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Defining the Sacred and the Worldly: *Beatas* and *Recogidas* in Late-Seventeenth-Century Lima¹

NANCY E. van DEUSEN

On 16 March 1670, Viceroy Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos (viceroy of Peru, 1667-1672), ordered that broadsheets be distributed in every church in Lima requesting all devout Catholics of the kingdom to join him and his wife with lighted candles in a solemn procession to be held three days later. His proclamation read as follows:

In order that all know of this work and the Casa de Amparadas, it is stated that it is [to be] dedicated to young women, who by the mercy of God have realized the dangers of their fragility and, wanting to resist all temptations, place themselves under the protection of the most Pure Queen of Angels, Mother of God and Special Mother of this House.²

The entourage was to proceed from the viceregal palace chapel to its final destination—the dedication ceremony at the new Casa de las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción.³

¹ The author wishes to thank Edwin H. van Deusen and Geoffrey Parker for their very insightful comments and editorial suggestions. Partial funding for this article was provided by a 1995 National Endowment for the Humanities Grant at the John Carter Brown Library and a 1996 Faculty Development Grant from the Bureau for Faculty Research, Western Washington University.

² José Buendía, *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del Venerable Padre Francisco del Castillo* (Madrid: Antonio Román, 1693), 215. All translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated; the original Spanish quotations were not available at press time.

³ The Casa de las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción was also referred to as the "Casa de las Amparadas," the "Casa de Recogidas," the "Beaterio de las Amparadas," and the "Recogimiento de las Amparadas."

quickly gained conventual status.¹⁹ Individual *beatas* were more common: some maintained the cult of a saint or provided herbal remedies for needy patients; others chose to live in a communal setting without official church recognition.²⁰ *Beaterios* became popular in Lima only during the later seventeenth century when colonial officials and wealthy *limeños* promoted the foundation of ten lay pious houses between 1669 and 1704, a unique phenomenon in Spanish America.

By contrast, institutions called *recogimientos* in Spain and throughout Latin America served many purposes, housing women and girls from different social backgrounds: orphans, creole schoolgirls, prostitutes, and destitute and repentant women.²¹ They also functioned as depositories for women seeking asylum or an annulment or divorce

crien y recojan las niñas donzellas, 1530," in *Cedulario indiano recopilado por Diego de Encinas...*, facsimile of 1596 edition (Madrid: Editorial Cultura Hispánica, 1945-46), 1:212. Surprisingly little has been written about *beaterios* in Spanish America: for Quito, see María Isabel Viforcós Marianas, "El beaterio quiteño de Nuestra Señora de la Merced y sus fallidos intentos de transformación en convento," in *I Congreso Internacional del Monacato Femenino en España, Portugal y América* (León: Universidad de León, 1993), 357-65; for the Philippines, see María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "El convento de Santa Clara y los beaterios de Manila en el siglo XVIII," in *El monacato femenino en el imperio español: monasterios, beaterios, recogimientos y colegios*, ed. Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico: Centro de Estudios de Historia de México, 1995), 225-37. In Buenos Aires during the early Bourbon period women could only profess informally as *beatas*. See Alicia Fraschina, "Los conventos de monjas en Buenos Aires," *Todo es Historia* 340 (1995):9-25.

¹⁹ The time it took for a *beaterio* to become a convent varied tremendously; some never achieved conventual status. In Lima, the Monasterio de la Encarnación (f. 1561) and the Monasterio de la Concepción (f. 1573) began as *beaterios*.

²⁰ For examples of individual *beatas*, see "Fray Francisco García, comendador de la Merced de los Reyes da licencia a Mariana Núñez de Jesús, beata de la orden, para que pueda hacer su codicilio," in *Los mercedarios ilustres en el Perú*, ed. Victor M. Barriga (Arequipa, Peru: Editorial La Colmena, 1943), 3:369; and Petition of María de Jesús, *beata* del Orden de San Agustín, Lima, 1643, AAL, Monasterio del Prado, leg. 1.

²¹ For a study of *recogimientos* in Madrid, see María Dolores Pérez Baltasar, *Mujeres marginadas: las casas de recogidas en Madrid* (Madrid: [n.p.], 1984). For Mexico, see Josefina Muriel de la Torre, *Los recogimientos de mujeres: respuesta a una problemática social novohispana* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974). For Quito, see María Isabel Viforcós Marianas, "Los recogimientos, de centros de integración social a cárceles privadas: Santa María de Quito," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 50:2 (1993):59-92. For Lima, see van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls."

(a permanent separation, without either party being able to remarry), as temporary residences while husbands travelled long distances, as prisons or correctional institutions, as schools, and as nascent religious houses. The term *recogida* could refer to a lay woman (also known as a *seglar*) in a convent; to a *divorciada* or woman seeking a divorce who was required by law to be held in *depósito* throughout the proceedings; or to a lay pious woman seeking seclusion to achieve spiritual communion with God. *Recogidas* were likened to *beatas* because they chose to leave the world (*el siglo*), remain enclosed in a *beaterio* or *recogimiento*, or live a life of penance for some moral or sexual transgression.²² They differed from *beatas* because they were not required to take vows of chastity, penance, and enclosure.²³

Like some other *beaterios* in Lima, the Casa de las Amparadas served simultaneously as a *beaterio* and a *recogimiento* and primarily performed four distinct roles: it ministered to women seeking asylum from marital strife, operated as a temporary home for economically disadvantaged women, served as an educational center, and functioned as a space for pious expression. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the *recogidas*, and married couples constantly struggled to determine the precise role of the institution in their lives and within the socio-cultural context of Lima, a process which sometimes resulted in dissension. The confusion may be explained in part by the lack of clarity and precision in determining the distinguishing features of the "sacred" (*lo sagrado*) and the "worldly" (*lo mundano*) which permeated discussions of sanctity, sin, and purity among colonial authorities and commoners in the late-seventeenth century. For instance, colonial officials and Lima's inhabitants often invoked the popular concept that four imaginary concentric circles comprised the world.²⁴ The outermost circle contained corrupt individuals; the next encompassed those who lived in the world without following a life of perfection; the third ring encircled those who left the world to inhabit religious institutions; and finally, observant convents (*conventos recoletos*), which advocated

²² The colonial significance of "el siglo" is the world, or secular society, as distinguished from the sacred realm.

²³ Count of Lemos to king, Lima, 23 March 1670, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

²⁴ The notion of the organization of the world into concentric circles became more popular as a result of Dante's *Inferno*, but its origin is Ptolomeic.

strict enclosure and disciplinary practices, occupied the smallest circumference because they embodied perfection.²⁵

Determining differences in sacred and worldly cultural practices were also exemplified in the efforts of colonial authorities to mediate power and knowledge in the construction of particular engendered spaces such as *beaterios* and *recogimientos*.²⁶ Because of their functional heterogeneity, *beaterios*, *recogimientos*, *beatas*, and *recogidas* were and remain difficult to categorize and fit within the concentric circles of either the sacred or the worldly. Yet the boundaries of those ideals were permeable and continuously negotiated. Individual *beatas* and *recogidas* living in *beaterios* defined themselves and were described by ecclesiastical and secular authorities and their husbands in diverse ways as they all attempted to establish the boundaries between the sacred and the worldly.²⁷ In this sense, holy and secular women attempted to actualize their potential as free subject agents in their social interactions which, according to feminist philosopher Jana Sawicki, contained "possibilities for liberation as well as domination."²⁸

²⁵ Francisco López, *Sermón panegyrico de la fundación del convento de Santa Ana de Carmelitas Descalças de la Ciudad de Lima* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1687), 27v-28r.

²⁶ Michel Foucault emphasizes the critical importance of understanding the constitution of knowledges and discourses within a historical framework. He calls this practice "genealogy." Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 59. He makes a similar point in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," *The Foucault Reader*, 80-84, and claims that power "needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body." *The Foucault Reader*, 61, 73.

²⁷ Discourses are expressed through language and social practices and reproduce and sustain hegemonic or dominant forms of power. Foucault's analytic conception of power and knowledge can be used to explore the dynamics of different discourses at play in institutional practices (such as establishing *beaterios* and *recogimientos*), conjugal relations, and women's relationships to themselves and their bodies.

²⁸ Jana Sawicki, *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), 9-10. Feminist philosopher Judith Butler also expresses a similar idea in her notion of "subjectification as a practice." Women express their engendered position relative to established patriarchal "norms" by simultaneously conforming to and subverting them. To her, subjects occupy fixed positions (in this case engendered), but their continued subjection depends upon action, which may consist of acts of complicity and resistance. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 25.

