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The anti-biography of Gregorio Lopez

Deconstructing a sixteenth-century *vita*

PhD thesis

to obtain the degree of PhD at the
 University of Groningen
 on the authority of the
 Rector Magnificus Prof. C. Wijmenga
 and in accordance with
 the decision by the College of Deans.

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INTRODUCING GREGORIO LOPEZ, A VENERABLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

This dissertation revolves around the historical and historiographical processes that turned the story of a sixteenth-century man into a religious legend, and consequently embedded this story into the mythical past of the Catholic and Spanish colonisation. This story was lived, written and reproduced during the era of the Spanish empire, one of those European entities creating an identity for that enormous continent they felt discovering, thus shaping an 'America', a new history. That sixteenth-century man was Gregorio Lopez: born somewhere in Spain circa 1542 and passed away in New Spain in 1596. His biographer, Francisco Losa (1536-1624), recorded his story of Christian perfection, using the hagiographical literary techniques of the time to save the memory of the said "servant of God", thus creating the legend of the first anchorite of the New World. Losa's biography of Gregorio Lopez can be a starting point from which to study the virtuosity campaigned by the Christendom during its universalising civilizational mission in "uncivilised" worlds.

Vida que hizo el Siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez was already written in 1598, and it was printed in Mexico in 1613.¹ From that moment on Losa's book became an editorial success, of which I traced more than thirty edited versions and translations, ranging from Mexico to Europe, as well as North America.² It also became the main document used in the canonisation cause that aimed to make Gregorio Lopez, a layman, an official saint of the Catholic Church. By researching the reception history of Losa's book, we will come closer to understanding how it was read, as well as how it fits into Western religious history, and in addition, how its multiple versions simultaneously accompanied the process to canonise Gregorio Lopez as the first hermit of the Americas. Subsequently, we shall trace if and how the discourse about Gregorio Lopez intertwined with the discourse that created Latin-America.

¹ Francisco Losa, *Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España, y principalmente en el pueblo de Santa Fee, dos leguas de la ciudad de México donde fue su dichoso tránsito* (México: Imprenta de Juan Ruiz, 1613). [From here onwards: Losa, *Vida*.]

² See **Tables IA, IB, IC**, and **Table II** in Part I.

‘Anti-biography’: how to deconstruct a (religious) *vita*?

For almost two millennia, saints were powerful symbols for Roman-Catholic communities and authorities, both as intermediaries and as models, a sort of legendary heroes.³ Can we imagine the ‘hero’ coming down from the pedestal of sacralisation, onto the dirt ground of life? The term ‘anti-biography’ was originally crafted by Manuel Rozenal (a Colombian activist and physician), although applied to a contemporary figure and with a more defined socio-political perspective of rejecting the centre of the subject in order to insert it in a communitarian movement. The ‘anti-biography’⁴ of Gregorio Lopez is an exercise to put forward the complexity of a man and his contexts, but without evaluating Gregorio Lopez’s sanctity or falling into what Carlo Ginzburg has described as another ideological form of history, namely, one of “failed heroes”⁵. I am interested in understanding how a discourse about sanctity was created and applied in a newly colonised territory where it did not exist as such, considering a higher and long-term purpose to generate an-other cultural and religious cosmovision to those ‘alter’-‘native’ identities already existed therein. Christian and Amerindian religious ideas were about to merge, one fighting for domination, the other fighting to resist. We know the results of those fights, but sometimes we ignore the processes and the people involved.

³ Michel de Certeau identifies (the production, writing and reading of) hagiography as a discourse “à l’extrémité de l’historiographie, comme sa tentation et sa trahison”. The genealogy, strategies, functions and uses of the hagiographical genre are included, as a variant, in the section dedicated to “Systèmes de sens: l’écrit et l’oral” in Michel de Certeau, *L’écriture de l’histoire*, ([Paris]: Gallimard, [1975]), 274-288. We can say they were men and women serving as heroes, and, in an interdisciplinarity spirit, we can apply John Holloway’s definition of “heroes [as those who] stand out from the community, and draw to themselves the communal force of action” in John Holloway, *Change the world without taking power. The meaning of revolution today*, 3rd ed. (New York: Pluto, 2010), 210.

⁴ I want to thank Manuel for sharing his ideas with me when I had the pleasure to meet him in my brief but revealing visit in 2014 to John Holloway’s Sociology post-graduation seminar of the Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades “Alfonso Vélaz Pliego” of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Mexico.

⁵ “[...] The social history of the last few decades has at times resembled a parade of history’s proud losers. I am in two minds on this point. On the one hand, the aspects of history represented by people like Menocchio are obviously important. But we have little need for the creation of an historical counter-culture displaying a gallery of defeated heroes. That would turn history into ideology, and that is never a good thing.” Carlo Ginzburg, “On the dark side of history: Carlo Ginzburg talks to Trygve Riiser Gundersen”, in *Eurozine*, July 11, 2003, accessed on June 27th, 2019, <https://www.eurozine.com/on-the-dark-side-of-history/>.

Deconstructing the mythification of the European 'civilizational' history, by using the example of Gregorio Lopez, is a way to engage in Boaventura de Sousa Santos' proposal to give voice to "experiences that were forgotten or marginalised because they did not conform to the imperialist [...] objectives prevailing after the convergence of modernity and capitalism".⁶ Gregorio Lopez lived in a period we identify as the transition from medieval to modern times, and within the processes of American colonisation(s) and European confessionalisation(s); so how can Gregorio Lopez's microhistory inform us with regard to the ways in which those (his) generations lived and wrote about themselves?⁷

The dissertation's spirit is to voice a human's experience from the margins of the Spanish empire and of the European history of colonisation, bringing to the fore other experiences of his contemporaries and those who came to be readers of his *Vida*. Between old and new processes of identification, domination, and empowerment, how did Gregorio Lopez experience the change and the continuity of religious ideas and practices in the globalising and interconnected worlds of the second half of the sixteenth-century? Although Lusa put him up for sainthood (and thereby 'centralised' him), at the same time Gregorio appears marginal: by withdrawing from society as a hermit and, later, by being taken as a model by divergent religious groups such as the *Alumbrados*, the Quietists, the Pietists and still later the Methodists.

We can challenge Lusa's literary story by using historical sources that confront his centrality as a biographer (although his authority as such is difficult to question), as well as helping to complete a black and white history of Christian perfection with as many colourful human imperfections as possible. Before being turned into a legendary "servant

⁶ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "A Non-Occidental West? Learned Ignorance and Ecology of Knowledge", *Theory, Culture & Society* 26 (2009), 103-125, there 103, published online in 2010, see: tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/26/7-8/103. In the same article, page 105, the sociologist helps me to locate this thesis in the necessity to recover alternative experiences from the western past: "We live in a time in which criticising the West in the West comes close to self-flagellation. To my mind, this stance is necessary and healthy, given the damage brought about by the imperialism and neocolonialism on which the hegemonic West feeds itself. I believe, nonetheless, that devolving some of the objects stolen inside the West itself is crucial to create a new pattern of interculturality, both globally and inside the West. There is little to be expected from the interculturality currently maintained by many in the West if it does not entail retrieving an originary experience of interculturality."

⁷ Cf. Carlo Ginzburg, *A Micro-História e Outros Ensaios*. Lisboa: Difel; Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, D.L. 1991.

of God", Gregorio Lopez was just another layman, no matter how extraordinary his life and experiences may have appeared to his fellow men and women: their own stories allow us to grasp the past better (in different spatial and temporal coordinates) that Gregorio Lopez lived in. Beyond the confrontation with other stories that show what Losa omitted from the biography, the persons who inhabited his multiple contexts of life show a presence in the sources against which we question Gregorio's absence.

This 'anti-biography' not only searches for the man in the hagiographical text but also looks for the ways and reasons that led that text to be created and reproduced, especially in connection with the Hispanic Monarchy's and the Catholic Church's intents to convert a layman into a saint. Alice Wood, in her work on early-Modern canonisations, recovers David Sabean's thesis on the scholarly study of sanctity: religious culture as an ensemble of "shared relationships and discourse" more so than "shared values and beliefs"; the "misunderstandings" and "different strategies of argumentation in social negotiations" brought into the "collaborative construction not of shared ideas but of a shared discourse"; control versus conversation, reinterpretation of meaning and community needs. In her conclusions, Wood discerns two discursive levels involved in the process of making saints: "the first constructs the myth of the saint; the second constructs a myth of the Church".⁸ To understand Gregorio Lopez's canonisation process and its place within Spanish and Catholic colonial history, I will reflect upon the reception and construction of these discourses, namely, the myth about the saint, as well as the Church's myth.

When a story is told through a hagiographical mould, it generally gives rise to a religious legend, that turns a subject into a sacred symbol. The historicity of the original story is then surpassed by the mythological dimension that symbol acquires as a discourse, for it serves representation more than a critical discussion about the reality of the past. Discourse analysis becomes then crucial as the perspective to keep throughout the criticism of a hagiographical text, for it helps deconstructing its messages, its 'truths'. Kocku von Stuckrad's approach to the 'discursive study of religion' identifies "processes of communicational generation, legitimisation, and negotiation of meaning

⁸ In Alice L. Wood, *The discourse of sanctity: Early Modern Canonization of Saints as a collaborative process* (Master thesis, Rice University, 1994), 68, 122.

systems".⁹ More than a method, discourse analysis is the perspective I adopt to apply in this criticism exercise over historical sources and historiographical construction. The background question that remains is knowing whether the success of the cultural and religious colonisation as a civilizatory process was/is itself a historiographic myth that we have to deconstruct. Gregorio's story is part of a strong narrative connected not only to beliefs and religious concepts, but also with power systems and institutions. How can we filter the hagiography without tearing off Lopez's skin from Losa's pen?

The French historian, Alain Milhou, suggests a possible bridge between story/legend/myth and history. According to Milhou:

[...] afin de corriger l'image froidement démythificatrice de l'historien attaché aux faits avérés, qu'il ne faut pas considérer les mythes fondateurs de nos collectivités comme de vulgaires mensonges, même s'ils sont le fruit de manipulations. Ce sont des fictions, au même titre que des fictions littéraires et leur mentir vrai; des fictions qui contiennent une triple part de vérité: d'abord, si peu que ce soit, celle des faits historiques objectifs sur lesquels elles ont été échafaudées; ensuite, celle du moment où elles ont été élaborées; enfin celle des groupes successifs qui se les sont réappropriées, tant il est vrai que la réception des faits et des fictions historiques doit intéresser l'historien au même titre que la réception des fictions littéraires préoccupe de plus en plus la critique.¹⁰

The "truthful lying" (*mentir vrai*) of foundational myths and legendary stories deserves an in-depth analysis, so that we can deconstruct, as well as rebuild, the complexity those fictions had to eliminate to recall that which was considered essential. Far from being just "ordinary lies" (*vulgaires mensonges*) and "fruits of manipulation" (*fruits de manipulations*), these foundational myths open necessary paths of research that make us question what we are told, what is recorded, what is oversimplified, what we believe in, what our perspective is, and what the tools are to criticise given truths and given lies.¹¹

⁹ Kocku von Stuckrad, "Discursive Study of Religion: Approaches, Definitions, Implications", *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 25 (2013), 18.

¹⁰ Alain Milhou, "Préface" in *Études Hispano-Américaines/Estudios Hispanoamericanos*, ed. Claude Cymerman, *Les Cahiers du Criar*, 16, (Rouen: Université de Rouen, 1977), 8.

¹¹ I refer to the open debate in the field of Theory of History, where the *understanding* and the *explaining* come together in a rediscovery of histori(ograph)y-making, like in Fernando Catroga, in his *Caminhos do fim da*

Following on from Milhou's proposal to address a "foundational myth of our collectivities" – in this case, the myth of the discovery and colonisation of a New World and its conversion to Christianity, plus its civilisational repercussions – this 'anti-biography' of Gregorio Lopez is then a reflection of and a search for, the various layers of discourse that his story generated, namely the reception, the production and the 'alter-native (hi)stories' upon which a hagiographical biography was elaborated. How are we to get through these layers? This 'anti-biography' looks for the facts upon which the biography was elaborated bringing to the fore *alter-native* histories: *alter*, in Latin *other*, other than the narrative purely structured by Losa; *native* for what *natural from* could have meant in sixteenth-century Portuguese and Castilian languages.¹² There is a sense of erosion of Gregorio's subjectivity in multiple geographical and historical narratives, *stories* where he was the focus, only central through *other's eyes and memories*. There were those who denounced him to the Inquisition, those who hosted him in their homes and properties, those who looked for advice of various sorts, those who met him more or less superficially, those who stood by his side from the moment they met him and those who could not even stand going near his presence.

Who was Gregorio Lopez *in-against-and-beyond* Losa's biography, and why was he remembered for so long amongst religious history and its respective study? When he was alive, the only supernatural force of a religious nature was his search for Christian perfection; however, the thaumaturgic dimension of his relics after his death was essential for Francisco Losa to make a case for a canonizable subject. Although unusual, Gregorio's known work is not that meaningful, compared to many of his contemporary authors. From what appeared to be a larger production, only two books attributed to

História (Coimbra: Quarteto, 2003) or in Eelco Runia, when he states "Freud, in short, discovered that what looks like the royal road to the past never takes you anywhere but to places within sight of your point of departure, whereas exploring the present may have you, somewhere, someplace, tumbling into depths you didn't suspect were there", in "Presence", *History and Theory*, 45.1 (February 2006), 1-29, there 8.

¹² I prefer to refer to Gregorio Lopez using the original sixteenth-century spelling of his name, disregarding the modern Spanish (López) or Portuguese (Lopeç) spellings. This choice intends to widen the possibilities regarding his family and social backgrounds, as his name was written as such in the extensive geographic perimeter of his life: the Ibero-American world.

Gregorio Lopez were, posthumously, published: a pharmaceutical treaty, under the name of *Tesoro de Medicinas*, and an exegetical paraphrase of the Apocalypse, entitled *Declaración del Apocalipsis*.¹³ We are left with a spiral of histories, opening up from the spaces Gregorio's life occupied in his time to as many stories as the ones deriving from the life-telling itself and its different readings.

Sources, methods, concepts

This dissertation became a methodological patchwork in order to deal with the considerable amount of information gathered around Gregorio Lopez and his afterlife. Firstly, a raw comparison between Losa's 1613 edition and many of the subsequent versions indicated the widespread of its reading and also of its study. Gathering the state of the art and the historians's production about the character and its mysteries (such as his origins, or his religious beliefs) it was possible not only to identify primary sources that could complete the gaps left by Losa in his account, but also to understand how the canonisation cause influenced the ways his story was told, and how to access its records would be essential. Therefore the presentation of these data and its interpretation had to be turned upside down. Thus Gregorio Lopez's 'anti-biography' criticises Losa's text and the representation of Gregorio Lopez throughout four centuries.

By starting with the reception of Losa's text, I realised I could prepare the reader for a better understanding of its production. We shall also verify how Lopez's hagiography served as the trigger for a long canonisation process, through the evaluation of how Losa's book-reception history follows or is followed, by the diverse phases of that process. The West Indies are a perfect example of how information did not circulate only on the basis of its written records: the vast distances between the various territories in the Americas, and their respective capitals (Mexico and Lima), left enough space for

¹³ Gregorio Lopez. *Tesoro de medicinas para diversas enfermedades. Añadido, corregido, y emmendado en esta segunda impresion/con notas de ... Mathias de Salzedo Mariaca, y Joseph Dias Brizuela ; con tres indices muy copiosos de diversos achaques...* (Mexico, por Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, mercader de libros, 1674); Francisco Losa, Gregorio Argáiz (ed.). *Vida y escritos de Gregorio López* (Madrid: Francisco de Zafra, 1678); Gregorio López, *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, Colección "Espirituales Españoles". Série A Textos. Vol. Vol. 46 (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1999).

information to get lost, selected, adulterated, or just to lose its purpose or strength. On the other hand, the canonisation process – titled in the Vatican as *Mexicana beatificacionis & canonizationis Servi Dei Gregorii Lopez, primii anacoretae in Indiis Occidentalibus*¹⁴–, in addition to revealing the immense amount of resources, time and energy Spain and New Spain spent in what would become a lost cause, provides us with material for new inquiries. In the company of women, men, professionally religious, officials of the old and the new kingdom, inquisitors and viceroys, soldiers and settlers, Gregorio Lopez and his story guide us through a vast geography, and precisely because of what we encounter resumed in Losa's biography, we cannot leave other sources and facts aside: the sources we do not have, the ones we should have, the ones we could not have, as well as the ones we do have.

In order not to get lost in the enormous amounts of information that the offices of the Crown were generating already in the second half of the sixteenth century, we have often used the categories and groups of the time in order to organise our reflections: male/female; Christian, old and new; *converso* and *morisco*; Protestant, Lutheran, heretic; religious, secular, lay; *criollo*, *mestizo*, Spaniard; *natural*, *veziño*, *fidalgo*, *segundón*... Although we may criticise institutions, politics, and ideas, we should not distance ourselves from the persons, practices, and actions that embodied them. The most recent historiography and its efforts to review and reread sources, has revealed how nuanced our categories should be. Moreover, as we will see in detail throughout the dissertation, in all the platforms used – such as PARES, the online portal of Spanish Archives, or the catalogues from the Archivo General de la Nación and the Archivo Historico de Notarias de Mexico – we may resort to a large group of original and printed sources, in addition to diverse biographical dictionaries, providing us with more than just names, but also the ways they formed networks and communities.

If there were pieces of this puzzle that seem to be lost entirely (like Gregorio's own private Bible, his world map and earth globe¹⁵, or his baptism record as well as his register to pass to the New Indies), others appeared to expand the closed mould used by

¹⁴ See Appendix II – Diverse Sets of Sources Related to Gregorio Lopez's Canonisation Process.

¹⁵ Losa, *Vida*, fl. 68, 94v.

his biographer: the inquisitorial processes of his followers and denouncers, the records of the fleet he probably took to Veracruz, records of his passage through Mexico City as amanuensis. More than four-hundred years of clues, opinions, records, processes, books, articles, sources of diverse nature had to be connected. The methodological patchwork resulted from the multitude of sources into a tailor-made research – that left loose strings, and many sources to be analysed as deserved, such as the material concerning the cause in the Archivo General de Indias and from which I'm only able to index one of the five files, just to mention one example.

This research tries to overcome the centrality of a biographical study by combining criticism of historical sources with the use of biographers' methods, thus reinforcing its aim for complexity. It was informed by not only social network analysis, and their respective prosopographic and microhistorical tools – extremely helpful when dealing with large sets of data – but also, other empirical devices, which ethnohistory and anthropology are more familiar with, applying these in their research, via oral history and new concepts in social studies, for a better comprehension of the historical past(s).¹⁶ Much of the discourse connected to Gregorio Lopez, mainly when it comes to his canonisation process is based on people's memories; and what they remembered was not only what they lived and experienced, but also the repetition of what others had lived and experienced – so I had to be very cautious about the processes in which the discourse about Gregorio Lopez was transmitted and transformed.

¹⁶ The intersection of diverse methods and theories in social and human sciences provided me a great amplitude of the discussion, of which I give some examples of works that have inspired me about the biographical approach to history but also its various methods, particularly in cases of timeframes and geographical contexts similar to this study: Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, (eds.), *Theoretical Discussions of Biography. Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lam Peter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2013); Sabina Loriga, "The Role of the Individual in History: Biographical and Historical Writing in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century" in Renders and de Haan (eds.), *Theoretical Discussions of Biography*, 75-93; Chris Lorenz, "'You Got Your History, I Got Mine': Some Reflections On Truth and Objectivity in History", in *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaften*, n.º 10 (1999), 563-584; Idem, "Historical Knowledge and Historical Reality. A Plea For «Internal Realism»" in *History and Theory* 33.3 (1994), 297-327; Pilar Ponce Leiva and Arrigo Amadori, "Redes sociales y ejercicio del poder en la América Hispana: consideraciones teóricas y propuestas de análisis" in *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, 34 (2008), 15-42; W. Raymond Wood, "Ethnohistory and Historical Method" in *Archaeological Method and Theory* 2 (1990), 81-109; P.H. Martins, "Redes Sociales: Un nuevo paradigma en el horizonte sociológico" in *Cinta Moebio*, 35 (2009), 88-109; Michel Bertrand, "Elites, parentesco y relaciones sociales en Nueva España" in *Tiempos de América*, n.º 3-4 (1999), 57-66.

I have learned through this research, how important it is to remind ourselves that the use of written sources should not make us blind to *orature* (the oral transmission and production of knowledge and information), and the consensus and interests behind the circulation of stories and memories or its concealment.¹⁷ Applied to historical research, discourse, or the ways it is produced and reproduced, shows us two things: just because it was not written down does not mean that it did not happen, nor that facts were not recognised as such; just because it was written down somewhere does not necessarily mean everyone knew about it or that the described facts happened as recorded – and this is also the case when dealing with religious discourse. Nevertheless, no matter how manipulated Losa's account is, does it make it any less important within the history of Spanish and Mexican colonial construction of religious identity and religious culture?

When it comes to the biographical approach to history, we are forced to jump into the chaos. Amidst the wide variety of methods biographers resort to, I realised there were gaps in Losa's narrative on Gregorio Lopez I could only fill in through historical imagination and informed speculation by reaching some compromise so as to avoid misguiding the reader, by gathering as much information as I could on Gregorio's path and its multiple contexts. In this regard, I found out about the British biographer, Richard Holmes' "footstepping" method.¹⁸ The idea is readily applicable to any other biographical research: walking the biographical subject's shoes in order to connect the dots and to humanise the 'case study'.

Even while knowing that Gregorio's shoes are forever gone and his footsteps washed away with time, it comes without saying that to go to the same places that he went to, is to know his experience a little more, although four-hundred years have passed. The "sociology of roads", a formula crafted by Maria del Mar Graña Cid, synthesises something we tend to forget or underestimate when studying medieval and modern

¹⁷ The definition of *orature* can be found in Isabel Gomes, "Oratura" in *Dicionário Alice*, in https://alice.ces.uc.pt/dictionary/?id=23838&pag=23918&id_lingua=4&entry=24459, accessed on May 30th of 2019.

¹⁸ Richard Holmes, *Footsteps. The adventures of a Romantic Biographer* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986).

historical times and spaces.¹⁹ From village to city; from mountains to the sea; from the desert to the jungle: each surrounding environment has the power to change us, mainly because we have to change along with it. In that movement, the various times and velocities of life, nature, and history are very vivid, and it becomes easier to appreciate the different meanings for evolution, velocity, modernity and the value of knowledge and information.

Contacts happening on the road are, more often than records show, determinant to understand chosen paths and ideas. We will learn how people read during their transatlantic voyages (authentic reading groups, listening to each other, and discussing printed stories). Also, we will see how Gregorio himself went to diverse places, driven by God, but also driven by curiosity, by necessity, by others' advice: he heard that in Huasteca one could live out of its wild fruits²⁰, he found his first retirement from the world while he was wandering in Nueva Galicia, and surely the experience of crossing the ocean must have been very informative for a man who was known for drawing his world maps and for making his earth globe²¹. Thus, since Gregorio was a solitary man who spent much of his life travelling, it was essential to find a way to address the extent of those travels in Iberia, the Atlantic, and Mexico.

Gregorio Lopez lived in certain places and contexts, and through Losa's biography and its publicity, Gregorio Lopez's feats circulated within multiple 'communities of interpretation' during the last four centuries. In historical research, the problem is not acknowledging that people interacted, but rather, to connect and to use all the sources available in order to be able to confirm a hypothesis that brings those people together again, providing images to our historical imagination so we can more easily reconstruct networks and 'communities of interpretation'. The concept of communities of interpretation was developed by a European research group that studied "contexts, strategies, and processes of religious transformation in late medieval and early modern Europe" In the detailed description of the research group, it is said of these communities

¹⁹ Maria del Mar Graña Cid, "Frailes, predicación y caminos en Madrid" in Cristina Segura Graiño (ed.), *Caminos y caminantes por las tierras del Madrid Medieval* (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1994), 281-322.

