de Lima and the Virreinato de Granada, coming even from distant cities like Panama (Figure 26). Although the university was founded in 1622, according to available sources the first graduate obtained his doctoral degree in Theology in 1679, and until 1787, there were in total fifty-seven graduate students in Philosophy, Theology, Canon law, and Civil law according to existing sources (Appendix 7). Then, it was not a coincidence that most of those students came from areas under Augustinian influence, such as Cali, Popayán, Latacunga, Riobamba, Guayaquil, Cuenca, and Loja. Thus, once they finished their studies, some of those students continued to be linked to the order, one case is the friar Juan Cabrera Barba from Loja who achieved the degree of Doctor in Canon law in 1722, for becoming later lecturer at the *colegio Santa Catalina Mártir*. Likewise, José Maldonado Palomino¹⁸², Doctor in Theology in 1729, was priest in Latacunga working in the *doctrinas* of that area, becoming later rector of the cathedral of Quito.

¹⁸² According to Costales & Costales (2003), Maldonado is probably the most renowned San Fulgencio alumni, he was interested in astronomy and mathematics being thus an important reference in the instruction of his brother Pedro Vicente Maldonado; both together collaborated with the French Geodesic Mission to the equator.



Figure 26: Places of origin of San Fulgencio graduate students
Source: Manual de patentes... AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, ff.25-29

5.5 Philosophical instruction at San Fulgencio

This section is devoted to analysing the philosophical instruction imparted at San Fulgencio, for which, authors and topics established by the constitutions of the Augustinian order and the Quitense university are reviewed; in addition to providing a description of books and manuscripts found at the Augustinian library, most of them characterised by a diversity of topics including modern authors that engaged the order with the modernising Scholasticism of RAQ.

Regarding philosophy instruction, the 1603 constitutions established that the Arts professor had to lecture for two years the *Summulas logicales* of Peter of Spain (aka *Petrus*

Hispanus), and the Aristotelean works of Logic, *De generatione et corruptione*, *De Anima*, and the Metaphysics. Besides, the regent Master of Studies in order to strengthen the philosophical teaching had among his duties to organise public disputes about the opinions of Aquinas and Peter Lombard, but mainly from Augustinian theologians among them: Thomas of Strasburg (aka *Thomas de Argentina*), Gregory of Rimini, James of Viterbo, Gerardo de Sena, Alfonso Vargas de Toledo (aka *Alphonsus Toletanus*), Michael of Massa (aka *Michaelus Massensis*), Giles of Rome (aka *Aegidius Romanus*), and Augustinus of Ancona (see *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, 1587). According to Cerda Farías (2000 cit. by Rangel Chávez, 2022) the hermit brothers in the New World for instructing their friars also resorted to books, such as Almagest of Ptolemy, *De Sphaera* of Johannes de Sacrobosco, Elements of Euclid, *De institutione arithmeticae* of Boethius, and the Aristotelean treatises of Physics, and *De Caelo*, and *Meteorologia*.

In this vein, the Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition was the philosophical core of Augustinian instruction, that is why, the bachelor's final examination consisted of the defence of sentences on Aristotle and, moreover, the appointment as lecturer of arts came after the aspirant held a one-hour dispute on the "philosopher" replying all the arguments and questions from three examiners to obtain an approval of three "A" (AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes*...., ff.40-40b). As Guerra Bravo (2021) claims the philosophy taught at the Augustinian convent until the end of the seventeenth century responded to what could be called 'Scholastic renewal', i.e., to the Scholastic tradition renovated by the School of Salamanca following the guidelines of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. It is defined as a sample of this current the manuscript *Physica* from 1618 written by the friar Leonardo de Araujo, who was Quitense provincial of the order, in which the eight books of Aristotle's physics were studied, including the treatise *Generatione et Corruptione sive de Ortu et Interitu*. However, San Fulgencio graduated most of its students during the 'hardcore Scholasticism', i.e., a philosophical moment that chose to deepen the Scholastic tradition in the face of modern science and philosophy.

The Augustinian philosophical instruction could also be evidence by the books and manuscripts used by the order¹⁸³ whose library was characterised for having a broad diversity of topics and authors. For instance, regarding the Arts course the following volumes were identified: two copies of Aristotle's *Ethicorum sive de moribus ad Nicomachum libri decem* from 1551 (ACSAQ, 76-J)¹⁸⁴ and 1556 (ACSAQ, 165-I); four editions of *Sententiarum libri quattuor* by Peter Lombard from 1557 (ACSAQ, 413-I), 1560 (ACSAQ, 1035-J), 1564 (ACSAQ, 456-J), and 1593 (ACSAQ, 1281-J); a late edition of *Opera parva* by Ramon Llull from 1744 (ACSAQ, 494-J); a 1569 commented edition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* by Luis Vives (ACSAQ, 406-J), and a volume of the complete works of Augustine from 1569 (ACSAQ, 1432-J); including some Greek-Roman classic works: a 1541 edition of *Moralia* by Plutarch (ACSAQ, 471-J), the *Epistulae* by Plinius the younger from 1547 (ACSAQ, 157-J), and the *Opere* by Ovid from 1575 (ACSAQ, 72-J). Likewise, Augustinians devoted part of the studies to Aquinas as demonstrated by their collection that included a 1524 commented edition of *Summa contra Gentiles* by the Dominican Francesco Silvestri aka Ferrariense, the *Catena aurea in quattuor Evangelina* from 1540 (ACSAQ, 1151-J), a 1576 edition of *Summa Theologiae* (ACSAQ, 43-J; 675-J) another from 1568 (ACSAQ, 739-J), the *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum* on Peter Lombard from 1560 (ACSAQ, 179-H), a 1559 edition of *Quaestiones disputatae* (ACSAQ, 1595-J), the fourth volume of *In duodecim libros metaphysicorum Aristotelis exposition* from 1570 (ACSAQ, 832-I), and the 1571 edition of *Sermones valde pii et docti pro dominicis & festivis diebus ex bibliotheca Vativana nunc primum in lucem editi* (ACSAQ, 516-J).

In this vein, the hermit brothers in Quito considered for theological studies several Dominican works, e.g., by Thomas Cajetan aka Tomasso de Vio *Ientacula, id est sexaginta quatuor notabilium sententiarum Novi Testamenti literalis expositio* from 1524 (ACSAQ, 1080-I) and a 1557 edition of *Commentaria in quattuor evangelia* (ACSAQ, 457-I), by the

¹⁸³ Unfortunately, given the COVID-19 restrictions it was not possible to visit the Convento de San Agustín and its library in Quito, nevertheless, thanks to the restoration works in the convent carried out by the Fundación ConservartEcuador there is information available regarding books and manuscripts of the Augustinians, which was kindly provided to the author by its Director Ramiro Endara to whom we are deeply grateful. It is worth to say that all information regarding the Augustinian archive made by Fundación ConservartEcuador is its intellectual property and is duly quoted in this work.

¹⁸⁴ In this work the codification given to the books, during the restoration processes, by Fundación ConservartEcuador is followed.

Valladolid professor Bartolomé Carranza *Controversia de necessaria residentia personali episcoporum & aliorum inferiorum pastorum Tridenti explicata* from 1550 (ACSAQ, 26-O), a 1554 edition of *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum tomus primus* by William Perault aka Peraldus (ACSAQ, 847-I), by Antoninus of Florence a 1571 edition of *Summae sacrae theologiae, iuris pontificii et caesarei* (ACSAQ, 404-H), a 1574 compilation *Opera* on Capreolus (ACSAQ, 958-J), by Thomas Chaves a 1575 edition of *Summa sacramentorum Ecclesiae, ex doctrina r.p.f. Francisci a Victoria* (ACSAQ, 747-I), by Sylvester Mazzolini the *Summa Syvestrinae, quae summa summarum merito nuncupatur* from 1578 (ACSAQ, 310-H), by Juan de Granada a 1585 edition of *Parabola Evangelicae quotquot, ab Ecclesia proponuntur moralibus discursibus explicatae* (ACSAQ, 1040-J), and by Diego Jiménez Arias a 1601 edition of *Lexicon ecclesiasticum* (ACSAQ, 170-J). Regarding philosophy, works from two Dominicans can be found: *In Dialecticam Aristotelis commentarii* from 1580 (ACSAQ, 089-H), *De iustitia et iure libri decem* from 1580 (ACSAQ, 638-I), and *In quartum Sententiarum commentarii* from 1581 (ACSAQ, 138-I) by Domingo de Soto, and *Collectanea moralis philosophiae: in tres tomos distributa* from 1571 (ACSAQ, 1039-I), and *Tertius Tomus Concionum De Tempore Quae A Pascha Dominicae Resurrectionis* from 1581 (ACSAQ, 517-J) by Luis de Granada. Finally, a curious 1574 volume is by the Dominicans Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger entitled *Malleus Maleficarum* (ACSAQ, 831-J) which is a treatise on witchcraft that was even censored by the Holy Office.

At San Fulgencio there was an opening to also study Franciscan authors, among them Johann Wild aka Ioannes Ferus and a 1541 edition of his *Historia sacrae Dominicae Passionis* (ACSAQ, 02-J); Franciscus Titelmans with his *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos iuxta veritatem vulgatae* from 1548 (ACSAQ, 872-J; 460-I), and *Paraphrastica Elucidatio in Sacrosancta Jesu Christi evangelia secundum Mattheum et Ioannem* from 1554 (ACSAQ, 925-J); Adam Sasbout with *In omnes divi Pauli, et quorundam aliorum apostolorum, epistolas explicatio* from 1561 (ACSAQ, 857-I); Juan Pérez de Pineda by a 1589 edition of his *Agricultura Christiana* (ACSAQ, 1482-J); Felipe Diez Lusitano and his 1589 *Summa praedicantium, ex omnibus locis communibus locupletissima* (ACSAQ, 382-H); Juan de Dueñas and his *Espejo de consolación de tristes* with an edition from 1591 (ACSAQ, 1232-I); Juan Baptista Fernández through a 1592 edition of his *Demostraciones Católicas*

(ACSAQ, 1235-I); Pedro Varona de Valdivieso and a 1595 edition of his *De arcano verbo, sive de vivo, omniumque factiuo, sermone Dei: atque de concionatoribus eiusdem* (ACSAQ, 816-I); Bonaventura by his *Tractatus de sex alis seraphim* with a 1599 edition (ACSAQ, 363-J); and, Antonio de Guevara¹⁸⁵ and his *Epístolas familiars* from 1600 (ACSAQ, 1408-J). Yet, the Franciscan author that apparently enjoyed the preference of the Quitense Augustinians was Alfonso de Castro given the number of his books identified in the convent: a 1547 edition of *De iusta haereticorum punitione* (ACSAQ, 74-I), a 1552 edition of *De potestate legis poenalis, libri duo* (ACSAQ, 641-I), a 1565 edition of *Adversus omnes haereses* (ACSAQ, 321-J), and 25 *Homilías sobre el salmo 50, Miserere* with an edition from 1566 (ACSAQ, 99-J).

Similarly, Jesuits authors were studied by the hermit brothers, among the identified works are *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos* by Robert Bellarmine with a 1589 edition (ACSAQ, 242-J), a 1593 edition of *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione Studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda* by Antonio Possevino¹⁸⁶, a 1595 edition of *Liber De conscribendis epistolis cum exemplaribus cuiusque generis epistolarum* by Bartolomé Bravo (ACSAQ, 140-J), a 1598 compilation of treatises by Martin Anton Delrio including *Speculum Marianum; Speculum patientiae et caritatis iesu et Mariae, seu de Passione; Polemicae Mariana sex; and Florida Mariana* (ACSAQ, 13-G), by Juan de Pineda the *Commentariorum in Job libri tredecim* from 1598 (ACSAQ, 1146-I), the *Apparatus latini sermonis per topographiam, chronographiam, & prosopographiam, perque locos communes, ad Ciceronis normam exactus* by Melchor de la Cerda in 1598 (ACSAQ, 205-P), a 1598 edition of *Comentario a los doce profetas menores* by Francisco Ribera (ACSAQ, 107-J), by Benedict Pereira the *Tomus quartus commentariorum in librum Genesis* from 1600 (ACSAQ, 1057-J), a 1618 volume containing the treatises by Nicolas Caussin *Symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia* and *Polyhistor symbolicus, electorum symbolorum et parabolarum historicarum stromata, XII libros complectens* (ACSAQ, 270-G). Finally, it is noteworthy that there are copies of books by two

¹⁸⁵ He was member of the *Ordo Fratris Menoris Regularis Observantia*.

¹⁸⁶ It is worth to say that this book discusses about Jesuit education and knowledge, then Augustinians were aware about the Society of Jesus pedagogy in Quito.

influential Jesuits in RAQ: the *Itinerario para parrochos de indios* by the bishop Alonso de la Peña Montenegro with an edition from 1659 (ACSAQ, 1005-J), and a 1666 edition of *Tractatus et disputationes in primam partem divi Thomae; de Deo uno et trino tomus secundus* by the Riobamba-born Leonardo de Peñafiel (ACSAQ, 1055-I).

The Augustinian friars evidently occupied a relevant space in the library of San Fulgencio, fewer manuscripts have been identified though. For example, *Axiomata christiana: ex diuinis Scripturis, & sanctis Patribus, cum ecclesiasticis, tum etiam scholasticis* by Gaspar do Casal from 1550 (ACSAQ, 139-G), a 1572 edition of *Conciones Sacrae* by Saint Thomas of Villanova (ACSAQ, 400-J), a 1629 edition of *Copia de la carta que el obispo de Arequipa (...) escribió al Rey (...), provando la Certeza que tiene, de aver sido la Virgen concebida sin pecado original* by the Peruvian Pedro de Perea (ACSAQ, 582-J), by Payo de Enríquez bishop of Guatemala a 1653 edition of *Aclamación por el principio santo y Concepción Inmaculada de María* (ACSAQ, 612-J), and a 1636 edition of *Commentarii in librum Iudicum* by the Quitense Gaspar de Villarroel – who is discussed below (ACSAQ, 289-H).

According to Keeding (1983, 2005) the Order of Saint Augustine was the one that went through the greatest shift after the *Cabildo Eclesiástico* of Santa Fe de Bogota decided in 1776 to encourage the teaching of modern philosophy in all the provinces of the *Nuevo Reino*, including RAQ. But actually, the hermit brothers before such a decision were already involved in studying modern authors and debates, as can be seen from the books they owned: *Compendium Philosophicum* by Tomás Vicente Tosca, a 1715 volume of Memoirs from the French Academy of Sciences, the *Riverius reformatus, renovates et auctus, sive Praxis medica Methodo Riverianae* that was a course based on the lectures by Lazare Rivière at Montpellier university and written by Francisco Calmette in 1718, a 1724 edition of *Traité des premières vérités* by Claude Buffier S.J., by Voltaire a 1734 edition of *Historia de Carlos XII*, by Charles Rollin *Histoire Romaine* from 1742, a Spanish 1776 edition of *Historia de las artes y ciencias*, and *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les Belles-Lettres par rapport à l'esprit et au coeur* from 1756, by Marie de Maupeou Fouquet in a Spanish edition from 1748 *Obras Medico-Chirurgicas de Madama Fouquer, Economia de la salud del cuerpo humano...*, a 1750 edition of *Cartas Eruditas* by Benito Jeronimo Feijoo, the *Tractatus de inquisitione veritatis* by Nicolas Malebranche from 1753, by Luís António Verney a 1760

Spanish edition of *Verdadero metodo de estudiar para ser util a la Republica y a la iglesia*, a 1778 edition of the so-called *Histoire des deux Indes* by Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, and a copy of *Elementos de Física y Química* by Ramos y Lafuente (Keeding, 1983, 2005)¹⁸⁷.

Then, there was mainly a French influence on medicine, history, and experimental sciences at San Fulgencio by late eighteenth century, but what is striking is the variety of topics within the Augustinian library. A distinctive feature that could be identified from an early period on geography and cosmography, for instance, they had a 1574 edition of *Theatrum orbis terrarium* by Abraham Ortelius, a 1599 edition of *Sphaera del universo* by Ginés Rocamora y Torrano that included a translation of Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera Mundi* (ACSAQ, 148-G), a 1659 Spanish translation of *Novus Atlas Sinensis* by the Jesuit Martino Martini, and the fourth volume of *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales* by Antonio de Alcedo from 1788 (ACSAQ, 141-G). On the other hand, there was also an early interest on medicine having several treatises and manuscripts, such as a 1516 edition of *Florida corona, que ad sanitates hominum conservationem...* by Antonio Gazio, a 1538 edition of *De re medica* by Celso (ACSAQ, 648-J), from 1558 *In dioscorides Anazarbei De medica materia libros quinque* by Amatus Lusitanus (ACSAQ, 583-J), by Francisco Vallés the *Commentaria in libros Galeni de differentia febrium* from 1569 (ACSAQ, 432-J).

The internal crisis and the inability to grant degrees to non-Augustinian students, made it difficult for San Fulgencio to systematically organise philosophical studies in Quito from the 1730s onwards, as demonstrated by the decreasing number of graduate students (Appendix 7). Nonetheless, the hermit brothers contributed to the so-called 'modernising Scholasticism': Pedro de Lepe, Simón Vásquez, Francisco Javier Espinoza, Juan Trujillo, Pedro Yépez, and José Carrillo were some of the Arts lecturers at the Augustinian convent during said period (Keeding, 1983, 2005), who were studying the abovementioned manuscripts and being, therefore, influenced by rationalism, sensualist pedagogy, medicine, and experimental sciences coming from France, including Enlightenment ideas and authors.

¹⁸⁷ Keeding (2005) mentions other authors found in the Augustinian convent, but without providing additional details about their books, such as Jean-Baptiste du Hamel, Thomas Fuller, Daniel Tauvry, Michael Ettmüller, Pierre-Joseph Macquer, Nicolás Lemery, and Antoine Petit.

Moreover, despite San Fulgencio was already extinct, Alejandro Rodríguez on behalf of the order participated without success in the opposition calls to occupy the philosophy chair at the secularised Santo Tomas university¹⁸⁸ in 1792 and 1794, both occasions based on the *Institutiones philosophica ad studi atheologica...* by François Jacquier, an author who was studied by the Augustinians (Keeding, 1983, 2005). In conclusion, the Hermit brothers in RAQ, possibly since they no longer had an official university, enjoyed a certain freedom and openness to introduce in the internal philosophical instruction authors and debates even censored by the crown, or outside the official university curriculum in Quito, and that was precisely their contribution to the public debate that will have significance in future historical events related to independence.

5.6 Gaspar de Villarroel and the *Gobierno Eclesiástico*

In order to underline the philosophical instruction of the hermit order and its rhizomatic network during the seventeenth century, this section, in a first moment, offers a short biography of the friar Gaspar de Villarroel, a well-known bishop whose influence was relevant in South America. In a second moment, the treatise *Gobierno Eclesiástico* is analysed, because despite the fact that it is normally defined as an ecclesiastical book, it puts forward several political and ethical arguments following the Scholastic interpretation of Aristotle. Thus, a greater emphasis is devoted to two philosophical arguments: the definition of the *indio*, and the virtue of equity, both themes that evidence the influence of Aristotelianism in the Augustinian instruction of that time.

Gaspar de Villarroel was born in Quito in 1587, he was a *criollo* whose father was a Spaniard officer born in Guatemala and whose mother was part of the Venezuelan elite (González Zumárraga, 2001; Grisanti, 1952; Torres, 1657; Zaldumbide, 1943). In 1591 the family moved to Lima, where Villarroel received the habit from the Augustinian order in 1607 and his degree as Doctor in Theology from the *Real Universidad de San Marcos* circa 1620. He was chosen in 1622 as provincial definator in the convent of Lima, having under

¹⁸⁸ It was originated from the Universidad Santo Tomás administrated by the Dominicans, which was secularised by royal order in 1786 (see Chapter 5)

his charge the chairs of philosophy and theology. Four years later, Villarroel assumed the position of prior of the convent of Cuzco. By 1631, he decided to travel to Europe, having as his first stop Lisbon where the first volume of his *Comentarios, dificultades y discursos místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Cuaresma* (Figure 27) was printed; later in Madrid, the second volume was printed in 1632, and the third one in Seville in 1634. During his years in Spain, Villarroel became a celebrated sermon preacher, for which, he was appointed as preacher in the court of king Phillip IV. In 1637, he was nominated by the king to become bishop of Santiago de Chile where he arrived in 1638. Between 1645 y 1646, Villarroel wrote the *Gobierno Eclesiástico Pacífico y Unión de los dos Cuchillos, Pontificio y Regio*, his most renowned work which printed in Madrid in 1656 the first volume and one year later the second one. As a recognition of his work in Chile, especially during the earthquake of 1647, Villarroel was appointed bishop of Arequipa (Peru) in 1652; and some years later in 1660, he became archbishop of Charcas (La Plata) until his death in 1665. In said jurisdiction, he had a great influence at the *Universidad San Javier de Chuquisaca*, which was well-known for its legal and political studies. Finally, Villarroel also wrote *Judices commentariis literalibus cum moralibus aphorismis illustrati* (1676), *Historias sagradas y eclesiásticas morales*, and several sermons which were printed during and after his lifetime.



Figure 27: Cover page of *Comentarios, dificultades y discursos místicos sobre los Evangelios de la Cuaresma* (1631)

Source: Internet Archive

<https://archive.org/details/primerapartedelo00vill/page/n4/mode/1up?view=theater>

Gaspar de Villarroel was mainly a sermon preacher and a writer on ecclesiastical and theological matters, yet on his works it is possible to identify the philosophical instruction given by the hermit brothers. In this case, our analysis is focused on his *Gobierno Eclesiástico Pacífico y Unión de los dos Cuchillos, Pontificio y Regio*, a work that met great success, both in Spanish America and in Spain, having a second edition printed in 1738 in Madrid. Said reprint was requested to the king by the friar Francisco Vázquez, Augustinian prosecutor in Lima, claiming that the old copies were turning to dust putting legacy and knowledge of the bishop at risk, as it is stated in the first pages of the 1738 edition. In 1654, Jeronimo de Camargo, officer of the Council of Indies, suggested the king the approval of Villarroel's book, since it would serve for the instruction of professors on Sacred Scriptures and other faculties, but mainly for the teaching and good example of the prelates in the Indies, whose light should illuminate the *indios* and banish the mists of their errors (see Villarroel, 1738b, fol. XV). Likewise, the renowned Spaniard jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereira, who also recommended its publication, asserted that it would be a guide for prelates, ecclesiastical judges, magistrates, governors, and secular *corregidores* for a correct proceeding in their ministers and in the use of their *cuchillos* (Villarroel, 1738b, fol. XV–XVI).

Since their first edition, the volumes became a widely distributed manual for religious, for instance, it can be trace in several places on both sides of the Atlantic ocean: in Quito some copies¹⁸⁹ that belonged to the former Jesuit library, several copies in Cuenca¹⁹⁰ at the former library of the *Seminario San Luis*, in Lima a copy¹⁹¹ belonging to the Jesuit *colegio San José de la Villa de Moquegua*, in Bogota one¹⁹² from the Dominican *Colegio Mayor Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, in Santiago de Chile¹⁹³, a copy¹⁹⁴ from the former *Convento de San Agustín* in Mexico, in Buenos Aires a print¹⁹⁵ belonging probably to the very Villarroel and

¹⁸⁹ At BEAEP, 10014 and 10015; besides, at BNEE, FJ, FJ03870 and ML69 VIL, both volumes belong to the library of the Universidad San Gregorio Magno.

¹⁹⁰ It is located at ACC the manuscripts 0374, 0387, 0388, 0890, 0891.

¹⁹¹ Both volumes I (4000003088) and II (4000003089) of the *Gobierno Eclesiástico* are located at BNP

¹⁹² Both volumes are found at AHUR, Num. 8 y 9, V. Caxon E.

¹⁹³ The reference numbers are 000051129 and 000067562 at BNC.

¹⁹⁴ It can be found at BNM, FR, RFO 348.32 VIL.g.1738.

¹⁹⁵ The volumes are located at BNMM, numbers: 00014417 and 00014418.

later to the Dominican friar Feliciano Cabrera¹⁹⁶ as it is written in the cover page, and finally a copy¹⁹⁷ from the *Colegio Imperial de Madrid*.

The *Gobierno Eclesiástico* discusses rights, duties, limitations, restrictions, and prohibitions for bishops, priests, and officers in the diverse jurisdictions of Spanish America. Even though it presents a simple structure with modest wording, collecting anecdotes, historical passages, and everyday examples from the life of religious and officials, the book also evidences the philosophical instruction of an Augustinian friar from the seventeenth century in South America. This is why, Villarroel reviews and discusses several authors, such as Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Aquinas, Anselm of Canterbury, Gregory the Great, Saint Bonaventure, Hieronymus Romanus, Titus Livius (Livy), Francisco Suárez (S.J.), Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Castillo de Bobadilla, Thomas of Villanova (O.S.A.), Manuel Rodríguez Lusitano (O.F.M), Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza (S.J.), and Gabriel Vázquez (S.J.).

The book aimed at summarising the vast legislation relating to the Indies which was mostly unknown for priests in their duties and everyday activities. But, more than a manual for priests, the treatise was seeking to discuss about the relationship between the *dos cuchillos* (two knives), i.e., the church and the crown, in order to harmonise both for the good of colonial society. Villarroel (1738b, p. 164) states that republics throughout history have been disturbed by clashes between bishops and magistrates, whose controversies only damaged God, the king, and the people, so that, those authorities must restrain themselves to avoid more scandals. According to González Zumárraga (1961), Villarroel – following Solórzano Pereira – was a supporter of the vicarious theory, that is, that the king as papal vicar was granted to a certain extent jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters related to evangelisation. Nonetheless, the Augustinian bishop was aware that the double legislation, coming from Rome and Madrid, that was ruling the Church in the new world was not conducive to a peaceful agreement amongst local authorities (González Zumárraga, 2001). Thus, Villarroel resorting to the Politics (Book I) and the Nicomachean Ethics (Book X) accepts that

¹⁹⁶ The friar Feliciano Cabrera was born in Santa Fe, Argentina in 1734, he taught philosophy and theology in Buenos Aires and Córdoba; similarly, he had a relevant participation in the evangelisation missions of Uruguay (see Esponera Cerdán, 1992)

¹⁹⁷ It currently belongs to BHFAUCM, BH FLL 13115.

sovereign princes, as was the king of Spain, have the power to make civil laws which are general for all. Yet, regardless of this, he was a critic of the excesses committed by officials, beyond the royal vicariate and the regal faculties, that affected the ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Ben Yessef Garfia, 2022). Then, the *Gobierno Eclesiástico* was not a typical manuscript of early colonisation that sought to establish the minimum conditions for the Spanish regime, but it was a book designed for ensuring the required conditions to preserve such an order characterised by a continuous conflict of interests among authorities.

As mentioned before (see Chapter 2), during the seventeenth century the ‘merciful position’ was mainstream in the Christian debate about the *indios*, i.e., the idea that the Indigenous was a miserable person who requires protection and tutelage to become a Christian and more important to leave behind such a wretched state. Villarroel’s thought coincides with said current when asserts that the *indio* was indeed a man, but one in a minor condition or, what amounts to the same thing, in a state of need. In this context, the bishop states that the *indios* from the Kingdom of Peru are miserable given their imbecility (*imbecillitatem*), rusticity, poverty, pusillanimity, and the great amount of labour and services with which they were burdened (1738b, pp. 196–197). All these conditions place the *indio* in a defenceless position which demands a guardian – *tutore sive curator* – from the *regia potestate*, since without a procurator nothing can be done by the *natural*, neither inside nor outside the court. Hence, one of the main duties of bishops and priests was the protection of *indios*, once they were ‘*una parte muy crecida de la Iglesia y por la cortedad de sus talentos*’¹⁹⁸, but mainly because Christ preferred the most needed (Villarroel, 1738a, pp. 22–23). However, in the *Gobierno Eclesiástico*, Villarroel marks a distance from most Christian authors, since the concept of miserable is defined as an arbitrary category, subjected to the judgement of magistrates and officers, particularly, for defining tributes and punishments for *naturales*. Instead, he suggests thinking about the *indio* as a vassal and not as a miserable individual, for which, the concept of vassalage – as employed by Solórzano Pereira, Covarrubias, and Alcedo – that implies two conditions: subjection to the king and his tribunal, and complete obedience to his commands.

¹⁹⁸ ‘...a very grown part of the church and their lack of talents’ (translation of the author).

According to the Augustinian bishop such a discussion regarded political theory and not metaphysics: being an *indio* was not an existential condition but a political status. This is clarified by one example provided in the *Gobierno Eclesiástico*, the definition of ‘man is a rational animal’ demands that anyone possesses both qualities, being animal and rational, in order to be a man. Whereas, the definition of vassal, which is a political term, does not necessarily require from a person both duties – political subjection and obedience – for being considered as such. Because there are individuals in whom both obligations concur, they are vassals with greater narrowness (*estrechez*), as happens with *indios*, but also there are individuals in whom both duties do not concur without leaving their vassal position, as it was the case of bishops before the king. Therefore, being an *indio* was not an absolute or a definitive condition, but a political status which was more related to laws than to natural properties. The Indigenous owed obedience to the king, yet it did not mean slavery, servitude, or much less the denial of their humankind. Villarroel thus replies to a double intention with this approach, first, to justify the subordination of *naturales* to the crown and its tribunals; second, to avoid disputes and arguments leading to review the human condition or the rational capacity of the inhabitants of the new world.

On the other hand, in order to criticise the excesses of officers who used to justify their actions by appealing the royal law, the *Gobierno Eclesiástico* proposes a discussion on justice and law, once again following political theory and ethics, rather than based on theology and metaphysics. Accordingly, Villarroel assumes from Aristotle the concept of *epiēikeia* (ἐπιείκεια) translated as equity (*equidad*), a virtue that he explains as ‘*Emendationem legis ea ex parte, qua deficit propter universale...*’¹⁹⁹ (Villarroel, 1738a, p. 107). Such a definition is based on the Book V, Chapter 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, that is quoted by the bishop, in which Aristotle reviews the relation between equity and justice, and between the equitable and the just. Thus, the equitable is just, but not what is just according to law, since the equitable is, when necessary, a correction of the legally just. The law for the sake of generality omits certain particular cases – exceptions – in which it is correct to rectify the law of what the lawgiver have legislated. Then, for the philosopher equity is ‘*a certain sort*

¹⁹⁹ *The amendment of the law when it fails for the sake of universality (translation of the author)*

of justice’, and the equitable person is the one “*who is disposed to choose and to do these sorts of things and is not exacting to a fault about justice but is instead disposed to take less for himself even though he has the law on his side, is equitable*” (NE.V.10,1137b,25-29). In this vein, Villarroel adheres to said Aristotelean definition adding two elements: first, that there are cases in which the obligation of the law ceases, this is when it offends God and, therefore, complying with it in those situations is unjust, wicked, and inhuman, being thus virtuous not to save it. Second, in America the problem is that due to its distance from the prince, such particular cases that law overlooks cannot be resolved or interpreted in due time, making it necessary to seek a brief remedy away from the court. For instance, bishops could refrain from complying with laws that offend God, and in order to be virtuous they should attempt to reform them to protect the Church interests. Similarly, in case of lack or ineffectiveness of law, bishops should act following the virtue of equity, which was achievable by means of a Christian formation.

In general terms, the Augustinian bishop seeks to remark – in an Aristotelean way – the difference between ethics and metaphysics, for which, an example is developed referring to the Stagirite’s discussion on numbers, as held in *Metaphysics* Book XIII. Villarroel (see 1738a, p. 508) states that the numbers, despite being all of them species of quantity, are of different species from each other, because every number has its own matter and form; hence, six is not equal to two threes, and three and three is not six, as they belong to different species. However, these ‘narrow’ points are not seen in morals, in which, from time to time is acceptable to fail in following forms and rules. Villarroel was aware of the breach of royal and ecclesiastical dispositions in all social strata, but the intention of criticising any absolute character of ethics and law was more related to argue that laws, even those coming from the vicar-king, could be subject of reform or rectification in name of equity. According to Ben Yessef Garfia (2022) the Quitense bishop sympathised with the *criollos*’ causes, in this context, the *Gobierno Eclesiástico* and its political-ethical arguments could be seen as a support to those vindications, since Villarroel was in favour of modifying, for example, the regulations intended to limit the available positions for *criollos* in America. Everything as a strategy to appease the conflicts between the *cuchillos* that hindered evangelisation and the colonial regime itself.

In conclusion, Gaspar de Villarroel was a typical colonial intellectual, fully integrated to the rhizomatic knowledge network of that time, travelling around the Spanish empire for occupying relevant positions, and mainly for keeping a constant discussion with authors and ideas from both sides of the ocean. The Augustinian bishop was an adherent to the early ecclesiastical optimism in America, because of that, his critical stance about the miserable *indio* aimed not only at placing him as a vassal, but also as an ever-growing part of the church. Besides, defining the subjected condition of the *indio* as a political status and not as a natural state, opened the possibility of thinking better life conditions for indigenous peoples, a matter that was also under the royal vicariate. Regarding the best government for the Indies, Villarroel was aware of the loopholes and of the interstices in which royal law was ineffective and even non-existent, a clear reflect of the porosity of colonial society. Thus, one can suggest that prevailed in his work a pragmatic interpretation of Aristotelianism. The bishop, by separating ethical, political, and ecclesiastical issues from metaphysics, is questioning any kind of determinism or absolutism in justice and governance. The royal vicariate thus did not grant the crown an all-encompassing power over the church administration in the new world, even because it was counterproductive for real interests due to all the conflicts created. Moreover, the Spaniard rule is not infallible or unlimited, so when law was missing or was erred, it should be rectified by local bishops and magistrates, based on the Aristotelean virtue of equity. Such an approach allowed a space of action within the colonial regime for the vindications of the *criollo* class, to which Villarroel belonged, without questioning the ultimate authority of the king. Finally, it is possible to think that the closeness of the Augustinian order to the *criollo* claims in Quito responds, in addition to its members' composition, to the influence of Gaspar de Villarroel, who has been considered a relevant figure of RAQ history, a further sign of the colonial interconnectedness of the hermit brothers.

Chapter 7. The Jesuits: a rhizomatic knowledge network in RAQ

This chapter analyses the knowledge network that the Society of Jesus assembled in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ) which was characterised for conflicts, interconnectedness, and philosophical renewals. The chapter contains eight sections. First, the arrival of the order to Quito is summarised, including the erection process of its first colegio – San Jeronimo – after economic problems and clashes between orders. Second, the Jesuit colegio is defined as a device for colonial deterritorialisation as a consequence of two reasons, a) a deep connection with religious missions in territories with abundant resources, and b) officers and devotees were donating and offering lands and estates to the colegio throughout the colonial period as evidenced by documents, some of which are described. The third section portrays the assembling process of the Jesuit network of educational institutions and missions in RAQ that began in the 1630s and that by 1750 included nine colegios, one novitiate, one university, and evangelising missions in Maynas and Barbacoas. Fourth, the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* is studied in three parts, (1) the founding process characterised by conflicts between religious, economic difficulties, and royal restrictions, as it is demonstrated by royal decrees and documents. (2) The seminary constitutions are reviewed in order to explain its student body and its system of *becas* (scholarships) that worked, not without controversies, as a strategy to guarantee the access of the elite and to disseminate the Jesuit influence. (3) The academic curriculum of the colegio seminario is examined for defining the prevalent Scholastic-Aristotelian tradition that included studies on grammar, Humanities, rhetoric, sacred scriptures, languages, Scholastic theology, philosophy, and mathematics; thus, a greater emphasis is placed on philosophy by given a detailed list of books and manuscripts found in archives and that were studied in the seminary.

The fifth section summarises the creation process of the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* which implied bureaucratic issues and disputes amid religious orders, besides the academic structure, student body, curriculum, and granted degrees are considered. Sixth, the Jesuit lectures on philosophy at San Gregorio are studied, which were mainly based on the so-called *Cursus Philosophicus* that covered a three-years instruction for becoming a *Maestro en Filosofía*; moreover, the names of professors and the title of the *cursus* employed until the

seventeenth century are given; finally, the Jesuit philosophical production from the eighteenth century is studied by providing a list of found manuscripts belonging to Quitense professors. The eighth section contains analyses two Jesuit authors – José de Aguilar and Jacinto Morán de Butrón –in order to represent the rhizomatic network existing in Spanish America; the subsection dedicated to Aguilar includes a) an illustration of his life trajectory, including a description of his well-known *Cursus Philosophicus* which can be traced down in several libraries around Spanish America and Spain; b) Aguilar’s definition of logic terms is examined, since it offers a dialogue between Aristotelian tradition and the Jesuit school, c) one of the main contributions of Aguilar about the redefinition of the object of logic is considered. The subsection on Jacinto Morán de Butrón consists of three parts, a) a brief review of his life trajectory and his works; b) Morán is considered as a representative of the so-called ‘hardcore Scholasticism’, in this vein, the structure of his *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis* and his study of Aristotle’s soul theory are considered; c) it is studied the influence of Aguilar in Morán within the discussion about logical propositions for stressing the existing knowledge network in Spanish America. The last section highlights the role of Jesuits in the overcoming of the ‘hardcore Scholasticism’ in Quito by discussing three aspects, a) a revision of two striking events during early eighteenth century in Quito: the French Geodesic mission and the greater circulation of knowledge; b) the relationship between Jesuits and modernity; and, c) the life trajectory and some works of Juan Bautista Aguirre are reviewed to stress the Jesuit influence within the ‘modernising Scholasticism’ during late eighteenth century.