The concept of *recogimiento* offers a useful tool with which to analyze the complexities involved in the construction of the sacred and the worldly and how women experienced possibilities of liberation and domination in institutions. The definitions of the term encompassed the sacred (communion with God) and the worldly (a virtue) in an enclosed setting.²⁹ While living in the Casa de las Amparadas or other *beaterios*, secular and holy women defined what they meant by the concept of *recogimiento*, which by the late-seventeenth century was considered a virtue, like honor, signified a practice of institutional enclosure, and operated as a theological precept signifying union with God. As a personal virtue, *recogimiento* implied modest, controlled behavior, and a retiring or quiescent nature, which city-dwelling women of all racial and economic backgrounds in seventeenth-century Lima came to share.³⁰ Akin to notions of honor or *vergüenza* (modesty or shame), *recogimiento* implied control over female sexuality and conduct by means of seclusion or enclosure within the home or an institution. Holy women viewed *recogimiento* as a practice of enclosure, within an institution or the "self," to achieve spiritual union with God. The context within which holy and secular women experienced *recogimiento* is an important consideration, and the extreme manifestations of piety, wealth, decadence, and poverty present in late-seventeenth-century Lima provided a particularly fertile environment for them to express their visions of the sacred and the worldly.

In the City of the Kings, a variety of formalized expressions of popular piety, including processions, confraternities, religious foundations, and the veneration of different cults and saints grew dramatically

²⁹ On the etymology of the concept and practice of *recogimiento*, see van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," Chapter 1.

³⁰ Verena Martínez-Alier (now Stolke), was one of the first Latin American scholars to discuss perceptions of honor, sexual identity, and race among women of color. See Verena Martínez-Alier, "Elopement and Seduction in Nineteenth-Century Cuba," *Past and Present* 55 (1979):109-10, 112-13, 117. It was common for a woman to describe herself as "una mujer recogida" in Lima's marital litigation records. On *recogimiento* as a value shared by women of all socioeconomic backgrounds in colonial Lima, see van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," Chapters 4 and 6; and Nancy E. van Deusen, "Determining the Limits of Virtue: The Discourse of *Recogimiento* among Women in Seventeenth-Century Lima," *Journal of Family History* 22:4 (1997):373-89.

by the mid-seventeenth century.³¹ The flourishing trend of eulogizing popular Peruvian religious figures coincided with the fact that, after 1650, *limeños* witnessed various attempts to beatify or give formal recognition to some of the extremely pious individuals who had dominated the religious scene at the beginning of the century.³² The canonization of Rosa de Santa María in 1671 was a remarkable event and reflected not only the viceregal capital's particular brand of Catholicism but also the veneration of local saints, each of which demonstrated the increasing cultural and economic independence of the city from Spain. Other formalized representations of spirituality involved externalized disciplinary practices such as fasting, mortification of the flesh, and, for women, a life of enclosure with a bare minimum of contact with the world.

More than ever before in Lima's history, the foundation of institutions after 1669 served to demarcate the sacred and the worldly in a spatial setting. By 1700, nearly twenty convents, schools, *recogimientos*, and hospitals housed 21 percent of Lima's female population; nuns alone numbered 3,900 women.³³ In addition, ten *beaterios* were founded, including the Beaterio de Santa Rosa de Santa María (1669), which became the Monasterio de las Rosas (1708); the Casa de las Amparadas de la Concepción (1670); the Beaterio de las Mercedarias (1671); the Beaterio de las Nazarenas (1672); the Beaterio de las Nerias (1674), which became the Monasterio de Trinitarias Descalças (1682); the Beaterio de Santa Rosa de Viterbo (1680); the Beaterio de Jesús, María y José (1685), which became the Monasterio de las Capuchinas (1713); the Beaterio de Nuestra Señora del Patrocinio (1688); the Beaterio de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (1691); and

³¹ For two classic sources on popular piety and ritual, see Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1953-1963); and Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María en Hispanoamérica y de sus imágenes más celebrados* (Lima: Imprenta La Providencia, 1931).

³² These were Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538-1606); San Martín de Porras (1579-1639); San Juan Macías (1585-1645); San Francisco Solano (1549-1602); and Nicolás de Ayllón (?-1677).

³³ The census of 1700 shows that out of an approximate total of 18,955 women in Lima, 3,655 lived in convents. See Noble David Cook, ed., *Numeración general de todas las personas de ambos sexos, edades y calidades q[ue] se ha echo en esta ciudad de Lima, año de 1700* (Lima: Oficina de Asuntos Culturales de la Corporación Financiero de Desarrollo, 1985), 357-58.

finally, the Beaterio del Corazón de Jesús, founded in 1704 (see Table 1).

Several viceroys actively promoted the foundation of institutions and other manifestations of popular pious expression, an indication of the strong alliance of church and state among high-level viceregal officials. The Count of Lemos, considered by some contemporaries to be excessively devout, expressed his piety in daily confession and communion and his humility by frequently sweeping the floor of a church he helped to found. He advocated harsh, punitive measures against anyone who refused to comply with his efforts to "pietize" Lima and demanded that all Lima's inhabitants should fall on bended knee whenever the cathedral bell rang.³⁴ Over five thousand *limeños* allegedly fled the city to avoid his repressive measures.³⁵ Archbishop-Viceroy Liñán de Cisneros (viceroy, 1678-1681), less extreme in his religious dedication, oversaw the canonization of the late-sixteenth-century archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo and promoted greater awareness of Christian morality, including more humane treatment of slaves. In the aftermath of the great earthquake of October 1687, the Count of Monclova, Don Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega (viceroy, 1689-1705), shouldered the responsibility for the reconstruction of many of Lima's heavily damaged sacred sites and supported the foundation of new religious structures.

Piety certainly motivated secular and ecclesiastic authorities to support institutionalized and ritualized representations of the sacred, but it also led them to express concern over what they perceived to be a lack of virtue or *recogimiento* among the worldly populace. To them, the City of the Kings, despite a façade of splendor in dress, art, architecture, and piety, was on the verge of social and moral decadence. Many interpreted the various earthquakes, epidemics, and poor wheat harvests as God's punishment for Lima's continued degeneracy. Priests recommended more frequent communion, prayer, and self-reflection as remedies against the "Babylon of their guilt" and the ram-

³⁴ Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, 3:227-28. See also Buendía, *Vida admirable*, 237-42.

³⁵ Jorge Basadre, *El Conde de Lemos y su tiempo* (Lima: Editorial Huascarán, 1948), 293-94.

Table 1
 Population Breakdown for Beaterios in
 Lima According to the 1700 Census*

Beaterios	Beatas	Recogidas	Servants	Slaves	Seglares	TOTAL
Mercedarias	20	-	18	-	7	45
Jesús, María y José	26	-	8	4	-	38
Santa Rosa	10	-	-	16	5	31
Nazarenas	13	-	4	-	-	17
Rosa de Viterbo	16	-	5	-	-	21
Copacabana	5	-	3	-	8	16
Patrocinio	10	-	3	-	-	13
Las Amparadas	-	32	-	2	-	34

*The population of *seglares* and *recogidas* was probably seriously underrepresented, particularly in the Casa de las Amparadas. *Seglares* could refer to women, girls, and schoolgirls.

Source: Noble David Cook, ed., *Numeración general de todas las personas de ambos sexos, edades y calidades [que] se ha echo en esta ciudad de Lima, año de 1700* (Lima: Oficina de Asuntos Culturales de la Corporación Financiero de Desarrollo, 1985), 358.

pant immorality that pervaded the opulent viceregal capital.³⁶

In their attacks, colonial authorities targeted women in gender-specific ways. Juxtaposing the sacred with the worldly, Archbishop-Viceroy Liñán y Cisneros inveighed against *limeñas'* obsession with ornamented dress by contrasting them with devout, morally pure church-going women whose hearts had not been corrupted "by the idol of the gusseted skirt":

...many of the *pardas*, whom they vulgarly call *mulatas*, live modestly (*recogida*) and honestly, showing, in the exterior of their dress, the interior state of *recogimiento* and virtue. But the common enemy does not sleep: it seems that he has induced others...and helps to carry souls to hell through the misuse of decorated skirts, so short that one dishonestly discovers more than the foot.³⁷

Limeñas may have been symbols of sexual transgression and immorality in certain circles, but other domestic and foreign observers extolled their charms as a metaphor for the city's beauty and opulence.³⁸ Still others took a more balanced view. María Jacinta Montoya, founder of the Beaterio de Jesús, María y José, claimed that Lima was the wealthiest and most populous city in the kingdom, "the depository of riches, treasury goods, and the storehouse of abundance." Yet she argued that Lima's wealthy façade could scarcely hide the

³⁶ Joan Xaimes de Ribera, *Hazer de si mismo espejo* (Lima: Imprenta de Manuel de los Olivos, 1689), 8r. On the decadent state of Lima, see also Bernardo de Mispilivar, *Sagrado arbitrio, commutacion de comedias de corpus...* (Lima: Luis de Lyra, 1679); Gerónimo de Elso, "Sermon vespertino con ocasión de un gran terremoto que padeció la ciudad de Lima, descubierto el Santísimo Sacramento," in Gerónimo de Elso, *Sermones varios* (Madrid: Joseph Rodríguez de Escobar, 1731), 114-32; and Nicolás Antonio Díaz de San Miguel y Solier, *La gran fee del centurión español: sermón moral, que en la capilla del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición...* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1695). Copies of these printed sermons are located at the JCBL.