²⁰ Losa, *Vida*, 1613, 14v.

²¹ Losa, *Vida*, 1613, 68, 94v.

that "Through their engagement in reading, writing, performing and organising religious texts and activities, laymen and women were continuously interpreting the 'religious' (in the broadest sense of the word) and re-shaping it in their quest for identity in one of the most critical moments in Europe's cultural history".²²

Structure of the thesis: reception, production and 'alter-native' stories of a *vita*

This is the first monograph on Gregorio Lopez, and it attempts to bring together all the fragmented studies, analysis, and references to this figure in the religious history of New Spain's sixteenth century. The 'anti-biography' of Gregorio Lopez is presented in three parts, developing Milhou's proposal and choosing a reverse route: the reception, the production, and the facts upon which the story was elaborated. Inverting the traditional chronological order was imperative to assemble essential data in the analysis and understanding of Losa's text, which will change the way we read the story and the historical facts associated with it. I will present the different sets of sources on which I based my research throughout each part.

Part I focuses mainly on the reception of the "first hermit of the Indies" myth, how Losa's biography was received, having led to the start of a long and unfinished canonisation process. Parallel readings and numerous polemics arose out of the dissemination of Losa's work, and in a way, defined Gregorio as a figure of the New World's religious history. I have decided to begin with how Gregorio Lopez was recently studied in academia. From there, we can understand how essential Francisco Losa's biography is to the comprehension of the reception of Gregorio's story. Furthermore, I chronicle a short reception history of Losa's hagiography, intersecting it with the canonisation process of Gregorio Lopez, delving into the networks in which it was read, published, and translated. The process of beatification itself underwent significant alterations precisely when Gregorio Lopez was proposed to be canonised at the Vatican,

²² In the eCost Action IS1301: New Communities of Interpretation: Contexts, Strategies and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe is described in the "Project Description", <http://costaction-is1301.webhosting.rug.nl/>, accessed on November 15th 2017.

a fact that invites us to look at the political and ideological dimensions of the cause: sponsors, expectations, financial costs, as well as the agents involved. As such, this part focuses on the last four centuries, from the first publication of Losa's *Vida* in 1613, until nowadays.

Studying Gregorio Lopez, the hagiography is our central fiction and source. Part II delves into the moment of Losa's elaboration of the legend, which we know had already been concluded in 1598, although it was only published in 1613. I extend the moment of production to the last period of Gregorio's life, whence he was accompanied by Losa, between 1579 and 1596. Indeed, Losa informs us that he was already writing episodes of Gregorio's holy life while living with him in Santa Fe, entitling us to include Gregorio as part of that process – although it is not clear whether he actively participated in creating the image Francisco Losa presented. Many considered Gregorio a living saint, while at the same time others questioned and criticised his way of life. By looking attentively at how Losa constructed his narrative, we become better prepared to understand how Lopez lived with and besides that literary construction. By looking at the literary *topoi*, as well as through diverse historical sources – recovered by the process of discourse analysis of Part I –, namely other biographies and inquisitorial processes that mention Gregorio, we can make the 'legend' more 'real'. Better said, after deconstructing the myth of the saint, we will crack the literary capsule that Losa used to create a religious legend – a legend that Losa started to create already from 1579, when he first met Gregorio Lopez, by order of the archbishop of Mexico, to examine his conscience. We shall be looking at the period between 1579 up until 1613 when Francisco Losa finally got to see his biography printed.

I also bring to the fore the stories of Gregorio Lopez pre-Vida, which is to say other contexts and facts that might help us decompose and recompose his existence before he became a model for Christian perfection in the New World. Part III focuses on the period during which Gregorio was not yet considered a 'living saint'. This part of the anti-biography deals with the sources we can use belonging to the period of Gregorio's life that was not under scrutiny, expressly, between circa 1542 and 1579. Gregorio's life before he was seen by the *novohispana* society as a spiritual guide, although he never took up the religious habit or profession, is as much of a mystery as an opportunity to

get into the history of the common man that crossed the Atlantic in the middle of the sixteenth century. All we can do is gather as many sets of sources as possible to compare them with ecclesiastical records, such as notarial documentation from the colonial administration in the Americas. A permanently present blur lessens the possibilities of accessing Gregorio's realities; and trying to find him in passenger lists, sacramental records, inquisitorial processes, and other documented events has proven to be a difficult task. The impossibility of finding the needle in the haystack is only rewarded through the potentialities that come from being inside the haystack itself, with everything those sources entail. The reconstruction of the historical communities of the several places Gregorio passed through is the main challenge in this third part.

The anti-biography of Gregorio Lopez brings forward the analysis of how a hagiographical legend was produced and propagated in early-Modern History and how, although the creation of this same legend failed the canonising purpose, it demonstrates, through the 'alter-native stories' of a single man, the complexity of the processes of colonisation and evangelisation of the American continent.

Notes for the reader

Gregorio Lopez has often been the subject of some pages, or whole chapters, in monographs devoted to a variety of studies within the early-Modern History of Spain and New Spain, especially in what concerns the mentalities, religiosity, and spirituality of the second half of the sixteenth century. I chose not to present a chronology, allowing the use of the table of contents as a reading guide. The maps are located in the introduction of Parts I and III to provide the reader a tool to encompass the broad horizon of interpretation Gregorio Lopez's story invites us to have.

Having stated a proposal of anti-biography, by challenging the centrality of Losa's text, the 1613's biography is naturally the starting point from which we have to depart. Recurring to its multiple versions could have become problematic. As we shall see, Francisco Losa's book was re-edited by three other authors: Alonso Rémon, Luis Muñoz, and Gregorio de Argaiz; all these editions presenting additional information to the 1613's

original, through the inclusion of other episodes and data that came out of the canonisation process. I have chosen to recur to Losa's original 1613's version whenever possible and its respective 1675 English translation. All other translations are mine, including the ones of sources that remained unpublished or only edited in the original Spanish.

PART I – HUMANISING THE “VENERABLE” GREGORIO LOPEZ: THE RECEPTION OF THE MYTH

Early modern books represented a whole new world of technical advancement, similarly to what digital multimedia and Internet do today. A book comprises much more than just its text/content and its author, also involving editors, printers and booksellers. In the beginning of the seventeenth-century, the book market and its respective agents were already regulated and established, in both its legal and illegal forms. However, the centuries that ensued brought stability and organisation to the book business. The paratextual elements of a book can show the diverse communities in which it was read, authentic networks of users that reflect various religious and geopolitical confessional and denominational polemics and entanglements, as we will see in the case of Lopez’s biography.

Keeping in mind these multiple communities of readers, we shall now observe how the biography Francisco Losa wrote about Gregorio Lopez was inextricably linked to the process of creating and remembering a saint.²³ Notwithstanding, by humanising Gregorio Lopez, I do not intend to evaluate the concept of sanctity, but rather to show how ‘his-story’ spread. Correlating this with the expectations deposited in the canonisation cause presented to the Vatican, I hope to find explanations for the wide circulation of his biography.

In this first part, we will examine the reception(s) of Gregorio Lopez’s story. We can divide the reception history into three distinct phases: the first going from Losa’s original release date to the start of the canonisation cause (1613-1675); the second corresponding to the time the cause got lost in the Sacred Congregation of Rites (1675-1780); and, finally, a third phase, in which the transformation of a religious myth into a broader literary and academic subject is tracked down from 1780 till nowadays.

Like peeling an onion, the first chapter corresponds to the last phase of Gregorio’s ‘afterlife’ – the biography’s transformation into an academic and literary subject. From

²³ Losa, *Vida*.

1780 onwards, we will discuss the editions that are adaptations of the hagiography genre into a novelistic, more readable style. We shall open the doors of interpretation propounded by the latest academic offerings concerning Gregorio Lopez, through which we will be able to examine how Losa's text circulated in different kingdoms after the Catholic Monarchy – the main sponsor of Gregorio's canonisation – abandoned the cause.

Subsequently, we shall follow the cause's trail through the Kafkaesque corridors that emerged between the Vatican, Spain, and New Spain. Pierre Ragon explained to me how to address this process, which is divided into three main sections: the informative process, the *non-cultu* process, and the apostolic process. The second chapter matches this period of diplomatic passageways stretching across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, throughout the acceptance and evaluation of the cause, between 1675 and 1780.

In chapter three, we go back to the genesis of the sanctity claim, primarily embodied by one of the most powerful kings of early modern Christianity, namely, Felipe III. We will analyse the aforementioned informative process in this last section: how the Congregation and the Pope were ready to proceed after the *non-cultu* investigation and the emission of the *Positio*; and how the Spanish King and his Court, along with the Archdiocese of México, were extremely busy and excited with the possibility of adding to the Catholic altars a Spanish saint 'produced' in the New World.

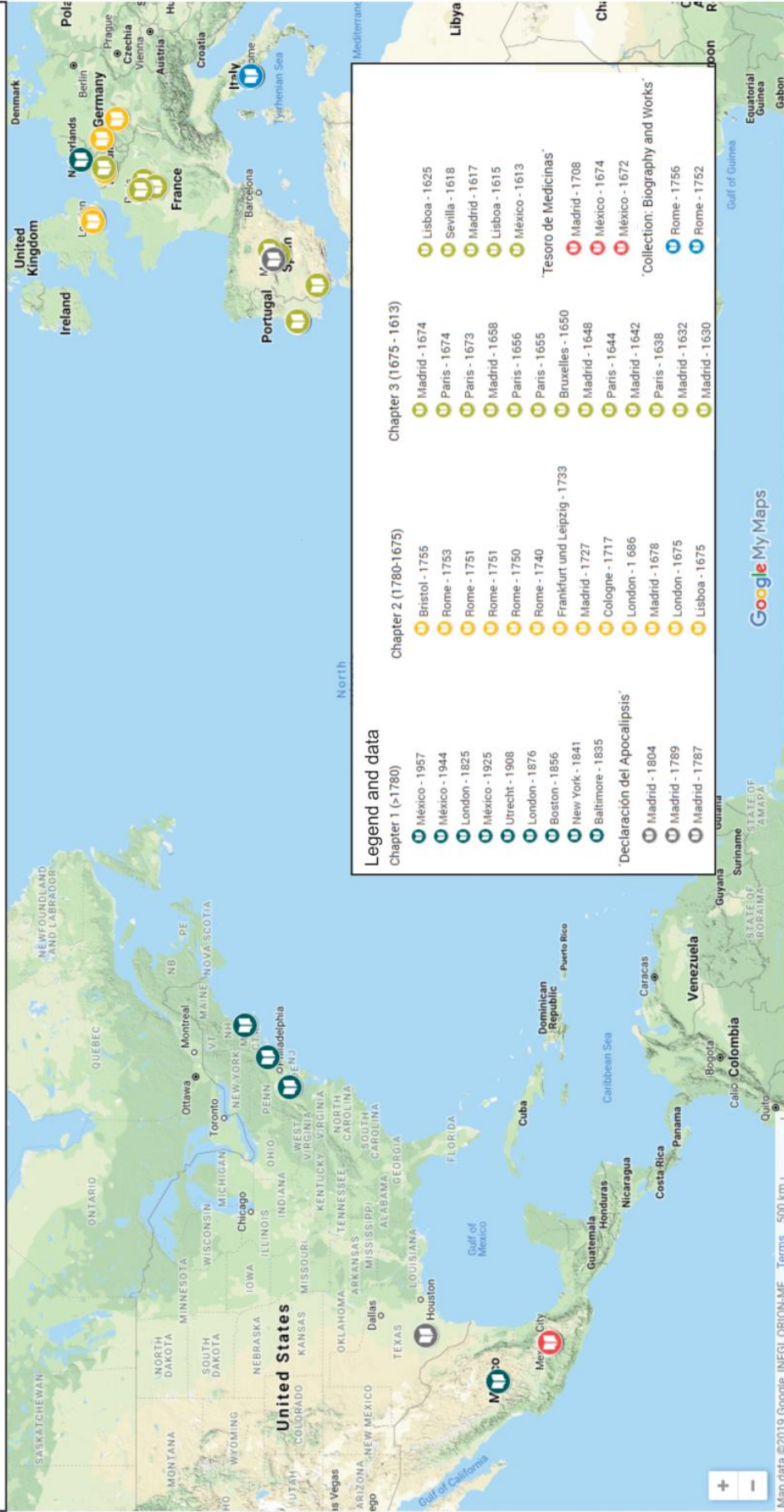
What turned Gregorio into a Catholic symbol and, subsequently, into a historiographical subject, was undoubtedly the variety of discourses produced in the reception of Losa's biography. Consequently, by linking the multiple reprints of the book, we get an overview of the networks in which its reading and circulation took place. Looking for Gregorio Lopez and Francisco Losa, and all the different versions of their books in the search engines of the main libraries and web catalogues, a number of diverse manuscripts and copies of Lopez's works shows up. If we add these to the numerous references to Gregorio Lopez in the works of many mystical authors, as well as in bibliographical and hagiographical catalogues, from the seventeenth century onwards, we get an idea of the far-reaching reception that they had. Through the numerous

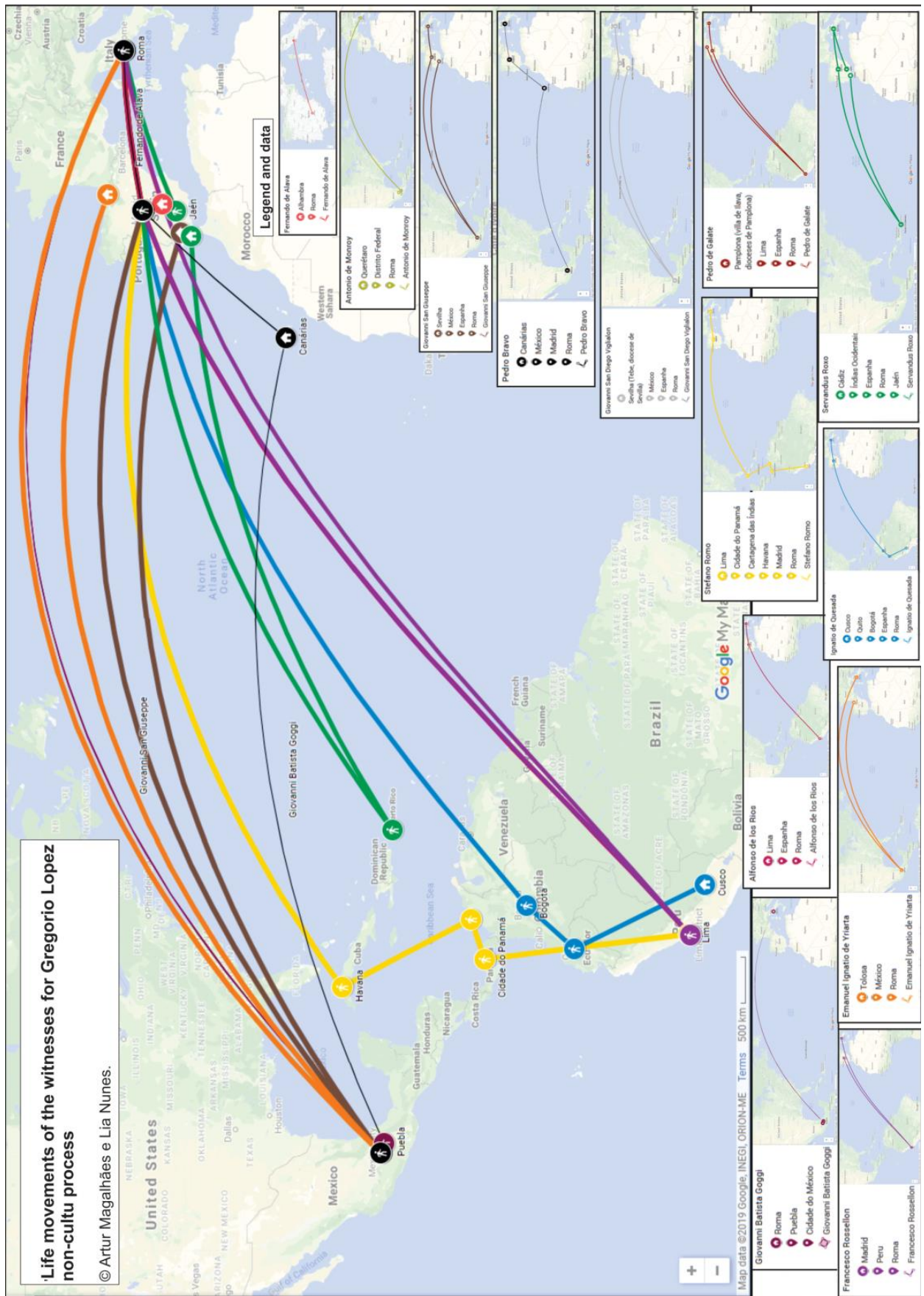
editions of his biography, Gregorio Lopez was initially described as *siervo de Dios*, then later as *le saint solitaire des Indes*, as well as, *the hermit of America*.²⁴ Furthermore, beyond Losa's text, we will also learn more about the reception and edition of Lopez's works, expressly *Declaración del Apocalipsis* and *Tesoro de Medicinas para diversas enfermedades*. By connecting Losa's book history with the documentation of Gregorio's canonisation process we can access the networks of people that transformed a human being into a mythical figure of the Mexican Catholic Church. How did the canonisation process proceed? Who was involved in it? How does it link to the reading, (re)writing, reprints and translations of Losa's biography? What were the reasons behind such success?

²⁴ Losa, *Vida*; Francisco Losa, trans. Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, *Le saint solitaire des Indes, ou, La vie de Gregoire Lopez* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1717); Francisco Losa, pref. and trans. John Eyre, *The Life of Gregory Lopez, a Hermit in America* (New York: J. Eyre, 1841).

Dates and places of publication of Gregorio Lopez's biography and works

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CHAPTER 1. 2019-1780 THE HERMIT OF THE AMERICAS

A brief state of the art concerning Gregorio Lopez's presence in diverse historiographical fields will guide us through the questions that have been asked about this sixteenth-century man. The presence of Gregorio Lopez in many scholarly works on the early modern Iberian world is partly a consequence of the widespread of the hagiography written by Francisco Losa, in which both are protagonists for future memory and interpretation. Scholar's readings of Gregorio's biography brought to the fore data about his life that Losa's text did not include. The academic researchers – regardless of being Dominicans, Jesuits, Jews, or lay scholars – of heterodox movements during the Catholic Monarchy, and broadly, of religious history, all contributed towards the comparative and interpretative perspectives on the ideas circulating at the time and the practices into which these ideas were translated. Having lived a life on the fringe Gregorio Lopez ended up becoming an unavoidable subject when tracing the diverse contexts and microhistories of 'his' sixteenth century: although he was not the main actor, the testimony of his alternative experience complete these histories.

1.1 An academic state of affairs: a (religious) man in context

In *La santidad controvertida*, the Mexican historian Antonio Rubial García dedicates a chapter to the figure of the hermit in New Spain.²⁵ Evoking the memory of Gregorio Lopez, Rubial García explains how he became a model for lay religious virtue and experience, and how this was reflected in the reception of the myth itself. Analysing popular religion and its connection to the formation of national identity in colonial México, Rubial García critically filters the official discourse in hagiographical narratives, examining their reception and the consequences they had to the failure of canonisation processes of New Spanish non-accomplished Saints. In addition, Rubial García informs us

²⁵ Antonio Rubial García, *La Santidad Controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999). Also by the same author: *Profetisas e solitarios. Espacios y mensajes de una religión dirigida por ermitaños y beatas laicos en las ciudades de Nueva España* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006).

how Gregorio Lopez is referred to in treatises about contemplative life and in historical dictionaries both in the New World and the Old Continent, already at the beginning of the seventeenth century, having collected most of the references to Gregorio Lopez in various American volumes describing the peoples, missions and works involved in the New World's religious life. Moreover, Rubial García mentions the diverse authors that describe Gregorio as somewhat of a local hero and the mandatory pilgrimage to the few places in which Gregorio is known to have lived.

At this point, we should also mention the study by Pierre Ragon on the canonisation procedures, not only concerning Gregorio Lopez but also, Sebastian de Aparicio. The French scholar resumed and analysed the supporting material of the informative and apostolic processes for both causes in the Vatican.²⁶ Resorting to the testimonies produced regarding the beatification cause in the Vatican, Pierre Ragon, as well as Rubial García, exposed the extent to which Francisco Losa's discourse was endorsed by bishops and theologians, as well as by members of almost every religious order present in México at the time.

Rubial García pointed me towards Alain Milhou's article on Gregorio Lopez.²⁷ Milhou, a scholar in Iberian Studies, can be credited with steering away from a confessional path in the study of Gregorio Lopez, a path chosen by Álvaro Huerga, who enthusiastically studied the *Alumbrados*, and to whom we owe the documented history of this 'sect': its origins, leading figures, processes, and developments.²⁸ Huerga sees in the non-condemnation of Gregorio – even if posthumous – a sign of his innocence. Aside from the tremendous effort to catalogue the references to Gregorio Lopez, mainly in Iberia, Álvaro Huerga embodied the typical apologetic tone used to depict Gregorio Lopez within Catholic narrative:

²⁶ Pierre Ragon, *Les saints et les images du Mexique (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, coll. Recherches-Amériques latines (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003).

²⁷ Alain Milhou, "Gregorio López, el Iluminismo y la Nueva Jerusalem Americana" in *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*, V. III (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1992).

²⁸ Álvaro Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados (1570-1630): III. Los alumbrados de Hispanoamérica (1570-1605)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), 587.

[...] [Gregorio Lopez] is a 'rare exemplar' of Christian embodiment in the New World, where other fevers dominate[d]: gold fever, the fever for power, evangelisation fever. It would not be fair to speak of a 'novel' case, for it would amount to questioning his Christian authenticity. Instead, in exchange, it is legitimate to conclude that his 'idealized' figure determined the ambivalent or double-sided 'European image' of the Mexican anchorite.²⁹

Similarly, Huerga brought together the reactions to Gregorio Lopez once his *Vida* began to circulate within the European milieu, its success reflecting a spiritual rediscovery connected to an ascetic conservative attitude, as well as with emergent piety movements at the time, such as Quietism and Pietism. The Spanish scholar also channels his efforts into exhorting an appraisal tradition of Gregorio Lopez's example within Catholic orthodox ascetic practices, contrasting it with the Quietist narrative started by Miguel de Molinos [1628-1696], which viewed Gregorio as a mystical hero, as we shall delve further into later on.

Although Huerga and Rubial García thoroughly identified the European/Christian heterodox appropriation of Gregorio's afterlife, Alain Milhou was the first to attempt to a realistic link between his hermitic and illuminated life, and his past in the Iberian Peninsula. That which Huerga denied in *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Milhou decided to explore, namely, how Gregorio's exegesis and mystical lifestyle offered the possibility of his connection with the *alumbrados* sect, even before he crossed the Atlantic. Milhou seems to react to Huerga's incapacity or unwillingness to connect the dots, associating Gregorio Lopez with the first *alumbrados* in Spain. According to Milhou, the essay written by Gregorio commenting on the Book of Revelation in the late 1580s, in addition to the information provided by his supposed followers, are sufficient to evidence the similarities he shared with the first movement of Spanish *alumbrados*. Milhou paints a picture of Gregorio based on his works and the accusations he suffered in Mexico, while also questioning the religious-historical context of Gregorio's life in Spain, whereas Huerga

²⁹ My translation of: "Con todo, resulta en un 'raro ejemplar' de encarnación cristiana en el Nuevo Mundo, donde dominan otras fiebres: la del oro, la del poder, la de la evangelización. No sería justo hablar de un caso 'novelesco', porque equivaldría a poner en duda su autenticidad cristiana. Si, en cambio, es lícito concluir que su figura 'idealizada' determinó la 'imagen europea' ambivalente o bifronte del anacoreta mexicano", in Álvaro Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados III*, 587.

criticises legends such as those of Gregorio's royal ancestry, or his Portuguese nationality, more so than being able to confirm Losa's hagiographical account. Milhou paved the way to approach the life of Gregorio Lopez as a human being, rather than a static saint. By asserting Gregorio's millenarian and apocalyptic ideas, Milhou made the necessary move beyond Losa's *Vida*, preferring to connect Gregorio's interpretation of the Apocalypse with the amalgam of religious, intellectual and spiritual currents he could have been informed about, or learned from, during his life in Iberia.