7.1 The arrival of the Society of Jesus to Quito

This section summarises the arrival of the Society of Jesus to the *Real Audiencia de Quito* (RAQ) and the existing inconveniences to create a colegio mainly regarding economic limitations and disputes among religious orders, yet it is also emphasised the early connections between the colegio and the missions in the Maynas province. Thus, the Society of Jesus officially arrived from Lima to Quito in 1586²⁰⁰, being the last order to come, after

²⁰⁰ However, according to Jouanen (1941) the Jesuits were preaching and visiting RAQ from 1575, since then willing to establish a colegio.

a request of bishop Pedro de la Peña Montenegro and the *Audiencia* in order to tackle two issues: instruction of the youth in colegios, and boosting of missions in peripheral areas (Villalba Freire, 2001a). The first group to arrive were Baltazar Piñas, Diego González de Holguín²⁰¹, Juan de Hinojosa, and Juan de Santiago (Astrain, 1914). According to Jouanen (1941) the Jesuits were quickly accepted and appreciated by the city, mainly by the *naturales*, given their actions in face of two catastrophes: the earthquake of 1587 and the smallpox epidemic of 1589. After which Phillip II issued the same year a decree to favour the Society in everything that was necessary in RAQ (AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.72R-72V). The order attained additional royal support for its key role during the so-called *Revolución de las Alcabalas*²⁰² in 1592 when the Jesuits unanimously decided to take sides for the monarch and its resolution to increase taxes²⁰³, while friars of the other orders were active participants in the revolt. Such a loyalty was immediately recognised by the crown that sent in 1593 a *real cédula* to thank the Society for its services and actions (AGI, INDIFERENTE,606,L.ARBITR,F.27V-28)²⁰⁴. Likewise, RAQ requested the king in 1594 to concede a grant to the Jesuits for their great services given to the province, despite the inconveniences that the rest of the orders have given them (AGI, QUITO,8,R.28,N.116). Finally, a further reason to have the support from the crown and the bishopric was that the Jesuits did not request for *doctrinas* as the other orders did. Freire Villalba (2001a) suggests that this decision had a political motivation, since by not having *doctrinas* they were exempt from the Royal Patronage and from the *encomenderos*' will to deliver the tithes. Nonetheless, this resignation to the administration of parishes did not mean that territories and resources were inaccessible for the Society.

The reputation that preceded the Society of its educational quality and the rapid achievement of the authorities' favour allowed as soon as 1588 the creation of the *colegio de Santa Bárbara* – so called because of its neighbourhood – starting with a course of *Gramática*

²⁰¹ He is author of the well-known *Gramática de la lengua Quichua y arte nuevo de la lengua del inga*, published in 1607 once he went back to Lima in 1600.

²⁰² The revolt began in July 1592 following the imposition of a *cédula real* from November 1591 that established the *alcabala* that was a 2% tax for all the sales of goods from Castille and the Indies, including transactions of movables and real estate (see Lavallé, 1997)

²⁰³ The Jesuits during the revolt were mediating with the rioting mob, dealing with authorities, and preaching publicly in favour of the king's right to impose the *alcavalas* (see Villalba Freire, 2001b).

²⁰⁴ The same decree was sent to the bishopric, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians.

to which around 100 juveniles attend, expanding later in 1590 to a three-years-course in philosophy lectured by Frías Herrán to 40 students coming from diverse cities and orders, and finally in 1594 for those who were willing to continue their studies a course of theology was opened in the brand new seminary of Quito (Astrain, 1914; González Suárez, 1970; Jouanen, 1941; Vargas, 1965b; Velasco, 1941). The erection of the colegio was not exempt of controversy: the order decided to move its facilities from Santa Barbara, a peripheral neighbourhood at that time, to the *plaza mayor* of Quito where they acquired some houses, however, the Augustinians opposed it, claiming that their convent was nearby starting thus a lawsuit in 1597, something that pressured the Society to buy other houses close to the Cathedral (Jouanen, 1941; Villalba Freire, 2001a). After this change of location, the colegio was renamed as *San Jerónimo* a denomination that lasted at least until early seventeenth century when it changed to *Colegio Máximo*, according to the Jesuit Archives of Quito (see Piñas Rubio, 2006)

The Jesuit education immediately met success in Quito, shortly after the opening of the *colegio* the RAQ president informed the king in 1588 that *vecinos* and *naturales* were having a remarkable spiritual advantage because of the doctrine and grammar lessons provided by the Society, suggesting that the chair of *lengua del inga* – entrusted to the Dominicans – should be assigned to them (AGI, QUITO,8,R.22,N.65). Hence, the colegio had a vertiginous growth during the first years, by 1590 the staff was made up of twelve people having 150 students and establishing a chair of *lengua del inga* lectured by Diego González Holguín (Villalba Freire, 2001a). Nevertheless, in 1595 the capacities of the colegio were already insufficient, the Quitense *oidor* Diego de Zorilla suggested the king to favour the Jesuits instead of other orders by sending more religious since the seven priests devoted to instruction were overseen by the city requirements (AGI, QUITO,8,R.29,N.120). Besides, an additional difficulty from the beginning was funding, the colegio *Santa Bárbara* to start received from the *Audiencia* a third of the city funds saved for the seminary, which soon after turned out to be insufficient (AGI, QUITO,8,R.22,N.65). The Society asked the court in 1590 the confirmation of said alms which consisted of 4047 *pesos* of silver, equivalent to ten days of work of the *indios* of Quito (AGI, QUITO,83,N.29), yet the court decided not to renew that payment (AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.85R), for which, the order resorted to personal

offerings from devotees and loans for building its facilities. In 1601, Esteban Onofre, rector of the colegio, informed the court that the order was in extreme necessity, having no resources for stipends and minimum needs, once the Society was still in debt for the loan acquired to build the colegio, and besides the alms from people were scarce and contributions from RAQ were mainly oil, wine, and some medicines (AGI, QUITO,48,N.30).

Thus, one may ask why the Jesuits were keeping a colegio in such adverse conditions, to find a possible answer one can resort to the documents collected by Jouanen (1941, p. 55), e.g., in 1591 the colegio of Quito was confirmed by Claudio Acquaviva, the Superior General of the Society, who also appointed its rector as the administrator of the missions in RAQ and also of all those in the *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, i.e., the Quitense rector was in charge of territories that include present-day Ecuador, Perú, Colombia, Panamá, and Venezuela. Then, the colegio became a centre for the missions in the Northern Andean area, including the Amazon region where the role of the Society was predominant. In this vein, it was not a coincidence that the Society requested in 1630, through the Quito council, authorization to found more colegios in the Audiencia (AGI, QUITO,17,N.57). For instance, Pedro Vaca de Vega, governor of the Marañón province, asked the king in 1631 a license so that the Jesuits could found a house in the region to evangelise the local infidels (AGI, QUITO,32,N.6). But it was not until 1638 that the missions started when Cristóbal de Acuña and Andrés de Artieda explored the Amazon river by request of the *Audiencia*, and likewise, Gaspar de Cugía and Lucas de la Cueva from the *Colegio Máximo* arrived to San Francisco de Borja for the pacification of the Maynas region (Jiménez Gómez, 2022). In this way, by 1707 the Society reported to have founded 39 towns that encompassed circa 26,000 people who were preached by 16 priests, all of them under the direction of the colegio rector (Figure 28).

7.2 Colegios: a Jesuit device for deterritorialisation

This section analyses the Jesuit colegio in Quito as a device for colonial deterritorialisation for two reasons, first, its deep connection to the evangelising missions in unconquered territories whose resources were abundant; second, the colegio and its instruction allowed the Society to receive donations and offerings from officers and devotees, as it is evidenced by archival documents, some of which are described.

The Jesuit colegio was a relevant actant for colonial deterritorialisation in RAQ during early seventeenth century. It was no coincidence that missions were controlled from the colegio since they meant the opportunity to access territories and resources to fund the order activities, that is why the parish administration was not a priority for the Society. For instance, in the decade of 1630s they were carrying on preaching missions in Barbacoas, a hostile region in the northern coast of RAQ, founding *doctrinas* which the crown wanted to seize given its resources and strategic position (see AGI, QUITO,212,L.6,F.68V-69R). But the order, in addition to evangelise, was taking advantage of the local resources as evidenced by a 1636 royal decree sent to the Jesuit provincial ordering that father Rugi send back the *indios guapes* to the island of the *Gallo*, whom he had made work in the banks of the river *Timbiqui* to extract gold (AGI, QUITO,209,L.2,F.107R-107V). Francisco Rugi was not a humble missionary, for several years he served as grammar professor in Quito until 1630 when he was sent to a failed mission to the Quijos province, and later in 1632 the colegio rector appointed him as mission head in Barbacoas, where he founded the city *Santa Bárbara de Barbacoas*, the mining settlement of Timbiqui, one shipyard in Barbacoas, and two docks in Tumaco and the island of the Gallo (Jouanen, 1941). Thus, the colegio was entirely involved in the continuous expansion of the colonial regime once the missionaries, preaching material, resources, and guidelines were coming from there.

On the other hand, the colegio was also essential to accumulate assets in urban and hinterlands mainly through acquisitions, personal offerings, and donations from officers, *encomenderos*, devotees, and priests. In the archives of the *Colegio Máximo*²⁰⁵ a great number of documents evidence how the Society owned in RAQ a significant quantity of lands, *haciendas*, and *obrajes*. Some remarkable cases are, for example, the donation of lands in Yavirac by Diego Porcel in 1593

²⁰⁵ In this section all the documents refer to the Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús in Quito which was systematised by Piñas Rubio (2006).

(ACJQ, Legajo, 18.11) and two caballerias in 1594 by Sancho de la Carrera in Quinche (ACJQ, Legajo, 51.23), both towns close to Quito. In 1622, inaugural year of the *Universidad de San Gregorio*, Juan de Clavería promised to donate 30,000 pesos to support the colegio (ACJQ, Legajo, 27.1). Five years later, the cleric Fernando Cortes sold to the colegio one *estancia*, 16 caballerias, and 14 slaves in the town of Pimampiro – which was an important hacienda for the Society - including the donation of lands in the valley of Coangui (ACJQ, Legajo, 15.10). Among the contributors and traders, there were Indigenous who were willingly donating and negotiating with the Jesuits: in 1669 the *india* Esperanza Mater from Pimampiro donated eight *cuadras* of land in exchange of her burial and the acknowledgement of the chaplaincy founded by her predecessors (ACJQ, Legajo, 15.19); likewise, the caciques from Cuzubamba exchanged in 1672 two ditches of water that flowed towards the town for another ditch and ornaments for the local chapel (ACJQ, Legajo, 73.6).

In this vein, donations were essential for the network of colegios that the Society erected in RAQ, institutions that in turn made it possible to collect more offerings, to instruct more priests, and to supervise the haciendas and the evangelisation missions themselves. In 1636, the licenciado Pedro de la Guerra²⁰⁶ donated to the Society a *solar* and houses in Ambato (ACJQ, Legajo, 73.12), and later in 1640 he left his remaining assets to support the foundation of colegios in Pasto, Cuenca, and Popayán (ACJQ, Legajo 73.14). Similarly, the *maestro* Toribio de Castro Guzmán in 1638 gave a *solar*, three *huertas* of cacao, and four caballerias in Yaguachi for funding the creation of a colegio in Guayaquil (ACJQ, Legajo, 84.1). In the case of Cuenca, the colegio founder *maestro* Francisco del Castillo Velasco in 1693 inherited to the Society his houses in the city, 40 silver marks, and a herd of cows, breeding mares, and donkeys (ACJQ, Legajo, 85.3). The same colegio received in 1730 from Ignacio and Diego Cedillo a considerable offering: a house in Cuenca, a trapiche in Cañar, lands in the nearby towns of Baños, La Ramada, Mollepongo, los Pasajes, and Yangalo, a herd of cows and mules, and some other assets worth 3000 pesos (ACJQ, Legajo, 85.2). In the city of Latacunga, the Jesuits initiated in 1674 a novitiate until 1759 when it was destroyed by an earthquake, which was possible only after several donations, e.g., Pedro de Leimo left his assets for said foundation in 1632 (ACJQ, Legajo, 50.48), just like the alférez Miguel Gómez Marín in 1683 (ACJQ, Legajo 50.33), and Juan de Sandoval y Silva that gave 35,000 pesos in 1673 (ACJQ, Legajo 71.61). In Ibarra, a children school was founded in 1678 under Jesuit

²⁰⁶ It probably refers to Pedro Lasso de la Guerra who was governor of the province of Popayán.

supervision after the donation of 6000 pesos by Manuel de la Chica Nárvaez, who determined that those funds were to pay a religious to teach and to provide the students the required materials (ACJQ, Legajo, 51.12).

Likewise, the erection of the colegio of Riobamba was backed by the *maestro* Pedro de Villegas Pallón who left in 1699 an inheritance worth more than 69,000 pesos that includes a trapiche in Pallatanga, an estancia in Cuzubamba, two herds of cows and fifteen flocks of sheep in Angamarca (ACJQ, Legajo, 85.4). In 1703, the Dr. Juan Cuadrada donated his hacienda with sixteen caballerías in the town of Ilapo and, later in 1707, himself offered another hacienda in Las Cebadas with 4831 sheep, 60 cows and mares with an approximate value of 12,000 pesos everything for the colegio of Riobamba (ACJQ, Legajo, 89.5). In Loja, the Jesuit colegio was possible thanks to contributions, such as those given by the Dr. Francisco Rodríguez Fernández in 1702 (ACJQ, Legajo, 50.18), by José Fausto de la Cueva in 1715 who was dean of the Loja cathedral (ACJQ, Legajo, 97.4), or by the Jesuit Salvador Briones – professor and prosecutor of the seminary San Luis – who left 7500 pesos in 1736 (ACJQ, Legajo, 98.9). Finally, the plan to create a colegio in Ambato was funded in 1752 by the Dr. Tomás García Granda who gave his hacienda in Pitula (ACJQ, Legajo 82.2); however, it was never accomplished having the Jesuits only a school from 1750. Thus, this is just a brief summary of a long list of donations, offerings, and transactions that the Jesuits had until their expel in 1767, and which allowed the order to consolidate an educational network that was also funded by labour coming from haciendas, estancias, and trapiches throughout RAQ²⁰⁷. Therefore, colegios were a device for deterritorialisation and accumulation on one side, whereas education and preaching were essential for colonial overcoding.

7.3 The assembling of the Jesuit network in Quito

In this section, the assembling process of the Jesuit network of educational institutions is discussed, a process that began in the 1630s and that by 1750 included nine colegios, one novitiate, one university, and evangelizing missions in Maynas and Barbacoas. Then, Feingold (2003) states that the Society of Jesus started from late sixteenth century to assemble a global community with

²⁰⁷ *The Jesuits, according to the archives, owned haciendas, estancias, trapiches, and lands in all the regions of RAQ, among them: Ichubamba, Tigua, Pedregal, Pintag, Tanlagua, Cayambe, Pimampiro, Chaluayaco, Carpuela, Tejarsuyo, Lloa, Chaquibamba, Alangasí, Paschoa, Santa Clara, Cotocollao, Naxiche, Angamarca, Cuzubamba, Cangagua, Yaruquí, Llangagua, Cotacachi, Agualongo, San Pablo, Tumbaviro, Panzaleo de Barronuevo, Pitula, Llipini, Leyto, Sicalpa, Mollohambato, Barbacoas, Baños de Cuenca, and the obrajes of Chillós and San Idelfonso.*

its own tradition, educational institutions, and correspondence networks whose centre was the *Collegio Romano* with branches in Europe, America, India, China, and Japan. Besides, the order assumed as their undertaking the dissemination of a ‘global missionary imaginary’ that was expressed in printed histories, documents, treatises, and maps (Morgan, 2017). Hence, for many they could be seen as forerunners of an early globalisation (Casanova, 2015), and even of capitalism (Alvarez-Uría, 2000). In this context, Jesuits envisioned education as priority for being a vehicle for social cohesion and access to Christian Humanism for indigenous peoples in Spanish America (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 2001). Yet, as Newson (2020) points out the Society of Jesus was not limited to indigenous conversion, since it pioneered interest in local ethnography, compilation of dictionaries for indigenous languages, introduction of new production techniques, and promotion of sciences and medicine.

In the case of Quito, the Society began to deploy its network of colegios parallel to the growth of the missions in the late 1630s. Nevertheless, the project was not to carry out, in 1623 Antonio de Morga, RAQ president, warned the king to stop the pretensions of the Society to establish colegios in Cuenca, Guayaquil, Riobamba, Latacunga, Ibarra, Pasto, and Popayán for two reasons, first, the Jesuit province of Quito intended to become autonomous from Lima and Santa Fe in order to have greater access to estates; and second, they were occupying many *naturales* for their own service, situation that could worsen with more colegios (AGI, QUITO,10,R.10,N.128). In 1626, the crown issued a ban on creating new convents in RAQ for all the orders, stating that *naturales* would suffer greater damage and that the king’s wealth would be diminished; besides, four years later, the prosecutor of the Council of Indies claimed that it was inconvenient to authorise the Jesuits new convents and colegios since they became later owners of the best possessions in the towns where they settle, affecting thus the existing convents in towns which were small and with few resources (González Suárez, 1970; Jouanen, 1941). Hence, the rest of the orders held an economic concern about a possible reduction of alms coming from the devotees, for which they accused the Society of taking advantage of the colegios to enrich themselves. This could be evidenced in a document collected by Jouanen (1941), which was sent to the king by two religious procurators of Quito in 1626 stating the following:

...los padres de la Compañía de Jesús son tan mañosos e industriosos, que lo primero que hacen en las repúblicas, es ganar y granjear los poderosos de ellas; con que crecen aventajada y superfluamente en los bienes temporales, adquiriendo tierras, ganados e indios de servicio, (...), con tanto exceso que

las demás personas eclesiásticas y seculares, padecen por falta de servicio y avío para sus haciendas, porque el indio que entra una vez a concertarse con los Padres de la Compañía, nunca más sale, porque los defienden y detienen, sin embargo de que los tales indios deban acudir a otras servidumbres (1941, pp. 135–136)²⁰⁸.

The King authorized, in 1633, despite such and opposition, the creation of two residences in RAQ in exchange of giving up the privilege of not paying tithes (*diezmos*) on *haciendas*, donations, inheritances, cattle, in general in all the possessions of the Society. Thus, the first two chosen cities were Cuenca in 1638 and Popayán in 1640, the closer cities to the rising missions in Maynas and Barbacoas respectively. However, shortly after, the Jesuits were accused of exceeding said 1633 royal concession by erecting two colegios similar to the one in Quito and not two residences, as well as having a novitiate in Los Chillos and the intention of founding more colegios. The Council of Indies asked RAQ to inform about it in 1641, whose reply in 1647 was a favorable report indicating that the Society had only one colegio and humble residences in several cities, unlike the other orders that had numerous convents and doctrines. In this vein, the Jesuits had to face the resistance of their religious peers, the bishopric, and local authorities for each of their foundations: Panama²⁰⁹ (1594), Cuenca (1638), Popayán (1640), Ibarra (1685), Riobamba y Pasto (1689), Guayaquil (1705), Loja (1737), Buga (1742), Panamá (1745), one school in Ambato (1750), and the novitiate in Latacunga (1674), becoming then the order with greater presence in the Audiencia (Figure 29). As Jouanen (1941) points out most of these colegios were in fact small residences having three or four religious mainly for preaching and teaching first letters, yet they were significant because they constituted a place of provision, lodging, and health-giving for missionaries in remote regions.

²⁰⁸ ...the fathers of the Society of Jesus are so slick and industrious that the first thing they do in the republics is to gain and win over their powerful ones; with which they grow advantageously and superfluously in temporal goods, acquiring lands, cattle and Indians for their service, (...), with such excess that other ecclesiastical and secular people suffer for lack of service and equipment for their haciendas, because once an Indian enters to congregate with the Fathers of the Society, he never leaves again, because they (the indios) are defended and detained, despite the fact that such Indians must go to other servitudes... (translation of the author).

²⁰⁹ Although the colegio was outside RAQ, it initially depended on the Jesuit province of Quito until 1671 when it was destroyed during the looting of the pirate Henry Morgan in Panama (see Sariego, 2004).



Figure 29: Educational institutions and missions of the Society of Jesus in RAQ

7.4 The Colegio Seminario San Luis

This fourth section studies the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* in three parts, first, its creation process is reviewed by revising royal decrees and documents that describe the existing conflicts between religious, economic difficulties, and royal restrictions. Second, the constitutions of the seminary are considered in order to explain its student body and its system of *becas* (scholarships) that worked, not without controversies, as a strategy to guarantee the access of the elite and to

disseminate the Jesuit influence. Finally, the third subsection broadly examines the academic curriculum of the colegio seminario for defining the prevalent Scholastic-Aristotelian tradition that included studies on grammar, Humanities, rhetoric, sacred scriptures, languages, Scholastic theology, philosophy, and mathematics; thus, a greater emphasis is placed on philosophy by given a detailed list of books and manuscripts found in archives and that were studied in the seminary.

7.4.1 The creation of the Colegio Seminario San Luis: a permanent conflict

The founding of the Colegio Seminario San Luis took 25 years to RAQ after conflicts between religious, economic difficulties, and royal restrictions; such a process is studied in this subsection by revising royal decrees and documents about the administration of the seminary. Then, the history of the Quitense seminary goes back to the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which among its resolutions established that every bishopric should have a seminary, a decision that was ratified in 1567 by the Second Limense Council that ordered that each priest and *doctrinero* had to give offerings for it. Thus, as soon as 1569, the bishop Pedro de la Peña held a meeting with ecclesiastical representatives and the provincials of the Franciscans, Mercedarians, Dominicans, and Augustinians, to agree on the creation of the seminary that would be financed with a contribution of eight to ten pesos coming from each *doctrina* (AGI, QUITO,81N.25). The following year, the first Quitense synod claimed that given they were a poor and new church without a seminar, it was necessary for the king to provide two lecturers, one for Grammar and the other for Theology, to instruct the ministers in the Christian fundamentals and sacrament granting, and also, it was required a lettered examiner (*examinador letrado*) to monitor the priestly ordination (PATRONATO,189,R.40; f.21). Nonetheless, the seminary²¹⁰ erection took 25 years mainly due to the lack of financial support from the orders and the bishopric vacancy from 1583 to 1588, as informed by the Quitense bishop Antonio de San Miguel in 1590 (AGI, QUITO,209,L.1,F.84V-85R). For instance, in 1577 the bishopric ‘supplicated’ the king to issue a decree for *doctrineros* and friars to pay the six-pesos contribution for the seminary (AGI, QUITO,80,N.10). Despite the fact that the king ordered in 1592 to create seminaries in jurisdictions where they did not exist (AGI, INDIFERENTE,427,L.30,F.435V-436V), it was not

²¹⁰ According to González Suárez (1970) before the Jesuits’ arrival in Quito there was already a small seminary under the direction of the bishopric to teach Latin, church reckoning, and Gregorian chanting; it would have been active from 1583 to 1594 (see Guerra Bravo, 2021, pp. 73–74).

until 1594 that the bishop Luis López Solís, during the second Quitense synod, decided to entrust the Jesuits with the duty to start the seminary given their virtues for education and because they already had teachers and a rector for the new institution (AGI, QUITO,76,N.36).

In order to carry out such a mission, the Society took advantage of the existing colegio San Jerónimo giving way to the *Colegio Seminario San Luis*, whose designation was devoted to the saint of the same name who was patron of the bishop and king of France (Vargas, 2001b). It is worth to say that the Jesuit colegio did not disappear but preserved certain autonomy under the label of *Colegio Máximo* for the instruction of Jesuit priests. In order to fund the seminary the 1594 synod ratified the obligation of priests and friars to contribute to the seminary, yet it was not fulfilled by the orders that justified themselves by alleging that their convents did not have funds either (AGI, QUITO,84,N.7). Therefore, the economic drawbacks were present from the beginning, the same 1594, the bishop informed the king about the difficulties to collect the three percent contribution to fund the seminary (AGI, QUITO,76,N.37), and barely a year after its foundation, López Solís requested the king to give 3000 pesos to cover the rent for the seminary house which was partially paid by the students (AGI, QUITO,76,N.39), and there was even a warning of a possible closure due to lack of resources (AGI, QUITO,76,N.46). In 1598, royal decrees were issued asking RAQ about the convenience of keeping the seminary and the compulsory contribution (AGI, QUITO,211,L.3,F.119R-120R), and inquiring the bishop about the status of San Luis (AGI, QUITO,211,L.3,F.120R-120V). Bishop López Solís replied in 1600 claiming that the *colegio seminario* was steadily growing, helping with its students to preach in ‘harsh’ and mountainous lands, in spite of matters with the orders (AGI, QUITO,76,N.57). Three years later, the orders complained again about the compulsory contribution (AGI, QUITO,84,N.61), and still in 1621, the bishop Fernando de Santillana informed the court that the colegio was in crisis because the religious were not paying their obligations (AGI, QUITO,77,N.20). This inconvenience persisted at least until late seventeenth century as evidenced by a 1662 *real cédula* ordering the cathedral of Quito to pay the *colegio seminario* what was ruled by the Limense council (AGI, QUITO,213,L.8,F.42V-43V). The Jesuits overcame these difficulties by financing it with donations coming from other institutions²¹¹, payments from

²¹¹ For instance, RAQ informed the king in 1606 that the hospital was paying the 3 percent contribution as he had arranged (AGI, QUITO,9,R.9,N.63), a decision that was temporarily reversed for two years in 1620 (AGI, QUITO,29,N.59).

wealthy students, and from the resources produced by the *haciendas*, missions, and properties above-mentioned.

One can suggest that the opposition of the orders to the seminary contribution was not exclusively of an economic kind, but an opposition to the Jesuit administration since San Luis allowed to have a wide influence in the Quitense clergymen who later became *doctrineros*, and to receive generous donations from devotees and alumni. In this vein, it is noteworthy that the conflict sharpened a few years after the Jesuits requested in 1630 authorization to create new colegios, for instance, the bishopric attempted to remove the Society from the seminary direction in 1633, before which, the king stated that this could not be decided without his order, requiring the Audiencia and the bishopric to report on the matter (AGI, QUITO,212,L.6,F.67V-68R). Likewise, the bishop Pedro de Oviedo tried to take away from the Jesuits the newly created doctrinas in the region of Barbacoas in 1634 (AGI, QUITO,212,L.6,F.68V-69R). All this situation including the bishop's intention to limit their privileges to access *haciendas* and cattle caused the Jesuit provincial to go in a march to the RAQ court to defend his order (AGI, QUITO,12,R.3,N.38). Furthermore, in 1660 a *real cédula* dictated that the seminary administration should be in charge of the bishopric as it was established by the Council of Trent (AGI, QUITO,212,L.7,F.221V-222R). This was as a consequence of the dispute held with the bishop of that time, Alonso de Peña Montenegro, that according to Velasco (1941) was due to the control of the parish of Archidona in Maynas which the Jesuits at end resigned. However, such a decision to take away the seminary was not carried out possibly because of the reports from the governor of Popayán in 1665, RAQ presidency in 1666, and the Audiencia de Santa Fe in 1669 that informed that no excess had been committed by the Society. Finally, the seminario San Luis kept the Jesuit administration with some conflicts – of which some are analysed later – until 1767 after the expel from the Spanish empire of the order of San Ignacio.

7.4.2 The structure of the Colegio Seminario San Luis: students, becas, and clashes

In this subsection the constitutions of the Colegio Seminario San Luis are reviewed in order to describe its structure in terms of the student body, underlining entry requirements, classification, and the system of *becas* (scholarships) that worked as a strategy with a double purpose to guarantee the access of the elite and to disseminate the Jesuit influence in regions throughout RAQ, becoming then a matter of interest and clash. Thus, the constitutions of San Luis were written by bishop

López Solís in 1594 but they became public only in 1601, they were based on the Council of Trent and the constitutions of the Society of Jesus; one can suggest that the *Constituciones del Colegio de San Salvador de Oviedo* written by Diego de Muros were used as a reference, since a transcribed copy is found in the archive of the *Universidad Central del Ecuador* (AGUCE, *Libro de Constituciones Jesuitas...*) which houses documents from the Jesuit colegio. The seminary started its activities with 40 students²¹² who were, according to bishop López Solís, ‘sons of *conquistadores* and the most important people of this land’, being such good students that they would compete with the best seminaries in Spain (AGI, QUITO,76,N.36). By 1600, San Luis had 50 ‘Spanish seminarians’ who already supported preaching in remote areas (AGI, QUITO,76,N.57), in 1621 there were 80 students – the maximum number that the seminary reached – of which 23 were supported by the bishopric and the rest by their parents (AGI, QUITO,77,N.20).

Therefore, the students were classified considering this last criterion, i.e., between *becarios* (scholarship holders) and normal students; but all of them had to meet certain conditions dictated by the seminary constitutions: first, being old Christians and clean of all races of Moors, Jews, and people punished by the holy office; being offspring of lawful wedlock and without any contagious disease. Second, be at least 12 years old²¹³, have good customs, and meet the requirements that the Council of Trent mandated²¹⁴. Nonetheless, regardless of these requirements, the seminary admissions were controversial for being influenced for the Quitense political spheres: ecclesiastical and civil authorities so often interfere to favour certain people, e.g., in 1680 the royal court requested Lope Antonio de Munive, RAQ president, to negotiate the admission of one of the sons of Juan Guerrero Salazar, who was the *escribano* of Chimbo, as a form of compensation for his services (AGI, QUITO,210,L.5,F.10V-11R). It’s worth mentioning that the economic condition of students was not the main selection criterion, but their socio-racial position. The San Luis constitutions dictated that poor students were admitted for having a *beca* as long as they had

²¹² Jouanen (1941, Appendix B) provides the names of 24 of the first students: Cristóbal de Alemán, Baltasar de Corita, Cristóbal Núñez, Juan de Quiroz, Juan Domínguez, Lorenzo de Barresueta, Matías Rodríguez; Fiorentino de Enrique, Andrés de Altamirano Molina, Pedro Mier de las Monjas, don Jerónimo de Allagas, Diego de Chaves, Marcos León, Cosme de Rábaga, Juan Piñán, don Luis de Cañaverl, don Alonso de Bastidas, Pedro de la Plaza, Juan de Laza, Luis Galbán, Diego López de Zúñiga, Juan de Aguilar, Cristóbal de Aguilar; Juan Bautista Grimaldo, Gaspar Jerez, Melchor de Villanueva.

²¹³ The minimum age of 12 years for a seminarian was established by the Council of Trent, however, the Jesuit constitutions (Cons. 4:338) determined that a suitable age for a student in a colegio was from 14 years to 23 years.

²¹⁴ The Council in its session the twenty-third, chapter XVIII, establishes that in any seminary “...shall be received such as are at least twelve years old, born in lawful wedlock, and who know how to read and write competently, and whose character and inclination afford a hope that they will always serve in the ecclesiastical ministry” (Council of Trent, 1848, pp. 188–189).

references, however, it was established that preference should be given to offspring of *conquistadores* and royal officers. Besides, every seminarist had to have a parent or a relative in town to provide them with everything they needed, since the poor students were given the clothes – the traditional dress was brown capes with colored tassels (Figure 30) – but they themselves had to cover everything else, while the rich students covered their needs themselves. For instance, Diego de Arévalo was a seminarist whose education and ‘pupillage’ were covered by Gil Ruiz de Tapia, *alguacil mayor* (chief sheriff) of Cuenca, that officially declared in 1599 that for one year he assumed all the expenses on behalf of his father as a consequence of the services provided to the city (ANH/C, Fondo Notarial, Notaria 3, Libro 493-445).



Figure 30: *Colegial de San Luis*

Author: Francisco Javier Cortés, Vista de la entrada en la ciudad de Quito de las tropas españolas (1809)

Photo autor: Otero Úbeda, Joaquín; Museo de América

The concession of scholarships was a matter of interest and permanent conflict both within and outside the seminary. Initially, the Society offered 25 scholarships for non-wealthy students, then the crown funded four *becas reales* which were exclusively for offspring of presidents, governors, and royal officers, whereas, the bishopric paid for 24 *becas seminarias* – 20 for seminarians and 4 for *criados* – that were changing from time to time according to economic and political reasons (Gil Blanco, 2017; Jouanen, 1941). The scholarships were a strategy with a double aim, first, to guarantee that elite members have access to priestly instruction for occupying later positions in the spheres of power; second, to educate subjects that, in the case of the Jesuits, replied to their principles and structures as a way to have influence in *doctrinas* and parishes around RAQ. Then, the seminary funding was seen as an opportunity for social advancement for individuals coming from non-upper-class families but of good ancestry, while for elite individuals was a matter of prestige to assure their access to power spaces. Following the constitutions – about giving preference to offspring of *conquistadores* and officers – the *becas* beneficiaries were often students referred from the courts. For instance, a *cédula* was issued from Madrid to the bishop of Quito in 1675 instructing him to obtain a *beca* for the eldest son of royal officer Tomás Suárez de Figueroa (AGI, QUITO,210,L.4,F.268R-268V). The following year, the crown announced to RAQ the increase of four scholarships to be financed from *encomiendas de indios*, after a request from the Jesuits provincial in 1673 (AGI, QUITO,210,L.4,F.212V-213V), nonetheless, those positions were to be occupied by people referred to from Madrid who were all of them close to royal officers (AGI, QUITO,213,L.8,F.358V-361R). In 1702, Antonio Sánchez de Orellana governor of San Francisco de Borja in the province of Maynas, requested the king for a *beca* for one of his sons as a reward of his services (AGI, QUITO,142,N.18).

The scholarship awarding system never had clear criteria, as late as 1738, Manuel Rubio de Arévalo *oidor* of Quito informed the king that the manner of granting scholarships should be observed given the constant irregularities (AGI, QUITO,133,N.30). After several controversies, the RAQ president, who was accountable for royal funding, was required to send reports about the awarding in 1717²¹⁵, 1731²¹⁶, and 1755²¹⁷. The most remarkable conflict regarding the *becas* took place in 1725 when around 20 students organised a mutiny in the seminary for 18 days, an event summarised by several authors (Gil Blanco, 2017; González Suárez, 1970; Jouanen, 1941;

²¹⁵ See AGI, QUITO,143,N.12

²¹⁶ See AGI, QUITO,131,N.73

²¹⁷ See AGI, QUITO,136,N.31

Velasco, 1941), and which is narrated in a complete file (see AGI, QUITO,203). Four reasons are outlined to explain what happened, a) the defence of freedom of thought about new philosophical ideas, b) a friction between Spaniard professors and *criollo* students, c) the bishop's dispute with the Society²¹⁸, and d) the granting of studentships. Regarding the last aspect, during those years the bishop were conceding *becas* for poor students without consulting the San Luis' rector as stipulated, situation that provoked a tension among the seminarians due to the existence of undeserved scholarship holders. It is worth to say that among those raised nine of them were funded by the bishopric. As Gil Blanco (2017) collects from the existing file (AGI, QUITO,203) the Jesuit rector of that time Pedro de Campos during the investigations of the event made a statement to denounce the irregularities of the bishopric that had distributed 54 *becas*²¹⁹ in the last 25 years, without complying with the constitutions and royal decrees. Despite the fact that the rebellious seminarians were expelled withdrawing their scholarships and that the Jesuit rector was changed to 'appease the spirits', the problems did not cease since in 1730 three *becas reales* were withdrawn as the holders were not 'sons of ministers' appointing three sons of RAQ officers in their place (ACJQ, Legajo,43.5).

Finally, the aim of this analysis is to highlight the instability and the continuous conflict of interests that existed within San Luis, as in all instances of the colonial assemblage of which the Society of Jesus was not isolated. This is expressed for example in the various changes that the jurisdiction of the seminary had: it was created in 1594 under the authority of the Jesuit province of Lima which lasted until 1605 when it was transferred to the new vice-province of the *Nuevo Reino* based in Santa Fe, then in 1609 after the request of the seminary authorities San Luis was returned to the province of Peru until 1617 when it was reassigned to Santa Fe, condition that changed in 1696 with the creation of the autonomous province of Quito that allowed a better administration of San Luis but specially the control of the growing missions in the Amazon region.

²¹⁸ One of the main riot actors Agustín Miñano was a relative of the bishop, Luis Francisco Romero, who fell out with the Jesuits after they obtained in 1722 a royal decree for the seminarians to stop assisting the cathedral and its services, as a consequence the bishopric cancel the payments to the seminary.

²¹⁹ 1 the bishop Sancho Andrade y Figueroa, 32 the bishop Diego Ladrón de Guevara, 10 for the cathedral council, 8 the deaan and ecclesiastical governor Joseph Fausto de la Cueva, 1 Pedro de Zumárraga who was general vicar of the cathedral, and 4 the bishop Luis Francisco Romero.