³⁷ Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, "Carta pastoral," 20 March 1699, in Melchor Liñán y Cisneros, *Cartas pastorales* (Lima: [n.p.], 1703). *Pardas* and *mulatas* were terms for women of mixed African and Spanish ancestry.

³⁸ For an example, see Francisco de Echave y Assu, *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol* (Antwerp, Belgium: J.B. Verdussen, 1688), 235-36.

growing social and economic rifts between aristocracy and commoners.³⁹

By the late-seventeenth century, an increasing gap in living standards between rich and poor corresponded to an increase in social welfare, preaching in the various plazas, or visits to the infirm in hospitals. A gender imbalance exacerbated tensions between couples (see Table 2). As interethnic marriages and informal, unsanctioned unions increased, the number of divorce and annulment cases, as well as criminal and civil lawsuits, also proliferated (see Table 3).⁴⁰ A rise in illegitimacy, mounting economic pressures, and growing competition for jobs contrasted starkly with the finery in dress and architectural splendor of the city.⁴¹ María Jacinta Montoya noted the growing *género* (class) of poor and economically marginalized people, predominantly female, whom she passed on the streets or saw on her frequent rounds in the hospitals.⁴² Many of these women were older, in their thirties and forties, with few possibilities of marrying well or gaining family support. The city pullulated with women—many of whom were categorized as wayward (*distraídas*) and worldly—who attempted to eke out a living in any way possible. Some became the targets of priests and *beatas* eager to divert them from the path of hell, while others

³⁹ Expediente que trata de la fundación de un convento de monjas en Lima, a instancia de la Madre María Jacinta de la Santísima Trinidad como Superiora del Beaterio de Jesús, María y José y como viuda del Siervo de Dios Nicolás de Dios, Lima, 1697, AGI, Lima, leg. 336. Accents have been added to Spanish titles of archival documents but the original orthography has been maintained.

⁴⁰ Divorce petitions more than tripled and annulments doubled during the last half of the seventeenth century.

⁴¹ Bernard Lavallé, "Divorcio y nulidad de matrimonio en Lima, 1650-1700: la desavenencia conyugal como indicador social," *Revista Andina* 4:2 (1986):430; and María Emma Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos: la ilegitimidad en Lima, siglo XVII* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 1993), Chapters 1 and 2.

⁴² Expediente que trata de la fundación, Lima, 1697, AGI, Lima, leg. 336. On the growing number of abandoned, free, and freed (previously enslaved) *pardas* who went to the Hospital de San Bartolomé to die, see Nancy E. van Deusen, "The 'Alienated' Body: Slaves and Free *Castas* in the Hospital de San Bartolomé of Lima, 1680 to 1700," unpublished manuscript.

voluntarily sought God's handmaidens in search of aid, advice, and spiritual council.⁴³

Late-seventeenth-century Lima was characterized by two major trends which, on the surface, may seem unrelated: first, an unprecedented growth in popular piety and investment into spiritual culture in a formalized fashion; and second, increasing social tensions caused in part by economic instability, a growing class disparity, and a severe gender imbalance. The two were, however, inextricably related, and it is within this complex social and cultural milieu of social fluidity and rigid patriarchal values that a sudden proliferation of *beaterios* occurred.

Overcrowded conditions in Lima's convents resulted in pressure from religious and secular women to create more *beaterios*.⁴⁴ Throughout the century, convents became more willing to admit non-religious, non-elite women seeking refuge within the world of walls against harsh treatment, conjugal violence, or a lack of economic support.⁴⁵ Changing dynamics of conjugal politics and the gender im-

⁴³ For descriptions of Father Castillo's conversion work, which often concentrated upon poor and lost (*perdida*) women, see Testimony of Inés María de Jesús, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fols. 740r, 741r. For descriptions of young women seeking the advice and consolation of Antonia Lucía Maldonado de Quintánilla (she adopted the surname "del Espíritu Santo"), founder of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, see Josefa de la Providencia, *Relación del origen y fundación del monasterio del Señor San Joaquín de Religiosas Nazarenas Carmelitas Descalzas de esta Ciudad de Lima contenida en algunos apuntes de la vida y virtudes de la Venerable Madre Antonia Lucía del Espíritu Santo* (Lima: Imprenta Real de los Niños Expósitos, 1793), 56-58. Maldonado's spiritual daughter, Josefa de la Providencia, published fragments of Maldonado's autobiography, and wrote this biography and a history of the convent after her death (copy located at the JCBL).

⁴⁴ On the overcrowded conditions and growing number of secular women in Lima's convents, see Nancy E. van Deusen, "Instituciones religiosas y seculares para mujeres en el siglo XVII en Lima," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, vol. 2: *Mujeres, instituciones y el culto a María*, ed. Clara García-Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1994), 65-86.

⁴⁵ More "worldly" women seeking employment or protection gained temporary admission into convents after 1650. See van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," Chapter 6. For two examples where women went to work, see Sebastián Enríquez vs. Francisca Ramírez, Lima, 1689, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 3; and Pedro de Cárdenas vs. María Bruna, Lima, 1701, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4.

Table 2
Composition of the Different Ethnic Groups
According to the 1700 Census*

Race	Men	Percent	Women	Percent
Spanish & Mestizo	4,588	42	6,288	57.9
Indian	1,277	45.8	1,506	54.1
Mulatto	367	21.7	1,323	78.1
Black	169	26	428	74.3

*Pérez Cantó's analysis is based upon a sample of 15,970 inhabitants of the 1700 *Numeración general*.

Source: María Pilar Pérez Cantó, *Lima en el siglo XVIII: estudio sociodemográfico* (Madrid: Editorial Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1985), 54.

Table 3

Divorce and Annulment Petitions, 1651-1700

Petitions	1651-1660	1661-1670	1671-1680	1681-1690	1691-1700
Divorces	111	190	232	233	362
Annulments	61	124	137	165	118

Source: Bernard Lavallé, "Divorcio y nulidad de matrimonio en Lima, 1650-1700: la desavenencia conyugal como indicador social," *Revista Andina* 4:2 (1986):430.

balance in Lima meant that women sought additional spaces within which to spend their lives. Those disenchanted with their marriages sometimes opted to live temporarily in convents to avoid the anguish of a divorce or annulment.⁴⁶ An official visitation to convents by the archbishop in 1669 aimed to reduce the disproportionate number of secular women living in convents as boarders or servants. Many were forced to leave, providing a catalyst to find additional institutions to address the excess female secular population. *Beaterios'* primary purpose, however, remained the housing of lay pious women, and changing demographics in convents only partially explains the impetus.

Wealthy and pious individuals seeking to invest "spiritual capital" in religious houses began to view *beaterios* as an attractive prospect for three reasons.⁴⁷ First, the likelihood of receiving a license to found a convent was negligible; second, the required license for a *beaterio* took less time; and third, the capital investment in the construction of the house and chapel seemed minimal.⁴⁸ In some instances huge investments were made in the hope that the *beaterio* would accumulate enough funds to gain the necessary royal license to become a convent, since the latter carried greater economic and social distinction. Creole politics also played a role because for decades the nouveau riche, and lower nobility invested their capital in spiritual enterprises, in part to bolster family prestige and status.⁴⁹ By investing in *beaterios* or other charitable institutions, prominent businessmen and women could perpetuate and "immortalize" their family names.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Doña María de Lara y Figueroa lived as a "seglar recogida" in the Monasterio de la Trinidad. Petition of Doña María de Lara y Figueroa, Lima, 1676, AAL, Causas de Negros, leg. 18.

⁴⁷ The term "spiritual capital" comes from Fred Bronner, "Church, Crown, and Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Lima," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Wirtschaft, und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 29 (1992):82-83.

⁴⁸ The foundation of a *beaterio* required approval of local ecclesiastical authorities which could be accomplished quickly, while convents needed the approval of local secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the archbishop, the king, and the pope.

⁴⁹ Margarita Suárez, "El poder de los velos: monasterios y finanzas en Lima, siglo XVII," in *Estrategias de desarrollo: intentando cambiar la vida*, ed. Patricia Portocarrero Suárez (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 1993), 165-74. See also van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," Chapter 5.

⁵⁰ A majority of convents in Lima were either promoted or supported financially by women. See Asunción Lavrin, "Female Religious," in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Louisa Hoberman and Susan Socolow (Albuquerque: University of

Women from the *hidalgo* (lower nobility) class, with few financial possibilities, also found status and fulfillment by supporting religious foundations.⁵¹ As various colonial Latin American scholars have concluded, investors evidently felt that the capital outlay required for such enterprises would ultimately generate a suitable "spiritual return."⁵² As long as women followed prescribed guidelines in making investments, it was considered an acceptable venue of spiritual expression. Antonia Lucía Maldonado de Quintanilla (later Antonia Lucía del Espíritu Santo) founded a *beaterio* of Nazarenes in 1672, but she succeeded only by enlisting the support of royal authorities and begging for alms in secret, since patriarchal norms limited the degree to which a married woman could advocate such a cause in public.⁵³

The formalization of several seventeenth-century cults further explains the *beaterio* phenomenon. For instance, the popularity of the cults of El Señor de los Milagros and the Passion of Christ resulted in

New Mexico Press, 1986), 170. Capital for the Beaterio de Nérias (f. 1674) came from Doña Ana de Robles; Doña Ana María Zavaleta founded the Beaterio de las Mercedarias (f. 1671) at her own expense; Doña Luisa de Antonia Coronel supported the Beaterio de Santa Rosa de Santa María (f. 1669); and Doña Francisca Ygnacia Manchipura de Carboxal was one of five founders of the Beaterio de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana (f. 1691).