Recently, Miriam Bodian touched a raw academic nerve, so to say, concerning Jewish history. In her book, *Dying in the Law of Moses*, where she discusses the crypto-Jewish martyrdom in the Ibero-American world, featuring Gregorio in one of her case studies, namely that pertaining to Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*, further expanding our awareness with regard to the heterogeneous religious environment of the new Spaniard kingdoms in the conquered Americas.³⁰ Carvajal's past education in a Spanish Jesuit school and his contact with crypto-Jews and Catholic Judaizers reflects the extensive interconnectivity between diverse traditions. When Judaism and Islam, as well as Protestantism, were forbidden in Spain, their prohibition led to hidden and secret practices, as well as generations of believers that were forced into Catholicism and into an experience of religious acculturation, eventually leading to imprecise and restless attitudes towards dogmatic and forced orthodoxies, as many scholars have pointed out.³¹ When Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*, was imprisoned and tortured by the Mexican Inquisition, he informed the inquisitors on more than one hundred people he identified as Judaizers, amongst them Gregorio Lopez. While Bodian does not elaborate on Gregorio Lopez's affiliation or connection with *conversos*, old Christians, as well as crypto-Jews, she presents us with yet one more path of analysis.

³⁰ Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses. Crypto-Jewish martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007).

³¹ See, for instance, Jesús Alonso Burgos, *El luteranismo en Castilla durante el s. XVI. Autos de fe de Valladolid de 21 de mayo y de 8 de octubre de 1559* (Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de el Escorial: Editorial Swan & Fundación Avantos & Hakeldama, 1983).

1.2 Biographer's obsessions

Martin Cohen, in a suggestive 1967 article, uses a Jewish Studies filter to delve into the history of Gregorio Lopez.³² Alfonso Toro, Martin Cohen, and more recently, Miriam Bodian, all take into consideration Gregorio Lopez's connection to the Carvajals, convicted crypto-Jews declared as such by the Mexican Inquisition. By way of the youngest Carvajal's inquisitorial process, we come to know that he visited Gregorio Lopez several times. Martin Cohen moves beyond Losa's biography, directly towards the suspicion of Jewish ancestry Carvajal raised, also analysing Gregorio Lopez's explanation of the Apocalypse, thus arriving at an interpretation of Gregorio as a "Defender of the New Christians". The portrayal of the Jews as the righteous people intertwined with a benevolent Christianity, and the millenarianism and universalism of Gregorio's love, allowed Cohen to bring Gregorio Lopez closer to contemporary aims for 'universality' in religious ideas.

Although Martin Cohen touches on one of the most unique and exciting features of Gregorio Lopez, he does not manage to successfully dilute the importance of Lopez's origins, in which most scholars hope to find the genesis of his unconventionality. The Portuguese translator of the 1675 edition of *Vida*, for instance, strives to prove Gregorio Lopez's Portuguese origins.³³ From this translation, a similar Portuguese narrative is corroborated by several bibliographical and hagiographical catalogues, replicating a collective memory that made Gregorio a native of Linhares da Beira, a village in the north of Portugal, a fact reinstated by Mário Martins, a Portuguese scholar of religion, whose analysis of Lopez, yet again, touched upon the problem of the anchorite's spirituality.³⁴

³² Martin A. Cohen, "Don Gregorio López: friend of the secret Jew. A contribution to the study of religious life in early colonial 'México'" in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 38 (1967). Later on, in 1973, Martin Cohen published his work on the Carvajals: *The Martyr Luis de Carvajal, a secret jew in sixteenth century México*, 2nd edition (Albuquerque: University of New México Press, 2001).

³³ Pedro Lobo Correa, "Prologo", in Francisco Losa, Pedro Lobo Correa (trans.), *Nascimento, vida e morte admiráveis do grande servo de Deus Gregorio Lopes portuguez, natural da antiga Villa de Linhares composto pelo licenciado Francisco Losa, na vida, & morte escritor verdadeiro, mas não no nascimento, patria, pays, & irmãos deste vara* (Lisboa: Oficina Domingos Carneiro, 1675).

³⁴ His three articles on this subject reveal the various angles of his analysis: Mário Martins, "Gregorio Lopes, o anacoreta das Índias" in *Brotéria*, 36 (Lisboa: Barbosa Xavier, 1943), 365-376; id., "Gregório Lopes, o pré-quietista

More recently, Pedro Tavares, in his *Beatas, inquisidores e teólogos. Reacção portuguesa a Miguel de Molinos*, reacted to Huerga's sceptical attitude regarding the 'Portuguese hypothesis', by presenting new sources where the genealogy of a candidate for *familiar* ('officer') of the Portuguese Holy Office in the seventeenth century, leads us back to Gregorio 'Lopes'.³⁵ Tavares seems to comply with José Adriano Carvalho's view in what concerns Gregorio Lopez's possible Portuguese origins, given that this Portuguese historian of religion does not refrain from including Gregorio in his study devoted to hermitic phenomena in early modern Portugal.³⁶

Going a step further into the enquiry about the hermit's origins, could the secrecy he kept about his identity be linked to his dubious ethnical-religious background? Cohen chooses to answer this question by recovering one of the possibilities that have surrounded the myth of Gregorio Lopez, mainly through literary resurgences: his royal provenance, as a bastard, or even, primogeniture, of king Felipe II of Spain – a polemic that began with the romantic revival of Gregorio in recent Mexican history. The hypothesis is completely remote, but what is interesting for this study is how it kept feeding the interest in Gregorio Lopez, whose story contains a gap concerning his origins, a gap many have tried to fill in ever since his legend started to grow. A King's son would not have lived with a hermit in Navarre, for instance, but then again the purpose of escaping to the New World would be to erase his true identity. Nevertheless, we ought to contextualise this passionate quest for Gregorio's noble descent as part of a nationalist program for a territory's (pseudo-secular) sacralisation, through the rediscovery of its elitist heritage, that I will address in the following sections.

Not reaching any conclusions as to Gregorio's origins, Martin Cohen attempted to bring another dimension of Gregorio's life to the fore: "When Gregorio López died, the

do deserto" in *Brotéria*, 36 (Lisboa: Barbosa Xavier, 1943), 456-467; id., "O processo inédito do escrito e anacoreta Gregório Lopes (†1596)" in *Brotéria*, 48 (Lisboa: Barbosa Xavier, 1949), 72-81.

³⁵ Pedro Vilas Boas Tavares, *Beatas, inquisidores e teólogos. Reacção portuguesa a Miguel de Molinos* (Porto: Centro Inter-Universitário de História da Espiritualidade, 2005), 213, notes 105 and 106.

³⁶ José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, "Recension to Gregorio Lopez, Declaración del Apocalipsis (edición, estudio preliminar y notas de Álvaro Huerga), Madrid, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca. 1999" in *Via Spiritus*, 7 (2000), 242-245, and also by José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, "Eremitismo em Portugal na Época Moderna: homens e imagens" in *Via Spiritus* 9 (2002), 83-145.

Indians he had befriended took his wizened body and clad it with flowers as a testimony of their love".³⁷ However, to this day, flowers cover the dead all over the Catholic world, and sources on Gregorio's contact with the *Indians* are too scarce and therefore only scratch the surface of this presumed contact. 'Indians' are still portrayed more as extras, rather than the main actors on a stage that is/was mainly 'theirs'. Francisco Román Gutiérrez also makes a very brief reference to Gregorio's contact with native populations in Northern Mexico.³⁸ Although, what seems to be of greater importance about this cultural exchange, is the influence these contacts might have had on Gregorio's acquirement of knowledge about American botany and medicinal arts. So we move from the studies on Gregorio Lopez on to the studies about his works.

1.3. The author within the man

Other researchers looked explicitly at Gregorio Lopez, the author; with specific scholarly agendas in mind, whether of a confessional, national, or field-oriented nature. Álvaro Huerga, for example, affirms that the surviving works written by Gregorio Lopez amount to just the *Tesoro de Medicinas* and the *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, rejecting other works mentioned in Losa's biography, as well as in the information gathered in Mexico with regard to his canonisation process, such as *Cronología Universal* and *Calendario Histórico*.³⁹ The forementioned *Tesoro de Medicinas* was a work on pharmaceuticals made in the Oaxtepec hospital for the use of its doctors, nurses and hospitalier friars; sold and distributed for the profit of that institution. The paraphrasis of the Apocalypse book was also written in Oaxtepec, made at the request of the creole cleric Pedro de Agurto.⁴⁰ The arguments that do not take into consideration these works by Gregorio are

³⁷ Cohen, "Don Gregório", 284.

³⁸ José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Sociedad y Evangelización en Nueva Galicia durante el siglo XVI* (México: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1993).

³⁹ See for instance "Gregorio López" by Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispanoamericano*, vol. 7, I-L (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1954), 612-613 and 679.

⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, Gregorio's period in Oaxtepec is crucial to understand how he positioned himself in New Spain's society, and especially, how the different religious factions related to him. In part II, we shall delve further into the

fallible, to say the least, alleging they were never published and probably only served for private use, having thus quickly become lost. This rhetoric is flawed, given that both Gregorio's texts were only published posthumously, and its production context in the Hospital of Oaxtepec led to its considerable circulation, although in a manuscript form.

Álvaro Huerga's re-edition of the *Declaración del Apocalipsis* is part of the "Espirituales Españoles" collection, started by Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez.⁴¹ Álvaro Huerga re-edited the *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, adding a lengthy introduction and preliminary study, which despite being informative, repeated most of what he had already affirmed in the *Historia de los Alumbrados*. Nonetheless, Lopez's work on the Book of Revelation leads us to the scholarly work produced around his exegesis. Joseph Saranyana, for instance, finds Gregorio through his study of Joachim of Fiore in the Americas, consequently writing a paper on Gregorio's *Declaración*, unravelling one of the genealogies of Gregorio's work and its contexts.⁴² Still concerning the *Declaración*, the Colombian art historian, Marta Fajardo de Rueda, had to go back to the moment of its writing in order to understand the presence of one of its copies in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, a rare copy featuring illustrations by the French illustrator, Jean Le Clerc (as well as probably by his sons), thus making it a very early copy that presumably travelled back and forth across the Atlantic.⁴³

connections Gregorio developed with several religious orders, as well as further examine his relation with Pedro de Agurto.

⁴¹ According to Huerga, he was invited to proceed with its publication, which Sáinz Rodríguez had initially entrusted to Marcel Bataillon, but the Hispanist had no time to do it. Álvaro Huerga, "Edición, estudio preliminar y Notas", in *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, Gregorio López, Colección "Espirituales Españoles". Serie A Textos. Vol. 46 (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1999), 134.

⁴² I would like to thank Bernard McGinn for the reference to this article: Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, "Análisis doctrinal del «Tratado del Apocalypsi» de Gregorio López († 1596, en México), publicado en Madrid en 1678" in *Storie e Figure dell'Apocalisse fra '500 e '600, Atti del 4.º Congresso internazionale di studi gioachimiti*, coord. Roberto Rusconi, Collana Opere di Gioacchino da Fiore: testi e strumenti, 7 (San Giovanni in Fiore: Viella, 1996). This author previously worked on the thematics in Josep-Ignasi Saranyana and Ana de Zaballa, *Joaquín de Fiore y América*, 2nd Edition (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunote, 1995).

⁴³ Marta Fajardo de Rueda, "Milenarismo y arte. La presencia del pensamiento de Joaquín de Fiore en la Nueva Granada" in *Palimpsestvs, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Humanas*, 4 (2004), 236-258. The book's entry in the National Library of Colombia is: "19, 15, 2, 117-291. APOCALIPSIS traducido y declarado por el venerable Gregorio López y sacado por el licenciado Francisco de Losa, compañero y perpetuo devoto suyo y autor del libro de su vida (Real cédula sobre canonización. 1620). Pasta de Pergamino. Ilustrado con grabados en madera. 20.4x14.03cm", in *Catálogos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Vol. Vol. 1. Manuscritos*, ed. Delia Palomino

On the other hand, Gregorio Lopez became a God-inspired erudite in the history of sixteenth-century medicine and pharmacy in Spain and New Spain, the religious undertones of (t)his work being more or less accentuated depending on the relevance given to it. The authorship of the *Tesoro de Medicinas* has been questioned, legitimised, analysed, and compared in various research projects. Anthropologist Juan Comas, for instance, sees it as a product of inverse acculturation, having arrived at this conclusion as a result of his study on “the impact indigenous culture had on classical Spanish medicine in New Spain”.⁴⁴ Comas gathered bibliographical references to the work, and compared the differences between each edition, reflecting on the context of its production, namely, the Oaxtepec hospital.

Francisco Guerra was inevitably informed by the numerous references to Gregorio Lopez in the Ibero-American historiography from the nineteenth century on. No other historian of medicine has gone deeper than Francisco Guerra in his critical essay on the *Treasury of Medicines*, further providing one of the complete lists of editions, publications, and translations of Gregorio Lopez’s *Vida* and of his own texts. Guerra also rigorously analysed (in a *bona fide* microhistorical account) the content, usages, and authorship of the pharmaceutical treaty, questioning how much of it Gregorio wrote.⁴⁵ Himself a physician and historian of medicine, Guerra was undoubtedly wondered about the character behind this obscure pharmaceutical treaty produced in sixteenth-century Mexico. Guerra followed the trail of Lopez’s manuscripts and their editions, concluding not only that the content might have changed considerably, but also that his work very much relied on the work of Francisco Hernandez (ca. 1517-1587),

(Bogotá: Colcultura, 1989), 19. The article features twenty-nine pictures of the illustrations. On Jean Le Clerc, a brief reference by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in “Jean Le Clerc (1525?-1599)”, last updated on February 7th, 2017, http://data.bnf.fr/16514497/jean_le_clerc/; *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires et fondateurs de caracteres en exercice à Paris au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Dominique Renouard, Librairie des Arts et Métiers-Éditions (Nogent Le Roi: Jacques Laget, 1995), 253-254.

⁴⁴ My translation of: “[...] *el impacto que sobre la medicina española clásica tuvo la cultura indígena en la Nueva España*”, in Juan Comas, “Un caso de aculturación farmacológica en Nueva España del siglo XVI: el ‘Tesoro de Medicinas’ de Gregorio López” in *Anales de Antropología*, 1 (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964), 145-173.

⁴⁵ Francisco Guerra, “The Paradox of the *Treasury of Medicines* by Gregorio López (1542-1596)” in *Clio Medica*, 1 (Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1966), 273-288.

author of the masterpiece *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, which was probably available at the Oaxtepec hospital when Gregorio was living there. Guerra would end up publishing the original manuscript sent to the Vatican, serving as a valuable source of Gregorio's originality.⁴⁶

Maria Rodríguez-Sala and Rosalba Villeda resumed the impact of Gregorio's life and work throughout the past four centuries, viewing his 'medical' or 'scientific' work, not through the perspective of its content, but rather, by considering its primary purpose and usage – in this regard the historiography seems to be convergent, as the manuscript was created in order to be used in the absence of physicians and pharmacies, thus aiding with medical practice. They recall Gregorio's "remarkable social and religious presence, not only throughout the three centuries of colonial rule in 'Mexico', but also during the next two hundred years that followed the struggle for Independence", a presence that is evident in historiography, literature, and in religious veneration, bringing to the fore an exciting polemic concerning the location of his mortal remains in the Cathedral of Mexico City.⁴⁷

Medical historiography has considered Gregorio Lopez as a peculiarity of his time. In order to approach the (supposed) author of the *Tesoro de Medicinas*, medical history scholars have had to make an effort to first map out his biography, similarly to what I have aimed to do with this historical 'anti-biography', to finally get to the core of this sixteenth-century individual. The writing skills Gregorio Lopez evinces in the *Tesoro de Medicinas* have usually been linked to his passage through the Monastery of Guadalupe in Spain, although no source can confirm such assumptions. Regardless, his botanical skills were definitively amplified throughout his life in Mexico and his stay in Oaxtepec, near Montezuma's botanical garden. However, usually, Gregorio Lopez has been described without critically examining his relation to the multiple places he lived.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Francisco Guerra, *El Tesoro de Medicinas de Gregorio Lopez* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1982).

⁴⁷ Maria Rodríguez-Sala and R. Tena-Villeda, "The venerable varón Gregorio López, impact of his life and work throughout 400 years, 1562-2000" *Gaceta Médica de México* 2003 Jul-Aug; 139 (4) (Mexico: Academia Nacional de Medicina de México, 2003), 401-8.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, Juan Somolinos Palencia, "La medicina galeno-hipocrática y el Renacimiento español", 121-126; Germán Somolinos d'Ardois, "La fusión indoeuropea en la medicina Mexicana del siglo XVI", 127-131;

Javier Puerto Sarmiento's portrait of Gregorio Lopez is quite radical in this regard.⁴⁹ In *Prodigios y naufragios*, a collection of studies on pharmaceutical therapeutics in Spain and the Americas during the 'Golden Century', he focuses on the pharmaceutical work as a way to psychologically access the man himself. For Sarmiento, Gregorio was a "prodigy between mysticism and psychological pain and a phenomenal intellectual failure", a figure the scholar evaluates from his twentieth-century perception, in which Gregorio resembles a depressed 'hippie' with various physical 'weaknesses'. A view that, by attempting to demystify Lopez, ends up being a prejudiced comparison between Gregorio's life and works, with depictions of the most 'successful' writers in the Spanish Golden Age.

The *Tesoro de Medicinas*, far from being a work of a genius within the genre, became, nonetheless, essential to the assessment of New Spain's medical literature of the sixteenth century, despite its authorship and content have been under the scrutiny of medical historiography in the last decades. Concerning the *Declaración*, mostly studied from a religious perspective given that it is Gregorio Lopez's most direct discourse, Álvaro Huerga does not discard the possibility of manipulation of the manuscripts when it was first published in Spain.⁵⁰ The polemics that ensued reinforce the need for a critical and careful reading of the different editions (since the original manuscripts seem to have been lost), when using Gregorio's works as sources to 'identify' Gregorio's singular/plural religious world-views and affiliations.

Josefina Muriel, "Los hospitales de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI", 228-254; Jorge Avendaño Inestrillas, "Boticas y boticarios de la Colonia", 295-312, all in *Medicina novohispana siglo XVI. Historia General de la Medicina en México Vol. II*, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán y Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, (coords.) (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990).

⁴⁹ My translation of: "[...] un prodigio entre la mística y el dolor psicológico y como un fenomenal naufragio intelectual", in Javier Puerto Sarmiento, "La vida prodigiosa de Gregorio López" in *Prodigios y naufragios: Estudios sobre terapéutica farmacológica, en España y América, durante el Siglo de Oro*, Javier Puerto Sarmiento, Juan Esteva de Sagrera, María Esther Alegre Pérez (eds.) (Madrid: Doce Callas, 2006), 21-135.

⁵⁰ Huerga, "Edición", 59-71.

1.4. The men around Gregorio Lopez

Despite all the genealogies of histories in which Gregorio Lopez usually appears as a fringe figure, the best way to become familiarised with Gregorio is through the biography written by his companion, Francisco Losa. In *Colonial Saints*, Jodi Bilinkoff reveals the necessity for getting to know the biographer himself and explores the relationship between Lopez and Losa, to contextualise the historical memory they created of their time.⁵¹ Aside from reconstructing the biography of Francisco Losa, Bilinkoff points out important features of his relation with Gregorio Lopez, highlighting its singularity in confronting early modern religious practices through the crafting of the religious identity of the territories newly explored under Spanish rule: Losa's unusual professional choices (leaving behind a stable career as a secular clergyman in the vice-kingdom's capital in order to provide for his companion); the interchangeable roles of master, confessor, protector, mentor, friend, follower, advisor, between a layman and a cleric; the way Losa uses his biography to promote an *exemplum* that both laymen and clergy could look up to.⁵² In concluding her chapter, Bilinkoff delves into Losa's contradiction, reflecting a long-standing tradition of Catholic culture's discourse, namely that ideas do not necessarily translate into generalised practices.

In addition to the study of Gregorio's biographer, it is also worth mentioning the various researches that arrive at Gregorio through other men he contacted or who wrote about him. We have already seen how Martin Cohen got to Gregorio while analysing the case of Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*. Similarly, Jesús Paniagua Pérez seems to have encountered Gregorio via his study on Alonso Remón (author of the second edition of

⁵¹ Jodi Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa and Gregorio López: Spiritual friendship and identity formation on the New Spain frontier", in Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (eds.), *Colonial saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 115-128.

⁵² "Thus could Gregorio Lopez serve as a model of pious masculinity for laymen noted for their ambition, greed, and violence. And Francisco Losa could likewise be held up as exemplary – selfless, charitable, otherworldly – in contrast to clerics often dismissed as poorly educated, venal, and corrupt", in Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 125.

Losa's biography), as well as through a work devoted to Pedro de Valencia done at the University of León.⁵³

Moreover, the several places where Gregorio settled, in what is now modern-day Mexico, carved a place for him in their American Hispanic history. An example of this is the passionate texts by Bernardo del Hoyo Calzada and other local history enthusiasts from Jerez and Zacatecas, who wrote different pieces on the hermitages Gregorio 'founded' in the region.⁵⁴ Or the brief articles by authors marvelled with Gregorio's mysteries, though having limited time and interest in order to proceed with further studies.⁵⁵ And finally, let us not forget the references and chapters dedicated to Gregorio in works pertaining to the study of colonial Mexico and the Spanish *Siglo d'Oro*: Francisco Solano refers to him in his monumental work on Ciudad de México⁵⁶; Eugenio del Hoyo insists on the connection between Gregorio and the Carvajals⁵⁷; Melquíades Andrés links the *recogidos* of Spain and America, mentioning the solitary man⁵⁸; Julio Jiménez Rueda does not fail to include Gregorio in his book on heresy and superstition in

⁵³ Jesús Paniagua Pérez, "Gregorio López: hagiografía de un iluminista español del siglo XVI en la Nueva España" in Alessandro Musco e Giovanna Parrino, eds., *Santi, Santuari, Pellegrinaggi. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio* (San Giuseppe Jato – San Cipirello: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2011), 145-163; *Obras completas: Pedro de Valencia. Volume 5. Colección Humanistas españoles*, Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Francisco Xavier Fuente Fernández, (eds.) (León: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1993).

⁵⁴ Bernardo del Hoyo Calzada, "La Fundación de Jerez" in *Jerez en Septiembre*, (1991), 2-5; idem, "El Venerable Gregorio López en Zacatecas" in *Heráldica y genealogía zacatecana*, October 12th, 2014, <http://heraldicaygenealogiazacatecana.blogspot.pt/2014/10/el-venerable-gregorio-lopez-en-zacatecas.html>; idem, "San Juan Diego y el venerable Gregorio López. "Dos ermitaños guadalupanos" in *Historia de la Diócesis de Zacatecas*, February 3rd, 2016, <http://historiadeladiocesisdezacatecas.blogspot.pt/2016/02/san-juan-diego-y-el-venerable-gregorio.html>; idem, "El teléfono descompuesto" in *Bernardo del Hoyo Calzada*, November 27th, 2016, <http://bernardodelhoyoc.blogspot.pt/2016/11/el-telefono-descompuesto.html>; Valentín García Juárez, *Historia de la Fundación de Jerez* (s. l.: Imprenta Acosta, 1990); Leonardo de la Torre y Berumen, "Xerez de la Frontera, Primeros años de vida" in *Revista de Valores* (2008).