7.4.3 The education in the Colegio Seminario San Luis

This subsection is devoted to study the academic curriculum of the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* characterized by the Scholastic-Aristotelian tradition; a greater emphasis is given to the philosophical instruction. The Constitutions of the Society and the *Ratio Studiorum* are reviewed in order to thoroughly describe the studies structure at San Luis that included grammar, Humanities, rhetoric, sacred scriptures, languages, Scholastic theology, philosophy, and mathematics. Finally, a detailed list of books and manuscripts found in archives and that were studied in the seminary is offered, highlighting those related to Aristotle and Aquinas.

The creation of San Luis was a milestone in the history of RAQ, so significant that for Guerra Bravo (2021) its inauguration marks the beginning of the so-called ‘Scholastic renewal’ that allowed not only the deepening of Baroque Scholasticism but also the systematic study of philosophy following the Thomistic-Aristotelian tradition of medieval kind. Education and the erection of colegios were established as one of the main missions by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, such as Ignatius of Loyola, Diego Laínez, and Francis Xavier. The Part IV of the Jesuit Constitutions is completely devoted to the regulation of colegios and what should be studied in them: in first place, humane letters that included grammar, rhetoric, and logic, then natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, Scholastics and Positive theology, and finally, Sacred Scriptures. Thus, a greater emphasis was given to the theoretical and philosophical instruction since, for instance, councils, decrees, holy doctors, and ‘other moral subjects’ could be read by pupils after leaving the studies in case there was not enough time during lessons (Cons. 4:353). Likewise, books of humane letters by pagan authors were allowed as long as they were non immoral, whereas for Christian authors they should not be lectured on when they were ‘bad’; hence, it was recommended to better determine in detail which books should be lectured on and those which should not in each faculty (Cons. 4:359). The constitutions also outlined an order to be followed in ‘pursuing the branches of knowledge’ which was first a good grounding in Latin²²⁰, then arts, Scholastic theology, and ultimately positive theology, while the scriptures may be studied either concomitantly or later on (Cos.4:366). Additionally, the superior of each colegio had the faculty to define the study of other languages²²¹ into which the scriptures were written or translated

²²⁰ *The students of humanities were required to ordinarily speak in Latin, and once a week after dinner one of the most advanced students should deliver a Latin or Greek oration to study (Cons. 4:381).*

²²¹ *Those who were studying these languages should have a degree in theology or at least a deep knowledge on the holy doctors and the church in order to prevent misinterpretations (Cons. 4:368).*

(Cos.4:367). In the case of Quito, the chosen language was the *lengua del inga* of which the Jesuits achieved a vast knowledge that was recognised by RAQ that in 1588 asked the king to transfer the historical lecture of *lengua del inga* from the Dominican convent to the new Jesuit colegio (AGI, QUITO,8,R.22,N.65). On the other hand, it was required to have a general library in each colegio (Cons. 4:372) whose books should not have annotations in order to allow a correct reading for everyone (Cons. 4:373), yet it is noteworthy that students were consented to have sheets of paper and notebooks for writing down the lectures ‘for the future’ (Cons. 4:376). That is how many philosophy and theology courses taught in Quito have been preserved, some of which are later discussed.

In terms of academic structure, the curriculum of the Jesuit colegios was explicitly delineated by the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* of 1599²²² that established a main division between the ‘lower classes’ (*estudios inferiores*) and the higher faculties (*facultades superiores*), the former included three years of Grammar, one year of Humanities, and one year of Rhetoric, whereas the latter comprised Sacred Scripture, Hebrew, Scholastic theology, cases of conscience²²³, philosophy, moral philosophy, and mathematics. Hence, the *escolares* (scholastics) should attend during the first three years to a course of Grammar that was mainly intended to study Latin, Greek, and the *Grammatica* of the Portuguese Jesuit Emmanuel Álvarez (aka Manuel Álvares). It was divided in three parts, first, the so-called lowest class whose objective was the ‘perfect knowledge’ of rudiments and a beginning knowledge of syntax, for which, the first book of Alvarez’s treatise was studied, including an introduction to syntax taken from its second book, introductory lessons of Greek, and some of Cicero’s letters. Second, the middle class was thought to achieve a ‘complete though not exhaustive knowledge of grammar’ by lecturing the second book of Alvarez on figures of speech, regarding Greek nouns and verbs were reviewed, while for Latin Cicero’s *Ad Familiares* and the simplest poems of Ovid. Third, the higher class aimed at achieving a ‘complete and perfect knowledge of grammar’ by revising the figures of speech and the rules of prosody, for Greek St. John Chrysostom Aesop and Agapetus were some of the required authors, and the more important letters of Cicero and the poems of Virgil for the Latin lessons.

²²² For the present work the translation of Farrell (1970) is referred.

²²³ The so-called cases of conscience consisted of a two-years course with two professors, the first one should teach the sacraments, censures, and states of life and their duties, the other one, mainly on the ten commandments, including matters such as magic, removal from office, and loss of rank.

Thus, in the *Seminario San Luis* it can be said that it was fulfilled since in the Jesuits archives in Quito two copies of Alvarez's *De institutione grammatica* from 1575 are traceable (BEAEP, FAE, EP 2027; 2047/D3-90 – D3-91). Concerning Cicero's letters, it could be found a 1538 version of *Explicarions suarum in Ciceronem Castigationum* of Piero Vettori (BEAEP, FAE, EP 1696/A3-48), a copy of the *Thesaurus* from 1591 by Charles Estienne – aka Carolus Stephanus (BNEE, FJ07271), a selection of letters compiled by the Jesuit Cypriano de Soarez from 1723 (BNEE, FJ04418), and several other volumes. For studying Ovid, for example, there is a translation into Spanish of The Transformations (*Metamorphoses*) by Diego Fernández de Cordova from 1589 and a Commentary, by Ignacio Suárez Figueroa, to *Tristia, Epistulae ex Ponto*, and the letter to Livia from 1727 (BEAEP, FAE, EP 1723/B3-26). On Virgil's poems, there is a Spanish translation of the Aeneid by Gregorio Hernández de Velasco from 1777, and a 1778 illustrated compilation of all his works (BNEE, FJ, FJ04353; FJ07817).

After the approval of the Grammar classes the student followed a course of Humanities for one year that was thought for improving the knowledge of language and an introduction to rhetoric. The course bibliography included Cicero, Virgil, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and some odes of Horace for the first semester, while the second semester was devoted to *De Arte Rhetorica* of Cypriano de Soarez y Herrera and some speeches of Cicero. In this vein, the *Colegio Máximo* and the Quitense seminary had many books of Quintus Curtius Rufus among them the *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis* from 1653 (BEAEP, FAE, EP 2148/D5-105), and *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni Historia* from 1711 (BEAEP, FAE, EP 2149/D5-106). From Livy (aka Titus Livius) there is a 1750 copy of his History of Rome – aka *Ab Urbe Condita* (BNEE, FJ, FJ05608), and from Horace there exist a 1535 copy of *Carmina* (BNEE, FJ, FJ05664) and a commented version by Denis Lambin from 1561 (BNEE, FJ, FJ03990). Similarly, the Jesuit library in Quito, following the *Ratio Studiorum*, had a version of *De Arte Rhetorica* of Cypriano de Soarez from 1590 (BNEE, FJ, FJ05556).

The next step in the Jesuit instruction was the course of Rhetoric that was dedicated to oratory and poetry for developing the 'power of self-expression'; for which, the oratorical works of Cicero and the Rhetoric and Poetics of Aristotle were taught. Additionally, to study oratory and poetics only the ancient classics were admitted: Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and the Saints Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom. From this list of authors, we have been able to identify in Quito the following books: an Italian translation of the works of Demosthenes

from 1796 by Melchior Cesarotti (BEAEP, FAE, EP 1732-1736/B3-38–B3-32), a commentary on the moral philosophy of Plato by the Dominican Crisostomo Iavelli from 1568 (BNEE, FJ, FJ03717), a compilation in Greek of the theological works of Gregory Nazianzen from 1550 (BNEE, FJ, FJ09020), and another version in Latin and Greek from 1618 that includes an appendix of the works of Saint Basil (BEAEP, FAE, EP 1834/E1-10) of whom the Jesuit library owned a biography written by the Baselian friar Diego Niseno from 1463 (BNEE, FJ, FJ06694), moreover, there is a 1568 version of a treatise written by Theophylact of Ohrid which analyses the thought of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom (BNEE, FJ, FJ00692).

On the other hand, regarding the so-called higher faculties, the whole course of theology lasted four years in which the students attended – during the second and the third year – a course of Sacred Scriptures which were explained ‘reverently, learnedly, and seriously, according to their genuine and exact sense’. Moreover, a one-year course of Hebrew was also compulsory. Hence, the study of Scholastic theology took four years and ‘expressly follow[ed] the teaching of St. Thomas’, it was divided as follows²²⁴, the first year reviewed forty-three questions from the *Prima Primae* of the Summa Theologica, the questions on justice and right from the *Secunda Secundae*, and the principal questions from *De religione*. The second year discussed the matter on the angels and twenty-one questions from the *Prima Secundae*, the questions on the Incarnation from the *Tertia*, and some of the most important articles on the sacraments. The third year was devoted to review from Questions 55 of 71 to the end of the *Prima Secundae*, including the discussion about baptism, eucharists, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction. Finally, the fourth year studied the matter on faith, hope, and charity from the *Secunda Secundae*, and the lecturing about penance and matrimony.

Evidently, St. Thomas was one of main authors to be studied in Quito: many of his books and several works on him are found in the Jesuit archives, for instance, a 1627 compendium of the Summa Theologica by the Jesuit Petro Alagona from Sicily (BNEE, FJ, FJ01939) was employed at the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno*, as evidenced by the notes on its cover page (Figure 31). Also, a commentary on the topic of justice within the second part of the Summa by the Augustinian Miguel Bartolomé Saló published in 1598 (BNEE, FJ, FJ00067), a copy of the commentary to the whole Summa by the Jesuit Gregorio de Valencia from 1603 (BNEE, FJ, FJ02486), a 1616

²²⁴ *The Ratio Studiorum differentiates the structure of the Scholastic theology course for the colegios that had two professors and for those that had three professors, in this case, we analyse the first case, i.e., having two professors.*

commentary by Willem Hessels van Est (aka Guilielmus Estius) from Gorinchem (Netherlands) (BNEE, FJ, FJ02565), the work from 1671 of the Jesuit Georges de Rhodes on God, angels, and the man within the Summa (BNEE, FJ, FJ02675), a treatise on the third part of the Summa from 1682 by Diego Nuño Cabezudo O.P. (BNEE, FJ, FJ02482), and many other books that demonstrated that Aquinas was a well-known author in colonial Quito.

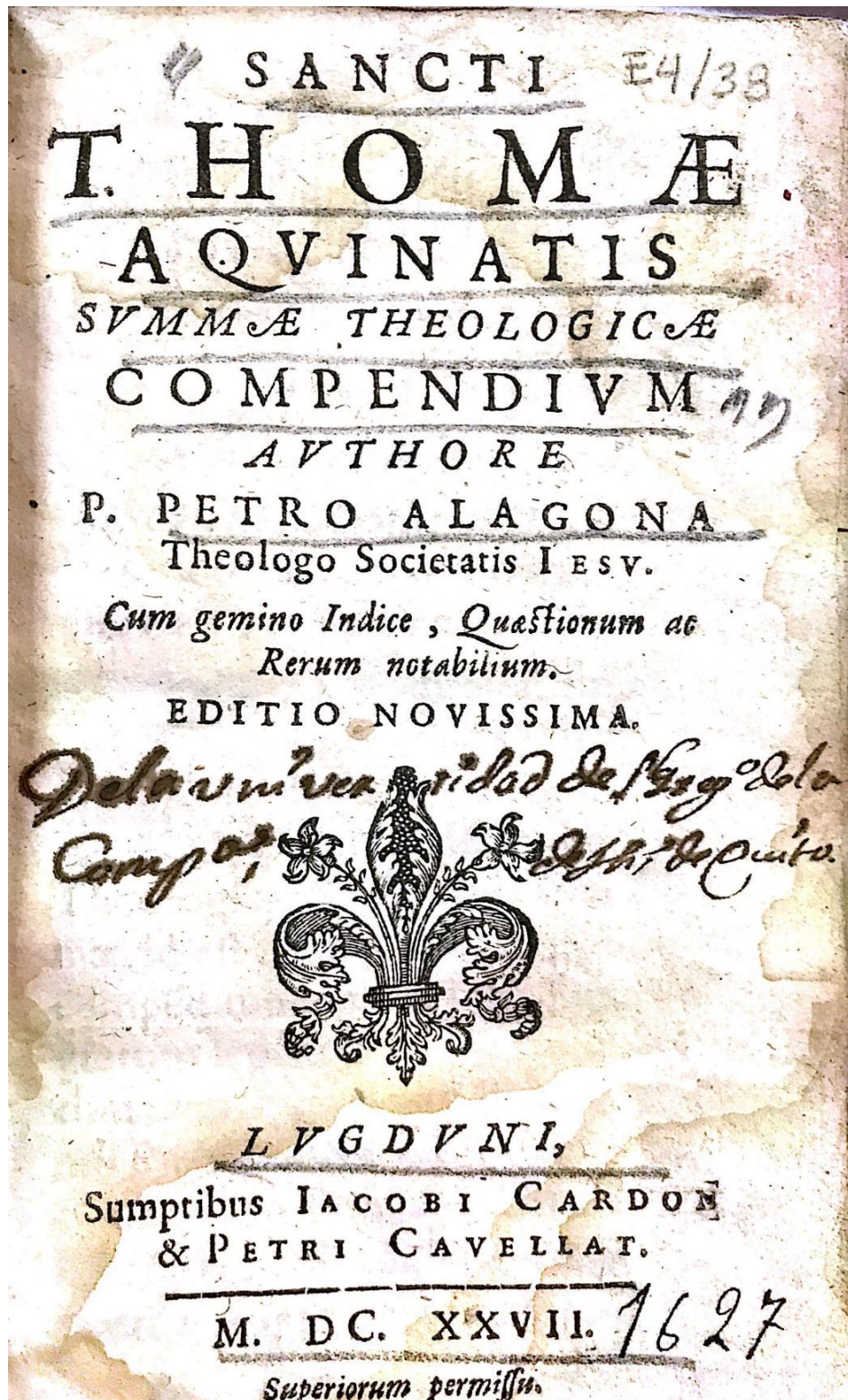


Figure 31: Cover page of the *Summae Theologicae Compendium* by Alagona S.J.
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ01939

The course of philosophy lasted three years and was conceived for preparing the ‘intellectual powers for theology and assist in the perfect understanding and practical application of religious truth’. The professor should follow some rules, such as not depart from Aristotle in matters of importance and refute any contrary doctrine to the true faith as proscribed by the Lateran Council; be very careful in reading and quoting the commentators of Aristotle who are objectionable from the standpoint of faith; not give separate treatment to the digressions of Averroes and quoting him only if necessary, clarifying that Averroes borrowed his ideas from another source; not attach himself or his students to any philosophical sect, such as the Averroists and the Alexandrists²²⁵; and, always speak favourably of St. Thomas and differing from him with respect and reluctance.

Thus, the first year was aimed at studying logic, during the first two months Francisco de Toledo S.J. and Pedro da Fonseca S.J. had to be discussed, including as a compendium the discussion about the grounds of proof and fallacies from the Topics and the *Elenchi*. The introductory logic questions were the claim of logic to be a science, its proper subject matter, and the concept of universal ideas. Further topics were the discussions about the predicable and the notions of analogy, relations, contingency, and free will. Also, the second book of On Interpretation and both books of the Prior Analytics²²⁶ were covered and, at the end of the year, the second book of the Physics and the second book On the Soul had to be read, as an introduction for the next year.

The second year was dedicated to the so-called physical sciences by analysing four Aristotelean works, the first book On Generation, the Meteorology, then the eight books of the Physics omitting from the eighth book the discussion of the number of intelligences, liberty, and the infinity of the prime mover that were studied in metaphysics. And, On the Heavens whose second, third, and fourth books had to be summarized and for the most part omitted, dealing only with the elements and the substance and influences of the heavens.

The final year was planned to study the Metaphysics emphasising the preface, the seventh and twelfth books, yet passing over the questions on God and the types of intelligence. Also, it was required the second book On Generation and the On the Soul whose first book should be summarised in what regards the ancient philosophers and leaving out any anatomy digression when discussing the sense organs in the second book. Furthermore, the scholastics should attend to a repetition of moral philosophy on the ten books of the Ethics at least every two weeks, and to a

²²⁵ It refers to the philosophers who adopted the explanation of *De Anima* made by Alexander of Aphrodisias (Farrell, 1970).

²²⁶ Excepting the first eight or nine chapters of the first book.

class of mathematics, during the studies of physics, in which the Elements of Euclid were explained and some lessons of geography and astronomy. Finally, as a general rule the ‘young philosophers’ were to be trained throughout the course to use the ‘Scholastic form’, following the laws of argumentation and the proper order within a disputation²²⁷.

The Jesuit library in Quito was known for being one of the most complete in south Spanish America, in what regards Aristotle’s bibliography it was not an exception since copies of his main works can be found. For instance, to study logic the Society had a 1557 copy of the *Organum* commented by Severinus Boethius (Figure 32), also a commented version of the *Elenchi* from 1551 written by the Italian philosopher Agostino Nifo (Figure 33) and his comments on the Meteorology (Figure 34). For physics, two copies from 1555 (Figure 35) and 1564 (Figure 36) interpreted by the well-known translator John Argyropoulos, both books contain several Aristotelean treatises²²⁸ translated by François Vatable. For the Metaphysics course, the colegio had a commentary from 1702 (Figure 36) made by Giovanni Battista Tolomei, who was professor in the Jesuit *Collegio Romano*. Similarly, for the On Generation a 1588 commented version by another Jesuit Francisco de Toledo (Figure 38). For Moral philosophy a 1558 copy of the Nicomachean Ethics interpreted by Denis Lambin (Figure 39). It is noteworthy that various commentaries²²⁹ from the *Collegi Conimbricensis* were in possession of the library. Finally, can also be found manuscripts composed by Quitense lecturers themselves, e.g., a text containing disputes on Metaphysics, *De Anima*, and *De Generatione* (Figure 40) by Juan de Calvo professor of the *Universidad San Gregorio* (AHNE, FJ, 0271/FJ/ANE).

²²⁷ *The Ratio even describes the order of a dispute: ‘one who defends in a disputation must first repeat the full objection without replying to the separate premises. Next he is to repeat each premise of the argument and reply “I deny” or “I concede the major, minor, or conclusion.” Occasionally, too, he should distinguish, but rarely interject explanations or reasons, particularly if unasked’* (Farrell, 1970, p. 44).

²²⁸ *De generatione & corruption, De Anima, De Sensu & sensili, De Memoria & Reminiscentia, De Somno & Vigilia, De Insomnis, De Divinatione in somno, De Longitudine, De Iuventute & Senectute & Vita & Morte, and De Spiratione.*

²²⁹ *De generatione et corruption (BNEE, FJ, FJ04919), Physica (BNEE, FJ, FJ05876), De Anima (BNEE, FJ, FJ04619), De Caelo, Meteora, Parva Naturalia et Ethica ad Nicomachum (BNEE, FJ, FJ045610).*

ARISTOTELIS
STAGIRITAE
ORGANVM,

HOC EST, LIBRI AD LOGICAM
attinentes, Boëthio Seuerino interprete,
*nuper ex optimis exemplaribus
Græcis recogniti.*

CVM SCHOLIIS, ARGUMENTIS
ac varietatibus lectionum recens additis.



LUGDVNI,
APVD THEOBALDV M
PAGANVM.

1557.

comp. de Jesus de Guito

Figure 32: Cover page of the *Organum* by Boethius
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ09074

EXPOSITIONES MAGNI AUGUSTINI NIPHI

MEDICES PHILOSOPHI SVES,

fani in Libros de Sophisticis Elenchis Aristotelis.

Cum Textu recognito: & ab ipso auctore in-

terpretato. Opus quidem pernecessarium,

ac utile ad importunitates Sophi-

sticas fugiendas: nuper maxi-

ma cura, ac diligenti

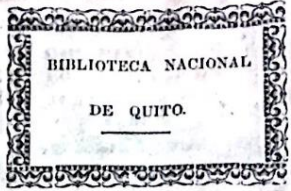
studio in lucem

editum.



Figure 33: Cover page of the *Elenchi* by Nifo

Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ03715



12/13

13

AVGVSTINI NIPHI

MEDICES, PHILOSOPHI SVESSANI. IN LIBRIS
ARISTOTELIS METEOROLOGICIS COMMENTARIA.

Eiusdem generalia Commentaria in Libro de mistis: qui a veteribus Quartus Meteororum liber inscribitur, Et a iunioribus Meteorologicon dicitur.

Quibus adiectus est locupletissimus index eorum quae tam in textu, quam in commentariis pertractantur, serie alphabetica ordinatus.

Omnia multo, quam antea, emendatiora, ac restituta non pauca.

*De la Comp. de J. de
Quito lib.*



opu. Am. R.

Anno post partum intemeratae virginis, in praelo Brandini & Octaviani Scoti fratrum. haec Commentaria curiose cu debantur.

VENETIIS M. D. XL.

[Handwritten signatures and notes]

Figure 34: Cover page of the Elenchi by Nifo
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ03715

PHYSICO-
RVM ARISTO-
TELIS

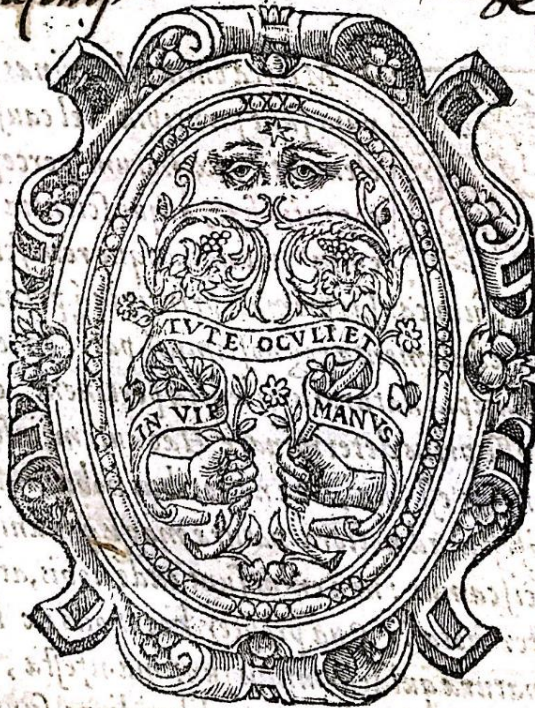
SEV,

DE NATVRALI AVSCVL
TATIONE, LIBRI OCTO.

Ioanne Argyropylo Byzantio

de la (inf) Interprete.

*de p...
nomeli
dun...
mebi*



SALMANTICAE.

Excudebat Andreas à Portonariis.

M. D. L V.

1555

Figure 35: Cover page of *Physicorum* by Argyropoulos

Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ04841

I 4 / 41

**PHYSICORVM
ARISTOTELIS
LIBRI.**

*Argumenta in singulos Libros, ex optimis
Græcorum commentarijs conuersa iam
recens adiecimus.*

Catalogum verò librorum in hoc opere conten-
torum sequenti pagella reperies.

Del collegio della compa. de' s. u. de' Quirto

VIRTVTE DVCE,



ANALOGIA

**LVGD. APVD ANTONIVM
GRYPHIVM,**

1564.

Dean

Figure 36: Cover page of *Physicorum* by Argyropoulos
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ04653

v5/4

PHILOSOPHIA

MENTIS, ET SENSVM

SECVNDVM VTRAMQVE ARISTOTELIS
methodum pertractata.

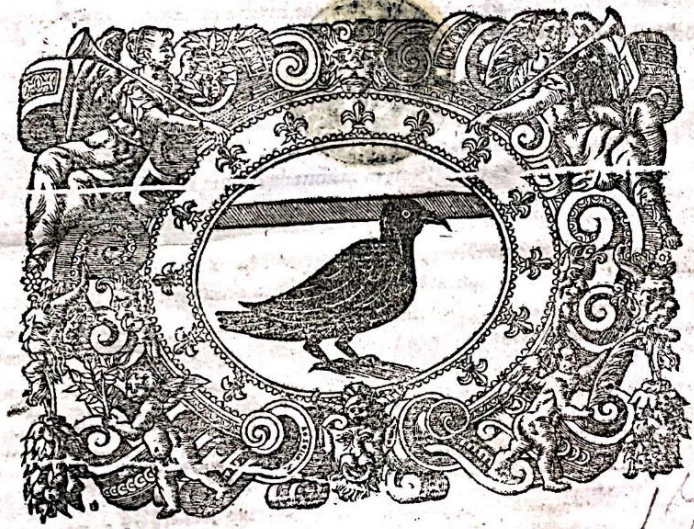
V. Dela Comp^a de Jesus de Quinta Libreria.

METAPHYSICÈ

ET EMPIRICÈ

A IOANNE BAPTISTA PTOLEMÆO
Societatis IESV.

IN COLLEGIO ROMANO.



ROMÆ, M.DCCII.

Sumptibus Iosephi Sangermani Corui in Platea Pasquini.

Apud Petrum Oliuerium.

SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

1702

Figure 37: Cover page of *Metaphysics* commentary by Tolomei
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ08828

I³/48

D.
FR. TOLETI,
SOCIETATIS IESV.
COMMENTARIA:

Vnà cum Quæstionibus,

*In Librum de Generatione & Corru-
ptione Aristotelis.*

Nunc denuò diligentius atque emendatiùs.
excusa.

Cum duplici indice copiosissimo.



LVGDVN I,
Sumptibus Sib. à Porta.

M. D. LXXXVIII.

de la Comp. de ses de Quits. 1588. Lib. Duplicado

Figure 38: Cover page of *De generatione* by Toledo
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ04813

6 319 *Primo, Martini 1591/2*
73/52

**ARISTOTELIS DE
MORIBVS AD NICOMACHVM
LIBRI DECEM.**

NUNC PRIMVM E GRÆCO ET LA-
tinè & fideliter, quod vtrunque querebantur om-
nes præstitisse adhuc neminem, à DIONYSIO
Lambino expressi.

Eiusdem Dionys. Lambini in eosdem libros annota-
tiones, quibus cum obscuri loci multi illustrantur, de-
prauatiq; emendantur, tum, quid inter hanc & ceteras
horum librorum conuersiones intersit, aliqua ex parte
ostenditur.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.



VENETIIS, Ex Officina Erasmiana,
apud Vincentium Valgrisium.
CIC IO LVIII.

4
1558

Figure 39: Cover page of Nicomachean Ethics by Lambin
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ03768

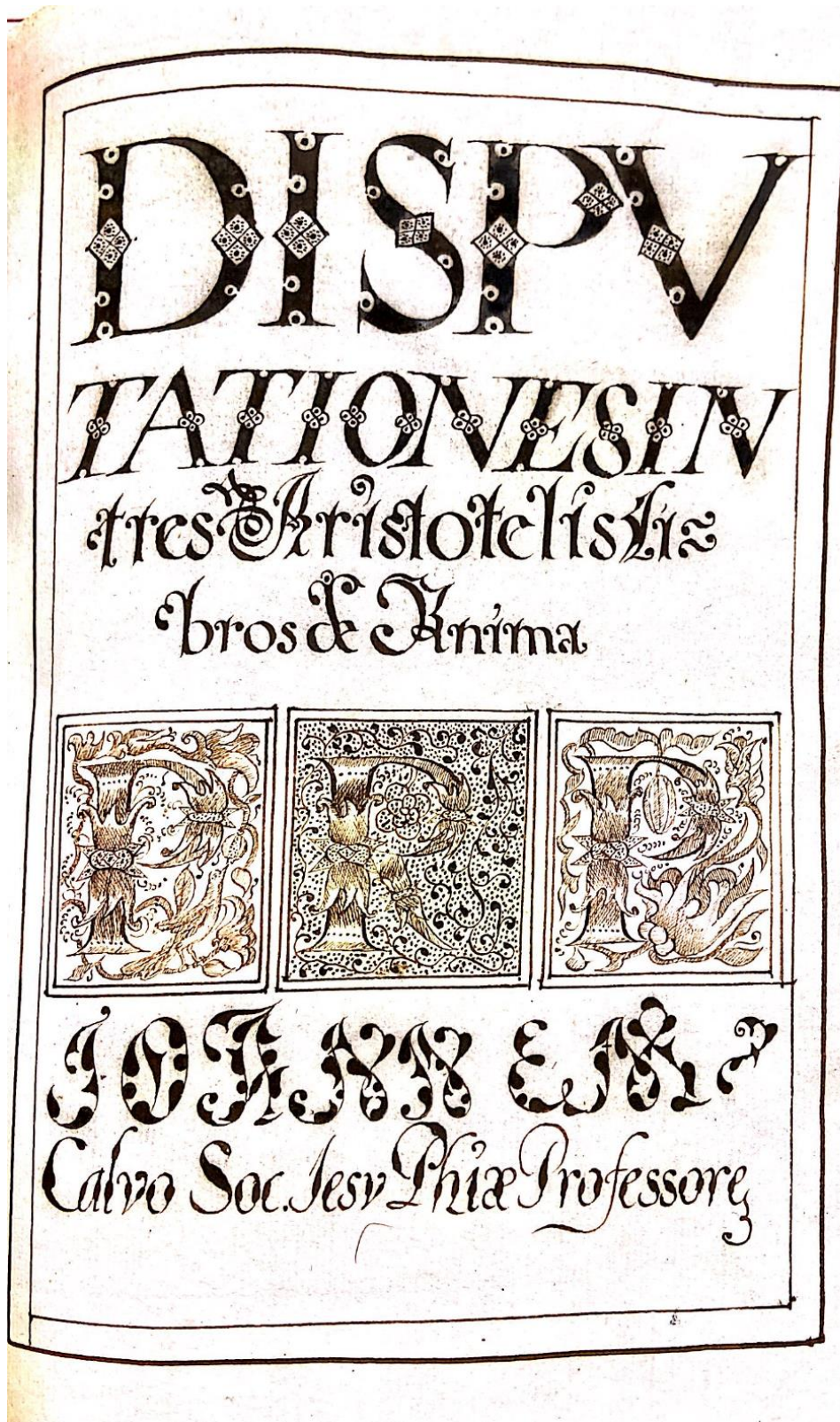


Figure 40: Cover page of *Disputationes* by Calvo
Source: AHNE, FJ, 0271/BJ/ANE

7.5 *Universidad San Gregorio Magno: structure, issues, and conflicts*

This section summarises the creation process of the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* in Quito that implied bureaucratic issues and disputes with religious orders. The aspects to be analysed are, decrees and bulls issued for the university erection, academic structure and student body, curriculum, and degrees granted. Thus, one can conclude that instability, lack of autonomy, and a theology-oriented education were characteristic at San Gregorio. As previously discussed, the erection of a university was a desire in RAQ for many years (see Chapter 6); for the Society of Jesus such a project dated back to 1617 when king Philip III asked his ambassador in Rome to obtain authorization from pope Paul V so that the Jesuit *colegios* in Philippines, Chile, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Nuevo Reino de Granada (including Quito), could grant degrees of *bachilleres*, *licenciados*, *maestros*, and *doctores* in Arts and Theology (Guerra Bravo, 2021). Nonetheless, previous pontiffs had already conceded said power to the Society as it was stated in 1620 by Juan Pedro Severino, Jesuit rector in Quito, when he was soliciting the king to endorse the university recently created within the *colegio San Luis*, which was accepted in September of that year (see *Libro de Oro de La Universidad de San Gregorio*, 1768, ff. 4-5). In 1621, the pope Gregory XV issued the bull *In Supereminenti* that allowed the Jesuits to concede academic degrees in their *colegios* in Spanish America, a decision that was supported by the king Phillip IV in February 1622, for which, the *Universidad San Gregorio Magno* (Figure 41) was officially inaugurated in September of the same year (González Suárez, 1970; Moncayo de Monge, 1944; Sosa Freire, 2021).

It is worth to mention that the same year of 1622 the king authorised the *Universidad San Fulgencio* to the Augustinians, such a decision responded perhaps to an interest in resolving the unceasing conflicts between the two orders, rather than answering the demands of Quito. Yet, having two universities in Quito by the early seventeenth century, instead of being good news, caused concern in Lima since it could mean a loss of influence for the viceregal capital and a detriment to its house of studies, the *Universidad de San Marcos*. In 1630, the bishop Oviedo y Falconí defended the newly created university once Lima was so distant from RAQ that students could not finance it, that is why, he knew of very few people who had attended to San Marcos (AGI, QUITO,77,N.30). In this way both universities remained active and what is more, in 1681 the Dominicans opened a third university in Quito the *Universidad Santo Tomás* (see Chapter 5), in a very unusual phenomenon of having three institutions of higher studies in a colonial city.



Figure 41: Coat of arms of Universidad San Gregorio
Source: AGUCE, *Libro de Constituciones Jesuitas...*, f.1

But, on the other hand, as was usual in the colonial – as happened with the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* – San Gregorio went through a period of institutional instability mainly for two reasons: bureaucracy issues and a dispute with the Dominican order (see Chapter 5). Originally, the royal grant for the university was for ten years, for that reason, the Jesuits tried from the beginning to achieve a definitive approval from royal and ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, in 1634 pope Urban VIII issued a bull to concede a perpetual grant in favour of the Society in Spanish America, a power that was confirmed by the Council of Indies in 1639 and accepted by RAQ in 1645, it had to be renewed with each new pope though (Sosa Freire, 2021). Clement X in 1675 approved for ten years the same privileges as the *Collegio Romano* for the *colegios* in Santa Fe and Quito, later in 1682 Innocent XI extended for another ten years those privileges, including the faculty to grant degrees in Canon law – which is discussed below, although it was in 1693 that Innocent XII definitely authorise the seminaries of Santa Fe and Quito to grant degrees in Arts, Theology, and Canon law, a bull that was endorsed by the king in 1696 when San Luis was awarded the honours of being a *Colegio Mayor* (Meza Cepeda & Arrieta de Meza, 2006; Rodríguez Cruz, 1973). Finally, San Gregorio enjoyed certain stability until the Society was expelled in 1767 as part of the Bourbon reforms, which led to the definitive closure of the university in 1769, the chair of theology was entrusted to the Franciscans to teach the so-called *Via Scoti* and the other faculties were taken over by the Dominican order.

San Gregorio Magno was also governed by the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus that established in their Chapter 11 that the public classes were open to their members and for ‘those outside the Society’, according to Meza Cepeda and Arrieta de Meza (2006), in Quito the Jesuits were allowed to grant degrees only to their fellows at least until 1693 after the aforementioned authorisation of Innocent XII. However, in the archives of San Gregorio there are secular students already registered as *Bachilleres en Artes* in 1674 (AGUCE, Libro de Oro San Gregorio..., f.97b). The Society defined that its universities should have three faculties Theology, Arts, and Languages²³⁰, yet a greater emphasis was placed upon the study of Scholastic doctrine and sacred scripture. In RAQ, the faculties of Arts and Theology were initially created and although the languages faculty did not exist, there was the chair of *lengua del inga*. Later in 1705 and despite the fact that the constitutions suggested not to do so, in San Gregorio two chairs of Canon law and one of Civil law were created, having as lecturers only secular professors by order of the Council

²³⁰ It was intended for the study of diverse languages such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, and Indigenous languages.

of Indies. As Jouanen (1941) describes the Society covered the salaries of those scholars that amounted to 20,000 pesos, which were obtained from the labour of the hacienda of Tigua, close to Latacunga. In 1742, after a request for inconveniences with the secular professors, the Council of Indies allowed the Jesuits to have a religious lecturer for Canon law, but keeping a secular one for Civil law; these chairs generated such a controversy because they were widely demanded by students to access spaces of power, for which reason theology studies lost importance in Quito (Guerra Bravo, 2021; Jouanen, 1941).

The academic curriculum of San Gregorio, similar to what was indicated for *colegios*, was defined by the Chapter 12 of the Jesuits constitutions that included a) humane letters for revising grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and history, b) philosophy to lecture logic, physics, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and mathematics, and c) theology in order to study the Old and New Testaments, Scholastic doctrines of St. Thomas, and the selected authors of positive theology. In what regards authors and books each university could select the most convenient as long as they agree with the doctrine, e.g., Peter Lombard was suggested for grammar, and Aristotle for logic, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, and the other liberal arts. Although the Jesuit policy on degrees granting was inconsistent – there was no clear procedure – due to a lack of enthusiasm of the founder Loyola (Grendler, 2019), the Society officially recognised two types of degrees Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology in the Chapter 15 of its constitutions. The former lasted three years and a half, the latter six years of which four years were for theological lectures and two for doctoral customary acts. Both degrees implied some conditions, first, each student was carefully and publicly examined before being promoted; second, the graduated student could not occupy fixed positions within the Society, and third, teaching was completely free, only a ‘small expenditure’ – which was known in Quito as *propina* – could be required to external students, but it was forbidden to receive money or gifts for anything related to the *colegio*. According to sources consulted (AGUCE, *Libro de Oro San Gregorio...*; AGUCE, *Libro 1 de la Universidad...*), the degrees granted during the existence of San Gregorio were *Bachiller en Artes*, *Maestro en Filosofía*, and *Licenciado y Doctor en Teología*.

