

Eduardo Dargent Chamot

Flemish Presence in Colonial South America

Original title: *Presencia Flamenca en la Sudamérica Colonial*

Translation: Igor Antonissen

2010

Presentation

The interest of those investigating European topics in Peru allows to generate relationships that go beyond the academic world and may create deep bonds of friendship. This is our case and the one of Professor Eduardo Dargent Chamot. We are both dedicated to studying *el mundo flamenco*¹: medieval Europe in our case and the presence of Flanders in South America in the case of professor Dargent. We share a common topic of study, the Flemish merchants, and this academic link is complemented by the fact that we both taught at the university.

It is an enormous responsibility to present a work that, for more than a decade, is for professor Dargent a big preoccupation. At the same time, it is a deep satisfaction knowing that his personal and professional interests have led to a study that can motivate future researchers and expand the knowledge of the relations between Flanders and Peru.

At first, I consider that it is important to recognize the enormous interest of Flanders for the medieval and modern history in Western Europe. It is one of the most representative areas of the whole medieval period, characterized by the influence of feudalism and nascent commercial capitalism between the eleventh and twelfth century. Flanders played an outstanding role in the international relations of the Middle Ages, especially with the German Empire, England and France. If we add to this the importance of Flanders in the international trade, both in North and South Europe, it is not surprising that our everyday lexicon is a clear legacy of the Flemish culture, just like the term *bolsa*².

But economy was not the only thing that interested the dynamic people of the County of Flanders. Why not remember their urban and rural struggles, especially the defense of their municipal privileges for centuries? Why not be aware of their achievements in art,

¹ "Flamenco" was, according to some historians, the former name for all those coming from the Southern Netherlands. In this translation we used the term Fleming. Note of the translator.

² The term "bolsa" is derived from the Flanders family *Van Beurs*. The "beurs" or fair in Flanders was the place where during the late medieval times financial transactions took place. Note of the translator.

as manifested in the splendor of their miniatures or the thoroughness of their triptychs, not to mention the charms of their music?

In this way it is not surprising that in recent years several investigations and publications have been devoted to different aspects of the Flemish civilization and its projections in the Duchy of Burgundy. Examples are the works of Peter Arnade, Wim Blockmans or Walter Prevenier, showing the importance of rituals, both in national politics and in international, as well as the social dynamics in the so-called Southern Netherlands between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; and not to mention a topic that is always attractive to everyone: the Order of the Golden Fleece, an order of chivalry created by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, which subsequently – for dynastic reasons – was chaired by the Spanish monarchs, descendants of Maximilian of Habsburg and Mary of Burgundy.

On top of these advances in research, there have been realized in recent years seminars, conferences and art exhibitions on subjects related to Flanders; it demonstrates the growing interest in a field so relevant to the history of the West. Peru has not been excluded from these cultural manifestations. It is sufficient to mention the colloquium held in 1990 at the University of Lima, that gathered two Belgian specialists – Senator Hervé Hasquin of the Free University of Brussels and Professor Philippe Raxhon of the University of Liège – as well as the close of the fifth centennial of the birth of Charles V in the Belgian Embassy. The participation and collaboration of professor Dargent on these occasions was very important.

The relation between Peru and Flanders is essential, as the incorporation of our territory to the western world took place just when a Fleming, Charles V, ruled the vast Spanish empire. The relations between Flanders and Peru overwhelmed the limited duration of their imperial or monarchical political structures and persisted when the political transformations of the Independence led to the formation of the Kingdom of Belgium and the Republic of Peru.

A time span of approximately 500 years has allowed Flemish missionaries, officials, merchants, educators, artists and scientists to participate in our historical development. In this research work, professor Dargent let us know the path of a significant number of

them.

Presencia flamenca en la Sudamérica colonial is an interesting book, that in its initial chapter the Flemish presence in the Spanish court of Charles V briefly shows. While this is not the first contact between Flanders and Castile – just remember the commercial traffic developed during previous centuries, especially in the so-called *Carrera de la Lana* or *Carrera a Flandes* – the Flemish influence was from the sixteenth century clearly manifested in Spain in politics, the official ceremonies and even the presentation of the banquets at the court.

The central objective of the book is exposing the importance of the Flemish participation in the history of South America. In his work, the author has not only taken into account the context of the time, but he has additionally made a socio-professional catalog, which allows a better study of *los flamencos* on our continent and makes a proper approach to the world in which they acted possible.

The information offered by the author in his work has been obtained from records as well as through an exhaustive search in varied bibliography. It is important to note that the results are presented in a proper chronological order and that among them are some interesting details, most of which are practically unknown. Who would not be surprised to discover the Flemish antecedents of the *Mariscal Sucre* or the Castilianized variants of the Flemish names?

I hope this truly progressive work will not stay behind without continuation or continuators. A topic so vast and yet so interesting as the relationship between Flanders and South America deserves further study in our field.

Gloria Cristina Flórez
University of Lima
July 2000

Words of gratitude

It is appropriate to thank those who in one way or another helped to make this work possible. Among foreigners I should start with the Belgian professors Eddy Stols of the Catholic University of Leuven, Johan Everaert of the University of Ghent, Philippe Raxhon of the University of Liège and Senator Hervé Hasquin of the Free University of Brussels. They all supported me with documentation and suggestions. I also thank Dr. Frank Salomon of the University of Wisconsin, who, without knowing me, sent information about the whereabouts of letters from the merchant Van der Herstraten. To Benedictine Father Gabriel Guarda, who sent me a list of Flemish religious who dedicated themselves to the evangelization in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. And to Professor Jorge Pinto, of the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, for his valuable information about Father Vargas.

In Peru, first and foremost, I must thank Father Jeffrey Klaiber s.j. for his continued guidance and encouragement, as well as for the final revision of the texts; the Belgian Ambassador, Eric Focke, for his infectious enthusiasm and recommendations. Thanks to my fellow students and colleagues Pedro Guibovich, Milagros Martínez and Rafael Sánchez Concha, who were aware, over their own research, to inform me of any data that might be useful to me.

I should also mention my deep appreciation to three friends who unfortunately are no longer with us: the engineer Kurt Dym, born in Holland and Peruvian in heart, for the patience and love that he showed me to translate some documents, found in Lima and written in the old Flemish language; the historian Franklin Pease, who gave me constant support and suggestions, and Dr. Félix Denegri, who offered his encouragement when I most needed it and who putted his large library at my disposal.

I have a especial gratitude to Dr. Johan Leuridan, dean of the Faculty of Communications,

Tourism and Psychology of the University of San Martín de Porres, who knew about my research and encouraged me to give it a book form to publish it as part of the editorial fund that had made his faculty the most proficient in the country. Dr. Leuridan is the person responsible for this publication. My very especial gratitude.

Finally, but in a special way, I want to thank my wife Leticia and my sons Eduardo and Felipe for their comprehension during the long hours that I neglected them to be able to advance this work and for the patience they showed while listening me, again and again, discussing the topic of the Flemings in South America.

Chapter I - The Flemings in Spain

The grandson of the Catholic Kings

All the efforts of King Ferdinand of Aragon to consolidate the power of the Trastamara dynasty in Spain collapsed with the death of Prince John in Salamanca on 6 October 1497, after six months of marriage to Princess Margaret, daughter of Emperor Maximilian I of Austria. The hope to secure the succession of the only male son of the Catholic Kings was washed away when a few months later Margaret gave birth to a stillborn daughter in Alcala.

The succession then was passed to Princess Isabella, married to King Manuel of Portugal, but also she died on 23 August 1498 and was followed to the grave, two years later (on 20 July 1500), by the only son of the royal couple of Lusitania. In this way, because of an unlucky sequence of four deaths, the line of succession of the Catholic Kings went to Princess Joanna, married to Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy. He was born in Bruges and known by his nickname *The Handsome*. Philip ruled at that time the Low Countries which he inherited from his mother, only daughter of Charles the Bold.

In early 1502, Archduke Philip and his wife Joanna arrived in Spain. There they would proceed to the formal recognition of the princess as a successor to the kingdom of her parents.

From the outset, the Flemings and Spaniards had a very bad impression of each other. The news about the disagreements in the marriage of the Archduke and the Princess because of his loose morals – which, before Philip's coming to Spain, circulated around – created confusion and disappointment. The Spanish court seemed retarded and insignificant for Philip and his entourage. Compared to the dresses of velvet, satin and gold of the Flemings, the Spaniards wore wool; Philip feared the Spanish climate, the wine and the food. As this was not enough – and to confirm the fears of the young Fleming – he even had not been good and well arrived on Spanish soil, or his health started to crush. Bonilla, historian of the social and political upheavals of the sixteenth

century in the peninsula, explains:

The first thing Philip did upon arriving in Spain was catching measles. This delayed the appointment of the young couple as heirs to the throne of Spain. Eventually, when he recovered, there were no festivities, which he usually liked a lot.³

It is needless to say that, on the contrary, the luxuries of the Flemings in all their manifestations, starting with the way they dressed themselves, negatively impressed the austere Castilians. The latter did not hesitate to express their views, both openly and in a sneak way. Eventually, the jealousy of his wife and the austerity of Castile made Philip return to Flanders. In this way he completed the bad image the Spaniards had built about himself. His trip to Flanders he did by land rather than by sea. This meant he travelled through France, a country with which Spain was at war. As the Princess was pregnant, Philip decided to leave her with her parents, although she did not want this.

For various reasons Juana did not return to Flanders until early 1504. Her return was only realized after the continuous insistence of the stubborn princes and against the will of her parents, the Kings, who knew about her mental weakness. This gave her, by time, the nickname *The Mad*.

After having received the news of the death of Queen Isabella (Medina del Campo, 26 November 1504), Juana and her husband undertook a new and final trip to the peninsula to be crowned Kings of Castile. After a delay in England – during which Philip confirmed his alliance with Henry VII – the princes, accompanied by an army of 3.000 Flemings and Germans, arrived in Spain on 26 April 1506, entering through the port of La Coruña. The death, however, surprised the prince in Burgos on 25 September 1506, after a brief reign full of intrigues and diplomatic maneuvers to measure forces with his father-in-law. During this period,

he handed out favors and patronage among his Flemish courtiers; but the triumph of his intrigues lasted little as he died after having ruled Castile for barely two months. His heart was brought to Flanders by the Flemish courtiers of his entourage, with jewelry, carpets and tableware.⁴

³ BONILLA, Luis. *Las revoluciones españolas en el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1973, p. 32

⁴ BONILLA, *Op. cit.*, p. 35

According to the tradition, the loss of the beloved aggravated the already weak mental health of Juana, who definitely lost the reason. Therefore, as a way to control, she had to govern with her father until her eldest son, Prince Charles, was adult. Charles, born in Ghent on 24 January 1500, remained at the Burgundian court, where he was educated by Flemish noblemen chosen by his grandfather, Emperor Maximilian. Among these advisers, William de Croÿ, Lord of Chièvres, and the tutor of the young prince, Adrian of Utrecht (Dean of Leuven and later Pope Adrian VI) had a great influence.⁵

The company of King Charles

The death of Ferdinand the Catholic on 23 January 1516, made Charles inheritor of all his states. Two months later, on 14 March, Charles and his mother Juana – who was in Spain – were in Brussels proclaimed Catholic Kings. This happened in a hurry political maneuver, way before the respective courts had pronounced themselves. In this way the thorny process of being proclaimed kings of both Castile and Aragon was avoided.⁶

When Charles left Flanders to deal with the Spanish government, his court was chaired by William de Croÿ, Lord of Chièvres. He had, because of his outstanding service, gained the absolute trust of the young prince. Another companion that arrived with the King from the Southern Netherlands was Jean Sauvage. He died of plague in Zaragoza on 7 June 1518, shortly after he had to suspend the preparatory sessions of the Castilian Cortes in Valladolid by the protests of the prosecutor of Burgos, Juan de Zumel, who echoed the malaise against foreigners.⁷

⁵ BONILLA, *Op. cit.*, p. 36

⁶ Luis Bonilla says about the proclamation: "However, the Court of Brussels was in a hurry, so hurried it did not hesitate to use in the proclamation the formula 'Doña Jeanne et don Charles, par la grace de Dieu, Rois Catholiques'. This had been a trick thoroughly, even in the title of 'Catholic Kings', which was intended to prevent illegally calling Charles King of Castile and Aragon, without being even actually proclaimed in both kingdoms."

⁷ *Diccionario de Historia de España*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1981. Vol. III, p. 624. Although his title of chancellor belonged to the Dukes of Burgundy, King Charles commissioned the preparatory session of the Castilian Cortes. Zumel, joining the existing displeasure against foreigners in the royal entourage, refused to Sauvage the right to intervene in the proceedings (January 1518) and was able to maintain that point of view.

William de Croÿ, on the contrary, accompanied Charles drawing a big part of his policy. It was Croÿ who got the financial support necessary to carry out the king's imperial campaign. In 1520 he joined the Cortes in Santiago. Later he passed to La Coruña. There Croÿ managed, with threats and bribes, to achieve from the noblemen the funds needed to ensure the election of Charles.

Later, in the trip to Germany in search of the imperial election, he accompanied the sovereign during the meetings he had with Henry VIII of England, husband of his aunt Catherine of Aragon. From there the procession went to Aachen, where the prince was crowned Emperor Charles V. William de Croÿ died in 1521 in the German city of Worms during the celebration of the first Imperial Diet.

Just as the impression caused by the entourage of prince Philip had been negative during his visit to Castile, so too did the presence of Croÿ and other members of the court of Charles. It also caused much unrest among the Spanish nobility. The Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, commenting on the arrival of Prince Charles in Spain, tells us:

The Burgundic luxury stands out against the Spanish austerity and parsimony. For the Castilians, Chièvres and the Flemish and Walloon lords, who have followed the King, are rude sectarians of Venus and Bacchus, replacing the simplicity, that until then prevailed in the court, by an expensive and odious pomp.⁸

The Lord of Chièvres woke antipathy between the court and the people. It is stated that "he even traded in public jobs".⁹ This discomfort by the attitudes of the foreigners was, according to studies, the cause that motivated the conspiracy that was hatched in Valladolid and punished by the Emperor severely when discovered.¹⁰

The thirst for gold of William de Croÿ was so famous, that the popular culture gave birth to a couplet that was sung throughout the kingdom. The eloquent verses of this couplet are the following:

⁸ PIRENNE, Henri. *Histoire de Belgique*. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, s.d. Vol. II, p. 62. Although undated, it is known that the edition dates from 1948. Translation of the author.

⁹ *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana Espasa Calpe*. Vol. XVII, p. 278

¹⁰ Ibidem.

*Salveos Dios
Ducado de a dos
Que Monsieur de Chièvres
no topó con vos.*

(God Save You
Ducat of two
That Monsieur de Chèvres
did not find you.)¹¹

Another version of the same idea referring to Croÿ's love for money, was the following expression:

*Doblón de a dos,
norabuena estedes,
que con vos
no topó Xevres.*

(Doubloon of two
be pleased
that Chièvres
did not found you.)¹²

The bad reputation of Chièvres was undoubtedly justified by his excessive zeal for wealth. However, it is now considered that in other aspects the allegations have a political reason, as he always did his utmost to serve well his monarch. Thus, the historian Pero Mexia, who was a contemporary, says about Croÿ:

Because the people say he was very rich, I cannot deny he was greedy and a friend of wealth. But I also can confirm he was of very great prudence and wisdom, and that he served with great loyalty to his King. And that he gave him his honor and peace with the kings and their citizens all the time that he lived.¹³

¹¹ MATEU AND LLOPIS, Felipe. *La moneda española*. Barcelona: Alberto Martín, 1946, p. 248

¹² *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana Espasa Calpe*. Vol. XVII, p. 278

¹³ BLEIBERG, Germán (red.). *Diccionario de Historia de España*. Madrid: Alianza, [1979] 1986. Vol. I, p. 1039. In the article where Pero Mexia quotes about Charles V.

The cunning of the Lord of Chièvres could be seen from the first moment. Upon arrival in Spain, he managed to keep the king away from Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Cisneros was regent of Spain, who already being sick, had traveled to meet the young monarch. Chièvres delayed the interview sufficient until the cardinal died in Roa on 8 November 1517. In this way he avoided potential confrontations, which were useless for the Flemings.

On the other hand, Croÿ always was accused of being the manager who delivered the Bishopric of Toledo, the richest and most powerful in Spain, to his 17 years old nephew and namesake who already, by the influences of his powerful uncle, was Bishop of Cambrai.¹⁴ As we shall see, this accusation is fanciful and malicious, because it does not reflect the truth.

Other prominent Flemish companions of the young prince were Adrian of Utrecht, Jean Carondelet and Charles de Lannoy. Adrian of Utrecht was raised in Spain by Charles to the See of Tortosa. Later, the Fleming also commissioned him *Inquisidor General del Reino*, followed by appointing him *Gran Inquisidor de Castilla*. After his stay in Spain, Adrian of Utrecht would eventually occupy the papal chair under the name of Adrian VI. Jean Carondelet was awarded Bishop of Palermo and Primacy of Sicily. Charles de Lannoy was appointed by the king Viceroy of Naples in March 1522; the French king Francis I surrendered his sword to him, after being defeated at Pavia.

The rejection of the Flemings by the Spanish court, in addition to those mentioned, had different reasons depending of the groups that were involved. Thus, among the officials it was the sale of functions that caused displeasure, while among the nobility it was the imposition of the sales tax charge. The clergy, for their part, resented the imposition of tithes on their income. But above all, and perhaps as a result, the haughty attitude with which the Flemish officials behaved – and which left no doubt about who were the ones who actually ruled the kingdom – became unbearable for the Spaniards.¹⁵

However, the performance of the members of the Burgundian court should be examined

¹⁴ William de Croÿ, the nephew and namesake of Chièvres, was naturalized Castilian to be named, some days later, Bishop of Toledo.

¹⁵ DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio. *Historia de España*. Vol. III. Madrid: Alfaguara, 1976, p. 244

more carefully, since much of the negative view we have received from them, comes from the bitter position the Spanish nobles had with respect to these upstarts, who pretend to tell them how to act. The case of the Archbishop of Toledo, aforementioned, is one of the examples that has been considered as prototypical Flemish arrogance. But now it is widely accepted that this appointment was more accomplished by the Spanish nobles – who were constantly divided into warring factions – than it was the work of the Lord of Chièvres. Because, in their eagerness to keep their hands on the seat of the primacy of Spain – but above all to prevent it from falling into the hands of competing interests – they preferred to deliver it to the foreigners. It is again the chronicler Pero Mexía who tells us about this item:

The Archbishop of Toledo, after some negotiations had been done, was given by the king to William de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai and nephew of the Lord of Chièvres; this is whispered in these kingdoms, for the fact that a stranger had received such a high dignity. But I heard, and later was known to be true, that the Marquis of Villena and other great men of Castile had begged the king to give him the Archbishopric, and that it was not originally his idea, nor had Xebres suggested it.¹⁶

From Spain to America

The presence of the Flemings in Spain was old. They had an outstanding reputation in the wool trade in Burgos. When Charles arrived at the peninsula, the Flemings who had settled were particularly specialized in trading. "Pedlars and traders of lingerie, dealers of linen and Flemish lace, cambric cheesecloths, Flemish blankets, tights of Antwerp and Flemish panties flourished", says Juan Reglá.¹⁷ Over time, these merchants from the Southern Netherlands started to occupy important positions in the ports of Seville and Cádiz, focused on the trade with the Indies.

The historian Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo is very critical of the attitudes of the Flemings and believes that they were to blame for the fact that the Greater Antilles had not developed sugar crops in time, although they may have been very convenient in order to create an export industry, as demonstrated later in Brasil. Because among the

¹⁶ BLEIBERG, Germán. *Op. cit.*, p. 1039

¹⁷ REGLÁ, Juan. "La época de los primeros austrias". VICENS VIVES, J. (red.). *Historia de España y América*. Barcelona, Vicens Vives, 1982, Vol. III, p. 89

many concessions that were granted by Charles V, the Flemings were the only ones being authorized to carry slaves to that region, authorization which they then sold through, with large gains, to the Genoese. The latter, in their pursuit of excessive profits, raised the prize of the labor required for planting.

The Flemish ascendancy reached a point under the emperor, that in Spain they feared that the Casa de Contratación could be moved to Antwerp, while in the New World:

The settlers from the Spanish island feared that the king in such a situation was able to give away or sell the land he had inherited in the New World, letting them become subject to another prince and other non-Castilian laws. Thereby, they asked the monarch to incorporate the West Indies in the Kingdom of Castile, with the formal promise they would never be alienated.¹⁸

¹⁸ CÉSPEDES DEL CASTILLO, Guillermo. "La Conquista". In SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ, Nicolás (red.). *Historia de América Latina*. Madrid: Alianza América, 1985, p. 305. On 14 September 1519 it was confirmed, for the peace of many, that the Indies were an inalienable part of Castile.

Chapter II - The Flemings in South America

In the nearly three centuries covered by this study, we will meet the natives of the Southern Netherlands who practiced an almost endless variety of jobs and positions all over South America. The life of these foreigners was not always easy because of the mentality that prevailed at that time; but many of them, thanks to their skills, succeeded in distinguishing themselves in their activities and directly contributed to the development of our continent.

The Spanish vision of the foreigner

Spain at the time of the discovery and the conquista was extremely conservative and religious. It saw each foreigner as a potential enemy or at least as an opportunist who profited from the assets of foreign lands, which were there for the benefits and the relief of the natives. They actually saw everybody malicious, for whatever reason, who left their land to inhabit somewhere else, even if this was only temporarily. Gaspar de Escanola y Agüero describes how Spain until the early 18th century stood towards the foreigner:

Foreign people, of dissimilar nature, customs and ministry who dismembered of their domains and republics, want to interfere in other people's affairs and participate in their honors, offices, business, profits and huge estates; they, once ingested, as favored by fortune that always runs more on foreign than on native soil, take over everything and are the cause of the occurrence of something so cruel and pitiless like the stream of running water flowing in their own estates for refreshment and relief to their thirsty fields, while injuring the immediate neighborhood; this spreads, becomes used and liked by the strangers.¹⁹

The legislation against the passage of foreigners to the Indies was clear and dates from about the same time as the discovery of the new continent. Queen Isabella the Catholic banned all those who were not from Castile and León from the New World and

¹⁹ CÚNEO VIDAL, Rómulo. "Extranjeros. Su admisión en las colonias españolas de América durante los primeros siglos de la conquista". *Revista Histórica*. Vol. VI, Part I. Lima, 1918, pp. 60-61. Cites chapter XXXIX of *Gazofilacio Real del Perú*, by Gaspar de Escalona y Agüero.

interdicted the direct trade between foreigners or third parties and America.

The legislation was, however, not very effective and many foreigners came to the Indies with or without *licencia*, a so-called official authorization to go to the Indies. One of the most common ways was to enlist in the armies, occupying special positions which were difficult to fill. Once in America, the foreigners settled themselves. Some of them married in their new country, forming in this way families. When trying to put a final remedy to this, many difficulties arose which forced the authorities to make concessions and seek compromise formulas.

A way to allow foreigners to stay in the Indies was through payment to the treasury, a formula called *composición*. This required certain conditions that had to be met, like having a prolonged stay in the place of residence and being married to a native or resident woman in the Indies.

In Peru, the first regulations against foreigners arrived in the *reales cédulas* or royal decrees given by Philip II in 1591. The first, dated in El Pardo on 1 February, ordered the expulsion within a period of four months of those who were not from Aragon, Castile, Catalonia or Valencia, and to those who did not had a *licencia*.²⁰ The second *real cédula*, from the same date as above, indicates that to avoid problems that may cause the first, those who already lived some time in the country and were married there, were allowed to stay in it. To be approved to stay, it was of course necessary to pay a sum of money. It is illustrative for the mentality of the time that with the amount of money paid, the foreigner contributed to finance an army with which Spain could defend the sea just against other nations.²¹

When the Viceroy of Peru received these decrees, he chose to put them not into practice immediately. María Encarnación Rodríguez Vicente, in a paper about foreigners in the Kingdom of Peru, explains the political reasons why the Viceroy made this decision:

The Viceroy Marqués de Cañete, did not find the right time to put them into execution. The dissatisfaction in the Viceroyalty caused by the implantation of the right on sales tax – that in some

²⁰ A.G.I. Audiencia de Lima, File 33. Real Cédula al Virrey del Perú. El Pardo, 1/II/1591.

²¹ Ibidem.

regions led to riots - made it rather difficult to ask for new contributions, not even to foreigners.²²

There were some foreigners who found a way to escape the deportation, although they did not meet the requirements of the law. This was the case of Cornelis de Lamberto, a wealthy Flemish merchant who lived in Potosí and whose fortune amounted to 20,000 ducats. The wife of Lamberto had stayed behind in Seville, which eliminated his chances of staying in the Indies, claiming marriage as a good reason. However, he avoided being forced to return to Europe by submitting medical documentation. This documentation insured that it was impossible for him to travel to Lima, either on foot or on horseback by the severity of his hemorrhoids. The indicated medical report argued that, if he would be forced to return to Europe to fulfill his marital life, Cornelis de Lamberto would not be able to have sexual relations with his wife because of the ills he would suffer.²³

On the other hand, the colonial authorities were generally quite flexible in deportations, not only for American conveniences but also for suggestions coming from the peninsula. Thus, for example, a special commission of the Consejo de Indias recommended to the appropriate authorities in Lima to be complacent with those foreigners who, being subjects of the king, were married in the Indies, had children or had participated in the conquest. The commission also suggested to be flexible with those who were very poor and could not find a way to pay the trip back. In any case, this reiteration is curious, as the *real cédula* of 1591 already considered this.

