

Andrew Redden, 'Dream-Visions and Divine Providence in Early Modern Hispanic America', in *Dreams and Visions in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed., by Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013), pp.147-65.

Dream-Visions and Divine Providence in Early Modern Hispanic America¹

You must not give [any] credit to dreams, nor ask people to tell them to you, because dreams are [simply] vanity.²

'You should know, my friend, that in ancient times Our Lord God revealed his secrets through dreams, as he did with King Abimelech, in the vision of Jacob's ladder, [and] with Gideon in the battle against the Madianites'.³

The early modern Hispanic world was one in which the boundaries between reality, imagination and delusion frequently blurred, sometimes imperceptibly.⁴ The apparently active presence of spiritual entities made it harder to discern these boundaries and so, while many in Hispano-American society sought to give meaning to their dreams in order to better understand and negotiate the trials of everyday life, religious authorities legislated against dream-interpretation for fear that this could

¹ My thanks are due to Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar for her initial thoughts and assistance. Thanks also are due to Alfred Andrea for his comments on an earlier version of this paper delivered at the WHA Conference, Salem, June 2009 and to Luke Clossey and Jack Leung for their comments on a written draft.

² 'No aveis de dar credito a los sueños ni pedir q os los declaren, porque los sueños son vanidad'. 'Sermon XIX, de los mandamientos', in *Tercero Cathecismo y Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana, por Sermones. Para que los curas y otros ministros prediquen y enseñen a los Yndios y a las demas personas* (Ciudad de los Reyes: Antonio Ricardo, 1585) fol. 113v. See also the facsimile edition, *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para instruccion de Indios* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1985), p. 574. This and, unless otherwise stated, all other translations are my own.

³ From a reported conversation about a dream between Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán and his Mapuche friend Ignacio (c.1620-30) in his autobiographical account *Cautiverio Feliz* (vol I) [c.1675], ed. by Mario Ferrecio Podestá y Raïssa Kordić Riquelme (Santiago: Ril Editores, 2001), p. 465. King Abimelech's dream warned him against taking Abraham's wife for himself (Gen 20:3-8); Jacob dreamed of a stairway on which angels descended and ascended to Heaven (Gen 28:10-17); the dream that foretold the Israelite's victory against the Madianites was dreamed by a soldier in Gideon's camp. Gideon interpreted the dream as a sign from God (Judges 7:13-15).

⁴ Arguably this imperceptible blurring of boundaries between reality, imagination and illusion is a universal condition of human existence and transcends the early modern period. I would suggest, though, that these boundaries have been perceived to harden as the modern period progressed although (from an early modern perspective) this perception could be considered a modern delusion.

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cause and spread religious error. The consequences of such errors were not considered to be merely academic, rather they represented real danger to those who might be influenced by them. For example, Pedro Ciruelo - in his influential sixteenth-century treatise against superstition and sorcery - summarised this concern by writing that the vanity of dream divination lay in the fact there was never any certainty to the predictions the devil imparted to the 'necromancer' and, most importantly, 'the man becomes blinded and deceived by the devil: because he [the devil] treats him [the man] as if he were his slave. And God permits this because the man, due to his sins, deserves it'.⁵ In this case, of course, Ciruelo was not condemning those who dream, rather those who actively interpret dreams in order to predict the future. Together with a broader belief that dreams might contain fundamental and revelatory truths unregulated by Church authority and tradition, dream divining was considered particularly dangerous because it was that activity which implied some sort of pact between the diviner and the devil. Simply put, a dream could not be considered to reveal what was unknown unless a preternatural or supernatural power was involved; the chances of that power being of divine origin were considered relatively slim by Church authorities. Thus authoritative pronouncements against dream-interpretation, such as that found in 'Sermon XIX' of the *Tercero Cathecismo* cited above, were perceived to be addressing a potentially serious problem.

If we turn now to Hispanic America: Catholic religious authorities might have dismissed dreams that closely fitted autochthonous cultural paradigms as 'vanities' or

⁵ Pedro Ciruelo, *Reprouacion de las supersticiones y hechizarias* [1530], ed by Alva V. Ebersole (Valencia: Albatros Hispanofila, 1978), pp. 65-6. He uses the term *nigromántico* (lit. 'necromancer') which he appears to apply generically to soothsayers and diviners, rather than specifically to those who fortell the future by raising the dead. In this case he is referring to *diviners* of dreams and not those who merely dream per se.

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diabolical delusion, yet such rejection was never so simple with regard to those dreams that bridged cultures or which closely conformed to accepted Catholic tropes. As Francisco Núñez informed his Mapuche friend in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Scripture held that God had granted revelations by way of dreams; there was then, an approved tradition of revealed truth within dream-interpretation - the question was how to understand it.⁶

The following chapter will examine a selection of case studies involving dreams, dream visions and dream interpretation from late-sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Hispanic America. For the purposes of this essay, the significance of these cases lies in their utility as historical sources, for the imagery in indigenous dreams and the way they were interpreted (and, significantly, the way they were reported as *having been* interpreted) can give us an insight into the understandings of the time and place. This is true especially for those moments when cultural meanings might be expected to have shifted as indigenous dreamscapes were affected by the intervention of priests and confessors - in particular, the Jesuits. While dreams and their meaning are arguably extremely personal and therefore subjective (making it more difficult for historians to gauge their historical utility) it is worth considering that dream-imagery and the interpretation of this imagery are always dependent on overarching cultural constructs that enable the dreamers and their immediate community to give meaning

⁶ In fact, this was a tension that has existed within Catholic tradition for many centuries prior to the seventeenth, with a number of authorities including Augustine, Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas considering the issue. For a concise summary of this patristic and medieval tradition see R. Po-Chia Hsia, 'Dreams and Conversions: a Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Buddhist Dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I', *The Journal of Religious History*, 29:3 (2005), (223-40), 226-7. My thanks are due to Paolo Aranha for drawing this article to my attention. For a more in-depth discussion, see Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 35-122, *passim*.

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to the signs and symbols visualised.⁷ As Michael Brown pointed out in his essay 'Ropes of Sand', the very act of remembering and retelling a dream is a cultural process.⁸ Similarly, in his study of early modern Jesuit-Chinese dream-visions, Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia notes that while dreams may be a universal phenomenon, they are not remembered or retold in the same way. In other words, he says, 'dreams may reflect a universal mental grammar and yet utter culturally specific discourses'.⁹ Herein lies the value of dreams within history, as those that have been recorded in contemporary documents and chronicles can (with all the necessary interpretative caution) provide us with additional information about the cultural interaction that was taking place during the period and in the region under study: their remembrance, retelling and subsequent documentation layered the dreams with imagery and cultural meanings understood by the dreamer, listeners and writers.

The point of departure for this investigation into dream-visions in early modern Hispanic America will be the apparent paradox suggested by the opening quotations. This paradox - that on the one hand asserted that dreams should not be considered sources of truth while, on the other, accepted that there was a long tradition of divine truths having been revealed in dreams - saw the condemnation of the (indigenous) practice of remembering and interpreting dreams (primarily for the purposes of divination) in the officially approved collection of sermons published in 1585. This condemnation was recognised even while dream interpretation by individuals (including Catholic missionaries) continued to be used to understand the surrounding

⁷ Bruce Manheim, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations* ed. by Barbara Tedlock (Cambridge Uni Press, 1987), pp. 132-53 (p. 134); Michael Brown, 'Ropes of Sand: Order and Imagery in Aguaruna Dreams', *ibid.*, pp. 154-70 (pp.155-6).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁹ Hsia, 'Dreams and Conversions', 225.