Finally, in terms of organisation, San Gregorio was not fully autonomous from the *Colegio Seminario* since the constitutions dictated that the rector of the colegio was the same for the university. Jesuits universities were corporate institutions that included colleges and faculties, having the colegio as their heart, they were collegiate universities (Grendler, 2019). Hence, the

administrative staff consisted of a chancellor, a secretary, four consultors, and a dean for each faculty, all of whom were normally professors or principals of the colegio and the university at the same time. That is why one can suggest that students from San Luis and San Gregorio shared lectures and activities during their respective courses, also as a consequence of the lack of infrastructure and resources. Furthermore, as Jouanen (1941) and González Suárez (1970) claim San Gregorio was not properly speaking a university – aka *estudios generales* – but rather a *colegio* with royal and papal authorization to confer degrees, or in the best of cases a faculty of Theology.

7.6 Lectures of philosophy at San Gregorio: the hint of a network

The scheme of lectures on philosophy at San Gregorio is considered in this section, which was mainly based on the Jesuit pedagogical innovation of the so-called *Cursus Philosophicus* that covered the three-years instruction to obtain the degree of *Maestro en Filosofía*. Likewise, the evaluation system of degree candidates is reviewed in order to underline the authors that were studied in Quito; the names of professors and *cursus* employed until the late seventeenth century are offered. Finally, the flourishing Jesuit intellectual production in Quito from the eighteenth century is analysed by providing a list of found manuscripts belonging to Quitense professors, whose birthplaces are highlighted as a hint of the existing Jesuit network in RAQ and beyond its borders.

Despite of having a theology-oriented education, San Gregorio had a fruitful tradition in philosophy, according to Jouanen (1941) the course of Arts was lectured circa 65 times during its 178 years of existence. As aforementioned, the course of Arts that conceded the degree of *Maestro en Filosofía* lasted three years, the lectures of philosophy were organised normally following the so-called *Cursus Philosophicus*, which was a pedagogical innovation thought mainly by the Jesuits in order to renew the Scholastic instruction, it was a compilation of all the necessary *topoi* in one body that preserved the fixed structure of the *disputatio*, i.e., giving the arguments in favour and against one topic for providing afterwards the author's position and its critics (Pretell García, 2015). Then, the 'philosophy course' became a classic style for scholastics from the seventeenth century, a period that coincides with the Spanish '*siglo de oro*', when the so famous *commentaria* were replaced the main format including the core of the three philosophical disciplines logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics (Redmond, 2002, 2010). Thus, San Gregorio fully adhered to this educational methodology as it is evidenced by the university records (AGUCE, *Libro de Oro*

San Gregorio...) in which it is described how the degree candidates were examined with disputes on logic, physics, and metaphysics, taken randomly from a *cursus* belonging to a Jesuit professor. The elected *cursus* apparently depended on the professor of Arts and the examining board, the evaluation system consisted of opening the book randomly and the disputes that appeared had to be explained by the student.

For instance, let's review what happened with some philosophy professors (for the complete list of professors see Appendix 8); the students of Juan Fernández in 1652 were evaluated by using the *Cursus Philosophicus* of the Jesuit Francisco de Oviedo, who was also employed for the students of the professors Manuel de la Peña in 1654, Francisco de Ortaneda (Ontaneda?) in 1657, and Francisco Mosquera Figueroa in 1660. For the evaluations of 1663 and 1665 when Juan Martínez Rubio was the Arts professor, the *Cursus Philosophicus* of Rodrigo de Arriaga was selected, who was also applied to assess the students of Ignacio Castelvi in 1666 and 1668, Manuel Rodríguez in 1669 and 1670, and Diego Abad de Cepeda in 1672. During the professorship of Isidro Gallegos three different authors were considered Thomas Compton in 1674, Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza in 1675, and again Rodrigo de Arriaga in 1676. The next Arts course was lectured by Diego de Ureña whose *colegiales* were judged by referring to Thomas Compton and Francisco de Oviedo in 1678 and later in 1680. Sebastian Luis Abad was the Arts professor in 1682 when Francisco de Oviedo was chosen again to evaluate the candidates. In 1684, the students from the course of Balthazar Pinto were examined using the *Cursus* of Rodrigo de Arriaga. According to Jouanen (1941) in 1688 the philosophy chair was occupied by José Gutiérrez and then in 1691 by Nicolás de la Puente, in both cases the author used was mainly Thomas Compton, but occasionally was Francisco de Oviedo. From 1693 the examination system changed according to the records (see AGUCE, *Libro de Oro San Gregorio...*, f. 149 onwards), the disputations no longer consisted of opening the *cursus* randomly, but instead the student in a sort of draw chose the disputations to explain.

It was no coincidence that the selected *cursus* came from Jesuit professors since it was the simplest way to comply with the Society constitutions. As Guerra Bravo (2021) states during the first decades of San Gregorio the preferred authors – in addition to those aforesaid – were the

Jesuits Luis de Molina²³¹, Francisco Suárez²³², Gabriel Vázquez²³³, and Gregorio de Valencia²³⁴. Nonetheless, the direct reference to *Cursus* and treatises from well-known Jesuits, ceased to be the main method of instruction once the Jesuit education network began to consolidate in RAQ at the beginning of the seventeenth century and even earlier. In this vein, in 1692 Diego Francisco Altamirano, general *visitador* of the *Nuevo Reino*, during a *visita* to the vice-province of Quito ordered to bring books from Spain, Panama, or Lima so that professors would not spend too much time dictating and could thus comply better with the *Ratio Studiorum* and improve the studies and exercises (Jouanen, 1941). As a consequence, the Jesuit intellectual production blossomed when the lecturers of San Luis and San Gregorio – most of them born in RAQ – began to write down their own manuscripts, or in most cases students collected notes to compose texts about the lessons and courses in order to facilitate schoolwork.

An exhaustive inventory of existing manuscripts in Quito from the colonial period has been carried out by Sánchez Astudillo (1959) and Redmond (1972), showing the rich production and discussion that took place in RAQ. Below is offered a list²³⁵ containing some of the philosophy manuscripts either produced by San Gregorio lecturers of Arts or compiled by their students from the diverse courses of Arts:

Ignacio Gil Castelví, born in Spain, was lecturer of Arts from 1664 to 1667:

- *Tracta. In Universam Artis dialecticam, amplectens phycam et metaphisycam ad unum Corpus redactus. P.R.P.M. Ignatium Gil Castelvi Societatis Ihu publicum phiae.*

²³¹ The following works of Molina are found at BNEE: *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, praedestinatione et reprobatione* (FJ, FJ02337), *Commentaria in primam Divi Thomae partem* (FJ, FJ02215), and the first volume of *De iustitia et iure* (FJ, FJ01980)

²³² BNEE possesses the following books: *Varia opuscula theologica* (FJ, FJ02265), *Commentariorum ac disputationum in tertiam parte Divi Thomae* (FJ, FJ02176), *Summa commentariorum ac disputationum* (FJ, FJ00499), and two volumes of *Opera Omnia* (FJ, FJ02625; FJ05759)

²³³ Among Vázquez's books at BNEE are the three volumes of *Commentariorum ac Disputationum Sancti Thomae* (FJ, FJ02722; FJ02555; FJ02683; FJ02723), *Paraphrases et compendiaria explicatio ad nonnullas Pauli Epistolas* (FJ, FJ00578), *Disputationes metaphysicae desumptae ex variis locis suorum operum* (FJ, FJ04690), *De cultu adorationis libri tres et disputationes duae contra errores Felicis et Elipandi* (FJ, FJ02250)

²³⁴ BNEE possesses the following books of Valencia: *De rebus fidei hoc tempore controversis libri* (FJ, FJ02670), and the four volumes of *Commentariorum theologorum tomi quatuor. In quibus omnes materiae quae continentur in Summa Divi Thomae explicantur* (FJ, FJ02721; FJ02652; FJ02743; FJ02486; FJ02718).

²³⁵ The present list is based on the foundational works of Sánchez Astudillo (1959) and Walter Redmond (1972) whose codification is identified by SA and WRed respectively, moreover in some cases the identification number of the manuscripts located in archives and libraries of Quito is included. The manuscript titles and denominations are based on the transcription made by Redmond (1972).

professorem in hac D. Gregorii Universitate. Inchoavit die 2 Januarii Anno Rune. Salutis 1669 (WRed, 186; SA, 151).

Diego Abad de Cepeda, born in Riobamba, was lecturer of Arts from 1670 to 1673:

- *De Contractibus tam in genere quam in specie eorumque obligatione controversie P.R.P.M. Didacum Abad societatis Jesu Publicum Moralis Cathedre Professorem initiavit die 19 Octob. Anno Dni. 1674 (AHNE, FJ, 0009/BJ/ANE; WRed, 11; SA, 357).*
- *Tractus De Pcatis.... Virtuti Oppositis.... P.R.P.M. Dicum. Abad Societatis Jesu Moralis Theologiae Praeceptorem Initium D. 20 Mensis Octobris Anno Doi. 1676 (WRed, 12; SA, 352).*
- *Tractatus de Divina Esentia, Divinisque Attributis P .R.P .M. Didacum Abad de Cepeda Societatis Jesu meritissimum Vespertinae Cathedrae professore (WRed, 13; SA, 195).*
- *De Conscientia et libertate ... cum Dnis. Decretis (WRed, 14; SA, 194).*

Isidro Gallego, born in Puebla (Spain), was lecturer of Arts from 1673 to 1676:

- *Physica. Initiavit die 19 Octob. anni Dni MDLXXIV [sic] De la Libreria de S. Fernando (WRed, 316; SA, 89).*
- *Tractatus De Actibus humanis ... Per Reberendum Patrem Magistrum Isidorum Gallego Societatis Jhu, in hac Divi Gregorii Quitensi Universitate merito et acumine Moralis Cathedrae professorem. Auditore Bacallauro Georgeo Ennes de Acosta, Inchoante die 19 Octobris Anno Domini nostri 1677 (WRed, 317; SA, 340).*
- *Tracat scientia media P.R.P.M. Isidorum Gallego Soc. Iesu (WRed, 318a; SA, 319).*

Diego de Ureña, born in Loja, was lecturer of Arts from 1676 to 1679:

- *Metaphysica de el Pe. Diego de Urena de la Compa. de JHS. [Colophon:] Scriptum... per M. Joannem Clementem a Carvallo Anno Dni. MDCLXXIV (WRed, 733; SA, 172).*

- *Philosophia rationalis sive Logica iuxta Artis. mentem ellucidata P.R.P.M. Didacum de Urena Narbaez Societatis Iesu in hac Gregoriana Universitate Quitensi publicum Philosophiae Profess. Initium dedit Dei 19 Octobris Anno Dni. 1676* (WRed, 734; SA, 31).
- *Tractus de Peccatis PPM Didacum de Urena Soc. Jhsu Moralis Theologie P Profesorem in Ursitate Quiti Anno Domini 1682* (WRed, 735; SA, 398).

Sebastián Luis Abad de Cepeda, born in Guayaquil, was lecturer of Arts from 1679 to 1682:

- *Enodatio compendiaria in Universam Aristotelis Phiam P.R.P.M. Sebastianum Aloysium Abad Sosietatis Jesu in hac Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Publicum Philosophiae Professorem inchoavit Die 19 Octobris Anni Dni 1679 Auditore Joanne Martinez de Miranda* (AHNE, FJ, 0259/BJ/ANE; WRed, 5; SA,1).
- *Philosophiae Nalis Trpartite Prima Pars in octo libros de Phica auscultatione Aristotelis P.R.P.M. Sebastianum Aloysium Abad Societatis Jes. Die 19 Octobris Anno Dni 1680* (WRed, 6; SA, 67).
- *Philosophiae Naturalis tripartitae 1a pars. In libros octo Aristotelis De Physica Auscultatione. Die 19 Octobris Anni Domini 1680. [another hand:] P.P. Sebastianum Aloysium Abbad Societatis Iesu* (WRed, 7; SA 68).
- *Naturalis tripartitae secunda pars in duos libros Aristotelis de Ortu et interitu P.R.P.M. Sebastianum Aloysium Abad ... Initum dedit die 20 Octobris anno Dni. 1681. Auditore Joanne Mrz de Miranda. / Pil Naturalis Tripartitae 3a par in tres Libros Aristotelis de Anima P .R.P .M. Sebastianum Aloysium Abad* (AHNE, FJ, 0177/BJ/ANE; WRed, 8; SA, 143).
- *Philosophiae Naturalis tripartitae 2a pars In duos Libros Aristotelis De Ortu et Interitu. Die 19 Octobris Anni Domini 1681. P.P. Sebastianum Aloysium Abad Societatis Jesu* (WRed, 9; SA, 144).
- *Pars I de Restitutione in genere. Anno 1690* (WRed, 10; SA, 358).

Baltazar Ignacio Pinto, born in Quito, was lecturer of Arts from 1681 to 1684:

- *Triennis Philosophiae cursus P.R.P.M. Baltasarem Ignatium Pinto, Societatis Jesu publicum in hac Divi Gregorii Quitensis Universitate philosophiae preceptorem. Inchoavit die septimo mensis Ianuarii, Anno Dni 1682 ... Auditore Dominico Albares eiusdem Societatis Jesu*²³⁶ (WRed 560a; SA, 165)
- *Tractatus De Ente Nali Aiato In 3 Libros Arlis De Aia et De Sesu et Sensibili P R P M Baltasarem Ignatium Pinto societatis Jesu Pucum. in hac D. Gregorii Ursitate Phia institutorem. Initiavit die 19 Oct. Anno Dni. 1683 Auditore Pe. Franco. Coloma Soc. Jesu. / Tractatus in duos libros Aristotelis de Ortu et Interitu sive D. Generatione et corruptione* (AHNE, FJ, 0242/BJ/ANE; WRed 561; SA, 166).

Antonio Marsal, born in Bràfim (Spain), was lecturer of Arts from 1683 to 1686:

- *Philosophia Rationalis Iuxta Aristotelis Logicam P .R.P . Patrem Magistrum Antonium Marsal Magister Philosophiae Initium dedit die Octobris anno domini 1638* (AHNE, FJ, 0149/BJ/ANE; WRed, 433b; SA, 162)

José de Gutiérrez, from Spain, was lecturer of Arts from 1696 to 1699:

- *Logicorum Libri* (WRed, 356; SA, 16)
- The AHNE catalogue attributes to Gutiérrez the 1701 manuscript *Tractatus de Divina Dei* (AHNE, FJ, 0360/BJ/ANE).

José de Alderete, who was born in Spain, was lecturer of Arts from 1697 to 1700:

- *Pars Postrema Phie [Physics]. / Tract. L. Questio. Ia de essentia aie. ... [de anima]* (WRed, 55; SA, 148).

²³⁶ This manuscript includes a physics treatise by Isidro Gallego (WRed, 560b), and twelve pages on metaphysics by an anonymous author (WRed, 560c)

Nicolás de la Puente, born in Quito, was lecturer of Arts from 1700 to 1703:

- *Tractatus De Regula Interna Sive De Consciencia P.R.P.M. Nicolaum Pontanum Soc. Iesu Theologie moralis Profesorem. Auditore P. Salvatore Briones Soc. Iesu* (AHNE, FJ, 0073/BJ/ANE; WRed, 564a; SA 395).

Nicolás de Cisneros, born in Ibarra, was Arts lecturer from 1703 to 1706:

- *Universa Aristotelis Philosophia Auctore R.P.M. Nicolao de Cisneros Soc. Je. ... Auditore Xrtophoro Pesantes Soc. Je. 19 oct. 1703* (WRed, 215; SA, 10).

Jacinto Basilio Morán de Butrón, born in Guayaquil, was lecturer of Arts from 1706 to 1709:

- *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis in Logicam, Physicam et Metaphysicam Aristotelis tripartitus Auctore R.P. Hyacinto Bacilio Moran Soc. Iesu Publico Philosophiae Professore in hac Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate anno 1706 Initium sumpcit Diaeque Mensis 19 Octobris. Auditore Fratre Michaele a Medina eiusdem Soc. Iesu* (Figure 42) (AHNE, FJ, 0069/BJ/ANE; WRed 474; SA, 18).
- *Comentaria In 8 Libros Arisliis Tripartita 2a Phiae Pars. Authore R.P. Hyacintho Basilio Moran Soc. Iesu in hac Quitensi et Gregoriana Universitate, anno 1707. Die 20 Octobris [A]uditore Jossepho Montessino minimo Societatis Iesu* (WRed, 475; SA, 94).
- *Comentaria In Octo Libros Physicorum, Artis, et Cursus PhiIosophici pars 2a in physicam. R.P.P.M. Hiacintum Basiliium Soc. Iesu Publicum phiae profesorem in hac Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate* (AHNE, FJ, 0115/BJ/ANE; WRed, 476; SA, 95).
- *Scholastica Comentaria in Aristotelis Libros de Ortu et Interitu, de Metaphysica et Anima, et Philosophisi Cursus Pars tertia A.R.P. Hyacintho Basilio Moran soc. Iesu anno Domini 1708 die octobris. Auditore P. Montesinos* (WRed, 477; SA, 164).
- *Scholastica cmentaria in Arlis. libros de Ortu et Int. De Methaca. et Anima. Et curs. philophici. Pars Tertia In Metaphysicam P.R.P.M. Hyacintum Bacilium Moran de*

Butron Soc. Jesu Publicum Philosophiae Professorem et ... [Colophon:] Finem attulit Die Decimo quarto Mensis Maii Anno Domini 1709 (WRed, 478; SA, 163).

Juan Bautista Mujica, born in Sardinia (Italy), was Arts lecturer from 1708 to 1711:

- *Pars Prima in Logas Enodationes P.R.P.M. Joannem Baptistam a Muxica ... Auditore N. Petro Josepho A Garibaldo Panamensi. Ann. Domini 1708 (WRed, 486; SA, 20).*
- *Divinae Providentiae Disputationes Scholasticae. Initium dedit die 20 Octobris anno Dni. MDCCXII. R.P.M. Ioannis Baptistae Mugica M vespertini. Auditore P Iosepho Eslaba (WRed, 487a; SA, 323).*

Andrés Cobo de Figueroa, born in Popayán, was lecturer of Arts from 1711 to 1714:

- *Logicales Philosophici Cursus Disputationes Auctore Patre Andrea Cobo Societatis Jesu in hac Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate Publico Philosophiae Praeceptore Die vii Ianuar. anno Domini 1711. Auditore Vincentio Roxas (WRed, 220; SA, 11).*
- *Logicales Philosophi Cursus Disputationes P.R.P. Andrea Cobo Publ. Phil. Praecep. Soc. Auditore Josep. Correa Eis. S. Phia, Discp. Soc. Jes. (WRed, 221; SA, 12).*
- *Placidissim. Phylosofiae ortulus, Disputationes phycicae naturalis in octuplici libro Aristotelico. A meo sapienti praeceptor, R.P. Andrea a Cobo Auditore B. Franco Xaverio ab Alcocer. And. D. 1711, mensi octobri (AHNE, FJ, 0076/BJ/ANE; WRed, 222; SA, 82).*
- *Naturalis seu phyc. in octo Arts libros Disputaties Per R.P. Andream Cobo Soc. Iesu. Auditore Josepho Correa Eiusdem in phia Disipulo Soc. Iesu. 15 Kalendas Novem Anno D. 1711 (WRed, 223; SA, 80)*
- *Physica (WRed, 224; SA, 81)*
- *In Tertiam phie. partem P.R.P.M. Andream Cobo Societatis Jesu Publicum phy ptesorem ... 1712 (AHNE, FJ, 0053/BJ/ANE; WRed, 225; SA, 152)*
- *Tractatus De Metaphaca. Cobo (WRed, 226; SA, 153)*
- *Do. I^a. De Divina scientia futurorum Cdicionate Ctingentium (WRed, 227; SA, 204).*

- *Tractatus De Scia Media. P.R.P.M. Andream Cobos de Figueroa Soc. Iesu Vespertine Cathedre ingeniosissimum M.A.N.M. Iosepho Araus* (WRed, 228; SA, 205).
- The AHNE catalogue attributes to Cobo the manuscript *Tractatus de Gratia* (AHNE, FJ, 0384/FJ/ANE; ¿WRed, 271b?; ¿SA, 394?).

José Nieto Polo, born in Popayán, was lecturer of Arts from 1712 to 1715:

- *Philosophia peripatetica trinialis Aucte. R.AP. Josepho Polo Soc. jesu Publico in hac gregoriana Qtensi vrtate pfsore. AD. MDCCXII 14 Kalendas novembris. AN. Nicolao A sanchez de orellana* (WRed, 496; SA, 21).
- *Philosophia peripatetica triennalis. Anno 1712: ex P .M. Josepho Polo. Huius Ingeniosi Patris Discipulus est Frater Emmanuel Ignatius Castellus, eiusdem Societatis Jesu* (Wred 315b; SA, 158).
- *Cursus secundus Philosophiae triennales in octo phicorum libros. P.R.P.M. Josephum a polo Sosietatis Jesu Publicum in hac Gregoriana Quitensi Vrtate profesorem A.D.N. nicolao a Sanches de orellana* (WRed, 497; SA, 97).
- *Phia. Perpatetica Trienalis P .R.P . Mum. Josepho a Polo in hac Gregoriana Quitensi universitate. Anno D. MDCCXII 15 Kalendas Novembris. [Colophon:] Soy de Dn. Nicolas Juan Sanchez de Orellana* (WRed, 498; SA, 167).
- *Tractatus De Peccatis P .R. P .M. Iosephum Nieto Polo Del Aguila Societatis Iesu, Moralis Vathedre. Pfsorem Auditore Mo. Ioanne Arzola Del Pino. [Colophon:] Quarto Kalendas Octobris anno MDCCXX* (WRed, 499; SA, 353).

Pedro de Campos, who was born in Saragossa, was lecturer of Arts from 1715 to 1718:

- *Logaes Philosophi cursus Disputaoes. P.R.P.M. Petrum a Campos... Auditore Nobili Petro a Tobar. Die xviii Octobris Anno Dni 1715* (WRed, 171, SA, 9).
- *Die 19 Mensis Octobris Anno Domini 1716. Disputationes in octo Aristotelis stagyritensis Phycorum libros ordinate. P.R.P.M. Petrum de Campos Soc Iesu publicum*

Philosophiae Pretorem in hac Gregoriana Vrsite Quitensi Auditore Nobili Josepho aBaca et Ortega Sancti Ludovici Collega (WRed, 172; SA, 79).

Esteban Ferriol, born in Panama, was lecturer of Arts from 1718 to 1721:

- *Pars Secunda In Arlem Phycam, Continet Octo Libros Phycorum. Autore Pe. Stefano Ferriol Societatis Iesu, eis Auditore Ioanne Iacobo Morales ejusdem Societatis. Decimo Kale. Octob. Anni 1719 (WRed, 296; SA, 88)*
- *Pars Tertia In Aristotelis Phylophiam continet Tractatus de aia., generae. e. corruptie. P.R.P. Stephanum Ferriol Soc. Jesus Auditore Joanne Jacobo Morales Eiusdem Socie. In 1721 (WRed 297; SA, 137).*
- *Auctore P. Ferriol S.J. ... de Providentia (WRed, 298d; SA 330).*

Fernando Espinosa, born in Cuenca, was lecturer of Arts from 1727 to 1730:

- *Triennalis Scholasticae Philosophiae Cursus Pars Prima In Logica. P.R.P.M. Es. So. Iesu [later hand: Fernandino Espinosa] Dignissium in hac Gregoriana Quitenci Universitate Cathedrae Praeceptorem. auditore D.N. Xaberio de Rosales. Inchoavit die 18 Mensis Octobris Anno Domini 1721 (AHNE, FJ, 0255/BJ/ANE; WRed, 274; SA, 14).*
- *Universa Aristotelis Philosophia. P.R.P.M. Ferdinandum de Espinosa Soc. Jesu in Gregoriana hac Universitate sutilissimum Profesorem, Phylosophiae Cathedrae. Auditore Josepho de Ormaechea eiusdem Societatis Jesu. Inniciavit anno D. 1727 die 20 Octobris (WRed, 275; SA, 15).*
- *Triennalis Scolasticae Philossophiae Cursus Pars secunda in physicam. Authore P. Fernandino Espinosa Soc. Iesu in hac Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate philosophiae Professore. Auditore Josepho Ormaechea eiusdem S.I. xiv Kalend. Nov. Anno MDCCXXVIII (WRed, 276; SA, 87).*
- *Triennalis Scholasticae Philosophiae Cursus Pars Tertia in metaphysicam Authore P. Fernando Espinosa Soc. Jesu in hac Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate Phylosophiae professore. Auditore Iosepho Ormaechea eiusdem Societat. Iesu xii ante Novembris*

Kalendas die, ineunte anno Domini 1729 (Figure 43) (AHNE, FJ, 0062/BJ/ANE; WRed, 277; SA, 154).

- *Tractatus I, De Principiis Intrinsecis Entis Naturalis Per Rdm. P. Ferdinandum espinosa*. [Colophon:] *Recebi Sapatos a 15 de Febrero dia Viernes del ano de 1732* (AHNE, FJ, 0351/BJ/ANE; WRed, 278; SA, 86).

Marco de Escorza, born in Quito, was lecturer of Arts from 1721 to 1724:

- *Quaestiones In Universam Phylosophiam Autore R. Patre Marco de Escorza Dignissimo Philae. Professore Soc. Jesu. Eius Auditore Petro Xaramillo Santoya Eiusdem Societatis. Jesu* (AHNE, FJ, 0374/BJ/ANE; WRed, 267; SA, 13).
- *Disputatio 3a de Scia contingente, sive de Scia mia. Esto es del P. Marcos de Escorza 1718* (WRed, 271c; SA, 394).
- *Philosophia Naturalis in Octo Physicorum Libros Aristotelis P.R.P.M. Marcum de Escorza Soc. Iesu Auditore Pedro Xaramillo eiusdem Societats. Incoavit die 19 mensis Octobris. Anno Dni. 1722* (AHNE, FJ, 0328/BJ/ANE; WRed, 268; SA, 85).
- *Libri Tres In Hoc Tertio Philosophiae Cursu peragendi de Metaphysica, Animastica, Generatione et Corruptione P.R.P.M. Marcum De Escorza Soc. Iesu. Auditore Petro Xaramillo ejusdem Societatis. Incoavit die 19 Octobris Anno Dni. 1723* (AHNE, FJ, 0273/BJ/ANE; WRed, 269; SA, 157).
- *Tractatus De Moralitate sive de bonitate et malia. actuum humanorum P.R.P.M. Marcum De Escorza Soc. Jesu ... Auditore Joachino Bonilla Delgado eiusdem Soc. Initium dedit die Oct. Anno Dni. 1724* (AHNE, FJ, 0371/BJ/ANE; WRed, 270; SA, 339).

Luis de Andrade, born in Cuenca, was Arts lecturer from 1730 to 1733:

- *Cursus 2 phice cphensus A.P. Ludovico de Andrade Soc. Jesu in quitensi Gregoriana vrsate publico profesore A.N.D. Francisco de Vana. Initium dedit die 19 Octobris anno 1731* (WRed, 77; SA, 74).
- *Logica* (WRed, 78; SA, 7).

Michael de Manosalvas, born in Ibarra, was lecturer of Arts from 1735 to 1736:

- The manuscript *Cursus tertius in Methaphisica, Animasticam et Generatione* (Figure 44) (AHNE, FJ, 0107/BJ/ANE; WRed, 931; SA, 181) is attributed to Manosalvas.

José Baca, born in Cali, was lecturer of Arts from 1735 to 1738:

- *Cursus, Triennalis In Universam Aristotelis Philosophiam. Cursus Secundus In Physicam A.P. Josepho Baca Soc. Jesu. Auditore Sebastiano Rendon Ejusdem Societatis. Inchoavit Quiti anno Domini MDCCXXXVI* (WRed, 106; SA, 77)
- *Tractatus Logicae* (AHNE, FJ, 0393/BJ/ANE; WRed, 878; SA, 38), it is a manuscript attributed to Baca.

Pedro Rubio, born in Badajoz (Spain), was lecturer of Arts from 1738 to 1741:

- *Tractatus Praevius Summulisticus. [Colophon:] Amantissimus Magister nona Kalendarum Decembris anna Domini MDCCXXXVIII finem imposuit P. Prus Rubio* (WRed, 633a; SA, 169)
- *The manuscript Scholasticae disputationes in Universam Aristotelis Logicam. [Colophon:] 1739* (AHNE, FJ, 0189/BJ/ANE; WRed 869; SA, 54), is normally attributed to Rubio.

Jacinto Serrano, born in Riobamba, was lecturer of Arts from 1743 to 1746:

- *Physicae Aristotelicae Tractatus Primus per R.P.M. Jacinthum Serrano, Meritissimum In Gregoriana hac Universitate Philosophiae Magistrum. Quito- anno Domini 1722. Auditore Dno. Bachal. Xaverio Sanchez, Ludovicei Collegii Regali Collega* (AHNE, FJ, 0001/BJ/ANE; Wred, 674; SA, 106).

- *Cursus Philoficus P. Serrano Societatis Jesu* (AHNE, FJ, 0117/BJ/ANE; WRed, 675; SA, 28).

Marco de la Vega²³⁷, born in Trujillo, was lecturer from 1745 to 1748:

- *Philosophia peripatetica in tres partes divisa. Pars tertia sive Metaphisica. Auctore. Marco de la Vega Societatis Iesu, Opus inchoatum die 19 Octobris 1727. Quiti.* (AHNE, FJ, 0106/BJ/ANE; WRed, 772; SA, 174).
- *Philosophia peripatetica in tres partes divisa Pars secunda seu Physica. Authore Marco de la Vega S.I. Opus inchoatum 19 Octobris 1746. Quito.* (AHNE, FJ, 0147/BJ/ANE; WRed, 773; SA, 109).
- *Tractatus Scholasticus de Divina Scientia. Auctore R. adm. P.M. Marco Vega Societ. Iesu Theologo et Sacrae Theologiae Meritissimo Cathedrae Vespertino professore in hac fiorentissima Universitate Gregoriana incoavit die 20 Octob. anna 1750* (AHNE, FJ, 0250/BJ/ANE; WRed, 774; SA, 329).
- *Disputatio prima De Natura et obto. Divinae Scientiae* (WRed, 775b; SA, 327)
- *Tractatus de actibus humis* (WRed, 776b; SA 384).

Joaquín de Alvarez, born in Andujar (Spain), was lecturer from 1747 to 1750:

- *Tripartitus Philosophiae Arlicae. Cursus Prima Magnam et Parvam Logicam complectens. P.R.P. Joachimum Albares S.J. Audihat Joachimus Aychimus ejusdem Soc. J. Inchoavit Quito xiv Kalendas Novembris An. D. MDCCX* (AHNE, FJ, 0181/BJ/ANE?²³⁸; WRed, 61; SA, 6).
- *Tripartitus Phiae Arlicae Pars secunda P .R.P .M. Joachimum Albares S.J. Audiebat Joachim Ayllon ejusdem S.J. Inchoavit Quiti xiv Kalem. Novem. An. D. MDCCXVIII A.M.D.G.* (WRed, 62; SA, 72).

²³⁷ The AHNE catalogue attributes to Marco de la Vega two additional treatises *Tractatus Scholastico Theologicus de Fide Theologica* (AHNE, FJ, 0103/BJ/ANE), and *Tractatus Theologicus de Fide Divina* from 1751 (AHNE, FJ, 0318/BJ/ANE).

²³⁸ The AHNE catalogue registers 1748 as the year of the manuscript, a feature that might be correct given that Alvarez lectured the 1747-1750 course of Arts.

- *Tripartitus Philosophiae Articae Cursus pars 2a Des Phycorum Libros complectens P.R.P. Joachimum Albares Soc. J. Auditore Didaco Garses de S. inchoavit Quiti die 2°. Octobris Anni D. 1748* (WRed, 63; SA, 73).
- *Tripartitus Phiae Arlicae Curs. Pars Tertia Metaca. Gener. et Anim. complectens. R.P.R.M. Joachimum Albares S. Je. Audiebat Joachim Ayllon ejdem Soc. Inchoavit Quiti xiv Kalen Novem. An D. MDCCXLIX* (WRed, 64; SA, 149).

Pedro Garrido, born in Loja, was Arts lecturer from 1750 to 1753:

- *Philosophia. Pars secunda in Phycicam. In hac Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate. A Ro.P. Petro Garrido S.J. Inchoavit Quiti anno Di. MDCCCLI, xii Kalendarum Novembris. Audiebat Antonius Leon Ejusdem S. alumnus* (AHNE, FJ, 0051/BJ/ANE; WRed, 326; SA, 92)
- *Pars Secunda Aristotelicae Philosophiae Authore Rdo. P. Petro Garrido S.J. Dignissimo in Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore. Auditore Faustino Manosalbas ejusdem S.J. Anno Salutis 1751* (WRed, 327; SA, 91)
- *Pars Tertia Aristoaelicae Philosophiae Autore R.P. Mro. Petro Garrido S.J. Dignissimo in Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore. Auditore Faustino Manosalbas ejusdem Societatis Iesu Die 3 Novembris Anno S.N. 1753* (AHNE, FJ, 0164/BJ/ANE; WRed, 328; SA, 155).
- *Tractatus Theologicus Scholasticus de Divina Voluntate. Per R.P.M. Petrum Garido, Primarium in Pontificia et Regia Universitate Gregoriana Quitti. Audiebat D.D.D. Thomas Landivar et Senteno S. Ludovicei Collegi Alumnus. die 19 Octobris Anno Dom. 1756* (AHNE, FJ, 0123/BJ/ANE; WRed, 329; SA, 213)
- *Tractatus Scholasticus De Divina Voluntate P.R.P.M. Petrum Garriso [sic] Soc. Jesu 1756* (WRed, 330; SA, 214).
- *Auctore P. Petro Garrido S.J. Disputatio I^a De existentia et nara. dnae Voluntatis* (WRed, 331; SA, 215).
- *Tractatus Logicae* (AHNE, FJ, 0085/BJ/ANE; WRed, 883; SA, 43), a manuscript attributed to Garrido.

Francisco Javier de Aguilar, born in Montilla (Spain), was Arts lecturer from 1753 to 1756

- *Cursus Philosophicus Ad Aristotelis mentem elaboratus A.P. Francisco de Aguilar Soc. J. In Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore meritissimo. Pars Prima in Logicam. Audiebat Franciscus Xaverius Arzallus. Inchoavit Quito Die Ig Octob. anni 1753 (¿AHNE, FJ, 0320/BJ/ANE?; WRed, 18; SA, 3).*
- *Cursus Philosophicus Ad Mentem Aristotelis elaboratus a P. Francisco Xaveriano de Aguilar Soc Jesu in Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore Meritissimo. Pars I in Logicam Studuit privatim Maximilianus Koller Soc. Jesu Scholasticus (¿AHNE, FJ, 0325/BJ/ANE?; WRed, 19; SA, 2).*
- *Cursus Philosophicus Pars II in Physicam Auctore P. Franco. Aguilar Soc. Jes. In Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore meritissimo. Audiebat Ciprianus de la Peña ejusdem Soc. Inchoavit Quito die 19 oct. an. Dni 754 [sic] in 1754 (WRed, 21; SA, 70).*
- *Cursus Philosophicus Ad Aristotelis mentem elaboratus A. P. Francisco De Aguilar S.J. In Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore meritissimo. Pars III^a In Metaphysicam. Audiebat Franciscus Xaverius Arzalluz ejusdem Soc. Inchoavit Quito Die 19 Octobr. anni 1755 (WRed, 22; SA, 146).*
- *Cursus Philosophicus Ad Aristotelis mentem elaboratus. A. P. Francisco Aguilar Soc. J. in Gregoriana Quitensi Universitate praeceptore meritissimo. Pars III^a In Metaphysicam Audiebat Ciprianus de la Peña ejusd. Soc. J. Inchoavit Quito die 19 Oct. anni 1755 (WRed, 23; SA, 147).*
- *Cursus Philosophicus Ad mentem Aristotelis elaboratus a P. Francisco Xaverio de Aguilar Soc. Jesu In Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Philosophiae Praeceptore Meritissimo Pars III in Metaphysicam Audiebat Maximilianus Koller Soc. Jesu Scolasticus, inchoando 20 Octobris anni 1755 (WRed, 24; SA, 145).*

Juan Bautista Aguirre, born in Daule, was lecturer of Arts from 1756 to 1759:

- *Cursus Philosophicus* (WRed, 32) in three volumes: logic in 1756 (RAH, BC, 9/2947), physics in 1757 (RAH, BC, 9/2986), and metaphysics in 1758 (RAH, BC, 9/2960).
- *Physica ad Aristotelis mentem Auctore P. Ioanne Baptista de Aguirre Societatis Jesu Audiente Philippo Maria Raimer ejusdem Societatis Quiti MDCCLVIII* (WRed, 33; SA, 71).
- *Universae Philosophiae Theses. Joseph Maria Linati Societ. Jesu. Quaestio vespere propugnanda. Non dari Physicam Praemotionem Thomisticam, rationibus mere philosophicis probamus, et defendimus, theologica argumenta Theologis reliquentes. In Coll. Max. Quitensi Soc Jesu Die An. Domini 1759. Praeside R.P. Joanne Baptista De Aguirre, Soc. Jesu. In Florentissima Divi Gregorii Universitate* (BEAEP, FAEc, FAE 7334; WRed, 34)
- *Tractatus Theologicus-Canonicus de Contractibus, Auctore R.J. Joanne Baptista de Aguirre. 1761* (WRed, 35)
- *Tractatus Theologicus-Canonicus De Contractibus P.R.P.M. Joannem Baptistam De Aguirre S.J. Dignissimum in hoc Quitensi Gregoriana Universitate Vespertinae Cathedrae Professorem Auditore M.D. Xaverio Hernandez a Madrid Majoris, ac Regii S. Ludovici Collegii Collega Initium dedit die 19 Mensis Octobris. Anno Dni. 1763* (WRed, 36).