In his work about foreigners, Rodríguez Vicente says that those who benefited in 1595 in Peru of the *composición* (i.e., the authorization to remain in the Indies after payment to the Crown and meeting certain requirements), there were among the artisans two Flemish tailors and one *que adobe medias*²⁴; among the military men who served directly to the Viceroy there were a footman, a guard and a lancer. The researcher ends his list with an innkeeper from the same origin. In Quito, the *composición* was applied between 1595 and 1597 to the Flemings Enrique de Molina y Cristóbal Martín, and in

²² RODRÍGUEZ VICENTE, M.E. "Los extranjeros en el reino del Perú". *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*. Barcelona, 1967. Vol. II, p. 534

²³ STOLS, E. and E. DARGENT CHAMOT. "Avonturiers des Pays-Bas en Amérique hispano portugaise". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, p. 59

²⁴ According to the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, *adobar* corresponds to the Spanish verb *arreglar* (= fixing). "Media" is Spanish for tights or stockings. Note of respectively the author and the translator.

Guayaquil, to Juan Flamenco.²⁵

Those who came

For didactic purposes, we divided the study into a kind of professional catalog. Being aware of how complicated this methodology sometimes is, we have extended – in some cases – the sections of the professions to be able to include all the natives of the Southern Netherlands in them.

It is practically impossible to know the number of Flemings in the region at any time or during the three centuries we studied. Pretending to give a figure based on revised data would have little value, partly because it is in most cases difficult to relate the names to a nationality when this is not mentioned explicitly. A census that can serve historians as a kind of common pattern is the register of the *composición* made in 1595. The date is interesting, because it corresponds to a moment of splendor, near the end of the government of Philip II and close to the final dates the last Flemings were accepted to stay in the Indies.

In the study of Rodríguez Vicente, thirteen Flemings can be identified for Peru. It should be noted that the list refers only to those who presented themselves and thus met the requirements of stay and marriage stipulated by the *real cédula*. In this way, it leaves out an undetermined number of persons who did not comply with these conditions. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in the list we found, most of the names correspond to Spanish appellations. Thus, not having appeared in the paper of the *composición*, these Flemings probably never were identified as such, since in the revised documentation are very rare cases in which the original Flemish name and its Castilianized variant are mentioned. The thirteen mentioned Flemings in the study are the following:

²⁵ RODRÍGUEZ VICENTE, M.E. *Art. cit.*, p. 534

Juan Andrés	Pedro Bibanti	Diego Corín
Juan Danza (Potosí)	Francisco Enríquez	Francisco de Estrada
Juan Guillermo	Juan Juárez (Potosí)	Juan Lorenzo (Potosí)
Mateo de Prado	Marcos Ramírez	Juan de la Torre
	Juan Velázquez	

The temptation is great to identify Juan Andrés and Juan Guillermo of the list as the better known Andrés de Lovaina and Guillermo de Enberes, respectively, or Francisco de Estrada as the merchant Francisco van der Herstraten, about whom we know some more.²⁶ Besides the proximity of the names, all these characters are contemporary. However, by a lack of evidence, we resist to do.

This is perhaps the most opportune time to give some insights into the names of the Flemings in Spain and the Indies. As expected, it was for the Spanish speaking people practically impossible to pronounce these names. Therefore they needed to be simplified. There were three main ways to overcome the difficulty. The first consisted in linking the place of origin to the proper name, in the same way the Spaniards did often. In this way we have *Juan de Bruselas*, *Andrés de Lovaina*, *Pedro de Amberes* or the more generic appellations *Flamenco* or *De Flandes*. The second way was to translate the names of the family from Flemish to Spanish. Guillermo Beke, whose name corresponds to the Flemish word for 'creek' or 'stream', became *Del Río*; Diego de la Puente, the painter, must have been Van den Brugge, a very common name until today in his hometown Mechelen. Finally, a third possibility was to make an adaption guided arbitrarily and only by the sound. So, the Jesuit who ministered in Chile, *Van den Berg* ('of the mountain'), was transformed in *Vargas*. The name of *Miguel del Pilar*, the silversmith, resulted from *Van Pillar*, but was also known as *Miguel de Bruselas*. This solution was maintained until at least the middle of the 19th century, when the two brothers *Colbart*, gardeners of the Cercado de Lima (the district of Lima, the place where the inner city zone and the old historic centre of Lima are located), were known by the nickname *Escobar*. However, there were some Flemings who kept their original surnames, although it is true that they preferred to use their Castilianized forenames. In this way *Joost de Rijcke* became *Jodoco Ricke* – the documents usually refer to him as

²⁶ In the section "Merchants" Herstraten is discussed more in detail.

Fray Jodoco – and the cosmographer Juan Ramón Coninck is in the documents only called *Juan Ramón*.

In the present study, as mentioned before, we have classified the Flemings of Hispanic South America in four broad categories. We did this for didactic purposes, although we are aware that many times the characters can be placed in more than one category:

1. *Conquerors, soldiers and seamen*. This category includes Flemings on land and sea who participated in the Spanish occupation and the European permanence during the Viceroyalty and those who made all this possible.

2. *Government officials*. Includes *los flamencos* who took public offices, ranging from a bridge guard to a viceroy.

3. *Missionaries, educators and dissidents*. Includes all those who were involved with religious institutions, ranging from members of the orders to the victims of the Inquisition, including some artists.

4. *Artisans and merchants*. Natives of Flanders who, in the field of production of goods and services or in the field of trade, actively participated in the economic life of the region.

Chapter III - Conquerors, soldiers and seamen

The presence of *los flamencos* in the colonization of the northern part of South America has left us varied and interesting testimonies. The expeditions of Lerma to Santa Marta, as well as those of the Germans to Venezuela, had some Flemings among their participants. One of them was a member of the host of Federmann, founder of Santa Fe de Bogotá. Also a woman, Isabel de Malinas – the only one of its gender that could be identified – participated in the process of migration to the New World. One of the religious, the Jesuit Theobast, has left us some facts about the suffering he needed to endure both during his sea voyage and the adaptation process in the South American lands.

Conquerors and soldiers

Emperor Charles V gave on 20 December 1527 García de Lerma, citizen of Burgos, the title of governor of Santa Marta, on the Caribbean coast of modern Colombia. Charles entrusted Lerma to bring order to this province, which was temporarily – since the death of Rodrigo de Bastidas – in charge of Pedro de Badillo, who had distinguished himself, not only by his hardness and cruelty, but also for leaving to pay fifths which belonged to the Crown.

The expedition of Lerma sailed from Spain on 8 October 1528 and arrived in Santa Marta on 28 February 1529. Three Flemish soldiers took part in the expedition: Alate Vigor, Víctor Julie and Juan Flamenco²⁷. García de Lerma, after taking possession of his governorship and building some houses of noble material, sent two expeditions; one by the Magdalena River and one in the valley of Upar. Regarding the fate of the three Flemings who participated in this expedition – one of the first individuals in the initial stage of the European invasion of South America – we only know something about Juan Flamenco.

²⁷ *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*. Vol. I, 1509-1533. File 5536, book II, pp. 115-119. Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión. Madrid, 1933, p. 420

The concern about the possibility that Flemings and Germans could bring to northern South America religious ideas different from what Rome propagated, is clear in the letter of the Bishop of Venezuela, Rodrigo de Bastidas – son of the eponymous conqueror – to “His Majesty”²⁸. In this missive, the religious recommended to his sovereign not to let go Germans to Venezuela, because among them some had been addicted to the teachings of Luther. Moreover, the zealous bishop rejoiced in his letter the "lucky fact" that all those suspected of being Lutherans, had died during the expedition of Ambrosius Alfínger and that he had proceeded against *maestre* Juan Flamenco, who was "infected by this leprosy"²⁹.

Later, we found a Juan Flamenco that could be the same that came with Lerma or the one mentioned in the letter of Bishop Bastidas, although the name and the adjective are so common, that they don't give certainty. This Juan Flamenco was a resident and merchant in Venezuela and had been condemned by the jurisdiction of Alfínger, who, contrary to the provisions of the king, prohibited the *rescate de piezas de oro* or the exchange of gold pieces for Indian trinkets by settlers. About this fact we have a legal and valuable document.

On the impeachment trial against the Welser in 1546, leaded by judge Juan Frias, three witnesses of Venezuela were present. They related what happened to the merchant Juan Flamenco. One of them, Hernán Darías, explained:

At the time that the governor Ambrosius (Alfínger) ruled, he prevented in many ways the said *rescate*. The governor was so persuaded, that anybody who knew about this *rescate* or even talked about it, was in danger of being hanged. In particular I saw a Mister Juan Flamenco who came to this province with merchandise and resided in it. Because he had exchanged two *caricuris*, he was imprisoned and publicly told he would be punished physically. Finally, he was exiled outside the province.³⁰

²⁸ Rodrigo de Bastidas was appointed Bishop of Venezuela with seat in Coro in 1535. From 1540, after the dismissal of Spira, Bastidas – who in 1539 had been elected bishop of Puerto Rico – remained a time in Venezuela, exercising the interim government.

²⁹ FRIEDE, Juan. *Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela*. Caracas-Madrid: Edime, 1961, p. 24. Taken from the Colección Muñós, LXXX.

³⁰ *Juicios de Residencia en la Provincia de Venezuela*. I. "Los Welser". Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de Historia, n.º 130. Fuentes Para la historia de Venezuela. Caracas, 1977, p. 341. In Venezuela, figurines and gold ornaments made by Indians were called "caricuris".

The second witness, a certain Virgilio García, added that Juan Flamenco "had been held in serious imprisonment and they thought about hanging him"³¹. Finally, Gonzalo de Arce said during his testimony what the public opinion had been about the motives that made Alfinger act in a manner so arbitrary towards the Flemish merchant. Arce said "that he believes [...] that the said governor did this with the intention keeping all the gold and being able to hire the Indians."³²

One of the agents of the Welser banking family, Nicolás de Federmann, was commissioned in 1529 to captain a group of 123 soldiers and 24 miners, with the intention to support Alfinger in his attempts to take possession of Venezuela. After his arrival in Coro in March 1530, Alfinger appointed Federmann as his deputy, while he was away on his journeys of exploration. But tempted by the comments and information he received from Alfinger, Federmann left Coro for an unauthorized discovery expedition, which lasted until March 1531. In that month he returned, convinced to have discovered the other sea. Unfortunately, it turned out to be just the flooded plains of the Orinoco. This expedition had the merit of being, in any case, the first one that crossed a major Andean zone.

Upon his arrival at Coro, Federmann found the furious Alfinger, who did not lingered a moment to send him back to Europe because of his disloyal behavior. After the release, the situation was clarified and Federmann favorably impressed the Welser family, who signed with him a contract to explore. Such was the confidence the bankers had that once Ambrosius Alfinger died, they appointed Nicolás Federmann governor of Venezuela. The function, however, was dropped when Federmann was replaced by Jorge Hohermut, better known as Jorge de Spira, whom Federmann accompanied to Coro in 1535.

In the new expedition, captained this time by Spira, four Flemings also embarked: the Malinois Gaspar de Metenes; Calixto Cler, native of Antwerp; Pedro de Tornay and a certain Juan de Bruselas. Again in South America, Federmann started his expeditions that ended in 1539 with the arrival in the savannah of Cundinamarca. He had found gold from Bogotá in Ariari. This motivated him to cross the Andes, what he didn't do without a

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 403

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 404

few ups and downs. The meeting with Jiménez de Quesada – who had arrived first – and the nearby presence of Sebastián de Belalcázar and his group – detached from the host of Pizarro – concluded that, after Federmann received out of the hands of Jiménez de Quesada a compensation of 10.000 pesos, they agreed to found the city of Santa Fe de Bogotá and leave it a certain number of men of each group. Among the 30 German's soldiers was Antón Flamenco, who thus became a founder and one of the first Europeans who settled in Bogotá.

In the list of the *soldados del general Nicolás de Federmann a quien se dio de comer en este reino* (soldiers of general Nicolás Federmann who was fed in this kingdom), included by Juan Rodríguez Freile in *El Carnero*, is only mentioned "Antón Flamenco, Vecino de Santa Fe"³³. Of this founder we know other details about his later activity, thanks to a written evidence issued in Valladolid in 1556. In this source, it is pointed out that Antón Flamenco received from the *cabildo* or city council of the city of Santa Fe the donation of an existing mill in this city³⁴.

The Belgian researcher Eddy Stols, professor of the University of Leuven, indicates that for the explorations in Venezuela, the Welser family enlisted supporting Flemish technicians like Hans de Bruselas; in the expedition of Juan del Junco to Cartagena in 1535, the Flemings Sebastián de León, Luis de Longobal, Paqui Cler, Guillermo Daval de Nazaret, Isabel de Malinas, Francisco and Pablo Dubri, both from Brussels, and Miguel Rus of Cambray were enlisted. Soon after, Gaspar Woirstat, from Antwerp, passed to Venezuela. The following year, in 1536, the Fleming Adrián Fordeque, called Borbeque or Verbeque, traveled to Santa Marta. He made a will in Cartagena on 21 January 1538 and was the son of Adam Verbeque, merchant of Antwerp. Stols also mentions Juan Ort and Adriano Estranbeque, both from Antwerp, who in 1536 passed to Tierra Firme (namely, to the northern coasts of South America), without specifying the

³³ RODRÍGUEZ FREILE, Juan. *El Carnero*. Bogotá: Villegas Editores, [1638] 1988. Chapter VI, p. 141. This edition is the first to be made from the manuscript of José Antonio de Ricaute y Rigueyro (1788). In this context "vecino" means citizen (note of the translator).

³⁴ Audiencia de Santa Fe. File 533, book II, fol. 40. In the documentary proof, given in Valladolid on 22 December 1556, was included the deed of donation. It was signed by the Princess, Ledesma, the Marquis, Briviesca, Don Juan and Villagómez.

city of destination³⁵.

The first Flemings whose arrival in Peru we are aware of are the Franciscans Jodoko Ricke and Simón van Brussel, who arrived on our shores shortly after the invasion, just two years after the capture of the Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca.

Although the arrival of the Franciscan Jodoco Ricke occurs shortly after the invasion of the host of Pizarro, it will be necessary to wait until the end of the civil wars before – in the lists of those sentenced as *gonzalistas* in the process kept by the *licenciado* Cianca – we can find the first soldiers and seamen who interest us.

We found some data – although few – about Flemings arriving in Peru at an early date in a memorial, copied by the *escribano* or clerk Simón de Alzate from the original made by Baltasar Hernández. Hernández was *escribano* at the trial that was presided by the attorney of the Audiencia de Lima, the *licenciado* Andrés de Cianca, against those who had followed the flags of Gonzalo Pizarro. The memorial was later on send to Spain. In most cases we only have the name, the judgment and occasional a brief additional note. We know, for example, that Juan de Calle – from Lille or Mechelen – was sentenced to 100 lashes, loss of property and perpetual exile of Spain; there he needed to serve as a rower of the galleys. The same punishment received Jácome Vela and Jacques de Olanda, natives of Flanders; Rodrigo de Azer, player of a *chirimía* or some kind of oboe, was forever banished from Spain but did not received lashes, neither he lost his properties. Moreover, the penalty of the galleys which was imposed to the musician only lasted for two years instead of eternity by the first ones; Pedro de Olanda was banished "from the boundaries of Cusco, Charcas, and Arequipa and Guamanga" and was forced to stay in Lima for six years; even lower was the sentence imposed on *maestre* Diego Flamenco, "tailor from *Bruos* [Bruges] in Flanders", who was only prohibited "crossing the boundaries of Cusco upwards for half a year"³⁶.

³⁵ STOLS, Eddy. "Gens des Pays-Bas en Amérique Espagnole aux première siècles de la colonisation". *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*. Part XLIV, 1974, p. 591

³⁶ SAN CRISTÓBAL, Evaristo. *Apéndice al Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*. Vol. I. Lima, 1935. From page 453 starts the complete memorial about "The people who were convicted in the Indies and provinces of Peru on the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, by attorney Cianca".

More information we have about Cornieles de Enberes, *arcabucero* or archer in the army of Francisco de Carbajal, who fought under the flag of captain Alonso de Mendoza. Cornieles de Enberes is listed on the display of 21 August 1542, made in the *hacienda* of Lope Mendieta, four leagues from Chusquisaca³⁷.

The victory of Pocona, obtained on Thursday 8 July 1546, was made possible largely by the strategic ploy used by Francisco de Carbajal by all his *arcabuceros* and *piqueros* "galloping the horse and the donkey". This operation allowed the *Demonio de los Andes* to quickly make a triangular movement and surrounding the village, to occupy later that evening. According to Rafael Loredo, Cornieles de Amberes participated outstandingly in that action³⁸.

This Cornieles de Amberes could be the same who is referred to several decades later in a letter to his providers in Seville of February 1583 by the merchant Francisco van der Herstraten, native of the port of Antwerp and who we will discuss later. There Van der Herstraten says he has been with a fellow countryman "who is called Adrián Cornieles, conqueror of this land who lives in Cochabamba near Potosí". From the letter we know that Cornieles had spent a little time before in Lima and had returned to Cochabamba, and that during their meeting the two men spoke of going to Flanders together one day³⁹.

From that period we also know about Guillermo de Enberes, soldier of captain Melchor Verdugo. Verdugo was conqueror and resident of Trujillo, who waved flags in favor of the Viceroy Núñez Vela, "embarking on a galleon with thirty of his neighbors and with public funds"⁴⁰. In order to recruit people for his company, Verdugo headed for Nicaragua, where he not only found no support he pretended, but, in addition, was chased. The captain came out of Lake Nicaragua and captured the port of Nombre de Dios. Aware of the clergyman Pedro de la Gasca who was at Panama, he offered his services, but because of his reputation of being "uneasy and greedy", the offer was not

³⁷ DEL BUSTO, José Antonio. *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico de los Conquistadores del Perú*. Vol. II, p. 54. Lima: Studium, 1987. LOREDO, Rafael. *Alardes y derramas*. Lima: Librería Gil Impresores, 1942, p. 102

³⁸ LOREDO, Rafael. *Op. cit.*, p. 102

³⁹ A.G.N. Lima. Jesuitas, Varios, 102

⁴⁰ DEL BUSTO, José Antonio. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II

accepted by *el pacificador*⁴¹.

A Fleming that had a tragic end was Monteverde, soldier in the expedition of the traitor Lope de Aguirre during the second voyage down the Amazon. Professor Stols speculates that this Monteverde was member of the family Groenenberch, which was for many years established on the Canary Islands and dedicated to the cultivation of sugar⁴². After the death of Pedro de Ursúa and the take-over of the expedition by Lope de Aguirre, the Fleming Monteverde was found death and with an inscription on his chest that said *amortinadorcillo*, a poor little mutineer. According to the chronicler Toribio de Ortiguera, who refers to him as Miguel Verde, he was killed because Lope de Aguirre believed that the Fleming had been "lukewarm in the things of his service". He adds that some said he was a Lutheran, what he could not testify. He concludes by stating that "in any manner, he died laboriously"⁴³. After reporting that two persons were killed by knocking them down, Gonzalo de Zúñiga only states that the same thing happened to "another good soldier, called Juan de Monte-Verde"⁴⁴. Francisco Vásquez agrees with the opinion of Toribio de Ortiguera, indicating that there were rumors of him being a Lutheran. However, he does not mention the first name of the Fleming⁴⁵, while in a anonymous list in which the victims of Lope de Aguirre and the details of their death are mentioned, there is indicated "Bernardino Monteverde, a garrote"⁴⁶, flamenco"⁴⁷.

To mark the entrance of the fourth Viceroy of Peru, Diego López de Zúñiga y Velasco,

⁴¹ DEL BUSTO. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 54. The author refers to the following source: A.G.I., Patronato 97-N1-R-1. The biography of Melchor Verdugo can be read in MENDIBURU, Manuel. *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*. Vol. XI, p. 298. Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1934. Second edition.

⁴² STOLS, Eddy and Eduardo DARGENT. "Aventuriers des Pays-Bas en Amérique hispano portugaise". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, p. 42

⁴³ ORTIGUERA, Toribio de. "Crónica". In MAMPEL GONZÁLEZ, Elena and Neus ESCANDELL TUR (comp.). *Lope de Aguirre. Crónicas. 1559-1561*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1981, p. 112

⁴⁴ ZÚÑIGA, Gonzalo de. "Relación verdadera de lo ocurrido en el río Marañón". In MAMPEL GONZÁLEZ, Elena and Neus ESCANDELL TUR (comp.). *Op. cit.*, p. 19

⁴⁵ VÁSQUEZ, Francisco. "Relación de la jornada de Pedro de Orsua a Omagua y al Dorado". In MAMPEL GONZÁLEZ, Elena and Neus ESCANDELL TUR (comp.). *Op. cit.*, p. 231

⁴⁶ The "garrote" particularly refers to an execution device used by the Spaniards. It consisted of a seat to restrain the condemned person, while the executioner tightened a metal band around of the victim's neck with a crank or a wheel until suffocation was accomplished. Note of the translator.

⁴⁷ S.n. "Relación de todo lo sucedido en la gobernación de Omagua...". In MAMPEL GONZÁLEZ, Elena and Neus ESCANDELL TUR (comp.). *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

the fourth *conde* de Nieva, to Lima on 17 April 1561, accustomed festivities of reception were organized for such an important occasion. Between the activities artillery shots took place, of which the charge was led by Felipe Flamenco. Four months later, on 21 August, is noted in *Los libros de Cabildos de Lima* the following reference to this fact:

In this *Cabildo* was ordered to warrant Felipe Flamenco, artilleryman, 40 pesos of current silver for the work and expense of shooting the artillery when el *Virrey Conde de Nieva* entered Lima.⁴⁸

Seamen

The seamen from Flanders are even more scarce than the soldiers. Among them should be mentioned in the first place Roldán de Argote, sailor on the expedition of Magellan, who was the first who saw the passage to the Pacific Ocean.

Argote was one of the five Flemings who sailed on the Spanish expedition, captained by the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, to circumnavigate for the first time the world. He, like two of his compatriots, was a gunner, i.e. responsible for shooting *las lombardas*, some large-caliber cannons. His name has probably passed on to posterity by a game of chance, since he – according to Herrera's account – is remembered as the first man who sighted the mouth of the Strait of Magellan in the Pacific Ocean.

Reconstructing the stories, we can say that in the first days of November 1520, when the expedition had anchored in Bahía de las Sardinias and when its members were anxious because they didn't know when the trip would finish, Magellan dispatched – to ensure that they were not moving at a dead end – Roldán de Argote in *un chalupón* or small boat to undertake a reconnaissance of the route that lay ahead, hoping to find the inter-oceanic passage. The Fleming and those who accompanied him in a northwesterly direction for a day and a half, found on the coast a mountain from which the horizon could be glimpsed and so they did, led by Argote. They were able to see, not the other ocean, but the channel that empties into the Pacific and that today is known by the name Paso Largo. Argote hurried on his return to promptly inform the good news to his

⁴⁸ *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*. Book V, p. 440. Decoded and annotated by Bertram T. Lee. Lima: Torres Aguirre-San Marti, 1935

captain.

The cartography anchored this episode by naming the hill, where the observation was supposed to be made, *Campana de Roldán*. Today it is sure that the known orographic formation can not be matched to the mountain climbed by the Fleming, because it is in the opposite direction to which he should take to sail from the Bahía de las Sardinias. To this conclusion comes Mateo Martinic, a diligent researcher of the southern tip of Chile. His conclusion is based on the *Maritime Map of the Strait of Magellan*, made by the geographer Juan de la Cruz Olmedilla and dated 1769. On this map the *Campana de Roldán* is located in front off the *Cabo Quod*, which coincides with the description of Juan Ladrillero, who places the mountain "where the Strait turns"⁴⁹.

Combining the information of the map of Olmedilla, the description by Ladrillero and his detailed knowledge of the region, Martinic concludes:

So the boat explored by sailing to the northwest for about a day and half, since only then it may have - considering the probable speed - exceed the current Carlos III Islands, arriving at the far northwest or the next *Bahía de los Caballeros* on the Santa Inés Island, to the side of which stands a hill of 335 meters (*Cerro El Morrión*), with a good visibility, clear and far-reaching over the *Paso Largo*.⁵⁰

This Roldán de Argote was from Bruges. He was the son of Miguel de Argot and Leonor, his wife⁵¹. We know, from a statement given in 1523 and cited by Medina, that at that time he was 25. The Fleming first served on the ship *Concepción* and later on the *Victoria*, but needed to land sick on the Cape Verde, shortly before reaching the Iberian peninsula. What might have been the end of his story, it was not. On the Cape Verde he was captured along with other sailors of the *Victoria* by the Portuguese and taken to Lisbon. Shortly after, he arrived with his companions in Spain, where he established himself as a merchant in Seville. It is sure that on 10 June 1523 Francisco de Ayamonte charged for him 750 maravedíes that Francisco de Díaz in Madrid owed him.

⁴⁹ Juan Ladrillero was in 1557 commissioned to command the exploration of the Strait of Magellan, what he did with success; he left a precious memory.

⁵⁰ MARTINIC, Mateo. *Historia del Estrecho de Magallanes*. Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1977

⁵¹ MEDINA, José Toribio. *El descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico. Fernando de Magallanes*. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1920, p. cccxlvii

In 1525, Argote was part of the expedition of García Jofré de Loaysa to the Moluccan Islands. On this expedition, composed of seven ships and 450 men, and with Juan Sebastián Elcano as *piloto mayor* and guide, two more men participated that had been in Magellan's first crossing of the Strait.

On that voyage, two ships were delayed south of the Río de la Plata and hit by a storm. The five ships moved south and according to those cases, one of them headed to the entrance of the Río de Santa Cruz to leave a message in a pot and under a cross. In this message they let their companions know they would progress and wait for them in the Bahía de las Sardinias, already within the Strait. The four remaining ships, thinking to have reached the entrance to the Strait, were stranded at the mouth of a river. Elcano sent a group of men to find out whether or not it was the channel. One of the men who participated in this survey was Roldán de Argote, who, contrary to the opinion of the others, insisted that this was the entry, but was wrong⁵².