⁵¹ The founder of the Beaterio de las Nérias, Ana de Robles, contributed her earnings from the *panadería* (bakery) she owned and operated. See María Josefa de la Santísima Trinidad, *Historia de la fundación del Monasterio de Trinitarias Descalzas de Lima*, revised edition based upon the 1744 account written by Isabel de la Presentación (Lima: Editorial San Antonio, 1957), 33.

⁵² Bronner, "Church, Crown, and Commerce," 82-83; Bernard Lavallé, *Recherches sur l'apparition de la conscience créole dans la vice-royauté du Pérou: l'antagonisme hispano-créole dans les ordres religieux, XVIème-XVIIème siècles* (Bordeaux: University of Bordeaux, 1978), 1:241-51; and Brian Hamnett, "Church Wealth in Peru: Estates and Loans in the Archdiocese of Lima in the Seventeenth Century," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Wirtschaft, und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 10 (1973):113-32. To compare with Mexico, see Louisa Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 237, 281-82.

⁵³ Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau, *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*, trans. Amanda Powell (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 297-98. Transcribed and translated portions of Josefa de la Providencia's work appear in *Untold Sisters*. See also Providencia, *Relación del origen y fundación del monasterio*, 3-4.

the foundation of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas.⁵⁴ The devotion to Nuestra Señora de Copacabana grew steadily throughout the seventeenth century: in 1633 a chapel was constructed, a confraternity was founded soon after, and by 1691 enough capital had been collected to build a *beaterio*.⁵⁵ In a third instance, a group of devout *beatas* continued to imitate the extreme piety of Rosa de Santa María after her death in 1617 in an informal, non-institutionalized setting. By the time she was beatified in 1668 and canonized in 1671, her cult had increased substantially. In 1669, the Dominican Order constructed the Beaterio de las Rosas in front of her childhood home and shortly thereafter thirty-three young *beatas* began their formal communal existence.⁵⁶ The strong Dominican influence in the Vatican also motivated the foundation of a fourth *beaterio* in 1680, dedicated to the Italian saint Rosa de Viterbo. The arrival of the Dominican Third Order, the Congregation of San Felipe Neri, prompted the foundation of the Beaterio de Patrocinio, the Beaterio de las Nerias, and the Beaterio del Corazón de Jesús.

If the desire of wealthy individuals to invest in works of Christian charity, the growth of particular religious cults, and the arrival of new orders influenced the foundation of the Lima *beaterios*, major ideological and social differences served to distinguish them. The Beaterio de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana had more of a vested institutional interest in the coastal Indian nobility which pressed for more equal representation in religious orders. Eleven of its thirty-three sisters were the daughters of *kuracas* (Andean leaders); the remainder

⁵⁴ In her *Relación del origen y fundación del monasterio*, Josefa de la Providencia detailed how Antonia Lucía del Espíritu Santo encouraged the *beatas* to imitate the passion and suffering of Christ (pp. 23-26).

⁵⁵ *Razón de la fundación del Beaterio de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana de la ilustre Ciudad de los Reyes*, Lima, n.d., Archivo Franciscano del Perú (hereinafter AFP), no. 30. Her cult blossomed in the seventeenth century; Friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán's history of the cult of Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima, 1621), and the Augustinian Francisco Valverde's poem (1641) are two examples of literary works dedicated to her.

⁵⁶ Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, 5:311. The Conde de Lemos donated 5,500 pesos. See Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El Conde de Lemos: virrey del Perú* (Madrid: Editorial Estades, 1946), 293.

were of Spanish descent.⁵⁷ María Jacinta Montoya, the mestiza mother superior of the Beaterio de Jesús, María y José and wife of the *indio beato* Nicolás de Ayllón, strongly supported Indian women entering religious houses:

if the Indians of this entire Kingdom received the news of such a universally approved act, having admitted them in saintly equality with the other vassals, and [learned] that their daughters could achieve the union and company with Spanish women, such an act would reflect...the royal piety of Your Majesty.⁵⁸

The desire for more equal racial representation in *beaterios* also complemented the desire of several founders of *beaterios* to create new spaces of divine spirituality and *recogimiento*, distinct from the corruption, materialism, and overcrowded conditions (*muchedumbre*) which characterized many of the large convents in Lima.⁵⁹ María Jacinta Montoya purposely chose girls who were not tainted by any previous experience in another religious institution to become *recogidas*

⁵⁷ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Biblioteca peruana* (Lima: Talleres Tipográficos de la Empresa Periodística La Prensa, 1937), 4:157. The Beaterio de Copacabana was one of the first for noble Indian women. In Mexico City the Monasterio de Corpus Christi for noble Indian women was founded in 1724. The Beaterio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario also catered exclusively to Indian women in Guatemala. Lavrin, "Female Religious," in *Cities and Society*, 188.

⁵⁸ In this instance she referred specifically to her Beaterio de Jesús, María y José. See Expediente que trata de la fundación, Lima, 1697, AGI, Lima, leg. 336. Montoya actively promoted indigenous education and admission of indigenous women into convents. See Copia del proseso causado en esta Inquisición de Lima. María Jacinta de la Santísima Trinidad, Lima, 1701, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (hereinafter AHNM), Inquisición, leg. 1649, no. 51, fols. 16v-17r. Her *beaterio* became a convent after nearly forty years and numerous petitions from various parties. See Vargas Ugarte, *Biblioteca peruana*, 5:158-59.

⁵⁹ See Expediente que trata de la fundación, Lima, 1697, AGI, Lima, leg. 336; and Providencia, *Relación del origen y fundación del monasterio*, 24-25, 121. For a more detailed discussion of how the founders in Lima envisioned their *beaterios*, see Nancy E. van Deusen, "Manifestaciones de la religiosidad femenina del siglo XVII: las *beatas* de Lima," in *La etapa de madurez del virreinato peruano*, ed. Teodoro Hampe Martínez (Lima: Instituto Riva-Aguero, forthcoming).

and molded them through ten to fourteen years of enclosure and constant spiritual exercises.⁶⁰

Fear and circumspection also motivated many late-seventeenth-century *beatas* to seek a cloistered, controlled setting in which to express their piety. The example of Peruvian *beatas* condemned by the Inquisition in a 1625 *auto de fé* for their open advocacy of direct mystical experience may have served as a lesson.⁶¹ While few *beatas* were tried in the second half of the seventeenth century, the exceptional trial of the *beata* Angela de Carranza (Angela de Dios), which lasted from 1690 to 1694, was both anomalous and reminiscent of the earlier *beata* movement.⁶² The burning of Carranza's voluminous manuscripts

⁶⁰ Copia del proreso causado en esta Inquisición de Lima. María Jacinta de la Santísima Trinidad, Lima, 1701, AHNM, Inquisición, leg. 1649, no. 51, fols. 15v-16r.

⁶¹ Paulino Castañeda Delgado and Pilar Hernández Aparicio, *La Inquisición de Lima, 1570-1635* (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1989), 1:335. On the famous Lima *beata* Luisa Melgarejo de Soto tried in the 1620s, see Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, "Luisa Melgarejo de Soto y la alegría de ser tu testigo, señor," *Histórica* 19:2 (1995):219-50; Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, "Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima," in *Una partecita del cielo: la vida de Santa Rosa de Lima narrada por don Gonzalo de la Maza a quien ella llamaba padre*, ed. Luis Millones (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1993), 71-110; and Luis Miguel Glave, "Santa Rosa de Lima y sus espinas: la emergencia de mentalidades urbanas de crisis y la sociedad andina, 1600-1630," in García Ayuardo and Ramos, *Manifestaciones religiosas*, 53-70.