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world and make sense of competing spiritual demands. The case studies analysed in the following essay will draw out this process of intellectual negotiation and compromise as the individual dreamers, and those who listened to and recorded their dreams, attempted to reconcile these seemingly opposing perspectives.

According to Michael Brown, such use of dream-interpretation, 'in stratified societies [...] become[s] a subversive force associated with social protest and messianic movements'.¹⁰ This proposition can certainly be supported, when applied to Hispanic society during the early modern period, by referring to numerous case studies in which the Inquisition has prosecuted individual and groups of visionaries.¹¹ Similarly, Bruce Manheim corroborates this understanding of dreams as being potentially subversive with specific reference to the early modern Hispano-Andean world in his essay, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams'.¹² A section of his analysis draws from a brief guide to Andean dream-signs found in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's early-seventeenth-century manuscript—the *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*—and Manheim notes that the majority of signs have been interpreted negatively, as doom-

¹⁰ Ibid., p.168.

¹¹ Relating to inquisitorial persecution of dream-visions in particular, see especially the late-sixteenth century case of Lucrecia de León in Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) and Roger Osborne, *The Dreamer of the Calle de San Salvador* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2001). Most famously, Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was investigated on numerous occasions (and imprisoned twice) under suspicion of heresy resulting from his mysticism and spiritual exercises. Such behaviour and practice caused the inquisitors to suspect that he was involved in the illuminist heresy in which individuals considered themselves to receive direct revelations from God. See Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados: V-témas y personajes (1570-1630)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1994), pp. 221-36. For an account of illuminist trials in Peru see Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, 'Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 73:4 (1993), 581-613. For a comparable case of a series of trials for illuminism of a group of individuals from Santiago de Chile - though with less emphasis on ecstasies and visions - see René Millar Carvacho, *Misticismo e Inquisición* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2000) passim. Other famous Spanish mystics investigated by the Inquisition include Teresa de Ávila and Fray Luis de León.

¹² See Manheim, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', in *Dreaming*, pp. 132-53.

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laden or representative of ill-fortune, especially in comparison to the same signs understood from a modern-day Andean perspective.¹³

A key reference point for Manheim (and, presumably, also Guaman Poma de Ayala) is the abovementioned 1585 *Tercero Catechismo* [...].¹⁴ The Catechism and collection of sermons came out of the Third Council of Lima, held in 1583 and were written in what were considered to be the three principal languages of the Andes at the time - Spanish, Quechua and Aymara - in order to facilitate the dissemination throughout the region of a Catholicism that more closely conformed to the Tridentine Profession of Faith, the conciliar reforms and the Tridentine Catechism.¹⁵ Manheim translates the Quechua proscription of dream interpretation as follows: 'Don't be keeping dreams: "I dreamt this or that, why did I dream it?" Don't ask: dreams are just worthless and not to be kept.'¹⁶ Frank Salomon refines the translation by suggesting that the first phrase *Ama moscoyta yupaychanquichicchu*, can be rendered more literally as "don't make dreams matters of account" or "of value",

¹³ See Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, fol. 282 [284] <<<http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/indices/indice-en.htm>>> [accessed 30 July 2009] See also Manheim, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', pp. 139-40.

¹⁴ *Tercero Catechismo y Exposición de la Doctrina Christiana, por Sermones. Para que los curas y otros ministros prediquen y enseñen a los Yndios y a las demás personas* (Ciudad de los Reyes: Antonio Ricardo, 1585). Guaman Poma de Ayala was a committed Christian and worked closely with the extirpator Cristóbal de Albornoz (Manheim, 'Semiotic of Andean Dreams', p. 140).

¹⁵ For a concise overview of the position of the Catholic Church in this period and the Council of Trent, see Robert Bireley, 'Early-Modern Catholicism as a Response to the Changing World of the Long Sixteenth Century', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95:2 (2009), 219-39, 237. For a detailed investigation of the impact of Trent on Andean Christianity, see Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750* (Lima: IFEA, 2003).

¹⁶ Manheim, 'A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', p. 137. c.f. 'Sermon XIX, de los mandamientos' in *Tercero Catechismo*, fol. 113v - '*Ama moscoyta yupaychanquichicchu, caytam chaytam mosconi, ymapac mosconam ñispa ama tapucunquichicchu: moscoyca yancallan manam yupaychaypacchu.*'

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which in fact brings the Quechua version much closer to the Spanish, *No aveis de dar credito a los sueños* (you mustn't give [any] credit to dreams).¹⁷

Tacit recognition of this official censure of dream interpretation appears very clearly in the Andean noble Don Cristóbal Choque Casa's dream-sequence described in the *Huarochirí Manuscript* of the first decade of seventeenth-century Peru.¹⁸ The title of the sequence reads: 'Although a Dream is Not Valid, We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him'.¹⁹ The paradox here is self-evident, the anonymous author(s) knew about the prohibition on dream interpretation but disregarded it anyway with the certainty of those who knew that the dream serves a legitimate pedagogical or discursive purpose. The dream was documented in the context of a conflict between pro-Christian and pro-Andean religious factions within the community of Huarochirí. The Christians, including Cristóbal Choque Casa, aided the priest Francisco de Avila in his attempt to extirpate Andean religious practices from the region and almost certainly collaborated in the composition of the manuscript.²⁰ The dream-sequence

¹⁷ Frank Salomon, *Nightmare Victory: The Meanings of Conversion among Peruvian Indians (Huarochirí, 1608?): 1992 Lecture Series, Working Papers No.7* (College Park: Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, 1990), p. 11. See also footnote 1 above.

¹⁸ See Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste trans. and eds., *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), chapter 21, pp. 107-10.

¹⁹ 'Valid' here refers to their unsuitability for knowledge acquisition. They are not 'valid' epistemologically because they do not contain truths. They are not 'valid' institutionally because the Council of Lima condemned their interpretation.

²⁰ Salomon suggests the manuscript was probably composed 'at the behest of P. Francisco de Avila as secret intelligence for the purpose of attacking, publicizing, and victimising parishioners opposed to Avila's faction'. He continues with the emphatic assertion that the manuscript itself is 'not from Avila's own hand' and also mentions that 'Cristóbal Choque Casa was a key ally of Avila's who himself had a hand in compiling the manuscript'. Choque Casa's father was *curaca* (noble indigenous leader) and wavered between support of Christianity and support of propitiation of the *huacas* (he returned to *huaca* worship when an epidemic afflicted the community, but recanted on his deathbed). The subsequent *curaca* Juan Sacsalli Uya supported *huaca* veneration but the community remained divided. Salomon, *Nightmare Victory*, pp. 4, 6.

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then was a case in which a supposedly pious (pro-Christian) individual defeated a demon in the guise of an indigenous deity or *huaca*, and not to publicise this would have been counterproductive - prohibition on dream interpretation notwithstanding.²¹ The problem for the protagonists lay in the need to prioritise the demonisation of the local *huaca*-cult over and above the use of dream interpretation to understand the present and divine the future. The choice lay in the relative harm that both practices were perceived to cause. Both were considered category errors in that power and meaning were attributed to entities that Catholicism believed had none. Both, as such, were believed idolatrous in a generic sense, yet the former was much more serious, involving direct worship or veneration of an entity that was not (the Hispano-Catholic) God whereas the latter was more often merely considered superstitious and thereby only indirectly linked to idolatrous practices. The strategy of those who compiled the *Huarochirí Manuscript* was to use dream interpretation to demonstrate the weakness of the local deity when faced with the power of the Christian faith. Chapter 20 of the manuscript thus describes a confrontation between Don Cristóbal and the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa while awake. Chapter 21, meanwhile, continues the antagonism by recounting a second confrontation that took place in the form of a dream-sequence. In both cases, however, the confrontations were much less clear-cut than perhaps the pro-Christian faction would have liked. Despite the chapter titles describing how Don Cristóbal defeated the *huaca*-'demon' Llocllay Huancupa and, despite the final affirmation that, 'from that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams the same way', both struggles, but especially

²¹ On closer analysis the content and successful result of the dream-sequence proves much more ambiguous. *Ibid.*, passim.