From this moment there are no conclusive data about Argote. Based on the words of one witness quoted by Medina, the idea has prevailed that he died before 1538⁵³. One of the ships of Jofré de Loaysa, after having left the Strait, headed north and reached Mexico, passing Peru, while the other moved toward the Moluccan Islands. If Argote returned to Spain via the Moluccan Islands (only eight of the expedition arrived), he would have been the first man to have circled the world twice. There is, however, the possibility that Roldán was on the ship that toured the west coast of América, as we shall see later on.

From the other four Flemish companions of Magellan we only know little more than their names and tasks. It is curious to note that two were gunner, like Argote. Those were Pedro de Bruselas, from Antwerp, and Guillermo Tanegui, born in Lille. Pedro de Bruselas served first on the ship *Concepción* and later on the *Trinidad*. Both died during the journey; Pedro de Bruselas on the trip to Malaca and Tanegui in Cebu on 1 May 1521⁵⁴. The other Flemings on Magellan's expedition were the seamen Antonio

⁵² OYARZUN, Javier. *Expediciones españolas al Estrecho de Magallanes y Tierra del Fuego*. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica. Chapter II, "Ecpedición de Frey Garcia Jofré de Loaysa", pp. 52-53

⁵³ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.*, p. cccxli

⁵⁴ Pedro de Bruselas was taken prisoner by the Portuguese in Ternate. We know that Tanegui was married with

Flamenco of Antwerp and Pedro de Urrea from Bruges. Antonio Flamenco served on the ship *Santiago*; about his life we do not know more. Pedro de Urrea was considered "outstanding" and was on board of the *San Antonio* as servant of Antonio de Coca and probably returned to Europe⁵⁵.

Samuel E. Morison notes in his work *The Great Explorers* that all the gunners of Magellan's expedition were French, Fleming, English and German, which – according to him – may indicate a preference of Charles V for these people from Northern Europe over the Spaniards when it came to armament⁵⁶.

Father Rosales, in his *Historia del Reino de Chile. Flandes Indiano*, says, referring to the expedition of the Strait which Francisco de Ulloa undertook from Chili in 1553:

They moved up to 51 degrees. They toured large openings and the cliffs who broke the sea, rushing to get one that stood out from the most high snowy mountains, that really was the gloomy narrow Strait, aired on their knowledge with full trust in the pilots and seamen, particularly in a *flamenco* that had been on the journey of Magellan and prided that he knew that place. This seemed not to be the entry; his opinion overcame those of all.⁵⁷

It is still not clear who was this Fleming on the expedition of Francisco de Ulloa. If Argote had been the only Flemish survivor of the expedition of Magellan, it could not be another one than him. But as long as we don't know what the ending of Antonio Flamenco was – and given the possibility that Pedro de Urrea could have returned to Europe – it is impossible to assert anything.

Again we find Flemings in the Strait of Magellan just before the end of the 16th century. In a document to replace manpower, signed in Seville on 30 September 1590, we learned that there were some: Nicolás Jaques, *condestable* on the ship *Nuestra Señora*

Guillometa Legant. BOYD-BOWMAN, Peter. *Indice geobiográfico de más de 56 mil pobladores de la América hispánica 1493-1519*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985, p. 266

⁵⁵ Ibidem.

⁵⁶ MORISON, Samuel Eliot. *The Great Explorers: The European Discovery of America*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 571

⁵⁷ ROSALES, Diego de. *Historia General del Reyno de Chile. Flandes Indiano*. Temuco (Chile), Centro Ecumenico Diego de Medellín. Ediciones Universidad de La Frontera. Serie quinto centenario, 1991

de la Concepción, belonging to the *Armada del Estrecho de Magallanes*, as well as two gunners named Antonio Noble and Martín, a seaman of the ship *Almiranta*, Juan Flamenco, and Enrique Gómez, gunner of the *San Esteban*⁵⁸.

An example that could be somewhat generic in the case of the Flemish seamen in the South Sea, is that of Juan de Mazas. About him professor Stols says the following:

At the age of five years, he was placed by his Flemish parents under the care of an uncle, a rich merchant of Seville. He was subsequently occupied as a soldier and served for twelve years in that office on board of a ship between Panamá and Callao. He ended his life as a butler on the domains of don Juan López de Alarcón y Toledo in Puerto de la Magdalena de Pisco, in the valley of Condorlacto. Finally he drowned crossing the river on horseback. He left a sum of about 800 pesos.⁵⁹

As we have seen, the Flemish gunners were wanted and selected by the Spaniards thanks to their competences. In the fleet of Cristobal de Heraso – between Cartagena de Indias and Seville – served for several years a gunner from Bruges. His name was Roque de Santiago, who in 1580 – being in Seville – gave powers to Diego de León, *administrador* in the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, to charge the money that they still needed to pay to him all the time he had served on the royal galleons⁶⁰.

In the 17th century we found a Juan Antonio, classified as a seaman, from whom we do not know of his nautical skills, but about who we do know that he fell into the hands of the Inquisition and was penanced for this between 1618 and 1622. This seaman was from Antwerp and his crime was to have commented, in the city of Saña, that "the nuns of Popayán were left pregnant" and that because of this the bishop had locked them. To

⁵⁸ *Catálogo de Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla. Siglo XVI.* Madrid, 1932. Vol. V, p. 476. 1583. Book of the year 1590. Role XVII, book V. Separate notebook. *Escribano* Francisco de Vera. Folio 567, 30 September 1583

⁵⁹ STOLS, Eddy. "Gens des Pays-Bas en Amérique Espagnole aux premiere siècles de la colonisation." *Bulletin de l'Institute Historique Belge de Rome.* Fascicle XLIV, 1974, p. 594. The author refers to the following source: A.G.I. Contratación 401.1. (The translation of the cited passage is ours.)

⁶⁰ *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla. Siglo XVI.* Madrid, 1932. Vol. II, p. 251. Book of 1580. Role XIX, book II. *Escribano* Gaspar de León. Folio 123. 29 February. The bulk of the fleet came out of Cartagena towards Spain on 23 May 1577, commanded by Cristóbal de Heraso, general of the Armada de las Indias, who decided to leave at Cartagena a galleon and two frigates of the fleet; his lieutenant, Miguel de Heraso, was a young man who was a relative. CASTILLO Y MATHIEU, Nicolás. *La llave de las Indias.* Bogotá: Ediciones El Tiempo, 1981, p. 57

the opinion of one of the listeners, who suggested that they could repent, Juan Antonio replied that after the fault they had committed, there was no way to have repentance before God. The proposal undoubtedly had Lutheran overtones, but fortunately the Fleming was acquitted in view of the defenses he presented⁶¹.

Pirates and privateers

Other Flemings that can be included in this section were those arriving in the ships of pirates and privateers, some of whom were captured and handed over to the Inquisition.

Among them we know two Flemings who were members of the privateer expedition of Richard Hawkins: Nicolás Hans and Francisco Cornieles. The expedition, headed by the son of John Hawkins and cousin of Francis Drake, sailed in June 1593, crossed the Strait of Magellan and floated up the west coast of the Pacific. Hawkins looted the stores of Valparaíso and captured four ships anchored there on 1 May 1594, for those who sought and obtained relief.

The Viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza, upon hearing of the presence of Hawkins in the Pacific, detached ships to Panama and New Spain to report the danger. He also sent messengers to the coast to ensure that both the authorities and the people of all ports were prevented. Then he prepared two galleons of *25 bocas de fuego* on average, which accompanied a *galeoncillo* or carrack and three *pataches* or dispatch-boat for the transport of the musketeers and gunners.

The Viceroy appointed his brother, the son of the *conde* de Lemos – Beltrán de Castro y de la Cueva – general captain and Alonso de Vargas Carbajal admiral. After some misdeeds on the Peruvian coast, Hawkins encountered the colonial army, but was able to elude them. The persecution was extended northward and at four o'clock in the afternoon on Thursday 30 June, Beltrán de Castro and Alonso de Vargas found the Englishman in the Bahía de Atacames. The fight had already begun when it needed to be postponed because of the fall of the night. But on 2 July, a barrage of artillery fired at

⁶¹ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1569-1820)*. Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J.T. Medina, 1959, Vol. II, p. 12

close range; an order to capitulate made Hawkins surrender his sword and ship to don Beltrán, against the promise to be sent to England, what happened in 1602⁶².

Nicolás Hans, the first of the Flemings mentioned, was a page to Hawkins. He was 15 years old when he was taken prisoner. Because of his young age, he was placed in the hands of the Jesuits to be educated in the Catholic faith. After being a short time among the religious, the young man expressed his desire to convert to Catholicism, which caused great delight to the fathers. Medina says that after this "he was reconciled with only two years of habit and other healthy practices"⁶³.

Francisco Cornieles, the other Fleming of the English squad, was penanced by the Edict of 1595. While remaining in jail, he declared that he and the Englishman Bries had attacked a Spaniard during a night. Subsequent, Bries explained that they had not done this to steal, but because the Spaniard had called them heretics. This means that Cornieles was sentenced to hang. Medina, however, clarifies that in Spain they did not approved this procedure for state matters and it was ordered that they were acquitted "ab cautelem"⁶⁴.

In 1683, the Flemish privateer Eduardo or Edward Davis, serving the British crown, crossed the Strait of Magellan and emptied into the Pacific. In Peru, the memory of Davis is intimately associated with Saña and its destruction. But if the legend was at the time a source of moral inspiration, the actions of this Flemish pirate were rather more important than the mere destruction of this city.

The tradition says that Davis was "terrible and bloody, blond, elegant and slender". It is said that on the evening of 4 March 1686, the residents of Chéreppe watched in horror how the two ships and a 36-gun frigate approached the port, lowered the false flags of the king and raised those of pirates. One of the inhabitants of the port who saw the

⁶² DEL BUSTO DUTHURBURU, José Antonio. *Historia marítima del Perú*. Tome III, vol. 2. Siglo XVI-Historia Externa, pp. 605-614. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Históricos Marítimos del Perú, 1977. Provides a detailed sequence of the expedition of Richard Hawkins.

⁶³ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 281

⁶⁴ CASTEÑEDA, Paulino y Pilar HERNÁNDEZ. *La Inquisición de Lima*. Madrid: Deimos, 1989. Vol. I, p. 461. The authors refer to the following source: AHN Inquisición, Book 1028, fol. 529-531; MEDINA, José Toribio. *La Inquisición de Lima*. Vol. I, p. 282

landing operation, gave Saña the sign to prepare the defense. The moral decay of the city, however, had reached such a point, that there was no way to stop the orgiastic feasts that were held there every night. Some versions say that after being gathered together by Davis, the pirates left the city; others say that they sacked Saña for seven days and then set it on fire. Like the tremendous corruption of Saña and its subsequent destruction by nature and by pirates was always used for exemplary purposes by the clergy, the truth and legend are very mixed.

A romantic aspect of the legend tells that Davis captured a beautiful girl called Mencia, daughter of a wealthy family and highborn in the city, and asked to deliver a ransom of 50.000 pesos. The parents of Mencia, for their part, were opposed for some time to her marriage with don Juan Salazar, an important figure of Saña and the Viceroyalty. According to the story, it was precisely Salazar who paid the ransom and gave the girl back to her parents. The legend says that Mencia did not marry Salazar, but soon disappeared from the city and went to join Davis, to whom she was madly in love.

Apart from the legends and myths fostered by monks and later by writers, Edward Davis – whose name must have been translated into English when he entered the British crown service – replaced John Cook as commander of a 36-gun ship. After crossing the Strait, he found near the Juan Fernández Islands another English 16-gunner ship and headed for Panama. There he received the support of French buccaneers who had crossed the isthmus. He plundered Sechura and occupied Saña, attacked Santa, Casma, Huacho and Huaura. On 11 June 1686, he was defeated by the army formed by the Duque de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru. But taking advantage of the indecision of his enemy, he escaped. On 11 July he fought with his people in Pisco, town that had been reinforced by neighbors of Ica; the pirate lost 47 men. After this action and satisfied with his booty, he visited Guayaquil and disappeared to the north⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ TAURO, Alberto. *Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú*. Lima: Peisa, 1987. Vol. II, p. 705

Chapter IV - State officials

There are not much Flemings who held public offices in South America under Spanish rule. Knowing the Spanish position towards foreigners, it is clear that the Spaniards did not like to deliver official positions to those who were not from Spain. We could find seven exceptions to this rule and curiously, the official positions range from very low to the highest function that any person could aspire in the Indies: the title of viceroy.

The judge, the inspector, the warden and the treasurer

The first Fleming we found, holding a public office, is the silversmith Juan Rener or Juan de Bruselas. On several occasions he received the title of *Juez de Pesos y Pesas* (Controller of Weights and Measures), given by the *cabildo* of Lima in 1549. As judge, he was responsible for supervising the proper functioning of the scales of the capital and to determine whether any fraud was committed with the weights. Juan de Bruselas distinguished himself as a silversmith and maker of the first stamps of the city; subsequently he served as assayer of the town of Potosí between 1564 and 1572, and from 1577 to an unspecified date. At the same time he practiced mining. For these reasons we have chosen to address him in the chapter dedicated to the Flemish artisans who came to Peru.

Another inspector was the carpenter Enrique Senepes, whose appointment to oversee the carpenters' union was made at the *cabildo* of Lima on 17 June 1575. About him we also have more information, which we will give when discussing the artisans.

We practically know nothing about two officials. One is the Flemish merchant Francisco de la Cruz, who, in addition to his commercial activities, was treasurer of the orphanage San Juan de la Penitencia of Lima during the middle of the 16th century⁶⁶. Of the other one we even do not know the name and his position is not clear within the colonial bureaucracy; he was "the warden of the bridge" over the Río Apurímac.

⁶⁶ See the section "Merchants".

The case of the bridge warden becomes interesting if, while studying it, we take into account the desirability of the Netherlands to have accurate information about the Spanish domains. When in the early 17th century the Dutchmen conceived their plan to approach to the coasts of Spanish America, they moved their war with Spain – which they had since the previous century – to their domains in the New World.

It is not meant to deal here with pirates and privateers of the Netherlands, but it is interesting to realize how important that information about the Spanish kingdoms was for them. Due to Francisco Sánchez Jiménez, a merchant who was among the sixteen prisoners from the privateer Jorge Spilberghen and who managed to escape to Huarmey in 1615, we know, for example, that:

on board of the Dutch ships travel more than twenty foreigners who previously had a shop in Lima, and who had in fact developed an intense espionage work.⁶⁷

It is easy to understand that because of the common language, *los flamencos* were the most valued informants that the *pichilingues* – the name the Spaniards used to refer to the Dutchmen – tried to capture for their own purposes. It is also very likely that this was the intention why in an anonymous description of the Viceroyalty to the Dutch crown, called *Del Judío Portugués* (written around 1620), the author refers to the Flemish warden of the bridge crossing the Rio Apurímac, a roadside structure of vital strategic importance to the Viceroyalty, as it was the road that connected Lima with Cusco. In the mentioned chronic, it is said that "for the care of the bridge it has a warden, and at that time it is a *flamenco*"⁶⁸.

As might be expected, the fact that there was a person who spoke their language – and placed in such an important point of the Viceroyalty – must have been received with great enthusiasm by the authorities. Historians would like to ask many questions to the Fleming of the bridge, about his origin and the way he could get such a unique job, but

⁶⁷ LOHMANN VILLENA, Guillermo. *Historia marítima del Perú. Siglos XVII y XVIII*. Vol. IV, p. 397. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Histórico Marítimos, 1977

⁶⁸ "Descripción del Judío Portugués para los Estados de Holanda". *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, January-June 1944. Vol. VII, n.º 1, p. 31

there is until now no additional information about him.

The governors

The fifth identified Flemish officer is of a higher category than the previous, but still, his contribution to our America largely exceeded the importance of his official position. Don Carlos Adrián de Sucre, Fleming of Cambray, was the first of his family coming to America. A great-grandson of Carlos Adrián was Antonio José de Sucre, the marshal of Ayacucho.

The Sucre family was from southern France and one of its branches had moved to Flanders, where they set up a relationship with Spain from the 15th century. Andrés de Sucre played important roles at the court of Philip The Handsome.

During the reign of Charles II, towards the end of the 17th century, the Fleming Carlos Adrián de Sucre, marquis of Preux, reached the South American coast. He was the first to arrive in this continent. Don Carlos Adrián was born in Cambray, in French Flanders, on 4 August 1641; he was captain of the Walloon infantry and then Sergeant General of the armies of the Spanish king. Later, he was appointed governor and Captain General of the city and province of Cartagena de Indias, the most important commercial and military port of South America at that time. He still held this position when he died in Madrid in November 1712.

One of the children of Carlos Adrián de Sucre was Colonel Carlos de Sucre y Pardo, born in Flanders and founder of the branch of the family that settled in America. The colonel was appointed lieutenant of the king in Cartagena de Indias and shortly after he became governor of Santiago de Cuba, from where he returned to Cartagena as governor.

In 1729, by a *real cédula* of 22 December, the king appointed Carlos de Sucre y Pardo governor of Nueva Andalucía, on Tierra Firme, in present day Venezuela. The distance and other factors made that he only could take possession of his governorship in 1733, the year in which he was solemnly received by the *cabildo* of Cumaná.

In the following years, Don Carlos carried out a productive career. Among his works is the foundation of the village of Aragua. During this period he came to hold the rank of brigadier; he remained in Venezuela until his death in 1746⁶⁹.

It was precisely in Cumaná, capital of the province of Aragua and residence of a son of Don Carlos – called Vicente de Sucre – and of his wife, María Manuela de Alcalá, where on 3 February 1795 Antonio José de Sucre, the future marshal of Ayacucho, was born⁷⁰.

The viceroy

The ultimate and most important Flemish official seated in South America was the Viceroy Teodoro de Croix, native of Flanders and nephew of Carlos Francisco de Croix, who was Viceroy of Mexico.

Teodoro Francisco de Croix was born on 30 June 1730 at the castle of Prévoté, near Lille, in French Flanders. He was the third child of Alejandro Francisco Maximiliano de Croix, Marquis of Heuchin, and Isabel Clara Eugenia de Heuchin Longastre⁷¹. At the age of 17 he entered the Spanish army and served as an ensign of grenadiers of the Royal Guard until 26 April 1747, the date he passed to Italy. On 29 September 1750 he was transferred to the regiment of the Walloon Guards, in which he spent several years. As a member of this corps he ascended to the rank of second lieutenant on 30 April 1756.

Then Teodoro de Croix returned to Flanders, where he entered the novitiate of the Teutonic Order, in which he professed. This hospital, religious and military order had been created in San Juan de Acre in 1190 to take care of wounded crusaders. As a knight of the order, Croix received, after some time, the parcel of Ramensdorff, leaving him a substantial income.

⁶⁹ COVA, J.A. *Sucre, ciudadano de América*. Buenos Aires: Sociedad Impresora Americana, 1944

⁷⁰ PÉREZ VILA, Manuel. "Rasgos biográficos de José Antonio de Sucre". *Catálogo de la exposición histórico: Sucre: Memoria y presencia*. Caracas: Galería de Arte Nacional, 1980

⁷¹ TAURO, Alberto. *Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú*. Lima: Peisa, 1987. Vol. II, p. 585

After passing through the novitiate, he returned to the army and in 1757 he served in Hannover. From there he moved to Madrid, where he was promoted to the rank of colonel on 18 February 1760 and participated in the campaign of Portugal two years later under the command of the *conde de Aranda*.

When in 1765 Felipe Carlos Francisco de Croix was appointed Viceroy of Mexico, he asked if his nephew could take charge of the captaincy of the Guardia Virreinal, which was confirmed on 28 February 1766. Uncle and nephew left Spain on board of *El Dragón* on 29 April 1766 and arrived at Veracruz on 18 July of that year.

Once in Mexico, it was considered desirable that Teodoro de Croix – without losing his position as captain of the Guardia – passed to take over the governorship of Acapulco to control the growing smuggling that appeared in that port, taking advantage of the trip of the *Galeón de Manilla*⁷². Because of the zeal with which he discharged his work, he deserved his promotion to the rank of brigadier on the first day of April 1770. Almost a year later, in May 1771, he was commissioned the inspection of the cavalry and infantry of the Guardia Virreinal. But shortly after, in September – when his uncle, the Viceroy, handed over command to his successor – Teodoro Francisco accompanied him back to Cádiz.

De Croix remained only three years in Spain before being sent back to New Spain in 1775, this time as captain general of Mexico in the northern provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa. It should be understood that in that time the Spanish government was extremely interested to have a stronger position in the administration and military on the northern coast of the Pacific before the incursion of the Russians and English, who looked forward to the economic possibilities of these lands. De Croix remained in his new post for eight years and travelled four times through his jurisdiction⁷³. During his stay in Mexico, he was accused before the Santo Oficio. Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte assumed that this accusation came due to his fondness for reading books by French authors,

⁷² The “Galeón de Manilla” or Manila galleon was a Spanish ship that during the colonial period, one or two times a year crossed the Pacific Ocean between Manilla in the Philippines and Acapulco in New Spain (present day Mexico).
Note of the translator.

⁷³ Ibidem.

some of which were prohibited by the Inquisition⁷⁴.

On 15 February 1783, two days after being promoted to lieutenant general, Charles III commissioned him the Viceroyalty of Peru. He embarked in Acapulco to his new destination, arrived in Callao on 4 April 1784 and stayed at Bellavista until the sixth day, when he made his entry into Lima. The official reception ceremony of the new Viceroy, however, was conducted only on 25 August⁷⁵.

On the administrative level, the most important accomplishment of De Croix during his government, was the introduction of the system of *Intendencias* in the Peruvian Viceroyalty.

The *visitador general* Jorge Escobedo y Alarcón established the first of July 1784, the *Intendencias* of Trujillo, Tarma, Lima, "Guancavelica", "Guamanga", Cusco and Arequipa, in compliance with the royal order of 5 August 1783.

Initially, the system of territorial and administrative division known as the *Intendencias* – running successfully in France – was taken by the Bourbons to Spain and later applied in America. The first American *Intendencias* were those of Cuba in 1764 after the British occupation, when a recomposition of a more efficient administration of the island became urgent. Then, after the good result obtained in Cuba, the administrative system was introduced in other parts of the Spanish dominions in America: in the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1769, in Venezuela in 1779 and in Buenos Aires in 1782.

In Peru, the system of *Intendencias* was created to achieve a more efficient territorial administration and at the same time to end the abuses of the *corregidores* (representatives of the Crown), which was considered very much responsible for the rebellion of Túpac Amaru. The *corregidores* bought offices for a term of four years, during which they were responsible to tax the Indians from their township and were allowed to carry out the so-called *repartos* or deals. These consisted in selling forcefully products which were largely useless. The *intendente*, on the contrary, depended directly

⁷⁴ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Historia general del Perú*. Lima: Milla Batres, 1971. Vol. V, p. 70

⁷⁵ MENDIBURU, Manuel de. *Diccionario histórico biográfico del Perú*. Vol. IV. Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1932, p. 240. Second edition.

on the Crown, received a salary and his action was much more limited and controlled.

Another reason for the claim of Túpac Amaru was the need to have a *audiencia*, a judicial court, in Cusco so it was not necessary to travel to Lima to litigate. This vacuum made the processes very onerous, as he could see for himself when he had to come to the capital to defend his rights to the title of Marquis of Oropesa. This discomfort was compounded because the judicial things never seemed to be solved quickly.

Although the rebellion of Túpac Amaru failed, some of his just demands were heard by the Spanish administration. And so, on 26 February 1787, the king signed the decree for the erection of the Audiencia del Cuzco and on 3 May he directed to Viceroy De Croix the royal decree giving the limits of the new constituency, as well as the fees, names and salaries of the ministers that should serve there. The royal seal, symbol of the institution, solemnly entered under a canopy in the ancient Inca capital on 8 November 1788. The next day, on the Day of King Charles, a thanksgiving mass was celebrated in the cathedral of the city; then they proceeded to the levees in the place of the Audiencia. The festivities, which were graced by fireworks, bullfights and masked balls, continued until 10 December, when the Colegio de San Bernardo offered a literary performance in honor of the new authorities.

The situation of the Peruvian mining also occupied the Viceroy. During the general visitation, the *visitador* Jorge de Escobedo was concerned about the advancement of the sector. De Croix supported all his proposals and, after the return of Escobedo to the peninsula, the Viceroy continued with the projects started.

In 1787 *El Tribunal de Minería* was established. This – according to the writings of Vargas Ugarte – created a spirit of optimism among the miners for the support that this institution meant for the guild. On the other hand, it was during the government of De Croix that the mercury mine of Huancavelica collapsed.

Santa Bárbara collapsed on 25 September 1786. Initially, little importance was given to the event, blaming the accident to an earthquake and saying that a small part was damaged and the mine was not longer operational. It was indicated, moreover, that the collapse had been useful because it allowed to roll flat and adjust the land – which would

facilitate future work – and that

the collapse cleared the way for metals and powders of great use to be gleaned at the time of clearing and solid parts should be taken out; it also contributed to the output of stormwater which poured into the mine for that part.⁷⁶

Once the investigations started, it was discovered, that with the desire to increase the production without increasing costs, the mine administration had been "biting" the mine – i.e. removing mineral from the "stirrups, arches, bridges, ceilings and sides" – which had weakened the structure before collapsing.

The first and second director of the mine, Juan Francisco Marroquín and Vicente Goyenaga, plus other officials, were removed from their office. After their trial, Marroquín was sentenced to strangulation; Goyenaga and others were imprisoned. The Viceroy mentioned in his report that the accused did not deny the crimes, but tried to impute to others and finally confessed how they stole the *real hacienda* "in weekly consumption of *peonajes* and materials; also in imaginary stocks of tools, metal and powders in the storage rooms". Teodoro de Croix, however, commuted the sentence of Marroquín to imprisonment and sent him to Spain, where he died in jail 16 years later.