Joaquín Ayllón, born in Ambato, was appointed to be Arts lecturer in 1762 but due to health issues was not able (Jouanen, 1941):

- *Artis Rhetoricae Compendium Auctore Joachimo Ayllón S.J., Hambatensi. Anno Dni. MDCCLV* (WRed, 104; SA, 402).

José de Orozco, born in Riobamba, was professor during the 1767 expel:

- *Anti-thomistica philosophia, neutralis vel eclecticica, Juxta valentine universitatis sancciones elaboranda a Josepho orosco et ripoll philosophiae magistro et profesore, sacrosante teologiae doctore et colegi maiores santi tome vilanobani olim alumno* (WRed, 514; SA, 22)
- *Philosophia Logicae 1º Pars* (AHNE, FJ, 0003/BJ/ANE),
- *Secunda Logicae Pars Logica Magna Seu Maior Vulgo Dicta Juxta Valentine Unibersitatis Sancciones Elaborata a Josepho Orozco Et Tripoll* (¿AHNE, FJ, 0004/BJ/ANE?; WRed, 515; SA, 23)
- An unfinished manuscript *untitled Methaphysica intencinalis, Juxta Valentinae Unibersitatis Sanciones elaboranda Josepho* (Figure 45), attributed to José de Orozco (AHNE, FJ, 0006/BJ/ANE; WRed, 928; SA, 64)

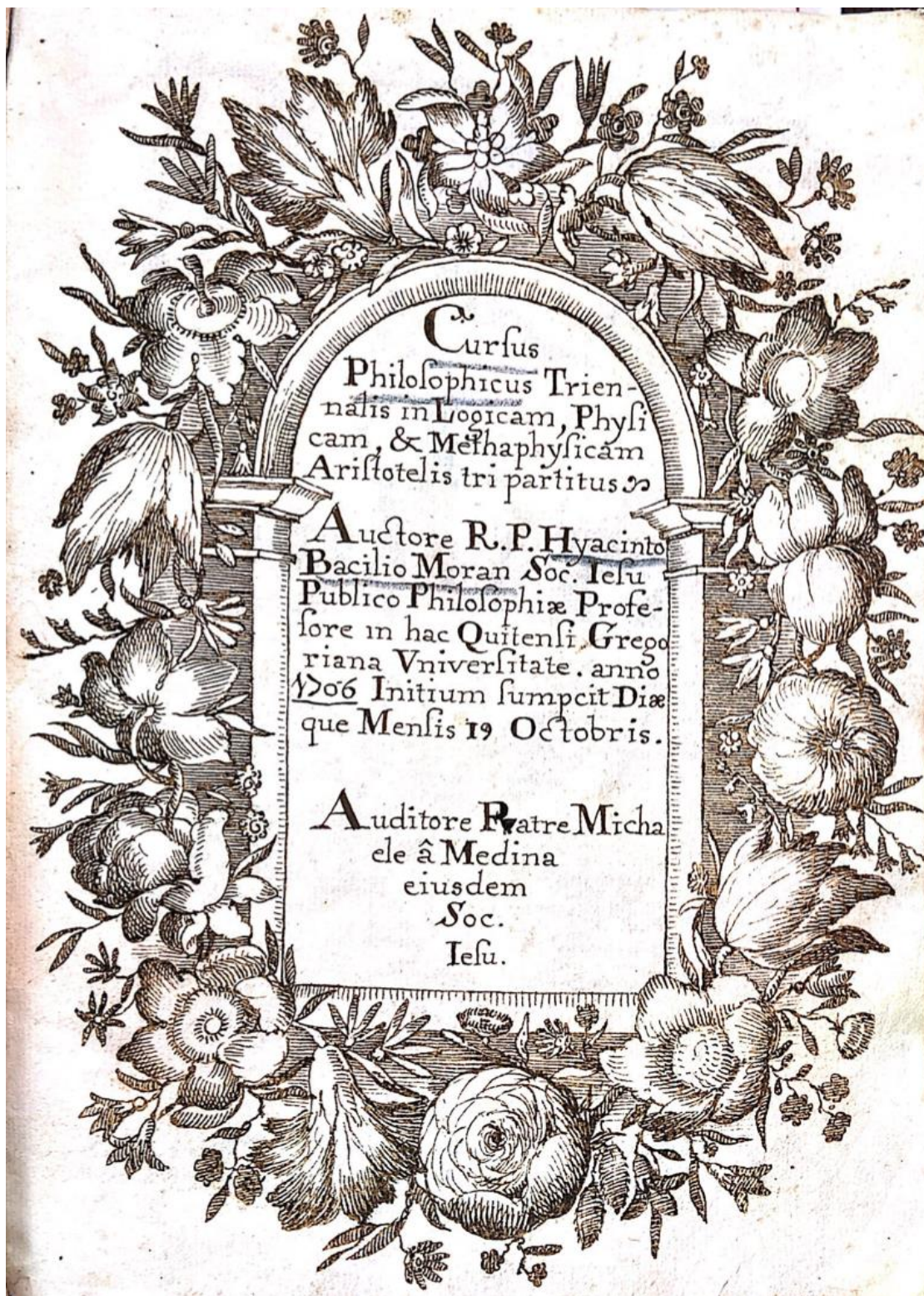


Figure 42: Cover page of *Cursus Philosophicus...* by Jacinto Morán
Source: AHNE, FJ, 0069/BJ/ANE

TRIENN-
nalis

SCHOLASTICÆ PHILOSOPHICÆ
Cursus.

Pars tertia in me-
taphysicam.

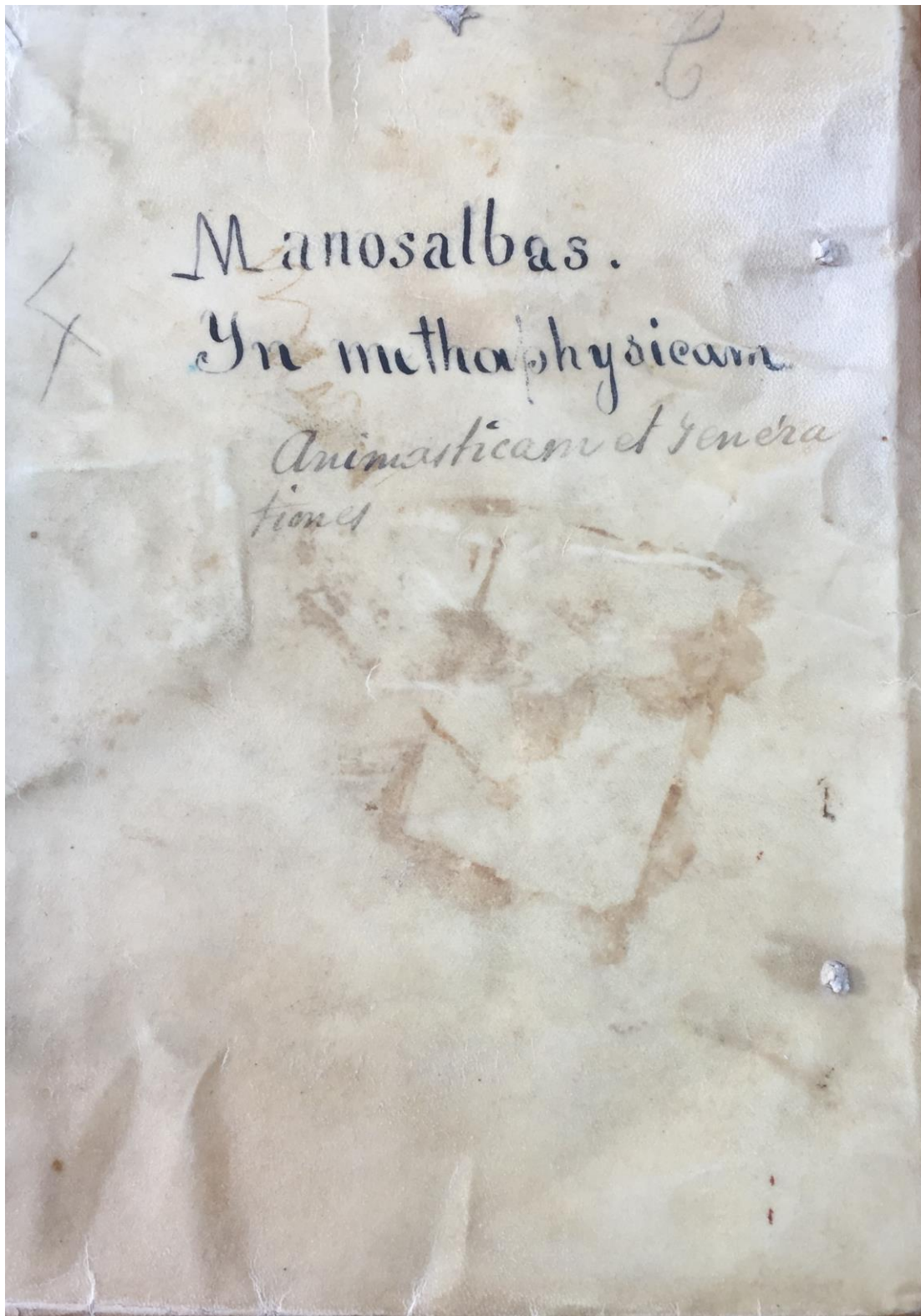
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IOSEPHO ORMAECHEA EIUSDEM SOCIET.
IESU.

XIII. ante Novembris Kalendas die,
ineunte anno Dómini 1729.

Figure 43: Cover page of *Triennalis...* by Fernando Espinosa
Source: AHNE, FJ, 0062/BJ/ANE



*Figure 44: Cover page of *Cursus tertius...* by Michael Manosalvas
Source: AHNE, FJ, 0107/BJ/ANE*

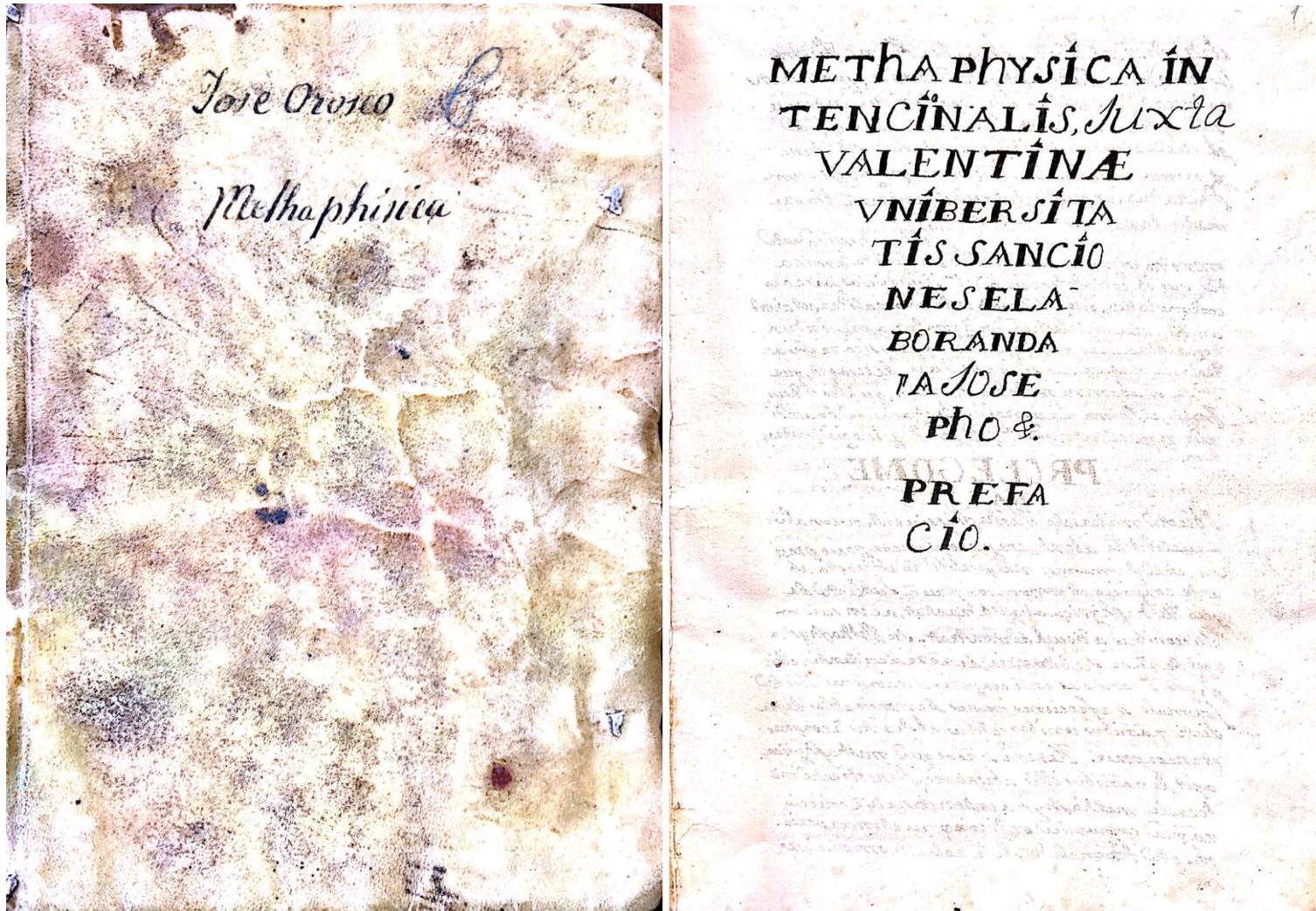


Figure 45: Cover page and first page of *Methaphysica...* by José de Orozco
Source: AHNE, FJ, 0006/BJ/ANE

The places of origin of the philosophy professors have been emphasised in order to highlight the education network that Jesuits built around their universities in the Spanish empire and sometimes even beyond its borders (see Appendix 8). Such an assemblage allowed San Gregorio to welcome lecturers coming from distant places as Sardinia and Torino, but also to consolidate a robust faculty staff originally from diverse RAQ cities (Figure 46). In conclusion, one can claim that there was an important knowledge production related to the Society and interconnected throughout Spanish America, that flourished mainly from the eighteenth century, as discussed in the following section.



Figure 46: Places of origin of San Gregorio philosophy professors

7.7 The Jesuit rhizomatic knowledge network in Spanish America: Lima and Quito

In this section, two Jesuit authors – José de Aguilar and Jacinto Morán de Butrón – are analysed in order to represent the rhizomatic knowledge network existing in Spanish America emphasising, as an example, the rapport between the *Virreinato de Lima* and the *Real Audiencia de Quito*. The first subsection on José de Aguilar is divided into three parts, a) a review of the life trajectory of

the Peruvian philosopher is illustrated, including a description of his well-known *Cursus Philosophicus* which can be traced down in several libraries around Spanish America and Spain; b) Aguilar's definition of logic terms is reviewed, since it offers a dialogue between Aristotelian tradition and the Jesuit school from the eighteenth century, which evidences the interconnectedness of the Society network; c) one of the main topics of the volume on logic of Aguilar's *Cursus* is discussed: the redefinition of the object of logic, a subject that reveals the deep philosophical knowledge of Aguilar and, more important, how intellectual production from Spanish America contributed to Scholastic philosophy. On the other hand, the second part on Jacinto Morán de Butrón consists of three parts, a) a brief review of his life trajectory and his works; b) Morán is considered as a representative of the so-called 'hardcore Scholasticism' in Quito, in this vein, the structure of his *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis* and his study of Aristotle's soul theory are considered; c) it is studied the influence of Aguilar in Morán within the discussion about logical propositions, the aim is to stress the existing knowledge network by means of Jesuit professors in Spanish America.

7.7.1 José de Aguilar: a Jesuit lettered within the rhizomatic network of Spanish America

A particularity of the Society of Jesus is that it assembled not only an education network in Spanish America, but a rhizomatic knowledge network that was characterised by its own production and strategies. In this vein, José de Aguilar and his *Cursus Philosophicus* are an outstanding case on the assembling of said knowledge network in Spanish America. He was born in Lima in 1652 into a wealthy family: his father was Blas de Aguilar a Spaniard mine-owner and María de Loayza a *criolla* who was related to Geronimo de Loayza, first archbishop of Perú (Laske, 2019). Aguilar entered the Jesuit order in 1666 studying both at the *Colegio Real de San Martín* and the *Colegio Máximo de San Pablo*, afterwards he began from 1678 a career as a sermon preacher in Lima achieving some recognition until 1685; that year, he finished his studies and was transferred to Charcas (Chuquisaca) for teaching Theology and Liberal Arts at the *Colegio San Juan Bautista* and at the *Universidad San Francisco Xavier* of which Aguilar was rector from 1688 to 1695, also participating in the foundation of a Jesuit residence in Cochabamba in 1694 (Flórez, 2014; Laske, 2019; Schmutz, 2008a; Torres Saldamando, 1882).

Back in Lima, he occupied the chair of *Vísperas* from the *Colegio de San Pablo* and was appointed as synodal examiner of the archbishopric and consultant of the Holy Office of the

Inquisition. In 1699, the order chose Aguilar as its provincial attorney (*procurador provincial*) to Rome and Madrid, however, due to the lack of a navy his journey did not take place; the next year he became rector of *Colegio Real de San Martín* until 1706 when he was elected again as provincial attorney in Europe, starting his journey one year later. Unfortunately, during a stop in Panama he suffered a strong fever that caused his death in 1708 (Flórez, 2014; Laske, 2019; Torres Saldamando, 1882). Finally, Aguilar published several oeuvres, such as *Sermones varios, predicados en la Ciudad de Lima*, *Corte de los Reynos del Perú* in Brussels in 1684; *Cursus Philosophicus dictatus Limae* in 1701 in Seville; *Sermones varios* and *Sermones del dolcissimo nombre de María* both in Seville in 1704; and posthumous works published in Madrid like *Sermones varios de misión* in 1716, *Sermones varios, panegíricos morales* in 1722; *Sermones varios morales* in 1723; again *Sermones varios, panegíricos morales* in 1731; and finally *Tractationes posthumae in Primam Partem diui Thomae* in Córdoba in 1731. As a sermon preacher his career includes more than 200 speeches around the Viceroyalty of Lima which are studied by some scholars (see Eichmann Oehrli, 2016; Flórez, 2014; Laske, 2019).

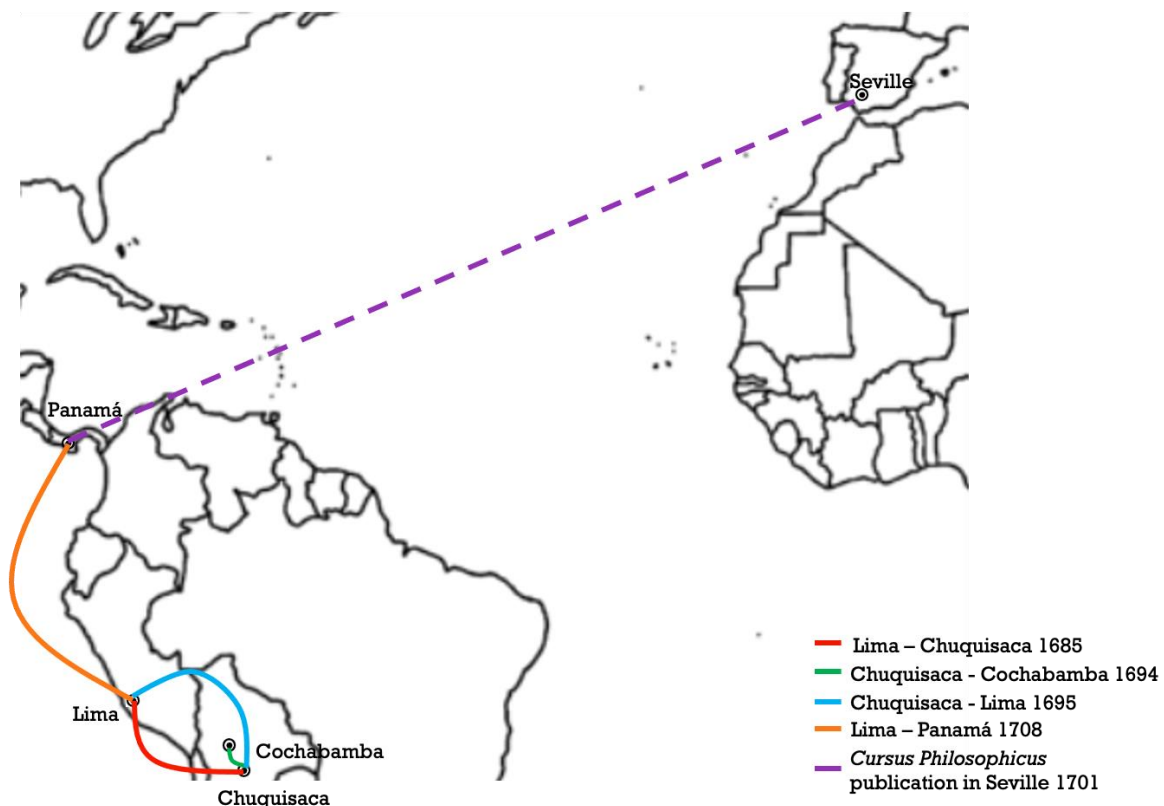


Figure 47: Life trajectory of José de Aguilar

Aguilar's life trajectory (Figure 47) portrays a rhizomatic knowledge network characterised by constant mobility and communication among jurisdictions and institutions; take for instance his oeuvre the *Cursus Philosophicus* written during his years in the Audiencia de Chuquisaca and published in Spain whereas Aguilar was teaching again in Lima. We have found so far said manuscript in archives and libraries from Lima²³⁹, Quito²⁴⁰, Bogotá²⁴¹, Sucre, Santiago²⁴², Madrid²⁴³, Córdoba²⁴⁴, and Granada²⁴⁵, a remarkable fact that demonstrates that knowledge was circulating across Spanish America and the metropolis, including people, books, ideas, and artifacts.

On the other hand, the *Cursus Philosophicus dictatus Limae* (Figure 48) following the *Ratio Studiorum* includes three volumes: first for logic (*Summulae*), second for natural philosophy, and the third for metaphysics. As aforementioned, the 'philosophy course' became the predominant method to teach philosophy, leaving behind the tradition of the *commentaria*. In this vein, Aguilar belongs to the third generation of philosophers (1640-1700) formed within the *Academia Limensis* in Peru influenced by the 'Baroque Scholasticism' which, among other things, reformulated certain metaphysical principles to substantiate scientific knowledge and theology allowing thus some flexibility towards Aristotle, Aquinas, and Scotus (Pretell García, 2015, 2018). Revising the first volume of Aguilar's *cursus* it is possible to identify that despite having some differences, in general terms includes most of the themes dealt with, for example, by Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza in his *Disputationes in Universam Philosophiam a summulae ad metaphysicam* (1619) or by *Cursus Philosophicus* (1632) of Rodrigo de Arriaga, both Jesuit philosophers who were broadly studied at that time. The volume is divided into two main parts: the first called *Summulae* discusses in three treatises, following the Thomistic tradition, the so-called 'mind operations' that make up logic: *De prima mentis operatione, nempe termino* (the term), *De secunda mentis operatione, nempe Iudicio* (the judgment), and *De tertia mentis operatione, nempe discursu* (the discourse). Yet, it is worth saying that Aguilar includes in said discussion a fourth *tractatus* about *De Modi Sciendi*, i.e., the ways of knowing: *definitionis*, *divisionis*, and *argumentationis*, which normally were examined within a different section for being considered as the object of study of logic.

²³⁹BNP, FA, X107.1 / A32

²⁴⁰BNEE, FJ, ML321 AGU.

²⁴¹AHUR, E10N029

²⁴²BNC, FG, 14; (172-19)

²⁴³BHFAUCM, BH FLL 23795.

²⁴⁴BACSC, CCPB000064702-0

²⁴⁵FBAUG, A-021-163.

Nonetheless, for the Peruvian philosopher those mind operations were nothing else than a part of logic so no particular analysis was required (see Aguilar, 1701, fol. 57). Finally, the second part is entitled *Disputationes in Universam Aristotelis Dialecticam* that presents in a novel way the always discussed topic of Aristotelean dialectic:

Disputationes in Universam Aristotelis Dialecticam

Tractatus I Proaemialis

Tractatus Secundus De entis rationis

Tractatus Tertius De universalibus

Tractatus Quartus De Prędicabilibus

Tractatus Quintus De Prędicamentis

Tractatus Sextus In libros de Peryhermeniis, seu de interpretatione

Tractatus Septimus De Priori Analysi, seu resolutione

Tractatus Octavus De Posteriori Analysi, de Demonstratione scilicet, & eius contrariis

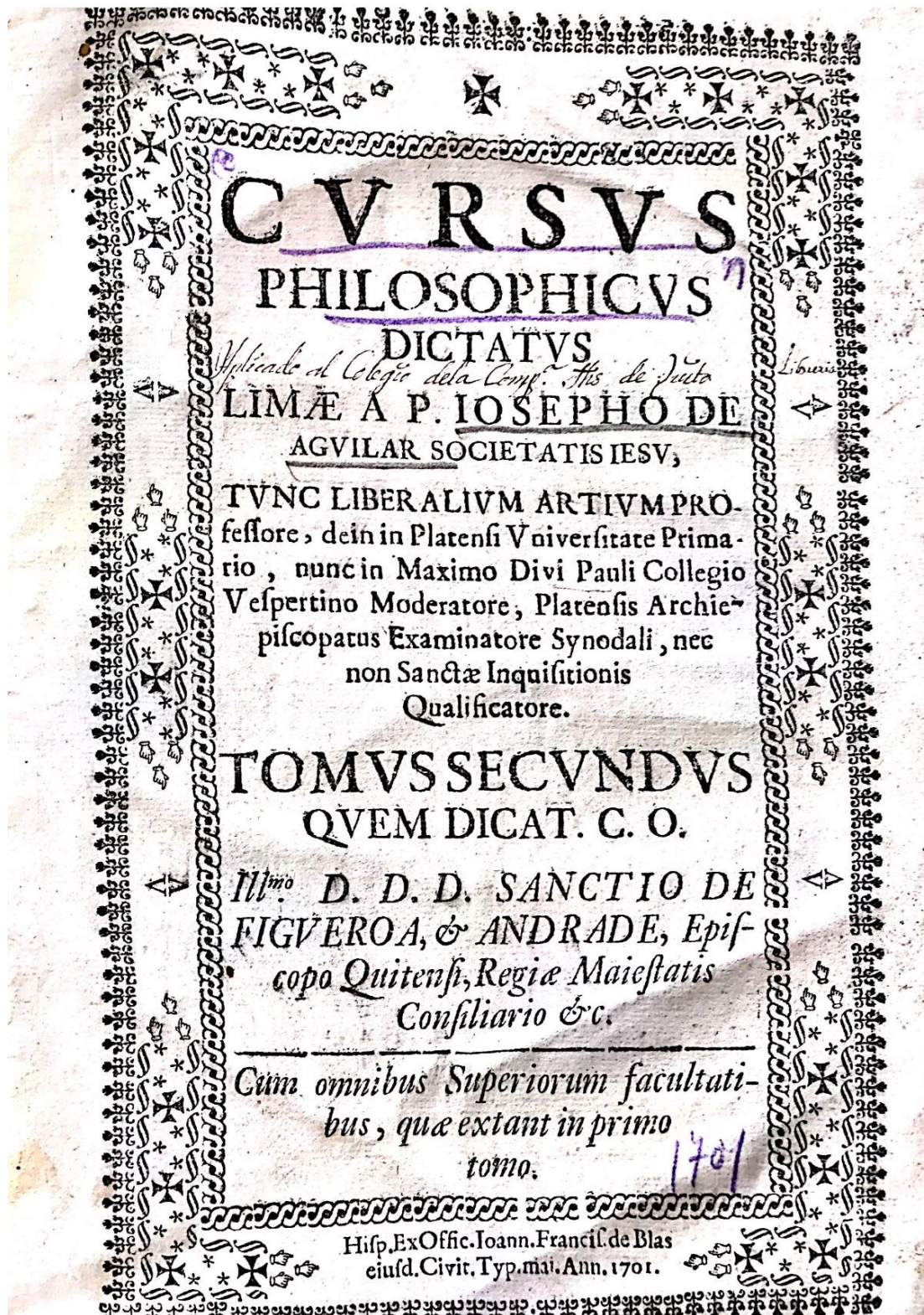


Figure 48: Cover page of second volume of *Cursus Philosophicus* by Jose de Aguilar
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ04602

7.7.1.1 Aguilar's definition of logic terms: an interconnected debate

For the sake of our argument, Aguilar's definition on logic terms (*termini logici definitio*) is examined since it offers an innovative debate between Aristotelean tradition and the Jesuit school, including classical and contemporary authors of the eighteenth century. We suggest that such enriched dialogue highlights the existing interconnectedness within the colonial knowledge network that sometimes even crossed the borders of the Spanish Empire. Aguilar (1701 Summ., Tract. I, Sect. V, ff. 13-16) summarises the whole debate about the definition of logical terms (*termini logici*) in six stances, also providing his argument on each one: (1) the definition of them as *signum cathegoricae propositionis* (sign of the categorical proposition) by Diego Ortiz O.P. is refused because it does not fit every possible definition of a logical term like those of a hypothetical proposition. (2) Their characterisation as *vox significativa* is declined, since mental terms are not a voice, and it seems to have been created just to exclude non-significant words as terms without explaining their *natura*. (3) The notion about terms as what can be a subject or a predicate is rejected, alleging that it implies more a *divisio* than a *definitio*, in particular with regard to the active copula in propositions whose disjunctions would require a verification of each term of the subject and the predicate²⁴⁶. (4) Terms understood as the *extremum* of propositions both as subject and predicate, it is a position also dismissed for delivering a *definitionem per dissolutionem* instead of a *definitionem per compositionem*, moreover the word *disolutio* itself is doubtful and obscure in its meaning. (5) The definition of a term as a *constitutivum totius logicalis* is attributed by Aguilar to *ingeniosi Moderni*, such as Rodrigo de Arriaga S.J., Francisco de Toledo, aka Toleti S.J., Pedro da Fonseca S.J., Stephano Spinula C.R., and the *Collegi Complutensi*, however, it is criticised for being *inadaequantum* because it does not define the nature of the term which is not only to be a constitutive but also an *extremum*²⁴⁷. (6) The opinions of José de Olzina S.J. are reviewed who asserts that a term is a composed part (*pars composti*) of dialectics and more specifically the principal part (*pars principalis*) of a proposition; such an idea is objected by

²⁴⁶ For Aguilar in objective concepts the copula understood as logical union implies an identity among subject and predicate, even being the case of a negative formal union (see Yangali Núñez, 2016), e.g., the proposition *Petrus & Paulus currit* does not require a verification of each term for being true, it is enough to know that one of them are actually running.

²⁴⁷ According to Aguilar this position contradicts Aristotle's *Metaphysics I* that states that a term explicat and definit but mainly he understands a term as the ultimum outside of which there is nothing, and within which all things are first; hence, a term should be defined following the philosopher not as a *constutivo* but as an *extremum*.

Aguilar for employing the ‘useless’ concept about the ‘principal’ once there is nothing that could be excluded of being a logical term.

After this comprehensive revision Aguilar develops his argument which conveys, after certain modifications, elements from the stances (3), (4), and (5), advocating a definition by *compositio* and not limited to the *propositio* itself. In this vein, the *Cursus Philosophicus* states that a term is the *extremum totius logicalis*: first, it is an *extremum* because it is a common *ratio conveniendi*, e.g., in physical terms the *extrema naturalis* are matter and form, in mathematical terms an *extremum* is the constitutive points of a line, and for the case of logic every term is the *extremum* of a *totius logicalis*. Second, the concept of *totius logicalis* pretends to overcome the limitation of the term to the proposition; for that end, the Peruvian philosopher recognises that Aristotle asserts that the proposition has its own terms (*proprios terminus*) all of them within the subject and the predicate having nothing outside them; however, the same could be said for *syllogismos*, *discursus*, and *demonstratio* as long as they are *complexum plurium propositium* having thus their own terms as well. Furthermore, Aguilar for not contradicting tradition suggests that the Aristotelean definition of the term in relation to the proposition refers only to a *particular specie* without defining in general the logic, therefore, he is not transgressing the *antiquam termini* once no *voces constitutive vel constituentis* are added in his argument.

7.7.1.2 Re-defining logic from Lima

Another topic discussed by the *Cursus Philosophicus* is the object of logic, Aguilar offers a revision of the main currents on such a discussion, a point that reveals his knowledge about different philosophers and schools. First of all, a distinction between *objectum formale* and *objectum materiale* is settled: the first is defined as *triplex*, unlike early Modern Scotists and Thomists who define it as *duplex* (see Tropia, 2019), being *motivum*, *terminativum*, and *finale* which is intended by sciences and practical faculties (see Aguilar, 1701 Disp., Tract. I, Sect. I, f 123-124, 335-337). The second could be of two kinds: *primarium* when it is one thing *per se* attained immediately by potency, for example, God is a *primarium obiectum materiale* for blessed vision (*visions Beatae*), whereas it is *secundarium* when it is not attained immediately but by another’s reason, as is the case of creatures (*creaturae*) which are the *secundarium obiectum*

materiale for Blessed vision by means of Omnipotence (see Aguilar, 1701 Disp., Trac. I, Sect. I, f. 123, 332-333).

Once this has been said, Aguilar starts by rejecting Occam's nominalism that affirms that *voces* (terms) are the *obiectum adaequatum logicę*. Likewise, he differs with Francisco Suárez (S.J.), Paolo Valla (Paulus Vallius, S.J.), the Mexican Antonio Rubio (S.J.), Francisco Alphonsus (S.J.), Pedro de la Serna (O. de M.), ¿Juan Poncio? (O.F.M.), Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza (S.J.), ¿Pedro de Oviedo? (S.J.), Thomas Compton (S.J.), Rodrigo de Arriaga (S.J.), Francisco Soares (Lusitanus, S.J.), Ignacio Peinado (S.J.), José de Olzina (S.J.), and his Peruvian fellow Nicolás de Olea (S.J.) who assert that *voces* are not the *obiectum materiale logicae*. Finally, Aguilar disagrees with Pedro da Fonseca (S.J.), Richard Linceus (Linze/Linceus S.J.), Antonio Bernaldo de Quirós (S.J.), Juan Caramuel (O.Cist.), ¿Francisco González de Santa Cruz? (S.J.), and the Peruvian Francisco de la Maza (S.J.) for affirming that *voces* are *obiectum materiale non totale, sed partiale logicae*. In reply to all of them, Aguilar's innovative argument is the following: "*Sit nostra specialis conclusio. Voces nullo modo sunt obiectum per se logicę practicae, etiam si sint propriè modus sciendi; sunt tamen obiectum per se logicę speculativae, etiam si sint modus sciendi impropriè*"²⁴⁸ (Aguilar, 1701 Tract. I, Sect. II, f.125, 343). Hence, the alternative to nominalism is to define terms/words as ways of knowing which are guided not by logic itself but by grammar whose aim is to provide *voces* for any mental operation that might require an *artificium* (artifact), such as *definitionis, divisionis* or *argumentationis*, namely a *modus sciendi*. As Yangali Nuñez (2016) puts it Aguilar thinks that logic expresses unions of ideas and not only about real facts, since by means of language it is possible to communicate unions beyond what could be found in reality. In this vein, the so-called *modi sciendi* are more related to language relations and formal thinking rather than to proper ways of knowing as discussed below.

