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1450–1820
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Cultures and communication across the Iberian world
(fifteenth-seventeenth centuries)

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CHAPTER TEN

CULTURES AND COMMUNICATION ACROSS THE IBERIAN WORLD (FIFTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES) ¹

Fernando Bouza

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to establish a link between culture and the different forms of communication—oral, visual, written—used as instruments in the construction of the Iberian empires, as well as to examine the cultural practices that served to distinguish their communities and spaces, without overlooking the scale of individual lives. At the same time, it seems useful to analyse the numerous available examples that enable us to question whether there was a cultural continuum in the Iberian world of that time, despite the fact that there were countless internal jurisdictional and cultural borders between the two monarchies (different languages, printing laws, etc.). Without denying that the Iberian monarchies were also composite in cultural terms, there are phenomena such as the appearance of new markets and audiences centred around cultural practices and patterns of consumption that make it possible to recognise the existence of an Iberian common culture.

To state that, in the Iberian world, there were some extraordinary instances of cultural splendour throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a commonplace that has gained almost unanimous acceptance among readers and spectators worldwide. It was, after all, the time of Gil Vicente, Camões, Teresa de Jesús, Cervantes, Góngora, Ruiz de Alarcón, F. M. Melo, Calderón, Juana Inés de la Cruz, Vieira, and Bluteau, not to mention the long list of painters, musicians, and architects that we almost automatically tend to associate with the so-called Golden Age of the Iberian peninsula.

On many occasions, however, the insistence on such literary and artistic splendours (including musical ones) is historiographically bound up with the idea that these cultural glories, especially those from the seventeenth century, were exceptional in nature when compared with the decadent situation that accompanied them in political and economic terms. For example, the Swiss author Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) confessed his admiration for Murillo, whose self-portrait he saw in Paris in
1843. Part of the praise expressed by this influential historian of the Renaissance was that Murillo’s brushwork had lifted him higher and higher “while around him his magnificent fatherland and its noble people sank lower and lower” (Schiff 2004, 111).

Other scholars have claimed that these Iberian cultural achievements were contaminated by Catholic propaganda and confessionalism, that they were the product of an undesirable alliance between the altar and the throne. This is an ancient and longstanding prejudice and not one fabricated only by non-Iberian authors. When the Portuguese Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) found himself standing before the huge bulk of the Jesuit college of Santarém, he claimed that one could see in that building “the Catholic reaction of building temples so that people could believe and pray, but not because people believed and prayed”. In his view, until then “the monastery and the cathedral … [had been] the expression of the people’s idea, now they are the formula of government thinking” (Garrett 1846, II, 15).

Yet, to start with, and before we enter into this history of splendour and prejudice, we must first understand what was meant at that time by culture and communication, as well as what it meant if something or someone was classified as Iberian.

**CULTURE, COMMUNICATION, IBERIAN**

The word “culture” was a term in frequent use, but, generally speaking, not with the conceptual profile that we normally attribute to it nowadays. Its extended meaning referred to the labour of breaking up the ground and cultivating sterile fields that had been left abandoned and had returned to their natural state. In this way, the conversion of the faithful could be imagined as the fruit of a spiritual culture, expressly described as “evangelical” in the book *Imperio de la China* by Álvaro Semedo (1642). So, it could be said that the schoolmasters of seventeenth-century Portugal worked on behalf of the “culture and education of the subjects that attended their schools” (Mimoso 1620, dedication). Finally, in the opinion of the Jesuit Baltasar Gracián (1601–1658), each person should take steps to cultivate themselves because “Man is born a barbarian, and only raises himself above the beast by culture. Culture therefore makes the man” (Gracián 1892 [1647] 31).

In principle, any human exercise that rendered productive something that previously was not so could be described as a form of culture. All that was needed was that it brought with it a transformation of what was natural through the use of human ingenuity and invention — in other words, generally by means of art and, in particular, through the so-called industries. This latter concept—industry—had nothing to do with economic production but was related to the capacity to design strategies beforehand in order to achieve certain objectives. Since, at that time, it was linked to the political virtue of prudence, the notion of industry had an evident utilitarian and intentional quality (Rossi 1639, 238–239).

The industries could be considered as specific knowledge that was connected to a certain field. They were normally presented as forms of advice or warnings transmitted orally from masters to disciples and from parents to children or through handwritten collections of manuscripts, although in some cases they also ended up being printed. This meant that the industries could be learned and that it was necessary to choose between several of them, paying special attention to the needs or
conditions of those for whom they were destined and whom one wished to persuade. For example, the novices of the Society of Jesus copied collections of industries by hand as a part of their apprenticeship on joining the order, so as to get to know them better and to be able to practise them in the future, as demonstrated by the scholars of the missions (Palomo 2013).

Considering the enormous size of their many domains and the plurality of traditions existing at their very heart, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese and the Spanish were faced with very different scenarios. Whenever it proved necessary, or was in their interest and benefit, they gave abundant demonstrations of their ability to adapt to the local cultural conditions. This strategy may be described as one of accommodation or adaptation (Gentilcore 1994). For example, in 1627, the Dominican Melchor del Manzano defended the idea that, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Chinese emigrants in Manila, the newly converted should not be obliged to have a haircut, because “making them cut their hair” represented an affront to their honour, being “a thing regarded as ignominious by their nation, and which is an obstacle to their conversion” (Klöter 2011, 7). Forty years earlier, Felipe II had ordered Domingo de Salazar, Bishop of the Philippines, not to cut their hair on the occasion of their baptism because this made their conversion more difficult and did, in fact, constitute a serious impediment for them, for if they returned to China they would be dishonoured because of their appearance (Crossley 2016, 124). Of course, recognising their capacity to adapt—which, after all, was a form of negotiation—does not, in any way, mean that we can overlook the fact that such empires were built upon imposition, uniformity, fear and violence.

Culture could also take on a negative slant if the exercise to which human talent and its industries were dedicated was considered inappropriate, not to say hateful and, therefore, eradicable. In this way, the word culture could also be linked to the diabolical and the magical, or to idolatry, as when Manuel de Faria e Sousa (1590–1649) claimed that the Portuguese had been the most committed to the “mistaken culture of idols”, of course prior to his conversion to Christianity (Sousa 1680, 148). Less dramatically, culture also had a negative sense if an author endeavoured to use incomprehensible words only for the sake of basking in his own glory. For this reason, Jacinto Freire de Andrada stated that he rejected that “clamour of new voices, which they call Culture” (Andrada 1651, dedication). A quarter of a century earlier, in 1626, Lope de Vega made fun in a letter of those who, boasting of their “culture”, had become speakers of a barbaric language just because they sought to distinguish themselves from the others (Vega 1943, 88).

It should be stressed that “culture” could therefore be associated with distinction, with the social processes of hierarchical identification and the mutual and collective recognition of social groups. That is to say that, at that time, it was already understood that there was not just one culture, but various cultures, since different individuals and communities could engage in practices and customs that made them recognisable both among themselves and in the eyes of the others.

In 1639, Melo stated that the titled nobles of the Iberian peninsula devoted themselves to what he expressly described as the “culture of the person”. This led them to concern themselves first and foremost (i.e., intentionally) with carriages, servants and livery, but not so much with the world of letters, not even with their own writing, which was fairly crude and careless (Melo 1981, no. 35). For his own
part, in the prologue to the Lisbon edition of the *Obras* of Garcilaso, published in 1626, Luis Briceño de Córdoba defended the idea that the “Spanish talents” had dedicated themselves “to culture” in the time of Felipe II with such enthusiasm that they no longer “owe anything to their neighbours” (Laso de la Vega 1626, prologue). Briceño’s idea of the existence of a literary “culture” peculiar to the Spanish talents was echoed in 1688 when Miguel de Guevara spoke of a “culture of the Spanish”, although not in reference to all of the Spanish, but only to the country’s writers who had developed a style that was recognisable because it was pleasant and varied at the same time (Bouza 2005).

Communication was also a word that was in widespread use. Its primary meaning was well explained by Joan Antoni Bacó when he pointed out that “it means the action whereby the thing is made common, by its being communicated to others” (Bacó 1661, 264). The curious thing is that this definition is given by the Majorcan Augustinian when talking about the subject of ecclesiastical excommunication, which was in fact an “excommunication”, or, in other words, a ban on any form of dealings with others that was imposed on the person affected by this sort of sentence.

In principle, communicating and communication referred to relations that did not necessarily have anything to do with the spread of knowledge, but just with situations in which some form of close contact was maintained, some access, some personal relationship and cohabitation—precisely what was prohibited under the terms of religious excommunication. *El Vocabulario manual de las lenguas mexicana y castellana* by Pedro de Arenas was a useful tool for those who did not have an interpreter and who, when travelling or trading, would have had to formulate the “most common and ordinary questions and answers that are normally proffered in the trade and communication between Spaniards and Indians” (Arenas 1611). In his *Varias noticias*, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa suggested that ladies better conserved the “purity of talking” by “communicating less than men do with foreigners”, given that ladies did not travel so frequently as men (Suárez de Figueroa 1621, 129r). In turn, political literature was to insist that the prince should be “communicable”. In other words, by the very nature of his office, he was obliged to allow that, within the limits of his majesty, his subjects were able to see him, as well as to receive them in an audience in order to listen to their opinions (Camos 1592, 58).

Ultimately, it was from here that the meaning of communication derived as the act of sharing with others what was hidden or was exclusive to just one person, communicating and sharing secrets, feelings, news, or ideas. Also, the possibility of developing industries to replace the direct experience of contact through means that artificially made it possible to reproduce from a distance, or to represent, the natural sight and voice, such as portraits or papers, especially letters. In this way, communication could indeed have the meaning of disseminating something in a broad and fully conscious way, as when the Portuguese Dominican António Feo, suspecting that his preaching had reached only a few people in the churches, said that it had been decided to publish his sermons converted into chapters of a printed treatise “in order to communicate what I have preached to those who might better make use of my studies” (Feo 1613, dedication).