Regarding aspects of the *real hacienda*, one of the issues De Croix had to deal with in Peru was the monetary. The authorities of the viceroys in Peru and Buenos Aires, before their arrival, had requested Spain if it was possible to pick up *la moneda macuquina* or cobs⁷⁷ – still circulating in these territories – because of the damage it was causing the trade. The Juntas de Comercio y Moneda informed the king about this matter on 21 February 1784 and this resulted in Aranjuez in a royal order on 30 April of that year. In this order was specified:

Without excuse and always it seems useful to recollect all the *macuquina* coins in the mint within the term of two years; and everybody in the kingdom should be informed about this decision, so that when after the said term *macuquina* silver will be found in the hands of private individuals, it will not have any market value anymore. And that it only will be valuable in the mint according to the amount of silver, so that they cannot call their ignorance as an excuse, nor this decision, which is taken for the

⁷⁶ FUENTES, Manuel A. *Memorias de virreyes*. Lima: Librería Central de Felipe Baily, 1859. Vol. V, p. 371

⁷⁷ Money which was, because made by hammering and irregular, open to fraud.

benefit of the people, will damn and whereby this solution has cost the *real hacienda* high expenses.⁷⁸

By the same royal order mentioned above, it was forbidden to send pesos or half pesos to Spain, because it was argued that the minor currencies caused confusion at the peninsula when mixed with the *moneda provincial*⁷⁹; but also the lack of coins in the Viceroyalty was obvious, which caused constant problems and difficulties in commercial transactions of all kinds. For the reasons mentioned, the king recommended minting "without prejudice to other urgent tasks of his royal *casa de moneda*", a good quantity of *moneditas* or coins of silver equivalent to one fourth of a real, "for the convenience of the people in their small trade"⁸⁰.

When he received the order, the Viceroy proceeded to inform the superintendent of the mint about the matters covered in it, and this officer, after consultation with the man in charge of the *fielatura*⁸¹, communicated to Teodoro de Croix that there was no problem to collect and consolidate the *macuquina* silver, neither to avoid the shipment of the small change, which was much needed in the Viceroyalty, to Spain; but concerning the coinage of the *cuartillos*, he said there existed the difficulty that it was an amount higher than was committed to mint at the time of the auction of the task of *fiel*, the inspector of weights and measures. He was, however, willing to make the little coins in the amount requested, if the 27.000 were lowered to 20.000, that, according to the contract, was obliged to be carved in petite money.

In case of accepting the proposal, the *superintendente* could mint each year 400 marks in *cuartillos*. The *fiel* argued that the manufacture of the little coins required higher costs by the "countless minutiae of the instrument; *muñecas* and other tools for the smelting of shears, brushes, etc."⁸².

Adding to the *fiel's* considerations on the coinage of the *cuartillos* the fact that – as

⁷⁸ FUENTES, Manuel A. *Op. cit.* Vol. V, pp. 271-272

⁷⁹ *Moneda provincial* was issued for circulation in Spain. It had a lower intrinsic value than commercial money to prevent its escape abroad, while the "national" money was of good law, made in the mints of America and to a lesser degree, in the Spanish mints; used for international trade.

⁸⁰ FUENTES, Manuel A. *Op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 172

⁸¹ The "fielatura" was the office of the *fiel* of inspector of weights and measures. Note of the translator.

⁸² *Ibidem*.

mentioned by the Viceroy in his report – at the end of 1784 the *casa de la moneda* was overloaded in its work to approximate the date of export of the "records" to Cádiz and that increasing the work meant the remelting of the *plata macuguina*⁸³. The fact is that the first *cuartillos* started to be minted in 1792 with the portrait of Charles II, a model that was soon changed, in 1796, to the lions and castles of which the production would continue until the end of the Spanish rule in America.

The Viceroy Teodoro de Croix could not easily be persuaded by the views of his subordinates and even less by the *fiel de la casa de moneda*. The Fleming believed that in difficult times – the Crown dealing with the expenses involved in ending the uprising of Túpac Amaru in Cusco and the costs related to the maintenance of a fleet in the Pacific to defend the coast against possible British attacks – the recovery of the *fielatura* of the mint was a way to raise funds. During the government of De Croix, the *fielatura* was topped twice and so had the Viceroy the opportunity to evaluate the pros and cons of the change of the system. The Viceroy said that he was "persuaded that the negotiation is advantageous to the contractors, and that the king – instead of paying a salary of more than two thousand pesos to help the sector tenant – saved for what he paid for the coinage."⁸⁴

De Croix was aware that the *fieles* used to bulk up expenses when making their calculations so that their profits seemed minor, bringing in wages of free working men where slaves were used. When they were told to notice this difference, they argued that they should always have staff on hand so that in case of increasing the production, the interests of the Crown would not be delayed, and to replace a slave immediately by a free man in the event of his death.

In the first auction of the *fielatura* during the government of De Croix, two bidders presented themselves. One was a relative of Pablo Matute de Vargas, whose family had occupied the office for more than 30 years; the other, Raymundo Marres, who for the

⁸³ When the treasure was shipped to Spain, the city of Lima was left with very little money circulating and much of the operations should be carried out in credit. Therefore it was insisted that the small change was not to be sent to the peninsula.

⁸⁴ FUENTES, Manuel Atanasio (ed.). *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*. Vol. V. Teodoro de Croix. Lima: Librería Central de Felipe Bailly, 1859, p. 278

good management of the situation that the Viceroy personally made, lowered the price of the coinage considerably. Without losing time by calculating costs, expenses and profits, he was awarded the seat, with a commitment to provide two months before the end of a period of five years "a sworn reason of these costs and expenses".

At the day of reckoning, they were not as had been proposed. But the *fiel* said they were made on the basis of estimates, because he had understood this. Even with the reduction that had been achieved, it became clear to the governor that there was still a margin remaining that could be get for the real estate. So that, in the second auction Croix made of the *fielatura*, after rejecting the possibility of leaving the place in the hands of the Crown, he demanded that the time to present "sworn account of the real costs and physical expenses, effectives and reals" was two years, to avoid the real or invented misunderstandings of previous years' figures.

To this second auction two bidders presented themselves: a nephew of Pablo Matute, called Miguel de Oyague and Juan Ruiz Dávila, who managed to lower the price of the coinage of the production "either coarse or fine" to 28 *maravedís* and the gold to 3 *reales*. Oyague and also the *señor fiscal* noticed that the calculations of Ruiz Dávila were poorly made. When making corrections, Ruiz maintained the gold on 3 *reales* and rose the silver to 34 *maravedís*. After this Oyague improved the proposal, adapting the values of his competitor, but accepting that if within two years the *fielatura* would not have been awarded again, they would have to reduce the value of the slaves and beasts with nine percent to the "legitimate value of these two species", while its competitor only offered to reduce eight percent. Finally, on 23 September 1789, the judges proceeded to top the *fielatura de la casa de moneda* of Lima and to award it to Miguel de Oyague to certain conditions, among which – besides the presentation of sworn accounts – to mint 27.000 marks of small change each year to the cost of 34 *maravedís* each mark.

As a postscript to the story about the second auction of the *fielatura*, it should be noted that Ruiz Dávila wrote to the Viceroy. In this letter he said that the judges had chosen the side of Oyague, giving preference to one percent which was equivalent to 300 pesos, without considering that he had promised to deliver the king free of charge the mills and tools at the end of his contract. De Croix consulted the judges, who, being angry, indicated that the offer of free delivery of the tools and mills also was made by

Oyague and that the words of Ruiz Dávila were injurious, for which he should apologize himself. The Viceroy, in line with the above, ordered the complainant, by decree of 10 October 1789, to give his apologies to the ministers of that court and asked that from now on he should keep a moderate attitude if he did not want "to be confronted with the severity of the law that strikes offenders of the respect of magistrates and royal judges".

After the death of Charles III (Madrid, 14 December 1788) and the enthronement of Charles IV – known in Lima by a royal order of the king of 24 December of that same year and which arrived at the Ciudad de los Reyes in the middle of the next year – the city was getting ready to swear solemnly allegiance to the new sovereign.

As was customary in such ceremonies, all the *plazas* were decorated and with great ceremonial display they proceeded to the act of swearing on 10 October 1789. The doctor José Francisco Arese described the ceremony in all its details. The highlight was the arrival of the Viceroy by horse to the stage after loading the musketries; before the call to silence, given by the *rey de Armas*⁸⁵, De Croix took off his hat and placed his hand on the royal banner, repeating three times:

Castile and the Indies, adding to the last, by the Catholic King D. Carlos IV our lord that God protects, *viva, viva, viva*, and with his hands he raised in the company of the higher lieutenant the royal standard, showing it three times to the people.⁸⁶

An inevitable element in these ceremonies was the distribution of medals, specifically made in the Lima mint to commemorate the event⁸⁷. After the swearing words, the leading authorities shared the pieces, making at this time a *real de a ocho* or piece of eight. In the text of allegiance, copied by José Toribio Medina, was indicated:

first his excellence and after him the *alférez real* poured out a copious number of coins which had

⁸⁵ The "rey de Armas" was the officer who had the authority to grant titles and armorial bearings to the nobles. Note of the translator.

⁸⁶ MENDIBURU, Manuel de. *Op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 283

⁸⁷ The engraver of these medals was the main engraver of the Lima mint, namely Joseph de Zúñiga.

been sealed in order to retain everlasting memory of this solemn event.⁸⁸

The medals of the oath of loyalty to Charles IV – made in Lima – carried on one side the royal arms and the inscription CAROLUS IV D.G. HISP. ET. IND. REX.; on the backside the shield of the city of Lima, with crown and flanked by the columns of Hercules with the inscription PUBLIC. FIDELIT JURAM D. 10 OCTOBRIS 1789. At the bottom, on ocean waves that underset the columns, appears, divided into two, the name CRO-IX. Only the Viceroy Teodoro de Croix and the *conde de superunda* placed their names on the medals of allegiance and in this way marked their passage through these lands.

Five months and a half after the solemn oath of fidelity to King Charles and by his explicit request to the sovereign because of the weight of the years, Teodoro de Croix gave on 25 March 1790 the command of the Viceroyalty to his successor, fray Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, who had been occupying the same office in the city of Santa Fe de Bogotá.

Once he had given the command, Teodoro de Croix retired at the convent of San Pedro, which was in hands of the fathers of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri since the expulsion of the Jesuits. In this place resided the outgoing Viceroy until his withdrawal from Peru. His reputation for being honest and good was great. He left in the royal coffers more than six million pesos, which was uncommon, if we judge from the way it was remembered. Also, when retired of his office, he continued to receive people who came to ask for charity and it is known that "no one will be left unattended, even for the sacrifice of valuable items"⁸⁹.

Finally, on 17 April 1790, he embarked at Callao on board of *La Princesa* and returned to Spain to become colonel of the regiment of the Walloon Guards, a title which he already was appointed for on 24 February 1789. Upon his arrival in Spain, the king honored him for his outstanding services with giving him the Grand Cross in the Order of Carlos III⁹⁰.

⁸⁸ MEDINA, José T. *Medallas de proclamaciones y juras de los reyes de España en América*. Boston: Quarterman Publications Inc., 1973. (A facsimile reissue of the original edition from Santiago de Chile, 1917)

⁸⁹ TAURO, Alberto. *Op. cit.*, p. 856

⁹⁰ BLEIBERG, Germán (red.). *Diccionario de historia de España*. Madrid: Alianza, 1986. Vol. I, p. 1025

Unfortunately, the only Fleming who occupied the high office of Spanish viceroy in South America did not live long after his deserved return to the peninsula. Almost a year after having sailed away from Lima, he died on 8 April 1791 due to an affection of the chest⁹¹.

⁹¹ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 97

Chapter V - In the name of God

The missionaries

Within the Spanish logic of the time of the conquest, the absence of religious men in the expeditions that departed to the New World was inconceivable. The number of them increased considerably as soon as the Spanish progression was established at some place, where immediately churches, convents and schools were built, through which they developed their work to instruct the South American people. It is interesting to note that the presence of the religious Flemings occurs very early in the process. This is explained, as the Mexican Professor Mario Monteforte says, by the intellectual level of them, distinguishing themselves from the rigid Spanish clerics, still imbued with the mentality of the Middle Ages. According to the historian:

The Flemish projection in the South American culture comes from enlightened monks – of Germanic and humanist training – who were selected by the Habsburgs to entrust the delicate task of studying and ideologize the New World.⁹²

The first Flemish missionaries that arrived in South America were Franciscans. This order had already a long experience of evangelization in the northern part of the continent. Three Flemings – Pedro de Gante, Johan van den Auwero and Juan de Tecto – came early to New Spain with the mission to evangelize, a work that they performed outstandingly. However, there are references left by the Franciscan Nicolás Herborn (from Cologne) who says that in the general chapter of the order, held in Toulouse (France) in May 1532 – in which he participated – there was, among missionaries from throughout the world, a Flemish monk who had spent some years in South America, where he claimed to have baptized approximately 5,000 natives. This leads to the speculation of Father Antonino Tibesar that this Fleming must have been in South America around 1531 and, in any case, before January 1532⁹³.

⁹² MONTEFORTE, Mario (red.). *Las formas y los días. El Barroco en Guatemala*. Madrid: Turnes-Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala-Universidad Autónoma de México, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes de Guatemala, 1989, p. 24

⁹³ TIBESAR, Antonino O.F.M. *Comienzos de los franciscanos en el Perú*. Iquitos: Centro de Estudios Teológicos de la Amazonía, 1991, p. 27

There has been no other evidence about the assertions of Herborn, that the arrival of Joost de Rijcke or Jodoco Ricke at the coast of Tumbes in August 1535 and his emission to Quito, constitute the beginning of the recorded history of the religious Flemings in this part of the New World.

Ricke was born on 29 October 1498 in the city of Mechelen, within the prominent Brabant family of the Van Marselaer. This family had delivered important civil servants, soldiers and ecclesiastics to its country. Three of his maternal uncles served Adrian of Utrecht, who would later become Pope Adrian VI; some argue that the monk was cousin of Emperor Charles V⁹⁴.

In fact little is known about the early years and the childhood of Joost de Rijcke, who among us was known by the Castilianized nickname fray Jodoco Ricke. In 1532 he travelled already as a Franciscan brother to the general chapter of his order in Toulouse. In that meeting missionaries were requested to the newly discovered territories of South America. Fray Jodoco, attracted by the possibility of putting his vocation into practice, went to Spain. He received the permission to sail ship on 19 July 1532, but could not start the voyage to the Indies until the last days of September of the next year⁹⁵.

A very detailed report sent by Ricke to the Franciscans of Ghent in 1536, let us know that in December 1533 he was already in Hispaniola and that from there he went to Peru, passing through Nicaragua and Panama⁹⁶. We do not know if his other Flemish companions – Pieter Gossael, from Leuven; Simón van Brussel and Jan de Clerck, both from the Franciscan convent of Ghent – traveled with him from Spain or met him in Santo Domingo. In any case, they embarked in Panama on the way to Peru, but contrary winds lead the ship to the Gulf of Nicoya in Nicaragua, where they took advantage to land and get into the country. Gossael and De Clerck remained in Nicaragua, while Ricke and Van Brussel resumed their trip to Peru; the second was separated before reaching Tumbes and thereafter lost all reference to him. Ricke arrived in Tumbes, as stated, in August 1535 and immediately moved to Quito, where on 25 January 1536 he

⁹⁴ LA ORDEN MIRACLE, Ernesto. *Elogio de Quito*. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1975, p. 27

⁹⁵ PAEPE, Christian. A. J. R. de. "Joos de Rijcke (1498-1578?). Een Vlamse zendelin in Zuid-Amerika". *Spiegel Historiael*.

⁹⁶ Ernesto La Orden Miracle indicates that fray Jodoco also passed through Mexico. (*Op. cit.*, p. 27)

laid the foundations for a Franciscan monastery, which he led for three decades and from which he established many churches, convents and schools⁹⁷.

It is said that the Franciscan convent of Quito received so many funds from the emperor, that at some point the king was "thoughtful in his balconies of Toledo, looking to see if he could discern the towers of the convent of his cousin, which ought to be already very high, judging from the money it had cost him."⁹⁸

The fame of Ricke as civilizer is so great, that when reading everything that is said about him, it is impossible to reject the idea of being in front of a mythical and civilizing heroe, in which reality blends with fantasy. To Ricke is attributed the introduction in Ecuador of the use of the ox plow, bricks and roof tiles, and a number of edible plants, among which highlights the wheat, although others believe it was rye. In Quito there is kept a cup in which, according to the tradition, the monk brought cereal. There are even those who claim it was fray Jodoco who built the first brewery in the New World, something we should not be surprised of, as this drink corresponds very much with the tastes of the Flemings⁹⁹.

A letter that fray Jodoco sent on 12 January 1556 to the superior father of the convent of Ghent, informs us about his life and work:

I live in Quito for twenty years. Ergo, I am the first of our order who has lived in this town. Out of the monastery which I founded, all the other houses and all the other *custodiae* of South America are born. Since my arrival, I have had the constant company of Father Gosseal of Leuven, professor of our convent in Bruges, in my apostolic work.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ THOMAS, Wernes. "Les ordres mendiants en Amérique Hispanique". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, p. 108

⁹⁸ LA ORDEN MIRACLE, Ernesto. *Op. cit.*, p. 27

⁹⁹ PAEPE, Christian A.J.R. de. *Op. cit.* The cup was given to General José Flores, first president of Ecuador. According to the tradition, the president presented the relic to a representative of the United States in Quito and since then nothing has been heard of its whereabouts.

¹⁰⁰ REUSENS, E.H.J. *Biographie Nationale*. Brussels: Royal Academy for Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts of Belgium, 1876, p. 692. We do not know with certainty the arrival date of Gosseal in Peru, who – as noted – remained in Nicaragua and did not come together with Ricke to Tumbes. On the other hand, the letter of 1536 (sic.) says that Gosseal was with him since he arrived in Quito.

The work of fray Jodoco is so diverse that it is not limited to purely evangelical functions; as we have seen – while establishing new churches and convents – he taught techniques to deliver a better material life to his flock. Ricke was appointed *custos* of his order in 1538 and remained in that position at least until the end of the great rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548. It should be noted that the importance of the office lies in the fact that after the Indian rebellion, that attacked Lima in April 1536, the Franciscans left the Ciudad de los Reyes and did not return to it until 1545, just when fray Jodoco decided that the order should re-occupy the abandoned land which had been granted by Pizarro in 1536 and named brother Francisco de Santana guardian of Lima.

The start of the friar's decline was apparently associated with the end of Pizarro's rebellion, since he had a close relationship with the great Gonzalo¹⁰¹. This ensures that Ricke was one of those who proposed Pizarro to write letters to the Pope asking for himself the infeudation of the Peruvian territory, and who corresponded in Latin with the *licenciado* Vásquez de Cepeda on this point¹⁰².

Primitivo Tineo, in his work on the consilia of Lima, indicates that in the buzzing atmosphere of the time, some members of the regular orders "not always maintained the mentality that should belong to them" and points as an example to fray Jodoco, whom he considers "to have deserved awards in Peru", but that even "if he did not took up arms, however, he suggested Pizarro to usurp the royal crown"¹⁰³.

On 25 September 1546, Ricke sent two letters. One – which is lost – he sent to Gonzalo Pizarro, in which raised the possibility of asking the pope the investiture of the lands of Peru because they had been conquered with so much effort by the Pizarro family, without having had Spain need to invest in it. The other letter – in Latin – was addressed to Diego Vásquez de Cepeda and has been translated and published by Father Agustín Moreno in his excellent and recent work about the Flemish Franciscans Ricke and

¹⁰¹ TIBESAR, Antonino O.F.M. *Op. cit.*, p. 49

¹⁰² LOHMANN VILLENA, Guillermo. *Las ideas juridico-políticas en la rebelión de Gonzalo Pizarro*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1977. Chapter 5, "La frustrada enfeudación pontificia". There is indicated that in a letter of 25 September, sent to Vásquez de Cepeda, Fray Jodoco suggested the advisability of sending to Rome an emissary to get the infeudation of the land of Peru to Gonzalo Pizarro.

¹⁰³ TINEO, Primitivo. *Los Concilios Limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1990, p. 48

Gocial. The first two paragraphs of that letter make clear the intentions of the friar:

Fray Jodoco Rique, the last among the Children, wish health, peace and tranquility of spirit to the wise illustrious *licenciado* in both laws, Sepeda, of my highest respect.

The departure of Your Lordship made me very sensitive, and for no other reason but because the business and my continued occupation, it would not let me see you when you had to leave. Illustrious gentleman, the bearer of this, which is Sebastián de los Ríos, handed over to Your Lordship a letter from my hand to be delivered and made known to your Excellency the Governor, in which I reflect the desire and affection of my heart and will, and that absolutely should be made, so that in the Indies the Christians are not disturbed in these regions as have so far been done. I do not plead for my business, but Your Lordship sees more clearly than the light that is the Lord Governor.¹⁰⁴

Agustín Moreno justifies the attitude of the Franciscan in favor of Gonzalo Pizarro saying the following:

It is worth remembering that among all the Spanish conquerors of the Incas, nobody manifested like him the qualities of a ruler and judge, despite his human frailties, that were obviously the most notorious.¹⁰⁵

There are some references about Jodoco's gifts of divination. Regarding to the departure of the Viceroy Núñez Vela de Quito for the purpose of dealing with Gonzalo Pizarro – who defeated him in Iñaquito on 18 January 1546 – Cieza de León tells us:

There was at that time in Quito a friar from Flanders, called fray Jodoco, and they say that he said a few days before: The captain who leaves Quito without defense will loose; and later when the Viceroy left, they affirmed that he also had said the same thing about him.¹⁰⁶

Later, the same chronicler refers to a formation of clouds which were seen in the sky of Quito after Pedro de Puelles arrived. The clouds formed the shape of two lions close to

¹⁰⁴ MORENO, Agustín P. *Fray Jodoco Rique y fray Pedro Gocial*. Quito: Abaya-Yala, 1998, p. 245. The envelope has, besides the name of *el licenciado* Cepeda, an indication of the handwriting of Pedro de la Gasca, which says "Fray Jodoco".

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 243

¹⁰⁶ CIEZA DE LEÓN, Pedro de. *Crónica del Perú*. Fourth part. Vol. III, tome II, "Guerra de Quito". Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 1994, p. 566

the sun. One of the lions attacked "the other as they were fighting", one to the East and the other to the West, "and the one who came from the west was broken, and the other who passed through him also disappeared and the sun was cleared like it was before". Thereupon, Cieza de León says, the natives were screaming like they usually do when they see a sign from heaven, "guessing the fire of the wars so cruel that were coming", and continues:

this was also forecasted by fray Godoco, from the order of the Franciscans, an astrologer that understood a lot about signals and other things of this art; and even, if I am not mistaken, when I was in the Ciudad de los Reyes, somebody told me he had seen with his own eyes the thing we have been talking about, and that person even wrote it down for me in their letters.¹⁰⁷

More accurate is the reference about the participation of fray Jodoco in the rebellion made by captain Pedro Puelles – lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro in Quito – in his letter of 11 December 1546. When referring to one of the Franciscan spies of the pacifier Pedro de la Gasca, who had been captured, he indicates:

I have locked the monk very well and his excommunication has been ordered by fray Jodoco, that he cannot talk to nobody and nobody can talk with him. Fray Jodoco fits very well in this business, because they have instructions that they can take him out of this country, together with all the monks that can be found in it. Your Highness, give order what need to be done with this monk, because if he gives pieces of the letter, fray Jodoco will give the permission to go to Panama and to stop all the monks who are coming from Castile.¹⁰⁸

Ricke also was an educator and left many schools in the north of the Viceroyalty. One of these, the Colegio San Andrés in Quito, was dedicated to the instruction of the children of Indian nobles, in order that they – once prepared in the knowledge of faith and other

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 711

¹⁰⁸ TIBESAR, Antonino. *Op. cit.*, p. 55. The author refers to the following document: "Carta de Pedro Puelles a Gonzalo Pizarro fechada en Quito el 11 de diciembre de 1546" ("Letter of Pedro Puelles to Gonzalo Pizarro, signed at Quito on 11 December 1546"). B.H. La Gasca Papers. I fol. 361B. Tibesar also refers to Servais Dirks, *Biografías de tres ilustres Misioneros en América y África* (1876), one of which is Ricke. Tibesar mentions that he could not look at the work of Fabié. However, he read a review about it, but does not indicate which one it is (*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* III. Madrid, 1883). In this review is said: "during the wars that the *licenciado* La Gasca ended with his wisdom and energy, fray Rycke did not always favor to the representatives of the authority of the Emperor, because – as most of the secular and regular clergy – he followed the principles and favored the cause of Gonzalo Pizarro".

Christian values – might be able to give primary education in their villages when they returned home.

Father De Paepe, biographer and scholar of fray Jodoco, believes that the motivations of Ricke to leave his homeland at the age of 35 years to engage in missionary work in places so far away, were the following:

His interest in the great changes taking place in the world around him: the nascent Protestantism, the political and mental conquest of the New World, the Christian humanism of Erasmus. Other factors of influence were: conversations with brothers of the order as Pieter van Gent, Jan van den Auwera and Jan Deckers (all of them shipped to Mexico in 1522), the quick results of his work in new missionary territories, the news of the atrocities of the conquistadores and the necessary growth of the gospel, and perhaps the development of discontent with his own way of life.¹⁰⁹

At the end of 1569, fray Jodoco left the city of Quito and moved to Popayán. It is not clear whether it was his evangelic spirit that moved him on this occasion – being 71 years old – or if perhaps his departure from Quito is related to some sort of political exile, as a late wake of his support for the cause of Pizarro. Father Tibesar, chronicler of the Franciscans in Peru – when talking about the reorganization after the great rebellion – already commented that the friars who were loyal to the Crown – many of which served as spies under the service of La Gasca – were well regarded, "while the supporters of the rebels were excluded from high positions, like *el custodio* fray Jodoco Ricke"¹¹⁰.