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that of the dream, tell the reader as much (perhaps more) about a conflict of conscience within Don Cristóbal's own mind than about any resounding victory of Tridentine Catholicism over traditional Andean religion.²² Salomon draws our attention to the repetitive nature of the conflict, that it 'sounds like a circular process, repeated indefinitely' which 'gives an impression different from one of victory and conversion.'²³ Furthermore, he points out a detail that suggests Don Cristóbal's dreamed presence at the *huaca* shrine was less than innocent. He found himself within the compound of the shrine carrying a silver coin just as he was challenged by a member of the pro-Christian community standing outside.²⁴ The implication, of course, is that in the dream sequence Don Cristóbal appeared in the compound coin-in-hand ready to leave it as an offering to the *huaca*.²⁵ In effect, it would appear that Don Cristóbal was confronted time and again with crises of conscience due to his neglect of traditional indigenous religious practices.²⁶

It is worthwhile bearing in mind, however, that whereas from a modern perspective we would understand these nuances as reflecting interior crises provoked by the 'absolute demand of conversion' - which in Salomon's words 'is what makes [them] nightmarish' - from a contemporary Hispano-Andean perspective, such dream-conflict also affirmed the early modern Catholic belief-system. With specific regard to

²² Salomon and Urioste eds., *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, p. 110.

²³ Salomon, *Nightmare Victory*, p. 17.

²⁴ For the entire passage See Salomon and Urioste eds., *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, p. 108. For Salomon's analysis see note 522. See also *Nightmare Victory*, p. 14.

²⁵ Salomon gives weight to this suggestion by citing the Jesuit extirpator Pablo José de Arriaga's treatise [1621] that describes this practice of leaving silver coins as offerings to the *huacas*. Salomon, *Nightmare Victory*, p. 15. See Pablo José de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del piru* (Lima: Geronymo de Contreras, 1621), p. 25. See also Arriaga, p. 66 for a similar account.

²⁶ I have commented on similar Andean crises of conscience recorded in Jesuit letters from the seventeenth century in *Diabolism in Colonial Peru 1560-1750* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 115-120.

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dreams, it had long been a part of the medieval Catholic tradition to believe that in sleep the devil could enter human bodies and move the humours in order to provoke visions and dreams that seemed real enough to cause confusion, doubt and even delusion.²⁷ For the pro-Christian faction of the Huarochirí community it would have been entirely plausible that the 'demon' Llocllay Huancupa was invading the consciousness of Don Cristóbal thereby undermining his resolve to continue his rejection of worship in the manner of his ancestors. By the same token, it would have been equally plausible that such manifestations of 'demonic'-*huaca* power could be defeated by invocation of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints. In the waking visionary attack described in chapter 20 of the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, an extremely frightened Cristóbal manages to cause Llocllay to retreat by such means.²⁸ In the dream-sequence, Cristóbal confronts Llocllay with a defiant challenge that he could not 'defeat my Lord Jesus Christ in whom I believe'.²⁹ The actual victory, however, was less certain. After this challenge someone (or some entity) threw an object at him or to him (either in anger or so that he might defend himself) - the protagonist is unclear on all these points - with which he was able to retreat through the door of the house. Don Cristóbal escaped but ultimately he was the one who had to flee, making his claims of victory difficult to support.

The difference between the two sequences (and the respective victories), then, can be understood by considering that in the first conflict Cristóbal was attacked while awake. As such, he had no-where to escape to and could only achieve victory by

²⁷ Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 213-14.

²⁸ Salomon and Urioste eds., *Huarochirí Manuscript*, pp. 104-5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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beating off the attack through Christian invocations and prayers. In the second conflict, Don Cristobal found himself in a dream-sequence that he believed was constructed by the 'demon' Llocllay. This was Llocllay's territory and Cristóbal found himself in a relatively powerless situation, a factor that added to the nightmarish quality of the dream. Cristóbal's victory therefore lay in the mere fact that he was able to escape from the nightmare created by the 'demon'-*huaca* Llocllay. In terms of indigenous Andean dream-narratives, then, this escape was an important setback for the *huaca* and his faction and, despite the recognised official taboo, it was important to publicise this throughout the parish community.³⁰

A further point to bear in mind when considering how Don Cristóbal's crises of conscience may well have reflected and affirmed early modern Catholicism (as opposed to undermining it) is that while stories of radical and definitive conversion were more spectacular and made for more edifying reading when included in the missionary reports sent to provincial authorities and even back to Rome, the more common understanding of conversion was that it was an ongoing process, that life itself was a continuing struggle to turn to God and avoid the snares and temptations of the devil. In the words of Ignatius Loyola: 'this is the history. Here it will be to consider how Christ calls and desires all persons to come under his standard, and how Lucifer in opposition calls them under his'.³¹ This movement towards Christ after

³⁰ Manheim argues from evidence based on Guaman Poma de Ayala's text and contemporary anthropological field-work that Andean dream interpretation is and was based more clearly on semiotics in which symbolic images represent others quite unrelated ('A Semiotic of Andean Dreams', pp. 136, 144-6, 149-51). If this is the case then Don Cristóbal's dream and others I will discuss below seem to fall much more within the European narrative paradigm as, while there are symbolic images that can be interpreted in different ways, in the remembering, retelling and documenting of the dreams, they have been overlaid with reasonably coherent narrative structures.

³¹ 'The First Prelude' of 'A Meditation on the Two Standards', in *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. by George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992), p. 65.

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hearing his call was on-going. It was a long journey in which the path was strewn with obstacles and pitfalls made all the more treacherous by the devil's propensity to 'prowl around' and, 'where he finds us most in need in regard to our eternal salvation, there he attacks and tries to take us'.³²

Dreams and Honest Desires

Conversion then, was more accurately considered a life-process that involved hearing and following God's call while refusing to listen to the seductive call of the devil, but this process could be interspersed with catalytic moments of visionary lucidity. This combination of process and visionary moment is reflected in the dream-narrative apparently recounted to Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, by his Mapuche friend (later named Ignacio), during his captivity beyond the Spanish-Mapuche frontier in southern Chile.³³ The young³⁴, Jesuit-educated Francisco had been captured during a battle in which the Spanish forces were soundly defeated, and had narrowly avoided being sacrificed due to the intervention of his new Mapuche master, a prominent *cacique* named Maulicán.³⁵ The traumatised Francisco was then sent south to spend his days in captivity with *caciques* who were friendly to Maulicán and who could be trusted not to harm him. During this time he was

³² 'The Fourteenth Rule' of 'Discernment of Spirits for Week I', *ibid.*, p. 125.

³³ Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán and his Mapuche friend Ignacio (c.1625) in his autobiographical account *Cautiverio Feliz* (2 vols) [c.1675], ed. by Mario Ferrecio Podestá y Raissa Kordić Riquelme (Santiago: Ril Editores, 2001).