⁶² Angela de Carranza was a powerful, charismatic figure from Córdoba or Tucumán who dressed in an Augustinian habit but remained uncloistered. She had gained notoriety in Europe through her expertise in theology and became extremely popular once she arrived in Lima in 1665. The five hundred or more books she wrote were filled with predictions and opinions on both religious and secular matters. After a four-year trial, she was condemned to five years of "recogimiento," or involuntary enclosure, and was henceforth prohibited from speaking, writing, or contacting any individual on matters of religious import. A *beata* advocating one interpretation of "recogimiento"—direct mystical experience of God in her own fashion—was condemned to live by another—enclosure—and denied the ability to express her ideas freely in written or verbal form. José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima* (Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1956), 2:230; Ana Sánchez, "Angela Carranza, alias Angela de Dios: santidad y poder en la sociedad virreinal peruana, siglo XVII," in *Catolicismo y extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI-XVIII: Charcas, Chile, México, Perú*, ed. Gabriela Ramos and Henrike Urbano (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993), 263-92; and María Emma Mannarelli, "Fragmentos para una historia posible: escrita/critica/cuerpo en una beata del siglo XVII," in *Historia, Memoria y*

terrified many holy women who had also written autobiographical accounts, which they feared might contain doctrinal lapses held suspect by the Inquisition.⁶³ Several *beaterios* founded between 1669 and 1704 provided a formal institutional haven for lay pious women whose experimentation with mysticism bordered on heresy. The founders of these *beaterios*, including María Jacinta Montoya and Antonia Lucía del Espíritu Santo, had experimented with questionable spiritual practices but soon realized it would be best to conform to an institutional, conservative expression of the sacred.

More formalized, conformist manifestations of piety also characterized the practices of spiritual *recogimiento* in *beaterios*. In late-seventeenth-century Lima, *beatas* generally interpreted *recogimiento* as a sheltering of the self from outside distractions of *lo mundano* (the worldly) in order to achieve a closer, purer relationship with God. This, they felt, could be achieved through enclosure and disciplinary measures; but their interpretation of *recogimiento* did not subscribe to the intense, internal cleansing or "annihilation" that sixteenth-century female and male mystics had avowed.⁶⁴ In part because of the looming Inquisitional shadow, Lima's *beatas* were more inclined to follow rules than to advocate a practice related to direct mystical experience; they looked to models advanced by Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, Catherine of Siena, and Rosa of Viterbo for guidance. However, the spiritual practices and formal assertions of faith varied dramatically from one *beaterio* to the next.⁶⁵

Beatas and *recogidas* seeking spiritual union with God in the Casa de las Amparadas followed Jesuit interpretations of *recogimiento* (see page 465 below). The house operated simultaneously as a lay pious house for spiritual retreat and as an asylum or type of reformatory for

Ficción, ed. Moises Lemlij and Luis Millones (Lima: Seminario Interdisciplinario de Estudios Andinos, 1996), 266-80.

⁶³ The autobiography of the foundress of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, Antonia Lucía Maldonado Quintanilla, had been under the safekeeping of her confessor, who had also served Angela de Carranza. Fearing a similar fate, she burned it. Arenal and Schlau, *Untold Sisters*, 300-01.

⁶⁴ Melquiades Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos: nueva visión de la mística española, 1500-1700* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, Seminario Suárez, 1975), 707, 729.

⁶⁵ van Deusen, "Manifestaciones de la religiosidad femenina," [18-22].

women "caught in the nets of the World, the Devil and the Flesh."⁶⁶ In addition to its identity as a house of religious retreat, the *recogimiento* included a small school to teach the love of God to nearly eighty orphaned girls. The Casa de las Amparadas also housed temporary *recogidas*, especially *divorciadas*.

The tremendous variety of *recogidas* inhabiting the institution, many with distinct agendas, was complicated further by the fact that secular and ecclesiastical male authorities continuously interpreted the ideal functions of the Casa de las Amparadas in different manners.⁶⁷ Each viceroy directly involved with the *beaterio/recogimiento* expressed an opinion about its purpose. The Count of Lemos believed Las Amparadas could shelter the many "public women" inhabiting the streets of Lima:

many women accustomed to living licentiously have decided to reform and act in a modest and penitent manner, something which was totally lacking before, with this type of person.⁶⁸

Lemos hoped that women "living freely in the world," without families or marital ties, would reconcile themselves to "God's holy Law."⁶⁹ Fervent in his support of the poor, he speculated that some women, because of their advanced age and terrible poverty, resorted to a life of sin for lack of any alternative. Whether for prostitutes or for women who had lost their sense of moral virtue, Lemos imagined this space as serving both correctional and educational purposes.

His successor, Archbishop-Viceroy Liñán de Cisneros, chose to focus upon the sacred nature of the *recogidas* and likened them to

⁶⁶ García y Sanz, *Vida del Venerable*, 111.

⁶⁷ For a brief history of the institution, see "Examen histórico-crítico de la fundación, progresos y actual estado de la Real Casa ó Recogimiento de las Amparadas de la Concepción," *Mercurio Peruano* 4 (1792): 231-66; Luis Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women in the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 163-69; and van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," Chapter 6.

⁶⁸ Count of Lemos to Queen Regent Mariana, Lima, 25 January 1669, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

⁶⁹ Count of Lemos to Queen Regent Mariana (copy), Lima, 13 March 1668, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

Mary Magdalene, describing them as choosing to "leave the World behind" and seek a life of penitence for their moral or sexual transgressions.⁷⁰ They could opt to take formal vows as *beatas*, or travel a less formal path as penitents or *recogidas*:

...the women who enter the house are Spanish and who, disenchanted with their worldly errors, and desiring to better their Life, introduce themselves to the healthy path of penitence from which the term *recogida* derives; poor women in danger of losing their honor also reside there, cloistered and without communicating with anyone.⁷¹

The administrator of Las Amparadas, Francisco del Castillo, based the constitution he wrote upon his interpretation of Jesuit notions of spiritual exercises.⁷² Strongly influenced by his teacher, the Peruvian Jesuit mystic Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, who taught him "oración de unión," or direct communication with God, Castillo was also well versed in the writings of Teresa of Avila.⁷³ These ideas reinforced the more orthodox Jesuit interpretation of *recogimiento* which involved silent prayer while concentrating on a specific event like the Passion of Christ and an attempt to order one's life according to God's will through disciplinary measures. Like other Jesuits, Castillo

⁷⁰ Count of Lemos to king, Lima, 23 March 1670, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

⁷¹ Archbishop Melchor Liñán de Cisneros to Charles II, Lima, 17 October 1680, AGI, Lima, leg. 414. For another copy of this document see Archbishop Melchor Liñán de Cisneros to Charles II, Lima, 17 October 1680, AGI, Lima, leg. 79, carta no. 52.

⁷² Francisco del Castillo, *Reglas que deben observar las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción* (Lima: Real Casa de Niños Expósitos, 1805).

⁷³ Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, called the "Apostle of Paraguay," had studied with the famous mystic Gregorio López, one of the Jesuit interpreters of *recogimiento*. See Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos*, 106, 275, 727; and Francisco del Castillo, *Un místico del siglo XVII: autobiografía del Venerable Padre Francisco del Castillo de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Rubén Vargas Ugarte (Lima: Imprenta Gil, 1960), 100. Montoya wrote the *Silex del divino amor y rapto del ánimo* for Castillo, who frequently used it. On Castillo's thoughts on Saint John of the Cross and Saint Teresa of Avila, see Castillo, *Un místico del siglo XVII*, 42-43.

recognized the importance of *recogimientos* in reforming wayward and lost women.⁷⁴

For some of the women, Castillo served as a model of spirituality and a pillar of paternalistic support. In an attempt to appeal to a wide-ranging female constituency, Castillo instituted the practice of hearing confessions of *morena* slaves and *pardas* on Thursdays, Spanish women on Saturdays, and *indias* on Sunday mornings.⁷⁵ They heard him preach and witnessed his "miracles" in a local sanctuary or poor neighborhood called El Baratillo.⁷⁶ A number of *beatas* and *recogidas* in the Casa de las Amparadas testified that they were saved from their worldly ways because of Castillo's great oratorical powers. Many expressed complete devotion to him and upon his death advocated his beatification. The first abbess of the *recogimiento*, Sor Inés María de Jesús, testified that she once saw the Virgin Mary by his side and that after his death she sensed his presence and took solace from his spiritual counsel. Others claimed he interceded on their behalf when disagreements occurred or when provisions were scarce and the *recogimiento* had little income on which to rely.⁷⁷

Initially, the Casa de las Amparadas had few inhabitants, but between 1677 and 1680 the number of *recogidas* increased from twenty

⁷⁴ Loyola founded and wrote the constitution for the *recogimiento* called the Casa de Santa Marta in 1543: *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1947), 558-68. Castillo's support for the *beaterio* may derive from the fact that two of his nieces were *beatas*. One became prioress of a *beaterio* in 1678 and the other lived in the Beaterio de las Rosas. See Castillo, *Un místico del siglo XVII*, 5 n. 3; and Testimony of Joseph de Buendía, Lima, 1677, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fol. 467r.

⁷⁵ Testimony of Joseph de Buendía, Lima, 1677, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fol. 479v.

⁷⁶ The *beata* Agustina del Christo said that Castillo's sermons in El Baratillo convinced her to "leave the world to serve God." Testimony of Agustina del Christo, *morena* criolla, Lima, 1680, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fols. 847v-50r. She later entered the convent of Nuestra Señora del Carmen. María del Espíritu Santo became a Franciscan tertiary after she heard Castillo preach: "estuvo en su moredad muy metida en las delicias y que tenía una oración que no podía dejar y que desde oyó al dicho siervo de Dios trata de servir a Dios y con su gracia ha procurado continuar hasta ahora." Testimony of María del Espíritu Santo, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fols. 664v-69r.