Contrary to what one might think, it is not easy to document the use of the term “Iberian” at that time. As is known, the territories of the Iberian peninsula were customarily recognised together under the name of Spain, a geographical and historical
evocation of the ancient Roman province of Hispania. In 1631, Paul Sherlock (1595–1646) and the French bookseller Gabriel Boissat signed a contract in Madrid for the publication of a new work that the Irish Jesuit, resident in Salamanca, had written about the *Song of Songs*. The book was intended to be published in Lyon (France), but the Society of Jesus reserved for itself the exclusive right to its sale for a whole year in the Indies and Spain, “understanding Spain to mean Aragon, Portugal, Andalusia and both Castiles” (Agulló 1992, II, 74–75). Although the events of 1640 presupposed a point of no return for the break in this geographical or peninsular conception of Hispania/Spain, an undoubted defender of Portuguese independence such as Manuel Homem nonetheless demanded that Felipe IV should cease to be called the King of Spain, “but just of Castile”, because he was already no longer the king either of Portugal or Roussillon and Catalonia (Homem 1642, 96).

The use of the lexical family related with Iberia and its inhabitants appeared in erudite contexts in which there was a clear demonstration of an undoubted dependence on classical culture. Furthermore, there was some confusion between two territories that could claim that they were the Iberia mentioned by the ancient geographers and the first Christian exegetes. One was the Caucasian Iberia, identified with the present-day republic of Georgia, and the other was the Mediterranean Iberia, which, little by little, ended up becoming equivalent to the peninsula also known as Hesperia or Hispania (Cruz, Le Roux, and Moret 2006).

This confusion not only affected the western, but also the eastern, Iberians, the ones that Luís Marinho de Azevedo had described as “Asian Iberians” (Azevedo 1652, 40). In 1588, one of them, Simon of Kartli (1537–1611), sent an embassy to Rome in order to achieve some form of alliance with Felipe II and Pope Sixtus V against the Ottomans, in whose rear his country was situated. The Georgian prince had thought that they both resided in Rome, where “they governed together …, the one concerned with the temporal matters and the other with the spiritual matters” of the world (Gil and Tabagua 1993, 213). To some extent, this mistake was excusable because, if Rome was considered the centre and capital of the world, it would not be surprising to believe that Felipe II also lived there, since he was the most powerful among the Christian princes of his time.

The worldwide dimension of Felipe II’s dominions had been constantly stressed ever since he ascended his father’s throne (Parker 2001). The resolution of the Portuguese succession in his favour in 1578–1580 similarly made it easier for him to be attributed with an almost universal power. It can be seen why the French Calvinist Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigne (1552–1630) portrayed him as the victorious “grand Ibérien” as a result of the defeat of Sebastião I at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir in 1578, which had paved the way for him to take possession of Portugal and had restored his power to interfere even more in the politics of foreign kingdoms (D’Aubigné 1867 [1615], 253). The confessional propaganda of the Huguenots who had settled in Geneva, particularly the erudite circle of Theodore Beza, helped to establish the use of the word *Iberian* to refer to the power (described as “odious”) resulting from the union of the peninsular crowns from 1580 onwards. As part of the celebrations of the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the collection of poems entitled *Iberica* was published in Geneva, in which express mention was made of the Iberian kingdoms—*Iberici Regni*—and of a sovereign who ruled over the Iberian people—*Rector Gentis Ibericae*. In other words, Felipe II.
Image 10.1  Allegorical portrait of Philip II as universal monarch as a result of becoming king of Portugal, Lorenzo de San Pedro, *Diálogo llamado Philipino*, drawing on paper, ca. 1578  
Source: Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, Biblioteca, Ms. 2692, folios 522–523
The use of the term *Iberian* to refer to the union of the two peninsular crowns had its origin in erudite Calvinist circles, above all those from Geneva, who began to use it to discredit Felipe II (Bouza 2017). On the Catholic side, the use of the word was less frequent, although it is, of course, well documented. For example, Claude Clément (1594–1642) drew attention to the proposal that America could have been given the name of “Iberica” in his *Tablas cronológicas* (Clément 1642, Década II), a proposal that in reality never truly took shape.

**UNIVERSAL PROVIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT, LOCAL HORIZONS OF VIOLENCE AND APPEARANCES**

Among the names that the Jesuit Clément gathered together as possible ways of calling America were also “Orbe Carolino, or Orbe de Carlos”, “Atlantica”, “Colonea”, “Columbina”, or “Isabelica”, in honour of Queen Isabella the Catholic, whose memory was bound up with that of her husband Fernando in a surprising “Fer-Isabelica” (Clément 1642, Década II). The promoter of this last name for the West Indies had been Fernando Pizarro in his *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo* dedicated to Felipe IV, a book in which it is stated that the first sign of greatness of the empire of the Catholic king was that in it the sacrifice of the mass was being celebrated at all times (Pizarro 1639, 1r).

Professing the Roman Catholic religion was undoubtedly a defining feature of the Iberian world at that time, although not all the inhabitants of the territories under the direct rule of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs necessarily had to be Christians. It is sufficient to remember that there was a Jewish quarter in the North African city of Oran under Spanish rule until its residents were expelled in 1669 (Schaub 1999), although such exceptions were not tolerated in the peninsula. On the other hand, the relations with the Papacy were frequently far from fluid. As can be read in some *Apuntamientos* sent to Felipe IV in 1643, “it is clear that Rome is the leech of these kingdoms because it sucks away their life blood” (AHN Consejos 7175, 8).

However, the supposition that there was a special relationship between God and the Iberian monarchies was widespread. The Franciscan Cristóvão de Lisboa stated, in 1641, that Portugal was a “Republic chosen by God” (f. 2v.). Some years later, another ecclesiastical figure, on this occasion a Valencian, went so far as to state that “Our Lord God has become completely Spanish, for he helps us by giving us new victories”, in this case on the anti-French front of Roussillon (AHNo Osuna, 18–103/2, Valencia 23/10/1652).

Trusting in the existence of a divine providence that occupied itself daily with its creatures—people, communities, and initiatives—was in keeping with the Christian religiosity of that time. When the Dutch took possession of Salvador de Bahía, a military response was organised by the whole of the monarchy to expel them from Brazil (Schwartz 1991), but, at the same time, Felipe IV ordered a campaign of general prayer. Fulfilling its mandate, in September 1624, the Council of Aragon busied itself with ordering the priests to make sure that all the vassals “in all the cities and main places” of Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia prayed together to guarantee their protection from Heaven in the restoration of Brazil (ACA Consejo de Aragón, 74, 1).
Of course, when Bahía was recovered in 1625, the divine intervention requested by the monarch was generally ensured (Tamayo de Vargas 1628, 50–51). Nonetheless, the kings, no matter how Catholic they claimed to be, did not always enjoy the protection of Heaven and also suffered disappointments and setbacks, so that the providentialist worldview that prevailed in Iberian society could reveal itself to be a critical weapon against the governors. For example, the sudden death in August 1498 of Isabel of Aragon, the Queen of Portugal through her marriage to Manuel I and the daughter of Isabella and Fernando, could be interpreted as proof of the divine disagreement with the policy of the princes in ecclesiastical affairs. Particularly if we consider the fact that the Catholic monarchs had also just lost the heir Prince Don Juan of Aragon—as early as 1497. At least this is what was stated by the Galician clergyman Juan de Eiroa when he evoked the “whips” with which the sovereigns were being punished in a sermon that he preached at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela at the beginning of September in that same year, calling upon the chapter and the population to defend the traditional freedoms of the monastic orders. The clergyman was tried and sentenced for having called for such uprisings (AHN, Diversos, Concejos y Ciudades 278, 1).

Divine Providence manifested itself not only in the rewards or punishments that were sent by God, in the form of defeats or victories and private or public calamities or joys, but also through Nature. It was converted, in this way, into a kind of second revelation, together with that of the Holy Scriptures: God spoke to his creatures through the Book of Nature with the help of natural prodigies (Río Parra 2003), ranging, for example, from the comet of 1577, which was considered to be a sign of the misfortune that would lead to the disappearance of King Sebastião in Africa, to the monstrous delivery of a male child born in Lisbon in 1628, supposedly clad in a coat of armour.

This providentialism involved in the consideration of what is natural could, on occasions, be considered an insurmountable barrier for human art and its industries. In 1650, when the Council of Castile took charge of some hydraulic devices proposed by Jean Copin, from Avignon, it was argued that the “fertilities and sterilities of the fields and the years” were the result of Divine Providence, so that “attempting, with human capacity, to introduce new means for that purpose means describing the highest Providence as deficient” (AHN Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Obra Pía, 103–107). However, it was much more frequent to find praise being given to human ingenuity in the transformation of Nature or in imitating it through industries, as in the case of the Galician priest Diego Martínez de Presa, who built various automata that he made known through this book Fuerza del ingenio humano (Madrid 1662) and among those that were to be found there were automata of the king himself, Felipe IV, the sacrifice of Abraham and even a Eucharistic representation.

If God had made himself Spanish, then Portugal was a political community chosen by Him, so that it is not surprising that there were many who believed that the Iberian empires were universal through the will of God. In any case, the worldwide dimension achieved by the Iberian monarchies throughout the Modern Age was clearly unquestionable, both because of the enlarged territorial dimensions of their empires and because of the circulation (voluntary or otherwise) of people, objects, ideas, and knowledge, or also because of the possibilities of their connecting between themselves spaces and societies which, until then, had had no communications between
Cultures and communication

one another. The adoption of a cultural perspective may help us to understand that Iberian world better, which was simultaneously a setting for lives firmly based on a local space and for others that were much more universal.