Moreover, the *Cursus Philosophicus* (Disp., Tract. I, Sect. IV) proposes a further discussion on the *obiectum adaequatum logicae*, in which Aguilar opposes most of the Jesuit school that agreed that both *iudicio* and *discursum* as mind operations were the primary object, albeit without reaching a consensus about the first operation. Thus, the Peruvian philosopher claims that none of the *triplex mentis operatio* are the primary object but only a secondary object for being formal concepts (*conceptus formales*) speculatively limited to terms (*voces*) and formed by the intellect

²⁴⁸ Let our special conclusion be. Voces are in no way the object of practical logic per se, even if they are the proper modus sciendi; they are, however, the objects of speculative logic per se, even if they are an improper modus sciendi (translation of the author).

after the act of knowing has taken place. Wherefore, he states “*Conceptus obiectivi sunt obiectum per se primum aliorum actuum logicae*”²⁴⁹ (Aguilar, 1701 Tract. I, Sect. III, f. 139, 414). Said objective concepts are understood within the Thomist tradition as what is ‘conceived’, insofar as it is the very determination of a formal concept. For example, the Jesuit Gabriel Vázquez describes an objective concept as the objective presence of the known thing in the mind, an idea that will be an important link between the Scholastic thought and Descartes (Redmond, 2002). Yet, for D’Onofrio (2017, p. 4) within the ontological discussion among Aguilar and Francisco Suárez about the *ens rationis* the objective concept could be explained “both as the result of knowledge as well as the entity formed fictitiously as if derived from a ‘real object’”.

On the other hand, according to Aguilar *actuum logicae* (acts of logic), such as *subiectum obiectivum*, *praedicatum obiectivum*, *definitio*, *definitum obiectivum*, *cognitionis obiectum*, and *repraesentatum obiectum*, all of them share a *natura universalis* which allows them to be interchangeable in reference to one object:

Hi sunt actus logicae, subiectum obiectivum est id, de quo aliquid dicitur. Praedicatum obiectivum est id, quod dicitur de subiecto. Que sunt eadem unitertio sunt ídem inter se. Definitio, & definitum convertuntur. (...). Natura universalis est communis pluribus. (...) Que convertuntur non sunt definitio, & definitum formale, sed definitio, & definitum obiectivum: quod abstrahitur, & praedicatur de inferioribus non est cognitio abstrahens, sed obiectum talis cognitionis: quod identificatur cum uno tertio non est cognitio repraesentatis identitatem, sed obiectum repraesentatum (...); ergo hi actus immediatè verificantur de conceptibus obiectivis, non vero de formalibus; ergo obiectum primum horum actuum sunt conceptus obiectivi²⁵⁰ (Aguilar, 1701 Tract. I, Sect. III, f. 139, 414-415).

Hence, objective concepts are more inferior (*inferioribus*) in the sense that formal concepts abstract what they are from the former and, for that reason, logical acts are immediately verified by objective concepts. Yet, formal acts and concepts within logic like *definitio*, *divisionis* and *argumentationis* are not rejected, they only require a further explanation which is provided by objective concepts which are not *obiectum merè per accidens logicae* but the proper result of logical acts (*actus logicales*). In Aguilar’s words a *definitio* explains the essence of one thing, a

²⁴⁹ “Objective concepts are the primary object per se of some acts of logic” (translation of the author).

²⁵⁰ These are acts of logic, the ‘objective subject’ is that of which something is said. The ‘objective predicate’ is what is said of the subject. Those who are in the same union are the same among themselves. Definitio and definitum are interchangeable (...). Universal nature is common to many (...). Those which are interchangeable are not definitio and formal definitum but definitio and definitum obiectivum: what is abstracted and predicated from more inferior [things] is not abstract knowledge, but the object of such knowledge: what is identified with a third [thing] is not knowledge of the represented identity, but the object represented (...); therefore, these acts are verified immediately by objective concepts, not by formal ones; therefore the primary object of these acts is the objective concept (translation of the author).

divisio divides the whole in its parts, a formal syllogism derives from known things, and even if all of them as logical acts refer primary to formal concepts (*definitio*, *divisionis* and *argumentationis*) they also regard to objective concepts as definable, divisible, and ‘argumentable’. Things might be known by formal concepts, nevertheless, these were primarily *attingunt* (affected/touched) by the objective ones, e.g., the blessed vision could know *creaturae* but only through its connection/affection with omnipotence as its primary object. Then, an *obiectum per accidens* cannot be properly known, but only in a denominative way through *expressivos* whose formal concepts are properly defined by objective concepts.

Finally, one can say that there is an important contribution from José de Aguilar to the Scholastic thought not only from Spanish America but also from Europe as a result of the existing rhizomatic knowledge network of the eighteenth century; mainly two reasons might be sketched: first the proposal about the pre-eminence of objective concepts over formal ones could be understood as a symptom of the arrival of the epistemological turn to America; second, the extension of the application scope of logical terms constitutes undoubtedly an important element for the logic to come in the next centuries. In this vein, Redmond (2002, 2010) finds that Aguilar’s method is close to that of present-day analytic philosophy: resorting to clarification of terms, analysis of existing currents, and explicit argumentation; likewise, there is a coincidence on topics, such as ‘existential commitment’ and conditionality for interpreting propositions; moreover, the Aguilar’s use of the concepts intentionality, modality and possibility would have a similarity with Brentano’s philosophy and even with Husserl’s. But in conclusion what is more important is that the *Cursus Philosophicus* and his author allow to portray the complexity of the rhizomatic network existing in the Virreinato de Lima and beyond, once the discussed ideas, cited authors, and philosophical proposals demonstrate an intensive exchange and interaction throughout the Spanish Empire as discussed below.

7.7.2 Jacinto Morán de Butrón: a Quitense follower of José de Aguilar

Although José de Aguilar himself was never in RAQ, his thought had an important influence in Quito where he was studied mainly by his Jesuit fellows. That is the case of Jacinto Morán de Butrón who was born in Guayaquil in 1668 and entered the Company of Jesus in 1684 to study at the *Seminario San Luis* in Quito; later, he was appointed in 1695 by Diego Francisco Altamirano,

the Jesuit *visitador* of Quito, as biographer of Mariana de Jesús a Quitense young lady to whom some miracles were attributed and whose canonisation was requested by the Church of Quito (see Morgan, 2017), such an assignment was finished in 1699 with a manuscript entitled *La Azucena de Quito, que brotó el florido campo de la Iglesia en las Indias Occidentales de los Reynos del Perú, y cultivó con los esmeros de su enseñanza* which was not published until 1724 in Madrid (Alcedo, [1807] 1964; González Suárez, 1970; Jouanen, 1941). Furthermore, Morán de Butrón was professor of Philosophy at the *Universidad San Gregorio* in Quito from 1706 until 1709, was vicerector of the Jesuit *colegio* of Popayán during the period 1710-1712, and also rector of the *colegio* of Panama from 1715 to 1719; then, in 1724 he was sent to Guayaquil after having some issues with his order about writing some pamphlets, once there, he helped to the creation and development of the *colegio* San Ignacio until his death in 1749 (González Suárez, 1970). His philosophical works are *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis in Logicam, Physicam, & Methaphysicam Aristotelis tri partitus*²⁵¹ (1706), *Commentaria in Octo libros Physicorum Artis et Cursus Philosophici Pars 2º in Physicam*²⁵² (?), and *Compendio Histórico de la Provincia, partidos, ciudades, astilleros, ríos y Puerto de Guayaquil, en las costas de la mar del Sur*.

7.7.2.1 Morán de Butrón: a ‘hardcore Scholastic’

Jacinto Morán de Butrón is one of the representants of the so-called ‘hardcore Scholasticism’ of Quito between 1688-1734 characterised by continuing the Thomistic-Aristotelean tradition. For instance, in the metaphysics volume of his *cursus* (see Herrera, 1895, pp. 173–175) Morán outlines a defence of the Aristotelean theory on the soul stating that was the Stagirite who refuted the nonsense (*despropósitos*) of the ancient philosophers who were delusional when defining the soul, identifying it with the fire, the air, or the atoms. Thus, the San Gregorio professor claims that the soul is the first act of a physical organic body and potency for the life, also accepting the idea about the types of soul: vegetative, sensitive, and rational. However, in this section the first volume on logic of the *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis* is examined in order to emphasise the influence of Aguilar in Quito; thus, such a manuscript was prepared for the course of arts at *Universidad San Gregorio* that began on 19 October 1706 and it was probably applied until 1709, the last year in

²⁵¹ Libro No 26, 0069/BJ/ANE, 1706, Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito.

²⁵² Libro Nº 47, 0115/BJ/ANE, s/f, Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito.

which Morán appears as professor of philosophy in the records (see AGUCE *Libro de Oro de La Universidad de San Gregorio*, 1768). It is worth mentioning that the course was never published, so the manuscript was handwritten by Michael Medina, student of that class. It is divided into four main sections: *Tractatus Primum: Summulae Paeceptorum Dialecticae*; *Tractatus II De Prooemialibus Logicae*; *Tractatus III De Ente Rationis*, and *Appendise pro complenta, et plena intelligentia Entis rationis*. Hence, Morán's *Cursus* addresses issues similar to those discussed by Aguilar's something that is explained by the fact that both belonged to the Scholastic Jesuit tradition and, above all, because the latter was officially applied at San Gregorio where Morán Butrón studied and lectured, as it is evidenced by the title page inscription of the *Cursus Philosophicus* found at the Jesuit Fund of the Biblioteca Nacional Eugenio Espejo in Quito (Figure 47).

7.7.2.2 Morán's *Cursus Philosophicus*: a manuscript within a network

The *Cursus Philosophicus Triennialis* of Morán could be analysed as a professor's textbook, it didactically synthetises most of the Jesuit philosophical tradition including the classic topics on Aristotelean logic. Besides, it should be underlined the great number of philosophers and theologians from Spanish America and Europe that are cited – showing the quality of the imparted education in Quito – among them: Josep Morell (S.J.), Pedro de Hurtado (S.J.), Rodrigo de Arriaga (S.J.), Francisco Alphonsus (S.J.), Antonio Bernaldo de Quirós (S.J.), Pedro de Oviedo (S.J.), Nicolás de Olea (S.J.), Sebastián Izquierdo (S.J.), Francisco Suárez (S.J.), ¿Sebastián Pérez (S.J.)?, Ildefonso de Peñafiel (S.J.), Francisco Soares aka Lusitanus (S.J.), and many others. In relation to José de Aguilar, the Peruvian philosopher is referred by Morán de Butrón to review logic relations, logical 'artifacts', *entis rationis*, and metaphysical distinctions; however, the analysis in this paper is focused on the discussion about propositions as an example of the philosophical relationship between Lima and Quito.

In first place, it is important to emphasise Morán's opinion about Aguilar who is defined as "*Docto claro et ingenioso P. Josepho de Aguilar Peruani Provincia gloria*"²⁵³ (Morán de Butrón, 1706, f.43b), also he is referred as Professor *Universitatis Plantesis*, - it should be recalled that Aguilar wrote down his *cursus* during his years in Chuquisaca in the *Audiencia de La Plata*. Thus,

²⁵³ "*The glory of the Peruvian province talented and ingenious P. Josepho de Aguilar*" (translation of the author).

Aguilar's influence is broadly evidenced within the third *disertatio* of the first *tractatus* of the *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis* when discussing *De propositione*; said dissertation starts by providing some definitions taken from the *Tractatus II De secunda mentis operatione* of the *Cursus Philosophicus*. In this treatise Aguilar resorts to Antonio de Nebrija and Rodrigo de Arriaga to explain concepts related to grammar and logic, something that Morán de Butrón also assumes in his manuscript (see 1706, ff. 36-37), such as *nomen: è vox sígnica[ti]va ad placitum per casum declinabilis*²⁵⁴, *verbo* that is a 'vox [co]iungata' with moods and tenses (present, past, and future), and *oratio* as a 'complexio' characterised for having *materia, forma, duplex q[u]alitas: intrin[se]ca* (affirmative or negative) and *extrin[se]ca* (*veritas* and *falsitas*), and *quatruplex qantitas: universal, partialis, singular, plural, and indefinite*.

Similarly, in order to describe logical relations between propositions Morán de Butrón employs the table and examples (e.g., *Petrus is albus*) developed by Rodrigo de Arriaga in his book (Figure 49); also, Aguilar's exposition about moods of opposition, equipollence, and conversion (Figure 50) is assimilated in the *Cursus Philosophicus Triennalis* (Figure 51). Even though one might say that Morán's class book is only repeating arguments and examples from Aguilar or Arriaga, his manuscript constitutes a trace of the rhizomatic network existing in the *Virreinato de Lima* and throughout Spanish America including Europe, because the Quitense professor was a priest born in Guayaquil who was lecturing at *Universidad San Gregorio* in Quito and revising a work published in Spain only five years earlier by a Peruvian philosopher who was lecturing in Chuquisaca (present-day Sucre in Bolivia).

²⁵⁴ In all the quotations from Morán's manuscript the original wording and style are preserved.



Figure 49: Logical relations of propositions
 Source: Morán Butrón (1706) AHNE, FJ, 0069/BJ/ANE, f.41

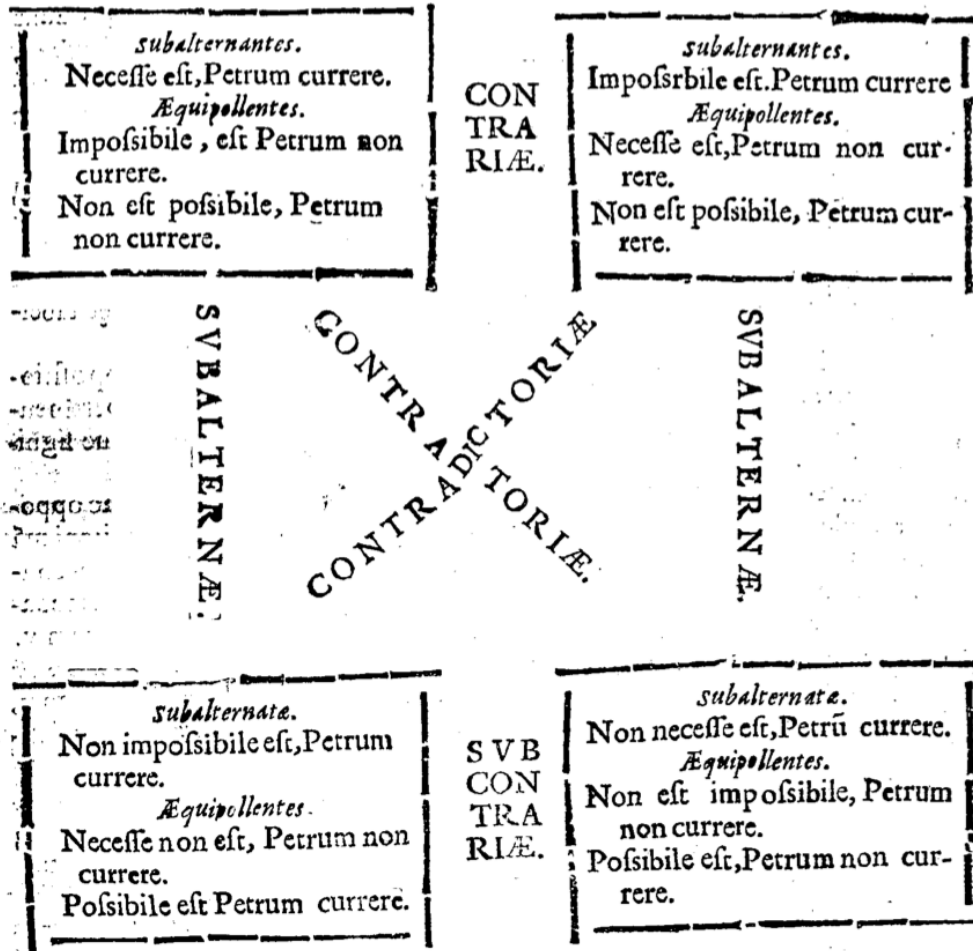


Figure 50: Table about moods
Source: José de Aguilar (1701, f.60)

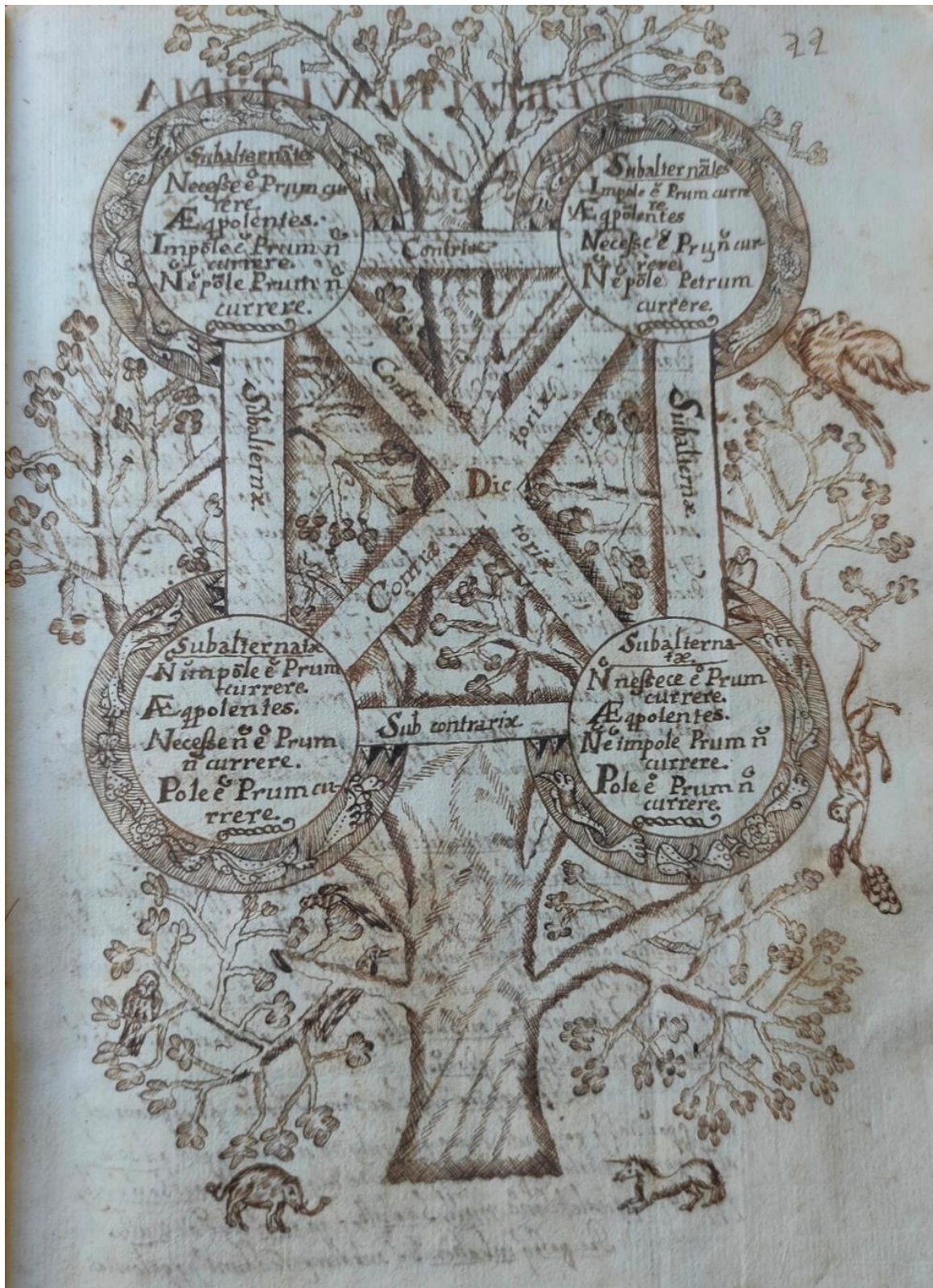


Figure 51: Table of moods
 Source: Morán Butrón (1706) AHNE, FJ, 0069/BJ/ANE, f.44

Finally, the life trajectories of José de Aguilar and Jacinto Morán de Butrón evidence that the members of the rhizomatic knowledge network during the colonial period were in constant movement leaving behind books, manuscripts, ideas, and debates. Therefore, such displacements implied an exercise of re/deterritorialisation that somehow was a key aspect for preserving the Imperial structure in Spanish America, that's why it was not a coincidence that the education network was one of the long-lasting elements during the colonial period and even after the independence processes. On the other hand, the permanent interaction of *colegios* and *universidades* through their professors, students, and officials allowed that the philosophical discussion in Spanish America to be updated in terms of authors and arguments. Hence, Aguilar's proposals about, for example, logical terms and the scope of logic demonstrates that Scholastic philosophy in America during the colonial period, albeit including some differences and particularities, was close to the European discussion and not only to the Scholastic debates. In this vein, it is clear why the *Cursus Philosophicus* of Aguilar is found in archives all over Latin America and Spain, once the Jesuit structured an interconnected network whose nodes were the *colegios* and *universidades*. Besides, circulation of knowledge implies revision and transformation of ideas just as Aguilar did with the discussion about *voces* or *termini logici* that was opened and modified by the Peruvian thinker; likewise, Jacinto Morán de Butrón when writing down his teaching manuscript adapted Aguilar's ideas in order to synthetise the Jesuit tradition on logic and grammar.

7.8 Jesuits and 'modernising Scholasticism' in Quito

This section emphasis the role of Jesuits in the overcoming of the 'hardcore Scholasticism' in Quito, it is divided into three parts, a) an analysis of two striking events during early eighteenth century in Quito is presented: the French Geodesic mission and the greater circulation of knowledge by means of the Society; b) the relationship between Jesuits and modernity is discussed; and, c) the life trajectory and some works of Juan Bautista Aguirre are studied in order to stress the Jesuit influence in the innovation of philosophy during late eighteenth century.

7.8.1 The French Geodesic mission and the circulation of knowledge in 18th century Quito

This subsection places emphasis in two striking events during early eighteenth century in Quito the French Geodesic mission and the greater circulation of knowledge and books by means of the Society. Thus, eighteenth century was a period of consolidation for the Society in RAQ, for instance, by 1705 the order had 6 working colegios, a novitiate, the seminary San Luis, and San Gregorio university, founding three additional colegios until 1745 (see Figure 28). Moreover, the missions in the Maynas province were flourishing despite of having some issues²⁵⁵, encompassing 39 towns and circa 26,000 people. This thriving context was the best scenario for boosting the studies of arts, theology, and even Canon law, but particularly those on philosophy: 818 students were granted the degree of *maestros de filosofía* until 1767 at San Gregorio (Keeding, 2005). As aforementioned, the first decades of said century were characterised by a ‘hardcore Scholasticism’. However, a milestone event took place in Quito from 1736, the arrival of the French Geodesic Mission to the Equator that was integrated by the French astronomers Louis Godin, Charles Marie de La Condamine, and Pierre Bouguer, including the French naturalist Joseph de Jussieu, the Spanish geographers Jorge Juan y Santacillia and Antonio de Ulloa, and the Riobamba-born topographer Pedro Vicente Maldonado. The expedition aim was to complete the arc measurement of the Earth in order to determine the shape of the planet and settle once and for all the dispute between Jacques Cassini and Isaac Newton²⁵⁶; yet, it also carried out several experiments and observations regarding Newtonian optics, pendulum oscillations, barometric measurements, eclipses, velocity of sound, obliquity of the elliptic, and cartographic works (see Ferreiro, 2011; Francou, 2013).

The mission, in terms of Guerra Bravo (2021, p. 217), woke up Quito of its dogmatic dream opening its doors to experimental sciences. In such an episode the Jesuits played a key role²⁵⁷, besides for them a relation with astronomy and exact sciences was not new in South America (see Ortiz, 2020). La Condamine installed his observatory at the seminary San Luis where Pedro Milanésio, a San Gregorio professor, acted as assistant, continuing certain observations even after

²⁵⁵ *There was always a shortage of missionary personnel, and given the geographical and political conditions the missions were unstable and difficult to supervise (see Jiménez Gómez, 2022; Magnin, [1742] 1998; Uriarte, 1986).*

²⁵⁶ *Both Cassini and Newton held the theory about the roundness of the earth, nevertheless, the former thought that the planet was elongated around the poles, and the latter that it was flattened.*

²⁵⁷ *A remarkable case is Johannes Magnin, a Jesuit missionary in the Maynas province, who established a friendship with Godin, between them there were scientific and epistolary exchanges, a relationship from which Magnin was influenced to write one of the first manuscripts in RAQ to discuss Descartes: *Millietus amicus cum Catersio, seu Cartesius reformatus* (Guerra Bravo, 2021; Keeding, 2005).*

the end of the mission in 1743 (González Suárez, 1970; Vargas, 1965b); likewise, the Jesuit José Maldonado – brother of the mission member Pedro Maldonado – collaborated with La Condamine in the construction of the well-known *pirámides de Yaruquí* (see Hernández Asensio, 2008). As Espinosa and Sevilla (2013) claim the encounter between the Mission and the Jesuits confronted an enlightened science with a ‘baroque science’ that framed science and philosophy into the Scholastic tradition, applying it for the territorial control of their missions. Hence, the French astronomers had a direct impact in the Quitense philosophical instruction, for instance, by exchanging books and manuscripts. As Keeding (2005) points out La Condamine sent from Paris to the Society the book *Institutiones Physicae* of Musschenbroek²⁵⁸ and to José Maldonado his *Supplément au Journal historique du Voyage à l’Equateur*; similarly, Godin gave to the Augustinians the *Traité de Chymie* of Nicasius Le Febure, and the *Philosophia vetus et nova* of Jean-Baptiste du Hamel, also his books *Traité de Physique* of Jacques Rohault and a theological treatise²⁵⁹ of Robert Bellarmine S.J. came into the hands of the Jesuits.

On the other hand, continuing with Keeding (1983, 2005), given the greater circulation of knowledge in Spanish America in the eighteenth century, partly thanks to the existing rhizomatic network, the Jesuits were in possession of updated books and encyclopaedias. It is noteworthy that the Society considered the possession of books as an education priority from the very beginning of its presence in the new world, so much so that the order had an officer, the *Procurador General de Indias*, in the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville whose function was the acquisition and transportation of books to America (see Danwerth, 2020). Thus, the Jesuits in Quito started to know about theories and principles of *modernorum* authors, such as Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Rene Descartes, Gottfried Leibniz, and Isaac Newton, thanks to books – which are still preserved in Quito – like the *Almagestum novum astronomiam veterem novamque*²⁶⁰ of Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Éléments d’astronomie*²⁶¹ of Jacques Cassini, *Cosmologia Generalis*²⁶² of Christian Wolff (Figure 52), the *Haplotes de Restrictionibus mentalibus disputans*²⁶³ of Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz²⁶⁴, *Philosophia argumentosa quondam florilegium argumentorum sive ars*

²⁵⁸ This volume is located at BNEE in Quito (FJ, FJ08371).

²⁵⁹ It probably refers to *Apologia of Roberti Bellarmini* which is found at BNEE (FJ, FJ01845).

²⁶⁰ BNEE, FJ, FJ07280.

²⁶¹ BNEE, FJ, FJ07820.

²⁶² BNEE, FJ, FJ04285.

²⁶³ BNEE, FJ, ML 6086

²⁶⁴ Other books of his authorship have been found at BNEE: *Theologia Moralis fundamentalis* (FJ, FJ00009), *Theologia Regularis* (FJ, FJ01950), and *Theologia rationalis...* (FJ, FJ02060). The well-known *Mathesis biceps, vetus et nova* has not been found in the archives, although Keeding (2005) assures that it was studied in Quito.

practica inveniendi medium nuncupate of Matthias Heimbach S.J.²⁶⁵, the *Institutionum Mathematicarum* of Ernst Vols S.J.²⁶⁶, *Scientia rerum naturalium sive Physica*²⁶⁷ of Joseph Zanck S.J., *Philosophia naturalis*²⁶⁸ of Ferdinando de Palma S.J., and the treatises of Noël Regnault S.J.²⁶⁹. In the field of chemistry, Boyle was known by means of Nicolas Lemery and his *Cours de chymie*²⁷⁰. Regarding philosophy, the *Cursus Philosophicus*²⁷¹ of Luis de Lossada S.J., the *Institutiones philosophicae...* of Edmond Pourchot²⁷², and the *Teatro Crítico Universal*²⁷³ of Benito Feijoo, introduced students to the experimental method and modern discussions about sciences. In this vein, according to Keeding (2015), Benito Feijoo was one of the main authors, who from Spain, provided more information and discussion about experimental sciences in Spanish America both inside and outside the universities, so that his books were found in most libraries of the orders in RAQ.

Finally, another aspect to take into account for knowledge circulation is the arrival of the first press to RAQ circa 1750 and that started to work in Ambato in 1755 and was later moved to Quito in 1759, circa 27 publications were stamped until 1767, 12 in Ambato and 15 in Quito, including ecclesiastical documents on sacraments and devotions, funeral prayers, sermons, catalogues of the Society, and even philosophical treatises (González Suárez, 1892; Medina, 1904; Vargas, 1965b). The first printing in Quito was the 1759 treatise entitled *Theses Philosophiae* of José María Linati (Figure 53) which explains 26 theses taken from the philosophy course of Juan Bautista Aguirre, as later discussed, that outlines the debates and changes taking place in RAQ at late eighteenth century. In conclusion, the Jesuits accumulated a vast but limited knowledge on modern authors and theories that led them to adopt an eclectic position in various fields like astronomy, physics, chemistry, and metaphysics, a phenomenon that yielded way to overcome the hardcore Scholasticism.

²⁶⁵ BNEE, FJ, FJ03817 and FJ04844.

²⁶⁶ BNEE, FJ, FJ05826.

²⁶⁷ BNEE, FJ, FJ08440.

²⁶⁸ It refers to the volume *Philosophia naturalis quam audiebat in Collegio Neapolitano a p. Ferdinando de Palma* by Francesco Crisinziani. BNEE, FJ, FJ03833.

²⁶⁹ The books of his authorship found AT BNEE are Italian translations: *L'origine antica della fisica moderna* (FJ, FJ04726) *L'arte di ritrovare la verita; ovvero Logica in dialoghi* (FJ, FJ03822), *Trattenimenti fisici d'Aristo e d'Eudosso o sia fisica nuova in dialoghi* (FJ, FJ08435), and *Trattenimenti matematici sopra i numeri* (FJ, FJ03816).

²⁷⁰ BNEE, FJ, FJ08434.

²⁷¹ It is titled *Cursus Philosophici Regalis Collegii Salmanticensis Societatis Iesu in tres partes divisi*, BNEE, FJ, FJ04542.

²⁷² BNEE, FJ, FJ04575.

²⁷³ BNEE, FJ, FJ07438.

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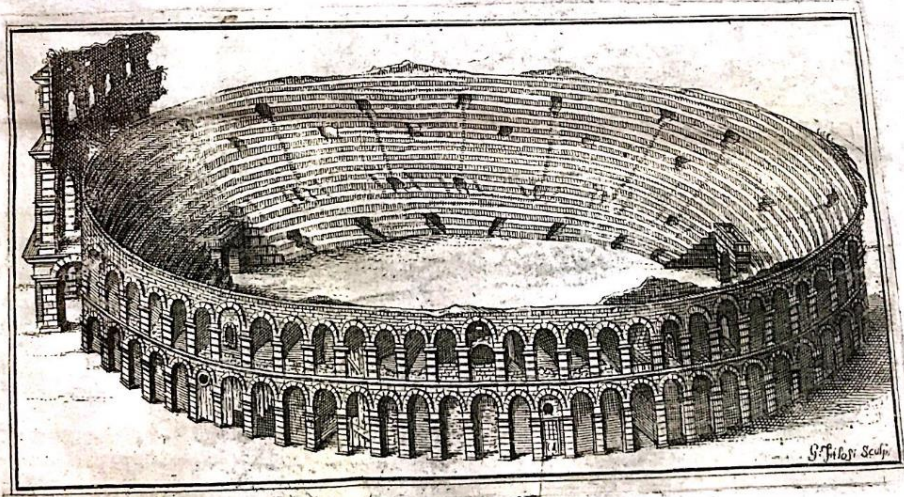
AD SOLIDAM, INPRIMIS
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AUCTORE

CHRISTIANO WOLFIO,

POTENTISSIMI SVECORUM REGIS, HASSIÆ LANDGRAVII CONSILIA-
RIO AULICO, MATHEMATUM AC PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA
MARBURGensi PROFESSORE PRIMARIO, PROFESSORE
PETROPOLITANO HONORARIO, ACADEMIÆ REGIÆ
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EDITIO NOVISSIMA EMENDATIOR.



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Figure 52: Cover page of *Cosmologia Generalis* by Wolff
Source: BNEE, FJ, FJ04285

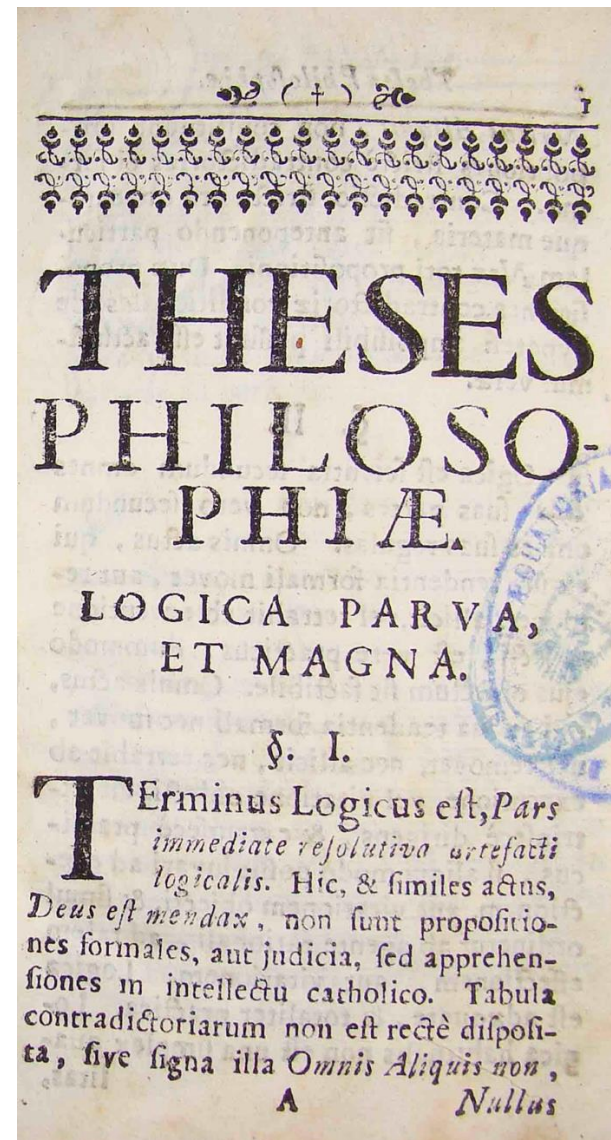
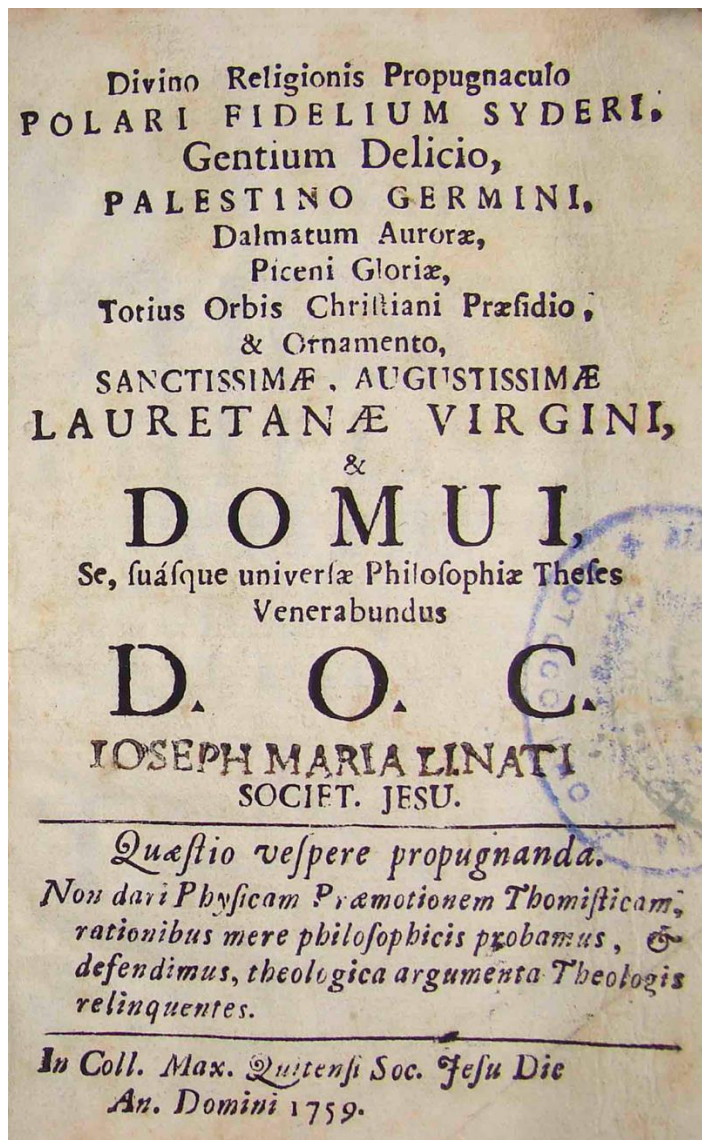


Figure 53: Cover page and first page of *Theses Philosophiæ* by Linati (1759)

Source: BEAEP, FAEc, FAE 7334

7.8.2 *Jesuits and modernity*

This subsection introduces the discussion about the ‘modernising Scholasticism’ in Quito by analysing the relationship between the Society of Jesus and modernity, whose particularities gave way to a ‘Baroque Scholasticism’ and a ‘baroque modernity’ in Spanish America; moreover, such a process allowed a transition from a close Scholastic tradition to said modernising current in which the Jesuits played a key role in Quito.