⁷⁷ Testimony of Sor Inés María de Jesús, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fol. 737r.

to forty.⁷⁸ The Count of Monclova's order in 1690 for "scandalous women" (an expression he never explained) to be housed involuntarily in the *recogimiento* swelled its ranks considerably, so that by 1708, the Casa de las Amparadas had over two hundred women, including, "repentant women," "schoolgirls," and "recluses."⁷⁹

In their black and white habits, the permanently cloistered *recogidas* engaged in constant acts of penitence for their misdirected past and enjoyed the advantages of the monastic state.⁸⁰ In addition to the permanently cloistered *recogidas*, other women entered for eight days, quartered in a room above the other inhabitants, to partake in spiritual exercises according to the prescribed Jesuit formula.⁸¹

Archbishop Liñán de Cisneros reported that "the mortifications, penitence and spiritual exercises were continual."⁸² As occurred in other *beaterios*, the daily regimen of the *recogidas* resembled the conventual pattern. They awakened at 5:30 a.m., participated in one-half hour of communal silent prayer, attended mass, and dedicated themselves to particular devotions. Later they performed communal labor, ate meals, said the rosary, conducted spiritual readings, held additional group silent prayer sessions, and finally retired at 9:30 p.m. On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, they were encouraged to practice mortifications such as eating from the floor, prostrating themselves in the form of a cross, kissing the feet of their companions, and allowing others to step on them, "all humble acts which bring alive and nourish the spirit."⁸³ *Recogidas* who were mothers were only permitted to see their children two or three times a year and were discouraged from forming close friendships "except with Our Lord."⁸⁴

Little is known about the permanent *recogidas* or the young, orphaned schoolgirls who entered the establishment, but information about its so-called temporary "scandalous" inhabitants is available.

⁷⁸ Forty *recogidas* and seventy schoolgirls were reported. Report listing the names of "los hombres conocidos de la ciudad," Lima, 4 January 1681, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

⁷⁹ Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, 2:465; 6:543. The 1700 *Numeración general* probably underestimated the population. See Table 1.

⁸⁰ García y Sanz, *Vida del Venerable*, 112.

⁸¹ Castillo, *Reglas que deben observar*, 17-18.

⁸² Archbishop Melchor Liñán de Cisneros to Charles II, Lima, 17 October 1680, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

⁸³ Castillo, *Reglas que deben observar*, 5.

⁸⁴ Castillo, *Reglas que deben observar*, 32-33.

Ironically, the very women labelled by authorities as having a suspect past described themselves as having been abandoned or fleeing conditions of forced enclosure or imprisonment in their marriages to what they considered to be a space of peace, tranquillity, and freedom in the Casa de las Amparadas.⁸⁵ Doña Francisca Carrión requested a divorce and *depósito* in the Casa de las Amparadas in 1690 because she could no longer tolerate her husband's mistreatment and lack of economic support. Fearing for her physical safety, she specified that her husband not be allowed within a four-block radius of the *recogimiento*.⁸⁶ Of 145 marital litigation suits between 1670 and 1713 which indicate place of deposit, over 40 percent of the *divorciadas* were at one time housed in the Casa de las Amparadas.⁸⁷ The *beaterio/recogimiento* provided asylum and refuge primarily for nonelite *divorciadas* of all races, including Spanish women.⁸⁸ Instances occurred when elite women sent to Las Amparadas would request a transfer to their

⁸⁵ Women also fled to convents, hospitals, and the homes of their friends, many of whom were women. See Bentura Veltrán, maestre sastrero, vs. María Magdalena Ortega, mestiza, Lima, 1702, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4. On cases of women describing marital life as a form of slavery, see Lavallé, "Divorcio y nulidad," 442-43. For an example of an abandoned wife, see Testimony of Doña Juana de Sandoval, Lima, 1701, AAL, Beatificaciones, Nicolás de Ayllón, no legajo number, fol. 17r. Sandoval sought asylum in the Casa de Amparadas when her husband went to Chile.

⁸⁶ She accused her husband of "malostratos" and "falta de alimentación." She requested that the judge "me mande depositar en la parte y lugar que fuere servido...que no me inquiete ni solicite en dicho depósito ni pase por su calle quatro quadras en contorno con las censuras." See Doña Francisca Carrión vs. Joseph del Castillo, Lima, 1690, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 55.

⁸⁷ This analysis is based upon a total of 205 cases from 1670 to 1713 from the AAL sections: Divorcios (127); Nulidades (5); Causas Civiles (1); Litigios Matrimoniales (67); and Causas de Negros (5). Of the 145 cases which indicated the place of first deposit, the following breakdown emerges: Casa de las Amparadas (44); private homes (57); convents (25); hospitals (16); *panaderías* (bakeries) (1); other *beaterios* (2). Women could be deposited in more than one location throughout the divorce proceedings. Of the total of 145 cases, the 40 percent calculation for deposit in the Casa de las Amparadas includes forty-four women for the first deposit and fourteen women for the second deposit.

⁸⁸ Thirty-seven out of forty-four women deposited in the Casa de las Amparadas provided some racial or occupational data, including one elite Spanish woman, nine indias, two mestizas, four slaves, and three free blacks. The occupations of the remaining twenty suggest they were plebeians.

preferred choice of institution—a convent—because the *recogimiento* "was not to their liking."⁸⁹ Because the place of deposit served as a major source of contention among litigious couples, *recogidas* were often transferred to the *recogimiento* from other locations, because it provided rooms, spiritual consultation, camaraderie with other *divorciadas*, and an infrastructure suitable to carry out necessary legal transactions with lawyers.⁹⁰

The austerity, dampness, and poor conditions often horrified women accustomed to greater degrees of comfort.⁹¹ Nevertheless, temporary *recogidas* tried to reproduce their home environment by bringing beds, linen, clothing, and other possessions that they claimed logically belonged "only to women."⁹² Juana Magdalena listed the possessions she wanted her husband to send, including: "una Santa Rosa" [*sic*], one portrait of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, another of Santa Catalina, one of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, and a painting of Saint Joseph.⁹³ Some *recogidas* found it difficult to tolerate the conventual regimen; others found it rewarding.⁹⁴ Others still, like Luisa Sivico, a free *samba* (of mixed African and Indian ancestry) deposited in the Casa de las Amparadas while seeking a divorce, felt

⁸⁹ For examples of deposit in convents, see Doña Ángela de Castañeda vs. Juan de Figueroa, Lima, 1660, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 33; Doña Theresa Matoso vs. Capitán Francisco Ramírez, Lima, 1680, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 49; Doña Luisa de Santileles vs. Capitán Bartolomé Calderón, Lima, 1680, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 49; Ysabel de la Peña vs. Joseph Fernández de Almeida, Lima, 1708, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 63; Doña María de Aguado y Cárdenas vs. Martín Fernández, Lima, 1704, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4; and Doña María de la Madriz, Lima, 1710, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4, who went to the Monasterio de la Trinidad. For an example of a transfer from the Casa de las Amparadas to a convent, see Doña Beatris Buitrón vs. Gregorio de Olibares, Lima, 1669, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 44.

⁹⁰ On the conjugal politics surrounding the decision to transfer from one place of deposit to another, see van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," 194-200 and 213-18; and van Deusen, "Determining the Limits of Virtue," 17-19.

⁹¹ Doña María Ortíz vs. Juan de Peñaranda, Lima, 1691, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 56; and Doña María Romero vs. Francisco de la Sarte, Lima, 1707, Divorcios, leg. 62.

⁹² Doña Juana de Aldaña vs. Ygnacio de Castro, Lima, 1681, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 50.

⁹³ Juana Magdalena, yndia, vs. Francisco Valero, Lima, 1672, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 45.

⁹⁴ María Magdalena vs. Francisco de Escobar, Lima, 1702, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4.

uncomfortable because her infant daughter's screams disrupted the "praying women" and requested a transfer.⁹⁵

Not all men and women saw life in a *beaterio*, whether temporary or permanent, as an honorable recourse. In some men's eyes, *beaterios* had the negative reputation of promoting, not preventing, aberrant sexual conduct.⁹⁶ Subscribing to popular stereotypes about the tendency of *beatas* to be sexually promiscuous and involved in questionable spiritual practices, these men considered *beaterios* to be suspicious.⁹⁷ Other husbands disdained the company their wives kept in an institution that attracted individuals from vastly different backgrounds, nor did the men appreciate the camaraderie which developed among women.⁹⁸ Pedro de Cárdenas was furious not only because the ecclesiastical judge (*provisor eclesiástico*) had ordered his wife's deposit in the Casa de las Amparadas in 1701, but because her mother accompanied her there.⁹⁹ For others, their inability to control their wives' behavior proved frustrating. Don Francisco de Apolaya, a descendant of the most wealthy *kuraka* family in the Mantaro valley, disliked the fact that an "yndia" from Huánuco, who was in "bad company" with a mestiza, worked as his wife's servant in the Casa de las Amparadas. Desperate to end the marriage, his wife, Doña María Alberta Quispi Ninavilca, a *kuraka* from Huarochirí, tried to follow the guidelines required during divorce proceedings, which called for her to remain enclosed in an institution or private home throughout the

⁹⁵ Luisa Sivico, *samba libre*, vs. Clemente de Atienso, *pardo libre*, Lima, 1698, AAL, *Divorcios*, leg. 60.