Undoubtedly, many of the inhabitants of the Iberian world of that time had life experiences which were presided over by local ties that were strongly linked to the particular territory, on occasions above any political and, indeed, confessional purpose. In 1624, as part of criminal proceedings about the distribution of water in the labour camps of Belchite and Letux (Aragon), a witness declared that a relative of his living in the same district had been a captive in Algiers for four years and that there “he had seen and spoken” to one of the Moriscos expelled in 1610 “and that he had been at his house and that he had given him something to eat in it and had offered him friendship because they had met and got to know each other here [in Letux]” (AHN Diversos Recuperación, 303/9 provisional). This does not mean, of course, that the small communities were not without their conflicts, as is proved by this interesting testimony about the continued existence of a local tie that stretched beyond the confessional and political borders, which we find in a lawsuit that had been brought because the inhabitants of Belchite had attempted to “destroy” Letux.

The Iberian cultures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were dominated by conflict—visible not only in the force or prejudice shown towards those who seemed different to them, but also in the continuous internal clashes. Small disagreements between neighbours lay at the base of a pyramid of conflicts ranging from the infamous couplet to the lampoon directed against the governors and rebellions. Even the world of creativity and literature seems to have been dominated by animosities and the ideal of jealousy (Portús 2008). Satires, taunts, invectives, insults, derisive couplets, and an endless string of scornful writing were the relatively poisonous (and witty) products of this widespread spirit of conflict that pervaded the literary rivalries of the Golden Age.

Although it is usually presented as a culture of honour, it was basically one of infamy and dishonour, in which verbal insults and physical injuries were constant (Taylor 2014), with not even the priests themselves escaping them. For example, in 1609, when, the funeral of João Roiz, from Calheta, was being celebrated in Ponta Delgada (São Miguel, Azores), his body was accompanied by clergymen from the local churches of São Pedro and São Sebastião, which caused a public outrage between one side and the other and ended in nothing less than the cross being broken (ANTT Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 18077). No Iberian territory seems to have been immune to confrontations of this type, in which, on many occasions, the violence was caused by the problems of occupying some hierarchically important spaces that concealed fights between powers, institutions, corporations, religious orders or particular lineages.

Lawsuits were very frequently brought for defamation, so that the already high levels of the litigation that were brought before the courts (Kagan 1981) were reinforced with multiple cases of the so-called “famous libels”, which attacked the reputation of others verbally, in writing or with figures and objects. The moralists, in their turn, insisted on the need to see the good reputation restored of those people subjected to libel, obliging the perpetrators to confess their sins against the eighth of the Catholic ten commandments.
Furthermore, in public, there was a ceremony that consisted of restoring the honour that had been lost as a result of an unfair judgement, and against which, for example, an appeal had been launched with a positive outcome. Very little is known about these types of reparatory practices, but it seems that they consisted of ceremonies that were similar to the public mockery that formed part of the justice meted out at that time. For example, in Ourense (Galicia), in 1611, one of these ceremonies was undertaken to restore the honour of a woman called María Ruiz, who had been unfairly sentenced by the city magistrate and had appealed to the judges of the Real Audiencia. Once her innocence had been acknowledged, María “rode on horseback with a garland of flowers and a palm in her hand”, while the town criers proclaimed her innocence throughout the streets of her journey (AHPOu Libro 56, f.12r. Libro de cuentas de Tomás López).

The woman had had a coroza (caipirote) placed on her head in view of the public shame that was heaped upon her when the sentence of the city’s magistrate was being executed, and, consequently, when her innocence was recognised, her honour was restored through a visual ceremony in which she was now crowned with a garland of flowers. This case enables us to recall the importance of external appearances in Iberian culture at the height of the modern age, a time when, as we have seen, the sentences of the law courts were accompanied by a visual counterpart that could, of course, be interpreted quite easily by all concerned.

The cultural mechanism on which, among others, there rested practices such as the wearing of shameful sanbenitos or corozas was related, on the one hand, with the importance given to the visual aspect as a form of communication and, on the other hand, with the desire to create an infamous memory that would be perpetuated over time, revealing the condition of a person’s lineage and, also, of their profession. In concrete terms, Julio Caro Baroja (1914–1995) turned his attention to the ban that was placed on those condemned by the Inquisition and which forbade them from wearing silk and gold jewellery, informing us of the revealing entreaties for what he described as “sumptuary rehabilitation” (Caro Baroja 2000, I, 349). For example, in 1560, Jerónima de Vargas petitioned the Inquisition, asking to be allowed to wear silk and gold. Although her parents had been victims of the Holy Office of Castile when she was still a child, she had ended up marrying a nobleman, which required her to dress and adorn herself in a sumptuous fashion. Her husband, she claimed, would abandon her if he knew what her origin was, which would become obvious to him and to everyone else if Jerónima were not able to dress in a manner befitting her husband’s status.

**LIVES, OBJECTS, AND CULTURAL PRACTICES IN AN ENLARGED WORLD**

Regarding the rich, but limited experiences of local lives, it was possible to note the impact of an ever-wider world within the context of the Iberian empires (Gruzinski

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1 Translator’s Note: A tall, pointed dunce’s cap worn in public as a sign of humiliation and a garment of shame during the Spanish Inquisition.
2 Translator’s Note: An ornamented garment of sackcloth worn by a heretic condemned by the Inquisition.
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Undoubtedly, the impact of this ever-greater dimension must have been very strong. For example, we may compare the scale of life in the small Galician village of Arante with the fresco painted on the wall of its church of Nosa Señora das Virtudes da Ponte, which depicts the devastating effects of a Caribbean storm that, in 1595, caused the shipwreck of the vessel on which Domingos de Aguiar Carranza was travelling to the Indies. The paintings, which were made in 1606, must have been like a window that opened the eyes of the rural population of Arante not only to the devotion of their local compatriot Aguiar, but also to the very existence of a distant world, albeit one that was no longer foreign.

The clear awareness of a world that was increasingly expanding can be found in the letter that Diego de Torquemada, Bishop of Tuy, addressed to the Andalusian antiquarian Juan Fernández Franco in 1573, about the lands of the Northern Hemisphere, from Muscovy to the Labrador peninsula. The bishop marvelled at how much larger the world that the Europe of his time had come to know was when compared with that known to the Greeks and Romans. He also noted that the main impulse for this enlargement had been nothing more than greed. Furthermore, he made a curious declaration to his correspondent when talking about the sensation that he had had on looking at Spain on one of the terrestrial globes that Gerardus Mercator had made in Duisburg. He had been fascinated by seeing on that object “the world so distinct and specified and a Spain in such a small space, so distinct and well-positioned as it is” (ANTT, Casa Fronteira e Alorna, livro 18, 75r.-v. Bujalance, 15/07/1573).

It should be noted that it was the object, in its concrete materiality, that enabled him to recognise that he belonged to a particular community, in this case the Spain of the Iberian peninsula. There has not yet been sufficient study about the importance that cultural objects—such as this globe, but also the mappa mundi, printed or handwritten reports, engravings, codices or books about costumes, furniture, alphabets, musical scores, and so on—could have had on both the individual and collective self-perceptions of that time. Undoubtedly, these objects helped to shape people’s ideas about themselves and their community. For example, in 1619, when Manuel de Faria e Sousa entered Castile from his native Portugal, he marvelled at the headdresses of the women of Vitigudino (present-day Salamanca), stating that “I thought I was in China or Persia, or, at the very least, in Constantinople”, territories that he had got to know through “some books about the costumes of the world” (Sousa 1975, 160). That is to say through a treatise such as Degli habitj antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo by Cesare Vecellio, which was first published in 1590.

The enlargement of the world space could also be seen in the treatment of political conflicts and the increasingly complex and geographically extended wars. In 1583, after the return of Felipe II from Portugal, the royal secretary Juan de Idiáquez (1540–1614) expressed his satisfaction to the councillor Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle because in matters relating to the galleys it was a “question of distinguishing the Mediterranean and Ocean [Atlantic] seas, just as Nature did”, since “covering it all was not possible with the service of our master [Felipe II]” (BMB Ms. Granvelle, 102, 274r.). Yet, later, the collective political imagination also began to acquire a world dimension, with the references and comparisons that could be introduced into the discourse of decision-making becoming almost universal. For example, in 1678, the
Royal Council of Castile showed itself to be opposed to receiving Spartan emigrants to plug the demographic gap left by the expelled Moors, not hesitating to resort to a supposed reason of State of the Chinese, according to which they would never “agree to foreigners in their fifteen provinces” (AHN Consejos 51441, Madrid, 2/01/1678). A quarter of a century earlier, in 1650, Juan de Carvajal had written to the councillor Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado about the problems generated by the monetary policy and the minting of silver from Potosí, stating that, the Emperor of Japan (AHN Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Obra Pía 105/7), would, however, have more problems with his currency, as he had just read in the Descriptio Regni Japoniae by the German Bernhard Varen (1622–1650), which had been published a year earlier in Amsterdam by the Elzevier family.

There are numerous examples of how the realities of that ever-larger world were reflected in cultural manifestations. In 1601, Barcelona organised a great celebration of jubilation upon the canonisation of the Catalan Saint Ramon de Penyafort (1180–1270). For several days, the city’s streets and plazas witnessed eye-catching processions, among which could be found distinguished members of the local elites dressed as ambassadors of Persia and Muscovy, but also of the kings of Mexico and Japan, accompanied by their respective retinues (Rebullosa 1601).

Undoubtedly, Barcelona was a good place for Japan, Mexico, Muscovy, and Persia to meet with one another in the early seventeenth century, but perhaps what is more interesting is that the four parts of the world could also conduct relations with one another without the need to pass through Europe. One such example was the contract signed by the crown in 1558 to allow for the plantation in New Spain of different Asian spices, such as cloves, ginger, cinnamon, or sandalwood (Ruiz Medrano 1991, 184), although perhaps the most extraordinary proposal was the one that Giovanni Battista Gesio made from Lisbon to Felipe II in around 1578 to transplant to the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain the Asian plants that produced spices and drugs (AGI Patronato 48, 3). The Italian cosmographer proposed to the king that his fame would be immortal if he succeeded in bringing the plants scattered around the different parts of the world all together in America, a land where they would be preserved because the region was less prone to revolutions and enemy invasions. This possibility of intervening on Nature was made reality with the circulation of animals and plants between different parts of the world that took place at that time.