³⁴ The published version of this essay incorrectly states that Francisco was 16 years old. By the time of his capture he was in his very early twenties.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 248-301. According to the chronicle the battle took place during the month of May either in 1620 or 1629. The editors transcribed 1620 as the recorded date but note that the 0 has been changed to 9 together with a margin note on the manuscript that explains, 'this number is incorrect, it is and should be 1629'. *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 253. *Cacique* is a Caribbean term used to designate indigenous leaders and nobles. The term entered the Spanish language at the beginning of the sixteenth century and was used throughout the Americas. In the Peruvian Andes, the Quechua term *curaca* was more frequently used albeit interchangeably with *cacique*. Francisco most frequently uses the term *cacique* but in reported speech occasionally uses *ilmen* - the Mapuche equivalent.

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befriended by numerous Mapuche families and became particular friends (as one might expect) with youths his own age. They shared their lives intimately: they ate and drank together, worked and rested together, even slept together. Most importantly, they shared their knowledge and their thoughts.³⁶ Francisco, while in captivity, found a great deal of solace in teaching his Mapuche friends what he knew of the Catholic faith, about which - according to his memoirs - they seemed naturally curious, and he dug deep into his Jesuit schooling and applied his knowledge of patristic and scholastic theology in order to provide answers to their questions.³⁷ He recounts that these youths were keen to learn the most important prayers and receive catechesis, even to the point of chiding him if he was slow to teach them:

On lying down on our bed, the lads noted my neglect in not having taught them to pray and I replied that I didn't know if they would like to learn or if they would become annoyed if I continued to talk about it and, while they didn't ask, how was I to know that they

³⁶ This stage of Francisco's captivity was remarkably egalitarian. He was treated as an honoured guest and adopted son by the families with which he stayed. Despite this, Francisco never lost sight of the fact that he was still held captive and his life still hung on a thread and could be instantly forfeit should his master wish it. The question of equality in knowledge sharing is interesting and one that I would suggest depended very much on the perceived quality of the knowledge to be shared. Francisco marvelled at many aspects of Mapuche life and culture, yet according to the account, the 'sharing' of religious belief was very much a one-way process (as might be expected of a seventeenth-century Spaniard who held firm to a belief in the universal truth of Catholicism). There is certainly room for further investigation here.

³⁷ Although he was held captive during the 1620s the memoirs were written many years afterwards and were directed towards a royal readership, so it is difficult to know how much of the old and erudite Francisco was superimposed onto the teenaged soldier (the text was initially dated 1663, revised as 1673 and finally dated 1675 - *ibid.*, vol. I, title page, vol. II, p. 980). He would have been aware of the dangers of having documented his own dissemination of religious error and took steps (as the author) to ground his claimed teachings in authoritative sources as well as adding a disclaimer at the end of the text professing ignorance and willingness to retract any statement found to be erroneous (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 971). He states that he was Jesuit-educated as a boy, however, and the works, authors, theologians he cites and even the arguments he uses while explaining Christianity do reflect this Jesuit education (*ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 240-1). At the same time, there is a notable difference in style between the learned citations he uses for rhetorical purposes and those authorities he implies he remembered at the time when trying to explain difficult theological questions.

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wanted me to teach them? "Oh shut up!" they replied happily, "and see how we'll bother you on a daily basis".³⁸

One of these youths mentioned in the chronicle became Francisco's intimate friend and stood out for his devotion, perceptive questions and keenness to learn.³⁹ One winter's night, shortly after midnight, the boy (later christened Ignacio by Francisco, again indicating Jesuit influence) woke Francisco in order to tell him what he had just dreamed.⁴⁰ He told him that while he was sound asleep he had begun to pray '*Upchi acimi María*' - the Hail Mary - which Francisco had translated into the Mapuche language and taught to him, when a large 'black [figure]' approached him and tried to gag him.⁴¹ Ignacio described how he was truly afraid and unable to speak or cry out,

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 433. See also pp. 447, 451, 462-76. I use the colloquial term 'lads' to translate *muchachos* here due to the familiarity of the exchange: 'youths' seems somewhat stilted under the circumstances. 'Oh shut up!' is literal (*pues callad la boca*) and suggests friendly exasperation. Francisco was continually surprised by the apparent Christian devotion of his Mapuche hosts and suggests various reasons for it ranging from optimism about the workings of natural reason to cynicism. Compare, for example his suggestion that children are particularly inclined to pray and become Christian while *caciques* are more inclined to defend and protect their communities (p. 436) with his supposition that many participated in his baptismal ceremony merely because they wanted a Spanish name (p. 476). Linked to Francisco's understanding of Catholicism as universally true (hence humankind will naturally seek it out if given the opportunity) would have been the Mapuche perception that there was real power in the Catholic religion—power that they might be able to use for protection (as Francisco did) if they learned the necessary invocations, rituals (such as making the sign of the cross), and were baptised. Also noteworthy in this particular exchange is Francisco's initial hesitation for fear of offending his hosts. The scene is extremely relaxed and familiar, yet Francisco is still unsure of how best to behave for his own safety.

³⁹ One question that particularly threw Francisco was about the virginity of Mary. His attempt to find a suitable explanatory metaphor failed until he was helped out by the *cacique* who had been listening and was able to explain what Francisco meant using a different metaphor (*Ibid.*, pp. 462-3).

⁴⁰ Prior to the baptism Francisco does not use or mention the boy's indigenous name, rather he refers to him as, the youth (*el muchacho*), my companion (*mi compañero*) and, my friend (*mi amigo*). My use of 'Ignacio' then is briefly anachronistic but preferable to writing about him anonymously.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 465. He uses the term *negro grande*, which literally translates as a 'large Negro'. As such it is suggestive of the demonization of the African race that can be found in colonial discourses (see, for example, Joan Cameron Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), pp. 44-7). I would nevertheless caution against overemphasising racial interpretations of visions like these when the crucial element of the image is the darkness emanating from the demonic apparition. Cameron Bristol also notes that earlier discourses focussed primarily on religious difference (pp. 28-36). While racial categories became progressively more important in Hispanic America, firstly to mark otherness but latterly and particularly with respect to social hierarchy, these categories were not rigid—for example, it was not unheard of in the eighteenth century for 'white' status to be purchased. In cases of demonic

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when suddenly the black apparition was replaced by a beautiful white child, blonder than the sun whose graceful face and hair blinded him when he looked at him. The radiant child began to play with the water of a crystal clear spring, scooping it up with a silver plate and emptying it out little by little. Other children arrived to play with him, whom Ignacio described as 'neither as white, nor as graceful', seeming to him to be 'little Indians like me'.⁴² The beautiful boy - and at this point Francisco added a rhetorical disclaimer distancing himself from the narrative, 'I tell this just as he recounted' - then climbed a tree that was growing from the spring. At the heart of the green branches was a lady whose face was similar to the boy's and, at the top of the tree, many more seemingly winged children were flying around. The radiant boy settled in the skirts of the lady and began to sprinkle the children below with the water from the spring. The children ran underneath the trickle of water one by one and as they passed underneath and the water struck them, their heads turned snow-white, just like 'the high pastures after a morning frost'.⁴³ Ignacio, on seeing the fun they were having, joined them and also passed underneath the tree but this time, disappointingly for him, he felt no water fall. It was not until he turned his face upwards that water cascaded down and on lowering his head again 'they bathed it completely'.⁴⁴ After a short time, he lifted his face again but the dream-vision

persecution such as that described by Ignacio, the unchanging feature is always the evil darkness in contrast to the divine light. While overlap certainly took place (and progressively so during the colonial period), I would suggest that more than race this overwhelming spiritual darkness is the fundamental reason these characters are described as *negro*.