⁹⁶ Salvador Vargas was disturbed by the fact that his wife had been in Las Amparadas for over four months, "viviendo como una soltera." Doña María Petronila de Liebana, *yndia*, vs. Salvador Vargas, Lima, 1691, AAL, *Divorcios*, leg. 56.

⁹⁷ Some men felt *beaterios* provided an *ambiente* where "free and licentious" behavior could occur, which could range from women hanging from the balconies to "easy" access for women to have dangerous, flirtatious encounters with men.

⁹⁸ Nicolás de Banzas vs. Paula de Liñán, Lima, 1712, AAL, *Litigios Matrimoniales*, leg. 4. He accused her of only wanting to "parlar con las Mozuelas que son de mal vivir las quales entran a todas horas de puertas adentro."

⁹⁹ He said, "mientras dicha su madre comunica a dicha mi mujer se han de aumentar los disturbios que tenemos y porque he tenido noticia que por los techos de dichas sus cassas se hablan y comunican...dicha mi muger esta con todo gusto en dicho recogimiento y yo no la pueda solicitar para que hagamos vida según Dios nos manda." Pedro de Cárdenas vs. María Bruna, *negros libres*, Lima, 1701, AAL, *Litigios Matrimoniales*, leg. 4.

proceedings, and still remain comfortable in the *recogimiento* by having a servant. Embittered, Apolaya sought to control the situation: "My wife doesn't need a servant, she needs to pray," he complained to the judge.¹⁰⁰

Other husbands expected the sacred environment to be helpful in rehabilitating recalcitrant wives. Juan de Monzón wanted his wife to be "incarcerated" and subsequently "educated" by both her slave and her daughter within the "sturdy walls" of the *beaterio*.¹⁰¹ Husbands often conflated the purpose of religious houses, seeing them as both prisons and reformatories where their wives would be reeducated and forced to work like slaves.¹⁰² Not surprisingly, some *divorciadas* forced to enter *beaterios* by their husbands or the judge felt they were being punished for wrongdoings committed by their husbands.¹⁰³

Marital litigation records provide impressions of the *recogidas'* temporary enclosure, but it is more difficult to determine how the permanently cloistered *beatas* felt about their worldly housemates. Fragmentary evidence suggests, however, that angry husbands and tearful wives could prove too much for the spiritual tranquillity of the *beatas*, the governess, and their chaplain.¹⁰⁴ In spite of the strict

¹⁰⁰ Don Francisco de Apolaya vs. Doña María Alberta Quispi Ninavilca [*sic*], Lima, 1684, AAL, Nulidades, leg. 38. Unsuccessful in obtaining an annulment in 1684, she obtained a divorce sentence in 1695. See Doña María Alberta Quispinavilca [*sic*] vs. Gobernador Don Francisco de Apolaya, Lima, 1695, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 58.

¹⁰¹ Juan de Monzón vs. Doña Ysabel de Torres, Lima, 1706, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales, leg. 4.

¹⁰² María Carrión vs. Diego Ortíz, Lima, 1712, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 63.

¹⁰³ "El susodicho a pedido me llevan a las recogidas con un hijo de pecho que tengo deviendo ser el castigado y no premiado por el mucho sufrimiento que tengo al rigor con que me trata, y se reconosca quien es culpado...." Don Juan Francisco Zaella vs. María Magdalena, Lima, 1690, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 55. This is one of the few cases where the husband initiated the divorce. For another complaint, see Doña María Ortíz vs. Juan de Peñaranda, Lima, 1691, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 56.

¹⁰⁴ Agustina de Vargas transferred from the Casa de las Amparadas to a private home because the "recogidas estan gravemente disgustadas y en animo de hacer una grande demoración con dicho mi marido." See Agustina de Vargas vs. Domingo Basarate, Lima, 1687, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 53. For a similar instance, see Doña Joana de la Rosa Nabarrete vs. Don Bartholomé Mosquera, Lima, 1689, AAL, Divorcios, leg. 54. Several *beatas* recounted Father Castillo's efforts to console *recogidas* wishing to leave. See the Testimonies of Isabel María de la Concepción and Gertrudis de los Reyes, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no

regulations prohibiting contact among the different *recogidas*, disagreements arose. For example, Gertrudis de los Reyes was in charge of the room where women entered for eight days to conduct spiritual exercises in the Casa de las Amparadas. One woman, however, came unprepared:

...lacking the instruments of penitence [necessary for the spiritual exercises] I loaned her my scourge and hairshirt but she took them with her when she left...and the Servant of God [Father Castillo] reproached her for having taken the discipline and hairshirt...but she said they were hers and were both covered with blood. Afterwards I was very upset and wished to leave the *recogimiento* but Father Castillo consoled me.¹⁰⁵

In addition, *recogidas* deposited during divorce proceedings often had to force their spouses to pay the required monthly fifteen pesos for bed and board, while the permanent *recogidas* bickered over scarce resources such as bread and oil for the lamps because the income supporting Las Amparadas remained so unpredictable.¹⁰⁶

No viceroy secured any permanent source of support for the Casa de las Amparadas and until 1673, when Father Castillo died, it depended upon weekly alms collections from the Commerce Tribunal members.¹⁰⁷ At that point, the *beatas* and *recogidas* were forced to

legajo number, fols. 741v, 742r, and 747v.

¹⁰⁵ Testimony of Gertrudis de los Reyes, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fol. 747r.

¹⁰⁶ On such disagreements and another instance where two servants, Francisca Dávila and Andrea Portillo, were fighting and Castillo gave them spiritual counsel, see Testimony of Isabel de Caysedo Maldonado, Lima, 1679, AAL, Beatificaciones, Francisco del Castillo, no legajo number, fols. 743r, 752v.

¹⁰⁷ For instance, the Count of Lemos suggested to King Charles II that an additional four thousand pesos from the city tax on meat (*sisa de carne*), which until that time had been applied to the fortification of Callao, could subsidize the salary of the governess and at least twelve *recogidas*. Dispatches, Count of Lemos, Lima, 11 March 1668, AGI, Lima, leg. 68, no. 5, carta 14; Count of Lemos to king, Lima, 13 March 1668, AGI, Lima, leg. 414; and Count of Lemos to king, Lima, 24 August 1671, AGI, Lima, leg. 414. The Jesuit chaplain, Nicolás de la Cruz (d. 1706), replaced Castillo and administered the house for over twenty-five years. Mendiburu, *Diccionario*

sell their handwork in order to provide for basic necessities.¹⁰⁸ Weary of such hardship, the "Abbess and nuns of the Monastery of Recogidas," as they called themselves, appealed directly in a letter to King Charles II, expressing their concern for the permanence of their institution, which for nine years had survived in a state of destitution.¹⁰⁹ In spite of these and other efforts, the house lacked steady financial support until the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ The building was heavily damaged by the 1687 earthquake, after which the *recogidas* resided in Santa Catalina for three years, but no problem was as formidable as the crisis that ensued in 1708, pitting the Recogimiento de las Amparadas against the powerful Beaterio de las Rosas, which venerated the city's most revered saint of the seventeenth century, Santa Rosa de Lima.¹¹¹

In support of "the cult of Santa Rosa, the glorious first fruit of the Divine omnipotence in all America,"¹¹² *limeños*, particularly from the upper ranks of society, were clamoring for the Beaterio de las Rosas to become a convent by 1704. Substantial donations poured in, amounting eventually to more than four hundred thousand pesos, and construction of the enlarged chapel was completed by 1708.¹¹³ The

histórico-biográfico, 2:464-65.

¹⁰⁸ See Count of Castellar to Charles II, Lima, 21 March 1675; Count of Castellar to Charles II, Lima, 31 January 1677; Provincial to Charles II, Lima, 30 March 1677; and Report of six letters sent from different prelates and ecclesiastics about the need to provide four thousand pesos in two-year installments from the one-third share of the vacant Bishopric See which entered the Royal Treasury, Lima, 15 December 1677, all in AGI, Lima, leg. 414. See also Report from Archbishop Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros to Charles II, Lima, 26 August 1678, AGI, Lima, leg. 78, no. 17. Archbishop Juan de Almoguera (d. 1676) also favored more permanent support of Las Amparadas.

¹⁰⁹ Informe de la Abadesa, Monjas y Combeno de las Recogidas, Lima, 6 November 1679, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

¹¹⁰ "Examen histórico-crítico," 246.