It is well known that the Spanish took horses to the Indies, but perhaps what is even more surprising is that, when duly acclimatised to the American region, some specimens were brought back to Europe, having been transformed into a zoological rarity. For example, in 1584, the German ambassador in Madrid, Hans Khevenhüller, sent six horses to the Emperor Rudolph II, “five of them Spanish and one from Mexico” (ACA Real Cancillería, Registros 4309, Felipe I el Prudente, Diversorum 14, 166r. El Pardo, 8/12/1584), undoubtedly destined for the new stables at Prague Castle. Years later, in 1632, an order issued by Felipe IV was sent to different American authorities instructing that fierce animals of “each kind” should be sent to the peninsula so that they could be exhibited at court (AHN Consejos 25664–8, Real cédula enviada a Juan Camarena, gobernador de la isla Margarita, Madrid, 2/06/1632). Originating from Peru, three “tigers” embarked by the viceroy, the Count of Chinchón, arrived in Madrid as an adornment for the Buen Retiro Gardens (Soler...
1947). In the same way, Juan Eusebio Niéremberg (Marcaida 2014) incorporated examples of American animals into his Natural History lessons for courtiers, which he gave at the Imperial College of Madrid in 1629, causing the *ocotochtil* (ocelot), a wild cat from New Spain, to become the model of generosity for the young people of the court (Nieremberg 1629). Undoubtedly, Portugal and Spain became enormously important intermediary hubs for the spread into Europe of news and examples of exotic animals (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2007).

The changes in the diet and food consumption at that time are another well-known subject (Pérez Samper 1996; Amelang 2013; Norton 2008). The American impact on everyday life can be seen just by reviewing the list of ingredients with which the merchant Jácome Diamante prepared chocolate in Madrid in around 1640, with vanilla, anatto, Jamaican pepper, cocoa and white sugar (AHN, Inquisición, libro 1400, 75r.), although this latter ingredient had first been taken to the Indies by the Europeans. At a municipal level, it may be recalled that, during the years when Gil Eanes da Costa (1543–1611) presided over the Lisbon Municipal Council, between 1595 and 1602, the possibility was considered of relieving the periodical bread shortages suffered by the Portuguese capital with loaves from the Baltic and the Mediterranean regions, but also with others made from cassava root flour (LC Ms. P-484, Escorial, 20/07/1597), this being the bread that the Brazilians called “pão de São Tomé” (St. Thomas’ bread) as they believed that it had been taken to the Indies by the apostle (Gomes 2014).

In 1636, echoing this globalisation of people’s diets, Antonio de León Pinelo bore testimony to the consumption in the Iberian peninsula of American products such as chocolate, potatoes, and *yerba mate*, highlighting the fact that this latter foodstuff, although it was harvested in Paraguay, had also begun to be consumed in Peru (León Pinelo 1636, 64v). One year later, Salvador Correia de Sá noted that he had taken to drinking *mate* during his journey from Río de Janeiro to Tucumán and Potosí, where he had seen that the Paraguayan herb was drunk by both men and women alike, by Indians as well as Spaniards (AHN Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Obra Pía, 43). He himself had brought *yerba* to Madrid and continued to take it at court, just as, Pinelo noted, the Mexicans who resided there did with chocolate, which they prepared in a different way from the other inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula (León Pinelo 1636, 63).

With complete confessional coherence, the Iberian world was also an area where not only martyrs and saints from all the continents were to be found, but also where alms circulated, particularly those that were given to the holy places of Jerusalem, together with a large number of holy images. In the ten volumes of his great *Santuario Mariano* (Marian Shrine) project, Agostinho de Santa Maria (1642–1728) sought to gather together all the images of the Virgin Mary that the Portuguese worshipped in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Many of these had been produced at European workshops and studios, particularly those in Lisbon, but it was also possible to find examples of images that had been manufactured, or also discovered, in imperial territories and that had ended up arriving in continental Portugal (Agostinho de Santa Maria 1707–1723).

The same can be said of the Spanish case, where the cult of Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (Our Lady of Copacabana) rapidly spread through engravings or paintings, but also through copies of the wood carvings that the Aymara artist
Francisco Tito Yupanqui had made in the 1580s (Stainfield-Mazzi 2013, 72–76). Yet the original images could also be brought to Europe. For example, Luis Fernández de Córdoba received an image of Nuestra Señora del Rescate (Our Lady of the Rescue), destined for a convent in the Andalusian town of Guadalcázar, bequeathed by Mariana Riederer de Paar in her will made in Mexico (Herrera 2011). The image was one of special devotion for this lady, the wife of Diego Fernández de Córdoba, the Viceroy of New Spain from 1612 to 1621, because it had originated from the port of Acapulco attacked by the pirates of the Dutchman Joris van Spielbergen, who had entered the Pacific after crossing the Strait of Magellan.

By the start of the seventeenth century, the trade in oriental products used for the decoration of the oratories and altars of the Iberian peninsula had undergone an extraordinary development, with it being evident that part of these Indian, Japanese, Chinese, or Philippine manufactures had been made to satisfy European demand (Karl 2016; Krahe 2016), an enormous market that could be reached via both the Portuguese and the American-Philippine trade routes. To give just one example, one of the first things that the new Viceroy of India, Miguel de Noronha, did upon arriving in Goa in 1630 was to satisfy the commission that his aunt, Joana de Noronha, had placed with him for some carpets destined for the steps of the chancel that she had donated to the convent of São Bento de Xabregas, in Lisbon. He sent these carpets to her there after having ordered them in Cambay, in other words, in Gujarat, counting with the exact measurements that his aunt had given him (IEB-USP Arquivo, 13/8, Goa, 31/01/1630).

Many of these objects were intended for collection purposes, being included in cabinets of curiosities, spaces that were related with the creation of the first museums and where a place was found both for natural specimens and for human artefacts originating from all over the world. The great collectors were also capable of distinguishing the provenance of the objects by the way in which they were made, in other words by their material style. For example, the Jesuit Luís Fróis tells us that the young Japanese ambassadors of the 1580s offered Felipe II some Japanese manufactures as a gift and that he “took each thing in his hands … remarking on how different this work from that of the Chinese” (Fróis 1942, 88).

In turn, the American manufactures spread beyond the realm of ornamental curiosities, with their indigenous featherwork objects creating a most distinctive aura, and fully entered into the world of the devotional cult with the production of New Spanish Christs made with paper and corn stalks (García-Abásolo 2001). These “light images”, which travelled from Mexico to Andalusia, the Canaries, and countless other Spanish churches where they are still worshipped today, were made, in part, according to traditional indigenous procedures, and they may contain inside them the remains of ancient Mayan manuscripts (Amador Marrero 2012).

The fame of the wonders that were operated by the images scattered around the then four continents of the world did not just simply reach the Iberian peninsula, but it also turned them into major items of news. For example, in 1636, Goa found itself in awe at the supposed miracle of a crucifix in the choir of the Augustinian nuns of Santa Mónica that opened its eyes and moved. The movements of this image were undoubtedly providential because the community was going through a particularly critical moment with the local authorities, which was overcome as a result of this miracle. News of this event soon reached the peninsula and, in 1640, a Relaçam
verdadeira (True Report) was published in Lisbon, while a Milagroso portento (Miraculous Wonder) was published in Madrid.

In this case, what was involved was the production of two printed leaflets, but the circulation of news was very frequently effected in the form of handwritten copies, as is clearly shown by the dissemination of the news of the martyrdom that occurred in Nagasaki in 1637 of the Neapolitan Jesuit Francesco Marcellino Mastroli (Willis 2013). This event could not only be followed in the Iberian world through the reports or lives (Palomo 2015, 26) that were published in Lisbon, Madrid, Zaragoza, or Lima, but also through manuscript copies produced in Castilian and Portuguese (RAH 9/3657(28–31); BNL Arquivo Tarouca L. 106). Of course, together with the news, there also circulated the bodies and other relics of martyrs and saints, whose pilgrimages were reported in detailed form, such as those that arrived in Lisbon and Coimbra in 1588 and 1595 (Carvalho 2001), or those that arrived in Mexico in 1578 (Aracil 2008).

Incidentally, the Augustinian priests caused the relics of three Japanese Christians martyred in 1628 to be brought to their convent in Madrid. The chronicler Luis de Jesús paid homage to them in his Historia general of the Order published in 1681 (111–112). Very shortly afterwards, in 1692, a certain Francisco Javier, who presented himself as a native of Japan newly converted to Christianity, and who was, at that time, in Spain on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had to ask for the protection of King Carlos II since they wished to arrest him as a slave because of the colour of his skin (AHN Consejos 7205). In this case, the enlarged Iberian world seemed to be more inclined to welcome the bodies of saints than the bodies of living beings.

Undoubtedly, the incorporation of Portugal into the Spanish monarchy in 1580 greatly facilitated the continuous movement of people on a world scale. However, soldiers, courtiers, and clergymen had already begun to move with extraordinary facility (taking with them languages, objects, and ways of life) through the different territories of both monarchies, even before this date. This is clearly shown by the peregrinations of Juan Calvo de Padilla, who journeyed from his native Castile to Santo Domingo and Chiapas, with Bartolomé de las Casas, thereafter travelling to Lisbon, Rome, Cape Verde, and Catalonia, and finally ending up in Madrid, where he awaited the opportunity to travel to Congo (Beltrán 1930; 1943). In turn, the Portuguese Francisco Domingues, from Viana, accompanied Francisco Hernández on his naturalist expedition to New Spain in the 1570s, remaining in Mexico, where, in 1594, he applied for the position of chronicler and cosmographer of the whole of New Spain, the Philippines, Peru, and “Great” China (AGI Patronato, 261, 9).