It appears that in the last stage of his life, Ricke founded in Popayán the convent of the orthodox fathers of San Bernardino, where he lived until his death, which occurred most likely on 2 August 1578¹¹¹.

Ricke's companion of work, sacrifices and adventures was shortly after his arrival at Quito his order brother Pieter or Pedro Gossael or Gocial, also called Pedro Pintor. He

¹⁰⁹ PAEPE, Christian A.F.R. de. *Art. cit.*

¹¹⁰ TIBESAR, Antonino O.F.M. *Op. cit.*, p. 49

¹¹¹ STEVENS, Willy J. "Fray Jodoco Ricke, un flamenco en Popayán". *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*. Órgano de la Academia Colombiana de Historia, n.º 767, Vol. LXXVI, October-December 1989. Bogotá.

was from Leuven and was a painter¹¹². Although it is known that he remained in Nicaragua when Jodoco continued his voyage to Peru, in his letter to the Franciscans of Ghent written in 1536, Ricke mentions that Gocial was always at his side. When Jodoco was appointed *custodio* of the Franciscans of Quito, Gocial was designated *primer padre guardián* of the convent of San Francisco. His name is linked to the art school driven by both Flemings in this city, which during the following centuries brought forth a number of artists. About Gocial we don't know practically nothing. A letter of fray Jodoco, which was mentioned above, informs us about his place of birth and what he professed in the Franciscan convent of Bruges.

Father Agustín Moreno, who has a deep knowledge of the subject, tells us about the work of the second in the Church of San Francisco of Quito:

We can assure that, out of his hands, came the images of San Pedro and San Pablo, which can be found today in the vestry, the high reliefs of the four evangelist on the floor of the main altar, the paintings of San Antonio and San Diego of Alcalá, on wood, which are on both entry and exit doors of that same altar, and the scenes representing the kings and queens that belonged to the Third Order of San Francisco and to the Franciscan Popes, whose authorship, arbitrarily and without any documentation, has been attributed to a disciple of fray Pedro Gocial, called Andrés Sánchez Gallque.¹¹³

A third Fleming accompanied Ricke in Quito, although it is certain that his arrival was later. It is Xácome el Flamenco, who had knowledge of architecture. This seemed to be very useful, since he participated in the construction of the convent of San Francisco in Quito¹¹⁴.

In the 17th century resided in Lima a Flemish Franciscan who's name was fray Diego Gillete and was from Bruges. The information we have of him is thanks to the *Crónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los doce apóstoles del Perú*, written by fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas. According to the chronicler, Gillete must have reached the convent of Lima in 1615; there he took the habit and professed. The monk lived there 30 years,

¹¹² The Flemish name of Gocial must have been *Goltzius*.

¹¹³ MORENO, P. Agustín. *Op. cit.*, p. 273

¹¹⁴ LA ORDEN MIRACLE, Ernesto. *Op. cit.*, p. 106

always dedicated to the office of *procurador de cocina*¹¹⁵, with humility, poverty and obedience. Córdova y Salinas says:

He shone in a heavenly wisdom and great charity, without complaint from anyone and pleasing everyone; in many years, he was able to continue his ministry so difficult; hundred mouths depended on his providence and gift twice daily.¹¹⁶

Apart from what has been, we do not know more about the humble fray Diego Gillete, except that he died after having received the sacraments on 29 November 1645. Stols considers that it is possible that it was fray Diego who helped the young page of Hawkins, Nicolás Hans, converting him – real or apparent – to Catholicism (Nicolás Hans we have discussed above). But in opposition of Stols is the indication of Medina, according to which Hans was delivered into the hands of the Jesuits.

Of the Flemish religious arrived in New Granada and Venezuela, we know two Jesuits: Ignacio Theobast or Toebaest and Gaspar Beck. Father Ignacio Theobast or Toebaest, from Ghent, arrived at Cartagena when he was 34 years old in the fleet of 1681-1682. He left us vivid images of the navigation, as well as the different experiences he gained in a world that was completely foreign to him. About the life on board, he tells us the following:

I do not like the food, the way of cooking is very different from the Flemish kitchen. Aside from this, everything is very dirty. So far my only drink has been water, and this in small quantities. Our sleeping place is not bad, but very dirty. To have it neat, it is necessary to clean it three or four times a day.¹¹⁷

The attitude of another Flemish Jesuit, Guillaume Hotton, contrasts with the negativism of Theobast. In 1616, after a voyage to New Spain, in which 32 members of the Compañía de Jesús (Society of Jesus) – among which were Hotton and Martín de

¹¹⁵ As “procurador de cocina”, Gillete got the products for the kitchen of the convent. Note of the translator.

¹¹⁶ MENDIBURU, Manuel de. *Diccionario histórico biográfico del Perú*. Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1935. Vol. II, pp. 312-313. The author cites as source to fray Diego de Córdova y Salinas. *Crónica de la Religiosísima Provincia de los doce apóstoles del Perú*. 1651, book IV, chapter XII, p. 346

¹¹⁷ DEL CASTILLO MATHIEU, Nicolás. "Las 18 flotas de galeones a Tierra Firme. 1650-1700". *Historiografía y bibliografía*, n.º 2, 1990. Supplement of the Anuario de Estudios Americanos.

Brujas – were about to die because some hull planks tore and the ship began to fill with water at sea, Hotton, when arriving at his destination, writes: "God be praised for allowing us the privilege to suffer a bit during the performance of our obedience"¹¹⁸.

Later, Father Ignacio complains about the heat in Cartagena: "All day and all night I sweat [...] although we are in winter, as I repeat myself at every step"¹¹⁹.

In Bogotá he was assigned as a teacher to the seminar school of San Bartolomé; with this his health improved considerably, after the sufferings he experienced while crossing the Río Magdalena. However, in a letter to his family members, he said:

The people are poor, they only drink water. The food does not fill. Everything is extremely spicy. They don't cook like in Flanders. Although I am not too ill, my legs, tormented by mosquitoes, are not fully cured. In this region I cannot find anybody from Flanders. I am not surprised. No one comes here except by God. Goodbye, pray for me.¹²⁰

Although Theobast mentions in a letter of 2 January 1682 about the possibility to move to Curacao, "which belongs to the Dutch", it is decided that he should participate in the beginning of the following year in a mission on the banks of the Orinoco. On 20 March he writes to his relatives and sends them what he considers as his "last goodbye", since he – for what he has heard – moves to lands never visited before by Europeans; in those lands there are not only infidels devoted to polygamy but, moreover, there has been spoken "about excessive heat, snakes, tigers and mosquitoes". He also admits that the fathers on American soil have much to suffer: "here nor partridges, nor French wine, nor wine of the Rhine"¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. "Les Jésuites wallons et flamands dans les Réductions d'Indiens au Mexique et au Paraguay (1609-1768)". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993

¹¹⁹ Ibidem.

¹²⁰ PACHECO, Juan Manuel s.j. *Los jesuitas en Colombia*. Vol. II, p. 406. Bogotá, 1962. The author indicates that he follows the chapter in which Father Joseph Masson s.j. dedicates to Theobast in his book *Missionnaires Belges sous l'ancien régime*. He notes that also Father Kieckens wrote a biography of Theobast, which was published in Leuven in 1888, and that in Ghent in 1778 an incomplete collection of the letters of Theobast was published with the title *Wonderbaere Reize nae d'uitterste paelen von America*.

¹²¹ PACHECO, Juan Manuel s.j. *Op. cit.*, p. 407

The suffering and plaintiff Jesuit threw himself on his mission on 31 March 1683 and was entrusted with the village of Duma, where he wrote his last letter on 15 October of the same year to his order brother, Father Carlos Panigati. In the missive he told him that only a settlement of the region would allow him to evangelize the savages. Soon after, Theobast died in the hands of those whose souls he tried to save and became in this way one of the martyrs of his Society.

Another Flemish Jesuit, Gaspar Beck, suffered the same fate as Father Ignacio. Beck was also from Ghent and fulfilled his ministry among the Guamos in Cucia, on the banks of the Orinoco. In a letter addressed to Father Panigati (8 October 1683), he tells him that his mestizo servant had been beaten to death and stabbed by natives and that they look bad at him because he tells them that they should not continue to live with two or more women and if they do, soldiers will come to punish them. About the difficulty to survive, he says the following:

Recently I had nothing to eat and went into the forest to find something for my hungry stomach; I found some herbs which were not very different from the good and healthy ones in Europe; I cooked them, ate them and was about to die. I was in bed three days, without strength to recite the breviary.¹²²

A third Jesuit martyr of Flanders was Bartolomé de Blende. Although his work and death occurred elsewhere in the continent, it is appropriate to place him along his other two brave order brothers. Blende was a member of a wealthy family of Bruges and arrived in Buenos Aires in 1712. Two years later, his *provincial* commissioned him an expedition to find a direct route between Guarani reductions in the south and the Chiquitos reductions in current Bolivia. In the summer of 1715, at the end of a trip down the Paraguay River, De Blende was abandoned by his aboriginal guides in the middle of an apparently peaceful group of *Indios Payaguas*. After this, they never heard of him again.

Years later, Jacques de Haze described the martyrdom of Bartolomé de Blende in a letter that he wrote to his order brothers in Flanders. In this letter he concluded that the missionary fell to his knees in front of the "atheist" Payaguas, putting his arms crossed

¹²² PACHECO. *Op. cit.*, p. 409. The authors cites as source the Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. Asuntos Eclesiásticos, vol. II, fols. 10-11

over his chest and waited peacefully and happily on the martyrdom. The attackers beat him with a *macana* or Indian club and then pierced him with arrows, after which he was thrown to the side of the river, which dragged him away¹²³. The letter of Haze caused deep sorrow among his countrymen in Bruges and was the reason for developing a devotion to the martyr in his hometown¹²⁴.

Regarding Peru, the first group of Jesuits arrived on 28 March 1568 and entered Lima with great delight of the citizens. The Society of Jesus was admired in the Catholic world for its brilliant work during the Counter-Reformation. The first Flemish Jesuit of whom we have information in this country, was Antonio Gillis. He was from Ghent and in 1591, when he was 34 years old and after a brief sojourn in Seville, he embarked in Cádiz on course to Peru. Already in our country, he dedicated his life to the evangelization around Juli, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, where he started to live. Antonio Gillis learned the language of the region, which gave him the opportunity to do a very effective missionary work. Although we don't know when he exactly died, we do know that it happened during an excursion to the tribes of Moho and Huancané¹²⁵.

In 1616, at the age of 20 years, Juan Bautista Gillis arrived in Peru. He was the brother of the already mentioned Antonio. Like the other Gillis, he was from Ghent. Attracted by a strong missionary vocation, Juan Bautista went to the Viceroyalty of Peru, after having worn the cassock in Seville. He studied in Lima and after successfully finishing the theology courses, he passed to Trujillo, where he was ordained a priest. In South America he was known as *Egidiano*, Latin for the Flemish *Gillis*. Years later, in 1629, Gillis travelled to Juli, where Antonio professed. There he learned the language of the Indians and, following the example of his brother, devoted himself to missionary work. Later, he was submitted to Potosí and Oruro on several missions. In 1642, he moved to Cusco. When he was in this city, the massive earthquake of 1650 occurred. This caused huge devastation in the old Inca capital and destroyed, among other things, the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús. The order charged the Fleming with the job of reconstructing the church. He put every effort into this work, leading masters and artisans, while

¹²³ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 136

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Ensayo de un diccionario de artifices de América Meridional*. Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoas, 1968, pp. 228-298

personally teaching the masons the correct use of the chisel. The work started in 1651, the hull and the vaults were completed on "the day of San Agustín, 1653"; the altarpieces and the facade, almost a copy in stone of the altar woodwork, were only completed in 1668, and since then the church, perhaps the most beautiful of Peru has remained as we know today.

After finishing the Jesuit Church, Juan Bautista Gillis continued his missionary work until it came time to deliver his soul to God on 14 May 1675¹²⁶.

Another Flemish Jesuit with surname Gillis was Andrés. He was also from Ghent and was active in the reductions of his order in Paraguay for 12 years, until he died¹²⁷.

Teachers and artists

In the second decade of the 17th century, the Jesuits were on the urgent need to bring a painter that could replace the great artist of their order, the brother Bernardo Bitti. The task fell to the brother Diego de la Puente, whose real name must have been – before it was Castilianized – *Van den Brugge*. Born in Mechelen in 1586, De la Puente studied at one of the famous ateliers of his hometown. In 1605, at the end of his studies, he was attracted to the religious vocation and entered in the Society of Jesus. De la Puente arrived in these lands between the death of Bitti (in 1610) and 1620, the oldest date attached to his name, found in a painting entitled *Martirio de San Ignacio de Antioquía*, in the San Pedro Church in Lima. From the same date are a Christ and a Virgin preserved in the sacristy of the same church.

The contribution of Diego de la Puente to the Peruvian painting was the introduction of the "tenebrism", a pictorial style that emphasized human figures in light colors against dark backgrounds. Throughout his life, brother De la Puente – fulfilling the obligations imposed by his work as an artist – traveled throughout the whole Viceroyalty, so that his works are widespread between Juli, Trujillo, La Paz, Santiago de Chile and Cusco.

¹²⁶ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Op. cit.*, pp. 228-229

¹²⁷ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 136

At his death in 1663, one of his order brothers wrote a hagiography in which he has given us more accurate data of this Flemish-Peruvian religious. In this letter we read:

He filled the province with various and the most devoted bold brush paintings, especially in the colleges of Trujillo, Chuquiabo and Juli, and even passed to the Kingdom of Chile where he had his name eternalized.¹²⁸

It is appropriate to note here, when dealing with a painter, that in the early 17th century – at the same time De la Puente arrived – another Flemish painter was active in South America. His name was Rodrigo de Sas, who left his works in Córdoba del Tucumán, Santiago del Estero and Potosí¹²⁹. In the following century and keeping the tradition of the Society, Louis de la Croix (from Ath) developed in the Paraguayan mission of Loreto his mathematical skills and also as painter. It is known that he produced a large painting for the main altar of the new church, which was build during the mission of Loreto, and that he made paintings for many other churches. Unfortunately, his work has not survived. We also know he composed a very precise map about the Peruvian Viceroyalty, but apparently it is also lost¹³⁰.

Jean Raymond Coninck, a notable Jesuit from Mechelen in Flanders, was the first professor of mathematics of the University of San Marcos, author of the plans for the walls of Lima, "*cathedrático de prima* of the Chair of Cosmography, founded by his Majesty in the Hospital de Mareantes del Espíritu Santo" and chief cosmographer of the Kingdom of Peru¹³¹.

Juan Ramón, as he was simply called, was born out of the menage of Hendrick Errois de Coninck and Johanna van de Grade, in the city of Mechelen, famous at that time for the studies of surveying and mathematics. His teachers and order companions were Gregoire de Saint Vincent and Andrés Tacquet, prominent mathematicians and geographers of his time, who gave him the base of the knowledge which he later so

¹²⁸ MESA, José de. "Diego de la Puente: pintor flamenco en Bolivia, Perú y Chile". *Arte y Arqueología* n.º 5 and 6, La Paz, 1978

¹²⁹ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 126

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹³¹ ORTIZ SOTELO, Jorge. *Historia de la educación naval en el Perú*. Lima: Dirección de Intereses Marítimos, 1980, p. 48

successfully applied in Peru.

It was for some time sure that the arrival of Coninck at Peru in the entourage of the Viceroy Alba de Liste occurred in 1655. But Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte s.j. found in the Gregorian University of Rome, two letters Coninck had sent to the German intellectual Atanasio Kircher. In one of these letters the resident of Mechelen comments: "in the year 1647, I came to Peru with sixty Belgian and Italian companions"¹³².

However, the fact is that Coninck began to be distinguished in the scientific circles of the Viceroyalty, just shortly after the arrival of the Viceroy Alba de Liste, who appointed him at first chaplain of the palace and later also chaplain of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, dedicated to the care and attention of the seamen. In the Hospital, some courses for the seamen of the "South Sea" were organized and the cosmographer Francisco Ruiz Lozano was in charge of a chair of mathematics where Coninck occasionally replaced him.

A short time after his arrival in Peru, in July 1661, the successor of Alba de Liste, Viceroy Diego Benavides y de la Cueva – *conde* de Santisteban – appointed Ruiz Lozano and the Fleming teachers of his child, which fortified the reputation Coninck already had managed to win.

When Ruiz Lozano died in 1677, Juan Ramón succeeded him in the chair of the Hospital. One year later, when the first chair of mathematics was created at the University of San Marcos, his merit was sufficient enough to be appointed head of the chair with a salary of 792 pesos, while he was awarded the title of "Chief Cosmographer of the Kingdom of Peru". On 29 December of the same year, Coninck was received in full faculty in the university and was appointed the *aula general de arte* for the lecturing of his professorship¹³³.

In the second half of the 17th century, the continuous raids of corsairs and pirates in the Pacific Ocean raised concerns about the safety of Lima. The Viceroy decided to conduct

¹³² VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. "Oro viejo: epistolario retrospectivo". *Mercurio Peruano*. Vol. XXXI, n.º 277, 1950, Lima, p. 142

¹³³ ORTIZ SOTELO, Jorge. *Op. cit.*, p. 48

a study to determine the best way to protect the capital. There were studies which proposed the creation of an *armadilla* or a mounted guard. Unfortunately, both ideas were dismissed based on the fact that they were a heavy burden on the treasury during the long idle periods the guards should be on guard. Others believed that the solution was to build one or two towers in the northern shore of the Río Rimac "to provide shelter to people who were useless for military struggle and where to leave the riches and treasures of the population"¹³⁴.

This proposal was also dismissed because it was impractical. The only option that got general acceptance of the general was to surround the city of Lima with a wall. Of the projects which were submitted for the defense construction, the one of father Coninck was selected because it offered "the best guarantees due to his professional solvency"¹³⁵.

On 26 November 1682, the Duke De la Palata sent Coninck's project to the Consejo de Indias to be studied by the authorities on the peninsula. In 1685 it was sent back to Lima with some comments made by the Viceroy of Catalonia, Duke of Bournonville, an expert who the council had asked his opinion. Reading the notes of the duke, Coninck proceeded to refute each one with solid arguments. In his plea, he quoted Nicolás Goldman, author of *Las Tablas Batábicas*, which contained "the brand new method to fortify followed in Holland"; the *Órgano matemático* of the Jesuit Gaspar Schott; the *Pantómetra* of Father Atanasio Kircher; two famous mathematicians: his teacher Saint Vincent and Andrés Tacquet; the Dominican fray Genaro María, teacher of mathematics in Naples; Morsheuser, "military engineer, whose methods in the army of Sweden Montecuculi had praised"; and finally, the conclusions reached by the boards of subject matter experts convened in Milan by the *conde* de Fuentes¹³⁶.

His cartographic works were important in his time. As chief cosmographer, he had to

¹³⁴ LOHMANN VILLENA, Guillermo. *Las defensas militares de Lima y Callao*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1964, p. 170

¹³⁵ LOHMANN VILLENA, *Op. cit.*, p. 169

¹³⁶ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Ensayo de un diccionario de artifices de la América meridional*. Burgos: Aldecoas, 1962. In the third volume of the *Historia General del Perú* of the same author (Lima: Milla Batres, 1971) is reproduced, facing p. 368, the map made by Coninck that was included in the letter of the Viceroy De la Palata in 1682 and was found in the Archivo General de Indias: Lima 299, box 3, file 7.

travel continuously in the Viceroyalty, taking coordinates and using them to create maps and detailed studies. In Paris two maps which he realized in 1763 have been found. One of them covers the southern tip of South America from the Strait of Magellan and the other from the mouth of the Río de la Plata until its confluence with the Paraná River. During the journey that carried out these maps, Coninck also noted the position of the Martín García Island in relation to Buenos Aires and submitted a report to the king of Spain, recommending his fortification¹³⁷. In 1683 he realized a *Carta Geográfica de las provincias de la gobernación del Río de la Plata, Tucumán and Paraguay con parte de los conficantes, Chile, Perú, Santa Cruz y Brasil* (Geographic Map of the provinces of the government of the Río de la Plata, Tucumán and Paraguay with part of the confining Chile, Peru, Santa Cruz and Brazil), which has been preserved and reproduced in recent times¹³⁸.

We know that by order of the king, Coninck prepared a map of Peru at an earlier date than those listed and that the engraving work was done on a silver foil. When he passed through Lima, the French geographer Louis Feuille saw the said map and left news of its existence¹³⁹.

Of the written work of Coninck we know two letters found by Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte in Rome, which we already mentioned; as well as his work in Latin, the *Cubus et Sphera Geometrice Duplicata* and two *lunarios* or moon calendar.

The first of the two letters is written in Juli on 20 July 1653; the second in Potosí on 31 July 1655. Both are written in Latin and addressed to the Jesuit mathematician Atanasio Kircher. In these missives, which are almost a repetition of each other, Coninck discusses the transit of a comet as follows:

he appeared on 15 [December 1652] and disappeared the last day of the month. He was apparently born in the constellation of Argos, because in the first days I was not observing, but on the 20th day I saw it in the vicinity of the star he was on the feet of Orion, then to the shield of this constellation, then close to the eye of the Taurus and turned to the Pleiades and when only approximately one

¹³⁷ ORTIZ SOTELO, Jorge. *Op. cit.*, p. 49

¹³⁸ PORRAS BARRENECHEA, Raúl. *Fuentes históricas peruanas*. Lima: Juan Mejía Baca-P.C. Villanuava, 1955, p. 933

¹³⁹ ORTIZ SOTELO, Jorge. *Op. cit.*, p. 49

geometric foot of them headed north between the foot of Medusa and the head of Perseus, disappearing in the vicinity of Casiopea.¹⁴⁰

Cubus et Sphera, also known as the book of Coninck, was published in 1696 in Lima by Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado. To judge the ideas expressed by don Juan Ramón, we both need to be a mathematician and Latinist, but the Spanish introductory letters show that he was a real re-velation in his time. In his presentation to King Charles II, the author says that "the Kingdom of Peru not only tributes gold and silver from the rich mines, beautiful emeralds, precious stones and prodigious pearls" but also "fruits of sublime wisdom". Then, in what we assume is only a poetic analogy to explain his work about the cubication of the sphere, he says:

In the year 1693 the Gulf of Panama produced, close to the royal island, a pearl of such greatness, which they - according to what is said - Europe does not have. There is no doubt that the pearl, when placed in the Royal Throne of His Majesty, receives more glory. And at the same time were found in Lima, Ciudad de los Reyes, the *Cubus et Sphera Geometrice Duplicata*, with its two equal proportions.¹⁴¹

The idea of being able to accurately measure the globe concerned the mathematicians since ancient times and the problem was not definitely solved until the invention of the infinitesimal calculation by Leibniz at the end of the 17th century; i.e. the same time Coninck was working on his *Cubus et Sphera*. It is therefore not a surprise to know that Gregoire Saint Vincent, the Jesuit mathematician from Bruges who was Coninck's teacher, is considered as one of the pioneers of the infinitesimal calculation and that book X of his opus magnum, *Problema Austriacum* (1647), is dedicated to the quadrature of the circle, and is recognized as being of major influence on the studies of Leibniz¹⁴².

Cubus et Sphera is preceded by a number of recommendations; including a letter to the

¹⁴⁰ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. "Oro viejo: epistolario retrospectivo". *Mercurio Peruano*, Vol. XXXI, n.º 277, 1950, Lima, p. 142. Vargas Ugarte only translates and publishes the letter of Juli. The original can be found in the Library of the Gregorian University of Rome, but it was impossible to get reproductions.

¹⁴¹ *Cubus et Sphera Geometrice Duplicata*. By the Doct. Ioannes Ramón Coninkius. Lima, 1696. There is a copy in de National Library of Peru.

¹⁴² HASQUIN, Hervé (dir.). *Dictionnaire d'histoire de Belgique*. Brussels: Didier Hatier, 1988, p. 421

author by the priest of Recuay, Juan Jacinto Guerrero, who – after making precise references to the value of his work – challenges him to bring it to the public in his next publication:

Hurry Your Grace to give the press a few sheets to print the solution of a puzzle that vainly spent all nations role [...] and enjoy as soon as possible and let our southern regions enjoy the honor thanks to their breath breezes and power with which the name of Your Grace will be spread.¹⁴³

Continuing the work of his predecessor and friend, the cosmographer Ruiz Lozano – who had published a series of almanacs titled *Repertorios* – Coninck was given the task of publishing annually some *lunarios*, in which he added to the astronomical data plenty of information for mariners about past events and astrological influences. Of this work, which was thought entirely lost¹⁴⁴, there have recently been located two copies corresponding to the years 1696 and 1699 in the Library of Congress in Washington.

The *lunario* of the year 1696 gives us the pattern to think that these works began in 1683. Because after an introduction to which we will return later, the author shows that by beginning this new "trip" for the months of the year 1696 "his magnificent grandeur did not cause me much novelty, having already non-stop travelled it for 13 years". It is also clear that the author prepared the *lunario* at the end of the previous year, as so indicated in the above introduction with a rich language of time:

Being asked honorable on her sublime palace, the queen model of geometry, I used my little knowledge to expand and to adorn with new words, never seen before, your highness, in the sublime palace. I was asked with much courtesy by our lady of astrology, who told me that we were in the last month of the year and asked me to free her from her fear, namely that I could loose my attention because of the new orders, the fear she had that I would miss the appointment with the annual *lunario*.