Thus, as a consequence of the Geodesic mission, the study of modern authors, and a greater circulation of knowledge in Quito, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits found themselves between two approaches, the traditional Scholastic and the modern experimental. In such an encounter the tradition prevailed, but in order to persist it had to integrate elements from experimental sciences and modern philosophy, giving thus way to a ‘modernising Scholasticism’ (Guerra Bravo, 2021), a philosophical moment that could be identified with the ‘Baroque Scholasticism’ understood as a global intellectual movement not alien to European colonisation, whose early-modern Scholastics – instead of returning to the classic doctrines – were reinterpreting the old questions and even formulating new questions beyond the medieval framework (Dvořák & Schmutz, 2019).

In this vein, as Schmutz suggests (2018b) an unavoidable question to ask is the relationship of Jesuits with modernity, because in spite of being identified with Scholasticism during late eighteenth century to justify the order dissolution in 1773, their philosophy was actually an innovation source for early-modern thinkers. Hence, the Society was closely related to the invention of modernity itself, once the debates stemming from scientific revolutions were disseminated and discussed in its colegios and universities, without mentioning the great contributions to experimental sciences through observations and collections coming from Jesuits missions (Romano, 2007). Gonzalbo Aizpuru (2007) claims that the *Ratio Studiorum* education although it was subjected to Scholastic tradition, it represented a hidden modernity when providing the specialised knowledge that the modern world required, influencing for open-mindedness towards secularisation and pragmatism. In terms of Echeverría (2011) the Society tried to advance in Spanish America a ‘baroque modernity’ understood as an alternative to the rising modernity, by placing the *ecclesia* at the centre instead of capital: a modern civilising project that included a secular mysticism based on faith and Christian morals. Particularly, in Quito said event was

expressed through an ‘ambiguous Humanism’ that left behind the early ‘paternalist Humanism’ of Renaissance kind, giving thus prominence to the *criollo* landowning class that developed an ‘eclectic Scholasticism’ to undermine the political absolutism of the Bourbon Spanish empire (León Pesántez, 2013; Roig, 1984).

In RAQ this alternative modernising movement took place before the consolidation of the enlightenment ideas – which were known and studied in Quito from late eighteenth century – in thinkers, such as Eugenio Espejo, Miguel Jijón, Juan Pío Montúfar, Pedro Moncayo, or the bishop José Pérez Calama (see Cazorla Basantes, 2016; Keeding, 1983, 2005; Paladines, 1981, 1990), and societies like the *Sociedad económica de los amigos del país de Quito* (see Hallo, 2008) which were essential for the later independence of Quito. However, the Jesuit scholarship was essential for such a process, that after the Geodesic mission started a ‘Scholastic of transition’ from 1745 to 1753 with professors Marco de la Vega, Joaquín de Álvarez, and Pedro Garrido who included for the first time in Quito modern authors like Descartes, Pierre Gassendi, Maignan, and Tomás Vicente Tosca (Guerra Bravo, 2021; Keeding, 1983, 2005). Finally, the last Jesuit phase in RAQ – the aforementioned modernising Scholasticism – had as its greater representatives Francisco Javier de Aguilar that introduced Tycho Brahe at San Gregorio and Juan Bautista Aguirre who inaugurated a broad debate on experimental sciences in Quito as discussed below.

7.8.3 Juan Bautista Aguirre: a modernising Scholastic in Quito

This last subsection is dedicated to the Quitense philosopher Juan Bautista Aguirre as one of the representatives of the so-called modernizing Scholastic of Quito. For that end, first, a biography is offered, second, it is described a summary of the authors discussed in Aguirre’s volume of physics, including a brief sample of his astronomical knowledge. Third, his volume on metaphysics is deepened mainly what regards the debate on the soul that innovatively includes Descartes and anatomical arguments. In conclusion, Aguirre represents renovation without breaking the past, but his anti-dogmatism and experimental attitude contributed to the development of philosophy and politics that would influence later the independence process of Quito.

Juan Bautista Aguirre y Carbo was born in Daule nearby Guayaquil in 1725, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1740 studying at San Luis and San Gregorio where he was philosophy lecturer from 1756 to 1759; after the 1767 expel, Aguirre moved to Italy becoming superior of the Ravenna

convent and rector of the colegio of Ferrara (Espinosa Pólit & Zaldumbide, 1960; Schmutz, 2008b). Among his works are more than twenty poems, a *carta pastoral en ocasión del terremoto y desolación de Latacunga*, a *oración funebre* in honour of the bishop Nieto Polo del Aguila, and several treatises in canon law and theology (Castillo Hernández & Fernández, 2017). From his lectures at San Gregorio three volumes were compiled logic, physics, and metaphysics²⁷⁴, including the brief treatise *Theses Philosophiae* by José María Linati in 1759. As Guerra Bravo (2021) suggests Aguirre belongs to the modernising Scholasticism, but he was also an actant of the late Jesuit knowledge network in Spanish America, take for instance his logic volume in which the ideas of José de Aguilar are studied confirming thus that the Limense philosopher was studied in Quito and that there was a dialogue between the *Virreinato de Lima* and RAQ.

The Aguirre's logic volume does not stray from tradition, but it offers a peculiar illustration about *De Praedicamentis* and its relation to Aristotelean metaphysics (Figure 54). Regarding Aguirre's volume on physics, it has been studied by some scholars (Guerra Bravo, 2021; Keeding, 1983, 2005; Lima, 2014; Núñez Freile, 2010), even having a modern Spanish translation by Terán Dutari (1982). The treatise constituted a breakthrough in RAQ since it analysed very novel topics that included physics, astronomy, cosmology, chemistry, botany, and references to recent experiments using a microscope. Some of the unusual authors studied are Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Descartes, Cassini, Newton, Leibniz, Gassendi, Maignan, Du Hamel, Pourchot, Regnault S.J., Rohault, Zanck S.J., Francis Bacon, Boyle, Huygens, Ricciolo, Wolff, Torricelli, Halley, Musschenbroek, Galileo and the members of the Geodesic mission. Nevertheless, Aguirre outlines a defence of most of the traditional framework, accepting only the Brahe's system because it does not go against the astronomical observations and the sacred scriptures, and should be preferred to the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems but refusing the movement of the Earth and the repose of the sun. Moreover, the Jesuit was aware of some of the astronomical calculations and observations of that time, e.g., the Quaestion VI *De luna, et reliquis sideribus* of the Disputatio II *De caelo* within the Liber III *Physica. De mundo, caelo et elementis* (RAH, BC, 9/2986, f. 139) informs that the number of counted stars was more than 3000, and also provides a table that compares the Earth with other sidereal bodies:

²⁷⁴ The three volumes are located at the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid: logic (RAH, BC, 9/2947), physics (RAH, BC, 9/2986), and metaphysics (RAH, BC, 9/2960).

Sol est major _____ 1000000
Saturnis est major ----- 980
Juppiter est major. ----- 1170
Mars est minor ----- 5
Venus est minor ----- 1
Mercurius est minor ----- 27
Luna est minor ----- 50
Luglio, stella est major ----- 1000000

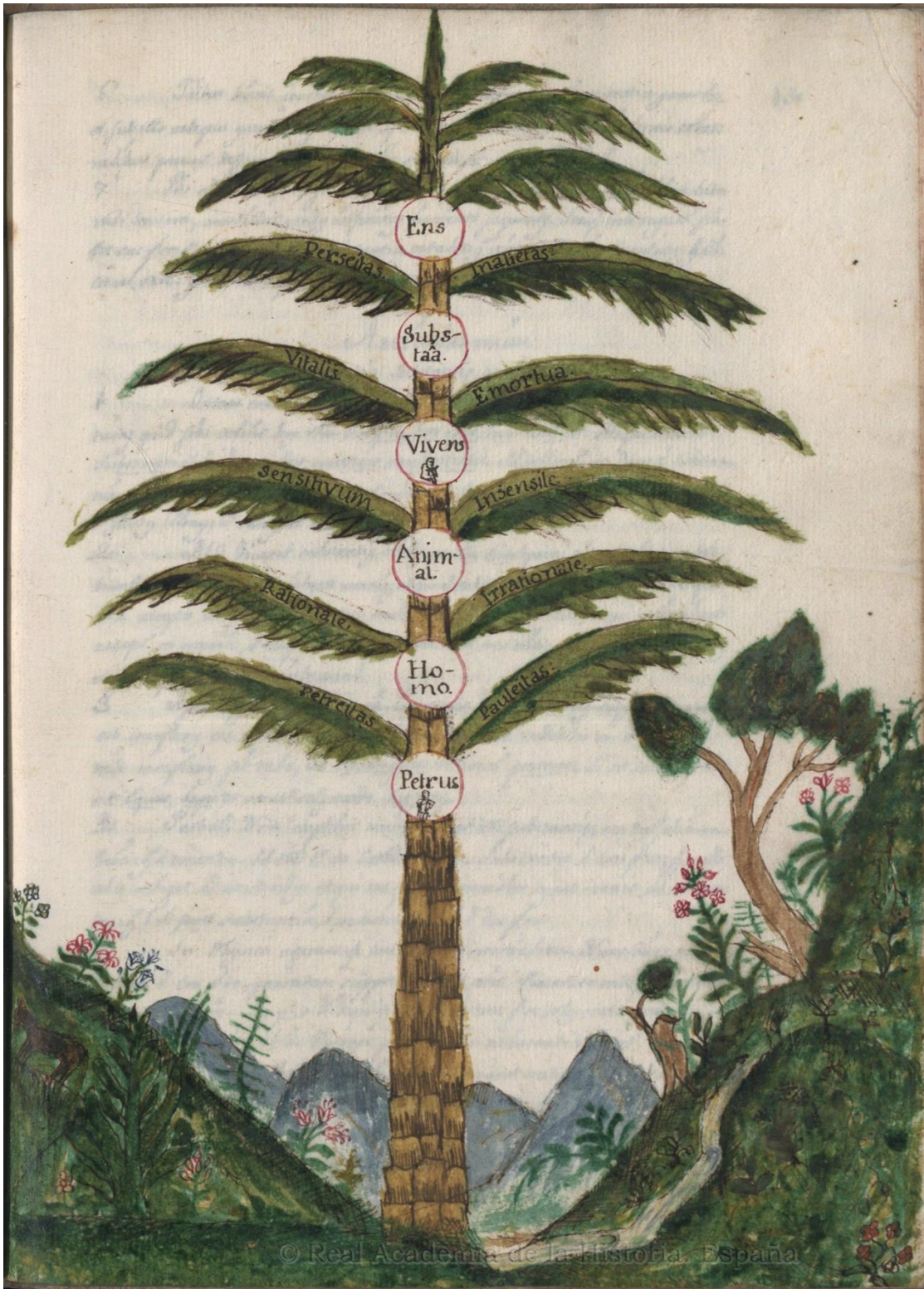


Figure 54: *De Praedicamentis* illustration, Aguirre (1756)

Source: RAH, BC, 9/2947, f.129b

On the other hand, the volume on metaphysics has not enough been studied by scholarship despite its interesting contributions and proposed discussions²⁷⁵. In first place, the manuscript is divided into two *libris*: *Metaphysica* and *De Metaphysica reali sive Animastica*, the former reviews the classic metaphysical disputes regarding *entis*, *substantia*, *creaturae*, and *possibilitas*. The latter analyses the traditional questions about the anima, but it innovatively – in the Quitense context – includes several discussions on anatomy. Besides, modern authors are considered, such as Athanasius Kircher S.J., Friedrich Hoffmann, Theodor Kerckring, Juan de Lugo S.J., Juan de Ulloa S.J., Descartes, and Leibniz. Hence, Aguilar updated in Quito the debate on the relationship body soul resorting to arguments from medicine, anatomy, and philosophy. Thus, one of the main questions that the book raises, following a Cartesian influence, was whether the soul exists in the whole body or only in the brain, also mentioning the discussion about the pineal gland. Aguirre replies by refuting the soul theory of Descartes mainly for three arguments: a) the idea that extension is the *essentia corporis* is completely futile and open to grave errors; b) the existence of the soul in the pineal gland is contradictory with its own idea on the body essence, i.e., that the body is entirely material; c) the concept of body extension opposes the mystery of the incarnation, and the idea about a three-dimensional body undermines the mystery of the Eucharist. Furthermore, the notion about the *mutuo commercio* between body and soul is not verifiable at all, for which, the rational anima is essentially the true form of the human body. Finally, the *hypothesis Leibnisiiana*²⁷⁶, presented by Wolff, about the *Harmonia praestabilita* is also rejected because it has been very loosely followed, and is insufficient to explain the interplay between soul and body.

Aguirre's knowledge on Cartesian ideas is not accidental, Jesuits in Europe were cognisant and some of them – like Pierre Bourdin – severe critics of Descartes' thought. On the other hand, as Gatto (2019) explains the relationship of Descartes with the order was more than complex, first he was aware of the critiques coming from the Society to whose education the French was initially a detractor, but after a revision of Scholastic philosophy in order to reply to those critiques a reappraisal of said philosophy took place, having even the intention to write down a treatise based on the structure of the commentaries used by the order. Something that was unknown in RAQ where there was no direct knowledge of Descartes except through commentaries and encyclopaedias. But, as Keeding (2005) claims a real threat for Aristotelian tradition in Quito was

²⁷⁵ This is probably because the manuscript was considered lost (see Guerra Bravo, 2021; Keeding, 1983, 2005)

²⁷⁶ It means that at least the main ideas of Leibniz about monades were truly discussed at San Gregorio.

rationalistic philosophy – mainly from Descartes, and not the sensualistic debates on body and soul that met certain success in Spain.

Such a thing happened with Juan Bautista Aguirre²⁷⁷, one can suggest that effectively his *Cursus Philosophicus* presents a nascent rationalism not only when it states that the rational anima is predominant for knowing – nothing innovative so far – but because the Jesuit claims that it is possible that sensations are completed in the brain, regardless of whether they are of a material kind and originate in external organs. *Animam*²⁷⁸ *stricte loquendo, in solo cerebro audire, videre, sentire*. Yet, it does not mean that the soul exists in the heart alone, as Aristotle wanted; nor in the mere coagulation of blood, as Empedocles dreamed; nor in the pineal gland as Descartes said. The soul inhabits the entire body. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that Aguirre at this point assumes an anti-dogmatic position, states that he must completely refrain from taking a position on the possibility that the soul inhabits in the reticular choroid plexus, given the lack of evidence. Thus, it is offered an anatomical explanation about the cognitive relationship between brain and sensations, once the *corporis machinam* possesses cerebral nerves which are disseminated throughout the body and that originate from the medulla oblongata and the spinal cord, whose connection gives way to knowledge²⁷⁹. This kind of argument evidence that he was characterised by an open attitude towards experimentation and that was probably aware of the brain research done by anatomists, such as Andreas Vesalius, Humphrey Ridley, and Thomas Willis. As Núñez Freile (2010) affirms the Jesuit professor was an experimentalist having carried out several experiments using a John Cuff's microscope to observe the skin and its countless pores, and what he calls ovules (*ova*) in food, water, and blood; tests from which the Jesuit concluded by influence of Athanasius Kircher that the pests have as their sole cause the existing germs which swarm in the air and are absorbed by humans. What is most remarkable of Aguirre's metaphysics is the extensive review on anatomy and physiology emphasising an empirical and experimental approach; take for instance the illustration (Figure 55) that is included to explain optics and anatomy of the lungs, stomach, intestines, and eyes.

²⁷⁷ *Keeding is wrong when affirming that the Cartesian debate on the soul was presented in Quito by José María Linati on his Theses Philosophiae, since he was disciple of Aguirre and said treatise only compiles the arguments given during the course of his professor.*

²⁷⁸ *For Aguirre the anima has spiritual potencies – intellect, voice, and memory – which are differentiated from the material ones related to sensation.*

²⁷⁹ *For Aguirre, based on Lugo S.J., Oviedo S.J., Bernardo de Alderete S.J., and Lossada S.J., knowledge consists in an action that is a representation of the object, which is produced by the understanding without creating any additional instance (see Aguirre, 1895, p. 289).*

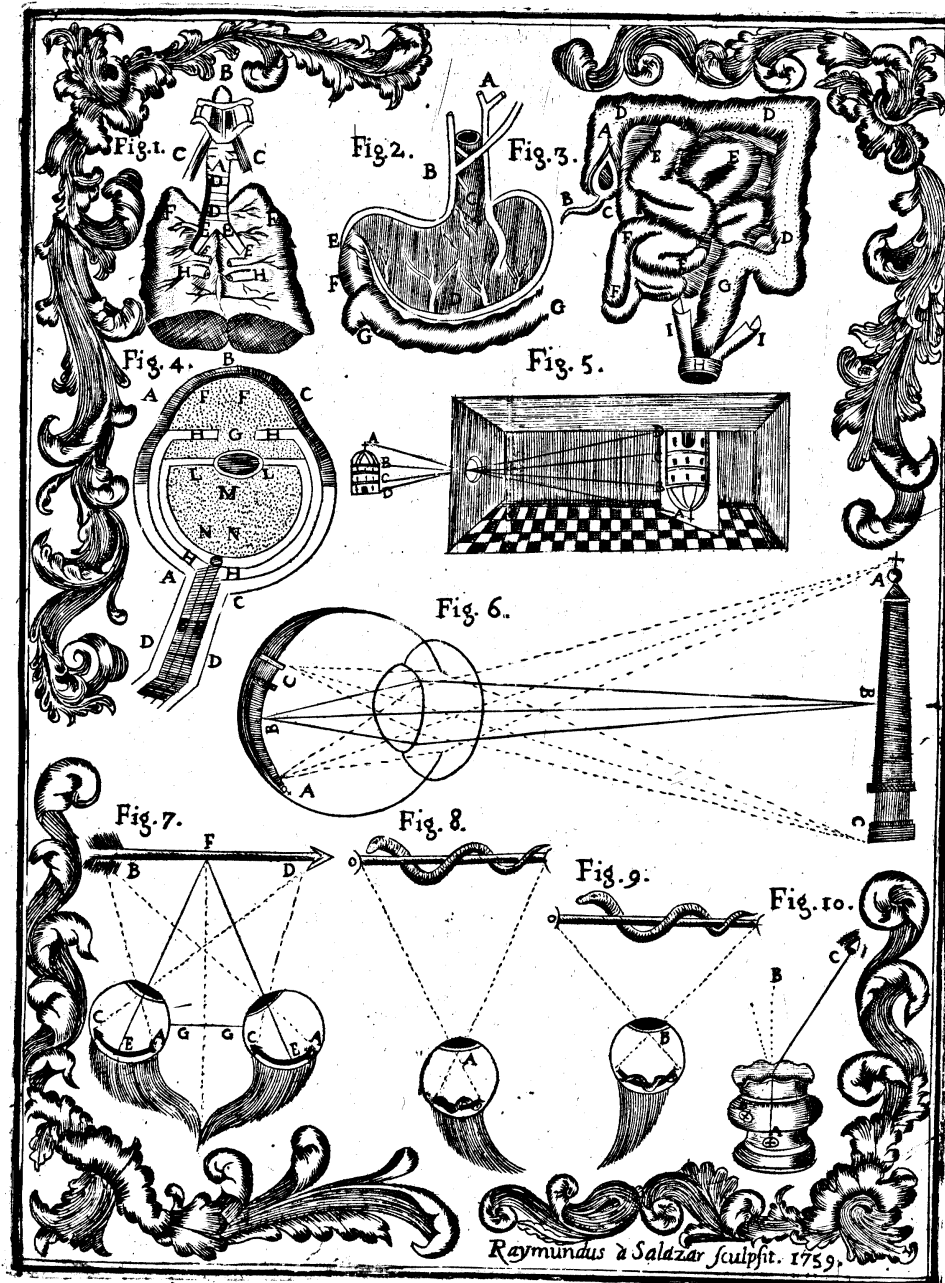


Figure 55: Illustration on the human body, Aguirre (1758)

Source: RAH, BC 9/2960, f. 108c

It is worth to say that Aguirre was way ahead of his contemporary colleagues, despite of his defence of the prevailing tradition, since he was, for example, a contradictor of the spontaneous generation theory upholding that animals, plants, and insects have biological processes similar to those of humans. One of his theses (see Linati, thesis XXI, BEAEP, FAEc, FAE 7334) is that the soul of plants is not just a combination of material corpuscles, but it is a truly living substantial

form. *Plantae verè vivunt*. Then, plants are not generated by chance or spontaneously, and rather they arise from seeds and panspermia, a phenomenon that is extended to animals, even insects and zoophytes, which are not generated from putrefaction but from ovules or sperm through true generation. One might suggest that such a position set up, to some extent, a questioning to the canon because it blurs the differences among soul types. In order to avoid that kind of accusations, Aguirre supported his position resorting to Sain Augustine claiming that *anima accomodata corpori*, so the soul is determined by itself to produce life-giving action (*actionem vivificam*) in any organised body. In other terms, there is a sort of common life-giving action that does not differentiate the type of living being. In the case of animals, they do not differ from humans in what regards the nervous functioning, e.g., the animal spirits are the purer part of the chyle, which are either transported by vapours or carried with blood through the carotid and cervical arteries to the brain. Likewise, several parts of the human body are not informed by rational anima, such as blood, hair, nails, or teeth, which in the vegetative soul are typical of plants, but which in people are animated by the rational soul. Effectively, Aguirre's stance does not go completely away from tradition but at least constitutes a break with the prevailing interpretation at San Gregorio at that time that strictly separated the three types of soul, take for instance Jacinto Morán de Butrón as explained before.

In conclusion, Juan Bautista Aguirre belongs to the 'modernising Scholasticism' that without going beyond the tradition his works represented a true thought renovation. Because it was typical of the Society of Jesus to present renewals without violent breaks with the past (Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 2007). The innovation did not consist only in putting into discussion modern authors without exclusively resorting to *argumenta ab auctoritate*, but also in fostering an anti-dogmatic position that was open to the experimental sciences and to discuss conjectures outside the current tradition. An evident limitation of the Quitense philosophers was their limited knowledge on modern authors and theories, since they study indirectly those topics by means of encyclopaedias, commentaries, scholar texts, and even through critics. But despite this difficulty the Jesuits continued to introduce novel theories, e.g., Juan de Hospital during his Arts course (1759-1762) reviewed the Copernican system, and together with his student Manuel Carvajal in 1761 accepted Copernicus over Ptolemy and Brahe for the first time in Quito. The process was abruptly interrupted in 1767 by the royal decision to expel the Society from the Spanish empire that was mistakenly motivated, as Schmutz suggests, by an anti-modernity sentiment against the Jesuits

who were, in first place, allegedly enemies of the national, absolutist, and bureaucratic state, and second, defenders of Scholasticism through their education system. Finally, one can suggest that the Jesuit knowledge network assembled in Quito was essential for the political development of social actors that took part in the independence movement like Eugenio Espejo who was a Jesuit alumnus.

8. Conclusion

The work's objective was to study the assembling of the education network in the *Real Audiencia de Quito* from 1534 to 1788, emphasising teaching and production of philosophy. For which it was necessary to research on the four most important religious orders in RAQ – Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits – that have relevant participation in the configuration of colegios and universities. During the archival research and the bibliographical review, what stood out the most was that educational institutions and therefore philosophical teaching were not articulated in a centralized system, but that fuzziness and dispersion were the characteristics of a diversity of actants that actually shaped a complex and heterogenous network that was in constant instability and clash. That is why we chose the rhizomatic method of Deleuze and Guattari, to highlight the multicentred and dispersed network that arose throughout the colonial period in RAQ. Moreover, Actor-Network-Theory resulted convenient to illustrate the dynamics and trajectories of all the actants considered in this work, we tried to elaborate in this sense a social cartography of ideas and intellectuals. From a historiographic perspective we have partially adhered to Guerra Bravo's (2021) periodisation of philosophy in RAQ: Renaissance Scholasticism, Scholastic renewal, hardcore Scholasticism, and modernising Scholasticism, due to its adequate understanding on philosophical currents, historical events, and actors involved. Yet, such an argument does not reject the idea that there was a continuity in the study of Scholasticism in Quito, being thus a very rich tradition. Finally, we can affirm that this approach has contributed to interpret and associate archival documents and scholarship to the analysis about education and philosophy lecturing in a colonial context.

Regarding education and philosophy, the Real Audiencia de Quito had a distinctive condition in Spanish America, from 1688 to 1769, there were three universities and circa thirteen colegios administered by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. Such a particular moment was mostly due to RAQ strategic location close to the Amazon, which was a region in constant exploration for the colonial interests of the empires of the time. Yet, it also enabled the bourgeoning of philosophical studies that, by the end of the eighteenth century, were criticising the long-lasting Aristotelean-Scholastic tradition. Despite the permanent clashes, there was a critical dialogue between intellectuals coming from different institutions, that is why the so famous public disputes became a space of knowledge exchange that encouraged the study of intellectuals

from rival orders and even authors beyond tradition. However, external historical events like the French Geodesic mission and the improvement of trade and communication networks also contributed to those debates mainly by introducing new authors and topics that allowed the self-referenced dispute to be overcome. It is worth saying that we are referring to a self-referential debate in the sense that it was restricted to the Scholastic tradition, and which began to open with the arrival of the French mission in 1736. Because the Quitense philosophical dialogue was actually cross-referential considering thinkers and ideas from diverse schools, like Augustinians studying Jesuits and French sensualists. This is demonstrated by the existing manuscripts in archives and libraries in Quito, although in-depth research is still required because many archives are not easily accessible, having thus a considerable amount of sources still to be known.

As Meza Cepeda and Arrieta de Meza (2006) point out the coexistence of San Fulgencio, San Gregorio, and Santo Tomás laid the foundations of the future Ecuadorian university system, which from the *Real y Pública Universidad secularizada Santo Tomás de Aquino* created the present-day *Universidad Central del Ecuador*. Therefore, the internal knowledge network developed in RAQ had a relevant intellectual production that influenced social spheres even after the independence process during the nineteenth century. Yet, this was possible only because the Quitense intelligentsia was articulated to a longer knowledge network whose nodes were located in Spanish America and also around Europe. For instance, European intellectuals will continue to arrive in RAQ and later Ecuador throughout the nineteenth century to study its nature and society like Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin, just to mention two cases. This knowledge network, so to say external, was closely linked to world trade routes and international economic interests, in this way it could be explained, for example, why in the period of ‘modernising Scholasticism’ there was an influence of French authors and manuscripts written in French, since it was a time of expansion of the French colonial empire whose trade impact was increasing in Spanish America.

The existence of said knowledge network did not prevent each religious order in Quito from having its own peculiarities and interests in RAQ. The Order of Friars Minor was particularly relevant in early colonisation, without their participation the *doctrina* system would not have been possible, as well as the instruction of a first generation of *caciques ladinos*, whose agency was essential for stabilising the colonial order. Caciques, such as Sancho Hacho, Mateo Inga Yupanqui, Pedro de Zámbriza, Pedro de Henao, and caticas like Francisca Sinasigchi and María Caychi, were

mediators in the assembling of colonial society, and whose trajectories are traceable in archives both in Ecuador and Spain. Early Franciscan humanism disseminated by the *colegio San Andrés*, enabled to weave of a *mestizo* culture in RAQ by instructing painters, artisans, craftsmen, and preachers who were protagonists in overcoding indigenous languages and codes. As Lepage (2008) claims the identity of Quito and Ecuador owes much to the missionary effort of Franciscans, whose *doctrinas* and missions will later become towns and cities of relevance. In this vein, it is unavoidable to point the close relationship of early colonial deterritorialisation and the Seraphic action in RAQ, each convent operated as a headquarter in which Indigenous were indoctrinated and friars provided themselves for exploration missions, in addition to overseeing the *doctrinas* that became the priority after the closure of San Andrés. The Franciscans were the ones having the greater number of parishes under their administration until late seventeenth century.

Regarding philosophy studies, the order was characterised for having an internal system of instruction for aspirants, in which lectures on Arts (logic, physics, and metaphysics) were imparted until 1655 when, following a disposition of the general order, the *colegio San Buenaventura* was opened. It was conceived to spread the so-called *Via Scoti* in RAQ and, indeed, it did so as evidence by the extensive and rich intellectual production of its professors, an archival material that demands to be studied but whose access is limited. Then, Franciscan philosophical instruction was relevant in Quito principally in two moments. First, during the ‘renaissance Scholasticism’ in the early period of RAQ, when Franciscan humanism became predominant at San Andrés and also in official documents as discussed in chapter four. The second moment in the eighteenth century thanks to the important production of treatises based on Scotian thought within San Buenaventura and later when, after the Jesuit expulsion, the Seraphic order took over the philosophy lectures at seminary San Luis and then at the secularised Santo Tomás university, during the so-called ‘modernising Scholasticism’ period in RAQ. Moreover, the Franciscan influence was important in this second moment given that the order completely adhered to the *Via Scoti*, which probably gave some openness to study modern authors and topics which are found in the still preserved books and manuscripts from the Seraphic convent.

On the other hand, the Order of Preachers probably contributed the most to the periods known as ‘Scholastic renewal’ and ‘hardcore Scholasticism’ through its educational centres: *San Pedro Mártir* and *Colegio Real San Fernando y Universidad Santo Tomás*, whose greater priority was not intellectual production in terms of manuscripts – although there was some – but a systematic

and structured study of the Aristotelean-Thomistic tradition. Important Dominican authors, such as Cajetan, Domingo de Soto, Melchor Cano, Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Bañez, Antoine Goudin, and many others were known and lectured in RAQ. This does not deny that Dominicans have been part of the debates related to ‘modernising Scholasticism’ by the end of the eighteenth century, take for instance friars Juan Alban and Lorenzo Ramírez whose treatises contributed to discuss modern physics and cosmology. What we mean is that greater effort was devoted to continuing the Thomist tradition, a position that allowed the most up-to-date Thomists to be studied in Quito, even by the other orders. Furthermore, it would be an error not to acknowledge that such a philosophical stand was fundamental for the forthcoming debates at the secularised Santo Tomas, as it is shown by the *Theses recentioris Philosophie publica literatura concertatione in Concursu ad Philosophicam clacem*, which are analysed in chapter five.

Like the Order of Friars Minor, Dominicans were deeply related to early deterritorialisation. Although education was always a priority, e.g., the *colegio San Pedro Mártir* was created in 1588, the first decades they turned to founding convents and administering *doctrinas*, having nine convents until 1586 and that increased to ten by 1609, in addition a nun monastery. Besides, the order organised missions to unconquered regions – Popayán, Quijos, Canelos – in order to evangelise and accessing resources, as stated in documents reviewed in this work. That is why it is no coincidence that Pedro Bedón – a relevant Quitense friar – visited and participated in those missions, yet with the peculiarity that he informed and denounced the unfair conditions which the indigenous peoples were subjected to. Likewise, Gregorio García reveals in his *Origen de los indios...* a concern about the indigenous condition that replied to the humanism typical of the order in the sixteenth century. Both friars – Bedón and García – were active representatives of indigenous overcoding that took place during early colonisation by painting and preaching respectively. In fact, the Dominican order adopted indigenous overcoding as a strategy when, for example, created and promoted the chair on *lengua del inga* within their convent, which all those interested in being *doctrineros* compulsorily attended, to more than indigenous preachers, mestizos, and in general to people interested on it. Such a strategy enabled the order to influence the general assembling of *doctrinas*. Then, exploration missions, chair of indigenous language, founding of convents and colegios, philosophical debates on Thomism, and arts where not isolated efforts but elements of a knowledge network that was configured by the Order of Preachers in RAQ.

The Order of Saint Augustine arrived in Quito in 1573, however, it was not directly engaged with processes of early deterritorialisation and overcoding (it was controlling nine *doctrinas* in 1650). One might suggest that it was because they arrived relatively late after the Franciscans and Dominicans or to avoid conflicts with the bishopric and other orders. But what is certain is that the hermit brothers prioritised the foundation in *ciudades de españoles* of convents which were subsidiarily funded by the *doctrinas*; since those convents were mainly financed by the instruction they offered to the population. Such a decision entailed that the Augustinian influence was concentrated in urban centres, and that a few decades later the order was made up largely of *criollos*. Internal disputes arose between Spanish and *criollo* friars for controlling the order, a situation that had repercussions on the education imparted by them. Despite of those permanent clashes, the Augustinians very early sought to create a university for having the exclusive power to grant degrees in RAQ, a plan that was only fulfilled in 1622 when the *Universidad San Fulgencio* was inaugurated after almost four decades of procedures and controversies both with the crown and with the clergy. As Paniagua Pérez (1993) claims the university became a *criollo* desire, once the *criollo* landowning class was looking to infiltrate the power spheres that were reserved exclusively for Spaniards. In this vein, many historical events in RAQ, like the *Revolución de las Alcabalas*, were motivated by the *criollo* interests and claims; for instance, the Dominican Pedro Bedón and the Augustinian Gaspar de Villarroel defended and represented those vindications in their intellectual production, just like most of the Quitense professors who were *criollos*. San Fulgencio was definitely closed in 1786, not only due to internal clashes, but principally because the crown attempted at gaining a greater control in culture over the religious orders and *criollos*.

San Fulgencio was not a Scholastic cloister in Quito, students from all over RAQ came to study specially from areas where the order had certain influence. Then, the university was to a certain extent related to missionary action and *doctrina* administration. However, several of its alumni occupied relevant positions within ecclesiastical bodies, a condition that could be explained recalling that most hermit brothers were *criollos* coming from the main cities. It is also possible to conclude that the period of greatest activity at San Fulgencio was from 1699 to 1732, when thirty-four out of fifty-seven alumni were graduated. A time that coincides with the Quitense ‘hardcore Scholasticism’, when at the Augustinian university the suggested authors were Thomas of Strasburg, Gregory of Rimini, James of Viterbo, Gerardo de Sena, *Alphonsus Toletanus*, Michael

of Massa, Giles of Rome, and Augustinus of Ancona. But a distinctive characteristic of the hermit brothers in Quito was their library, which hosted manuscripts and books that dealt with medicine, physics, chemistry, cosmography, astronomy and experimental sciences in general, including banned authors. The Augustinians were the most innovative in philosophy teaching by the end of the eighteenth century, this was probably the result of enjoying greater freedom and openness after the closing San Fulgencio. Although the hermit brothers did not meet success when trying to occupy the philosophy chair at the secularised Santo Tomás in 1792 and 1794, their contribution to the philosophical studies was the introduction of ideas related to rationalism, sensualism, pedagogy, and experimental sciences in RAQ. Finally, such an openness that characterised the Augustinians can be confirmed in the works of Gaspar de Villarroel, whose proposal to harmonise the royal and the ecclesiastical powers resorts to a sort of eclecticism, including authors and ideas from different currents.

The last order to be studied in this work was the Society of Jesus only because it was the last to arrive in Quito in 1586. Unlike Augustinians, having a late arrival was not an issue for the Jesuits because they came at a bishop's request preceded by a reputation for being good educators. In addition, they knew how to win over the local authorities so that, once they obtained royal approval, the education network could begin its assembly. It is evident that Jesuits prioritised the creation of convents and colegios over the administration of *doctrinas*, not because parishes were already occupied by other religious, but because it was more convenient to dedicate their efforts to educating the Quitense elite at the seminary San Luis and to organise evangelising missions to unexplored regions. Thus, the Jesuits were repeatedly accused by authorities that their priority was to accumulate estates and resources in Quito. What is certain according to the reviewed archival documents is that the Society did have *haciendas*, lands, and properties in almost all RAQ provinces, often linked to the colegios that became means of accessing resources through donations and alms. Nonetheless, this procedure does not mean that Jesuits did not prioritise instruction and that they did not encourage the study of the arts, philosophy and sciences; what it does show is that education was closely related to colonial deterritorialisation, a situation that was not exclusive of the Society. It is noteworthy that Jesuit instruction met immediately success among the population, although it generated animosity between the orders as a result also of the global context in which the Society was gaining prominence. Then, it was not a coincidence that Jesuits invested so much effort to assemble a colegio network in RAQ since it was a global

strategy, which was multi-centred having relevant headquarters in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Mexico, Lima, Quito and so on. In the case of RAQ, the seminary San Luis and San Gregorio university became important in this global network given their strategic location close to the Amazon, a region of colonial expansionism and dispute between the empires of the time.