But the Union of Crowns from 1580 to 1640 was needed in order to promote such projects as the plan devised in 1631 to repopulate Brazil with families from other parts of the monarchy, believing that the increase in the territory’s population with the addition of new European inhabitants (even if these were not Portuguese) was “the most convenient thing for the defence and safety of Brazil” (ACA, Consejo de Aragón, 561, 20, Madrid, 12/12/1631). The lives of the Patagonians Juan, Felipe, and Francisco were also highly interesting: they arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1582 from Spain, heading for their native land close to the Strait of Magellan and accompanying the new settlers of the fortresses Nombre de Jesús and Rey Don Felipe.
Thanks to the Union of Iberian Crowns, the Castilian expeditionaries, led by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, were able to stop in the Brazilian port for a few months and, in this way, some inhabitants of the southernmost strait of America arrived in Rio de Janeiro (AGI Patronato, 33/3).

At an individual level, this also seems to have been the case with Sebastián Pereira, who declared himself to be a Chinese-born native of Canton, thus coming from close to Macao, who possibly arrived in Spain through Portugal. This Cantonese man ended up in Toledo, where he served as a stable boy and where, in 1593, he made a declaration in an inquisitorial process brought against Aleixo do Couto. In turn, the latter had arrived in Toledo as a slave, but had been born in Goa from Gentile parents and had been baptised by the Jesuits, who had taught him how to read and write, leaving India for Portugal in 1578. Serving different masters, he had moved from Lisbon to Coimbra and from there to Toledo and Rome, from where he had ended up returning to the heart of Castile (AHN Inquisición 200/45; Sierra 2005, 419, which records him as having been born in “Coton”, India).

Music lay at the origin of the prosecution of Aleixo do Couto [Alessio de Coto]. One night, he had been heard singing the baile or dance-song of Antón pintado, which was considered dishonest, but the problems grew worse when he said that he preferred to sing that song rather than an Ave María. Antón pintado was related with the zarabanda, a dance that seems to have come from Mexico to Spain (Esses...

Image 10.2 Vanitas [Allegory of the senses] by the circle of Tomás Hiepes (1610–1670) or Maestro de la Colección Ruiz Giménez
1992, 736–738). In this way, we find an Indian from Goa singing an American dance-song in the Toledo of 1593, after returning from Rome to where he had gone in the company of the cardinal Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. But let us now make some remarks about music.

Undoubtedly, music was considered to be one of the cultural experiences that revealed the (sometimes involuntary) links between the different parts of the Iberian world. The members of a group of instrumentalists—“very great players of the flageolet”—were “Indians from Portuguese India, born in the city of Goa”, who also found themselves obliged to demonstrate that they were not slaves in Madrid, in 1623 (AHN Consejos 4422-211, 1623). To their case, we can also add that of María Angola, undoubtedly an African lady, who danced or sang in the company of a Portuguese musician for the Counts of Añover in 1627 (AHN Diversos, Recuperación, 75-14 provisional); and that of the mulatto Leonor de Guzmán, the “musician”, who had come from Seville to Madrid, where, in 1610, she sought to make her own living by strumming and singing, both at her own house and at the residences of some nobles (AHN Consejos 51171). And, finally, to all of these can be added the songs and dances of guineos, in other words African music that ended up being turned into an evocation for scholarly authors such as Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz (Tenorio 1999; Swiadon 2004–05) or into an exercise for cultured composers such as, among many others, the carol Antonya, Flaciquia, Gasipà composed by the Portuguese Filipe da Madre de Deus (Stevenson 1976).

Together with this globalising dimension of an enlarged world, there was also local diversity to be found at the heart of the Iberian empires. For example, the medical knowledge of the Portuguese in Goa was built on the recognition of a previous wisdom and understanding in the use of plants and treatments that led to their description and prescription by the doctor García de Orta in his Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India [Coloquios dos simples] in 1563. Years later, when the Frenchman François Pyrard de Laval visited the Hospital del Rey in Goa in 1608, “he observed with some surprise the number of indigenous staff engaging in healing work” (Walker 2015, 222). It should be added that the only people allowed to enter the hospital as patients were soldiers and European Christian males (Bastos 2010).

On occasions, as is shown by some American cases, express mention was made of the existence of memories prior to the presence of the conquerors themselves. These could, for example, be referred to in order to justify the deep-rooted nature of certain types of practices, such as when the Capuchin friar Basilio de Zamora wished to explain the abundance of penitent flagellants in Peru and appealed to “the old custom that they previously had of bleeding in order to offer their blood to the idols”, stating that “changing their motive and purpose, they continued to enjoy doing so with their new custom” (Cosmographía o descripción del mundo, 1677, BCLM, Ms. 244, 511). But it is also possible that what is being highlighted here is the resistance to the disappearance of old local memories.

As is known, the arrival of the Spanish in the Indies involved the use of a new toponymy in the Castilian language, which forcibly imposed itself on the previous place names, which were partly replaced. However, the Spanish themselves realised that the local names continued to be used and that it would not take long for them
to reappear. This was made very clear by Hernando de Oxea in 1606, when he wrote that:

although we gave many of them [the provinces of the Indies] new names in Spanish, these were forgotten and dropped or very little used, and the old ones used by the Indians prevailed and still do today, even after they were all killed in many parts.

The Dominican friar expressed himself in this way in a letter praising the work done by Baltasar de Echave about the Basque language, which was published in Mexico in 1607 (Echave 1607, unnumbered). For his own part, although he had lived in New Spain for many years, Oxea himself was writing a history of Galicia, since, as is borne out by his own case and that of Echave, the Indies had rapidly been converted into a scenario from where one could easily think of Europe. Just as one could equally well think of China (Villamar 2015).

**VOICES, IMAGES, AND WRITINGS: EMPIRES OF INK AND REPUBLICS OF INVENTIVENESS**

One of the main features of peninsular culture as a whole was the existence of several languages that were spoken at the same time (Gil 2013; Feros 2017), accompanied, of course, by the maintenance of Latin as the *lingua franca*. In Spain, Castilian and Catalan had a rich literature in both manuscript and printed form; however, the Basque and Galician languages, even though they were widely spoken in their respective territories, were commonly used in the writing of manuscripts, but they were much less frequently transferred into printed material. Bernard Dechapare’s poems from *Linguae vascorum primitiae*, printed in Bordeaux in 1545, and some poems he wrote on the death of Margarita of Austria in 1612 were among the first, and very rare, examples of texts printed in Basque and Galician at that time. It is worth highlighting that the Basque emigrants took their language to the Indies (Otazu and Díaz de Durana 2008) and that Baltasar de Echave published the previously mentioned *Discursos de la antigüedad de la lengua cántabra* in Mexico in 1607.

In turn, there were frequent references to the use of Arabic as a spoken and written language until the expulsion of the Moors in 1609, particularly in those areas where the Moorish communities were demographically in a relative majority. There are documentary records showing that, in some manorial lordships, both government and accounting activities continued to be conducted in that language. There are, however, very few mentions of the *hispanorromani* spoken in Spain, although “A Gypsy-Spanish word-list” has been preserved. This was published by John M. Hill in 1921 and it could well date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Adiego 2002, 13).

A most valuable testimony about this multilingual Iberia was left to us by Manuel de Ataíde, who travelled across the peninsula between 1602 and 1603, from Lisbon to Montserrat, recording his impressions about Catalan, Castilian, and Aragonese. While the Castilian spoken in Castile was energetic and lively, the variety spoken in Aragon had “a softness that is very similar to Portuguese”. In his opinion, the
Catalan language was very distinct and seemed like French with “some Castilian, Portuguese and Italian words, from which a good mixture is made and the pronunciation is very charming, particularly when spoken by women” (BA Ms. 52-VIII-44, 23v [Aragonese], 39v-40r [Catalan]).

The Castilian and Portuguese languages witnessed the publication of their first grammars, respectively the one compiled by Antonio de Nebrija (1492) and those compiled by Fernão de Oliveira (1536) and João de Barros (1540). In them, the language is presented as the companion of the empire, based on a proposition made by the Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla (Asensio 1960), but this does not mean that the Iberian empires established as their sole languages either Portuguese or Castilian. Mention was made earlier of the Iberian linguistic plurality, including during the period of the Union of Crowns that lasted from 1580 to 1640.

With undeniable displays of a fully conscious pride (Curto 2007), Portuguese established itself as a differential language spoken in Lusitanian, or Portuguese, territory, although it is certain that Castilian also enjoyed a powerful presence there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Teysier 1980, 91–92), as was abundantly reflected in the production of the printing presses, with many native authors resorting to Castilian in order to enjoy a wider dissemination of their work. In this way, above all, Lisbon was converted into an important centre for the production of books in Spanish. The reasons for this phenomenon were not only a supposed subordination to Spanish manners and customs during the period 1580–1640, however important this might have been. It should be stressed that it was also due, in part, to reasons that were peculiar to the nature of the typographical production itself, such as, for example, the faultless quality offered by one of the most legendary families of Iberian printers/publishers of that time: the Craesbeeck family (Dias 1996). Being of Flemish origin, they maintained fluid relations with scholars and poets, importing a very small letter type—diamantina—for their edition of Os Lusíadas in 1626, which made it possible to read the poetic text with great clarity, including those volumes that were printed in a smaller format. Therefore, both before and after 1640, Lisbon became a sort of beacon that attracted many of those who wanted to publish collections of poets in the Castilian language, ranging from Garcilaso de la Vega (1626, 1632) to Góngora (1646–1647, 1667), Paravicino (1645), and Figueroa (1625, 1626).