Then he requests "borrowing his wings to Pegasus" and his "sky guide [...] to R.P. Atanasio Kircher", and begins the journey. He presents as initial panorama the sun, "in his shinning throne", and on the years, months and days next to him we can notice that

¹⁴³ Letter of Doctor D. Juan Jacinto Guerrero, priest and vicar of the people of S. Ildefonso de Requai to the author. In *Cubus et Sphera Geometrica Duplicata*. Lima, 1696

¹⁴⁴ TAURO, Alberto. *Enciclopedia ilustrada del Perú*. Lima: Peisa, 1987, p. 1098

on the left were those of the pasts and on the right those of the futures. So, the eight from the left (1687) "had not yet shaken off the dust of his coat of the terrible earthquake of Lima" and the seventh (1688)¹⁴⁵, "the pale face showed the fatal signs of the epidemic of his time". Below, he describes the dates and times of arrivals of the seasons and the position of the stars throughout the year, data very important to navigate. He also offers some recommendations of astrological meaning. For example, in the winter, "with the income of Phebo in the sign of Cancer", at 6 minutes past nine in the morning of 20 June, promises "good luck and prosperity to the womanizer", while in the spring "Mars looks with a bad face to the pregnant women, and Saturn promises the elderly ladies joy of marriage without being risky". He finished the first *lunario* with a description of the six "eclipses of the year", unfortunately incomplete because the pages in the known copy only reach the fourth one.

The *lunario* of 1699 begins by welcoming the arrival of peace after the "cruel flood of Christian blood discharged by ambitious pretexts", but fears that "Mars banished from Europe because of the peace [...] with pirate ships intending to burp in South America the last breath of his evil fury". Then follows a praise to the Viceroy, *conde de Monclova*, of having reconstruct Lima. He doesn't forget that on 20 June "a horrible havoc [...] swept to Tacunga and Ambato with its surrounding district". This second *lunario* that we have is more incomplete than the one of 1696, and ends in the "third quarter"; i.e. in the third trimester; missing the last trimester and the section of the eclipses.

The year 1696 was very important for don Juan Ramón, not only because of the publication of his *Cubus et Sphera*, but also because he donated to the Jesuits two estates and a *estancia de ganado* or small stock of cattle which he held in the province of Chayanta – on the banks of the Río Mizque, in Cochabamba (Bolivia) – and granted power to Father Francisco de la Fuente, to claim the Pope and the King the distinctions that had been credited¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁵ Rubén Vargas Ugarte says about this occurrence: "Between the events of his time the earthquake of Lima of 20 October 1687 occupies the first place. Rarely the city was seen so strongly shaken as then and the tremors lasted until the second day of December when the conflict was exacerbated by the running message of the water coming out of the sea". *Historia general del Perú*. Lima: Milla Batres, 1971. Second edition. Vol. III, p. 380

¹⁴⁶ LOHMANN VILLENA, Guillermo. *Las defensas militares de Lima y Callao*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1964, p. 169

It appears that towards the end of his life, Coninck had begun to shape a *Geografía del Perú* based on notes made over many years. But death suddenly stroke this man who, according to accounts of his contemporaries, walked at the age of 80 without cane. On 13 April 1709 "because of the seriousness of my affliction I cannot dispose my last testament and final will", he gave power to captain Pedro Berrió to make a will¹⁴⁷. It appears that the apoplexy stroke that took him eventually to the grave had been a few days before. Don Ramón died on the next 20 July and was, according to his will, buried in the Jesuit Church of San Pedro in Lima.

After the death of the wise man many mathematical, geodesical and astronomical instruments were found in his belongings. Louis Feuille claimed these instruments. He said that Coninck had bequeathed them to him. But in the end, all these and the books of his rich library were squandered by the executors to pay debts; finally, his notes – among which the *Geografía* was found – were burned by their servers, who argued, in their ignorance, that such secrets should not be read by people outside. In this way was lost the wealth of information and scientific work he had been collecting for so many years¹⁴⁸.

We have a very brief reference about another Flemish Jesuit, noted by Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte. It is Uberto Verdonek, known in Peru as Huberto Coronado. About him alone we know that he arrived on our coast in 1636 and that he worked here several years as a professor of rhetoric¹⁴⁹.

To finish the relationship of Flemish religious men in Peru, we should mention Jaime Dorado. Between the documents of the Archbishopric Archive of Lima, there exist a record of five pages dated in 1625, which is a complaint filed by the presbyter Antonio Rodríguez de la Cruz against Jaime Dorado, "benefited priest and vicar of the doctrine of Recuay in the province of Guaylas" for being "foreigner in these kingdoms and not native of them". We know from the declaration of the *bachiller* Francisco del Castillo, made in

¹⁴⁷ Archivo General de la Nación. Lima, Sección Notarial. *Escribano* Jacinto Navastar, Protocolo 713, 1708-9

¹⁴⁸ NÚÑEZ, Estuardo. *Viajes y viajeros extranjeros por el Perú*. Lima: Concytec, 1889, p. 84. Louis Feuille (1660-1732), astronomer and naturalist, was the first French scientist that arrived in Peru. Núñez considers that he came to receive information and advices from Coninck in the talks he had with him during the first half of 1709.

¹⁴⁹ VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén s.j. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*. Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoas, 1963, p. 197

Lima on 26 February 1624, that "The Father Dorado was a native from Vruxas [Brujas = Bruges] in Flanders" and that he knew this because Dorado had said it since his arrival in New Kingdom of Granada. Since the original document is incomplete, it is not possible to know what was the outcome¹⁵⁰.

Although the initial individuals of the Low Countries that touched the southern regions of South America were – like we have seen – of warlike nature, the Flemings were religious Jesuits who excelled in the later years. The most early one we know of, was the brother Juan de Molina. He was from Antwerp and died in Córdoba in 1618. The following is Felipe van der Meeren, from Mechelen and locally known as Felipe de la Laguna. He was born in 1667 and would later exercise his apostolate in Valdivia; he died in 1707, poisoned by his parishioners in the mission of Nahualhuapi, Araucanian lands in what is now Argentina's Patagonia. Father De la Laguna had been sent to reorganize an old mission which was dedicated to develop sheep breeding, which was considered to help the people in this way¹⁵¹.

Another Flemish Jesuit present in Chile was Father Matías Merlebecke, from Newport in West-Flanders. He was in 1695 sent to lead the mission of the *Inmaculada* in Toltén and died there in 1701¹⁵².

The most important religious of all – or, at least, the one we know more about – is Father Francisco de Vargas, born in Maastricht, whose original name was Van der Berg. Diego de Rosales from Madrid wrote in the second half of the 16th century a document about the life of Vargas. He begins his biography stating the following: "Father Francisco de Vargas, native of Flanders, was the son of a very noble family from the Flanders states of the illustrious house of Vandenberg"¹⁵³.

The family Vandenberg sent their son Francisco to the University of Leuven, the city in

¹⁵⁰ AAL. Causas civiles. File 59, year 1646 (must be an annotator's mistake, because Suardo comments that the Flemish religious died very poor in 1632. *Diario de Lima*, Vol. I, p. 252)

¹⁵¹ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 136

¹⁵² VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 136

¹⁵³ ROSALES, Diego de. "Vida del insigne misionero incansable obrero de la inculta gentilidad de los indios de Chile p. Francisco de Vargas de la Compañía de Jesús". In *Seis misioneros en la frontera Mapuche*. Introducción, transcripción y notas de Gustavo Valdez Bunster. Temuco: Universidad de la Frontera, 1991, p. 285

which he decided to join the Society of Jesus. The young man then passed to the Jesuit novitiate of Mechelen, from where "to see it as an advantage and very ambitious he was sent to Brussels to accompany the priests to serve and to give the holy sacrament to the infected".

Thereafter, Francisco Van der Berg returned to Leuven. The end of his theology studies coincided with the arrival in this city of Father Gaspar Sobrino. Sobrino was procurator of the Jesuit province of Paraguay and was searching missionaries for these regions. Francisco was selected from several religious and departed to America on 29 April 1628¹⁵⁴. Diego Rosales, biographer of this Jesuit, says that it was then when he decided to change his last name to Vargas, "to accommodate the Spanish surnames and to forget his"; however, the name marked on the embarkation list is *Francisco Xarque*.

As soon as he arrived in the Indies, Vargas requested to be transferred to the most dangerous mission and was sent to Chiloe, where the local population still continued their tireless struggle against the European invaders. The words of Father Rosales about this issue make a good resume of the spirit of the missionary:

He then asked with great favor to the superiors for the most helpless and arduous mission where he could work more, mentioning that these were all his craving, and wanting, his superiors, to go to their (unreadable) desires; they sent him to the glorious land of Chiloe, where he was fourteen years satisfying his spirit in the many works that were offered there.¹⁵⁵

Vargas learned easily the language of the natives and wrote poems, dialogs and even songs in it, with which he could more easily attract the Indians to be evangelized.

In some occasions Father Vargas was in danger of death in the hands of the natives, but fortunately he was saved. In one opportunity, the *caciques* or chieftain of Valdivia asked Mangueante – *cacique* and governor of Mariquina, who had been the first make peace with the city of Valdivia and was a good friend of Father Vargas – to assemble in council. At the meeting, the Indian chiefs tried to convince Manqueante that peace with the

¹⁵⁴ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.* The author says that the name Vargas used on his trip to America was Francisco Xarque alias Engelbert van Berghe.

¹⁵⁵ ROSALES, Diego de. *Op. cit.*, p. 289

Spaniards had not brought anything good and told him that they had decided to continue the war as their ancestors. Therefore it was necessary to eliminate the Father and his companions. Manqueante pretended to accept the proposal, but indicated that it would be best to return to Valdivia and without arousing any suspicion, to return with 100 Europeans because “it would be better to sink their spears in the blood of that group instead of doing it in just a group of three or four”¹⁵⁶. The proposal was accepted by the friend and in this way Manqueante was able to save the holy man. On another occasion, the *Cazique Alcapague* – who could not forgive himself for having missed the earlier opportunity to eliminate the Father – sent a letter to the governor of Valdivia indicating that he was very ill and, as he had been baptized, wanted to confess his sins and receive the last sacraments out of the hands of Father Vargas. The Jesuit was ready to go immediately, but the governor – more experienced and with more malice – sent to the meeting point a boat with soldiers, prohibiting the obedient Vargas to travel. As the governor had assumed, it was an ambush. Rosales narrates the outcome of the action:

They arrived at the port and found the *cazique* on horse who was curing a sick man, as this one was falling to one side and the other. They brought on the back of the horse an Indian who held him and in this way prevented him to fall. He spoke with a weak voice and had a pale face to make them believe that he was sick. He did it so well that the captain and the soldiers believed him, partly out of pity and deceived by the sweetness of the fruits given by another Indian. They landed on the coast. But the fake sick man had a big group of soldiers in ambush. As the captain landed the *cazique* embraced him and this was the signal for the natives to attack and they captured all the soldiers and killed some, breaking the boat to pieces and took the captain and others as a booty, to kill them later in their own lands.¹⁵⁷

Since Father Vargas was interested in the missionary work, he avoided as much as possible the honors and high positions, to be near the strict evangelization work. So, when the general father of the Jesuits gave him the rectorate of the Colegio de Mendoza, he refused it. Later, at the age of 55 (perhaps because the years already started to feel heavy and no doubt also in obedience), he had to accept the rectorate of the Casa de Probación of Cucalemú, a position he held from 1657 until 1660. From that year on, he was transferred as rector to the novitiate of Santiago. Being in that position, a plague was unleashed in Coquimbo. Knowing that the area had been without priests to

¹⁵⁶ ROSALES, Diego de. *Op. cit.*, p. 294

¹⁵⁷ ROSALES, Diego de. *Op. cit.*, p. 295-296

help the natives, he requested his *viceprovincial* to be send there, leaving the rectorate and returning to his missionary work. On the trip to Coquimbo the religious became ill and although he arrived at his destination, he soon had to be taken back to Santiago because the poverty of the mission was made worst by the lack of doctors and medicines in the region. The chronicler, whom we have been following, refers to the outcome of this wonderful life with simple words but full of information:

He died at the age of 64 years with the serenity with which he had lived on 8 March 1662; he spent almost 50 years as a priest and professed four votes 30 years.¹⁵⁸

In XVIIth century Argentina, we noted a constructor, namely the Walloon Jesuit known as fray Lemer or Lemaire. In 1638, Manuel Cabrera, nephew of de founder of Córdoba, bequeathed to the Society of Jesus all his fortune with the explicit indication it would be entirely used in the construction of a church. The construction was done slowly and only in 1667 the walls reached their final height. But then the difficulty of the roof structure for the breadth of the ship and those lacking buttresses became apparent. As a traditional solution was not possible, it was thought to build a wooden vault. But as no logs long enough to cover the 10 meter distance between the lateral walls existed in the area, the religious began to fear that the work would not be completed. It was then when they turned to brother Lemer.

Lemer had in his youth learned how to build ships – especially the hull manufacture of ships – and had worked in this field in both England and Portugal. In the latter country a family with ties in Brazil invited him to this Portuguese colony. From Brazil Lemer passed to Río de La Plata. Being in Córdoba, the boat builder decided to enter the Society of Jesus, which he did in 2 November 1640. At that time he was 32 years old.

Faced with the problem of the unfinished church, Lemer put all his nautical knowledge into practice and researched in the updated books in the subject of shipbuilding; with cedars of the region he managed to build, based on small strips and ribs used for ships, first a large vault that was then accompanied by a hemispherical dome¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁸ ROSALES, Diego de. *Op. cit.*, p. 308

¹⁵⁹ VAN BEECK, Guy. "Architectes et constructeurs belges en Amérique Latine". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, p. 337

Jesuit reductions

The Jesuit missions in Paraguay were the centre of important improvements in the field of music and printing in Spanish South America. From the beginning, the Jesuits attempted to create in these territories real "utopias" in which the natives – while they were catechized – acquired the rudiments of Western European culture of that moment. The experiment had good results and also managed to defend the Indians from plundering raids organized by the Brazilian *bandeirantes* or *mameculos*. These, in their eagerness to get cheap labor, did not hesitate to attack the missions and capture their people to take them to the conquered lands of Brazil and to employ them in the most cruel crafts. So positive was the action of the Jesuits in the defense of the territories claimed by the Spanish crown and its inhabitants, that in time the Indians of the missions received permission to bear arms and defend themselves against the Brazilian robbers, what they did with success.

The first Flemish Jesuits for the missions of Paraguay – and of which we have references – belong to a group of five that embarked in Lisbon on 2 November 1616 towards Buenos Aires¹⁶⁰. Those were Pierre de Boschere, Louis Berger, Jean Vaisseau, Lolieu and Spelder. They arrived in Buenos Aires on 15 February 1617, having gone through Bahía in Brazil. In Bahía they visited the grave of José de Anchieta, a Jesuit who died two decades before and was considered as the apostle of the Brazilian people. During their visit to the sanctuary of Anchieta, the monks were impressed by the devotion that had developed there and which was apparently not widely known in Flanders. Louis Berger sent to Gilles Chisaire, rector of the Jesuit College of Mons, some relics of this holy man, consisting of an autograph, a piece of bone and scraps of clothing¹⁶¹.

To locate the destinations of the mentioned persons, it is important to note that the missions were divided in two groups: the first, which followed the banks of the Paraná

¹⁶⁰ PALACIOS, Silvio. *Gloria y tragedia de las misiones guaraníes: historia de las reducciones jesuíticas durante los siglos XVII y XVIII en el Río de la Plata*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1991, p. 109. Here the author indicates that of the 2.291 registered Jesuits, 1.57% were natives from Belgium.

¹⁶¹ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 127

and Paraguay River, depended on the governorship of Paraguay and were composed of the reductions of San Ignacio Guazú, San Cosme, Itapuá, Candelaria, Santa Ana, Loreto, San Ignacio Miní, Corpus, Santa María de Fe, Santiago, Jesús, Santa Rosa de Lima and Trinidad. The second group corresponded to the jurisdiction of the governor of the Río de la Plata and was composed of people in the banks of Uruguay: San José, San Carlos, San Javier, Mártires, Santa María La Mayor, Apóstoles, Concepción, Santo Tomé, La Cruz, Yapeyú, San Nicolás, San Miguel, San Luis, San Borja, San Lorenzo, San Juan and Santo Ángel¹⁶².

Louis Vaisseau was from Tournai. During eight years he was the musician entitled to the chapel of the court of de Archdukes Albert and Isabella; with the support of the Archduke he was able to enter the Society of Jesus. He completed his novitiate and asked to be sent to the missions of Paraguay, which was granted to him. Upon his arrival in Buenos Aires, he was assigned to the reduction of Loreto in the province of Guairá, in the northeast of Asunción. There he remained until his death, caused by an epidemic in 1623. In South America he was known as Juan Vasco; he was dedicated to the teaching of music to the Indians. He and his order brother and friend, Louis Berger, were the introducers of professional music in the missions of Paraguay. It is also stated, without proof, that he brought with him some music instruments from Europe. When he died, his superior Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, commented that Vaisseau "made the music reach a very high position among the Indians".

Another musician of the first group was Louis Berger, the monk who sent the relics of Anchieta from Brazil to Mons. Berger learned to paint in Picardy (France) when he was 15 years old. In Paraguay he taught the Guaraníes both painting and music. Although both arts were his most important skills, the range of these was wider. According to the words of his provincial Mastrilli Duran, Berger was both "painter, doctor, goldsmith, musician and dance teacher".

After the success achieved in the Paraguayan missions, he was asked to introduce musical education in Tucumán, Chile and Peru. Unfortunately, the results in Tucumán and Chile were not as expected, and are considered quite limited. The death of Berger in

¹⁶² GONZÁLEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Adolfo Luis. "El Río de la Plata". In NAVARRO GARCÍA, Luis (coord.). *Historia general de España y América*. Vol. XI-1. Madrid: Rialp, 1983, p. 733

Buenos Aires in 1639, after an illness of several months, impeded the arrival of this artist to Peru.

The third member of the first group of Belgians that arrived in Paraguay and that we know of, is Pierre de Boschere. He is remembered as a very authoritarian man and hard in the treatment of the converts, what for many was a virtue. Initially he was sent to Itapuá above the Paraná, but years later, in 1631, he is found as head of the mission of Corpus Christi. In a communication of 1657, Josse van Suerck – referring to Boschere – indicates that he was "skin and bones", but without doubt he overcame the evils that he had at that time because he died in the Jesuit College in Asunción, just in 1666.

More than a decade after the arrival of the first contingent of Jesuits from the Southern Netherlands, six more arrived in the expedition of 1628, under the direction of Gaspar Sobrino. After the arrival of the group in Buenos Aires, the Jesuits were greeted by a group of Guaraníes leaded up by Louis Berger, who danced and sang to welcome the newcomers in their new home.

The group of 1628 consisted of Francisco Xarque or Engelbert van Berghe or van der Berghe or van der Berg; Adrián Cnudde or Adriano Crespo, from Bruges; Louis Ernot, from Namur; Jacques Ransonnier, called in Paraguay Diego Ferrer and born in Maastricht; Josse van Suerck, alias Justo de Andrada; and Philippe de Viveros, from Brussels. It should be noted that the passengers list included Ignacio Zayas, Fleming, but that this monk was French, and his original name Nicolás Hérard.

The importance of the members of this second group of Jesuits in the development of the missions was varied but always important. Here we pretend to report about the highlights of their lives in South America from the limited documentation that we have. Francisco Xarque or van Berghe or van der Berghe or van der Berg is the famous Francisco de Vargas, of outstanding performance in Chile later, and who has already been discussed. Apparently, shortly after he arrived in Buenos Aires, he continued to his next destination, where he excelled among the others.

Louis Ernot and Philippe de Viveros made their novitiate in Rome. Their superiors ordered the first the care and administration of the mission of San Javier. On 25 January

1631, during an incursion of the *bandeirantes* to capture Indians, Ernot was shot but saved from death. Finally, we found that in 1644 he was the leader of the mission of San José. De Viveros, de Vivier or van de Vijver led the reduction of Santa María de los Reyes, in the region of Yapeyú, between 1644 and 1657¹⁶³. After spending over 50 years as a missionary, he died in 1679 in Encarnación (Paraguay). Jacques Ransonnier had made his novitiate in Maastricht. He was the first Jesuit who sailed the Paraguay River to the extreme north of the region of Itatin. His missionary zeal was such that a decade after his death, the provincial of the order – in his annual letters of 1647 and 1649 – compared him with Gaspar de Berse, a Zealander who accompanied Francisco Javier to India, considered as the apostle of Ormuz. Ransonnier, after a long dysentery, died on 9 October 1636.

About Adrián Cnudde or Adriano Crespo little is known. In 1636 he taught music to the Indians and in 1644 he was the superior in the mission of San Ignacio. Before he died, in 1651¹⁶⁴, he suffered from various ills and had to visit the sick by horse because walking by feet made him dizzy. To fight against parasitosis, he drank every morning a lot of yerba mate; he also took mustard three times a day.

The most important member – or at least the person we know more of – of the contingent of 1628 is Josse van Suerck. He took the name Justo de Andrada. He was the third child of a family of seven children, all Jesuits. He arrived in South America and was sent to the reduction of Ibitiruna, close to the coast in Guairá, next to the current border between Brazil and Paraguay. There he, while learning the language, taught catechism to the Guaraníes.

It should be noted that the urgent dispatch of those Flemings to the missions of the north was because the inhabitants of São Paulo or *mamelucos* had formed *bandeiras* that attacked the missions and robbed the Indians to make them slaves on the Brazilian plantations. The Jesuit superiors saw the natives of the Southern Netherlands as combative and perseverant and were confident that they could handle the situation. Further we should remark that before the attacks of the *bandeirantes*, the Indians became suspicious of the Jesuits because they thought they played in cahoots with the

¹⁶³ Personal communication of Father Mauro Matei O.S.B. from Chile, historian about the religious of the continent.

¹⁶⁴ Personal communication of Father Mauro Matei O.S.B. from Chile, already mentioned.

bandits and that they grouped them in the reductions to facilitate the Brazilian's work.

To end the mistrust and above all to defend their neophytes, Van Suerck and the Neapolitan Simón Masseta decided to follow the *bandeirantes* who had attacked their reductions. They gave encouragement to the captured Indians and held long conversations with the *mamelucos*, through which some Indians could be freed. To show their solidarity, they never received another food than the lands which they passed could give them, mostly fruits. The Jesuits of Brazil welcomed with great care their order brothers, but neither this nor the fact that they raised less suspicion among the Portuguese than if they would have been Spaniards, was sufficient to save Guaraníes from slavery, so that by the end of 1630 Van Suerck and Masseta returned to their missions.

After spending some time in Guairá, Van Suerck was sent to support Ranssonier in Itatin. From there, his provincial sent him in 1645 to develop his mission in a new territory expansion, the Chaco Plain. But when this project failed, Van Suerck returned to Itatin, where he remained until his death in 1666¹⁶⁵.

We found at this time a certain Pierre de Marcq, a Flemish Jesuit who not appears on the passenger lists mentioned above, but who installed in the mission of San José a statue of "Santa María de Fe". This statue apparently was the representation – or at least the name – of Notre Dame de Foy, an image that was venerated close to Dinant. We only know of this religious, besides the above, that he died of dysentery in San José at the age of 32.

The third group of Jesuits that came from the Southern Netherlands to Paraguay was composed of eight neophytes who embarked in 1640. Of them, two – Jean Sohier and Antoine van Suerck, younger brother of Josse – died in the crossing, which was especially hard. The survivors were Françoise Riquart of Saint Omer, Nicolas du Toit – from Lille – and who was known as *del Techo* and had the great merit of being the first historian of the missions¹⁶⁶; Claude de Flores del Aire, whose original name was *Sur La*

¹⁶⁵ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 128. Father Matei indicates that Van Suerck died in Santa María de Fe in 1679.

¹⁶⁶ It should be noted that his work is based on anecdotes, legends, natural calamities and miraculous events without

Lys and studied architecture in the Colegio de Córdoba de Tucumán, served as master builder and carpenter, and – after spending 52 years in Paraguay – died at the ripe age of 84 years. Another who lived many years was Jacques Lolieu de Bethune, a tailor and laundryman who worked in Córdoba de Tucumán until he was 80 years old, and two others whose names we do not know. From 1647 and almost to the end of the century, the arrival of foreigners in Paraguay was forbidden, to the point that in 1647 fourteen Flemish religious who were heading to Paraguay, returned to their monasteries in Flanders, not having been authorized to embark in Seville. However, in 1690 there was a new contribution of Flemings and Walloons to the missions. Jacques Claret from Namur, Jacques de Haze from Antwerp and Henri Matthys from Mechelen remained in the reductions next to the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers for about three decades until they died¹⁶⁷.

We also know four Jesuits from the same origin that were active in Paraguay around 1700 and occupied the most diverse professions: Jean Corti, carpenter; José de Gravelinghe, laundryman; Adrien Maes, who worked as doorman and parish clerk; and Gilles Staes, who was – besides laundryman – nurse. Finally, we should remember three of those we only know their names and little more than the time they exercised their apostolate: Laurent Daffé, from the Meuse city Dinant, who worked 36 years; Jean van Cutsen, who worked 33 years; and Jean Joseph Rico, who was administrator and procurator of his convent and worked for 36 years¹⁶⁸.

The last one of the Flemish Jesuits who travelled to the missions of Paraguay was Ignacio Chomé. This religious man was born in Douai, a city which later became part of France. He entered the novitiate in Tournai and arrived in Buenos Aires in 1729 to continue from there to the Jesuit missions. He learned two African languages in order to help black slaves who came to these lands. He also studied the language of the Chiquitos and the Zamuca, in present day Bolivia, to carry out his evangelization work, to write grammars and make lexicons¹⁶⁹.

scientific basis. He indicates, for example, that to convert the Coaiguas it was enough to show a relic with a piece of bone of Francisco Javier.

¹⁶⁷ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 135

¹⁶⁸ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 136

¹⁶⁹ VERBERCKMOES, Johan. *Art. cit.*, p. 137

In 1730, Chomé was part of an expedition to Christianize the Chiriguanos, but before the failure of this initiative he was sent to work in the missions around Tarija, where he remained 30 years. There he not only dedicated himself to evangelizing and writing grammars, but he also – being skilled as a mathematician – worked as a mechanic, architect and astronomer, constructing churches, canals and other civil works of great use for the region.

When in August 1768 the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the Indies became effective in the region, we find Ignacio Chomé in the mission of San Javier, working with the Chiquitos Indians. His health was so delicate that he could not get up, so he tried to move in a hammock to Peru, but on 7 September of that year he died in Oruro.

