

EMPIRE OF ELOQUENCE

The global reach of the Spanish and Portuguese empires prompted a remarkable flourishing of the classical rhetorical tradition in various parts of the early modern world. *Empire of Eloquence* is the first study to examine this tradition as part of a wider global renaissance in Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa, with a particular focus on the Iberian world. Spanning the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the book argues that the classical rhetorical tradition contributed to the ideological coherence and equilibrium of this early modern Iberian world, providing important occasions for persuasion, legitimation and eventual (and perhaps inevitable) confrontation. Drawing on archival collections in thirteen countries, Stuart M. McManus places these developments in the context of civic, religious and institutional rituals attended by the multiethnic population of the Iberian world and beyond, and shows how they influenced public speaking in non-European languages, such as Konkani and Chinese.

STUART M. MCMANUS is Assistant Professor of World History at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and an Affiliated Scholar of the Faculty of Law's Center for Transnational and Comparative Law. His published work ranges widely across Hispanic and global history from antiquity to the present, and has been supported by prestigious fellowships from Princeton, Brown, Yale and SIFK at the University of Chicago.

IDEAS IN CONTEXT

Edited by David Armitage, Richard Bourke and Jennifer Pitts

The books in this series will discuss the emergence of intellectual traditions and of related new disciplines. The procedures, aims and vocabularies that were generated will be set in the context of the alternatives available within the contemporary frameworks of ideas and institutions. Through detailed studies of the evolution of such traditions, and their modification by different audiences, it is hoped that a new picture will form of the development of ideas in their concrete contexts. By this means, artificial distinctions between the history of philosophy, of the various sciences, of society and politics, and of literature may be seen to dissolve.

The series is published with the support of the Exxon Foundation.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at:
www.cambridge.org/IdeasContext

EMPIRE OF ELOQUENCE

*The Classical Rhetorical Tradition in Colonial Latin
America and the Iberian World*

STUART M. MCMANUS

The Chinese University of Hong Kong



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-108-82173-5 — Empire of Eloquence
 Stuart M. McManus
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
 a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
 education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108821735

DOI: 10.1017/9781108909181

© Stuart McManus 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
 of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
 place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2021

First paperback edition 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

NAMES: McManus, Stuart M., 1986– author.

TITLE: Empire of eloquence : the classical rhetorical tradition in colonial Latin America
 and the Iberian world / Stuart M. McManus.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: Ideas in
 context | Based on the author's dissertation (doctoral)– Harvard University, 2016. |
 Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2020043221 (print) | LCCN 2020043222 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108830164
 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108821735 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108909181 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Rhetoric, Ancient–Study and teaching–Spain–History. | Rhetoric, Ancient–Study
 and teaching–Latin America–History. | Latin philology–Study and teaching–Spain–History. |
 Latin philology–Study and teaching–Latin America–History. | Latin language, Medieval and
 modern–Rhetoric. | Latin language–Church Latin–Rhetoric. | Rhetoric–Religious aspects–
 Catholic Church. | Spain–Colonies–History. | Spain–Intellectual life–History.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC PA2065.S7 M36 2021 (print) | LCC PA2065.S7 (ebook) |
 DDC 808/.046–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020043221>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020043222>

ISBN 978-1-108-83016-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-82173-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
 or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
 publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
 remain, accurate or appropriate.

Matri optimae

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction: An Empire of Eloquence in a Global Renaissance	i
1 The Foundations of the Empire of Eloquence	22
2 Philip IV's Global Empire of Eloquence	51
3 A Japanese <i>Cicero Redivivus</i>	112
4 Indo-Humanist Eloquence	155
5 Centers, Peripheries and Identities in the Empire of Eloquence	190
6 The Republic of Eloquence	228
<i>Bibliography</i>	255
<i>Index</i>	288

Figures

1.1	Diachronic map of the early modern Iberian World (anthropological terms). Made with the assistance of Cheryl Cape.	page 9
1.2	McManus Research Itinerary, 2014–2015. Made with the assistance of Cheryl Cape.	21
1.1	Map of the main square in Mexico City (c. 1562), <i>Plano de la Plaza Mayor de México, de los edificios y calles adyacentes y la acequia real</i> (Spain, Seville, Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, MP-MEXICO, 3)	23
2.1	Arrival of the Galleon <i>San José</i> bearing the news of the death of Philip IV in an illuminated initial (Manila, Archdiocesan Archives, Anales I, fol. 197v)	52
2.2	Map of surviving orations in Europe and the Americas for the death of Philip IV	57
2.3	Portrait of Nicolás del Puerto y Salgado (Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Mexico). INAH.-FOTOTECA NACIONAL.-MEX. “Reproducción Autorizada por el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.”	68
2.4	Sestertius of Faustina the Elder (141–142 CE) with a funeral pyre on the reverse	71
2.5	<i>Túmulo</i> constructed in Mexico City Cathedral, <i>Llanto del occidente en el ocaso del más claro sol de las Españas: Fúnebres demostraciones que hizo pyra real, que erigió en las exequias del Rey N. Señor D. Felipe III el grande</i> (Mexico City, 1666)	83
2.6	Emblem, “The Pious and Merciful King” (<i>Llanto del Occidente en el ocaso del más claro sol de las Españas</i> , fol. 53r)	86
4.1	Marginal annotation to the <i>Bhīṣmaparva</i> on Śikhāṇḍī (BPB, cod. 771 [PT/UM-ADB/COL/M], fol. 21r)	168

List of Figures

ix

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 5.1 | Title page of Juan Gregorio Campos y Martínez, <i>Oratio apologetica</i> (Mexico City, 1746) | 194 |
| 6.1 | Title page of Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, <i>Alocución que en el día veinte de enero del año mil setecientos ochenta y tres, cumpleaños del nuestro Señor D. Carlos III</i> (Manila, 1783) | 239 |

Acknowledgments

This book would not have been possible without the help and support of numerous people scattered across multiple continents. There is not enough space here to include every person who deserves to be thanked, but I hope that in this act of *praeteritio* those whose names do not appear will find some small measure of the appreciation they deserve.