On the Spanish side, it is not possible to find anything similar, although the Portuguese authors were very highly regarded, especially as poets and preachers who were translated or commented on, as, for example, in the magnificent Madrid edition of Os Lusíadas, published in 1639. There are, however, some examples of books in Portuguese that were printed in other areas of the Iberian peninsula, beginning with Varias obras em lingoa portuguesa e castelhana by Duarte Dias, published in Madrid in 1592. A few pages earlier, mention was made of an opinion expressed by António Feo, taken from one of his books that appeared in 1613 in the city of Lleida, published at the expense of the Catalan bookseller Miquel Manescal, who also took charge of the publication of a second volume in Barcelona in 1614. A year later, two books of sermons by Francisco Fernandes Galvão were published in Seville, also in Portuguese, one of them at the initiative of the Flemish bookseller Peeter van Kerberghen (Pedro Kerbergio). The same year of 1615 also saw the appearance in Madrid of the Quarta decada da Asia, which the chronicler João
de Barros had left incomplete and which João Bautista Lavanha completed and, in part, rewrote at the express orders of the king, as the marvellous book in which the same Lavanha describes the Viagem that Felipe III made to Portugal in 1619, and which came to light in Madrid three years later. We could also add to this group of books the Barcelona edition of Relação defensiva dos filhos da Índia Oriental, by Miguel da Purificação, published in 1640, but with licences from 1639 (Xavier 2014); a Regimento do bagaço da azeitona, some Resois by Ambrosio Cardoso de Abreu about taxes, and other legal pleadings, published by Madrid printing presses between 1620 and 1630; and the Loa sacramental by Ana Caro de Mallén, published in Seville in 1639, and which was translated into the Portuguese language in order to serve as a common vehicle for a Moor, a guineo, a Frenchman and a Portuguese, but in a festive context that was very similar to that of minor theatre publications (López Estrada 1976).

These books were printed in Portuguese, but not in Portugal. Instead, they were printed in other territories of the Iberian peninsula that were, at that time, under the rule of the same monarchy (1580–1640). However, this phenomenon did, in fact, date from an earlier period, since, already in 1539, the third printing of Manuel I’s legislative Ordenações had taken place in Seville, but it clearly increased during this period and certainly continued after 1640, as is shown by the publication in Madrid, in 1678, of the Tratado on the sacramental sacrilege of Odivelas by Manuel Alvares Pegas. Leaving to one side the book by Ana Caro, which was itself similar to other examples of Christmas carols in Portuguese printed in Castile, the printing of the books by Lavanha and Barros in Portuguese, as well as that of the Regimento published in 1630, was linked to the respect for the privilege that Portugal enjoyed as a united kingdom and not one that was under the dominion of Spain, a status that was expressed in the maintenance of its own language.

Yet, it is hard to explain why, in Andalusia and in Catalonia, the aforementioned collections of sermons were printed in Portuguese, since, due to the fact that Feo and Galvão were successful authors, these same works were being published by other printers in Spanish translations. Perhaps it was thought that they might be read outside Portugal in the said language, or perhaps they were intended to be sold in Portuguese-speaking territories in Europe or in its empire. Whatever the case, the important thing is that, behind such a phenomenon as this one, there seems to have been a growing market of readers whose demands were satisfied by a very active group of printers and booksellers.

Gutenberg’s ingenious invention arrived in Iberia relatively early on. Only 15 years after the appearance in Mainz of the 42-line Bible, what is considered to have been the first peninsular incunabulum was printed in Segovia in 1472 by Johann Parix, a travelling printer from Heidelberg. This marked the beginning of the extensive series of German, French, Flemish, Portuguese or Italian-speaking printers who arrived in Spain and Portugal from the late fifteenth century onwards and who caused a whole host of foreign languages to be spoken at Iberian print shops (Griffín 2005). Beginning with the Portuguese language, since, from Portugal, there came such printers as Manuel Botelho de Paiva, who was active at small Andalusian print shops during the 1620s and 1630s, and Francisco de Lira Barreto, the leading printer in Seville in the first half of the seventeenth century. Finally, it should be mentioned that, during this period, the sovereignty of the Hispanic monarchy also extended to
the Southern Netherlands, where the cities of Antwerp and Brussels were located, two of the main centres of production of printed material at that time, which naturally strove to ensure that their publications reached all of the other dominions of the House of Austria in the Iberian world.

In general terms, the manual printing press was a technical innovation that enabled an increase in book production, and meant that the price of the copies of texts fell in relative terms, while also guaranteeing that the resulting copies had a more uniform text. The stamping of inked metal moulds on conveniently prepared sheets of paper meant that the copies obtained were equal, or almost equal, to one another. Thanks to these conditions, printed copies became an everyday reality, despite the high rates of illiteracy that were typical of that time. Besides the abundance of printed materials—the average print run in the Spanish Golden Age was 1,500 copies—the proximity of illiterate persons to printed texts was due to the practice of reading aloud, so that it can be said that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, people either read or listened to other people reading. A magnificent example of this practice is provided by the case of the Peruvian mestizo Francisco Escobar who “would mount the oxcart and read to the slaves the books of Amadis and from the books of chivalry” at his Arequipa sugar plantation in the second half of the sixteenth century (Schwartz 2008, 155). Nonetheless, it should be remembered that reading aloud was also a customary practice in the literate world, just as was the recourse to the use of visual images.

The production of printed works called for the establishment of a system of printing licences, which, through the prior censorship of the reproduced texts, guaranteed their usefulness, as well as, of course, their confessional and political orthodoxy. The censorship that we are accustomed to identifying with the represive system of purging contents, drawing up lists and edicts of banned books, or the denouncements made to the Inquisition corresponds to a form of censorship conducted a posteriori, in other words a censorship that concerned itself with the orthodoxy of the books that had already entered into circulation. The granting of printing licences was a privilege of the monarchy, but this does not mean that it did not include the consideration of confessional criteria or the participation in the concession of such licences of religious bodies, such as the episcopal authorities—licences from the Diocesan Vicar—or, in Portugal, the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Given the compound nature of the Hispanic monarchy, special licences had to be obtained for each crown or each area of authority and government; thus, during the period of the kings Felipe, separate licences had to be obtained for Castile, Aragon, or Portugal, whereas the processing of applications for licences for books published in New Spain or Peru was the responsibility of the viceroys.

The licence permitted the printing of a work on just one occasion, but, generally speaking, this privilege was also requested for a certain number of years, normally ten, during which time the royal judiciary kept a close watch over things to ensure that nobody other than the holder of the licence and the right to print should in fact exercise this entitlement. These printing privileges were the closest thing to copyright that existed at that time and their usefulness in protecting the rights of authors was only relative and was limited to a brief period of time. There was not, therefore, an effective defence system equivalent to what would later come to be known as intellectual property. This was always threatened by the customary practices of
plagiarism by other authors, by the counterfeit printings made with false imprints, or, frequently, by the need that the authors and holders of licences or privileges had to sell their rights to third parties in order to be able to cover the expenses of publishing their works. Generally speaking, it was booksellers or printers who signed contracts for the purchase of licences and privileges in order to become the owners of the work, financing the printing and, furthermore, acting as editors by introducing changes to the original text, which could often be quite major in nature. For example, in 1604, Miguel de Cervantes asked for and obtained a printing licence and privilege for a book that was entitled *El ingenioso hidalgo de la Mancha*. In order to be able to print his novel, the author sold the licence and privilege to the bookseller Francisco de Robles, who financed its publication at his own expense, publishing it already under the title of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, a name that did not, however, figure as the title in the original application process for the granting of the licence (Bouza 2012).

The importance of these publishers or defrayers of printing costs is enormous because it demonstrates the mercantile nature of the business that surrounded the production of books during this period. These publishers acted out of evident economic interest, which led them to prefer to publish authors, titles, and genres that already enjoyed a prior demand. In other words, on many occasions, they preferred to reprint already consolidated works rather than to invest in new authors or genres. Obtaining a printing licence seems to have been relatively simple for the time, always, of course, being granted for works that did not offend the prevailing values, as was the case with the vast majority of those embarking on the initial official process of prior censorship. What was much more complicated and problematic was being able to complete the printing of the work, and it may be estimated that perhaps a third of the works that were granted printing licences never got to be printed because their authors, or the owners of their licence could not find the funding that was necessary for their publication.

Some of these great publishers, acting as the funders of the publication and, therefore, as fundamental elements in the production of printed texts, played a crucial role in the dissemination of authors and specific subject-matters. For example, the printer-publisher Valentim Fernandes de Moravia, active in Lisbon between 1485 and 1518, played a very important role in the placing into circulation in Europe of news and images about the Portuguese empire, especially in Germany, sharing mercantile interests with the Welser banking family (Leitch 2010, 73–74). Other important printers and booksellers who promoted the publishing activity were the Craesbeecks or Miguel Manescal in Lisbon, the Crombergers of Seville, Cormellas in Barcelona, the Robles, Alonso Pérez and Pedro Coello in Madrid, Angelo Tavanno in Zaragoza, João Antunes in Coimbra, Francisco del Canto in Lima, Enrico Martínez in México, and Antonio [Ricciardi] Ricardo in Mexico and Lima.

Although the advances made in the western movable-type printing presses after 1455 were truly amazing, this does not mean that either oral or visual means of communication disappeared as fully realised ways of creating knowledge and memory, nor that people stopped making use of manuscripts. It would be better to say that people resorted to each of these means of expression and dissemination in accordance with their circumstantial needs, which had to be satisfied. Therefore, in
view of the nature of the recipients (or even the nature of the message that was being transmitted), people chose either this or that industry and could frequently resort to a combination of the oral and the visual form, as well as the written form.

While it is certain that printed material was often preferred as the most convenient form for mass propaganda, it should also be remembered that a status of greater truthfulness was afforded to the voice and the portrait. The same could be said about the manuscript form of communication, which was usually considered to be more trustworthy than the printed copies, with which, as in the case of Don Quijote, it was frequent for people to pretend that the origin of the account was nothing more than a manuscript that had been discovered by pure chance (Bouza 2004). It should not, however, be imagined that the manuscript was reduced to a form of personal expression. Instead, there existed a whole system of professional copiers who wrote on demand and, moreover, could count on jobs open to the public where they were paid to write a new text or make a copy of others that already existed. These public writers, such as those stationed next to the Pelourinho Velho (Old Pillory) in Lisbon, should not be confused with notaries’ scribes, for their writings had no value in terms of public trust. Their public was a very broad one, since well-educated people came to them when they required copies to be made of their rough drafts, as did illiterate women and men who wanted them to write letters for their correspondence or statements that they required for the establishment of relations with the authorities.

