ANGELS, DEMONS AND THE NEW WORLD

When European notions about angels and demons were exported to the New World, they underwent remarkable adaptations. Angels and demons came to form an integral part of the Spanish American cosmology, leading to the emergence of colonial urban and rural landscapes set within a strikingly theological framework. Belief in celestial and demonic spirits soon regulated and affected the daily lives of Spanish, Indigenous, and Mestizo peoples, while missionary networks circulated these practices to create a widespread and generally accepted system of belief that flourished in seventeenth-century Baroque culture and spirituality. This study of angels and demons opens a particularly illuminating window onto intellectual and cultural developments in the centuries that followed the European encounter with America. The volume will be of interest to scholars and students of religious studies, anthropology of religion, history of ideas, Latin American colonial history and church history.

FERNANDO CERVANTES is Reader in History at the University of Bristol. He is the author of *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (1994).

ANDREW REDDEN is Lecturer in Latin American History at the University of Liverpool. He is author of *Diabolism in Colonial Peru, 1560–1750* (2008).
ANGELS, DEMONS AND THE NEW WORLD

EDITED BY
FERNANDO CERVANTES
AND
ANDREW REDDEN

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
In memory of Michael P. Costeloe
#Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of illustrations</th>
<th>page ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notes on contributors</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Introduction**

*Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden*

**PART I FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW**

1. The devil in the Old World: anti-superstition literature, medical humanism and preternatural philosophy in early modern Spain  
   *Andrew Keitt*  
   15

2. *Demonios* within and without: Hieronymites and the devil in the early modern Hispanic world  
   *Kenneth Mills*  
   40

3. How to see angels: the legacy of early Mendicant spirituality  
   *Fernando Cervantes*  
   69

**PART II INDIGENOUS RESPONSES**

4. Satan is my nickname: demonic and angelic interventions in colonial Nahuatl theatre  
   *Louise M. Burkhart*  
   101

5. Where did all the angels go? An interpretation of the Nahua supernatural world  
   *Caterina Pizzigoni*  
   126
viii

Contents

6 Vipers under the altar cloths: satanic and angelic forms in seventeenth-century New Granada
Andrew Redden 146

PART III THE WORLD OF THE BAROQUE

7 Angels and demons in the conquest of Peru
Ramón Mujica Pinilla 171

8 Winged and imagined Indians
Jaime Cuadriello 211

9 ‘Psychomachia Indiana’: angels, devils and holy images in New Spain
David Brading 249

List of works cited 274
Index 297
Illustrations

Figure 5.1 Map: Valley of Toluca (Mexico). page 128

Figure 7.1 Angel of the Apocalypse (Arequipa, eighteenth century). Anonymous painting based on an engraving by Juan de Jáuregui (1583–1641) which illustrates Luis de Alcázar’s Commentary on the Apocalypse. Private collection, Lima, Peru. 184

Figure 7.2 Esriel Auxilium [Auxilium] Dei (Esriel, Help of God). Anonymous painting, typical of the Andean harquebus-bearing angels of the last third of the seventeenth century. Private collection, Lima, Peru. 186

Figure 7.3 St Bartholomew and beast with lion’s claws. Anonymous, eighteenth century. Image reproduced courtesy of the Barbosa Stern Collection, Lima, Peru. 190

Figure 7.4 The Reign of the Antichrist. Anonymous, 1739. Iglesia de Caquiaviri, La Paz, Bolivia. 194

Figure 7.5 The Ship of Christ under assault from the hordes of Satan. Allegorical painting by Melchor Pérez de Holguín (Cochabamba, 1660–1732), painted for the church of San Lorenzo de Potosí, Bolivia. 200

Figure 7.6 Line drawing by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Corónica Nueva y Buen Gobierno, fol. 694[708] depicting a ‘poor Indian’ on his knees, pleading mercy in the face of six threatening animals which are about to devour him alive. 203

Figure 7.7 Line drawing by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Corónica Nueva y Buen Gobierno, fol. 302[304] depicting a prisoner locked in a cave inhabited by dangerous animals. 204

Figure 7.8 The devil in the form of a mastiff attacking St Rose of Lima (1586–1617). Anonymous, eighteenth century. Monasterio de Santa Rosa de Santa María, Lima, Peru. 205
List of illustrations

Figure 7.9 Allegory of the Church. Anonymous, eighteenth century. Image reproduced courtesy of the Barbosa Stern Collection, Lima, Peru.

Figure 8.1 The fourth apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego. Anonymous seventeenth-century painting. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City.

Figure 8.2 Portrait of Fray Pedro de Gante as a catechist. Anonymous eighteenth-century painting. Museo Nacional de Historia, INAH, Mexico City.

Figure 8.3 The boy martyrs of Tlaxcala. Anonymous eighteenth-century mural in the entrance to the convent of Ozumba, Estado de México.

Figure 8.4 A friar hears the confession of an indigenous cacique. Anonymous sixteenth-century mural in the convent of Tlaxaltinango, Morelos.

Figure 8.5 The Tree of Redemption in the Republic of the Indians. Engraving detail from the Rethorica Cristiana [1579] by Diego Valadés.

Figure 8.6 The apparition of the portrait of Saint Dominic to the Beatus of Soriano. Early seventeenth-century painting by Luís Juárez. Museo Casa de la Bola, Mexico City.

Figure 8.7 Anonymous seventeenth-century ‘True portrait of the servant of God, Juan Diego’. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City.

Figure 8.8 San Miguel del Milagro [Saint Michael of the Miracle]. Seventeenth-century painting by José de Nava. Colección Jaime Cuadriello.

Figure 8.9 The apparition of the image of the Virgin of los Remedios to Don Juan Tovar by Miguel Cabrera (1695–1768). Templo de Belén de la Huertas, Mexico City.

Figure 8.10 Fray Pedro de Gante and Our Lady of Los Remedios. Anonymous eighteenth-century painting. Museo Nacional de Historia, INAH, Mexico City.

Figure 8.11 Our Lady of Tecaxic. Anonymous sixteenth-century painting. Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City.

Figure 8.12 The miracle of the Virgin of Ocotláñ by Manuel Caro (1781). Sacristy of the Basílica of Ocotláñ, Tlaxcala.

Figure 8.13 Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos and her four miracles. Anonymous eighteenth-century painting. Private collection, Guadalajara.
Contributors


FERNANDO CERVANTES is Reader in History at the University of Bristol. His publications include The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain (1994) and Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America (1999), co-edited with Nicholas Griffiths.

JAIME CUADRIELLO is a member of the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas and Professor of Art History at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Among his many books is The Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala: Art and Life in Viceregal Mexico (2011).

ANDREW KEITT is Associate Professor of History at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He is the author of Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain (2005).
Notes on contributors

Kenneth Mills is Professor of History and Director of Latin American Studies at the University of Toronto. He is the author of Idolatry and Its Enemies (1997). Colonial Spanish America (1998) and Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History (2002) were both co-edited with William B. Taylor and Sandra Lauderdale Graham. Conversion: Old Worlds and New (2003) and Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (2003) were both co-edited with Anthony Grafton.


Caterina Pizzigoni is Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University, New York. Her recent publications include Testaments of Toluca (2007).

Andrew Redden is Lecturer in Latin American History at the University of Liverpool. He is the author of Diabolism in Colonial Peru, 1560–1750 (2008).