⁴² Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio Feliz*, vol. I, pp. 465-6. From a modern perspective, this section of the narrative also reflects a racialisation of spiritual imagery but again I would suggest that the important feature of the imagery is the blinding supernatural radiance of the visionary boy (the Christ-child) as opposed to the ordinary (rather than sub-ordinary) nature of the 'little Indians like me'.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

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disappeared and he woke up eager to tell his Spanish friend and teacher of the dream he had just experienced.

According to his account, Francisco's response was thoughtful and considered, referring first to scriptural precedent, then the tradition of the Catholic Church as it applied to their particular circumstances.⁴⁵ As we saw in the opening quotation, Scripture and, in particular, the Old Testament confirmed to Francisco that God had on numerous occasions revealed his will in dreams. But in his explanation to Ignacio, he appears to discard almost immediately any possibility that the dream was directly inspired by God. 'In *ancient* times our Lord God revealed his secrets through dreams', he stated, but then continued by echoing the statement found in the 1585 trilingual *sermonario*: 'and although today we cannot give [any] credit to what we dream because they are inventions of the understanding and fantasies [...]'.⁴⁶ And, if this were insufficient, he added the weight of Classical authority, arguing, 'or as Cicero said, [these dreams or fantasies] are thoughts or words from the day's discourse that continue in the memory'.⁴⁷ The narrative thus teases the reader who may well have reached his or her own conclusions about the dream and the way it would have been interpreted even before Francisco provided such a surprisingly

⁴⁵ Again it is difficult to know precisely how much of the response is a creative superimposition by the older, wiser, more learned Francisco as he wrote the chronicle and how much can be credited to the sixteen-year-old.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* my italics.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* The citation is for *Somnium Scipionis*, and it is Francisco's referencing of Cicero, rather than Aristotle's *On Dreams* - which would have been a more appropriate Classical source for someone familiar with scholastic theology - that demonstrate his Jesuit schooling, as a thorough grounding in Classical rhetoric formed a significant part of this education. There is evidence also here to suggest that Francisco was in fact writing from boyhood memories (rather than a well-stocked adult library) as the citation does not contain paragraph references and the work is incorrectly entitled *De somno scipionis* [sic.]. The section Francisco was referring to reads: 'I think myself that it was because of what we had been speaking of; for it often happens that our thoughts and conversations give rise to something in our sleep' (Cicero, 'The Dream of Scipio from Book IV of *De Republica*', in *On Friendship and the Dream of Scipio*, ed. and trans. by J. G. F. Powell (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1990), p. 137).

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cautious rebuff to the notion that it might have been a divinely inspired dream-vision. From within the Hispano-Catholic worldview, the meaning and imagery of the dream-narrative would have seemed clear: the radiant figures would without a doubt have been recognised as the Christ-child and the Virgin Mary, the winged children as angels and the water as the water of baptism. More speculative interpretation, especially given the reference to the morning frost, might lead us to suggest that the particular Marian devotion was that of *la Virgen de las Nieves* (the Virgin of the Snow), a common devotion among Spaniards on the Southern Chilean frontier given her purported intervention to save one of the early Spanish cities from being sacked by Mapuche warriors and a number of other miracles in which she was attributed with having saved people from disaster.⁴⁸ At the same time, the Virgin's seat in the tree brings to mind images of the Tree of Jesse (commonly represented in early modern Hispanic iconography and always associated with the Virgin Mary), although the chances of Ignacio having seen such a painting are negligible, for the boy's only contact with the Hispanic world so far beyond the Mapuche frontier was through the captive and destitute Francisco. It is perhaps more plausible to surmise that the tree in Ignacio's dream might have been a *pehuén* or monkey-puzzle tree, a sacred protector to the Mapuche and one whose kernels provided sustenance even during the long winter months when food was scarce.⁴⁹ It would have made sense, given

⁴⁸ See Alonso de Ovalle, *Histórica Relación del Reino de Chile* [1646] (Santiago de Chile: Pehuén, 2003), pp. 268-76. Ovalle is suitably vague about the place and time of Mary's intervention in the siege: 'although I do not remember the particular place where it happened; but I do know that it took place in one of the cities of Chile when it was founded'. The miracle is in fact particularly reminiscent of the legendary Marian intervention during the siege of Cuzco c.1535. See Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer nueva corónica*, fol. 404 [406]. In the miracle of Cuzco she cast either hail or stones into the faces of the attacking Andeans. In the Chilean miracle she blinded the indigenous warriors by casting dust into their eyes.

⁴⁹ Other trees are also sacred to the Mapuche, including the cinnamon tree, which is considered to have healing properties and is believed to be directly linked to the *machis* or shamanic healers. Given

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the Virgin's usual guise as mother and protector for her to have appeared in such a sacred tree.

Francisco, meanwhile, could have understood and explained the dream to Ignacio in one of two ways. The first, that this was a representation of the divine will that Ignacio be baptised, was discarded as we have seen. The only route left to Francisco would be to interpret the dream as a consequence of natural causes, as he seemed to be suggesting with his reference to Cicero. But there was, in fact, a middle ground open to him, and this was to propose that it could still be possible for 'honest desires' to be represented in dreams.⁵⁰ And so he builds on this proposition, suggesting that, while awake, Ignacio must have wanted to become Christian and to 'come to know God and his greatness'. That much was demonstrated by his sincere learning of the prayers Francisco taught him. Ignacio agreed, affirming his extreme desire to become Christian and 'know *your* God', and Francisco was then able to interpret the dream according to normative Hispano-Catholic symbols:⁵¹

So this is your dream [...]: with your head bathed with water that I will pour over you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, you [will] turn white and radiant, just like the heads of the children who appeared to you in your dream. And that lady whom you saw seated in the tree was the mother of that beautiful child, who is our Saviour. Because you praised his Holy Mother with the Ave-María, he caused that black [figure], who was the devil, to flee. [The devil] wanted to gag you because he is our common enemy and is always trying to upset our good intentions. And [...] the beautiful boy who is Christ our

this association, however, I doubt that the Virgin would have been seated in a cinnamon tree as, according to the narrative, Francisco had previously been horrified by a *machi* healing ceremony and transferred this sense of horror to Ignacio who later refused to be cured by one (*ibid.*, pp. 453-8, 485-9).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, my italics. Despite his desire to become Christian, Ignacio still considers God to be a god exclusive to the Christians

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Lord, son of the living God, confronted the horrible and ugly black [figure], who is the devil, and gave you strength with his visit so that you do not turn away from your desires which are leading you to knowledge of our holy Catholic faith.⁵²

It seems then, that Francisco's initial caution and insistence on a natural explanation for the dream was, in effect, interwoven with an interpretation that involved preternatural interference and supernatural intervention, albeit carefully inexplicit. Initially, the dream itself was naturally provoked by a fervent desire to become Christian and be baptised. Yet, following the reasoning that diurnal desires appear as nocturnal dream-sequences, the almost immediate appearance of the devil in the sequence could only be understood as preternatural interference, as the demon sought to suffocate the boy's desire for Christianity and to speak the words of praise to the Virgin Mary. This was entirely consistent with medieval notions of demonic ability to move the humours in the body and cause images to appear - a natural process - but it was, nonetheless, preternatural interference that caused a good dream based on honest desires to turn into a nightmare and the boy's resulting fear at the figure's invasive presence was a natural human response to this preternatural apparition.⁵³ Using Francisco's logic, what then follows can still be understood as natural and good human desires suppressing this wicked preternatural invasion but, given his subsequent explanation, that 'the beautiful boy, who is Christ our Lord and son of the living God confronted the horrible and ugly black [figure] and gave [...] strength with his visit', it is perhaps more plausible that even the cautious Francisco

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ For medieval notions of demons causing apparitions by moving bodily humours see question III, article 4, answer in Thomas Aquinas, *On Evil*, ed by Brian Davies, trans. by Richard J. Regan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 155-6. See also Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, pp. 213-4.