¹¹¹ Domingo Angulo, "El terremoto de 1687, información que se hizo por el Cabildo, Justicia y Reximento desta ciudad de Los Reyes," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 12:1 (1939):41.

¹¹² Count of la Monclova to Charles II, Lima, 7 November 1690, AGI, Lima, leg. 535; and Count of la Monclova to Charles II, Lima, 13 August 1695, AGI, Lima, leg. 304.

¹¹³ Tanto de la exclamación que hice sobre la mudada de las monjas de mi madre Santa Rosa, a la Casa de las Recoxidas, Lima, 1709, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (hereinafter BNP), C4169, fol. 2r-2v. On the *beaterio's* income and donations, see

nuns, however, complained vociferously about their new location. In fact, they actually coveted the building occupied by the *recogidas* of the Casa de las Amparadas, in part because the property had at one time belonged to Gonzalo de la Maza, Santa Rosa's adoptive father, in whose home she had died. They felt that the sacrosanct site should be theirs.¹¹⁴

Following a series of covert political maneuvers, Manuel de Oms y Santa Pau, marquis of Castell dos Rius (viceroy, 1707-1710), evicted the Amparadas in 1708 and replaced them with the nuns of Santa Rosa.¹¹⁵ Like the "exodus of the Israelites from Egypt," the secret move caused "universal sentiment and scandal throughout the city for the lack of justice and charity and the violent manner and absence of appreciation for the said *recogidas*."¹¹⁶ The same malevolent voices which had mocked the *beaterio*'s unsuccessful inauguration in 1670 now exhibited tremendous popular sympathy for the *recogidas*' silent exodus and institutional demise. Ultimately, however, the nuns of the new Monasterio de Santa Rosa, backed by a powerful faction, successfully argued that the *recogidas* were besmirching the memory of Lima's most powerful saint by inhabiting her sacred space, a space to which they, as "truly spiritual" and devoted women, were entitled. Because the residents of the Casa de las Amparadas embodied a range of identities that formed part of a continuum from the sacred to the

"Relación de la fundación del real monasterio de Santa Rosa de Santa María de la ciudad de los Reyes, hecha en 2 de febrero de 1708," in Domingo Angulo, *Santa Rosa de Santa María: estudio bibliográfico* (Lima: Sanmartí y Cia., 1917), 61-67.

¹¹⁴ Información dada por parte del Sargento Mayor don Francisco de Oyague sobre calificar haberse hecho el tránsito de dichas religiosas, del sitio en que estaban al de las recogidas amparadas, Lima, 1710, BNP, C3823, fols. 1r, 5r-5v. Gonzalo de la Maza's testimony in 1617 illustrates his devotion to this cult. See Millones, *Una partecita del cielo*, 147-209. One source states that the *beatas* of Santa Rosa had requested the site from the Count of Lemos, but he favored the Casa de las Amparadas. See Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, 5:311.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of the political machinations involved in the eviction, see Tanto de la exclamación, Lima, 1709, BNP, C4169, fol. 2r-2v; Información dada, Lima, 1710, BNP, C3823, fols. 1r, 5r-5v; and van Deusen, "Recogimiento for Women and Girls," 315-20.

¹¹⁶ Da quenta a V[uestra] Mag[esta]d del cumplimiento dado a su real orden para el reestablecimiento del Colegio y Recogimiento de las Amparadas, Lima, 12 January 1720, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

worldly, the institution was vulnerable to attack for not being "sacred" enough.

In spite of the public outcry, the Casa de las Amparadas remained without a permanent location until 1735. Royal decrees issued in 1717 and 1721 ordered that the Casa de las Amparadas, "having been deprived of its location and income from its surrounding properties be provided with another."¹¹⁷ The decrees were ignored and the institution did not find a permanent site again until later in the century. The *beaterio* was considered the poorest in the city but, despite such a major setback as well as ambivalent support from ecclesiastical and secular authorities, the house continued to function as a space of spiritual seclusion, an asylum for women involved in marital litigation, and a school for orphaned girls.¹¹⁸

The foundation of the Casa de las Amparadas, on the fringes of the figurative ring of the sacred world, symbolized an attempt by colonial authorities to incorporate the sacred and the worldly in one institutionalized setting. It survived because a real demand for such an institution came from the city's predominantly female population. The fact that, at its inception, the house provided services to a variety of women and girls illustrates the multifaceted identities that some *beaterios* had acquired by the end of the seventeenth century. On the whole, the increasing number of women entering *beaterios* and other institutions paralleled the social realities facing abandoned, cheated, or

¹¹⁷ Aviso del recibo, Lima, 14 January 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 414; and La Madre y Prepósita de recogidas de la ciudad de Lima informa a Vuestra Magestad del estado que oy tiene aquel recogimiento, Lima, 7 December 1730, AGI, Lima, leg. 414. In this letter of 1730, the abbess, Estefanía de San Joseph, referred to a previous royal decree in 1721 requesting that all property confiscated by the Monasterio de Santa Rosa be returned to the *recogidas*, but this did not occur. See also Viceroy Villa García to Philip V, Lima, 14 January 1733, AGI, Lima, leg. 414, which discusses the fact that the *recogidas* were supposed to receive income from a tax on snow but this did not take effect.

¹¹⁸ The Marquis of Castelfuerte to Philip V, Lima, 15 December 1733, AGI, Lima, leg. 414; and Viceroy Marquis of Villa García to Philip V, Lima, 21 July 1736, AGI, Lima, leg. 414. Unfortunately, information on the school for orphaned girls is scarce.

battered spouses. In the end, prevailing sociodemographic needs meant that these spaces continued to exist.¹¹⁹

It is doubtful that the majority of poor, deserted, or unemployed women "who had lost their sense of virtue" sought the company of *beatas* to reform and act in a modest and penitent manner, as the Count of Lemos predicted.¹²⁰ Many needed shelter in *beaterios* like the Casa de las Amparadas to survive. Perceptions of mobility (outside the home, free) and enclosure (inside an institution) formed part of their mental landscape which included sacred institutions.¹²¹ *Beaterios* had become "habitual" or "routinized" in the minds of many limeñas as a place where the redetermination of the meaning of the *casa* could occur.¹²² Although conditions within the institution might be dire, they were better than situations faced in marriages or on the streets. Others, however, were appalled to learn they faced deposit in a sacred space because their own personal *casa* was in disarray.

While secular women found religious spaces more accommodating, holy women faced new possibilities and obstacles. Many late-seventeenth-century *beatas* distanced themselves from the world by establishing new sacred settings. They invested capital in *beaterios*

¹¹⁹ The demand of "worldly" women to enter all *beaterios* increased throughout the eighteenth century. See documents found in legajos 4 and 5 in Lima, AAL, Litigios Matrimoniales; and Alberto Flores Galindo and Magdalena Chocano Mena, "Las cargas del sacramento," *Revista Andina* 2:2 (1985):403-31. *Beaterios* continued functioning as depositories for *divorciadas* in the nineteenth century. See Christine Hünefeldt, "Los *beaterios* y los conflictos matrimoniales en el siglo XIX limeño," in *La familia en el mundo iberoamericano*, ed. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru and Cecilia Rabell (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, 1994), 227-62.

¹²⁰ Count of Lemos to Queen Regent Mariana, Lima, 25 January 1669, AGI, Lima, leg. 414.

¹²¹ Sociologist Anthony Giddens has argued that most individuals have a notion of "presence" in relation to real and ideal spacio-temporal settings. That trajectory can be broken, and one's life-path altered, in a "critical situation." In the case of limeñas, once the trajectory shifted, due to marital discord, abandonment, death, or poverty, institutions provided women with an option to consider as they reconstituted their spacio-temporal world. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 60-61, 110-19.

¹²² Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, 60-61, 110-19. The author agrees with Giddens that most daily activities consist of "habitual" and "routinized" practices in which most individuals move through definite time/space matrices.

where they could devote their lives to a particular cult, shape young women in a specific theological tradition, and, in the case of some *beatas*, reform women who, like themselves, had been caught in the "nets of the World, the Devil and the Flesh." The efforts to create a semblance of order linked the lives of secular and holy women and mirrored the economic and social uncertainty prevalent at the end of the century.

Individuals in the colonial Catholic world accepted the principle of separation of the sacred and the worldly, and imaginary boundaries formed powerful social constructions implemented in the founding of institutions and the daily struggles for survival. Because the application of such ephemeral constructs varied, some insight is gained through an examination of life in a *beaterio cum recogimiento* such as the Casa de las Amparadas. Such a vantage point also enhances a sensitivity to the complexities of how women experienced the possibilities of liberation and domination within an institutional space. By disentangling engendered *differences*, not only between men and women, but among the various women who experienced both the sacred and the worldly, the "assemblage of faults, fissures and heterogeneous layers" that comprised womens' worlds in the colonial period may be better understood.¹²³ Holy and worldly women, cast together inextricably by the conditions and imperatives of the time, entered into the rings of constructed difference, rendering them dissoluble.

¹²³ Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 82; and Sawicki, *Disciplining Foucault*, 14.