In the thirteen countries that I visited in the course of my research, I relied heavily on the expertise and assistance of numerous librarians and archivists. I also benefited from the company of many local guides and fellow travelers. In the sprawling cities of the Americas, I would have been lost (often literally) without Deidre Moore and Tatiana Seijas in Mexico City; Ximena Gómez in Lima; and Andrew Redden in Santiago de Chile. In Manila, Madrid and Seville, Jorge Mojarro showed me the way to the archives and the best local eateries. In Tokyo, Aki Watanabe and his colleagues in the Japanese Association of Renaissance Studies made me feel very welcome. I also owe a heartfelt *Deu borem korum* and a *muito obrigado* to Antonio Pereira and his family who hosted me in Goa. To all those I met on my travels, I only wish that I could have stayed longer to get to know you better.

Like many other books, this one began life as a dissertation. At Harvard, I benefited immensely from the advice and camaraderie of numerous advisors and friends. It was Bernard Bailyn who first encouraged me to turn my attention to Latin America, and for this I will be forever grateful. I also could not have wished for a more supportive dissertation committee who deserve much more than this short *gratiarum actio*: to Jim Hankins for giving me the most complete training an historian of the Western humanities could have asked for and for the faith he has shown in me over the years; to Tamar Herzog for her sage advice, perceptive criticisms and advice on archives and libraries in Latin America and beyond; to Ann Blair for her unfailing support from beginning to end; to David Armitage for his constant encouragement to ask bigger questions; and to Peter Mack for

Acknowledgments

xi

sharing with me his deep knowledge of rhetorical theory. In addition, I was fortunate to be part of two communities of enthusiastic young scholars in my two intellectual homes, the Departments of History and the Classics, including my *Doktorbrüder und -schwester*, the Drs. Tworek, and my good friend Tom Keeline. Beyond Harvard, I also benefited from the advice of Andrew Laird, *rerum Romanarum Mexicanarumque peritus*, and the cartographical expertise of Cheryl Cape.

During my time “abroad” (wherever exactly that is), I received financial support from many organizations. At Harvard, I received short-term grants from the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, the Harvard Asia Center, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and the Harvard Center for American Political Studies. An eighteen-month period of research was also funded by a Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and a Mellon Fellowship for Dissertation Research in Original Sources administered by the Council on Library and Information Resources. Lastly, the John Carter Brown Library in Providence also proved a wonderful place to spend a semester conducting preliminary research.

The completed dissertation subsequently began its metamorphosis into a book at the Stevanovich Institute on the Formation of Knowledge (SIFK) at the University of Chicago, where I spent two glorious years, first as the inaugural postdoctoral fellow, then in the company of my fellow fellows: Margaret Carlyle, Jennifer P. Daly, Damien Droney and Eduardo A. Escobar. SIFK’s Steering Committee, Shadi Bartsch-Zimmer, Bob Richards, Haun Saussy and Clifford Ando (we never did go on that bike ride along the lakefront!), were also always there for me with advice and wine, not forgetting the wonderful staff: Macol Cerda, Jessica Velazquez and Vicky Lim. Thanks to their support and that of the members of the Committee on Southern Asian Studies (COSAS), especially Philip Engblom, I was also able to complete Chapter 4, which I hope gives some sense of the richness of the surviving missionary sources in Konkani (*amchi Goenchi bhas*).

The final touches to the book were added at the Chinese University of Hong Kong during a turbulent period in Hong Kong’s post-handover history. Come rain or shine in this great city where the mountains rise straight out of the ocean and the skyscrapers out of the mountains, my wonderful colleagues have always been generous with their time and knowledge of premodern Chinese history and other topics: Professors

Lai Ming-chiu, Poo Mu-chou, Ho Pui-yin, Puk Wing-kin, Ian Morley, Noah Shusterman, Rowena He and my fellow Scotsman, James Morton. I received a Direct Grant from the Faculty of Arts, which allowed me to enlist the help of Terence Tze-wai Chan who provided much linguistic and other assistance, and at different stages I had the assistance of a number of student helpers, including Chung Ling Fung, Lee Marcus Sherray and Tang Edward. Finally, I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers and the staff at Cambridge University Press, especially Liz Friend-Smith and Atifa Jiwa, as well as Michael Henry who compiled the index and the Faculty of Arts of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, which provided a publication subvention.

Over the decade it took to research and write, this book stole many hours, days and months. Throughout the process, Janine May was a source of constant support and encouragement. However, it is to my family, Fiona Crosbie, James McManus, Ruth McManus, Shona, Clare and the newest arrival Caleb, that I owe the greatest debt.

Abbreviations

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, Spain
<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Journal)
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City, Mexico
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima, Peru
BPB	Biblioteca Pública, Braga, Portugal