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believed that divine power had indeed intervened to protect Ignacio and prevent him (and his Christian desires) from being suffocated by a demonic hand.

Dream-visions and the influence of Christian Discourse

If characters like the Jesuit-educated Francisco were cautiously interweaving natural, preternatural and supernatural influences into their dream interpretation, there in fact exists a contemporary genre of Jesuit-mediated dreams which barely acknowledges this idea that dreams and their interpretation were a potentially 'subversive force'. Despite indigenous and Hispanic awareness of conciliar censure of dream interpretation (as we have seen), dreams were reported and approved by Jesuits as their imagery and interpretation appeared to affirm the universal truth of Catholicism.⁵⁴

One such example was recorded in 1632 and tells the tale of Bartolomé Martín, a ten-year-old noble indigenous boy from San Pedro de Quilcai, not far from the city of Lima of the Viceroyalty of Peru.⁵⁵ One afternoon, he was startled by a vision of his mother who had died seven years previously. She called to him saying, 'Bartolo, Bartolo my son, come with me to heaven'. That night she appeared to him again, with

⁵⁴ These cases are recorded in the annual letters sent from the provinces to Rome and it is worth bearing in mind that these were copied and sometimes edited and selected for wide distribution across their global network. As such they were intended to be edifying and need to be read with caution as they are structured around certain recognisable formulae. That said, 'edifying' does not mean 'invented' and these letters can be surprisingly candid about setbacks suffered in order to demonstrate the fortitude of missionaries on the ground (and to appeal for more resources). At the same time reports from many ordinary missions were often very brief and cursory so when spectacular events were reported in detail it is reasonable to assume that something at least had occurred to provoke the narrative, even if the events are distorted by formulaic translation and interpretation.

⁵⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), *Provincia Peruana* (hereafter *Peru*): *Litterae Annuae* (hereafter *Litt. Ann.*), *Tomus IV (1630-51)* (hereafter *IV*), '1632-4' (fols 23-54), fols 33r-34r. I have already highlighted this case in the context of the inroads of Christianity into indigenous Andean consciousness. See *Diabolism in Colonial Peru* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 110-12. Here it will be discussed within the historical context of dream interpretation.

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a more forceful invitation stating that this was what Christ had ordered. By the next morning the boy had almost completely lost the power of speech and could utter only a few badly formed words. The priest was called together with others from the community who promptly judged him to be delirious but Bartolomé resisted all attempts to treat him. After three days speech returned to him and he told the incredulous gathering that he had come directly from heaven but that he was not allowed to tell them anything more for another ten days. This emphatic statement resulted in the priest and those gathered around the bed judging for a second time that he was crazy.

Once the ten days were complete, on the feast-day of Santiago, he rose from his bed and began to tell the story of his visionary journey.⁵⁶ Following his mother's footsteps he saw two paths, one smooth and easy, the other burning and strewn with thorns. Bartolomé (naturally) wanted to travel the easy path but his mother stopped him, cautioned him against being deceived and guided him along the more difficult route to heaven. Heaven, the boy apparently described, was represented to him as a beautiful palace in which he saw choirs of virgins crowned with flowers, together with an orchestra of angels who together sang praises to God. He approached Christ's throne, a bench of purest gold, on which Christ was seated together with Saint

⁵⁶ We can only speculate as to the significance of that particular feast day for the dream-revelation. Santiago was certainly an important saint in the Hispanic world, associated with the '*reconquista*' as Santiago the Moor-Slayer having purportedly routed the Moors at the battle of Clavijo (c. 844) (c.f. Linda B. Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), p. 25). Subsequently, in the Americas, this association was translated to one of *conquista* as he became Santiago Indian-Slayer and was said to have participated in key battles to aid the Spanish Christians - a particularly famous 'intervention' was, like the Virgin Mary's, during Manco Inca's siege of Cuzco, c.1535. Santiago's image was ubiquitous in the Hispanic world - see especially Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer nueva corónica*, fol. 404 [406]. Within indigenous Andean tradition the saint was also associated with *Illapa*, the god of thunder and lightning. There is no indication in the letter as to how the boy viewed the saint other than allowing the reader to assume that the feast was significant to the people of San Pedro de Quilcai.

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Joseph and his mother Mary. Within this tableau of saints and angels were also mentioned the patriarchs, founders of a number of religious orders (including Saint Francis, Saint Dominic and Saint Ignatius Loyola) and two of Bartolo's older brothers who had died young.

Placing this narrative within the context of dream interpretation in the colonial period, we can quickly conclude that it is only really at the beginning of the narrative, where the boy is judged to be crazy, that the dream fits within the contemporary paradigm of dreams and dream interpretation as being something to which one should not give credit. In fact, this dream-sequence, as it is narrated here, primarily does the opposite: through a collaboration of narrative voices, the dream-imagery is interpreted, upheld and lauded as an affirmation of divine providence working in the world.

The Jesuit narrator of the indigenous boy's story is, however, quite aware of potential criticisms of undue influence on the dream-narrative, especially as the case moves into such uncertain territory as that of visions and supernatural representations. As a result, he attempts to distance himself from the story by using simple rhetorical devices such as a statement that the boy recounted the dream 'in his own words' and also, significantly, by pointing out that the dream was, 'in the end, the same as what often appears in other similar imaginary visions'.⁵⁷ With this cursory comment the Jesuit narrator seems to give lip-service to the necessary pragmatic scepticism: firstly the vision was to be considered a product of the imagination; secondly it was as formulaic as all the others and, as such, to be treated with caution.

⁵⁷ ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann. IV*, '1632-34', fol. 33^v.

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Having briefly deferred to conciliar requirements, the narrator was then free to argue the case that, as he ultimately summarised, 'God [...] wishes to show his goodness through the humble and the young'.⁵⁸ At the same time, the dream-sequence also contains a number of details that remove it from the realm of a generic baroque iconography, suggested or even invented by perhaps intensive (albeit potentially infrequent) catechesis, and place it in the boy's own consciousness. The strong presence of Bartolo's family in the heavenly dream provides the narrative with a very personal connection between the boy and the celestial court. It was Bartolo's long-deceased mother who provided him with access to heaven, literally steering him along the straight-and-narrow in the dream, as she was unable to do while he was awake. Similarly, the presence of his brothers in the dream-tableau continued this already strong familial link, indicating an underlying belief that his brothers - having died young and in a state of innocence - had gone straight to heaven as *angelitos*. These 'little angels' provided families throughout the Hispanic world with a direct and personal link to heaven, permitting the families to petition God through their dead children and siblings.⁵⁹ This familial link to the deities through the dead, while seen through particularly Hispanic imagery, sat particularly well in a socio-religious context that also drew on pre-Colombian indigenous traditions, as it was through propitiating their dead ancestors that continued life in Andean communities was believed possible. Indeed, a particular target of extirpators and Jesuit missionaries in this

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ This belief had become widespread through the Hispanic world even as early as the sixteenth century. Martina Will de Chaparro has noted how the *angelito* tradition, including cheerful bell-ringing instead of mournful tolling, survived well into the nineteenth century in New Mexico in *Death and Dying in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), pp. 96-9. For an earlier history of the tradition throughout the Hispanic world together with further references, see my forthcoming essay 'Angelic Death and Sacrifice in Early Modern Hispanic America' in *Death and Dying in Colonial Latin America*, ed., by Miruna Achim and Martina Will de Chaparro (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in press).