The Inquisition

The Inquisition, product of fanaticism and consequent intransigence then prevailing in the spirits, looked with suspicion on foreigners in general. The Flemings, because of their proximity to Holland and Germany – as stated before – were always suspicious, as evidenced by the obligation imposed on some of them receiving a second baptism if they wanted to marry a woman of the kingdom, because it was doubted about the validity of the first.

Even before the Inquisition was established in Peru, there were already "auto-de-fe" performed in which some Fleming was executed. About this, the historian Felipe Barreda comments:

Although the Inquisition arrived just in 1570, the religious Orders fulfilled this task. The Archbishop Loaysa had already executed three autos-de-fe before, one in 1548 when a *flamenco* Juan Milla was burned as a heretic Lutheran.¹⁷⁰

In this way, this Juan Milla or Juan Millan was the first Fleming who was accused of

¹⁷⁰ BARREDA LAOS, Felipe. *Vida intelectual del Virreynato del Perú*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1937. Third edition.

being Lutheran and executed by the said Catholic court.

Little before 1580, four Flemings who had been accused of various crimes were brought from Panama to the secret prisons of the *Tribunal de la Inquisición* in Lima by – which is more sad – some of their own countrymen. These unfortunate men were the tailor Juan Bernal, the brothers Juan and Diego Lorenzo and the shoemaker Giles Flambel. The most prominent case of a Fleming in hands of the religious court was precisely this of the tailor Bernal, who – like Juan Millan – was accused of being Lutheran.

At first, Bernal retracted his "mistakes" and asked to be instructed in the Catholic faith. But in April 1580, certainly embarrassed, he asked his jailers paper to make some confessions. In the following month of May he introduced instead a letter that began with an explanation of how the Roman Church had weakened his resistance, by "weakness of his flesh". Further, he indicated that he was reaffirmed in his Lutheran beliefs and launched attacks against the Catholic Church and the clergy.

Advised by his lawyer to withdraw his remarks because of the consequences they could have for him, the brave Bernal asked:

that the papers that he had submitted lately could be read [by him again] to see if they had something in favor of the Roman Church and to remove it.¹⁷¹

The Fleming did not accept, therefore, the suggestion of his lawyer or any other that was against his religious ideas. On the contrary, aware of the risks, he confronted them. Since the ordeal, Bernal remained true to his beliefs and further demonstrated his strength by not declaring anything that might somehow compromise third parties. His case caused so many fuss and woke so much interest, that the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo attended the last hearings.

At the end of 1580 he asked one time more paper to confess. But brought before the court, he clarified that he wanted not to "depart from the heresy of Luther" but to attack

¹⁷¹ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1569-1820)*. Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J.T. Medina, 1956, Vol. I, p. 146

the Catholic Church¹⁷². Bernal was burned alive on 29 October 1581 without compromising his beliefs or be intimidated by the court. Martyr, fanatic or insane, the fact is that Bernal was one of the few cases where someone with so much value is faced to the criminal court of the Catholic Church in defense of his convictions; therefore, he need to be considered as a martyr of Protestantism in Peru.

Another Flemish accused from Panama was the shoemaker Giles Flambel, who after abjure of Levi, was sentenced to hear some masses as a form of penitence¹⁷³. Later, Flambel was sentenced again by the court in 1597, this time for repeating his sins:

On this occasion they tortured him and this defeated him. He was imposed to spiritual penalties for six months and was sent to a convent in Panama to be educated.¹⁷⁴

Juan and Diego Lorenzo, for their part, also received mild sentences. The first, for having defended himself well, only received three years in prison in Lima and Diego abjured of Levi¹⁷⁵. Not everyone agreed, however, with the penalty:

The *visitador* Ruíz del Prado warned that the information against them was important, and that they should be given torment to determine the severity of guilt.¹⁷⁶

About the same time, two Flemings were taken to the Inquisition but we do not know how their cases ended. The first was Cornieles Pérez, who, after the death in Riobamba of a person who had done things against the faith, had defended him. The second was Jacome Simón, who said it was useless to celebrate so many masses for the dead and that it was better to do good deeds, give alms or to serve God, because the masses were done by the priests to keep the money¹⁷⁷.

In 1625, aside from the auto-de-fe which was held on 21 December of that year, the

¹⁷² Ibidem.

¹⁷³ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 176

¹⁷⁴ CASTAÑEDA DELGADO, Paulina and Pilar HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO. *La Inquisición de Lima*. Madrid, 1989. Vol. I, p. 458. The authors quote as source A.H.N., Inquisición, book 1028, fols. 471-473

¹⁷⁵ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 176. Abjuration of Levi was the mildest form of abjurations or resignations, and was accompanied by mild punishment.

¹⁷⁶ CASTAÑEDA DELGADO and HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 458

¹⁷⁷ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 80

case of the Fleming Andrés Cornelio – soldier of Callao, who had been accused of having prayed every "afternoon and morning" the prayers that said the sailors of a pirate ship in which he was imprisoned – was also seen. Fortunately, the case was suspended because of the explanations and satisfactions he gave in his defense¹⁷⁸.

Of the companions of Richard Hawkins we have referred to two as being Fleming. The first was Francisco Cornieles, of whom is known that being in the prison of the Inquisition, indignantly attacked a guard because this called him heretic. The other was the young page Nicolás Hans, only 15 years old, who was – because of his young age – entrusted to the Jesuits to be educated in the Catholic faith, something that the religious of the Society of Jesus did with success. It is very possible that, because of the language, that a Franciscan monk Diego Gillete, a Fleming from Bruges whom we have already mentioned, was the one who assisted in the conversion of the young page¹⁷⁹.

We have also made reference to the artisan Miguel del Pilar, a silversmith from Brussels, whose lists of goods, carried out by the Inquisition, is dated in 1583; and to Nicolás Once, a merchant from Liège living in Cali, who was brought to Lima at the age of 59 to be judged by the Inquisition. His guilt had been as follows:

a religious why he didn't he disciplined himself, had answered: "Father, tell that to the Indians that I already now what that is and that God already has paid for us" which, the accuser said states, sounded bad to him, since he [= Once] thought that the penance was something superfluous.¹⁸⁰

The process of Once ended with a sentence of banishment for six months out of the city where he lived; the inquisitors warned that he was not given a longer sentence because by the time it was the moment to judge, "the facts were so old" that the main witness had "died before it could be ratified"¹⁸¹.

There were some Flemish artisans who for one reason or another had to confront the religious court. Among them there was the tailor from Antwerp, Jors Cornieles – also

¹⁷⁸ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 32

¹⁷⁹ Stols believes that Gillete may have been responsible for him.

¹⁸⁰ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 307

¹⁸¹ CASTAÑEDA DELGADO and HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 463. They quote the following source: A.H.N., Inquisición, Book 1029, fols. 220-222

called Pedro de Burgos – who attacked a priest who carried the Blessed Sacrament to a sick and wanted to steal him¹⁸². The people who saw the fact were infuriated and wanted to kill him. But the Fleming was saved by a judge who lived nearby, heard the commotion and took charge of him by bringing him home. Cornieles confessed to be Christian "although he had followed the sect of Luther"¹⁸³.

The behavior of Jors Cornieles had been so unreasonable that it was clear to the judges that it was a case of madness. Regarding the fact, a document of the National Historical Archive in Spain reports that two years before, the Supreme Court had advised the judges to be cautious in this case, "as having attacked the most holy man was an act of insanity and craziness, and should be treated as such"¹⁸⁴.

The poor Jors Cornieles was taken to a madhouse after extensive consultations and probably ended his days there. We know, finally, that on 4 March the officer Martín Díaz Contreras ordered that a shirt should be bought for him¹⁸⁵.

Juan Antonio, the seaman from Antwerp, should also be considered in this section. Antonio was accused, around 1618 of having had a conversation in Saña (northern Peru), in which he commented that as the nuns of Popayán had been "left pregnant", the bishop of that city had ordered the wall. What lost the Fleming, was that one of the witnesses was of the opinion that with that punishment the nuns could repent of their sins, on which the Fleming replied that "after the fault was committed, there was no repentance possible"¹⁸⁶. The opinion of Antonio was interpreted as a confirmation that he did not give importance to the penance, for which he was accused before the Inquisition. After having been judged between 1616 and 1622, he was finally acquitted in view of the disclaimer that he presented.

¹⁸² MENDIBURU, Manuel de. *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*. Lima: Librería-Imprenta Gil, 1932-1934. Appendix II, p. 174. See MEDINA. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 282

¹⁸³ MENDIBURU. *Op. cit.*, p. 174

¹⁸⁴ CASTAÑEDA DELGADO and HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 465. The authors quote the following source: A.H.N., Inquisición, Book 353, fol. 41v.

¹⁸⁵ Lily Library, Manuscripts Division. Indiana University. Lima 3/78 gj.

¹⁸⁶ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 12

Chapter VI - Artisans and merchants

Since the beginning of the first century of European occupation there was a large group of Flemish artisans and merchants who came to South America. Among the artisans the silversmiths, clothiers and shoemakers were the larger number. But there was also no shortage of miners nor surgeons, who at that time were considered to be at the same level as the other professions which we call today crafts. Among the merchants were large and small ones, including those who were dealing outside the law.

Silversmiths

It has been possible to locate in colonial Peru five silversmiths coming from Flanders. There are references that in the year 1550 Pedro Rudolf, from Dunkirk, and Elvin de Amberes had a running business in Lima. Of them we have no more news, but of the other three we know quite more and this is especially true in the case of Juan de Bruselas, as we shall see below.

Juan de Bruselas has been identified by the North American historian James Lockhart as Juan Renero, from Brussels, who embarked for New Spain in 1535. The first reference we have of this silversmith in Peru dates from 1549 when he is mentioned in the book of the *cabildo* de Lima (City Council register) in the session of 21 May. Concerning the weights that are used in the city, the following is noted:

In this *Cabildo* it was agreed to see the iron and other metal marks and weights as was ordered and Juan de Bruselas, fiel, had stamped on them a star with the arms of the city and the same of the said Juan de Bruselas.¹⁸⁷

These seals wore the star of Lima so with them they could seal the weights used by the traders of the city once they were controlled by the authorities and in this way attest that they were correct, thus avoiding possible frauds to the customers.

¹⁸⁷ *Libros de Cabildos de Lima* (hereinafter, LCL), book IV, vol. III, p. 128

Shortly after receiving the first order, Juan de Bruselas received another that is particularly interesting because it concerns the making of the seal with which they should mark letters and other documents and that was – as it appears – the first official stamp Lima had. The city council act, registered on 14 June 1549 by the *cabildo*, indicates:

In this *Cabildo*, Juan de Bruselas, silversmith, brought and presented the seal that this city had agreed and ordered to be made. It is big and made of silver, with the arms of the city engraved, to stamp and give authority to the letters that this city writes and to the documents and decrees that in this city are made.¹⁸⁸

The orders continue. On 5 June of the same year, Bruselas was asked by the city another seal, this one with "three crowns and one star", to mark the fabrics that entered the city. Finally, on 16 August, the silversmith appeared before the *cabildo* with two seals. Each was registered separately. The first, for the letters of the city, was "made in silver [...] seems smaller than a real and larger than a half real". The second seal was commissioned on 5 July and was to be used to mark "the cloths that in this city were brought and are presently in it"; it had been manufactured in iron that "appeared to be the size of a real". Unlike the other seals – to be delivered to the clerk of the *cabildo* – the one for the fabrics had to be kept in a box with two keys, one of which was to remain with the clerk of the *cabildo* and the other one by one of the deputies of the *cabildo*.

The merits of the Flemish silversmith must have been many, as on 20 September 1549 he was elected supervisor of the silversmiths. After the election, the members of the city council recorded in the register book:

In this *Cabildo* was seen the election of the supervisor of the silversmiths and it was considered that Juan de Bruselas, silversmith, has the highest numbers of votes so he would be elected as supervisor of the silversmiths of this city for the present year; and was given the power which is linked to this function, together with the written evidence that he needs to come to swear in front of this *Cabildo*.¹⁸⁹

Four days later, Juan de Bruselas presented himself to the *cabildo*, as had been indicated and swore to the office to which he had been elected. The corresponding act

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁹ LCL, book IV, vol. III, p. 178

describes the oath of the silversmith as following:

In this *Cabildo* appeared Juan de Bruselas and the said Justice and Regiment lords received from him the oath in juridical way of the office of supervisor of the silversmiths for the present year and they gave him the power and ordered that he would receive the proper title.¹⁹⁰

Before the end of the year, on 10 September, the sum of "one hundred and thirty pesos" were given to Juan de Bruselas, an amount in which the seals that Juan de Bruselas had made for the city were valued¹⁹¹.

The year 1550 was decisive for Juan de Bruselas. In the middle of January, the *cabildo* requested that of the penalties imposed on those found guilty of violating good faith by altering the weights, a part would be handed to him in his function of inspector of weights and measures. At the same meeting the members of the *cabildo* instructed that "the third part of the penalties were to be given to him"¹⁹².

Even with this third part, it seems that the prospects in Lima were not to be very interesting, as on 3 April 1551 "Juan Bruselas, assayer of this city" appeared before the *cabildo*, to resign from the post of inspector of weights and measures, because he had taken the decision to move to the Charcas¹⁹³. At the same meeting, the Fleming's resignation was accepted and as his successor was appointed Mateo Ortega, "silversmith and assayer of this city for being capable, adequate, trusted and to use the office in the way Bruselas had done"¹⁹⁴.

After a silence of a little more than a decade, Juan de Bruselas was in February 1564 appointed as assayer of the city of Potosí. The corresponding act indicates that the appointments:

Made by the royal officials of the city, on instructions of the Viceroy *Conde* de Nieva, fell on Alonso

¹⁹⁰ *Doc. cit.*, p. 180

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹² *Doc. cit.*, p. 240. Meeting of 13 January 1550.

¹⁹³ The Charcas correspond roughly to the current Bolivia.

¹⁹⁴ *Doc. cit.*, p. 362

López and Juan de Bruselas each with a salary of 1.000 pesos of silver.¹⁹⁵

The following year, the Audiencia de La Plata confirmed the appointment of Juan de Bruselas and Alonso López de Barriales in the offices of "assayers of the city" and increased their annual salary to 1.200 pesos.

In 1572, the *licenciado* Lope García de Castro – who was governor of Peru from 1564 until the arrival of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1569 – served as president of the Audiencia de La Plata. Within this function he made an inspection visit to the institutions of Potosí and considered that the existence of two assayers in the village could not be justified. The decision of García de Castro was based on the reduction of the mines production, which by then had reached its lowest point and just recovered with the implementation of the refining system for mercury amalgam. This system came from Mexico and was put in action some time after. The president decided, thereupon, that only one of the assayers could remain in its function as this was sufficient to test the silver and, consequently, Juan de Bruselas was removed from his office on 31 August of that year.

The confirmation of the separation of Bruselas from the office of assayer of Potosí was done by royal decree of 13 July 1573. In it, Philips II notes:

it appears that in Potosí there is another assayer provided with a certain quantity of annual salary not being necessary as is sufficient only one assayer, and because our will is that there is no more than one assayer, I order you that after you receive this decree, you need to take away one of the two who is called Juan de Bruselas and you cannot replace him, not now or at any other time.¹⁹⁶

By the time the confirmation of Philip II on the amount and name of the assayers of Potosí was received, the application of the amalgam system had begun to bear fruit and the silver production increased year after year. This made the need for another assayer evident. Adding to this need the mistrust that existed among the silversmiths to the analysis of a single expert. So, in 1577, after López de Barriales had served several

¹⁹⁵ CUNIETTI-FERRANDO, Arnaldo. "Los primeros ensayadores en la ceca de Potosí". *Cuadernos de Numismática y Ciencias Históricas*. Vol. I, n.º 3, Buenos Aires, June 1972, p. 3

¹⁹⁶ Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (Sucre). Sección Audiencia de Charcas, expediente 149.

years alone, Juan de Bruselas was reappointed.

An interesting point is the relationship that Juan de Bruselas kept with other Flemings in Peru, which gives the impression that he had a very high position among his countrymen, who resorted to him or, at least, moved around him. In the register of the *escribano* Diego Rodríguez, we find Juan de Bruselas receiving authority from Tomas de Emberes and from Andrés de Lovaina. Another document of the same register tells us about a debt that the Flemish hosier Joos de Mere or de Miere – of whom we will talk later – has with him¹⁹⁷.

Juan de Bruselas became a rich man, to the extent that he lend the sum of 2.000 pesos to the royal treasury. It seems that this economic success was related to the multiple activities in which he was involved, moreover, he was linked to an accusation of having established a smuggling route, perhaps together with his countryman and especially with one, the so called Andrés de Lovaina. This route, via Buenos Aires and Brazilian ports, managed to avoid the control of the authorities and ship the silver from Potosí to European ports without touching the coast of the Iberian peninsula¹⁹⁸.

The fourth silversmith was not so lucky as Juan de Bruselas. This one sometimes called *Miguel de Bruselas* – according to what he says in 1588, was the nephew of the "assayer of Potosí" – was better known as *Miguel del Pilar*, coming from *Van Pillar* which was the name he used to sign. The unfortunate silversmith had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Inquisition and was judged by the Santo Oficio in 1583; later he was transferred to the secular justice, which applied the death penalty. The seizure of his property has left an interesting document which lists some of the tools the silversmiths had in that time: bellows, two trumpets, 35 iron and copper tools "for his work and 16 tiny pieces of silversmith tools and a poke ". Moreover, the list mentions two looms which – as the silversmith explains – belong to Nicolás Maleta, a baker with whom he rented half the store where he was arrested¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁷ B.N.P., Lima, A 401

¹⁹⁸ STOLS and DARGENT. *Op. cit.*, p. 56

¹⁹⁹ B.N.P., Lima, A 172. Del Pilar explains that "the looms and the tools and the slave that were found in his house" belong to Nicolás Maleta.

Of Miguel del Pilar we know that he served as assayer in Potosí and that in this city he was considered "specialist in making handles of swords". At the time of his capture, a sword was among the things in his shop, which according to his explanation belonged to "a young shoemaker who worked in the house of Medina the shoemaker, who is mestizo and comes from Potosí". He commanded him to make a handle for which he would pay 20 reales. At the end of the process, as noted, Del Pilar was found guilty, transferred to the regular courts and finally burned alive.

The fifth silversmith was Pedro Cornelio del Río, from "Bruges in Flanders", also called Cornelio Gilis, whom we know by a curious existing record in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Lima. The document is a legal case which was followed in 1611 against him because he was not living together with his wife, Isabel Brot, from San Lúcar who lived in Seville. After the accusations that were made by a man named Montenegro and his wife, the ecclesiastical court of the *iglesia metropolitana* of Lima ordered the arrest of the defendant and ordered that he should be put in prison "in the Archiepiscopal jail because this was convenient to the good administration of the ecclesiastical justice"²⁰⁰.

From the same document we know that a few days later, on 25 February, this Fleming was already imprisoned in the archiepiscopal jail.

Del Río-Gilis explained in the record that he was silversmith in gold and filigree, and that, because he was very poor in Seville, he had decided to travel in 1604 to these kingdoms to practice his profession. We also learned that he had two daughters in Seville, one of them was married. He showed that he traveled to the Indies with his wife's *licencia* (authorization) and assured that all those years he had sent money to his wife for her and his daughter's support. It was just for sending some money by Montenegro and his wife, that they had found out that the Fleming had a wife in Spain.

As conclusive proof, the Fleming could show at the trial an expansion of license for three more years, sent by his wife²⁰¹.

²⁰⁰ Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima (hereinafter, AAL). Causas criminales. 18 February 1611.

²⁰¹ AAL. Causas criminales. 1601-1629. File 1. Lima, 18 February 1611.

Merchants and clothiers

The trade relations and camaraderie between Flemings settled in America can be most clearly seen in the letter sent by the tailor Pedro de Amberes to a countryman and colleague who lived in Cusco, whose name we don't know. De Amberes starts his letter saying he is sorry to know that the recipient of the letter has been put in prison by master Diego (Flamenco) but that he has no doubts it will be not for long. Then he mentions the trip to Lima which, apparently, the arrested had planned; Pedro de Amberes suggests that he comes with his wife and brings a good leather jacket, some boots and a blanket, because in Lima everybody is looking for all these items eagerly. In the farewell, Pedro de Amberes gives him the greetings of his fellow Joos de Miere, whose wife had just had a child, "and he asked me to say that if you come to Lima, you should stay in his house"²⁰².

We can conclude that there was a close relationship between the Flemings, like in the case of Juan de Bruselas and some of his countryman, as well as between Pedro de Amberes, Joost de Miere and the saddler shoemaker of Cusco. This relationship between the Flemings was at least on one occasion consolidated in a matrimonial union. The daughter of the carpenter Miguel de Briarte, Ana Briarte, married in the chapel of the Sagrario de Lima with Giraldo Flamenco, from Amberes, on 28 September 1584²⁰³. The mother of Ana Briarte was Mariana Pérez, as indicated in the marriage certificate, and Mariana López, according to the will of Briarte.

Of the carpenter Briarte we know that besides his daughter Ana, he had a son of a relationship with his slave Giomar, who in 1587 became an apprentice to Andrés de Vergara, head of the carpentry guild in the port of Callao. A document expands the information about Giomar, who fled to Trujillo with another slave of Briarte, called Antón. At that time, the Fleming instructed Diego de Robles to bring the slave black to the capital²⁰⁴. In the codicil of his will – dated in 1597 – Briarte left as executor the painter

²⁰² PÉREZ DE TUDELA, Juan (ed.). *Documentos relativos a don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro*. Vol. II, p. 548. There is an English translation: LOCKHART, J. and E. OTTE. *Letters and peoples of the Spanish Indies. The Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge Latin American Studies. Cambridge, 1976, pp. 146, 147

²⁰³ PÉREZ CÂNEPA, Rosa. "Primer Libro de matrimonios de la Parroquia del Sagrario". *Revista del Instituto Peruano de Investigaciones Genealógicas*, n.º 12, Lima, 1961, p. 82

²⁰⁴ MILLA BATRES, Carlos (ed.). *Diccionario Biográfico*. Lima: Milla Batres. Vol. II, pp. 163-164

Juan de Yllescas and reported having few assets.

Briarte was not the only Flemish carpenter settled in Lima. Enrique Snepes (from Brussels) son of Daniel Sepes [sic.] and María Senepes, traveled to Peru on 22 April 1561 in company of his wife, daughter of the *maese* Francisco de Briseño²⁰⁵. On 17 June 1575, the appointment of Senepes as *veedor del gremio de los carpinteros* (supervisor of the guild of the carpenters of the city) was seen in the *cabildo* of Lima²⁰⁶. Senepes or Sneps accounts in a letter written in 1586 that there were times that he was very sick and others when he lived in poverty, but he did not regret having come to Peru. So excited was the Fleming about the future, that in the letter he invites his friend to come; he also offered him the money so he could pay the fare²⁰⁷.

The case of merchant Joseph Díaz, from Ypres and *vecino* or resident of the city of Tunja in the New Kingdom of Granada, is strange. Díaz embarked in 1605 bound for Seville with a lot of merchandise consisting of chains and golden crosses, as well as coins, pita fibers and other products belonging to himself and friends, with the intention of selling them in the peninsula and to invest the profits in a return cargo to be sold in America. Unfortunately, the dreams of this merchant vanished, as the ship he was traveling on, was wrecked off the coast of Jamaica and he died in the incident.

Once all the goods that Díaz had in Tunja were sold, they added up to the amount of 556 pesos of gold. This amount was used – according to the testamentary provisions of the Fleming – to cover his funeral expenses, masses for the good of his soul that were to be held once a month in the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the convent of the Dominicans in Tunja, a cloak for the same virgin, masses in almost all the churches of the city, gifts to orphans, something to his servants and a reasonable inheritance for his two natural daughters²⁰⁸.

Francisco van der Herstraten is undoubtedly the Flemish merchant best known among

²⁰⁵ *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*. Vol. IV (1560-1566). Seville: Ministerio de Cultura-Archivo General de Indias, 1980

²⁰⁶ LCL, Vol. VIII, p. 102

²⁰⁷ AGN, Lima, Jesuitas Varios 102

²⁰⁸ STOLS and DARGENT. *Op. cit.*, p. 43

those who lived in Peru and this is due to a series of letters from him, perhaps copies or originals, confiscated by the Inquisition and saved in the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima. The letters are of two types: of commercial and family character. The first group is addressed to his correspondents in Seville, the brothers Roberto and Enrique Corbet, Flemings settled at the peninsula and whose father, Gerard Corbet, drove from Antwerp a commercial emporium. The other group is headed to his mother, in Flanders.

Roberto Corbet had made a fortune in Peru and his children, born in Lima, eventually came to occupy important position in the naval administration and Spanish Church. Pedro Corbet reached the rank of admiral of the Pacific Fleet and was made Knight of the Order of Santiago. Luis Corbet, for his part, received the canonry of the Cathedral of Seville. Francisco van der Herstraten must have come to Peru about 1570 as household or close friend of Robert Cordet, and maintained over the years close ties with the family, as can be seen in the correspondence.

Francisco van der Herstraten was from the city of Antwerp, legitimate son of Arnolt van der Herstraten and Elizabeth Daubens²⁰⁹. He married in November 1572 to Catalina de Lizaola, daughter of a merchant, who received a dowry of 2.000 crowns²¹⁰. With Catalina he had five or six children. In the letter sent to his mother on 18 April 1577, the proud father presents his small children to their faraway grandmother: "María of four years and Arnould of 8 months", "the most beautiful children in this city"²¹¹. Besides he had, according to his words, a daughter of a previous engagement: Elisa. In the same letter he refers to his wife Catalina and said that although the dowry was little, "the Lord gave me a woman that I like".