⁵⁵ Examples include: O. Hutterer, I. de la Peña and C. Viesca, "Gregorio Lopez. El hombre más raro del mundo" in *Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine, London, 1974* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974), 1162-1165; José Fradejas Lebrero, "El venerable Gregorio López", Sep. *Ciclo de Conferencias El Madrid de Felipe II*, 12 (Madrid: Artes Gráf. Municipales, 1999), 5-28.

⁵⁶ Francisco de Solano, *Voces de la ciudad. México a través de sus impresos (1539-1820)*, Madrid: s.ed., 1994, Ms/. 872 y 873 *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad...*, 244, n. 58.

⁵⁷ Eugenio del Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de León, 1577-1723* (Monterrey, N.L.: ITESM/Fondo Editorial de Nuevo León, 2014), 217, 558.

⁵⁸ Melquíades Andrés Martín, "Introducción a la mística del recogimiento y su lenguaje" in Mancho Duque, María Jesús (ed.) *En torno a la mística* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), 29-57; id., *Historia de la Mística de la edad de oro en España y América* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1994).

New Spain, devoting a whole chapter to the subject⁵⁹; not to mention, publications by Menéndez Pelayo, Paul Dudon, or even, Marcel Bataillon,⁶⁰ likewise many others inevitably forced to bring up the transversal name of Gregorio Lopez, as we shall see throughout the following sections, where we will look into the ideas Francisco Losa put forward in his hagiographical account, and its consecutive interpretations and uses.

1.5 A literary character

The overview presented in **TABLE IA** does not contain any editions of Gregorio's *Life* from 1780 – when the canonisation cause was abandoned – up until 1825. The failure of the canonisation in Rome dictated the consequent oblivion of the religious cause, in a process sponsored with American silver and drowned in European bureaucracy. In spite of all that, his-story was read in other contexts and with different purposes and, slowly, the supposed sanctity of Gregorio Lopez was transformed into something else.

TABLE IA – PUBLICATIONS OF GREGORIO LOPEZ'S VIDA

| Author | Title | Year | Place | Publisher | Translator [Language] |
|-------------------------|---|------|---------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Artemio de Valle-Aripze | <i>Gregorio López, hijo de Felipe II, su vida y muerte en México</i> | 1957 | Mexico | Compañía General de Ediciones | |
| Fernando Ocaranza | <i>Gregorio López, el hombre celestial</i> | 1944 | Mexico | Ediciones Xóchitl | |
| Ermilo Abreu Gómez | <i>La vida milagrosa del venerable siervo de Dios, Gregorio López</i> | 1925 | Mexico | Carlos Rivadeneyra | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>Gregorius Lopez, eene levensbeschrijving</i> | 1908 | Utrecht | P. Den Boer | Anonymous [Dutch] |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The Life of Gregory Lopez</i> | 1876 | London | R. Washbourne | Francis Cuthbert Doyle [English] |

⁵⁹ Julio Jiménez Rueda, *Herejías y supersticiones en la Buena España (Los Heterodoxos en México)* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), 155, 174-182; Id., Anotaciones a, in José Toribio Medina, *Historia de la Inquisición en México* (México; 1952), 143.

⁶⁰ Paul Dudon, S.J., *Le quiétiste espagnol Michel de Molinos (1628-1696)* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1921); R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. 2/3, (Aix-la Chapelle: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, 1924); Marcel Bataillon, "L'esprit des évangélisateurs de Mexique" in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 50, (1950), 229-234; Id., "Evangélisme et millénarisme au Nouveau Monde" in AA.VV. *Courants religieux et humanisme*, (Paris: P.U.F., 1957), 25-36; Id., *Estudios sobre Bartolomé de las Casas* (Barcelona: Península, 1976).

| Author | Title | Year | Place | Publisher | Translator [Language] |
|----------------|--|------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Francisco Losa | <i>The life of Gregory Lopez: a hermit in America...</i> | 1856 | Boston | [John Eyre] | John Eyre [English] |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The life of Gregory Lopez, a hermit in America...</i> | 1841 | New York | John Eyre | John Eyre [English] |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The life of Gregory López, written originally in Spanish [included in The Life and Death of Thomas Walsh; both abridged by John Wesley]</i> | 1835 | Baltimore | Isaac P. Cook | John Wesley [English] |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The Life of Gregory Lopez. Written originally in Spanish. Abridged by J. Wesley</i> | 1825 | London | J. Kershaw | John Wesley [English] |

1.5.1 An American religious symbol

Appendix I compiles the lists Francisco Guerra⁶¹ and Álvaro Huerga⁶² elaborated of bibliographical references to Gregorio Lopez, which the authors collected from diverse nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarly works mainly devoted to the study of Mexico and Spain. As we have seen, most twentieth-century scholarly discourse involving Gregorio Lopez is characterised by either examining his identity as an author, through a rigorous analysis of the hermit's works or inserting him into the mystical subculture(s) of early modern history of spirituality in the Catholic Monarchy's territories. However, before historians became interested in the story of Gregorio Lopez as an object of study, Losa's book was diverted from its initial religious purpose, turning the protagonist into a literary subject.

The Cuban writer, Alejo Carpenter, for instance, mentions Gregorio in his 1978 book, *El arpa y la sombra*, a novel that fantasises on the attempted canonisation of Christopher Columbus.⁶³ Revolving around the figure of Mastai-Ferreti, future Pio IX and postulator of such 'scandalous' petition, and his travels to the Americas, Carpenter explores the hagiographical history of the continent through the analysis the cleric makes of the surrounding reality, "a reality that was about to escape from the hands of a Church used

⁶¹ Guerra, "The paradox", 287-288.

⁶² Huerga, "Edición", 143-149.

⁶³ Alejo Carpenter, *El arpa y la sombra* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2008).

to conducting the destiny of nations and continents".⁶⁴ Precisely due to the minor impact American 'saints' had on the local devotional scene, Pio IX proposed canonising a more 'universal' figure such as the 'discoverer' of the continent, a request the Congregation of Rites would later deny.⁶⁵ The ironic tone employed by Carpenter to review the American hagiographical tradition makes it a work on the edge of historical discourse, as de Certeau accurately described it, whereas other narratives resembled more 'golden legends'.⁶⁶

During the transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in searching for their national identity, Mexican intellectuals found in Gregorio Lopez an extraordinary character of the continent's Hispanic history, restoring some authenticity to the national narrative. Ermilo Abreu Gómez and Artemio de Valle-Arizpe (who prefaced Gómez's work on Gregorio) were part of a group of intellectuals that disseminated what was referred to as 'colonialist' literature, along with Julio Jiménez Rueda, who, as we saw, dedicated a chapter to Gregorio Lopez in his monograph on heresy in New Spain.

Teodosio Fernández notes how Abreu Gómez approached the "obscure and attractive territory of heterodoxy" through his novelistic approach to the Venerable Mexican⁶⁷, even if Valle-Arizpe and Ocaranza were bolder in their interpretations. Fernando Ocaranza is clear in his final remarks with regard to *El hombre celestial* refuting Ricardo Palma's, Vicente Riva Palacio's and Jesús Galindo y Villa's attempt to recover a legend concerning Gregorio's royal ancestry, choosing instead to epitomise the hermit as "un adelantado enciclopedista", as well as a "gran erudito" of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Valle-Arizpe insists that the Black Legend behind the death of Felipe's primogeniture was

⁶⁴ My translation of: "[...] *realidad que está a punto de escaparse de las manos de una Iglesia acostumbrada a dirigir el destino de naciones y continentes*", in Raquel Arias Careaga, "Estudio preliminar, bibliografía de la obra y notas" in Alejo Carpenter, *El arpa y la sombra*, 35.

⁶⁵ Carpenter, *El arpa*, 215; Careaga, "Estudio", 26.

⁶⁶ See note 3 in the introduction section 'Anti-biography': how to deconstruct a (religious) vita?; and Careaga, "Estudio preliminar", 26.

⁶⁷ Teodosio Fernández, "El pasado mexicano en la literatura 'colonialist'" in *América sin nombre*. N.º 9-10 (nov. 2007), 67-74.

⁶⁸ Jesús Galindo y Villa, "Quién fue Gregorio López?" in *Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias*, Vol. II, 370, Mexico (1889); Ricardo Palma, "Quién fue Gregorio López?" in *Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias*, Vol. I, 209, Mexico (1889); Vicente Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, Vol. II (Mexico: J. Balleca y Comp.^a Editores and Spain: Espasa y Comp.^a, 1884), 568.

created to hide the escape of Carlos to the Indies, where he became... Gregorio Lopez. Nevertheless, for these authors, whether or not he was the son of Felipe II, or whether he was more or less acquainted with the Carvajals, Gregorio Lopez symbolised the purest Spanish heritage, useful in a post-revolutionary Mexico, representing neither the coloniser, nor the conqueror, nor even the missionary: he was "the celestial man" of the great nation that is Mexico. Relating these academics with Alfonso Toro and Fernando Ocaranza, we can infer that Gregorio must have been the subject of several conversations amongst not only academics.⁶⁹ For instance, Arturo Ripstein and José Emilio Pacheco were inspired to write the screenplay for the motion picture *El Santo Oficio* by reading Alfonso Toro's work on the Carvajals.

In a note to the screenplay of Ripstein's 1973 film, they add the importance of reading Valle-Arizpe and Gomez's novels about Gregorio Lopez in order to understand such an enigmatic character. They write the following: "Para aproximarnos a un personaje aún más enigmático que Carvajal, nos fueron útiles 'La vida del venerable Gregorio López' por Ermilo Abreu Gómez (1924) y 'Gregorio López, hijo de Felipe II' por Artemio del Valle-Arizpe (1957)".⁷⁰ Ripstein and Pacheco opted for Carvajal's perspective, Gregorio being represented as a crypto-Jew who helped the Carvajal family to hide and escape and as someone who provided medicines to other Judaizers. The director and the writer do not forget, in their note to the screenplay, to refer not only to several books about the Jews in Mexico but also to the works developed by Serge Gruzinsky and Solange Alberro, for a new understanding of the religion and mentalities of colonial Mexico, many of them published by means of the Department of Historical Research in INAH (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).⁷¹

⁶⁹ For instance, Alfonso Toro's *La familia Carvajal* had a place on the bookshelf of Frida Kahlo, still exhibited nowadays at the Casa Azul, where Kahlo and Rivera lived in Coyoacán, México City.

⁷⁰ "Note" in Arturo Ripstein, José Emilio Pacheco, *El Santo Oficio* (Culiacán: Universidad de Sinaloa, 1980).

⁷¹ It is worth to mention Serge Gruzinski, Jean-Michel Sallmann. "Une source d'ethnohistoire: les vies de vénérables dans l'Italie méridionale et le Mexique Baroque" in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, vol. 88, n°. 2. 1976. 789-822. Although the authors refer to Gregorio Lopez, his case-study is not analyzed any further than a brief mention of his relics' usage.

1.5.2 A hermit within the Anglo-Saxon Christian traditions

1908 marks the year of the last translation (into Dutch) of Losa's hagiographical format, although we were not able to investigate in detail nor identify who the author of the translation from German into Dutch was.⁷² Tom-Eric Krijger, Dutch historian of liberal Protestantism, informed me of the *Vereeniging tot weder-uitgave van mystieke geschriften uit vroegere eeuwen* (Society for the re-publication of mystical writings from earlier centuries), which issued the Dutch translation of the German book on Gregorio Lopez. This organisation was "founded [...] by Gerhard Hendrik van Senden (1884-1968), most likely in 1908, since the first book published by this 'society for the reissue' of mystical texts from bygone centuries was published in that same year, namely *Het boekje van het volkomen leven*, a text by Martin Luther". The second book that this society published was the *vita* of Gregorio Lopez. In total, they released eight books, the last one in 1912.⁷³

The translator at hand may be Gerhard van Senden himself, perhaps informed by other scholars of mystical studies. Nevertheless, the "Inleidend woord" (Introductory note) leads us in the direction of Heinrich Heppe, a German church historian and expert on the history of Pietism, as the main link between the German compendium and the Dutch translation of Tersteegen's text. In the Dutch edition, the German theologian and writer, Gerhard Tersteegen's foreword guides us through the constellation of authors and references (Arnauld D'Andilly, Poiret, Madame Guyon, Molinos, Falconi) through which he became acquainted with Gregorio Lopez's story – a community of interpretation we shall look into further on.

One way or another, Losa's book found its way onto the bookshelves. Francis Cuthbert Doyle's 1876 London edition is rather informative as to how the book circulated, the Benedictine disclosing in its preface how he had come across the copy he would later adapt:

⁷² Francisco Losa, trans. anon., *Gregorius Lopez*, Vereeniging tot weder-uitgave van Mystieke Geschriften uit vroegere eeuwen; 2 (Utrecht: P. den Boer. 1908).

⁷³ Tom-Eric Krijger provided me with this data via electronic mail, on December 19th, 2015.

A gentleman, who was on very friendly terms with one of our Fathers, chanced, while passing a book-stall in one of our provincial towns, to catch a glimpse of the seal of one of our monasteries upon the title-page of a small volume, which was in a rather dilapidated condition. He examined the book, found it to be the life of Gregory Lopez, and at the expense of a few coppers, rescued it from the waste-paper basket. He presented it to the Father, as a curiosity, and from his hands I received that for which I have searched in vain for so long time.⁷⁴

Doyle acknowledged both the 1675 and the 1686 London editions; both adapted from Losa's second edition (that we shall discuss in the following section). In addition, it may be of interest to note the English Benedictine's intention(s): "to encourage [...] those who are striving to cultivate in their hearts a spirit of affective prayer, of self-denial and of humble resignation to the Holy Will of God; and also to prevent the memory of a good man from perishing off the face of the earth".⁷⁵

Doyle's edition is contemporary to the multiple American printings of Losa's book, adapted from John Wesley's version, included in his *Extracts of Lives of Sundry Eminent People*, abridged in 1755 in Bristol, where the Methodist recaptured the life of the hermit.⁷⁶ He felt discovering a fitting example for his idea of a lived spirituality. Thus his reasons were similar to Wesley's reasons to recover Lopez's biography. In fact, on the cover of the 1856 edition, John Wesley's words read as thus: "For many years I despaired of finding any inhabitant of Great Britain that could stand in any degree of comparison with Gregory Lopez".⁷⁷ Wesley's version of Lopez's *Vita* was published in America by the Methodists (through John Eyre), both in New York and Boston, in 1841 and 1856, respectively.⁷⁸ John Eyre was very clear about his aims in reviving the life of a Christian hermit who lived most of his life in America. In the preface he wrote:

⁷⁴ Francis Cuthbert Doyle, "Preface" in *The life of Gregory Lopez*, Francisco Losa, trans. Francis Cuthbert Doyle (London: R. Washbourne, 1876), VI.

⁷⁵ Doyle, "Preface", VII.

⁷⁶ We shall look closer at Wesley's appropriation of Gregorio Lopez in the ensuing chapter.

⁷⁷ John Eyre "Preface" in Francisco Losa, trans. John Eyre, *The life of Gregory Lopez, a hermit in America* (Boston: Henry V. Geden, n. 21 Cornhill, 1856), Title page.

⁷⁸ See for example, Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: the making of American Spirituality*, 2nd Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 76-78.

Let us, therefore, put on the whole armour of God, and practise his virtues at home, without retiring to the desert – follow his example in renouncing the love of his present evil world, and all sinful pleasures – imitate him in plainness of speech, avoiding evil speaking and useless ceremonies – his abstinence – his fervent prayer – his striving seventy times seven to enter at the strait gate of perfect love to God – perfect resignation to his will – perfect charity towards all men – and his earnest and perpetual desire to do the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven.⁷⁹

John Kershaw had the Methodist version of Losa's *Vida* printed, after Wesley's death, in London (1825).⁸⁰ Wesley's *Life of Gregory Lopez* was added to another compendium of virtuous lives, *Life and Death of Thomas Walsh*, published in Baltimore by Isaac P. Cook, in 1835.⁸¹

The publication of Gregorio Lopez's model by the Anglo-Saxon Christinities witnesses how more than being the cause or the effect of the rumours that place Gregorio's proximity to Lutheran or Protestant ideas; such editions show the widespread of virtuous examples throughout the communities of interpretation interested in the spiritual transversality of these mystical, marginal figures. For these readers and publishers, the results of a canonisation process were probably less important than the wide representation a virtuous person like Gregorio Lopez offered: a layman practising an internalised religious experience, challenging the norms dictated by his own Church.

*

Whether or not being part of any denominational church's strategy, Gregorio Lopez found his way to many readers in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The model of the American hermit would come to be 'resurrected', not only by Mexican scholars

⁷⁹ Eyre, *The life*, VIII-IX.

⁸⁰ Helmut Renders, "A soteriologia social de John Wesley com consideração de seus aspectos comunitários, sinérgicos e públicos" (PhD thesis., São Bernardo do Campo: Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, 2006), 392.

⁸¹ See for example, Elaine A. Heath, *Naked Faith: The Mystical Theology of Phoebe Palmer* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2010), 60-63.

who carefully scrutinised Gregorio and his life but also as part of a mystical-literary network of readers. The attempt to evangelise the entire world fuelled the creation of new myths, through which the hagiographical tradition not only encountered new religious experiences and practices but also reshaped them into other narratives. Even if he was not a saint, Gregorio Lopez holds a place in the History of America, expressly during the period when this continent proclaimed independence from its colonial past.

CHAPTER 2. 1780-1675: DUBIOUS SANCTITY BEFORE CHRISTIAN EYES

TABLE IB – PUBLICATIONS OF GREGORIO LOPEZ’S *VIDA*

| AUTHOR(S) | TITLE | DATE | PLACE | PUBLISHER | TRANSLATOR [IDIOM] | DEDICATORY |
|------------------------------------|---|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Francisco Losa, John Wesley | <i>Extracts from the Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons [...]. The life of Mr. Gregory Lopez. Written originally in Spanish.</i> | 1755 | Bristol | E. Farley | John Wesley [English] | |
| | <i>Compendio della vita del Ven. Servo di dio Gregorio Lopez, primo anacoreta dell'Indie, cavata da Processi per di lui Beatificazione e Canonizzazione</i> | 1753 | Roma | Heredi Barbiellini a Pasquino | Bernardino de Membrive [Italian] | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>De vita, et rebus gestis Venerabilis Servi Dei Gregorii Lopesi. Hispani Comentarius</i> | 1751 | Roma | Antonio de Rubeis | Antonio de Rossi [Latin] | |
| | <i>Compendium operis "De studioso Bibliorum" ad opportunitatem causae Servi Dei, Gregorio Lopez</i> | 1751 | Roma | Antonio de Rubeis | Bernardino de Membrive [Latin] | Benedictus XIV |
| | <i>Compendio della Vita del Ven. servo di dio Gregorio Lopez, primo anacoreta dell' Indie</i> | 1750 | Roma | Antonio de Rossi | [Italian] | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>Vita condotta dal servo di dio Gregorio Lopez nella Nuova Spagna</i> | 1740 | Roma | Stamperia de Komarek | Bernardino Membrive [Italian] | Elisabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain |
| Francisco Losa, Luis Muñoz | <i>Ausserlesene Lebens Beschreibungen heiliger Seelen in Welchen nebst der selben merckwürdigen äussern Lebens-Historie</i> | 1733 | Frankfurt und Leipzig | Böttiger | Gerhard Tersteegen [German] | |
| Francisco Losa, Gregorio de Argaiz | <i>Vida del siervo de Dios Gregorio López.</i> | 1727 | Madrid | Juan de Aritzia | | Consejo de las Indias |
| Francisco Losa | <i>Le saint solitaire des Indes, ou, La vie de Gregoire Lopez</i> | 1717 | Cologne [sic: Amsterdam] | Pierre Poiret / Jean de la Pierre | Robert Arnould d'Andilly [French] | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The holy life, pilgrimage, and blessed death of Gregory Lopez, a Spanish hermit in the West Indies</i> | 1686 | London | W.C. | s. n. [Abraham Woodhead] [English] | |
| Francisco Losa, Gregorio de Argaiz | <i>Vida y escritos del venerable varón Gregorio López</i> | 1678 | Madrid | Antonio Francisco de Zafra | | Archángel Gabriel |
| Francisco Losa | <i>The holy life of Gregory Lopez, a Spanish hermit in the West-Indies done out of Spanish</i> | 1675 | London | s. n. | s. n. [Abraham Woodhead] [English] | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>Nascimento, vida, e morte admiraveis do grande servo de Deos Gregorio Lopes portuguez, natural da antiga villa de Linhares.</i> | 1675 | Lisboa | Officina de Domingos Carneyro | Pedro Lobo Correa [Portuguese] | Luis de Menezes |

In order to contextualise the publications of Losa's *Vida* during Gregorio's canonisation process (1780-1675), we need to look at how the cause was handled, as well as how the negotiation of expectations taking place in various places and periods occurred. In **Table Ib** we may observe two significant tendencies in the publication (and markets) of Losa's text: on the one hand, Rome and Madrid, which were the channels of communication of Gregorio's process; on the other hand, Gregorio's story made its way to the French, the Anglo-Saxon and the Portuguese markets, to which Gregorio's story made its way as part of a larger narrative of mystical sainthood.

Both Antonio Rubial García and Pierre Ragon carefully studied Gregorio Lopez's canonisation from a comparative perspective, helping to pinpoint the avatars of the cause through the dates of importance mentioned in the primary documents of the process.⁸² On October 2nd, 1675, Clemens X declared Gregorio Lopez a Venerable of the Church: the papal bull for the opening of the process only arrived in Mexico in 1683; the *litterae remissoriales* – first emitted in 1676 – were sent two years later to Mexico, in 1678; the testimonies for the apostolic process proceeded from Mexico to Rome in 1691. The *dubio* ("doubt") regarding Gregorio's sanctity was declared in 1693, and in 1696 new remissorial letters arrived in Mexico, demanding the Venerable's writings, as well as the opening of his tomb, carried out in 1702.⁸³ Cardinal Lambertini, *Promoter Fidei* at the time and future Pope Benedictus XIV, emitted new animadversions concerning the cause in 1727. Moreover, due to problems with costs and delays in presenting Gregorio's written works, the cause would remain on stand-by for the ensuing two decades. Only in 1753 would a preparatory congregation be formed to evaluate it, foreseeing already great difficulties (insufficient testimonies, two missing works of Gregorio's supposed authorship, but mostly, problems arising from the anchorite's dismissal of the sacraments, as evidence of a sort of latent Quietism). Miscommunication of the Congregation of Rites' doubts, along with the Lutheran shadow cast on the solitary's reluctance towards sacraments, as well as accusations pertaining to the Roman procurators of the cause

⁸² Ragon, *Les saints*, 131-146 and Rubial García, *La santidad*, 66-91. Both scholars also look into other processes started in New Spain, like those of Sebastián de Aparicio, Felipe de Jesús, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bartolomé Gutiérrez, António Margil de Jesús and María de Jesús Tomellín.

⁸³ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 84.