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period were the mummified remains of community ancestors, and the veneration of these ancestral figures.⁶⁰ Yet what these extirpators failed to appreciate, even as they denigrated these mummies as decaying, transient forms, was that it was precisely the permanence of death that indicated the divine nature of the ancestors.⁶¹ As such, even though there is little remaining in the narrative that indicates the survival of pre-Colombian religious practices within the community of Quilcai, Bartolomé's interaction with his dead relatives within the dream-sequence, links him to the divine both through the Hispano-Catholic tradition - recorded so graphically by the Jesuit narrator - and a more indigenous ancestral tradition, that went unnoticed (or unmentioned) by the writer.

As we might expect, the reported dream-vision more appropriately contained a number of iconic Catholic symbols. In particular, the two roads, or the paths of virtue and vice, were a common motif for sermons, and were often represented in frescos decorating the walls of Hispano-American churches (following a medieval European iconic tradition).⁶² Perhaps as a result of the ubiquity of these images and motifs in preaching, there are a number of similar dream-sequences recounted to confessors

⁶⁰ See for example Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria*, p. 44: 'Another cause [of idolatry] is not having [...] burned their *Munaos* of the plains, which are the *Malquis* of the Sierra [mountains], not having destroyed their *Machays*, which are the tombs of their grandparents, and progenitors, and to where they take the corpses stolen from the churches'.

⁶¹ See Frank Salomon, "The Beautiful Grandparents": Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Ritual as Seen Through Colonial Records', in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 12th and 13th October 1991*, ed by Tom D. Dillehay (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), pp. 315-47, p. 325.

⁶² A particularly famous example can be seen today in the Church of Andahuaylillas near Cuzco, Peru. The Italian Jesuit Bernardo Bitti, painted churches throughout the province after his arrival in 1575. The Jesuits also used paintings like these in miniature as pedagogical tools to better illustrate the point they were trying to make.

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(especially Jesuits) throughout the Americas that have found their way into letters and chronicles of the period.⁶³

As a comparative example, an earlier letter - this time from the Province of Mexico - was sent to Rome in 1597, in which the narrator described a mission to an unnamed town seven leagues from Mexico City that was populated by Otomí and Mexica Indians.⁶⁴ There the missionary encountered an individual who was so sick that all present thought he had died already. The Jesuit continued to hear the confessions of other sick people until, two hours later, the apparently dead man came to shouting for a priest. The Jesuit hurried to hear his confession and found him in a sweat and considerable shock. The man confessed that while he was in his trance he had come out of his body and been taken down a wide path or trail down which many people were travelling. A short while down this path he came to a rise followed by a sudden drop, over which many people were falling into a cave of horrific fire, such that it seemed to him like a lime-oven.⁶⁵ From the cave he heard loud cries together with the noise of chains and other voices over the din that threatened the captives with the imminent payment of their 'dishonesties, deceits and abuses that they had committed on the poor'. This indigenous soul - for arguably that is what he had

⁶³ Indeed, in the words of Alfred Andrea, this type of dream vision is 'particularly consonant with Ignatian spirituality' given Loyola's own visionary experiences (personal communication). R. Po-Chia Hsia compares Matteo Ricci's visionary dream with that of Loyola's and makes the interesting point that 'Ricci was wise and humble enough to place a state of wakefulness between the object of his *imitatio ignesiana*' (Hsia, 'Dreams and Conversions', 227). In other words, Ignatius of Loyola's vision was divine as, crucially, the saintly founding father of the Society of Jesus was awake at the time of his vision. Ricci's dream, meanwhile, might, on the one hand, have been providential but, on the other, it might just have been a dream. He makes no proud claims to sainthood but the narrative suggests the possibility that what took place in China and the dream that caused him to persevere were a part of God's plan.

⁶⁴ ARSI, *Provincia Mexicana* (hereafter *Mex*): *Litt. Ann. Tomus XIV* (hereafter *XIV*) (1574-1614), '1596' (fols 143-61), fol. 147r.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

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become by this stage - trembled with fear until 'a person of good semblance' took his arm and led him away along a narrow path that went behind the hill until he reached a flowery meadow containing a great door of light. The 'poor Indian' happily moved to go through the door but his companion and guide prevented him saying that it was not yet time because he had to return to confess.⁶⁶

Perhaps more than in Bartolomé's dream-vision, we can look beneath the layers of traditional medieval Catholic imagery - such as the wide road to hell's mouth and the narrow winding uphill climb to heaven's gate and, indeed, the angelic guide who led him from the hell-mouth to heaven's gate before sending him back to the world - in order to see vestiges of the indigenous Mexican cosmovision.⁶⁷ The flowery meadow containing the door of light, for example, so at home among traditional Christian imagery that portrays the gateway to the Garden of Eden or paradise, also reflects Nahua beliefs about 'various indigenous afterworlds and places of origin' depicted by evocations of 'lush tropical paradises' and gardens that were 'shimmering places filed with divine fire'.⁶⁸ In the early-Sixteenth Century, Christian notions of edenic paradise were deliberately associated with these beliefs by friars keen to utilise what they perceived as parallel religious beliefs into which they could translate and better explain Christian concepts. According to Louise Burkhart, however, what they failed to appreciate was that:

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Similar eschatological dream-visions in a Chinese context, also documented by Jesuits, have been analysed in Po-Chia Hsia's essay, 'Dreams and Conversions', 233-9.

⁶⁷ The guide in fact acts very much like the Virgil of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, who (after leading the poet through hell) led him up through purgatory before disappearing at the gates of Paradise. See especially, *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* the first two volumes of the three-volume translation by John D. Sinclair, *The Divine Comedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961) passim.

⁶⁸ Louise Burkhart, 'Flowery Heaven: The Aesthetic of Paradise in Nahuatl Devotional Literature', *Res*, 21 (1992) (89-109), 89.

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'this garden imagery, this aesthetic of paradise, was not simply a mode of describing a place where one would want one's soul to spend eternity. The sacred garden was also a transformational aspect of the here and now, a sacred aspect of reality that one called into being by manipulating this garden imagery in ritual contexts'.⁶⁹

The trajectory of convergence in ideas and concepts about heaven and paradisiacal gardens over time is unmistakable, however, and it is interesting to speculate how far along this trajectory the 'poor Indian' had travelled.⁷⁰ Had the dream-vision transformed the sick man's reality from a moribund world into a flowery paradise in the traditional Nahua sense? Perhaps, as we can never know for sure exactly how he recounted the vision to the Jesuit confessor and to what extent the priest re-interpreted it in his own mind and in the retelling. The dream is so heavy with Catholic imagery, however, that it would be reasonable to assume that the urgent preaching of the missionaries to the sick had been interiorised at least to some extent. This is true especially if we place the dream within an analytical context similar to that used by Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán mentioned above: the day's discourses and honest desires can resurface in dreams, through which divine providence can be seen to work. It is worth noting for example that the indigenous soul apparently wished to go through the door of light - a Christian desire - rather than remain in the flowery garden.