On the other hand, the western devotion to typography must not lead us to overlook the fact that the great powers of that time, such as the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, did not need printing presses to display their power, which, if their empires were built on ink, then it was that of the manuscript and not that which was used by the printing press. Furthermore, it was fully clear that there were other non-European printing presses, such as the Chinese one. This latter press could be glorified because it made it possible for each person to print “what gives them pleasure, without needing approvals, censorship or licences” (Semedo 1642, 54).

The spoken language was undoubtedly the principal means of communication among the illiterate. Clear evidence of this is provided by the fact that the missionaries strove to replace the contents of the oral traditions with new confessional messages, but without abandoning the spoken word as the means of their transmission. This is what was done, for example, by the Aragonese Pedro Selleras (1555–1622), endowed with great musical skills, who replaced the words, although not the melody or the rhythm, of the songs that already existed with others more in keeping with the religious orthodoxy. When he encountered a woman who was singing “profanely” while sifting wheat in Lécer (Zaragoza), he took the sieve in his hands and taught her this other song: “Alma pecadora / dime ¿dónde vas? / A ti digo, hola, / que te perderás” (“Oh, sinning soul / ask me: where are you going? / And I’ll say to you, hello, / that you will be lost”—Francés 1664, 121). Moreover, as is known, neither the monarchies nor the Church insisted at that time on teaching the masses to read and write in Castilian or Portuguese, since, in fact, the huge advances of these two languages into the old imperial territories only took place in the nineteenth century (Del Valle 2015). During the late Middle Ages, in general terms, either the clergy learned the languages of the communities under their charge, who remained
illiterate and continued to speak their own languages, or they resorted to a system of interpreters and translators, who served as intermediaries between the powers in charge and the vassals.

Spoken communication was not, in any way, solely the preserve of illiterate people, since its presence and prestige in the literate world was enormous, with the voice being converted into the privileged instrument of the preacher in his pulpit, but also of the courtier in conversation, the lawyer in the law court, the diplomat at the embassy, and also the general who might have to quell a mutiny of his troops through the power of his words. In turn, the recourse to visual images was essential for the scholarly education of that time, being built on the art of memory, a complex intellectual process that taught people how to create images by linking concepts to spaces, and which lay at the origin of emblematics. Furthermore, the development of the engraving served to produce as many copies as were needed of the same original drawing, with a process being produced in the visual world that was similar to the one set in motion by the arrival of typography as far as obtaining copies of texts was concerned.

Not only did the printed texts reach the furthest extremities of the world with relative swiftness, but, thanks to the active commercial trade, they also reached the luggage of travellers, where there were usually books, or even whole libraries, to be found. On occasions, the Iberian print shops would turn out texts which, besides those in Portuguese and Spanish, also included texts translated into American or Asian languages, such as, for example, the Tamil/Portuguese Cartilha, which appeared in Lisbon in 1554 or the Guaraní Catecismo published in Madrid in 1640. In the same way, printed material also began to be produced outside Europe.

When the sixteenth century came to an end, the printing press had already become widely implanted all over the Iberian world, from Mexico in 1539 and Goa in 1556 to the Philippines in the 1590s, passing through Lima (1584) and Macao (1585). The next century witnessed a more gradual expansion into other places in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, reaching the Jesuit settlements of the River Plate in 1700 (Wilde 2014), without, however, the possible intentions of establishing a first printing press in Dutch Recife succeeding in ever becoming a reality. The shortage of permanent print shops in Brazil until sometime after the arrival of the royal court in 1808 has been a matter for debate that does not seem easy to solve, but which might be explained by the parallel absence of universities and of a viceroy court during the previous period.

The strategic position of Goa on the Asian trade routes was partly responsible for the typographical wealth of the capital of Portuguese India. On the one hand, the first printings were made with a movable type printing press initially destined for Ethiopia (Wicki 1956). On the other hand, in 1587, a printing press arrived in Goa, accompanying the Japanese ambassadors who had visited Felipe II and Pope Gregory XIII and who stopped off in India on their return to Japan, taking with them the printing press that they had purchased in Lisbon (Pinto 2016). It was used in 1588 to publish a Latin Oratio given at the Jesuit college by the daimyo Martinus Hara thanks to the skills of the equally Japanese Constantinus Douratus, who had learned the art of printing in Lisbon in order to be able to then practise it in Goa, Macao, and Japan (Dias 2014). Finally, Goa was also a good example of how books printed outside the Iberian peninsula were not condemned to always have a merely
local circulation, although there is no doubt that their dissemination was restricted. In 1563, the *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India* by the Portuguese Garcia de Orta (1501–1568) were printed there, a book that was acquired a year later in Lisbon by the Flemish Carolus Clusius, who noted with care the date when he made that purchase (Boxer 1963, plate II).

Although the Indians were accustomed to reading Spanish literature, very few fictional stories included in their plots both American and peninsular territories at the same time. Among those that did so, however, was the picaresque novel *El donado hablador* (1624–1626) by Jerónimo de Alcalá. Of course, the Iberian expansion became a subject that occupied the attention of the pens of Portuguese and Spanish authors throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, not everyone had travelled to the lands that they wrote about and only some of them had been born outside the Iberian peninsula, such as Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca from Cuzco (1539–1616) and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1581–1639) from Taxco. Luís de Camões (1524–1580) published his *Lusíadas* in Lisbon in 1572, shortly after having returned from a long stay in India and after spending some months in Mozambique. Alonso de Ercilla (1533–1594) also gained a direct knowledge of the American lands in which his epic *Araucana* (1569) was set. While the chronicler Diogo do Couto (1542–1616) moved to live in the Indian region that he described, and ending up dying in Goa, the Spanish Antonio de Herrera (1549–1626) never left Europe, although he wrote numerous stories and a description of the Indies from Castile.

For his own part, Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666) lived in exile in Brazil between 1655 and 1658, where he wrote his famous sonnet “Vária ideia, estando na América e perturbado no estudo por bailes de bárbaros”. Juan de Palafox (1600–1659) lived in New Spain throughout the 1640s, founded the extraordinary library known as the Biblioteca Palafoxiana in Puebla, and, among other books, wrote *De la naturaleza del indio*. Needless to say that the work of the Jesuit António Vieira (1608–1697) is incomprehensible without knowledge of his experience in Brazil, where he lived for long periods, which were complemented by stays in Portugal, Italy, France, and Holland. However, Cervantes, although he wished to go to the Indies to occupy some government post, never succeeded in doing so. Mateo Alemán (1647–1614) was more fortunate: he moved to Mexico, where he published his *Ortografía castellana* in 1609, a book that opens with an epistle written in dedication to the city inhabited by “such subtle and happy geniuses”.

Undoubtedly, a republic of letters was created about the Iberian world. In principle, this was a Hispanic one, but it was gradually advancing towards the construction of two separate Parnassuses (Carvalho 2007). Eugenio Asensio drew attention to the conversion of the Portuguese Camões into the “Príncipe de los Poetas de España”, as he was described on the title page of the 1639 Madrid edition of *Os Lusíadas* (Asensio 1980). Here, Spain is the Peninsular Hispania, just as it is in the catalogue of the “natives of Spain ... who have given their works to be published”, compiled between 1590 and 1615 by Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, the author of the *Mexicana* (Artigas 1917).

As if he imagined a Hispanic literary nation, in which there was no distinction between ancient and modern, and to which his “Spanish” authors belonged through their mere dedication to literature, Lobo gathered together in this catalogue more than 450 Castilian, Portuguese, Biscayan, Aragonese, Galician, and Catalan authors,
but also “the Master Juan Latino [who] was black and swarthy” and Pablo de Cartagena, “Spanish and Jewish” and a convert to Christianity. Without forgetting either Averroes or Avicena (who it was supposed, at that time, was from Cordoba), about whom he wrote:

I have placed these two Moors here so that people may know the geniuses in all the sciences and faculties that have come out of Spain and how naturally the country has produced them and also so that some people who doubted some of these things should not ignore them.

(RBME Ms. L-III-27, voces signantes)

Gabriel Lobo also easily incorporated into his collection of authors the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega because American geniuses could also quite easily enter this ideal republic of letters. In this way, in his Templo de la Fama, Andrés Ferrer (1620–1680) drew up a hierarchy of the world’s four best universities, inclining towards those of Paris and Salamanca, as was to be expected, but also towards those of Lima and Mexico (Ferrer 1680, 143-bis).

Ferrer had spent part of his life in New Spain and had always displayed his desire to incorporate the American realities into the common treasure of all men of letters. He therefore questioned whether the series of the wonders of the world should not also include the Inca Temple of the Sun or Moctezuma’s Gardens, besides the Great Wall of China (Ferrer 1680, 121). His own career as an author had begun in the printing presses of Puebla de los Ángeles, but undoubtedly, he only became a relatively famous author thanks to the printing of his works in Spain.

With a certain sense of disappointment, Juan Díaz de Arce lamented that the histories had forgotten Bernardino Álvarez and his foundation of the Hospital de San Hipólito de la Orden de la Caridad, a pioneering institution dedicated to the care of the mentally ill (Rumbaut 1971). The Mexican Díaz wondered if this forgetfulness was due to the fact that this charitable order “was born in the Indies” and explained that he had decided to publish the life of Álvarez so that he could be deservedly better known (Díaz de Arce 1651, Prologue). However, a quarter of a century later, in 1677 and, apropos of Antonio de Céspedes, Esteban de Aguilar stated that in the kingdoms of Spain there was a continuing interest about everything that was done in America, “with it being certain that, for many years”, there arrived from the New World not only “gold and physical, and natural, silver, but also gold and symbolic silver”. He therefore approved the printing in Madrid of the sermons that Céspedes had preached in Peru (Céspedes 1677, unnumbered).