(who were suspected of spending its funds on private dealings), resulted in the withdrawal of Carlos III's royal support to the process in 1780.⁸⁴

2.1 Canonisation's new politics and economy

Alice Wood reminds us that if it occurred during the medieval epoch, a cause like Gregorio's would probably have come to fruition. If it happened only a few years before, the papal bull from 1675 declaring Gregorio a Venerable would have been sufficient to achieve the creation of a new saint. However, by new seventeenth-century rules, the apostolic process had yet to begin, the cause thus being handed over to the "exclusive jurisdiction of the Holy See".⁸⁵ We should keep several facts in mind that Molinos' and his 1675' *Guía Espiritual* were not condemned until 1687 for its heretical propositions, that at the time Rome opted to canonise a mystical attitude and experience embodied in people like Teresa d'Ávila and Rosa de Lima, and that Spanish candidates to sainthood were the most numerous. Between 1675 and 1780, the Holy See went through twelve papacies, and if we take a brief look at the canonisations and beatifications' list – especially those of Spaniards, from the united kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, as well as from the new kingdoms on the other side of the Atlantic – we are able to discern the trends and ideological backgrounds the advocates for Gregorio's cause had to work with throughout those decades.

Clemens X (1670-1676) canonised Rosa de Lima and Luis Beltrán, beatified Francisco Solano and Juan de la Cruz, and declared María de Jesús de Ágreda and Gregorio Lopez Venerables; Innocentius XI (1676-1689) canonised two medieval saints who waited a long time for a place at the altar – namely, Bernard de Montjoux and Pedro Armengol – and also confirmed Molinos' condemnation; Alexander VIII (1689-1691) canonised, amongst others, Pascual Baylon, Juan de Sahagún and Juan de Dios; Innocentius XII (1691-1700) concluded the controversy surrounding Bossuet-Fénelon, condemning the latter's propositions, and also acknowledged a number of old cults, such as the one to Maria de

⁸⁴ See Rubial García, *La Santidad*, 88-91.

⁸⁵ Wood, *The discourse*, 132.

Cervelló; Clemens XI (1700-1721) declared Jansenism a heresy and canonised various clergymen and religious women, ranging from popes to abbesses; Innocentius XIII (1721-1724), during his short pontificate, did not approve any cults; Benedictus XIII (1724-1730) canonised Juan de la Cruz, Francisco Solano and Toribio de Mogrovejo, the latter two being important causes of the West Indies Church; Clemens XII (1730-1740), a champion of the papal finances, brought to the altar mystics and founders of various religious orders, mostly French and Italian; Benedictus XIV (1740-1758) put in tremendous effort to see the sanctification process organised and synthesised, canonising Pedro de Regalado, as well as other important reformers and founders of religious orders; Clemens XIII (1758-1769), in a papacy marked by the expulsions of Jesuits from many Catholic kingdoms, approved the cult to various saints, such as Joseph Casalan, who was involved in the foundation of religious institutions in line with the previous Pope's ethos; Clemens XIV (1769-1774) gave in to the pressure and suppressed the Society of Jesus, as well as proceeding to canonise mostly Italian saints involved in many of the reforms and establishment of diverse religious orders, similarly to what his predecessors had done; Pius VI (1775-1799) did not actually canonise anyone, but beatified Sebastián de Aparicio, along with 38 other individuals.⁸⁶

With regard to papal policies concerning the Sacred Congregation of Rites, we may observe that on October 15th, 1678, Innocentius XI decreed new dispositions concerning canonisation procedure.⁸⁷ Subsequently, Clemens XII also pronounced rules on the offices and charges of the consultors, lawyers and postulators of canonisation causes⁸⁸, and Benedictus XIV worked on the "systematisation of all legislation and juridical

⁸⁶ Vincenzo Criscuolo, Daniel Ols, Robert J. Sarno (coords.), *Le cause dei santi. Sussidio per lo Studium*, 3rd Edition (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014), 170.

⁸⁷ The decrees concerned "[...] *tra l'altro la presenza in ambito processuale di testi ex officio, l'invio a Roma degli atti processuali chiusi e sigillati, la necessità di una corretta traduzione e della revisione per i processi stesi in lingua estera, l'assoluta segretezza degli interrogatori con chiusura e sigillo degli atti dopo ogni seduta e con rinnovato giuramento ad ogni apertura, la diligente custodia e archiviazione con relative inventario di tutti gli atti processuali; si prescriveva inoltre di far passare dieci anni dalla presentazione dei processi ordinari alla segnatura della commissione per i processi apostolici, di esaminare i sommari e di sottometerli alla revisione delle cause, di redigere correttamente i sommari e di sottometerli alla revisione testuale, proibendo finalmente ai procuratori di trattare più di quattro cause contemporaneamente, e ai postulatori sei cause*", in *Leggi della Chiesa*, 201-205 *apud* Criscuolo *et al.* (coords.), *Le cause*, 176.

⁸⁸ Criscuolo *et al.* (coords.), *Le cause*, 176.

procedures of beatification and canonisation processes”⁸⁹. According to these new procedures, in order to declare a Catholic saint – after the informative process had been taken to Rome by the cause’s promoters, usually represented by the local diocese where the ‘candidate’ had lived or died, or by the religious order to which he/she belonged or even founded –, procurators and agents had first to prove that there was no public cult to the person in question. Only after the informative process had been prepared, would the apostolic process ensue, which assembled all information concerning the person: his writings, the condition of his mortal remains, data regarding the witnesses of the informative process, as well as anything the preparatory congregations would have considered necessary for the evaluation by the Congregation of Rites.

Most literature that analyses the changes of the legal procedures involved in the attribution of sainthood considers the centralisation of the process in the Vatican either as the culmination of a long history or as the result of a generalised (and modern) tendency towards bureaucratisation. The other side of this centralisation is how it translated into costs. We must note how Gregorio’s cause is an outstanding example of how the financial side of the process worked, as the alterations introduced to the canonisation process in the seventeenth century implied considerable sums, mainly at the expense of – in the case of Gregorio’s cause – New Spain subjects.⁹⁰

One of Rubial García’s conclusions concerning the investments in the cause is that they never generated the kind of reverential cult that could have resurrected the devotion of the people, which in turn might have produced enough miracles to enable its continuation. Indeed, the documentation regarding Gregorio Lopez reveals that his canonisation process became a matter of finances, mainly in New Spain. Without a religious order’s support, Gregorio’s process was dependent on its nominated agents, as

⁸⁹ Criscuolo *et al.* (coords.), *Le cause*, 176.

⁹⁰ Most of the documentation we find in the Archivo General de Indias focuses on the cause’s costs. This was the case for all canonization causes, being all a matter of diplomacy and bureaucracy, as well as part of the work of all the agents involved in the processes. As Rubial García affirms in *La santidad*, 26-28: “*Aguinaldos para los criados de los cardenales, obsequios de chocolate, tabaco, paños finos e imágenes para los cardenales postulador y promotor de la fe, pago de derechos para los ministros de la Congregación, salarios de abogados, agentes, copistas y traductores, impresión de memoriales, remisoriales, sumarios y biografías, facturas de pinturas y estampas de los postulados para promover su culto y sus milagros y el salario de los gestores, eran gastos que debían salir de las limosnas recogidas en los países que querían ver a sus venerables en los altares.*”

well as on the individuals able to testify in favour of the cause. Gregorio Lopez's promoters had to buy people off, as well as to be bought, and images and books regarding the saint-to-be worked as perfect presentation cards. In a way, we are only able to access the devotion towards Gregorio Lopez through the amount of money his cause cost.⁹¹ The documentation regarding Gregorio Lopez's canonisation process deposited at the Archivo General de Indias, corresponds to five files of all sorts of papers: copies of the information produced in the Vatican; correspondence between the various agents in Mexico, Madrid, Seville and Rome; as well as notes concerning costs, payments, budgets, alms, etc. Although this dissertation is not the appropriate place to present such monumental archival description, it nonetheless sets a showcase of the dynamics involving diverse institutions during the process of canonisation: from its beginnings to its conclusions, evolving from a religious goal to a political process, where diplomats, creditors, merchants, booksellers, publishers and public officers – from the viceroyalty in Mexico, as well as from the Spanish Court and the Vatican – were all in contact, negotiating devotion as a matter of public interest.

2.1.1 Alms and marketing

Considering the changes in the procedures to attain the declaration of sanctity from the Vatican, the formation of a specialiseised congregation devoted to the matter must be taken into account, expressly, the Congregation of Rites. The Congregation's members had to be convinced of the candidates' worthiness for sainthood, thus the importance of making their stories accessible.

Concurrently, the printing of images of Gregorio Lopez throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was part of what we could now designate as a formidable marketing strategy, comparable to those used to promote Felipe de Jesús and Rosa de

⁹¹ Archived under *Indiferente General*, in files (*legajos*) 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037 and 3038, there are approximately 7000 items awaiting processing. For this dissertation, in collaboration with Paulo Paixão, we attempted to summarise the contents of one of the files, so as to have an idea of the other files' contents. We have concluded that the files are an extraordinary example of the slow and complex bureaucracy that was one of the characteristics of the Ancien Régime (see in Appendix II - Diverse sets of sources related to Gregorio Lopez's canonization process).

Lima.⁹² Diverse pictorial tactics were used to illustrate Gregorio to his devotees: either the half-length Gregorio, with his Bible, his *Apocalipsis* and medical work, based on the 1642 anonymous illustration for Muñoz's edition of *Vida*⁹³; or the full-body Gregorio, during his retirement in Zacatecas, or in his last home in Santa Fe⁹⁴. Famous Mexican artists like Juan Rodríguez Juárez and José de Páez depicted Gregorio Lopez in those same lines.⁹⁵ Rubial García also provides plenty of information concerning the recovery of the Santa Fe and Jerez hermitages: the hermits who occupied these places following Gregorio Lopez; the devotees who gave alms for their upkeep; and how these places turned into religious tourist attractions by the end of the seventeenth century. Travellers Gemellí and Ajofrín publicised the recovery of the Santa Fe hermitage, where Gregorio died.⁹⁶ To this day, permission is required to visit the ruins of the restored oratory in Santa Fe. Also, in La Encarnación, the ruins of Gregorio's chapel, by the river, are used for family picnics.

Furthermore, Gregorio's process was kept in motion due to alms that were mandatory in last will clauses, alms that were invested into publications and recovery of hermitages, alms that had become lost, as well as alms that were sent to Spain and the Vatican. The careful reading of the correspondence between Mexico and Spain shows how that money was spent. We can read, for instance, the commission of the 1727's reprint of Lopez's *Vida* and works, in the bookshop of Juan de Aritzia, in Madrid: the precentor of the Mexican cathedral asked the *Consejo de Indias* (Council of the Indies) – the administrative body of the Spanish Empire and its territories overseas, located in Seville – for more books in order to publicise the cause in Nueva España, seen the successful

⁹² Rubial García draws this conclusion from Curiel's study where he analyses inventories, *dote* (dowry), letters and *avalúos* (appraisals), referring the presence of numerous portraits of Gregorio Lopez. See Gustavo Curiel, "San Felipe de Jesús, figura y culto" in *Actas del XI Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte*, Mexico, 1988, 83, n.º 33 *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 86-87.

⁹³ Rubial García erroneously attributes the 1642 illustration to Mathías de Irala, who only copied it in the 1727 version.

⁹⁴ Rubial García lists the places where we can find paintings of Gregorio Lopez: the parish churches of Santa Fe and La Encarnación, and the museums of Tepetzotlán, Guadalupe and Churubusco.

⁹⁵ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 86-87.

⁹⁶ Giovanni Gemelli, *Viaje a la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1976, 111; and Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario de viaje*, 2 v., México, 1964, v. I, 96; *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 85.

revenues of its sale; the Council asked for a cost estimate and ordered it; with some delays, the books were ordered and sent through Cádiz to Mexico in four boxes, one of which was damaged during the trip.⁹⁷ The money gathered in the sale would pay off the reprint and the shipping, and it would also increase the devotion to the Venerable. The money simply got lost.

In addition, we should take into account the costs of translations and copies of significant documentation for the canonisation process produced in the Holy See: the apostolic *super fama in genere* process between 1688 and 1691; the diverse versions of Losa's *libri vitae* in Italian and Latin, in addition to Juan Díaz de Arce's intellectual biography of Gregorio Lopez, included in his *Studio Bibliorum*, all dating from 1694; the translation of the 1684 apostolic process from Spanish into Latin; the apostolic *super virtute ne pereant* process from 1701-1702 and its respective translations into Italian and Latin; as well as the 1702 apostolic process and its various translations.

Without the sums of money involved in this process (that deserve a study on its own), we would not have most of the documentation produced during the period (1780-1675) in question, as shown in Appendix II, namely: thirty-two books of compiled data in the Vatican Archives, five similar books in the Vatican Library – including some compilations of his *Life* and other works – as well as four compilations of the printed discussion of the process, housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris. The Archivo General de Índias, in Seville, holds five immense files documenting the communication established between New Spain, Spain and the Vatican, where we may find various types of documentation concerning the cause's process, but mostly, concerning the propagation of the cause and the need to collect funds for it. Moreover, duplicated information may be found in many Mexican Archives, for instance, in the Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, as well as in the royal legislation spread throughout the major archives in Mexico, including the Archivo General de la Nación, the Archivo Histórico de la Catedral of Morelia and Ciudad de México, and the Archivo Histórico de San Luis Potosí, where we may also find residual sources, such as copies of the multiple bulls and

⁹⁷ Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Indiferente General*, 3034, series 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, 28, 31, 35, 54, 55, 74, 77, 80.

royal decrees concerning the process, revealing the geographical extent reached by Gregorio's legendary story (appendix II).

We could easily reconstruct diverse social networks and their respective interactions from the testimonies of the process and the various agents involved throughout the decades. Within the groups that fabricated each episode, there are numerous windows into the multi-layered realities (social, ideological, as well as judicial) of those characters. Furthermore, the slowness of the process of transcription – resulting in long, repetitive questionnaires and formulations along various sessions that had to be meticulously recorded – make these sources graphic depictions of the ways in which people thought and made sense of the *topoi* presented in the hagiographical accounts widely read in diverse communities, as well as the ways people recreated myths around those stories.

2.1.2 Religious bureaucracy and its agents

We know the outcome of Gregorio Lopez's cause was not the expected, the apostolic process from Guadalajara – capital of Nueva Galicia's diocese, where Gregorio lived for a period, and where there was some hope of obtaining new data concerning the hermit's life – having been accepted in Rome only in 1760, for instance. When it was finally documented, a new preparatory congregation was formed in 1770 to discuss the process, consisting of four cardinals, six bishops and thirty-two consultors. All declared the cause could continue... in a dateless future. Ten years later, Carlos III announced the end of the process by withdrawing his support to Gregorio Lopez's cause in the Vatican, having been the only out of seventeen Spaniard causes that was dropped. However, precisely due to all the other causes available to us – all possessing a particular history and diverse specificities – it is odd how Gregorio's cause was able to continue for so long, always managing to find funds in order for the Roman administrators to be able to maintain it. Only by carefully inspecting the sponsors and promoters of the cause were Rubial García and Pierre Ragon able to find some answers.

The latter decades of the seventeenth century were the most decisive for Gregorio's cause. The queen regent, Mariana of Austria, appointed her favourite, Cardinal Nithard, to

handle the cause in Rome, which he did until his death in 1681. Meanwhile, Bernardo Gallo had also become procurator of the cause, replacing the Dominican González de Acuña. Gallo's achievements in the beatification of Toribio de Melgrovejo and King Fernando III seemed promising.⁹⁸ Subsequently, Diego de Roxas and *marqués* of Santillán took charge of the cause, replacing *conde* of Castellar, nominated viceroy of Peru in 1674. Diego de Roxas nominated Agustino Nipho to be promoter of the cause in 1688, the latter having attained the *fama sanctitatis* that allowed the process to proceed.⁹⁹ The best of the best were sent to the Vatican to watch over a mission the Spanish royalty was interested in, the results of which were visible: papal bulls were coming out, and the cause was coming to an end.

Nonetheless, in 1695 the *Consejo de Indias* opened an investigation into the management of the process, and three years later the verdict was that many of the funds gathered for the cause had been used for other purposes. Francisco Eminente's commercial firm, one of the royal treasure's creditors, was made responsible for the funds' reintegration, but in 1715 the problem remained unsolved.¹⁰⁰ Through the collection of alms that continued in Mexico, book sales, and through new royal decrees demanding forced alms for the cause, sufficient money was available when the Nipho brothers (Aniello and Francisco Nipho) inherited the cause from their father in 1718. Following them, the Dominican Bernardino de Membrive was appointed as promoter, in 1739. By the time of his death, the Spanish agent in Rome was clear in his letters to the *Consejo de Indias*. It had been in the interest of the previous three administrators of the cause to preserve its money and hope. In addition, it seemed that the funds coming from New Spain were fuelling the luxurious lives led by both the promoter's family and order. The last promoter, Bartolomé de Olarán, could do no more: the cause was lost, already in 1758.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Rubial García, *La Santidad*, 84.

⁹⁹ Archivum Secretum Vaticanum (ASV), Congregatione Riti, *Copia Proc. ap. super fama in genere* 1709, Rome, 26/09/1690: Letter from the Congregation of Rites that initiated the apostolic process.

¹⁰⁰ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 88.

¹⁰¹ Rubial García recovered two letters, one where one may read that: "*la infeliz dirección de la causa y el engaño con que los tres postuladores anteriores la han conducido [defraudan a...] los bienhechores de Nueva España*" ["the unfortunate direction taken by the cause and the shams used by the three precedent postulators who

2.1.3 Apostolic process

The Congregation of Rites was well aware of the reception of Gregorio's myth. In 1702, the *Processus Apostolicus Compusorialis Mexicanus* gathered 'new testimonies'; data concerning the transfer of Gregorio's remains to the Cathedral of Mexico, and their posterior handling in order to monitor their state of conservation – apart from Gregorio's skull, which was transferred to Spain, expressly, to the Monastery of la Encarnación, belonging to the female Augustinian Recollects in Madrid –; the 'transcripts of texts' compiled after the informative process, as well as the verification of their authenticity and authorship; the 'death certificates of the witnesses' of the informative process (as the 1685 *remissorial* letters expired in 1691, being subsequently renewed, although their initial purpose, namely, to find people that had contact with Gregorio, was not served); as well as the 'records of various works' in which Gregorio Lopez is mentioned.¹⁰²

To the apostolic process, the testimonies of people from the diocese of Guadalajara, in Nueva Galicia – where Gregorio spent the first years of his solitary life in the West Indies – were also added. None of these people had been in direct contact with Gregorio Lopez,

conducted it [deceive the] benefactors of New Spain"] Carta de Miguel Antonio de Gándara al Consejo, Roma, 30 de marzo de 1758. AGI, *Indiferente General*, 3036. In addition, in the other, it is affirmed that: "*el primer interesado en que la causa no se suspendiera era el dominico [quien] compró una viña a su sobrino, vestidos a la esposa de éste y dejó muchos estipendios a su orden para misas por su alma*" ["he who was most interested in that the cause was not suspended, was the Dominican [who] had bought a vineyard for his nephew, dresses for his wife, and left many stipends for his order, destined for masses for his soul"] Carta de Miguel Antonio de Gándara al Consejo, Roma, 12 de enero de 1758. AGI, *Indiferente General*, 3035 *apud* Rubial García, *La Santidad*, 99, 247 n. 127-128.

¹⁰² ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Compuls. Mexican.*, 1717 – from folia 262 to 276, the bibliographical references presented to the Congregation are as follows: Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de Nueva España* (Mexico: Juan Ruiz, 1626); Alonso Remón, *Vida y muerte del siervo de Dios D. Fernando de Cordova y Bocanegra* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1617); Pedro de San Cecilio, *Annales de la orden de descalzos de Nra. Señora de la Merced, redempcion de los captivos christianos* (Barcelona: Dionisio Hidalgo, 1669); Nicola Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana*. Vol. 1 (Roma: Officina Nicolaj Angeli Finasis, 1672); Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraiso Occidental plantado y cultivado por la liberal benefice mano de los mui catholicos y poderosos reyes de España* (México: Juan de Rivera, 1684); Joseph Sáenz Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Concilliorum Hispaniae*, 2 v. (Roma: 1693-1694); Juan Erardo, *Fulon de la Compania de Jesus*, 1 vol. (s. l.: s.n., 1660); Francisco de Arcos, *Primera parte de la vida de el venerable frai Simon de Rojas* (Madrid: Julian de Paredes, 1670); Juan Díaz de Arce, *Libro Tercero del Proximo Evangelico: trata de la hermandad religiosa que instituyo en México... Bernardino Alvares* (México: Hipólito de Ribera, 1652). In the AGI, in *Indiferente General*, 3035, *Sumarium de la causa de Gregorio López*, 502r.-504r., we also find a list of thirty-eight books that mention Gregorio, most of them already mentioned throughout this section, under the name *Catalogus Historicorum qui de V. S. Gregorio Lopez egerunt*.

a clear reflection of the slowness of the process. Nevertheless, the testimonies reveal signs of devotion and its materialisation. Some of the most noteworthy testimonies are the ones that mention the usage of Gregorio's *Tesoro de Medicinas*. Matías de Zarto, 50-year-old Spanish merchant, who had lived in Mexico for 26 years, was once surprised by Sebastián Martín, a surgeon practising in the *real de minas* of Guanajuato. Circa 1679, ten years earlier, Sebastián had given Matías the task of finding a book on diverse infirmities, which is how the merchant came to hear about the heroic life of Gregorio Lopez, and especially, "the efficacy he experienced with *las medicinas*".¹⁰³ Matías also gives notice of a 'miracle', reporting how a *capitán alguacil* from Guanajuato, Antonio Estevanes Maestre, Matías' neighbour, on the eve of losing his wife during a difficult labour, appealed to a half-length portrait he owned of Gregorio Lopez, to whom he commissioned her soul, and to whom they attributed the intermediation of God upon her recovery and salvation from death.

The Mexican Francisco de las Casas, "son of the Church", also a merchant – mainly of cocoa and sugar, after having worked as a gold and silver *ensayador* (assayer) in Zacatecas and Ciudad de México – gave a testimony worthy of our attention, having heard through the priest Juan de Betanzos about Gregorio Lopez and how "he had helped many people, in particular with the book that he wrote on Medicines for diverse infirmities", especially in "places and towns outside the City [of Mexico] where there are no doctors, fortunately for those who had those [Gregorio's] books". Francisco de las Casas was able to verify this in the *real de minas* of Guanajuato, where Juan Leonel de Cervantes, *alcalde mayor*, was able to cure his family and many other people with the help of that same pharmaceutical treatise. Francisco had previously heard about Gregorio in Zacatecas, through Gaspar de la Royana, assayer of Zacatecas and landowner in Jerez,

¹⁰³ My translation of: "[...] y de la eficacia que se ha experimentado en las medicinas de un libro que escribió el dicho siervo de Dios" in ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 840r.-842r., "Testimonio de Mathias de Zarto", from September 13th, 1689. *Las medicinas* refers both to the medical arts and to the treatment of diseases. Gregorio Lopez was known for connecting pharmaceuticals with a basic notion of etiologies, possessing a very Hippocratic understanding of anatomy and disease.

who publicised the first hermitage of the Venerable, for which “all the locals had great veneration”.¹⁰⁴

Pierre Ragon brought to light yet another miracle from the process that illustrates the kind of ‘fame’ Gregorio had in Mexico, although slightly mixing up the testimonies. Verily, the testimony concerning the miracle of the smith Marcos Ortiz’s cure through his devotion to Gregorio Lopez was not presented by two merchants, but rather, one merchant and two doctors from Mexico City, namely, Antonio Rodríguez de Barahona, Juan de la Pedrosa and Juan Gutiérrez. Antonio Barahona did not know who had written the biography of Gregorio Lopez he had had the opportunity to read, and he had heard about the venerable man in diverse places in New Spain, in the dioceses of Michoacán and Guadalajara, as well as in the *reales de minas* of Sinapán and Tlapuxagua.¹⁰⁵ Juan de la Pedrosa was a theologian, presbyter in Ciudad de México, and had heard about Gregorio Lopez through various people who had read his *Vida*, such as the secular cleric don Pedro de Soza and the Jesuit Joseph Vidal.¹⁰⁶ Juan Gutiérrez, physician, mentions that it was Diego de los Ríos, an old man from the barrio de San Juan de la Penitencia – where Antonio Barahona had also lived – and “collector for the *pobres indios enfermos* of the *Hospital Real*”, who revealed to him the devotion to the Mexican hermit for whom a canonisation process had just been opened.¹⁰⁷ Marcos Ortiz was ill of a stomach problem and turned to the portrait to ask for his cure, and the three witnesses attribute his recovery to the devotion with which he embraced that image.