Conclusion: Jesuit-Indigenous Dream-visions and Divine Providence

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ It is this trajectory that Burkhart traces in her essay: 'By equating Christianity's paradisiacal tradition with their own flowery world, they [the Nahua] retained their sacred aesthetic but ended up applying it to a very different sort of garden [...] The garden becomes less a transformational aspect of the natural world, or of Nahua society collectively, and more a place of reward tied to an at least nominal participation in Christian morality' (*Ibid.*, 106).

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That early modern Hispanic American dream-visions manifested a mixture of interiorisation of Christian discourse, desire and divine providence can be demonstrated further by comparison of apparently divine commissions given to both the sick Indian's and Bartolomé Martín. The indigenous soul from the Mexican town was not only sent back because he needed to confess; he was also given a number of commissions by his mysterious guide. The first was to advise a 'certain old *hechicera*, who was causing much harm in the town, that she would very soon die and would pay for her wickedness in that place of torment'.⁷¹ The second commission was to an indigenous noble who 'lived a very distracted life and dressed as a woman when he became drunk'. The soul-messenger was instructed to tell him that 'if he did not change his ways he would end up in the same place'.⁷² Both commissions, according to the Jesuit narrator, were carried out faithfully and to apparently successful ends. The old indigenous religious practitioner initially refused to confess for a further three days 'under great risk of dying' but finally her horror of the place of torture envisioned by the sick Indian drove her to calling for the Jesuit priest and, according to the letter, she managed to finish her confession before she expired. The priest was apparently delighted at the fact that 'this soul in such need had been healed'. The transvestite *cacique* meanwhile underwent a general confession and began to 'put his life in order'.⁷³ The sick Indian, meanwhile, his divine messages delivered, lived for a further three days, then died 'like a saint'.⁷⁴

⁷¹ ARSI, *Mex: Litt. Ann. XIV*, '1596', fol. 147r. *Hechicera* was used in a pejorative sense and literally translates as 'sorceress'. The term was used to refer to those practitioners of indigenous religious and medicinal rites.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.* The general confession (*confesión general*) was a particularly Jesuit practice that encouraged the penitent to retrace their lives and remember, repent of (and confess) all their previous

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Bartolomé Martín was also given a 'divine commission'. After a ceremony in which the boy was ordered to kiss the feet and hands of Christ and the other saints, Jesus spoke to Bartolomé and ordered him to return to his community to tell them all to fear God and keep his law; that there was no more than one true God and that idols were demons, and *hechicerías* were tricks of the devil.⁷⁵ He was also instructed to take with him four named companions of his own age from his community and, after getting permission from their parents, they were to journey to Lima to the house of the Jesuits, where they would 'learn the mysteries of the faith'.⁷⁶

The commission itself can similarly be understood in a number of ways. The first part simultaneously acted as a divine affirmation of the catechesis that the boy and his community had received from the Jesuits, and as also an order to reinforce that teaching: indigenous gods were devils and traditional healing methods (that involved invocation) were idolatrous and diabolical tricks—in the context of the time and place this was a divine censure received in a dream by an indigenous boy and not merely words spoken by a missionary. It was a vision of power that was understood to come from within the community and not from outside. Significantly, the second part of the divine order extended the boy's mission from one that focussed internally on his own community (to give up their idolatrous practices) to what amounted to a vocational pilgrimage to the Jesuit College in Lima.

transgressions. For many people this could prove to be a much more thorough spiritual exercise than remembering, repenting of and confessing merely those transgressions committed since the last time.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Hechicerías* is from the same root as *hechicera* so literally translates as 'sorcery' but in fact refers to indigenous healing practices and religious rituals.

⁷⁶ ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann. IV*, '1632-34', fol. 33v.

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Of course, just as with the sick Mexican Indian, the subtext of Bartolomé's vision suggests a tremendous Jesuit influence on his imagination. As we have seen, the imagery of the vision incorporated much classical Christian rhetoric and visual allegory. At the same time, Christ's doctrinal commandments to the boy repeated the central pedagogical themes of the viceroyalty's anti-idolatry campaigns, championed, at first, by the Jesuits.⁷⁷ What should also be noted is that the boy was the son of indigenous nobles, his companions were named in the vision, and he was directed to the Jesuit College in Lima, conveniently the location of a Jesuit school for the sons of Indian nobles, founded in 1619. Crucially, the boy's vision, which was so rich in Christian rhetorical symbols, gave divine sanction and even impetus to a Jesuit and vice-regal pedagogical policy and successfully overrode any potential resistance on the part of Bartolomé's parents or the community's elders.

As with all similar cases we are faced with the potential difficulty of separating what might well have been considered a divinely inspired vision in the boy's mind and in the minds of those who subsequently examined him, from a vision merely inspired by sermons, catechesis and paintings and, possibly, also even a conscientious anxiety about the obligation to leave behind his community and travel to Lima for education in the Jesuit school. Yet for the missionaries and congregations of the time, such separation was not in fact necessary. The Jesuits as a group certainly did not hold back in their conviction that they were doing God's work and saving souls, and employed as many rhetorical devices as they could in order to impress their message

⁷⁷ For the transformation of fervent Jesuit support for and collaboration with these campaigns into a policy of pragmatic distancing from them see in particular Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

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on the minds of their spiritual charges.⁷⁸ It did not matter, then, whether the causes of the dream were natural or supernatural if the dream strengthened the Christian faith - whether natural or supernatural, it was still part of God's plan, however small.

By way of a conclusion then, far from being censurable as vain and fleeting products of a fickle imagination, after interpretation within the context of the Catholic symbolic worldview, dreams like these were frequently taken as evidence of divine providence moving within indigenous worlds and bringing the work of missionaries such as the Jesuits to fruition. At the same time, rather than being understood as the result of indigenous consciences having been traumatised by competing religious obligations these dreams (as recounted) were taken as divine affirmation of Catholic truth. As we have seen, this can be argued with all of the dreams mentioned above. Even where the outcome of dreams was more ambiguous, such as that of Don Cristóbal Choque Casa in Huarochirí, particular dreams might be deliberately retold to strengthen the position of Christianity vis-à-vis indigenous cosmovisions if they were interpreted in ways that could be perceived to further the Christian mission. As part of his justification for approving and lauding Bartolomé Martín's dream, for example, the Jesuit narrator's final point was that the dream 'will neither contravene the faith nor good customs'.⁷⁹

If we return then to the original paradigm that dream interpretation was considered subversive, a qualifying statement might be useful. Dreams, even within stratified

⁷⁸ For example the Jesuit practice of disinterring skulls and engaging in ventriloquistic dialogue with the skull to astounded audiences has been documented as having occurred both in the Neapolitan Mezzogiorno, and the Andes. For the Mezzogiorno, see Jennifer Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited By Devils: The Jesuit's Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot and Rome: Ashgate/IHSA, 2004), p. 213. For the Andes see Redden, *Diabolism in Colonial Peru*, p. 113.

⁷⁹ ARSI, *Peru: Litt. Ann. IV*, '1632-4', fol. 33v.

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societies such as that of early modern Hispanic America, could legitimately be interpreted and spoken about if their symbols and imagery validated and *was indeed validated by* the overarching cultural worldview. Or, from the perspective of the Jesuit missionaries and many other Hispano-American Catholics, it was entirely justifiable to interpret and speak about dreams if they affirmed the 'universal truth'. These were the dreams that helped demonstrate that divine providence was moving in the world. These were the dreams that enabled questions such as that asked by the Mapuche boy Ignacio after he had recounted his dream to the Spanish youth Francisco:

'This is my dream, Captain. What do you think? Is it not a good one?'⁸⁰

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⁸⁰ Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio Feliz*, vol. I, p. 466.