With the antecedents of highly successful preachers already at the beginning of the seventeenth century, such as Juan Sebastián de la Parra (1545–1622), or the continued presence of Pedro de Alva (1601–1667), it is certainly surprising to note the number of “Peruvian sermons” that were published at different Spanish print shops in the second half of the seventeenth century, including those of several Jesuit priests (Barrasa, Céspedes, Jáuregui, Salduendo), the Dominican friar Fernando de Herrera (1675), the priest Diego Carrasco de Saavedra (1680, 1696), or the canon Juan Caballero de Cabrera (1663). It should be stressed that some of these sermons had already been printed separately in Lima, being gathered together as a collection at the Spanish print shops, where they were destined for the peninsular market, but
also, of course, due to be returned to the Indies, perhaps with the Spanish editions of
the sermons of António Vieira, which were also published in great profusion at the
Spanish print shops of that time.

The same thing happened with the famous Carta atenagórica by Juana Inés de
la Cruz, printed in Puebla de los Ángeles in 1690, but later reprinted in Seville in
1692, where it formed part of a volume of the nun’s works. Besides its literary value,
the Carta is interesting because the nun from New Spain criticises the work of the
“Luso-Brazilian” Vieira, showing how the intellectual debate took place in a trans-
verse manner. The same could be said of the Apologético of Juan de Espinosa from
Cuzco, who defended the Castilian Luis de Góngora against the Portuguese Manuel
de Faria in a text printed in Lima in 1662 (Guibovich 2005).

Some American authors, such as Juan Sarmiento de Gamboa, paid their own
expenses for the printing of their works at European print shops. In other cases,
works that had already been published in the Indies were reprinted on peninsular
printing presses. For example, El espejo de la perfecta casada by Fray Alonso de
Herrera appeared in Lima in 1623, but only 15 years later, in 1637, was it reprinted
in Granada, with the references to Lima and its women, including the Indian women,
being translated to the context of the Iberian peninsula. The same happened with
the Suma de sacramentos by the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Ledesma (ca. 1524–
1604), printed in Mexico in 1566, but which, with numerous later additions, was
reprinted in Salamanca in 1585. The interesting thing about this work is that the
volume was intended to be used for training clergymen to develop the sacramental
practices, first in the Indies, and then in Spain, but based on the American experi-
ence, as is highlighted by the fact that it deals in detail with the question of whether
the catechesis should take place before or after baptism, a circumstance that cer-
tainly corresponded to the American context, but less so to the peninsular context
(Beuchot 1991).

The printing press also provided its services to the exercise of power, making
it possible to disseminate regulations or laws, but also being used for propaganda
purposes, both for strengthening power over the vassals and for legitimising actions
against third parties. For example, amid the preparations being made for the new
armada that Felipe II was to send against England in 1597, a manifesto was printed
at a Lisbon print shop, written in English in order to convince the inhabitants of
Great Britain of the king’s just reasons for invading their country, and which the
Spanish troops were supposed to distribute after landing there (Thomas 1946).

Printed material was also used to obtain information on which the government
could justify its decisions from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards
(Brendecke 2016). A questionnaire was printed for the purposes of conducting a
great survey known as the Relaciones topográficas, ordered by Felipe II in the 1570s
and designed in such a way that all the citizens affected would answer the same
questions. Furthermore, the mechanical printing of these forms obliged everyone
to answer the questions in the same order, which facilitated the final processing of
the data obtained in this way. The same procedure was followed, in 1577, in the
Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, for which an Instrucción y memoria was printed
with a questionnaire of 50 questions; and for the great campaigns for the observa-
tion of lunar eclipses between 1577 and 1588, when an extraordinary network of
observers was organised that extended from Toledo and Seville to Puerto Rico and
the Solomon Islands (Portuondo 2009). However, the results of the expedition undertaken by the doctor Francisco Hernández to New Spain from 1571 to 1576, a major work of natural history in the sixteenth century, did not end up being published (and then only partially) until 1651, and, furthermore, in Rome (Varey 2000).

The printing press not only served the kings, but it was also used by bishops and by the nobility in their communications with their congregations and vassals. Of course, private individuals also used it to publicise their stances or opinions about certain conjunctions, both personal and collective ones (Bouza 2016). For example, the German Ferdinand Cron and the Flemish Jacques and Joseph de Coutre, all of whom had mercantile interests in Goa, were accused of maintaining secret dealings with the Dutch in India, and were consequently prosecuted and exiled to Lisbon. When they were declared innocent, they decided to resort to the printing press in order to restore their good name, the former in around 1629 and the others in 1632, since this enabled them to afford a greater dissemination to the recognition of their innocence. In a completely opposite way, printed publications could also be used to retract some opinion that had previously been expressed, as was the case with Luis Crespi de Borja in his Retractación, printed in 1649, through which he acknowledged his mistake in having put his name to a text written in favour of comedies (Callado 2011). His retraction began with the startling words: “I am not writing this paper in order to excuse myself, but rather to accuse myself”.

Despite the importance of the printed publication in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the manuscript continued to be a capital means for the dissemination of orders and news in the far-flung Portuguese and Spanish empires. In two monarchies with absent kings, the political communication between the different territories and between their government bodies was made by sending envoys who acted as ambassadors or attorneys representing the interests of the remote populations, but, above all, by an impressive system of handwritten correspondence, through which there came into circulation letters, reports, and other memoranda. Although personal audiences remained in force throughout this period and there continued to be visual expedients, such as the sending of royal portraits (Rodríguez Moya 2001), the advances in writing were undeniable during this period.

The presence of the sovereign at those councils over which he had previously presided in person was gradually replaced by an increase in the intermediary role played by the secretaries and in the use of written records as a way of substituting the eyes and ears of the king himself. On the other hand, a royal directive about how private citizens should write to the kings and to the government tribunals was made available through a Pragmática published in 1586 and a Provisam de como se ha de falar e escreuer printed in 1597. Finally, the impulse given to the great royal archives, such as Simancas or the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, made it possible to complete a panorama in which ink made government possible by allowing the circulation of orders and petitions, at the same time as it generated written documentation that could be stored and therefore recovered for use when necessary.

Consequently, without forgetting the almost unmanageable world of rumours—whispers or murmurs in the lexicon of the time—the Iberian world turned into a world of notifications of news and postal exchanges. The ones that benefited from this transformation were the established powers, but, at the same time, writing (whether in printed or in manuscript form) could also be used to create new for
The advantages and the dangers were clearly revealed by Juan Vitrián, in 1643, when he guaranteed that the weekly post was good because it guaranteed a continuous flow of information, but “it is bad for gossip and the tittle-tattle written by the backbiters, disturbing people’s minds and poking the king’s authority into every little trifle” (Commynes and Vitrián 1643, 413).

First, as handwritten notices and numerous separately printed reports, but later as periodical printed publications, albeit with a very short life, the news about contemporary events began to circulate increasingly (Ettinghausen 2015). For example, the Catalan Gazetas of 1641–1642 and the Portuguese Gazetas of 1641 to 1647 or the monthly series of the Mercurio portuguez, which appeared in Lisbon between 1663 and 1667, made it possible to accompany the crucial years of the crisis of the mid-seventeenth century. In turn, the Gazeta nueva, which appeared in Madrid between 1661 and 1662, fulfilled a similar function. Also extremely important were the different reports of the European events that came out of the printing presses of Lima, with such titles as Quarto pliego del estado en que están las cosas de Portugal, dating from 1641, the Diario of the events of Spain, Portugal, and Catalonia in 1646, published by Julián Santos de Saldaña in 1647, and various issues of the Noticias de Castilla or the Noticias del Sur (Winship 1908).

One of the most active printers of these reports of events and gazetas was Juan Gómez de Blas from Seville (Cameron 1988). It was he who, in 1642, requested royal permission to publish in Seville a book of devout Marian prayers that had already been printed in Mexico and whose fame and respective copies had arrived in Spain (AHN Consejos 46599). The printing press had managed to create a market that not only resulted in continuous consignments of books being shipped from Europe to the Indies (Rueda 2012), but also caused American books and authors to be brought to the Iberian peninsula to be printed here for the first time or to be reprinted afresh. The circulation of objects, people, foodstuffs, devotions, images, relics, rhythms, animals, plants, or news had helped to make it possible for culture and communication to circulate across an Iberian world.

NOTE

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona
AGI Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHNo Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Toledo
AHPoU Arquivo Histórico Provincial, Ourense
ANTT Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
BA Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BCLM Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo
BMB Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon
BNL Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon
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Céspedes, A. de (1677) Sermones varios, predicados en el reyno del Perú, Madrid: Iuan García Infánçon.


Commynes, P. de and Vitrian, J. (1643) Las memorias de Felipe de Comines, Amberes: Iuan Meurio.

Cristóvão de Lisboa (1641) Sermão da quarta dominga da Quaresma, Lisbon: Lourenço de Anveres.


Díaz de Arce, J. (1651) Libro primero del próximo evangélico exemplificado en la vida del Venerable Bernardino Alaves, México: Iuan Ruyz.

Echave, B. de (1607) Discursos de la antigüedad de la lengua cántabra bascongada, México: Henrico Martinez.


Feo, A. (1613) Tratados quadragesimais da Paschoa, Lérida: Manescal.


Francés, T. (1664) *Vida y muerte, virtudes y prodigios del venerable fray Pedro Selleras, Zaragoza*: Juan de Ybar.


León Pinelo, A. de (1636) *Questiôn moral, si el chocolate quebranta el ayuno eclesiástico: Trátase de otras bebidas e confecciones queusan en varias provincias*, Madrid: Viuda de Iuan Gonçález.


Mimoso, J. S. (1620) Relación de la real tragicomedia con que los padres de la Compañía de Jesús […] recibieron a la Majestad Católica de Felipe II de Portugal, Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez.
Rebulllosa, J. (1601) Relación de las grandes fiestas que en esta ciudad de Barcelona se han echo a la canonización de su hijo San Ramón de Peñafor, Barcelona: Tayme Cendrat.

Semedo, Á. (1642) Imperio de la China i cultura evangélica en el de los religiosos de la Compañía, Madrid: Sánchez.


Suárez de Figueroa, C. (1621) Varias noticias importantes a la humana comunicación, Madrid: Tomás Iunti.


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