¹⁰⁴ My translation of: “[...] *de lo mucho que avia aprovechado con su sabiduria a los proximos en especial con un libro que escribio de Medicinas para varias enfermedades [...] y en particular en los lugares y pueblos fuera de esta ciudad donde no ay medicos teniendose por dichosos los que poseen alguno de dichos libros*”; “[...] *Gaspar de la Royana ensayador actual que es de dicho Real [de Minas de Zacatecas] y tiene una hacienda de trigo y mais en la villa de Jerez distante como siete leguas de dichas minas de Zacatecas, que en dicha villa en el Valle de Amaxac esta la primera hermita que fabricó y en que se retiró a hacer vida solitaria el dicho siervo de Dios y que todos los vecinos daquellos arredores le tenian en gran veneración [...]*”, in ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 850, “Testimonio de Francisco de las Casas”, from September 26th, 1689.

¹⁰⁵ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 872r.-875r., “Testimonio de Antonio Rodríguez de Barahona”, from January 12th, 1690.

¹⁰⁶ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 875r.-886r., “Testimonio de Juan de la Pedrosa”, from between January 13th, 1690 and January 21st, 1690.

¹⁰⁷ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 861r.-872r., “Testimonio de Juan Gutiérrez”, from between January 13th, 1690 and January 21st, 1690.

All accounts of miracles performed by Lopez – Agustina de Tello Sandoval¹⁰⁸ and Marcos Ortiz¹⁰⁹ becoming cured through Gregorio Lopez's portrait; the recovery of the young page¹¹⁰ who fell from his master's carriage; as well as the account of a mysterious man who saved a woman in a crowd¹¹¹ – are all collaborative discourses, regardless of how secretive the testimonials should have been. In fact, what is of particular interest to us is the creation of the discourse around Gregorio Lopez's sanctity. The *remissoriales* that arrived in Mexico asked for *miracles in specie*. We learn that the Archdiocese of Mexico, on behalf of the Congregation of Rites, summoned all witnesses involved in the apostolic process.¹¹² Consequently, we must question if these accounts of miraculous events were not just a product of the authorities' necessity and insistence in obtaining those powerful testimonies. Nonetheless, the witnesses of the apostolic process are an outstanding source of information on the history of religious ideas of late seventeenth-century Mexico.

¹⁰⁸ No only the testimonials of Francisco de las Casas' and Matias de Oyarto's, but also "Testimonio de Pedro de Navarrete"; all in ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715.

¹⁰⁹ Testimonials by Juan de la Pedrosa, Juan Gutiérrez and Antonio Barahona, already referred.

¹¹⁰ Several testimonies concern an incident in the streets of Ciudad de México, involving a page and the narrative around a fall from his master's carriage: the page 643v.-650v., "Testimonio de Antonio de Almelda"; his master 684r.-710r., "Testimonio de Joseph Vidal de Figueroa"; and several witnesses 663r.-682v., "Testimonio de Juan Ortiz Zapata", 711r.-728r., "Testimonio de Pedro de Valdés y Portugal", 744r.-767r., "Testimonio de Joseph de Lombeida", 728r.-743r., "Testimonio de Francisco de Esquivel", 652v.-662v., "Testimonio de Antonio Estebanes Maestro", 818r.-822v., "Testimonio de Lorenzo de Torre", 855r.-860r., "Testimonio de Juan de la Cruz de Valladolid", all in ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715.

¹¹¹ Maria de Montero inherited from her father a letter written by Gregorio Lopez that she decided to deposit in the convent of Encarnación, where her sisters Josepha de Jesús and Antonia de San Juan were recollected. On Saint Anthony's day in 1687, she was saved on the streets of Ciudad de México by a man that looked like Gregorio Lopez. The recounting of this miracle took place, not at the archdiocesis, but at the monastery of Encarnación, told by its sisters, maids, neighbours, and María Montero herself: 830r.-840r., "Testimonio de María de Montero"; 684-710, "Testimonio de Cristóbal de Espinosa" – the canon D. Juan de Pareja, Doctor León Haro, Doctor D. Francisco de la Pena, Licenciado Miguel Sánchez, having got together at the house of Licenciado Juan Rodríguez de Palencia, where the latter had been raised until he was 16 years of age; 793r.-801r., "Testimonio de Francisca Paula de Pina"; 744r.-767r., 774r.-782v., "Testimonio de Diego de Lodosa"; 783r.-792r., "Testimonio de Isabel de Ynostrosa"; 400v.-412r., "Testimonio de María de Jesús"; 421v.-430v., "Testimonio de Ana de la Natividad"; 431r.-438r., "Testimonio de Catalina de la Ascensión"; 491v.-502., "Testimonio de María de San Miguel"; 413v-420v., "Testimonio de Mariana de Santa Gertrudis"; 439v.-444v., "Testimonio de Francisca de la Cruz"; 445r.-457r., "Testimonio de Margarida de Ochoa"; and in 459v.-464r., "Testimonio de Luisa de Ochoa"; all in ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715.

¹¹² ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 60v.-61r.

Other formalities of the process, such as the testimonials regarding Gregorio's *fama sanctitatis in genere*, may also be another way to approach the circulation of clerics between the Old and New Continents [Map 1]. Gregorio's fame reached the ears of:

- Ignacio de Quesada, native of Peru, general procurator for the Dominicans in Quito, who heard of Gregorio in New Spain, Peru, Nueva Granada and Spain¹¹³;
- Giovanni di San Giuseppe, general procurator for the Discalced Augustinians in Rome, who became aware of Gregorio in 1640 while in the Indies, as well as in Madrid, when he came across a portrait of Gregorio Lopez at the home of the Grand Inquisitor¹¹⁴;
- Fernando de Álava, born in Valle d'Alambra, province of Toledo, who heard about Gregorio in both Rome and Spain¹¹⁵;
- Fernando Roxo de Guzmán, from Cádiz, treasurer and canon of Jaén's cathedral – in Spain and through the Spanish in Rome¹¹⁶;
- Alfonso de los Ríos, native of Lima and canon of its cathedral – in both Lima and Spain¹¹⁷;
- Francesco Rossilon, a Franciscan from Madrid, general procurator for the Mendicants of the Indies in Rome, while in charge of the causes pertaining to Francisco Solano and Sebastián de Aparicio – although he had already heard of Gregorio through his parents in Spain, when he was still a teenager – and later in the Indies, as well as in Rome, where he came across Gregorio's *Apocalipsis*¹¹⁸;
- Emiliano Ignatio Iriarta e Castella, on the "occasion of his navigation to the Indies", whence the Admiral Pietro d'Arambesa, a knight of Santiago just like him, had read the

¹¹³ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Ignatius de Quesada", Chiesa di Gesù, Roma, 03/08/1689.

¹¹⁴ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Joannes San Josephus", Chiesa di Gesù, Roma, 18/11/1689.

¹¹⁵ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Servandus de Alava", Chiesa di Gesù, Roma, 02/12/1689.

¹¹⁶ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Servandus Roxo de Guzman", Chiesa di Gesù, Roma, 14/04/1690.

¹¹⁷ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Ildephonsus de los Rios", Chiesa di Santa Maria Magdalena, Roma, 22/04/1690.

¹¹⁸ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: "Testis Franciscus Rosselon", Chiesa di Santa Maria Magdalena, Roma, 02/05/1690.

“legend of the servant of God” 18 or 20 years before, discussing with other people their particular devotions¹¹⁹; and,

- Pedro Bravo from Canaria, in New Spain, Spain and Rome, although he was not a devotee of Gregorio, given that the Church had not canonised him, merely considering Gregorio a good servant of God.¹²⁰

Contrary to what happened in Spain – despite the fact that the Venerable had supposedly been born there –, in New Spain echoed the expectations around the canonisation through varied expressions: Cardinal Sáenz de Aguirre, who had partnered with Bossuet against Quietism, was also promoter of the cause, having written about it¹²¹; we also see mention of Gregorio in politics, Viceroy Mancera having quoted the hermit in the instructions for his successor¹²²; various authors such as Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Agustín de Vetancurt, Baltasar de Medina, Alonso Alberto de Velazco, and Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, included Gregorio in their works, giving him more or less relevance¹²³. Agustín de Vetancurt was called to testify in Gregorio’s process, whereas Alonso Alberto Velazco was at some point working for the cause.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: “Testis Emilianus Ignatius des Iriart et Castella”, Chiesa di Santa Maria Magdalena, Roma, 10/05/1690.

¹²⁰ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708: “Testis Petrus Bravos”, Chiesa di Santa Maria Magdalena, Roma, 17/05/1690.

¹²¹ Rubial García, *La santidad*, quotes Beristain, *op. cit.*, v. II, 206r. and his reference to Cardenal Aguirre’s *Collectio Maxima Concilliorum Hispaniae*, 2 v., Roma, 1693-1694.

¹²² *Instrucciones de los virreyes a sus sucesores*, edición de Ernesto de la Torre Villar, México, 1991, v. I, 585 *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 246, n. 105.

¹²³ Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental*, Mexico, 1684, lib. II, cap. 19, 95v. and ss.; Agustín de Vetancur, “Tratado de la ciudad de México” in *Teatro Mexicano*, v. IV, 186 and ss. and 273 and ss.; Baltasar de Medina, *Crónica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de México*, 72v., 88, 192, 229v. and 244v.; Alonso Alberto de Velazco, *Exaltación de la divina misericordia. Renovación por sí misma de la soberana imagen de Cristo Señor Nuestro crucificado que llaman de Itzmiquilpan*, Mexico, 1699, 23r. and ss.; Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias Históricas de la congregación de el oratorio*, Mexico, 1736, 1a. parte, 3a. parte, Lib. III, cap. VIII, 159 and ss; all references *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 246, n. 100-104.

¹²⁴ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 15v-25r., 328r.-352v.

2.1.4 *Non-cultu* process

The *non-cultu* investigation was one of the most exciting features introduced into the process of canonisation, which consisted in having to prove to the Congregation that there was no public cult to the candidate (no candles, images, ceremonies, nor *ex-votos*). Taking into account the norm that imposed a fifty-year interim between the subject's death and the opening of a case in the Vatican, we could affirm that these were the most significant ruptures in what Alice Wood referred to as a collaborative process: although the wider public (usually regarded as the most famous agent of religion) may have desired to declare and show devotion, the so-called elite had to control and apply the new Vatican rules for the canonisation processes.

We learn that these new norms had various consequences, although there was some flexibility in its application. For instance, in the case of Marcos de Ortiz we referred before, the three witnesses recall how Ortiz used a small portrait of Gregorio's face; an old portrait, possibly printed before the rules prohibiting the cult of non-beatified were even public. The fact is that the Mexican Inquisition was confiscating this material of private devotion. However, Marcos de Ortiz was allowed, by the inquisitors that were gathering the images of Gregorio Lopez, keeping his portrait although he was advised not to venerate it.¹²⁵

Notwithstanding, the Congregation, in Rome, had to evaluate the application of this new rule. In the case of Gregorio Lopez, four witnesses were summoned to prove that there was no cult to him either in Spain or the Indies: one Dominican, two Franciscans and a regular priest. Three of those witnesses were around 45-years-old at the time; the mendicant Juan de Santiago was 71. None of them declared recalling significant manifestations of devotion to the Mexican hermit. The younger Franciscan, from Lima, had heard about Gregorio in several parts of the Indies, namely, Cartagena de Indias, Panamá, La Havana and Lima – having also heard mention of his name in Madrid, which he had visited a year and a half before his testimony, as well as in Rome, where he had

¹²⁵ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Virt. Ne pereant*, 1715, 874v., "Testimonio de Antonio Rodríguez de Barahona".

been living for sixteen years –, none of his contacts having given him any information concerning the existence of any cult regarding the cause, either in Madrid, where Gregorio was from, or in Mexico, where the Venerable lived.¹²⁶ The older Franciscan, from Seville, affirmed his devotion to Gregorio, having heard other members from his order speak about him in 1633, during his stay in Mexico. Besides, Juan de Viglialón recalled the high ranking sponsors of the cause in Spain, where he had worked for four years, although he had never come across any cult or images.¹²⁷ The Franciscan was serving in Puebla de los Ángeles, New Spain when the cathedral's cantor asked him to be procurator of the cause. The invitation never took effect, and soon after Viglialón became acquainted with the story of Gregorio Lopez, confirming its veracity during his short stay in Ciudad de México. There he observed some devotees visiting Gregorio's tomb at the Carmelite church of the female convent of San José, but abstaining from public veneration to comply with Pope Urbanus' decree.¹²⁸

Many reiterated how Gregorio's fame had been brought from the Indies, not only through Losa's *Vida* and images but also through other information provided by various people that had spent time in the Indies. We can observe the variety of information in the details of each testimony, where we come across many possible research paths, expressly the various communities of devotees where each individual could formulate his beliefs, either their family background or the temporary crews they integrated on the ships to the Indies; or, the time it took to gather the testimonies, mainly of Spanish clerics in Rome representing their orders and institutions, and how these represented a minority of privileged and/or quickly informed religious agents. Moreover, it is notable how the procurators of other causes collaborated through the Spanish Catholic network, maintaining and building on that strong narrative for the Church in the New Indies: there were saints in America.

¹²⁶ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ordin. Super Non-Cultu in Urbe*, 1707, "Testis Stephanus Romo" (1675).

¹²⁷ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Super Fama in genere*, 1708, "Testis Joannes San Didaco Viglialon" (1675).

¹²⁸ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ordin. Super Non-Cultu in Urbe*, 1708, "Testis Joannes Baptista Goggius" (1675).

2.2 Propagation and propaganda of a religious legend

We might ask ourselves: did fascination with Gregorio Lopez's story arise from a desire to see his cause concluded or was it a result of the fact that it was hard for the Vatican to proceed with a beatification that "presented great confusion and generalisation in the depositions of the witnesses"?¹²⁹ Did controversial readings impact the failed canonisation of Gregorio Lopez, or was it the process itself that sparked readers' curiosity? How did the promoters, witnesses, authors and sponsors deal with the process throughout the years, and how did they receive Losa's book? How was the biography a central (counterproductive) element of Gregorio's afterlife in the Vatican? We shall now bring forward the contexts of publication of Losa's hagiographical work, as well as the contexts of polemic readings and prospects of seeing his sanctity validated.

Exemplary lives belonged to a popular genre that granted the publishing houses a source of investment and revenues, and the prospect of a new saint was enough to keep the publicity machine working. Undoubtedly, the publication of Gregorio Lopez's works was triggered by the expectations around the cause, although its circulation in manuscript form already spoke and would continue to speak for itself through time.¹³⁰ We should keep in mind that the publications of Losa's *Vida* and Lopez's works were included in the canonisation's financial balance.

¹²⁹ My translation of "[...] *presentaba gran confusión y generalidad en las deposiciones de los testigos*", in Rubial García, *La santidad*, 89.

¹³⁰ Gregorio's *Tesoro* was inclusively translated into the Guaraní language by Manuel E. Leyes, during the second half of the nineteenth century, being dedicated to the Argentinian doctor Antonio Tristán Ballester. This translation may be found at the National Library of Spain. Accessible on:

http://www.europeana.eu/portal/nl/record/9200376/BibliographicResource_3000136354244.html

<http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=TXh0PS9CP9/BNMADRID/186570635/123#ejemplares>

2.2.1 Publish or perish

We are now better able to understand how the various editions of works related to Lopez were part of a campaign to keep the interest in his canonisation alive, such as the Spanish editions that bring together the life and works of Gregorio Lopez, namely, the 1727 and 1678 editions by Gregorio de Argaiz. In 1727, Juan de Aritzia was animated by the prospect of the beatification of Gregorio Lopez, dedicating the book to the *Consejo de Indias*, which had given him licence for its publication.¹³¹ Aritzia published the 1678 edition of Gregorio Lopez's *Vida* in Spain, with a bonus, expressly, the 1674 Mexican edition of the hermit's *Tesoro de Medicinas*.

In 1678, Friar Gregorio de Argaiz brought together the *Tesoro* with the 1642 version of Losa's biography and Gregorio Lopez's *Tratado del Apocalipsis*, which the publisher, Luis de Muñoz, had collected from Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's library, to whom he dedicates his edition.¹³² The Benedictine used the occasion to fuel the polemic with the genealogist Joseph Pellicer, as well as to defend himself from the accusation of having forged Gregorio's text on the *Apocalypse*.¹³³

Polemics aside, with the licence granted by the vicar of Madrid, Argaiz used the publishing house of Antonio de Zafra to print his edition, at the expense of Zafra's publisher, Gabriel de León. This edition reveals, in fact, part of the network of publishers, printers and booksellers of Madrid at that time. Gregorio de Argaiz, for instance, needed three publishing houses in order to publish *La soledad laureada por San Benito y sus hijos*, two of which also published versions of Gregorio Lopez's *Vida*: Bernardo de Hervada, in 1674, whose version was used for the Argaiz edition; and Antonio de Zafra, in 1678, (whose version of *Vida* was published by Argaiz and Gabriel de León).¹³⁴

¹³¹ Francisco Losa, Gregorio Argaiz (ed.), *Vida y escritos de Gregorio López* (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan de Aritzia: 1727), ["Dedicatoria"].

¹³² Francisco Losa, Gregorio Argaiz (ed.), *Vida y escritos de Gregorio López*, (Madrid: Francisco de Zafra, 1678).

¹³³ Álvaro Huerga believes that Argaiz wrote the prologue for the treatise on the Apocalypse, basing his argument on differences in style, as well as pointing out the obvious: Gregorio never intended to publish the book, and thus very unlikely wrote a preface to a work much more intended for domestic use. See Huerga, "Edición", 62-65.

¹³⁴ Jaime Moll, "El libro, el editor, el librero", in *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España 1472-1914*, Victor Infantes, François Lopez, Jean-François Botrel (eds.) (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003), 80.

Gregorio's canonisation process not only dictated the interest in the continued publishing of Losa's *Vida* but also enabled Gregorio Lopez's known works to be published. Of all the books attributed to the hermit, only two made it to the Holy See, namely, the *Tesoro de Medicinas* and the *Declaración del Apocalipsis*. For the Vatican process, the 1674 version of the *Vida* was translated into Italian and Latin, twenty years after its publication in Spanish.¹³⁵ Promoter of the cause, Bernardino de Membrive probably used Juan Aritzia's book in his 1752 collection of Lopez's works in Latin. In 1740, Membrive dedicated his translation of Gregorio's *Vida* into Italian to queen Elisabetta Farnese, hoping to garner the same royal support the first sponsors gave to Gregorio's canonisation, considering the fact that the queen had been born in Italy, and as such, "in Italy Gregorio Lopez's sanctity should be approved".¹³⁶ Seven editions and sixteen years later, in 1756, Membrive decided to add Thomas Aquinas' works and Dominican Nicolás Eschio's spiritual exercises to a special edition of Gregorio's *Apocalipsis*.¹³⁷

Table IC and **Table II** reveal the publishing efforts of the cause's procurator to promote the devotion to Gregorio Lopez in Rome, intending to not only make the cause visible but surely also, to justify the costs of the process.

TABLE II – PUBLICATIONS OF GREGORIO LOPEZ'S WORKS PRINTINGS AND COLLECTIONS

| Title | Year | Place | Publisher | Dedicatory | Observations |
|---|-------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Explicación del misterioso libro del Apocalipsis</i> | 1804 | Madrid | Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia | | |
| | 1789 | Madrid | Imprenta de Benito Cano | | |
| | 1787 | Madrid | Imprenta de Benito Cano | | [with the title: <i>Tratado del Apocalipsis de San Juan. Traduzido del Latín al castellano por el Venerable Gregorio Lopez</i>] |

¹³⁵ ASV, Riti, "Vida que el S. De D. Gregorio López hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva Espana... por Fr. Losa..., Madrid, 1674, 114ff., Versio libri vitae ... exhibiti 1694..., 356r.," item 1711; "Copia versionis Versio libri vitae ... exhibiti 1694, 344r., item 1712.

¹³⁶ Francisco Losa, trans. Bernardino de Membrive, *Vita condotta dal servo di Dio Gregorio Lopez nella Nuova Spagna* (Roma: Stamperia Komarek, 1740), "Dedicatory".

¹³⁷ Huerga, "Edición", 129-132. Álvaro Huerga, himself a Dominican, makes no mention of Membrive's corrupt behaviour, using funds for the cause to, for example, pay for the religious services that his order would be in charge of after his death.

| Title | Year | Place | Publisher | Dedicatory | Observations |
|--|------|--------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Tesoro de Medicinas para todas enfermedades</i> | 1708 | Madrid | Imprenta de la Música | | |
| | 1674 | Mexico | F. Rodríguez Lupercio | Juan Francisco Montemayor de Cuenca | [Notes by Mathias de Salcedo Mariaca and Joseph Días de Brizuela; Dedication by Joseph Días de Brizuela] |
| | 1672 | Mexico | F. Rodríguez Lupercio | Juan Francisco Montemayor de Cuenca | [Dedication, preface and notes by Mathias de Salcedo Mariaca. Dedication by the manuscript's owner, Alonso Raboso de la Plaza] |
| [Collections including both works] | 1756 | Roma | Haereses Jo. Laur. Barbiellini | | Translator: Bernardino de Membrive [Latin]. With the title <i>Commentationes in Apocalypsum [ed Tesoro de Medicine]</i> |
| | 1752 | Roma | Antonio de Rubeis | Ferdinand VI, King of Spain | Translator: Bernardino de Membrive [Latin]. With the title <i>Collectio Opusculorum de venerabili servo Dei Gregorio Lopesio</i> |

Further on, we will have the opportunity to see how Gregorio's text on the Apocalypse circulated in its manuscript form since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Álvaro Huerga, by far the most thorough researcher of Gregorio's text, informs us of the polemics concerning its publication in 1642. What we do know for sure is that the subsequent 1787 and 1789 editions (which Benito del Cano referred to as translations from Latin into Spanish, seeing Gregorio's work as a paraphrasis of the Apocalypse book, published twice in two years), in addition to the 1804 edition, all are taken from Argai's publication. It is worthy of notice how Benito del Cano extrapolates Gregorio's epithet of Venerable, by calling the hermit a *missionero apostólico* ("apostolic missionary"), something he never was or intended to be.

Regarding the *Tesoro de Medicinas*, Francisco Guerra diligently attempted to unveil the story of Lopez's manuscript. It is of interest to us that Guerra identifies Luis de Velasco, marquis of Salinas, as carrier of the manuscript to the Court, having deposited it at the Royal Monastery of the Incarnation in Madrid. Guerra also summarises the history of the *Tesoro's* publication. The physician Mathias de Salcedo Mariaca obtained the manuscript from Puebla's captain, Alonso Raboso de la Plaza, a "close friend" of the publication's promoter, Juan Francisco Montemayor de la Cuenca, who had been

governor of San Domingo and had held office at the Mexican *Audiencia*. Montemayor de la Cuenca too was a great devotee to Gregorio's cause, as Rubial García also mentions.¹³⁸

Tesoro's first editions were Mexican, being published by Francisco Lupercio, whose work dates mostly from the second half of the seventeenth century.¹³⁹ The book appears to have been successful: two years after its first edition, another doctor, Joseph Díaz de Brizuela, commented Gregorio's work, adding another manuscript of the *Tesoro* to the 1674 edition. Moreover, as Guerra noticed, even Montemayor de la Cuenca refused to assert the authenticity of the additions, which doubled the size of the book. It was this very edition that was used in 1708, when it was first published in Madrid by the Imprenta de la Música, as well as in 1727 when Juan de Aritzia published Gregorio's life and works.