In the letter of 16 April 1589, he shows his concern about the fact that he did not receive news after a previous communication – dated 1 August 1584 – although Robert Corbet had announced there was another on its way. This time Van der Herstraten refers again to his children. He adds a third child to María and Arnould: Hannsy; the fourth, a girl who

²⁰⁹ AGN, Lima, Jesuitas Varios 102. Authority given by Francisco van der Herstraten in Lima on 27 January 1591.

²¹⁰ Herstraten certainly refers to money that the mother knew off. The crowns he refers to are golden coins from the Spanish Southern Netherlands, minted between 1540 and 1589 by Charles V and Philips II, weighting 3.41 grams with a grade of 929 thousands.

²¹¹ AGN, Lima, Jesuitas Varios 102. Letter of 8 April 1577.

had died; the fifth, Antonio; and his wife was expecting another. Here he tells his mother that he expects that in a timespan of three or four years he will go with the whole family to Seville and from there to Flanders. He explains that for the trip he would sell his house, in which he had invested 4.000 crowns, and that it has all the facilities necessary for life²¹².

Besides trade, Van der Herstraten apparently also dedicated himself to the craftsmanship in precious metals. This is not surprising, as he personally tells in one of his letters that his maternal uncle, Willem van de Venne, was a tin smelter in Flanders.

The business correspondence – besides discussing issues related to market activity – is full of news about the situation of the country. Of purely commercial character are notes as in the year 1589:

Regarding the goods are of great value now: the *ruan* runs at this time at 12 reales *vara*, a *resma* of paper costs 12 pesos and so all the goods [...] like oil, soap and wax everything else as I have said and mentioned.²¹³

At other times, Van der Herstraten refers to things that happen in Peru. He describes, for example, a smallpox epidemic that devastated the region from Quito to Cusco between 1589 and 1590 and caused the death of more than 100.000 Indians, black slaves and whites born in this land. The Fleming is surprised that those from Europe had not been infected and ignorant of the biological process of immunity, he attributes it to a miracle. In this epidemic, Van der Herstraten lost a slave that nine years earlier had cost him the large sum of 400 pesos of assayed silver "which weight thirteen reales and a *quartillo* each peso", and also the child of a slave died. In his letter he thanks God for not having touched any family member:

My wife and all my children were ill of the same evil and God is pleased that nobody else was in danger, although they were very sick, especially my wife who was close to death during the last hours of delivery time. Because during the hour that my slave died, my wife gave me a daughter, which can

²¹² Ibidem. Letter of 16 April 1589

²¹³ Ibidem. Letter of 16 April 1589. A "ruan" was a cotton cloth, stamped in colors that was made in the French city of Rouen. One "vara" was approximately 2 feet, 9 inch. A "resma" was a ream of paper containing 100 sheets (note of the translator).

be seen as a happy moment, as no other woman who was pregnant on that time escaped from death, and if any did, it was a great miracle.²¹⁴

In another letter, dated 14 March 1583, he comments the death of the Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa, in Lima; he has for him heartfelt words:

Yesterday, Tuesday 13 March died the Sr. Viceroy Don Martin Hennriques that God has in his glory. The whole country was deeply shocked and the poor people even more. Because I swear as a Christian that I never before in my life have seen a more charitable man than him. He gave the poor during his life what God had given him. As I said before: his disappearance in this country is clearly felt.²¹⁵

In the letters of Van der Herstraten to the Corbets we always find living images and references to other persons "of our land" found in Peru. In a letter, he mentions having sent his last communication on 16 April 1589 "with a gentleman of our country called Adriaen Perez"²¹⁶. On another occasion, he comments wistfully the encounter with a fellow:

called Adrián Cornelies conqueror of this land and who lives in Cochabamba, close to Potosí [...] and we talked that, God willing, I and him could go to Flanders [...] because this is what I want most in life after my salvation.

Later, Van der Herstraten offers to the Corbets his good services to collect the debt a Fleming in Cusco had with them. This Fleming, although officially saddler, "dedicates himself to everything" and, according to what he clarifies, is *un demonio en sus cosas* (very dedicated to his work)²¹⁷.

While the letters to the Corbets are written in Spanish with some paragraphs

²¹⁴ Ibidem. Letter of 16 April 1589

²¹⁵ Ibidem. Letter of 14 March 1583. Rubén Vargas Ugarte gives as date of death of the Viceroy Enríquez de Almansa 12 March (*Historia General del Perú*. Vol. II, p. 288) and Alberto Tauro, in his *Enciclopedia Ilustrada del Perú* (Vol. II, p. 761), indicates 9 March as date.

²¹⁶ AGN, Lima, Jesuitas varios 102. In a letter to his mother on 18 April 1577, Herstraten talks also of having sent a letter to "Juan Hennriques, from Antwerp, who has been here since 20 years ago".

²¹⁷ We are not sure about the exact meaning of these words. "Un demonio en sus cosas" can also refer to the indifferent or evil character of Cornelis. Note of the translator.

interspersed in Flemish, Van der Herstraten writes his letters to his mother – as expected – in Flemish. In them he writes things about his life in Peru, expresses his desires to return to Flanders and to see back his family, especially his old mother. Although he wants to go with his wife and children, the high cost of the voyage prevents it. He could only go alone, he mentions, that over there he could buy some merchandise which may earn him some 4.000 to 5.000 crowns. Furthermore, he expects that some family quarrels he left in Flanders already are forgotten; the concern for these quarrels suggests that these were the cause of his journey to South America.

Another Flemish merchant who had stable trade relations with his compatriots settled in Seville, was Francisco de la Cruz (a *Van der Cruyce*, according to Stols). This De la Cruz, besides being a merchant, held several positions in the public administration. Between 1558 and 1562 he was butler of the Hospital de los Españoles and treasurer of the Orphanage of San Juan de la Penitencia in Lima²¹⁸.

Among the artisans engaged in the manufacture of articles of clothing, it has been possible to locate two brothers: Nerdio and Nicacio Flamenco, both knitters and settled in Los Charcas. They signed on 3 June 1539 an obligation in Huarina with the German Bartolomé Flórez or Blumen for the amount of 1.000 pesos that corresponded to the acquisition of a horse, a slave and an Indian of Nicaragua²¹⁹.

An interesting job that must have had high demand was that of the Fleming Bartolomé de la Banda. In the death certificate of the Indian Pedro Velasco Escudero, in Lima on 13 October 1556, he signed as witness indicating that he was a "saddler"²²⁰; i.e., saddle maker.

Baltazar Coqui, for his part, had a bad end. This Fleming traveled to Lima with a lot of merchandise on behalf of another merchant of Flanders from Seville, called Nicolás Lambertengo. After completing his mission in Peru and already on the way back to

²¹⁸ STOLS and DARGENT. *Op. cit.*, p. 56

²¹⁹ Lilly Collection. University of Indiana. Document in memory of Rafael Sánchez Concha, "Tres expediciones descubridoras a los Andes orientales", Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1989, p. 216

²²⁰ Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. Sección Testamentos, file 1, brief 2. Record of the Testaments that were seen by the Archbishop of Lima from 1556 until 1575.

Spain, Coqui died in Cartagena de Indias in 1558 in unknown circumstances²²¹.

When dealing with merchants we do not want to forget to mention those who from Spanish ports dedicated themselves to personally trade with America, risking fortune and lives by not having the required permits and who finally, when detected, had to pay heavy fines. The first we have found, is Francisco Hermans. Hermans was a Fleming resident in Sanlúcar, who in 1659 arrived at the Canary Islands from Amsterdam, and after loading wine without a license, headed to Guinea to buy slaves and to pass from there to Buenos Aires. Once Hermans was discovered, he was prosecuted and eventually pardoned after paying a fine of 500 silver pesos²²².

Another Fleming who dared to challenge the rigid commercial legislation and also had to pay a fine to get forgiveness, was Van Hoenacquer; we know that he made at least five clandestine voyages to the New World: two to Mexico, two to Tierra Firme, the northern coast of South America and one to Buenos Aires. This character was:

Native of Flanders, citizen of Cádiz. We know that he got a Certificate of Naturalization. He went to the Indies in 1660 in the army of don Pablo Contreras Fernández carrying with him clothing and fabrics, for which he got the corresponding registration.²²³

This Van Hoenacquer, aware that his name was unpronounceable for the Spanish, took the name of *Juan Esteban de Mercado*. But learning that there was a person with that name already dead, he adopted the one of *Antonio de Parra*. What caught the attention of the authorities was that he did not put the goods nor on his name nor on one of the two adopted ones, but that he registered them under the names of some "natives or Spaniards". When he arrived in Cartagena, he stayed in the city and delivered 134 bales of his products to Andrés García de Salazar, to sell them in Santa Fe de Bogotá. Although the merchandise always circulated with the duties paid, the president of the Audiencia of Bogotá indicted him for "being a foreigner and have gone to the Indies under an assumed name". Eventually, Van Hoenacquer was pardoned after paying

²²¹ Ibidem.

²²² GARCÍA FUENTES, Lutgardo. *El comercio español con América 1650-1700*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1980, p. 144

²²³ EVERAERT, J. "Le commerce colonial de la nation Flamande à Cadix sous Charles II". A.E.A. XXVIII, p. 139

1.000 pesos.

Miners

Potosí was, as is well known, the most important mining seat of Spanish America; its wealth and the possibilities of forging a bright future in it attracted a large number of settlers who were willing to challenge the discomforts of altitude and the cold. This migration made the *Villa Imperial* – the title given by Carlos V to Potosí – the most populated city of the New World.

Among the thousands of Europeans who settled in the rich city, we cannot forget the Flemish miners, artisans and merchants. Among the first we notice a group of prospectors of much thrust, which we will discuss later and of whom the toponymy has preserved two indelible memories: the *Veta de los Flamencos* and the *Agua de los Flamencos*.

The name *Veta de los Flamencos* was not only a symbolic nickname in the orography of Potosí. The vein was discovered and belonged to a group of characters who came from the Southern Netherlands and who in this village were engaged in mining. A sales letter signed on 12 July 1559, cited by Gunnar Mendoza, deals with the transfer of 200 pesos of current silver from one mine by Adrián Enrique to Libín de Enveres, "both Flemings and estantes"²²⁴. The document also provides details of other mine owners of the same nation when referring to the boundaries of this:

10 *varas* silver metal mines that I have in the Serro Rico of this site behind the said hill in the vein that is called the vein of the Flemings; that these *varas* together with the 100 *varas* mine that they have in the said vein with Juan de Bruselas, Pedro Panus and Andrés de Lovaina and Dionisio de Holanda, deceased, and the other partners; and how I have received these 10 *varas* from Juan de Pérez de Lizarraga and which are situated and belong to the vein in the part of the discoverer.²²⁵

²²⁴ "Estante" was the qualifier for the person that was in the place, but who was not resident there.

²²⁵ MENDOZA, Gunnar. *Catálogo del Archivo Nacional de Bolivia*. Notebook 2. Mines. Document 42N. *Escribano Águila*, 1559, f. 564v. The "Serro Rico" (also: Cerro Rico), literally "rich mountain", was the name given to the Cerro de Potosí or Mountain of Potosí, which strongly influenced the history of the city, as it was the mountain of which was thought "that it was made of silver ore" (note of the translator).

It seems indisputable – so far it has been able to ascertain – that Pedro Panus was the most important Flemish miner of all those which have been cited in previous paragraphs. Of Juan de Bruselas, we know about his work as a silversmith and we also know that in 1564 he moved from Lima to engage in mining in Potosí, that was confirmed in the letter of sale already mentioned. We have information of Andrés de Lovaina as a carrier of llamas in 1559, by purchase of "85 sheep of the land"²²⁶ and an authority given to whom would be his partner of mine, Juan de Bruselas, signed before the public *escribano* Juan de Gutiérrez in Lima in 1548²²⁷.

If the mining activity of his countrymen may have been occasional, it appears that Pedro Panus had it as a unique job or at least his main one; he was dedicated to digging intensively, which he did with great success. This was evidenced by the fact that he discovered, in company of Pedro de Sande, at 24 miles from Potosí, in the villages of Quillacas, "five hills in which they found ten veins of silver metal". Of these hills we know the following:

the hills have these names because it was an Inca who ordered the naming of all the mountains and hills and other places, and they knew the land by those names. The hills are Añar, Caguar, Chiarqui, Calabana, Titicaca, Cupayara and these four [sic] in the contour of a league and next to the village of Challapata and the other hill corresponds to the village of Condocondo, half a league distant from the others and is named Anchayara.²²⁸

Panus owned, in addition of the ones already mentioned, other mines, which we know by the notes left by Luis Capoche, who places them in the Cerro Rico. Among them was the vein that the same Panus registered with the Indian Juan Julca²²⁹ and the mine that he had in the vein of Francisco Logroño²³⁰.

²²⁶ Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, M.44J. *Escribano* Águila 1559, 720

²²⁷ B.N.P., Lima. S.I. A401. Folio A

²²⁸ CAPOCHE, Luis. *Relación de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*. Edition and study of Lewis Hanke. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1959. Vol. CXXII, p. 131 (fol. orig. 47). Hanke explains that the Bolivian toponym has not kept those names.

²²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92 (fol. 15)

²³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 96 (fol. 17v)

The Fleming Guillermo de Diste also seems to dedicate most of his efforts to mining. He discovered a small silver reef, which was renamed *Vetilla de Diste*²³¹.

In the middle of the 17th century, when the mining of Potosí had declined significantly and its population had been reduced, we meet a Flemish mister of whom we only have news because of his tragic death: in his attempt to stop a fight between rival groups in the city, he received a wound that ended his life. The chronicler of Potosí, Bartolomé Arsanz de Orzúa y Vela, comments:

One day in the month January of the year 1666 Creoles and Basques had a bloody skirmish on the corner of the Iglesia de la Compañía and in it died Pedro Gastelobeytia, from Biskay, and don Amaro Arnesto, Fleming, who came to appease them, was pierced in his chest.²³²

Surgeons

An interesting group of professionals is that of the surgeons and other medical specialists which in Flanders were well advanced in the 16th century. It is likely that the Flemish surgeons that came to South America exercised their craft on board of the ships that covered the route from Europe to the New World. We have found four Flemish surgeons in the first centuries of the European presence in South America. The first is Simón Jácome Cops Gozman, from "Goes in Zealand", who arrived in Peru in 1555. Of Cops Gozman we only know – besides the name and the place of origin – that he was single and that he came in company of his servant who was from Saona. Another Flemish surgeon on Peruvian soil was Alejandro Benocla or Pérez, from Antwerp, who lived in Saña and was locked in a convent by the authorities of the Inquisition because he had said at some opportunity that "of the baptized Christians very few are condemned"²³³.

Of the other two surgeons we have the information that was recorded by a Flemish

²³¹ STOLS and DARGENT. *Op. cit.*, p. 56

²³² ARSANZ DE ORZUA Y VELA, Bartolomé. *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*. (Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, editors). Mexico, 1965. Vol. II, chapter XXII, p. 231

²³³ MEDINA, José Toribio. *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1659-1820)*. Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J.T. Medina, 1956. Vol. I, p. 319

Jesuit friar called Miguel Alejo Schabel, who toured Venezuela in the beginning of the 18th century; we only have the surnames: *Van de Vogel* and *Bernagie*. About the first, the Jesuit notes:

Among the others that visited me [in Barquisimeto] there was also, rare in these lands, a Belgian of Ghent whose last name was Van de Vogel, from a Flemish family well know in Belgium. When talking in Belgian language, other Spanish gentlemen present listened in surprise with an open mouth. This one exercised the office of surgeon in Europe, and to try his luck, as I said, to get to America he began to practice the surgery and medicine. He was married in the city of Caracas.²³⁴

Van de Vogel was forced to be re-baptized before marrying, because – following Father Schabel's explanation – as the Flemings were neighbors of Holland, Zealand and Gelderland, "where the heresy was promoted", their baptisms were doubtful. When Schabel refers to the other surgeon, we see a situation similar to that of his countryman of Barquisimeto:

In the city of Barinas I met another Belgian, whose surname was Bernagie, born in Breda and educated in Antwerp, according to what he said to me, he was also a surgeon and doctor. This one, although he was baptized and Catholic had to admit another baptism to marry a Spanish woman.²³⁵

The editor

At the end of the 18th century the Fleming Guillermo del Río arrived in Peru. He was one of the few of his country that came to South America in this time and the last one we managed to find in our research until the coming of the Independence.

Guillermo del Río was from the city of Menin and his original last name was *Beke*, that in his native language means 'creek'. His arrival to Peru took place, allegedly, as prisoner on board of an English pirate ship. If he was released, rescued or escaped we don't know because he never gave any reference to it. But soon after his arrival, he received

²³⁴ SCHABEL, Miguel Alejo s.j. *Relación Histórica del padre Miguel Alejo Schabel s.j. de su viaje a Venezuela en 1704. Documentos para la historia económica de la época colonial*. Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de Historia, n.º 93. Caracas, 1970, p. 32

²³⁵ SCHABEL. *Op. cit.*, p. 34

the degree of *subteniente de dragones de las milicias de Lima* for unknown merit. In 1793, Del Río established himself as a bookseller in the *Calle Arzobispo* and shortly after the government charged him with the publication of the *Gaceta de Lima*.

The historian José Durand concluded that it is not possible that Del Río was the father of the *Gaceta*, because to do this, a very broad knowledge of Spanish was needed, a capability that is hard to believe the Fleming had²³⁶. A possibility that would explain the decision of the authorities is that Beke had been printing in Flanders. If it is already surprising that this outsider had received such a prominent position from the – always so jealous – viceregal authorities, more attention should be given to his marriage with doña Manuela Boza Gonzales de Mendoza, daughter of the Marquis of Casa Boza and one of the most aristocratic ladies of the Ciudad de los Reyes. One can speculate that the good reception Guillermo del Río had in Lima, was because he came before the departure of Teodoro de Croix, and since the Viceroy was also related to the notables of Flanders, probably knew him or his family.

Out of the marriage of Del Río with Manuela Boza was born a son and two daughters²³⁷. The male, Manuel del Río, followed the footsteps of his father in journalism and was the one who prepared the first budget of the Republic, during the government of the marshal Ramón Castilla.

From 1805 until 1810, Del Río was commissioned to publish *El telégrafo peruano* and *La Minerva*, of which he was separated because he was involved in the conspiracy of Anchoris and ended up imprisoned. On grounds of innocence, he was released but remained always under the watchful eye of Viceroy Abascal. Abascal had good reasons to do this, as Del Río – together with his son Manuel – collaborated with López Aldana (from New Granada) in the dissemination of the *Diario Secreto de Lima*, which circulated only handwritten.

²³⁶ José Durand, in the prologue of the *Gaceta de Lima* of 1793 to June 1794 (Lima: Cofide, 1983), indicates on the pages XXXI and following that it is difficult to accept that Del Río-Beke was the editor of *La Gaceta*.

²³⁷ The Belgian traveler Juan Bautista Popelaire, baron of Terloo, accounts in his diary from 1841 to 1843, that close to Huánuco he visited the husbands Martínez, family, owners of the hacienda Casapi. This Martínez was a Portuguese married with one of the daughters of Del Río. In making this reference, Popelaire uses the original surname and says that "she was the daughter of a compatriot of mine, mister Beke". "Diario del Barón Popelaire de Terloo". Traducir A.E. Authievre Roux. *Revista de Geografía e Historia de Chile*, n.º 54, Santiago de Chile, 1924

Later, Del Río was editor of *El Peruano* and *El satélite del Peruano*, but due to some problems with the censorship, he decided to withdraw. He traveled to the north of the country and afterwards to Chile. With the inauguration of the freedom of press included in the Constitution of Cadiz, Del Río returned to Peru and published *El Investigador*. In this newspaper we find a paragraph in which Del Río clearly explains the idea he had about the function of the editor. Under the insistence of a person who wanted that Del Río published an article written by him, he answers:

I am an editor, not a printer and so I have the freedom not to print in my *Investigador* unless it seems good to me. If I would be a printer then it would be obligated to print with the corresponding signature all the things that were sent to me, but in my journal nobody is responsible but me. Who feels bad about this behavior, may become editor of another newspaper, in which he can decide what he skips and published what he misses in this one which is mine and only mine.²³⁸

With the arrival of the Independence, Guillermo del Río was commissioned with the edition of *El Corneta de la guerra* and twice of *La abeja republicana*.

We know he lived longer and that after the death of doña Manuela Boza, his wife, he remarried. But, besides this fact we don't have any other information. In any case we already are in the Republican period, which is outside the scope of this work.

The exposition along these pages leads us to conclude that the Flemings were non-Iberian European people that during the conquest and the Viceroyalty contributed more to the development of Spanish South America, leaving an indelible footprint in all aspects of life in the continent in which its members were involved, whether they be material or spiritual. Although in quantitative terms the Flemish presence was minimal, a qualitative analysis has shown the importance of these migrants in the various fields in which they worked; moreover, there is some evidence that they became in a coherent minority and with an own identity.

²³⁸ *El Investigador*. Vol. II, n.º 3, Lima, Saturday 23 October 1813

The reason the Flemings achieved so much seems to be related to the special preparation that they received in their homeland, which was focus of humanism and a leading centre of commerce and industry at the time we dealt with.

The artists and artisans of Flanders distinguished themselves in different fields. In painting, men like Gossaert, who established the first atelier in Quito, or Diego de la Puente, who introduced the tenebrism in the painting of the Peruvian Viceroyalty; artisans like the silversmith Juan de Bruselas, manufacturer of the first official seal of Lima, or the Jesuit Egidiano, who constructed the most beautiful church of Cusco; musicians like Louis Vaisseau, who left the comforts of the Flemish court to assist in the missions of Paraguay, teaching music to the most applied American students in this art, the Guaraníes.

On their field, the merchants – both those who came and went with their llamas in the Viceroyalty of Peru, like Andrés de Lovaina, as those who ran the risk of long-distance trade like Francisco van der Herstraten serving as agent to his countrymen of Antwerp, or Joseph Díaz, from Ypres, settled in Tunja, who drowned in front of Jamaica when he returned to Europe to enjoy his fortune – helped to boost domestic and foreign trade with the support of their technical skills and constancy.

We cannot forget the Flemish officials based in South America; their group varies from a simple bridge warden whose name has not reached us – but who was trusted to control the most vulnerable transit point during the Viceroyalty – to the illustrated Viceroy Teodoro de Croix, passing by the Sucre governors, ancestors of our brave marshal Antonio José de Sucre. These, from the lowest to the highest, marked guidelines for the proper administration of the republics in which the territory afterwards would be divided.

Finally, it is important to note that South America was lucky to have Flemish religious men, from those who occupied positions so low like the Franciscan Gillete, responsible for collecting daily the food for his convent in Lima, to the *custodio* of the same order, Jodoco Ricke, who established churches, convents and schools in current Ecuador, and Jesuits like Father Vargas, who worked with the Mapuches in the South of Chile, putting his life in constant risk, and others who ended as martyrs in the hands of the natives in Colombia. These holy men devoted their lives selflessly to what they saw was the best

service they could do to God and humanity. Among them were also contributors to the field of science like Coninck, professor of mathematics and chief cosmographer of the kingdom.

It was a saga of three centuries in strange lands, in which these men left their sweat and blood, but also forged their illusions and often started families. Two centuries after completion of the adventure, I believe I have just rescued them from oblivion and sang their merits.

Bibliography

BONILLA, Luis. *Las revoluciones españolas en el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1973

BOYD-BOWMAN, Peter. *Índice geobiográfico de más de 56 mil pobladores de la América hispánica*. I. 1493-1519. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985

BUSTO, José Antonio del. *Diccionario histórico biográfico de los conquistadores del Perú*. Parts I, II and III. Lima: Studium, 1986 and 1987

CASTAÑEDA DELGADO, Paulina and Pilar HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO. *La Inquisición de Lima*. Madrid: Deimos, 1989

CASTILLO Y MATHIEU, Nicolás. *La llave de las Indias*. Bogotá: El Tiempo, 1981

PACHECO, Juan Manuel. *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*. Bogotá, 1962

PALACIOS, Silvio. *Gloria y tragedia de las misiones guaraníes: historia de las reducciones jesuíticas durante los siglos XVII y XVIII en el Río de la Plata*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1991

PÉREZ CÁNEPA, Rosa. "Primer Libro de Matrimonios de la parroquia del Sagrario". *Revista del Instituto Peruano de Investigaciones Genealógicas*, n.º 12, Lima, 1961, pp. 73-95

PIRENNE, Henri. *Histoire de Belgique*. Vol. II. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1948

RODRÍGUEZ VICENTE, María Encarnación. "Los extranjeros en el reino del Perú". In *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens-Vives*. Vol. II. Barcelona: Vicens Vives Editores, 1967

ROSALES, Diego de. *Historia general del reino de Chile*. Temuco (Chile), Centro Ecumenico Diego de Medellín. Ediciones Universidad de La Frontera. Serie Quinto Centenario, 1991

STOLS, Eddy. "Gens des Pays-Bas en Amérique Espagnole aux premiere siècles de la colonisation". *Bulletin de l'institute Historique Belge de Rome*, 1974, part XLIV

THOMAS, Werner. "Les ordres mendiants en Amérique hispanique". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, pp. 91-112

TIBESAR, Antonino O.F.M. *Comienzos de los franciscanos en el Perú*. Iquitos: Centro de Estudios Teológicos de la Amazonía, 1991

TINEO, Primitivo. *Los Concilios Limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1990

VAN BEECK, Guy. "Architectes et constructeurs belges en Amérique Latine". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, pp. 337-352

VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*. Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1963

VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén. *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices de América Meridional*. Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1968

VARGAS UGARTE, Rubén. *Historia general del Perú*. Lima: Milla Batres, 1971

VERBERCKMOES, Johan. "Les jesuites wallons et flamands dans les Réductions d'Indiens au Mexique et au Paraguay (1609-1768)". In STOLS, Eddy and Rudy BLEYS (coord.). *Flandre et Amérique Latine*. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1993, pp. 113-153

VICENS-VIVES, Jaime. *Historia de España y América*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1982