Indeed, the Jesuit network boom in RAQ started in the 1620s with the founding of San Gregorio university and continued with the opening of colegios in Cuenca (1638) and Popayán (1640), which in addition to educational institutions were supply centres for the missions that explored the Amazon and Barbacoas, respectively. Likewise, the *Colegio Seminario San Luis* was a key institution not only because it was the official instruction centre for priests, but also because elite offspring received a good quality education, for which admission and scholarships were a matter of conflict, as discussed in chapter seven. On the other hand, regarding philosophy lecturing, it was evidently regulated by the *Ratio Studiorum*, so that manuscripts of authors stipulated therein established can be found in archives in Quito. What was distinctive of the Society of Jesus in RAQ was its intellectual production expressed mostly in hand-written manuscripts that collect the Arts lectures of San Gregorio professors, a dynamic that evidences that Quito was not only a recipient of knowledge, within the Jesuit network, but also a producer with outstanding authors, like Jacinto Morán de Butrón and Juan Bautista Aguirre, who also established intellectual links with other Jesuits in Spanish America, as it was the case of José de Aguilar, the three of them studied in chapter seven.

It is not simple to determine what was the greatest contribution of Jesuits to philosophy in RAQ since the 1767 expulsion drastically cut off the interesting discussion that was taking place during the Quitense modernising Scholasticism, in which the Society was indisputably the protagonist. An outstanding level of intellectual production that was not possible to recover, not even with the return of the order in the republican era, not to mention that they were expelled again in 1852. Regardless of this, the Jesuit contribution that is underlined in this work is the philosophical debate that started around 1745, what Guerra Bravo (2021) calls a ‘Scholastic of transition’, when modern authors, such as Copernicus, Brahe, Descartes, Kepler, Newton, Pierre Gassendi, Huygens, Maignan, Tomás Vicente Tosca, Leibniz, and many others were introduced in Quito. Although it was an indirect and incomplete knowledge, this allowed to foster an antidogmatic position was open to the experimental sciences and to discuss conjectures outside the current tradition. Moreover, such an openness was indispensable for the political movements to come, product of

said moment was, for example, Eugenio Espejo one of the leaders of the nascent independentist movement in RAQ.

In conclusion, the colonial knowledge network – as happened with the three RAQ universities – was the basis for the educational system to be implemented in the early republican era, even more we can affirm that modern assembling of present-day Ecuador owes a considerable part to the arrangements undertaken by religious orders during the colonial period in diverse fields, such as culture, languages, crafts, arts, humanities, sciences, urban planning, political-administrative organisation, and evidently philosophy. Yet, as well we cannot ignore the participation of said knowledge network in deterritorialisation, overcoding, and the imposition of subjection conditions to the indigenous peoples, elements that shape a colonial regime characterised by its racism, classism, sexism, and deep inequality. In this vein, education and philosophy – despite the efforts of many to denounce, criticise, and reject said regime – were an important part of the assembly of the colonial order. Precisely, one of the characteristics that define the network as rhizomatic is that although it was accessible to few, all spheres of the colonial period were influenced by the educational web, which in turn was also influenced by colonialism. Therefore, the rhizomatic network was marked by inequality, political-economic instability, desire for (originary) accumulation, the conflict of interests between global powers, and more important by the interaction of a multiplicity of actants motivated by diverse and often conflicting reasons. In this context, philosophy by means of the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition was a line of segmentarity that enabled, for example, the deterritorialisation and decoding of the indigenous worlds by being part of evangelisation and legislation, but also philosophy was a relevant input for the processes of reterritorialisation and overcoding that shaped RAQ identity.

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10. Appendix

Appendix 1: punishments for offenders in RAQ

Offender	Fault	Penalty
Indio	Not confess	1 st time: 24 lashes 2 nd time: hair shearing (<i>transquilado</i>) and 6 days in prison
Cacique or <i>indio principal</i>	Not confess	1 st time: 8 days in prison and one <i>patacón</i> ²⁸⁰ 2 nd time: twice the first. In case of being rich or <i>ladino</i> the penalty was increased.
Indio	<i>Amancebado</i> (living without marriage)	1 st time: separation from the woman 2 nd time: 50 lashes In case of persistence could be banished or forced to serve in a hospital or church.
Cacique or <i>indio principal</i>	<i>Amancebado</i> (living without marriage)	1 st time: admonition 2 nd time: 4 days in prison and no alcohol consumption 3 rd time: 4 silver pesos and 15 days of banishment In case of persistence: a 1-year banishment.
Indio or India	Unauthorised separation of couple	1 st time: 50 lashes 2 nd time: hair shearing and 50 lashes 3 rd time: 1-year services for a hospital or a church.
Cacique or <i>indio principal</i>	Unauthorised separation of couple	1 st time: 1 month in prison and 6 pesos 2 nd time: twice the first 3 rd time: 1-year banishment
Indio or India	Failure to attend <i>doctrina</i>	1 st time: 12 lashes that were increasing in case of reoffending.
Indio or India	Missing mass	1 st time: 24 lashes in case of reoffending hair shearing and 4 days in prison.

²⁸⁰ A *patacón* was an ounce silver coin.

Cacique or indio principal	Missing mass	1 st time: half a pound of wax for the church 2 nd time: a pound of wax In case of reoffending the penalty was progressively increased
Indio or India	Meat intake in feast days	1 st time: 24 lashes 2 nd time: 2-month services for a hospital or church
Cacique or indio principal	Meat intake in feast days	1 st time: 1 pound of wax 2 nd time: 2 pounds of wax 3 rd time: one month in prison
Fiscales (prosecutors)	Concealment of crimes	1 st time: 24 lashes 2 nd time: twice the first 3 rd time: office repeal and 8 days in prison

Source: Constitutions of the third Quitense synod (López de Solís, [1596] 1996a, pp. 187-191)

Elaboration: the author

Appendix 2: Colegio San Andres alumni list

Bonifaz Cumba, cacique of Panzaleo
Hernando Chica, cacique of Mulaló
Sancho Hacho, cacique of Latacunga
Juan Clamavea and Melchor Toaza, caciques of Latacunga province
Cristóbal Lumiano, cacique of Sigcho
Alonso Quinatoa, cacique of Píllaro
Pedro Cando, cacique of Angamarca
Martín Hacha, cacique of Ambato
Martín Tinocochoa, cacique of Mocha
Juan Pilalombo, cacique of Tomebamba
Alonso Cabay, Lorenzo Cibray, Francisco Vina, Martín Chabra, Diego Cocha, and Gaspar Tica caciques of Puruhaes province.
Mateo Inga Yupanqui, cacique of Chimbo

Juan Yangolquí, cacique of Chillo
Juan Topica, cacique of Píntag
Diego Topica, cacique of Pingolquí.
Sebastián Guara, cacique of Pifo
Hernando Guaca, cacique of Locarchi.
Francisco Salamba, cacique of Yaruquí
Cristóbal Tuquiri, cacique of Quinche.
Francisco Guanona, cacique of Cumbayá.
Hernando Quitoguana, cacique in Quito province.
Martín Sangoquicio, cacique in Quito province.
Juan Picallo, cacique of Cotocollao.
Pedro de Quincacerne, cacique of Pisuli.
Antonio Macota, cacique of Calacalí.

Francisco Yocoaura, cacique of Polsoquí.
 Francisco Namina, cacique of Zámbriza
 Juan Cansacota, cacique of Quelabamba
 Alonso Andaparinango,
 cacique of Cochasquí
 Jerónimo Puento, cacique of Cayambe
 Luis Farinango, cacique of Otavalo.
 Sancho Cabascango, cacique of Caranqui
 Francisco Guanputcaypira, cacique of Mira.
 Sebastián Yuchina, cacique of Gualea
 Juan Totusies, cacique of Cansacoto

Diego Tomalá, cacique of the Puná island.
 Diego Hernández, chapel master
 Pedro Díaz, teacher from Tanda
 Juan Mitima, teacher from Latacunga
 Cristóbal Collaguazo, teacher from Quito
 Juan Oña, teacher from Cotacollao
 Diego Guana, teacher from Conocoto
 Antonio Fernández, teacher from
 Guangopolo
 Sancho, teacher from Pisuli.
 Diego Lobato de Sosa, priest

Source: Fray Jodoco Rique (1498-1574) (A. Moreno, 2002).

Appendix 3: Places of origin of Franciscan friars and professors in Quito (1534-1775)

- Jodoco Ricke from Ghent, founder of the *San Pablo* convent.
- Peter Gosseal from Leuven, first Guardian of the *San Pablo* convent.
- Friar Antonio, originally from Portugal, convent doorman at San Pablo for thirty years.
- Francisco de Morales, from Soria in Spain, founder of the *colegio San Andrés*.
- Antonio de Zúñiga, from Castille, provincial vicar in 1576.
- Antonio Jurado, originally from Spain, founder of the first nun convent in Quito.
- Lázaro de Sanctafinea, from Spain, was the first vicar of the nun convent.
- Juan de Santiago, guardian of the convent of Quito.
- Luis Martínez was provincial vicar and minister in the 1580s.
- Juan Tufiño, born in Quito, was *visitador general* in RAQ, and was a protagonist in the *Revolución de las Alcabalas*.
- Bartolomé Rubio was provincial and founder of the *convento de San Diego* in 1598.
- Miguel Romero, originally from Andalusia, was three times *Definidor*.
- José Fernández Velasquez, born in Quito, was lecturer of Theology in the *convento San Pablo*.

- Gerónimo de Villacarrillo, originally from Villacarrillo in La Mancha, was friar custodian in Quito to later hold positions in Cusco and Charcas.
- Pedro de la Concepción, born in Extremadura, served as friar for more than 45 years in Quito since 1579.
- Juan Gallegos, from Spain, studied in Bologna and Paris and was appointed *definidor* four times in Quito.
- Cristobal Jiménez, lecturer of arts and theology, was elected provincial in 1605.
- Gerónimo Tamayo, originally from Quito, was lecturer of arts and theology in the Franciscan convent.
- Francisco de Sotomayor, from Santo Tomé in Galicia, was bishop of Quito in 1623.
- Luis Catena, born in Quito, was *calificador* of the Holy Office and order provincial in 1625.
- Francisco Anguita, originally from Murcia, participated in the exploration mission to the Amazon river, later was appointed guardian of the *convento máximo* in Quito.
- Gerónimo de Paredes, born in Quito. was brother of Saint Mariana de Jesús.
- Martín de Ochoa, from Vizcaya in Spain, was lecturer of theology and was elected provincial minister of the order in 1637.
- José de Villamor Maldonado, born in Quito, was elected provincial representative to the General order chapter in Salamanca in 1618, where was appointed by the king General Commissar of Indies.
- Francisco Bezerra, from Spain, was lecturer of theology and was the first *lector jubilado* in the province of Quito, was also elected provincial minister of the order in 1644.
- Ignacio de Tineo, originally from Lima, was *lector jubilado* and *definidor* in Quito in the 1640s.
- Juan Andrés de Betancur y Figueroa, originally from the Canary islands, was *lector jubilado* and *Comisario-visitador* of the Quito province in 1649.
- Antonio Rodríguez, born in Quito, was the architect of part of the *convento máximo* in Quito.
- Andrés Izquierdo, born in Jerez, was lecturer of theology in Quito, and was elected provincial minister in 1650.

- José Pecador, originally from Agreda de Mocoa (Soria), participated in the exploration mission to the Amazon river.
- Diego Gutiérrez, born in Quito, was appointed *definidor* in 1663, and *lector jubilado* in 1666 in the convent of Quito.
- Dionisio Guerrero, originally from Spain, was lecturer of *Prima* from 1666 in the *convento máximo* and was elected Provincial in 1675.
- Bartolomé de Ibarra, arrived from Spain to Quito in 1675, was the first lecturer of *Vísperas* at San Buenaventura.
- Pedro de Riera, born in Latacunga, was lecturer of theology and was elected provincial minister in 1672.
- Buenaventura de Ubidia, born in Riobamba, was lecturer of theology in the San Pablo convent from 1651 to 1666, when was appointed *lector jubilado*.
- Juan Cavallero, originary from Quito, was ordained in 1679, later became Arts lecturer at San Buenaventura.
- Juan Freire, born in Quito, was elected provincial minister in 1678.
- Manuel Argandoña, born in Piura, became friar at the convent of Quito in 1667. He was appointed *lector jubilado* in 1691 and was also rector of the *colegio San Buenaventura*.
- Gaspar de Sta. María, originally from Spain, was the first rector and lecturer of *Prima* at the colegio San Buenaventura in 1675.
- José Janed, born in Zaragoza, he was elected twice as Provincial Minister in 1694 and 1707.
- Francisco Guerrero, originally from Quito, was lecturer of *Vísperas* at San Buenaventura being appointed *lector jubilado* in 1697, was also regent of studies at the convent of Quito since 1701.
- Francisco López, born in Tumbabiro (Ibarra) in RAQ, was lecturer of theology at San Buenaventura until 1691 when was appointed *lector jubilado*.
- Martín de San José, originally from Santiago in Spain, was missionary in Popayán, and guardian at the *convento máximo* and the *convent San Diego*. In 1701, he was elected provincial minister of the order.
- Juan Benítez de San Antonio, born in Ibarra, was missionary in the Putumayo region.

- Antonio Pérez Castellanos, born in Loja, was lecturer of Vespers at San Buenaventura, where he was appointed as *Guardián-rector* in 1704.
- Sebastián Ponce de León Castillejo, born in Quito, was lecturer of theology from 1669 until 1684 at the *convento máximo*, and was elected provincial minister in 1697.
- Lorenzo Ponce de León Castillejo, brother of Sebastián, was lecturer of Vespers from 1682 and rector at San Buenaventura until 1691, was a supporter of the creation of the Scotus chair at the Santo Tomás university in Quito.
- Juan Montero, born in Quito lecturer of theology from 1682 to 1697 at the San Pablo convent, was also a missionary in the Amazon region.
- Pedro de Alcantara Mejia was professor of philosophy during the early eighteenth century at San Buenaventura.
- Gaspar Moreno, originally from Castille, was lecturer of theology and *definidor* at the *convento máximo* in 1701.
- Francisco Montoya, born in Quito, was lecturer since 1670 of philosophy and theology at the Franciscan convent of Ibarra. He was appointed as the first lecturer of Vespers at San Buenaventura and later lecturer of *Prima* in 1682.
- Félix de Zea, born in Lima, was lecturer of philosophy at San Buenaventura from 1682 to 1697.
- Ambrosio de Mera, born in Popayán, was lecturer of theology from 1684 to 1699 and rector at San Buenaventura in 1702.
- José Morillo, born in Quito, was lecturer of theology at San Buenaventura from 1698 to 1713.
- Jacinto Pacheco, born in Ibarra, was lecturer of *Nona* at San Buenaventura from 1701, and lecturer of *Prima* at the *convento máximo* from 1709.
- Manuel Inostrosa, originally from Popayán, was lecturer of *Nona* at San Buenaventura from 1698 to 1713.
- Gabriel de Salas, born in Riobamba, was Doctor in theology and lecturer of theology from 1688 to 1703 at the *convento máximo*.
- Bernabé Serrano de Ugarte, originally from Quito, was regent of studies and lecturer of philosophy and *Prima* at the San Diego convent from 1701.

- Miguel Araujo, born in Quito, was doctor in theology from the *Real Universidad Santo Tomás*, was appointed as lecturer of theology at San Buenaventura in 1701, *lector jubilado* in 1707, and provincial minister in 1716.
- Cristobal López Merino, born in Riobamba, he was lecturer of Arts, *Prima*, and Vespers at the maximum convent of Quito.
- Bartolomé Ochoa de Alácana y Gamboa, born in Spain, was elected provincial minister twice in 1725 and 1738.
- Francisco Blanco del Valle, originally from Extremadura, was lecturer of *Prima* in *Via Scoti* at Santo Tomas University.
- José Campiño, born in Medellín, was lecturer and rector at San Buenaventura in the 1730s.
- Nicolás Fernández de Córdoba, born in Cuenca, was doctor in theology and lecturer of theology in *Via Scoti*.
- Buenaventura Ignacio de Figueroa, born in Quito, was doctor in theology and lecturer of theology, was elected provincial minister in 1728.
- José Garcés, originally from Santa Fe de Bogotá, was doctor in theology and lecturer of theology at San Buenaventura, of which was also *rector-guardian*.
- José Salvador López, born in Quito, was doctor in theology, lecturer of theology and *rector-guardia* at San Buenaventura in 1736.
- Clemente Rodríguez, originally from Quito, was lecturer of theology at the convent of Quito and became Provincial Minister in 1734.
- Agustín Marbán, originally from Quito, was appointed lecturer of Arts at San Buenaventura in 1736, and was elected provincial minister in 1739.
- José Nogales, born in Quito, was appointed lecturer of *Nona* at the *convento máximo* in 1736, and later rector of the *colegio San Buenaventura* in 1744.
- Fernando de Jesús Larrea, born in Quito, studied philosophy at the *colegio San Fernando* and theology at the Santo Tomás University in 1723. He was one of the promoters of the *Colegio de Misiones* in Pomasqui in late 1730s, years later was promoter of the *colegio de San Joaquín* in Cali in the 1770s.
- Pedro Marbán, born in Quito, was doctor in theology and rector-guardian at San Buenaventura in 1738.

- José Morrón, originally from Bilbao, was appointed lecturer of Vespers in 1738, and also *lector jubilado* and provincial minister in 1744.
- José Colarte, born in Cadiz, was lecturer of Vespers at San Buenaventura, being appointed *lector jubilado* and rector-guardian in 1744.
- Ramón de Sequiera y Mendiburu, born in Gipuzkoa, was appointed lecturer of Arts at San Buenaventura in 1741, and was elected provincial minister in 1756.
- Pedro Ceballos y Tena, born in Quito, was appointed as *Lector jubilado* in 1753, and later was elected Provincial minister in 1764.
- Pedro Martínez de Arizala, born in Manila, studied Canon law at the Alcala University and he lectured the chair of *Instituta* in substitution three times. In 1720, he was appointed *Oidor* in RAQ where he entered the Franciscan colegio of Pomasqui in 1739, being appointed archbishop of Manila in 1743 until his death in 1745.
- Francisco Javier Antonio de Sta. María y Losada, born in Quito, was appointed provincial *definidor* in 1759 and held various position at the convent San Diego. He wrote the treatise *Vida prodigiosa de la venerable vigen Juana de Jesús de la Tercera Orden de Penitencia de N.S.P.S. Francisco, que floreció en el monasterio de Santa Clara de Quito* in 1753, which was published in Lima three years later.
- José Fernández Salvador, born in Quito, was doctor in theology from the San Gregorio university, and was elected provincial minister in 1753.
- José de Salazar was lecturer of Theology at San Buenaventura from 1768 to 1782, and also Chapel Master of the cathedral of Quito.
- Antonio José del buen Suceso Calisto, born in Panama, was lecturer of *Prima* at the *convento máximo*. He wrote in 1765 the treatise *Teatro utilísimo de las fuerzas de Cristo, y de los medios para conseguir su unión, dividido en tres libros*.
- Gregorio Tomás Enríquez de Guzmán, born in Quito, was ordained in 1723 at the convent of San Pablo, was lecturer of theology and Arts at the *colegio San Buenaventura*, where he retired in 1763. He took one of the theology chairs at San Gregorio university, after the Jesuit expel.
- Antonio José de la Concepción Arroba, professor of philosophy at San Buenaventura during the 1760s.

- Eugenio Diaz Carralero, originally from Campo de Criptana in Castilla la Nueva, was doctor in theology from the San Gregorio University and Santo Tomas University. He was also elected provincial minister in 1767 and was responsible for assuming the San Gregorio university after the Jesuit expel.
- Narciso de San José Palma y Suárez was lecturer of philosophy at the San Diego convent in 1772, later was appointed lecturer of *Prima* in 1783 and *rector-guardian* in 1786 at San Buenaventura.
- José Eliodoro Mariano Díaz de la Madrid y Unda, born in Quito, was doctor in theology from the Santo Tomas University and lecturer of *Prima* at the *convento máximo*. In 1777, he was appointed bishop of Cartagena and later, in 1793, bishop of Quito until his death in 1794.
- Vicente de Jesús y Medicis, originally from Peru, was appointed lecturer of philosophy at the San Diego convent in 1759, was also lecturer of theology in *Via Scoti* at San Gregorio University. He was elected provincial minister in 1786.
- Francisco Javier de Jesús y Lagraña was lecturer of moral theology and philosophy at the Santo Tomas university, he was also San Buenaventura rector in 1770 and provincial minister in 1792.
- Isidoro Puente was doctor in theology from the Santo Tomas University, where he lectured *Prima* until 1760.
- Antonio Baca lectured the chair of moral theology at the Santo Tomas University, after fifteen years lecturing philosophy, theology, and moral he was appointed *lector jubilado* in 1778.

Source: Herrera (1895) and Compte (1883, 1885).

Appendix 4: Dominican Lecturers in Colegios and Convents of RAQ (1747)

Colegio San Pedro Mártir

Lecturer of *Prima*: friar Vicente Ramírez

Lecturer of *Vísperas*: friar Manuel Orosco

Lecturer of Arts: friar Baltazar Egas

Lecturer of Arts: friar Juan Santayo

Lecturer of *Summulas*: friar Pedro Barragán

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Isidro Ramírez

Colegio Real de San Fernando

Lecturer of *Prima*: friar Domingo Terol

Lecturer of *Vísperas*: friar Ignacio Castra

Lecturer of Moral Philosophy: friar Tomás de Santa Coloma

Lecturer of Arts: friar Cristóbal Garrido

Preceptor of Grammar: priest Francisco Valda

Convento de Loja

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Clemente Celi

Convento de Pasto

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Francisco Guerrero

Convento de Guayaquil

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Ignacio Castro

Convento de Popayán

Source: Vargas (1962)

Lecturer of Grammar: friar José Suasti

Convento de Cuenca

Lecturer of Grammar friar Juan Ordóñez

Convento de Riobamba

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Manuel Pérez

Convento de la Villa de Ibarra

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Manuel Oñate

Convento de Latacunga

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Antonio Ortiz

Convento de Cali

Lecturer of Grammar: friar José Orosco

Vicaría de Buga

Lecturer of Grammar: friar Fernandino Pedrosa

Appendix 5: Introduction to the physics treatise by friar Lorenzo Ramírez

Os ofrezco ahora alumnos míos, el Tratado de la Física sólido y a la vez sutil. Con el auxilio de lo alto debemos estudiar, ya no los entes de razón, sino las realidades que se hallan fuera de nosotros. Después de las obscuridades de la Lógica, la luz irradia mejor su hermosura, como decía el poeta: «Post nubila Foebus clarior exoritur Per duodena regit mundum sol aureus astra». Para nuestro caso no queda mal comparar que después del invierno florece mejor la primavera y después de las espinas parecen mejor las flores. No se me oculta que nuestra física, por apoyarse en los principios de Aristóteles, carece de toda aquella amenidad de que está llena la Filosofía natural, que llaman experimental; pero no será tan escuálida ni anticuada, puesto que aprovecharé de las sentencias de los filósofos modernos, que vuelvan a nuestra física algo agradable y aún amable. De la nada nada se produce ni nada puede convertirse en nada. Así pues, mis queridísimos discípulos, generosa progenie de nuestra Orden y esperanza grande de esta Provincia de Quito, leed con atención mi Física y aprended con interés cada lección que en esto estribará mi mayor gloria, diciendo con vosotros el poeta:

Majoris majora canam mihi parva locuto,
sufficit in vestras saepe redire manus,
nos Patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva.

Valete.

Source: Vargas (1965b, pp. 219–220)

Appendix 6: Students from the *colegio San Nicolás Tolentino* and the *Convento Máximo*

Juan de Carbajal (1574)	Alonso Ximenez (1578)	Juan de la Puente (1587)
Domingo Andrés (1575)	Idelfonso de Paz (1581)	Diego Díaz (1587)
Pedro Jurado (1575)	Juan de Figueroa (1581)	Idelfonso de la Fuente
Diego de Mollinedo (1575)	Melchor de Illescas (1581)	Chávez (1588)
Martín Trigo (1577)	Lorenzo de Ruphas (1583)	Juan Vedón (1588)
Diego de Tamayo (1577)	Custodio de la Saca (1585)	Diego López (1588)
Agustín Roderico (1577)	Alonso de Ortega (1586)	Francisco Gallegos (1588)
Manuel Jorge (1578)	Pedro Montaña (1587)	Gerónimo López (1589)

Nicolás de Paredes (1589)	Juan de Robelo (1600)	Leonardo de Araujo (1612)
Fernando Infante (1589)	Antonio Pereira (1601)	Pedro de San Agustín
Antonio Lobo y Cosme	Cristóbal García (1601)	(1612)
Soto (1590)	Bartolomé García (1601)	Agustín de San Nicolás
Luis Guerrero (1591)	Sebastián Román (1601)	(1612)
Pedro Pilarte (1592)	Gabriel de Zúñiga (1602)	Pedro Sánchez Abad
Beltrán de Lara (1592)	Fernando de León (1603)	(1612)
Francisco de Rivera (1592)	Pedro Núñez (1603)	Alonso de Mendoza (1612)
Francisco Chaves (1592)	Tomás de Clavijo (1603)	Juan de la Vega (1612)
Antonio de Aranda (1593)	Juan Bautista Barros	Juan de Peralta (1612)
Diego de Lara (1593)	(1603)	Juan de Cárdenas (1612)
Diego Gutiérrez (1593)	Jerónimo Matos (1603)	Diego de Morueta (1614)
Luis Alvarez (1594)	Martín Fernández de	Juan Gutiérrez de Luna
Baltasar Báez (1594)	Córdoba (1604)	(1614)
Manuel Núñez (1595)	Sebastián Rodríguez	Antonio de Valenzuela
Alberto Correa (1595)	(1604)	(1615)
Francisco de Taboada	Agustín de Córdoba (1605)	José de Cáceres (1615)
(1596)	Francisco Saguer (1605)	Bartolomé BI (1615)
Francisco Valverde (1596)	Luis Lecarte (1605)	Pedro de Encinas (1615)
Juan de Velasco (1596)	Fulgencio de los Angeles	José Guerrero (1616)
Jerónimo Madrid (1596)	(1606)	Luis Larmones (1616)
Diego de Salazar (1596)	José Pacheco (1606)	Basilio de Ojeda(1616)
Luis Alvarez (1596)	Rodrigo Mexía (1608)	Melchor Alvarez (1616)
Jerónimo de Aliaga (1597)	Diego de la Torre (1608)	Simón de Agreda (1617)
Manuel Lobo (1598)	Agustín Vela (1609)	Francisco de Céspedes
Juan Guerra (1599)	Pablo Freile (1610)	(1617)
Mateo Ibarra (1599)	Diego de Escarza (1610)	José Guerrero (1617)
Francisco Ximénez (1599)	Diego de Pineda (1610)	Cristóbal de los Angeles
Pedro Robelo (1599)	Nicolás de Padilla (1612)	(1618)
Fernando de Córdoba	Sebastián Coello (1612)	Juan Bautista Albornoz
(1599)	Nicolás de Zúñiga (1612)	(1618)

Miguel de Aldas (1619)	Alfonso Sánchez (1623)	Domingo Deiviri (1636)
Manuel de Araujo (1619)	Guillermo de Oliva (1623)	Francisco de Zuñiga
Agustín de Ochoa (1619)	Francisco de San Agustín	(1637)
Sebastián Zambrano	(1623)	Manuel López (1637)
(1620)	Pedro de Alcántara (1624)	Juan de Arellano 1637
Cristóbal de la Vega	Pedro de Nibela (1626)	Pedro Fernández (1637)
(1620)	Diego de Aguilas (1626)	Diego de Montenegro
Juan de Fuenmayor (1620)	Felipe de Miranda (1626)	(1637)
Juan de Sahagún (1620)	Antonio de Toro (1626)	Jacinto Vallejo (1637)
Juan de Cáceres (1620)	Juan de Vega (1626)	Antonio de Guevara (1637)
Nicolás de Tolentino	Francisco de Luna (1626)	Diego Jaime de Mora
(1620)	Manuel de Espinosa (1627)	(1637)
Jerónimo Rodríguez	Bartolomé Rivadeneira	Gregorio de Navarra
(1620)	(1627)	(1637)
Juan de Alvarado (1620)	Alonso de Jesús (1627)	Domingo Moreno (1637)
Mateo de la Roca (1620)	Roderico de Araujo (1627)	Francisco Peñalosa (1640)
Pedro de la Trinidad	Diego Encalada (1627)	Pedro Núñez de Prado
(1621)	Lorenzo de San Agustín	(1640)
Bartolomé Téllez de	(1629)	Juan de la Concepción
Gamboa (1621)	Pedro Nivelá (1631)	(1640)
Gabriel de Segovia (1621)	Pedro Valdés (1631)	Antonio Sánchez (1640)
Pedro Ordóñez (1622)	Francisco Vecino (1631)	Francisco de Zúñiga
Jerónimo Tamayo (1622)	Juan Bautista Cervantes	(1640)
Juan de San Nicolás (1622)	(1631)	Diego de Montenegro
Luis Venegas (1622)	Gabriel de Vergara (1633)	(1641)
Juan Muñoz (1622)	Antonio Alfaro (1633)	José García de Barahona
P. Jerez (1622)	Agustín Valareso (1635)	(1642)
Fernando de Araujo (1623)	Nicolás Cabeza de Vaca	Antonio de Ortega (1642)
Alfonso de Toro (1623)	(1635)	Francisco Cabrera (1643)
Alfonso Vera de la Cruz	Ambrosio Patiño (1635)	Blas Cabrera (1643)
(1623)	Francisco Martínez (1636)	

Francisco de la Vega
(1643)

Sebastián de Valencia
(1643)

Antonio de Zúñiga (1643)

Juan Gómez (1644)

Blas Pérez (1644)

Juan Dias (1644)

Sources: Paniagua Pérez (1993) and Costales & Costales (2003)

Appendix 7: Graduate students from San Fulgencio

Student name	Degree	Graduation year	Birthplace
Hernando Eucles Aguilera	Doctor en Teología	1699	Quito
Julio González Gordillo	Doctor en Teología	1699	Quito
Thomas Velasco de Villaseca	Doctor en Teología y Maestro y Doctor en Derecho Canónico	1703	Quito
Francisco Bolaños de Bahamonde	Doctor en Teología	1703	?
José A. Ruiz de Galavis	Maestro en Artes	1704	Quito
José Urriula	Maestro en Artes y Doctor en Teología	1705	Panamá
Sebastián Zambrano	Maestro en Artes y Doctor en Teología	1707	Pasto
Juan J. Ruiz Nieto de la Rea	Maestro en Artes y Doctor en Teología	1708	Piura
José Pelaez de Sotelo	Maestro en Filosofía, Maestro y Doctor en Teología	1708	Cali
Ambrosio Zumárraga	Maestro y Doctor en Teología	1708	Quito
Jacinto Beltrán	Doctor en Teología	1708	?
Juan Montesdeoca P.	Doctor en Cánones y Leyes	1708	?
José de Ulloa	Doctor en Cánones y Leyes	1708	?
Juan González de Olivar	Bachiller y Maestro en Filosofía	1708	?
Luis Baillon	Dr Maestro en Artes y Doctor en Teología	1709	Panamá
José Ortiz de Salinas	Maestro en Artes y Doctor en Teología	1710	Popayán

Francisco Abad Quiroga	Licenciado en Cánones	1710	Latacunga
Antonio de Rojas y Gainza	Doctor en Teología	1711	Bogotá
Antonio Pérez Camino	Doctor en Teología	1711	Quito
Antonio Andía	Doctor en Cánones y Leyes	1713	Guayaquil
Thomas Salinas y Enostroza	Bachiller en Filosofía	1715	Cali
Blas Marcillo	Maestro en Filosofía	1718	Tumbaco
Vicente Oñate	Doctor en Teología	1719	Ibarra
Alejandro Navarro N.	Doctor en Teología	1719	Guayaquil
Juan Cabrera Barba	Doctor en Teología?	1721?	Loja
Andrés Alvarado	Doctor en Teología	1727	Guayaquil
Bernardo González Gordillo	Doctor en Teología	1727	Cuenca
Pedro Rodríguez	Doctor en Teología	1728	Anserma
José Maldonado	Doctor en Teología	1729	Riobamba
Tomás de Vega	Doctor en Teología	1729	Quito
Cayetano Iglesias	Doctor en Leyes	1730	Panamá
Alejandro Mera	Doctor en Teología	1730	Ambato
Francisco X. Iglesias	Dr. en Cánones y Leyes	1732	Panamá
José Arévalo	Doctor en Teología	1732	Cuenca
Manuel Suárez	Doctor en Teología	1739?	Quito
Maestro Molano	Doctor en Teología	1748	?
Carlos Nájera	Licenciado en Cánones y Leyes	1748	Riobamba
Marcellino Alzamora	Licenciado y Doctor en Cánones y Leyes	1753	Panamá
Vicente Ortiz	Doctor en Teología	1755	Quito
Mariano de la Torre Costales	Doctor en Teología	1756	Riobamba
Tomás Bustamante Cevallos	Doctor en Cánones	1756	Quito
José Arcentales	Doctor en Cánones	1756	Riobamba
Pedro Quiñones	Maestro en Filosofía	1756	Barbacoas
Miguel de Rubio y Arévalo	Doctor en Teología	1757	Quito
Felipe Hurtado del Águila	Doctor en Teología	1757	Popayán

Gregorio de Fonseca	Doctor en Teología	1758	Quito
Pablo Montesdeoca	Maestro en Filosofía	1760	Quito
Francisco de Borja	Doctor en Leyes y Canones	1760	Quito
Manuel Zuleta	Maestro en Filosofía	1769	Quito
Antonio Beltrán Caicedo	Doctor en Filosofía	1784?	Popayán
Francisco Mosquera Bonilla	Doctor en Teología	1785	?
José Plaza	Doctor en Teología	1785	?
Sebastián López	Doctor en Teología	1785	Popayán
Carlos Ponce León	Doctor en Teología	1787	Quito
Mariano Venegas Olais	Doctor en Cánones y Leyes	1769	Quito

Source: AHMCP, F.J.C., 01191, *Manual de patentes y bulas de la Universidad de San Fulgencio*; Costales & Costales (2003)

Appendix 8: Professors of Philosophy at San Gregorio University²⁸¹

Juan Sánchez Morgáez from Spain	Juan Fernández 1649-1652
Juan de Santiago	Manuel de la Peña 1652-1655
Alonso de Rojas	Francisco de Ortaneda from Spain 1655-1658
Joaquín de Amestoy from Spain	Francisco Mosquera F. 1658-1661
Antonio Manosalvas	Juan Martínez Rubio from Spain 1661-1664
Antonio Ramón de Moncada	Ignacio Gil Castelví from Spain 1664-1667
Íñigo Pérez de la Justicia from Spain	Manuel Rodríguez 1667-1670
Rodrigo de Narváez	Diego Abad de Cepeda from Riobamba 1670-1673
Hernán de Alcócer from Riobamba	Isidro Gallegos from Puebla in Spain 1673-1676
Marcos de Alcócer from Riobamba	

²⁸¹ There is no further information available about the first ten professors at San Gregorio from 1622 to 1649.

Diego de Ureña from Loja 1676-1679	José Nieto Polo del Águila from Popayán 1712-1715
Sebastián Luis Abad from Guayaquil 1679-1682	Pedro de Campos from Saragossa 1715-1718
Balthazar Ignacio de Pinto from Quito 1681-1684	Esteban Ferriol from Panamá 1718-1721
Antonio Marsal from Bràfim in Spain 1683-1686	Marcos de Escorza from Quito 1721-1724
Francisco Mestanza 1685-1687	José de Eslava from Spain 1724-1727
Nicolás de Aráuz from Quito 1686-1689	Fernando de Espinoza from Cuenca 1727-1730
José Antonio de la Rentería from Spain 1687-1690	Luis de Andrade from Cuenca 1730-1733
Pedro Félix Calvo de Segura from Spain 1688-1691	Jerónimo de Herce from Logroño 1733-1735
Florencio Santos from Quito 1689-1692	Michael Manosalvas from Ibarra 1735-1736
Gabriel de Aguinaga from Popayán 1690-1693	José Baca from Cali 1735-1738
José Delgado from Panamá 1694-1697	Pedro Rubio from Badajoz 1738-1741
José Gutierrez from Spain 1696-1699	Pedro José Milanesio from Turin 1740-1743
Luis de Alderete from Spain 1697-1700	Jacinto Serrano from Riobamba 1743- 1746
Nicolás de la Puente from Quito 1700-1703	Marcos de la Vega from Trujillo 1745-1748
Nicolás de Cisneros from Ibarra 1703-1706	Joaquín de Alvarez from Andujar in Spain 1747-1750
Jacinto Morán de Butrón from Guayaquil 1706-1709	Pedro Garrido from Loja 1750-1753
Juan Bautista Mujica from Sardinia 1708-1711	Francisco Xavier de Aguilar from Montilla in Spain 1753-1756
Andrés Cobo de Figueroa from Popayán 1711-1714	Juan Bautista de Aguirre from Daule 1756-1759
	Juan de Hospital from Banyoles in Spain 1759-1762
	Pedro Muñoz from Riobamba 1762-1765

Francisco Rodríguez from La Guardia in
Spain 1765- 1767

Sources: Jouanen (1941) and Guerra Bravo
(2021).