2.2.2 Polemical readers and marginal networks

One of the most eloquent examples of the (re)uses of Gregorio's exemplary life, is John Wesley's appropriation of it into the Methodist discourse. In between (Molinos published his *Guía Espiritual* in 1675, and John Wesley's publication of *Christian Lives* dates from 1755), Losa's book circulated within communities of interpretation that sought in Gregorio's life the confirmation of several theories and practices intended for a perfect Christian experience.¹⁴⁰

In fact, as Jean Orcibal – French historian and expert in Jansenism – meticulously noted, Gregorio Lopez was not the only Catholic figure recovered by John Wesley. In his studies on Wesley, Orcibal detects Wesley's references, as well as his originality in synthesising their thoughts into his theological thinking:

¹³⁸ See Francisco Guerra, "The Paradox of the Treasury of Medicines by Gregorio López (1542-1596)", in *Clío Médica*, Núm. 1, (Oxford, New York, Pergamon Press, 1966), 278-279; Rubial García, *La santidad*, 85.

¹³⁹ Emma Rivas Mata, "Impresores y mercaderes en la ciudad de México" in *Del autor al lector: libros y libreros en la historia* (Mexico: CIESAS, 2002), 90-99.

¹⁴⁰ José Ángel Valente (ed.), Miguel de Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, (Barcelona: Barral, 1974); Francisco Losa, John Wesley, *Extracts from the Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons [...]. The life of Mr. Gregory Lopez. Written originally in Spanish*, (Bristol: E. Farley John Wesley, 1755).

S'il ya a parmi eux trois auteurs de Port-Royal, Saint Cyran, Pascal, Duguet, auxquels il convient d'ajouter Jean d'Avila qui avait été traduit par Arnauld d'Andilly. Tous les autres: A. Bourignon, Mme. Guyon, Renty, A. Nicolas, Fénelon, frère Laurent, G. Lopez, et quatre auteurs allemands dont le principal est Arndt (le Molinos isolé vient s'y joindre), avaient déjà reçu une large diffusion grâce a un meme homme: P. Poiret.¹⁴¹

Orcibal does not spare his words when acknowledging Wesley's remarkable effort "pour reveller au protestantisme anglo-saxon les richesses spirituelles des autres confessions chrétiennes". Gregorio Lopez might have touched the English pastor considering that they had both lived their religious experience in America. Edgardo Antonio Colón-Emeric carefully researched how Gregorio Lopez came into John Wesley's orbit, by tracing references to the hermit in Wesley's journals.¹⁴² Having first read Gregorio's *Vida* in 1735, and then rereading it after his return from the New World, in 1742, Wesley was drawn to "Lopez's practice of self-denial and his experience of an uninterrupted communion with God", which he saw as an example for all Methodists.¹⁴³ Although criticising Gregorio's option to isolate himself in the desert, Wesley praised his return back to the 'real' world, where he believed Christians should put religious feelings and ideas into practice. Gregorio confirmed what Wesley had read through Poiret: the possibility of sanctity in a "Théologie du Coeur".¹⁴⁴

Without going into a theological analysis of Wesley's use of Losa's book, it is nonetheless worth mentioning Jean Orcibal's conclusion: the Methodist used Poiret's 1717 version.¹⁴⁵ He was not the only one: this was probably the version Gerhard Tersteegen translated and included in a German compendium of *Ausserlesene Lebens*

¹⁴¹ Jean Orcibal, "L'originalité théologique de John Wesley et les spiritualités du continent" in *Revue Historique*, T. 222, Fasc. 1 (1959), 79-80. See also Jean Orcibal, "Les spirituels français et espagnols chez John Wesley et ses contemporains", in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 139, n.º 1 (1951), 50-109.

¹⁴² Edgardo Antonio Colón-Emeric, *Perfection in Dialogue: An ecumenical encounter between Wesley and Aquinas* (PhD diss., Duke University, 2007), 364-372.

¹⁴³ Colón-Emeric, *Perfection in Dialogue*, 365.

¹⁴⁴ One of Poiret's books bears this title, see Orcibal, "L'originalité", 80.

¹⁴⁵ Orcibal, "Les spirituels", notes 196, 196bis.

Beschreibungen, published in 1733.¹⁴⁶ According to Marjolaine Chevallier, biographer of Pierre Poiret, Tersteegen's work was also inspired by his readings of Poiret's writings.¹⁴⁷ According to Chevallier, "Tersteegen avait la conviction que [Pierre] Poiret et Arnold [d'Andilly] avaient ouvert les protestants à la théologie mystique et qu'ils avaient été ainsi de précieux témoins de Dieu".¹⁴⁸ Through her study of Poiret's biography, Chevallier observes what Jean Orcibal had already examined in great detail: Wesley's and Tersteegen's readings represent one of the genealogies of Gregorio Lopez's largest network of readers. Tersteegen and Wesley read and republished the works of Poiret, Poiret having in turn been much inspired by Fénelon's, Antoinette Bourignon's, Mme. Guyon's and Robert Arnauld d'Andilly's readings and writings. Ultimately, they all contributed to the dissemination of Gregorio Lopez's *Vida*, within a public eager (but critical) for more contemplative, quiet(ist) and mystical models.

At this point, we may ask why Poiret seemed to be so interested in Gregorio Lopez. Mirjam de Baar, biographer of Antoinette Bourignon, concludes that "Poiret's unflagging zeal in systematising Bourignon's (and Guyon's) ideas and integrating them in mystic theology ran counter to the growing trends towards rationalisation in Protestant and Catholic theology".¹⁴⁹ Having been published in Amsterdam – and not in Cologne as the title page states – Pierre Poiret's edition includes the preface from Arnauld d'Andilly's translation, where he highlights, as Wesley subsequently would too, Gregorio's practice of contemplation and union in/with God.¹⁵⁰ This embodied experience of God could not

¹⁴⁶ The link to Poiret is stated in the preliminary notes of the 1908 Dutch edition of: "De bewerking van dit geschrift geschiedde naar *Ausserlesene Lebens Beschreibungen heiliger Seelen* van Gerhard Tersteegen, Erster-Band, Franckfurt und Leipzig 1755 [sic], S.1-109" in Anon., *Gregorius Lopez*, p. 7-11.

¹⁴⁷ Marjolaine Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret, 1646-1719. Du protestantisme à la mystique* (Géneve: Labor et Fides, 1994), 142-143. Chevallier recalls that Tersteegen was inclusively referred to as "le Poiret allemande".

¹⁴⁸ M. Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen lebens*, III, 289-447, *apud* Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret*, 142-144.

¹⁴⁹ Mirjam de Baar, "Conflicting discourses on female dissent in the Early Modern Period: The case of Antoinette Bourignon (1616-1680)" in *L'Atelier du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, (2009) Accessed January, 19th, 2017, <http://acrh.revues.org/1399>.

¹⁵⁰ "C'est là que l'on verra avec la dernière conviction, que la substance & le solide de la vie & de la pratique de notre Saint Solitaire, Gregoire Lopez, à savoir, l'élévation & la présence de l'esprit & du coeur à Dieu en tous lieux & en tous temps, est un exercice auquel il n'est impossible à personne de parvenir, lors qu'on veut tout de bon être fidèle à la voix de Dieu qui nous y apéle, & aux moins incontestables & infaillibles qu'il nous fournit pour le trouver, & pour demeurer ensuite éternellement avec lui...", in Pierre Poiret "Preface" in *Le saint*, trans. d'Andilly (16). Regarding Poiret's publication of Lopez's *Vida*, see Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret*, 106, n. 207 and 95-100.

be grasped through reason, thus allowing Poiret to criticise the illumination of those “esprits humainement savants, si vains de leur enflure d’idées & de raisonnements étudiés”.¹⁵¹ In this context, Gregorio Lopez’s *Life* became common reading material for marginal Pietist groups in eighteenth-century Christian traditions.

2.2.3 Controversial claims

In England, in 1675, Francisco Losa’s text was translated into English from the second edition of the book, and in 1686 his book was published as *The holy life, pilgrimage and blessed death of Gregory Lopez, a Spanish hermit in the West Indies*.¹⁵² The 1686 edition reads: “printed for W.C. and [...] to be sold at his shop, near the Leg Tavern, in Southwark”.¹⁵³ On the one hand, we learn that the bookshop’s location was where “many refugees from Flanders and Holland settled [...] in the 16th and 17th centuries, and perhaps partly on this account, it became one of the strongholds of non-conformity in London”.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, the *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* establishes Abraham Woodhead as the translator of these editions, without any further justification.¹⁵⁵ Woodhead was an English “Roman Catholic controversialist”, having devoted much of his life to his studies and writings, both his own and translations, some of which concerned the lives of saints, such as Gregorio Lopez, but also, Teresa de Ávila, François Sales, Felipe Neri, and many others.¹⁵⁶ In the translation of Francisco Losa’s

¹⁵¹ Poiret, “Preface” (11).

¹⁵² Francisco Losa, Alonso Remón, trans. N.N., *The holy life, pilgrimage and blessed death of Gregory Lopez, a Spanish hermit in the West Indies* (London: s. ed., 1675), and (London: W.C., 1686). Both available at *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.proxy-ub.rug.nl/home>.

¹⁵³ Losa, trad. N.N., *The holy life* (London: s. n., 1675), “Title page”. From here onwards: Losa, *Life*.

¹⁵⁴ “Introduction” in *Survey of London: volume 22, Bankside (The Parishes of St. Saviour and Christchurch Southwark)*, ed. Howard Roberts and Walter H Godfrey (London: s.ed. 1950), 1-8. Last access on November 23rd, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol22/pp1-8>.

¹⁵⁵ “HOLY (the) life of Gregory Lopez, a Spanish hermite in the West Indies. By Father Francis Losa; done out of Spanish [by Abraham Woodhead]. Second Edition. 8vol. [D. N. B. vol. 62, p. 400] London, 1675.”, in Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous English literature*, vol. 3, James Kennedy, W. A. Smith and A. F. Johnson, new and enlarged edition (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1971), s.v. “Holy”, 96.

¹⁵⁶ Jerome Bertram, “Woodhead, Abraham (1609–1678)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Accessed on January 20th, 2017: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29923>.

hagiography, he includes an extensive preface summing up Gregorio's life, devotions and mortifications to his readers, "that so the following Relation in which several things at the first appearance may seem to you very strange, might be rendered more intelligible, and less surprising".¹⁵⁷

Gregorio Lopez is a recurrent reference for diverse religious movements throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Álvaro Huerga having identified the source of these marginal readings, namely, Miguel de Molinos, the Aragonese Quietist.¹⁵⁸ Having been sent to Rome to postulate the cause of Francisco Gerónimo Simón, Molinos found himself at the production centre of sanctity already in 1665. In the Vatican, he contacted with procurators of other causes, like those of Juan Falconi, and of course, Gregorio Lopez. Molinos declared his deep admiration for these two figures in his *Guía espiritual*, published in 1675.¹⁵⁹ However, in 1687, the Holy Office condemned Molinos and his book. A great discussion arose out of Molinos' inquisitorial process, given that his ideas earned the sympathy of diverse members from ecclesiastical and political elites all over Europe. Robert Ricard carefully summarises the need to revise Paul Dudon's emblematic work on Molinos, allowing for a better understanding of a book, process and man that marked a definitive turning point in the way Catholics regarded their spirituality.¹⁶⁰

Miguel de Molinos cast a "quietist shadow", as Huerga has referred to, on Gregorio's story, the condemnation of the Aragonese's ideas by the Catholic Church appearing to have taken the Mexican hermit to other geographies: England, France, Netherlands, Germany, where quietists, but also pietists, and mystics in general, were open to reading

¹⁵⁷ Losa, *Life*, "Preface", A2.

¹⁵⁸ Huerga, "Edición", 87.

¹⁵⁹ "Qué bien entendió y practicó este acto puro de amor aquel profundo y gran místico Gregorio López, cuya vida era toda una continua oración y un continuo acto de contemplación y amor a Dios, tan puro y espiritual, que no daba parte jamás a los afectos y sensibles sentimientos [...]", in Miguel de Molinos, *Guía espiritual*, Lib. I, cap. XVII, párrafo 135, 125, *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 79.

¹⁶⁰ "Ce qu'il y avait, c'était une double divergence de caractère spirituel, et cela ressort bien du livre de P. Dudon: divergence entre les partisans de la méditation discursive et les partisans de l'oraison affective, divergence entre ceux qui n'admettent que la contemplation infuse ou passive, réserve à une infime minorité, et ceux qui croient à la possibilité d'une contemplation acquise à côté de la contemplation infuse. On simplifie peut-être pas outre mesure si l'on dit, en autres termes, que pour les uns il n'existe que la méditation discursive et la contemplation infuse, sans aucun intermédiaire, et que pour les autres il y a un mode intermédiaire, qu'on appelle soit oraison affective, soit contemplation acquise." Robert Ricard, "Le retour de Molinos", *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien, Hommage à Paul Mérimée*, n.º 27 (1976), 231-237, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40852165>.

Gregorio Lopez's life. At the end of the seventeenth century, when the Pope accepted Gregorio's cause, many editions of Losa's book came out of various and notable publishing houses.

2.2.4 Asserting nation(alism)s

Another controversial claim involving Gregorio Lopez's life dates from 1657.¹⁶¹ In a note in the second volume of the *Agiológico Lusitano*, a catalogue of Portuguese saints, Jorge Cardoso raises the issue of Gregorio Lopez's true identity.¹⁶² Later, in 1675, Pedro Lobo Correa dedicates the Portuguese translation of Losa's text to Dom Luis de Menezes, a fighter for the independence of the kingdom from Spain, conveying the investigative results pertaining to the anchorite's origins: Gregorio Lopez was not, after all, from Madrid, but rather, from Linhares da Beira, located in the inland of Portugal, near the border with Castile. This controversy reflected the country's political mood after the nobles' revolt of 1640 against the Hispanic Monarchy, with the claim of a Portuguese identity expressed through various cultural manifestations.

In reality, the *novohispana* hagiographical literature provides very few examples of notable converts, given that most of its subjects were saints since their childhood. Gregorio Lopez was not an exception, although his mysterious origins were able to fuel readers' imaginations¹⁶³, given the importance of people's identity in sixteenth-century Spain and New Spain. Particular relevance was given to where one was from, one's family's social, professional and economic status, as well as one's ethnoreligious background¹⁶⁴. In the hagiographical literary tradition, sanctity usually associated with

¹⁶¹ The issue of the secrecy surrounding Gregorio Lopez's family and birth origins will be explored further in the second part of this thesis.

¹⁶² Jorge Cardoso, *Agiológico Lusitano*, Vol. II (Lisbon: Oficina de Henrique Valente de Oliveira, 1657), 164; António Diogo de Sousa, *Agiológico Lusitano*, Vol. IV (Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana, 1744), 233-40c and 246-8c.

¹⁶³ Antonio Rubial García, "La Hagiografía, su evolución histórica y su recepción historiográfica actual" in Doris Bienko de Peralta, Berenise Bravo Rubio, (coords.), *De sendas, brechas y atajos. Contextos y crítica de las fuentes eclesiásticas, siglos XVI-XVIII*, (México: INAH e ENAH, 2008), 15-34.

¹⁶⁴ See for instance, Robert C. Schwaller, *Géneros de Gente in Early Colonial México. Defining racial difference*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

certain “genetic” nobility which Losa was not able to explore in Gregorio’s case, given the lack of information.¹⁶⁵

Although the network of people that asserted Gregorio’s Portuguese ancestry was aware of their patriotic intentions, their claim did not have a significant effect in the Vatican or the small town of Linhares. This could be partly due to the early modern stereotype which confused being Portuguese with being of Jewish ancestry, the expulsion of Jews from the Spanish kingdoms at the end of the fifteenth century, and throughout the sixteenth century, having led to mass migrations of these communities to various places, including, due to its proximity to Portugal.¹⁶⁶ Notwithstanding, what is of particular interest to us, for now, is the intention behind the publication. Moreover, even if this edition is a polemical reading of Losa’s book, it is nonetheless in line with the Catholic claim around his sanctity, ultimately including Gregorio as part of the Portuguese hagiographical catalogue.¹⁶⁷ Pedro Correa’s translation marked the beginning of a specific narrative: Gregorio Lopez, in addition to the *Agiólogo Lusitano*, was also included in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, the eighteenth-century biographical encyclopaedia of Portuguese authors.¹⁶⁸

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Thus far, we have seen how the discourse surrounding Gregorio Lopez was enriched by intellectual or idealist religious groups outside, or on the margin, of the Catholic and Protestant Churches and respective dogmas. The myth of the saint in a way reflected the

¹⁶⁵ We may refer, for example, to the royal chronicler of Castile, Rodrigo Méndez-Silva, who recorded the genealogy of Gregorio Lopez’s most famous disciple, namely, Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra. By evidencing Fernando’s noble ancestry, Rodrigo does something that Francisco Losa, as well as all the publishers of Gregorio’s biography, could not do, expressly, demonstrate Gregorio Lopez’s noble birth. Rodrigo Méndez-Silva, *Epítome de la vida de Fernando de Córdoba Bocanegra*, (Madrid: Coello, 1649).

¹⁶⁶ Lia F. A. Nunes, “Nascimento, vida e morte admiráveis do grande servo de Deus Gregorio Lopes, português, natural da antiga Villa de Linhares: reler a estória de um homem do século XVI na História Moderna de Portugal” in *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, Vol. 16 (Coimbra: 2016).

¹⁶⁷ António Diogo de Sousa, *Agiólogo Lusitano*, Vol. IV (Lisboan: Regia Officina Sylviana, 1744), 233-240 and 246-248.

¹⁶⁸ Diogo Barbosa Machado [1741-1748], *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Vol. 2 (Coimbra: Atlântica Editora, 1966), 413-415.

various spatial and time coordinates in Gregorio's life, as the communities he passed through were expected to be the ones to 'buy' his story, a story that mingled with their local histories. Beyond the collection of alms, proliferation of images and restoration of the hermitages of Santa Fe and Atemajac, we see a large amount of publicity that translated into (financial) conditions favourable to the cause, and the Mexican Church's support of it.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Rome had the final word. Which brings us to the question: what went wrong? Without going into depth as to how many saints were produced before the process became so controlled (and expensive), Gregorio's cause makes us wonder what would have happened if the cause had been accepted years earlier. Moreover, why did it take so long for the case to be opened in Rome, knowing this cause had the most powerful sponsors and one of the wealthiest Archdioceses backing it?

In the Indies, particularly in Mexico, the miracles narrated in the cause's processes are of a thaumaturgic nature, with Gregorio's book, relics and images having a prominent role. More remarkable, though, is the dissemination of his pharmaceutical treatise throughout the continent, fulfilling the purpose Gregorio seems to have intended for it, expressly, to help communities where doctors and medical assistance were rare, and where a book listing various diseases and their respective treatments would be a good help. In Europe, Gregorio was the mystic, the hermit, the solitary and reserved man who had written an explanation of the *Apocalipsis* without ever having studied or prepared for such a complicated task. Gregorio embodied the autodidact, the layman that could still be a perfect servant of God.

Antonio Rubial García has pointed out how the ideological context itself was the trigger for Gregorio Lopez's canonisation failure, given that he embodied the model of the hermit, with distinctive traits typical of that particular time's Spanish currents of internalised religious *recogimiento* ("retreatal"), aimed towards the spiritualised union with God through prayer, contemplation and abnegation. Gregorio's ascetic mystical life, and what it represented, was outdated to the Church: "[...] la idea escatológica y la existencia solitaria se habían convertido en valores incomprensibles para el Siglo de la

¹⁶⁹ See Rubial García, *La santidad*, 77-79.

Luces".¹⁷⁰ We might, in truth, have to consider whether the cause was treated justly: how was a man to be canonised without knowledge and investigation of all of his work, or without some fantastic tale behind it, in addition to all the doubts concerning a supposed union with God that allowed him not to respect the Church's sacraments? This was certainly not the model the Catholic Church invested in at the time Gregorio's cause was underway, as a result of new canonisation rules.

¹⁷⁰ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 91.

CHAPTER 3. 1675-1613: A SERVANT OF GOD OF A NEW EMPIRE

TABLE Ic – PUBLICATIONS OF GREGORIO LOPEZ’S *VIDA* BETWEEN 1675-1613

| AUTHOR(S) | TITLE | DATE | PLACE | PUBLISHER | TRANSLATOR [IDIOM] | DEDICATORY |
|------------------------------|--|------|-----------|---|---|---|
| Francisco Losa Luis Muñoz | <i>Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva España: principalmente en el Pueblo de Santa Fe</i> | 1674 | Madrid | Bernardo de Herva- da/ Ga- briel de León | | Lorenzo de Brizuela |
| Francisco Losa Luis Muñoz | <i>La vie du bienheureux Gregoire Lopez, écrite par François Losa, curé de l'église cathedrale de la ville de México dans la Nouvelle Espagne. De la traduction de Mr. Arnaud d'Andilly. Sur l'exemplaire imprimé à Madrid en 1658</i> | | Paris | Pierre la Petit | Robert Arnauld d'Andilly [French] | |
| Francisco Losa + Luis Muñoz | <i>La vie du bienheureux Gregoire Lopez, écrite par François Losa, curé de l'église cathedrale de la ville de México dans la Nouvelle Espagne. De la traduction de Mr. Arnaud d'Andilly. Sur l'exemplaire imprimé à Madrid en 1658</i> | 1673 | Paris | Pierre la Petit | [French] Robert Arnauld d'Andilly | |
| Francisco Losa + Luis Muñoz | <i>[Vida] que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva España, principalmente en el Pueblo de Santa Fe</i> | 1658 | Madrid | Imprenta Re- al/Antonio Ribero | | Carlos Mur- cia de la Llana |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La vie de Gregoire Lopez</i> | 1656 | Paris | Jean Henault | [French] Louis Conart | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La Vie de Grégoire Lopez dans la Nouvelle Espagne, composée en espagnol par François Losa,... et traduite nouvellement en françois par un père de la Compagnie de Jésus</i> | 1655 | Paris | Jean Henault | [French] Louis Conart | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La Vie de Gregoire Lopez: Hermite Parfait & Admirable en la Nouvelle Espagne</i> | 1650 | Bruxelles | Guillaume Scheybels | [French] S. Compaigno m | Jacques Le Roy |
| Francisco Losa + Luis Muñoz | <i>Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva España, principalmente en el pueblo de Santa Fé / por... Francisco Losa... ; aumen- tado en algunas partes ...</i> | 1648 | Madrid | Francisco Nieto/ Antonio Ribero | | Carlos Mur- cia de la Llana |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La Vie de Grégoire Lopez dans la Nouvelle Espagne, composée en espagnol par François Losa,... et traduite nouvellement en français par un père de la Compagnie de Jésus</i> | 1644 | Paris | Chez Mathurin & Jean Henault | [French] Jesuit Friar (Louis Conart) | Monsei- gneur de Noyers, Baron de Dangu |
| Francisco Losa + Luis Muñoz | <i>Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva Espana... Aumentada en algunas partes</i> | 1642 | Madrid | Imprenta Real | | Juan de Palafox y Mendoza |
| Alonso Remón | <i>The life of Gregorie Lopes, that great servant of God, natiue of Madrid, written in Spanish by Father Losa, curate of the Cathedral of México. And set out by Father Alonso Remón of the Order of our Lady de la Merced, with some additions of his own</i> | 1638 | Paris | [Widow of Jérôme Blagaert] | [English] N.N. | Kenelm Digby |
| Francisco Losa | <i>Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez hizo en algunos lugares de la Nueva España, principalmente en Sta. Fé</i> | 1632 | Madrid | Imprenta Real | | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|------|---------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Alonso Remón | <i>Vida i mverte misteriosas del grande siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, natvral de Madrid. Van en esta vltima impresion añadidas muchas cosas mui exemplares deste grande varon, considerables a las personas espirituales</i> | 1630 | Madrid | Francisco Martínez | | Catalina de Castilla y Sosa |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La vida que hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España</i> | 1625 | Lisboa | Peter Craesbeck | | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La vida qve hizo el sieruo [sic] de Dios Gregorio Lopez, en algunos lugares de la Nueva España</i> | 1618 | Sevilla | Herederos de Gabriel Ramos Bejarano | | |
| Alonso Remón | <i>La vida del sieruo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, natural de Madrid : añadida de nuevos milagros y doctrina suya</i> | 1617 | Madrid | Viuda de Alonso Martín | | |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La vida, qve hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España</i> | 1615 | Lisboa | Peter Craesbeck | | Miguel de Castro |
| Francisco Losa | <i>La vida que hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España y principalmente en el pueblo de Santa Fee, dos leguas de la Ciudad de México</i> | 1613 | Mexico | Juan Ruiz | | Luis de Velasco |

The sponsors of Gregorio Lopez's cause did not foresee the failure of the canonisation process – whose expectations certainly fuelled readers' interest –, its beginning and end having been both proclaimed by the kings of Spain. Nonetheless, we must keep in mind that Gregorio's *Vida* is but one title amongst the most popular literary genre throughout the seventeenth century, 28 per cent of the books published in Madrid between 1626 and 1650 having pertained to theological matters.¹⁷¹

Surely, Losa's biography proved to be a success, although constantly amplified with news of Gregorio's canonisation, but who was producing and reading its various editions? Moreover, what did Felipe III hear, or eventually read, before deciding, in 1620, to diligently give way to activities leading to the canonisation of Gregorio? How the story was conceived and received between 1675 when Gregorio's cause was accepted, and 1613, when the first edition of Losa's book was published, is what we shall delve into in the following chapter.

¹⁷¹ Justa Morena Garbayo and Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, (eds.), *La imprenta en Madrid (1626-1650). Materiales para su estudio e inventario*, V. I (Madrid: Editorial Arcos/Libros S. L., 1999), 23.

3.1 Building (readers') expectations

Gregorio Lopez's *vita* is not only a reflection of how the Church was adapting methods of Christianisation to "the formation of a pluriethnic society", but also, and especially, a moral warning encapsulated in the example of a man "that did not miss his spiritual exercises: for they are the ones that mostly assure success in all business and governance", according to Losa.¹⁷² The goal of American hagiographical texts was undoubtedly to demonstrate that the Indies could also be the stage where "models of sanctity appeared in an already mature New Spanish Church, free from heresies, and a faithful follower of the post-Tridentine Catholic Reformation's directives".¹⁷³ If, in Rome, it took too long for Gregorio Lopez's canonisation cause to comply with all the new rules, we could say it was not for the lack of support it had in Spain and New Spain.

3.1.1 Beyond the biography

Plus, Gregorio's story proved to be popular in Seville, Madrid, Lisbon, Paris, London, as well as Brussels, as evidenced by its continuous publications and translations throughout the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding, let it be noted, that while Gregorio's life was being widely read, his works were still under the scrutiny of the authorities. In the summer of 1643, the Premonstratensian, Antonio de la Torre (qualifier of the Supreme Council), heard the confession of Sebastián Hurtado, servant of the Court (inspector and accountant), a confession that resulted in a complaint to the Holy Office. The problem concerned a book that Sebastián Hurtado had found in the office of Gil González Dávila, chronicler of Spain, under the pretext of "writing something about the Indies" – most likely his *Teatro Eclesiástico de las Indias Occidentales* – but Antonio de la Torre and Sebastián Hurtado believed it contained "superstitious" propositions. The book in question belonged to the Royal Convent of the Incarnation, in Madrid: it was Gregorio

¹⁷² My translation of "[...] *que no faltaba a sus ejercicios espirituales: que estos son los que aseguran más el buen acierto en todos los negocios, y gobiernos*", Losa, [Dedicatoria], *La vida*.

¹⁷³ My translation of "[...] *modelos de santidad aparecidos en una Iglesia novohispana ya madura, libre de herejías y seguidora fiel de los dictados de la reforma católica postridentina*", in Rubial García, "La hagiografía", 26.

Lopez's *Tesoro de Medicinas*. An investigation was opened that same year, and two years later, in 1645, Francisco de Araujo would pick up where Juan Ponce de León – the other qualifier of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, who inclusively doubted the authorship of the *Tesoro* – had left off. The Holy Office ended up releasing the book and handing it back to its owners, given the weak accusations concerning it: superstition was inextricably linked to tradition, and Gregorio Lopez had merely adapted it from widely known and accepted pharmaceutical treatises.¹⁷⁴

More than a decade later, in 1656, the Holy Office also evaluated the *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, describing the last chapter as “sounding like an old millenarist mistake” (*sabe a error antiguo de milenarios*).¹⁷⁵ Despite Gregorio Argaiz having been granted permission to publish it in 1678 – permission granted by the royal theologian, Friar Anselmo Gomez, by D. Alonso Rico de Villa-Roel, vicar of Madrid, by Friar Andrés de la Moneda, abbey of San Martín in Madrid –, according to one of the files of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, only in 1708 did the qualifiers consider Lopez’s text a commentary, rather than a translation, thus escaping the “expurgatory” laws of the Vatican. The same accusation about this text had already been made in New Spain, as one of the testimonies of the informative process describes. Pedro de Agurto, bishop of Cebú, had told the Franciscan Juan de Santiago, how he had read the text, from which he would only have removed the part concerning the city of God, urging Gregorio to take it out, “not because it was a heresy, but because it was against the common explanation by the saints and doctors [of the Church]”.¹⁷⁶ Gregorio replied that he would not remove this part of the text, for he knew it was the truth. Furthermore, Juan de Santiago refers to

¹⁷⁴ My translation of “[...] *todas las veces que el remedio que se aplica tiene natural proporción y virtud para obrar el efecto a que se ordena esta libre de superstición, al menos no se puede presumir en el fuero exterior de la iglesia, que es el que toca a V. A. Por lo cual no alló razón para embarazar dicho libro y dejar de restituírle a su dueño porque a la verdad no es mas que un fragmento de Dioscorides, o de Laguna, de Vercorio y del Historial de Balbacense.*”, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) - *Inquisición*, Leg. 4466, Exp. 11, *Tesoro de Medicinas*.

¹⁷⁵ AHN - *Inquisición*, Leg. 4466, Exp. 06, *Declaración del Apocalipsis*.

¹⁷⁶ My translation of “[...] *no porque fuese herejía sino porque era contra la común explicación de los santos y doctores*”, in Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE], *Sede de Recolectos*, Ms/7819 [Información sumaria que se hizo en México de las virtudes y milagros del venerable Gregorio López en el año 1620 y siguientes, a petición de Felipe III, para su beatificación] [Manuscrito], [Accessed on May, 13th, 2015]. Available at <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearchivo/detalle/bdh0000056044>; “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 283-284v.

another copy of the manuscript, owned by his brother, the Carmelite Joseph de Santiago, confirming its circulation before its publication.¹⁷⁷

Pervasively mentioned by bibliographers from both Spain and New Spain, the unpublished works by Gregorio Lopez never surfaced, namely, a "chronology" and a "calendar". Francisco Losa affirmed possessing these writings, describing them in detail:

The servant of God made a chronology going from the creation of the world until our gloriously remembered holy father, Pope Clemens VIII. In a brief manner, and by mentioning everything worth of recollecting, not only of an ecclesiastical nature, but also secular, is a wonderful thing, this book being owned by this witness [Francisco Losa], and of all these things he had chosen the grain and the gold when it came to faith, spiritual law and customs, turning it into a calendar of days.¹⁷⁸

Why did Francisco Losa not deliver these materials, or even a copy of them, to the archdiocese's officers in charge of the informative process? We know that, already in 1633, these works were included in the *Índice de los Ingenios de Madrid*:

Gregorio Lopez, of venerable memory, through the experience the New World had of his sanctity, wrote, undoubtedly enlightened by the Heavens, four books: the *Declaración del Apocalipsis de San Juan*, a chronology since the beginning of the world up until Clemens VIII, a Historical Calendar, and a treatise on the virtues of herbs.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonio de Juan de Santiago", 284v.

¹⁷⁸ My translation of " *Hizo el siervo de Dios una cronología o subcessión de tiempos desde la creación de el mundo hasta nuestro muy santo padre de gloriosa recordación Clemente Papa octavo. Con tanta brevedad y anotando las cosas mas dignas de memoria así en la orden eclesiástica como en el secular que es cosa de maravilla y este libro lo tiene este testigo [Losa] y de todas estas cosas tenía escogido el grano y oro para lo tocante a la fe, ley spiritual y costumbres y reducido a un calendario de los días*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 41v.-42r.; see also Huerga, "Edición", 55.

¹⁷⁹ My translation of: " *Gregorio Lopez de venerable memoria, por la experiencia que de su santidad hizo el Nuevo Mundo, escriuió alumbrado sin duda del Cielo, quatro libros que son Declaración del Apocalipsis de San Juan. Cronología desde el principio del mundo hasta Clemente VIII. Un Kalendario Historico, y un tratado de la virtud de las yervas*", in "Índice, o catalogo de todos los Pontifices, Cardenales, Arçobispos, Obispos, Escritores de libros, Predicadores, Poetas y Varones illustres en todo genero de letras que ha tenido y tiene la Insigne Villa de Madrid, reconocidos por hijos verdaderamente suyos, dirigido a Don Juan de Vidarte", in Juan Perez de Montalvan, *Para todos, Exemplos Morales, Humanos y Divinos. En que se tratan diversas ciencias, materias, y facultades. Repartidos en los siete dias de la semana* (Huesca: Pedro Bluson, 1633); *apud* Sánchez Alonso, *Impresos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 189-190, 198.

It is no wonder then that, after the Holy Office had allowed for the publication of Gregorio Lopez's works, we see the emergence of several editions of these texts. Moreover, although the calendar and the chronology were never published, and considering that they were, nonetheless, referred in several places, their absence in the Vatican's process did not help the cause, since all of the existing or mentioned works should go under the scrutiny of the congregation.

3.1.2 A book that crossed borders

We have already seen how some polemical readings of Gregorio Lopez were not helpful to the canonisation process, given that one of the biggest arguments against his beatification was Lopez's dubious attitude towards orthodox Catholic rites, and how this translated into other interpretations of his life within the Christian world. We know that Poiret, Wesley and Tersteegen all read Arnould d'Andilly's translation of Losa's book. Arnould d'Andilly, member of the famous family of French courtiers, diplomats, and theologians, was deeply connected to Port-Royal's community.¹⁸⁰ At Port-Royal, the Jansenists constituted a strong focus of the Catholic reforms that had come out of Trent, with particular emphasis on solitude, which many men and women found in their retirement at Port-Royal-des-Champs. Jean Orcibal took notice of the genealogy of the ideas imparted by these spiritual idealists:

Un des rares traits communs aux port-royalistes est un attachement passionné au christianisme primitif dont ils souhaitaient faire revivre la pureté et la sainteté. Mais il en va de même de tous les réveils, qu'il s'agisse de ceux de saint Bernard, de Ruysbroeck, d'Antoinette Bourignon, de Fénelon, de Wesley ou de Newman.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Concerning Robert Arnould d'Andilly, see for instance Jacques Le Brun, "Le quiétisme entre la modernité et l'archaïsme", in Myriam Yardeni, (ed.), *Les Juifs dans l'histoire de France. Premier Colloque International de Haifa*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 86-99.

¹⁸¹ Jean Orcibal, "Qu'est-ce que le Jansénisme?", in *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, n. 3-5 (1953), 46.

It was during his later period at Port-Royal that Robert Arnauld d'Andilly signed his translation of the 1658 re-edition of Luis Muñoz's 1642 version of Losa's book.

Arnauld d'Andilly sought deliberately to provide his readers with the opportunity to know an "angel" he believed God had sent into the world, not only to show his grace to the inhabitants of the New World (which had not yet been illuminated by faith) but also as an example of practice of a "continued act of love".¹⁸² First published in 1673, as well as posthumously, in d'Andilly's *Oeuvres diverses*, published in Paris, 1675, both editions were printed through Pierre le Petit, who was close to the Jansenists, and his publishing house, namely, the "Imprimeur-Libraire ordinaire du Roi" –, these editions reveal the privilege conceded to publishing Gregorio Lopez's *Vie*, as well as Juan d'Ávila's works.¹⁸³

By then, encyclopaedist Louis Moreri had also included the Mexican hermit in his *Dictionnaire*.¹⁸⁴ Worth noting also is how one of the greatest critics of the Jansenists, Jacques-Benigne Bossuet – who had also read Gregorio Lopez's work, as his correspondence and his explanation of the Apocalypse attests¹⁸⁵ – denounced the connection one of his disciples, expressly, François Fénelon, had established with Mme. Guyon. As a consequence, the French mystic was forced to retract her ideas, considered to be too close to Molino's Quietism, recently condemned in Rome. However, for Bossuet this was not enough, a controversy between his immediate circle and Fénelon having led to Louis XVI ordering the withdrawal of the former royal tutor from the Court to the

¹⁸² Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, "Avertissement", in *La vie du bienheureux Gregoire Lopez*, Francisco Losa, trans. Arnauld d'Andilly (Paris: Pierre la Petit, 1675), (II-V).

¹⁸³ "Privilège" in *La vie*, trans. Arnauld d'Andilly (II-V). About Pierre le Petit: "libr.-impr., impr. de l'Académie Française en 1643, succède à Gile Morel comme impr. ordinaire du Roi, le janvier 27, 1647, titre confirmé en 1661 adjoint en 1660, meurt 1686. A partir de 1653, aussi en la Rue de S. Jacques à la Croix D'or, en 1677 il vend une de ses presses." In Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs Parisiens: librairies et fondeurs de caractères en exercice à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Nogent Le Roi: Lib. des Arts et Métiers-Éditions, 1995), p. 279-280.

¹⁸⁴ Louis Moreri, *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, v. II (Lyon: chez François Pitteri, 1687), 404, *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 81.

¹⁸⁵ Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse avec une explication*, (Paris: chez la veuve de Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1689), 37; and id., *Oeuvres Completes*, vol. 12 (Besançon: Outhenin-Chalandre, 1836), 147 and 223; and Bossuet, *Oeuvres Completes*, vol. 27 (1864), 386.

archdiocese of Cambrai.¹⁸⁶ Without going into detail concerning this enormous controversy, it is interesting to note that both parties read Gregorio Lopez.

I was not able to thoroughly investigate how the first editions of Losa's text might have given way to the French translations; different book markets appear to have been perfectly intertwined, evidenced in the collaboration across borders in order to raise profits and gain readers. Regarding Losa's French editions, it appears Arnauld d'Andilly used the 1658 edition of Lopez's *Vida*, although he probably also read Muñoz's hagiographies, which were popular within the translator's milieu. It is also worth noting that Arnaud d'Andilly held the licence to translate the *vita* and Juan de Ávila's works, having refused to use the 1644 first French translation by Jesuit Louis Conart.¹⁸⁷

Conart dedicated his version personally to Monseigneur de Noyers, a royal counsellor close to the Jesuits who had fallen into disgrace, having died a year after publication.¹⁸⁸ Mathurin and Jean Hénault printed the book in their print shop, located near the Jesuit College, in Paris.¹⁸⁹ The book's licences were copied from the 1617 Spanish edition, and although published with "privilège du Roi", the only permission transcribed is the one signed by the Jesuit Provincial in France, Jean Filleau. Regardless, printing without the proper licences would not have been a tremendous obstacle for these book merchants. A decade later, Jean Hénault would print Conart's version two more times, in 1655 and 1656 respectively.

Jean Compaignom signed one of the other French translations, published in Brussels under the title *La vie de Gregorio Lopez Hermit parfait e admirable de la Nouvelle*

¹⁸⁶ Jean Orcibal, "Fénelon et la Cour romaine (1700-1715)" in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 57 (1940), 235-348.

¹⁸⁷ Regarding Louis Conart, see for instance Manuel Bernardes Branco, *Portugal e os estrangeiros. Segunda parte*, Vol. I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1895), 596.

¹⁸⁸ Conart writes: "[...] *je me persuade que le recit de ses heroïques vertus fera naitre en votre ame les sinceres affections que son merite doit attendre des personnes de votre sorte*", aiii, Losa, trans. Conart, *La vie de Grégoire Lopez dans la Nouvelle Espagne* (Mathurin & Jean Hénault: Paris, 1644). Concerning Noyers, see Camille Lefauconnier, "François Sublet de Noyers (1589-1645). *Ad majorem regis et Dei gloriam*" (Thèse École Nationale des Chartes: 2008), accessed on January 15th, 2017 at <http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/2008/lefaucconier#2>.

¹⁸⁹ Possibly having begun printing in 1635, this bookshop stayed open until 1650. Owned by father and son, Mathurin and Jean Hénault, they employed five apprentices, instead of the four declared and the two allowed by law. Jean Hénault would go on to print two other editions of the same translation, probably in Rue S. Jacques "à S. Raphael" or "à l'Ange gardien", in Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs*, 198-199.

Espagne. He dedicated his translation to Jacques Le Roy, a gentleman of the Brabant Court, which was under the Spanish Monarchy's rule at the time.¹⁹⁰ Compaignom found Losa's book so illuminating, that he decided to translate it into French, to make it accessible to others that wanted to "ellever en un degre plus haut de perfection, celles qui ont deja fait quelque progres".¹⁹¹ Curiously, a few years later, his publisher, Guilliam/Guillaume Scheybells, published *Relation des ceremonies et solemnitez des sermons faits par son excellence le Marquis Castel-Rodrigo* (1666). Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo had recently arrived in the Low Countries after a period in Rome promoting Gregorio's cause.¹⁹²

It seems evident that the French book market was of significant proportions, and catered for a diversified public, as the dedications in the different editions suggest. Nonetheless, it is remarkable how the first edition of Gregorio's *Vida* published in Paris was its first translation into English. Its respective publisher was the widow of Jérôme Blagaert ("*libr.-impr.*"), Françoise Blancvillain, who was herself the daughter of printer Heureux Blancvillain, having acquired her husband's bookshop when he died in 1633, up until 1651.¹⁹³ This 1638 edition of *Life* was dedicated to Kenelm Digby, having been adapted from Alonso Remón's second version of Losa's book.¹⁹⁴ Usually, the abbreviation "N.N." refers to "Nomen Nescio", but an entrance in a bibliographic catalogue mentioning the name of Thomas White as the translator has proved to be

¹⁹⁰ On Compaignom, see M. Gachard, (dir.), *Inventaires des Archives de la Belgique*, vol. I (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1870); as well as "La Vie de Gregoire Lopez – Colonial perspectives: works from the Louise Bulkeley Dillingham Collection" in *Bryn Mawr Collections*, accessed on February 16th, 2014, <http://brynmawrcollections.org/home/exhibits/show/bulkeley-dillingham-project/missionary-histories/historica-relacion-del-reyno-d>.

¹⁹¹ Jean Compaignom, "Dedicatoire", in Francisco Losa, trans. I. Compaignom, *La Vie de Gregoire Lopez: Hermite parfait & admirable en la Nouvelle Espagne* (Brussels: Par Guillaume Scheybells, 1650).

¹⁹² *Relation des ceremonies et solemnitez des serments, fait par ... le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, Gouverneur general de ces Provinces ... au Roy Charles II ... et de la ... cavalcate, faite à ce sujet, à Bruxelles, le 24. Fevrier May 1666*, (Bruxelles: Guillaume Scheybells, 1666). See an examples of this item in catalogue in https://lib.ugent.be/nl/catalog/rug01:000816004?i=0&q=%22Guilliam+Scheybells%22&search_field=author .

¹⁹³ The French print shop was a strong family business, since Jérôme's brother was a printer as well, and an apprentice of the former's father-in-law, their nieces, daughters and sons having maintained production on their own. In Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs*, 40.

¹⁹⁴ "Digby, Kenelm", *The Galileo Project*, accessed on June 14th, 2015, <http://galileo.rice.edu/Catalog/NewFiles/digby.html>.

puzzling.¹⁹⁵ When discussing this possibility with Francis Young, historian of Early Modern English Catholicism and popular religion, he provided his opinion of what could be a possible reading of "N.N.":

Thomas White dedicated other works to Kenelm Digby, so the hypothesis that a pseudonym for Thomas White lies beneath N.N. is not intrinsically implausible. White, as you know, adopted the alias Blacklow, and he was born at Notley in Essex. Could N.N. stand for something like Niger Notleus, a latinisation of his alias and toponym?¹⁹⁶

Thomas White spent some time in Lisbon between 1626 and 1630, as head of the city's English College, as well as serving as a "representative of the secular clergy of England in Rome" during the same period. He subsequently spent some time in France, apparently having been lodged at Digby's house in Paris.¹⁹⁷ If we are to accept the identification of the anonymous author, "N.N.", as Thomas White, it is relatively easy to place him as having been in contact with the learned circles of some of the major figures of English Catholicism, thus bringing Gregorio Lopez into that community of readers. The English edition marks what we could consider a second phase of the history of Losa's book, up until 1638 the book having been exclusively published within the Catholic Monarchy. In fact, Thérèse-Marie Jallais sums up very well this phase when she concludes in her article about the first English translation of Losa's book:

¹⁹⁵ "Losa, Francisco, Thomas White, and Alonso Remón. 1638. The life of Gregorie Lopes: that great servant of God, natiue of Madrid, written in Spanish by Father Losa, curate of the Cathedral of México. And set out by Father Alonso Remon of the Order of our Lady de la Merced, with some additions of his own. Paris: [Widow of J. Blagaert]", in WorldCat Catalogue. Accessed on June 15th, 2016 at: https://www.worldcat.org/title/life-of-gregorie-lopes-that-great-servant-of-god-natiue-of-madrid-written-in-spanish-by-father-losa-curate-of-the-cathedrall-of-méxico-and-set-out-by-father-alonso-remón-of-the-order-of-our-lady-de-la-merced-with-some-additions-of-his-owne/oclc/606496789?referer=list_view. In the *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous* we do not find the 1638 edition nor any book by Thomas White signed as N.N.: he would have used the initials T.W.; in *Dictionary*, vol. 5, 230.

¹⁹⁶ Francis Young, (personal communication on June 29th, 2016). This possibility is also studied by Thérèse-Marie Jallais, in her article "La vie de Gregorio Lòpez par Thomas White (1592-1676), ou la sanctification d'un ermite hétérodoxe par un catholique hérétique", *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, XVIII-1, 2013, 1-11.

¹⁹⁷ "White, Thomas", *The Galileo Project*, accessed on June 14th, 2015, <http://galileo.rice.edu/Catalog/NewFiles/white.html>.

Il serait donc erroné d'interpréter ces succès d'édition comme des signes précurseurs d'un œcuménisme. Ceux qui s'étaient éloignés ou séparés de l'Église catholique, dont ils récusait l'opposition dualiste entre orthodoxie et hérésie, affirmaient, par leur dynamisme éditorial, une volonté déterminée de redéfinir leur propre modèle de sainteté tout en réussissant à ne pas se couper d'une tradition hagiographique forcément catholique.¹⁹⁸

3.1.3 Success in the Spanish book market: first editions and readers

We have already mentioned the French translation by Robert Arnauld d'Andilly (first published in 1673, having been reprinted in both 1675 and 1717), which we should be able to connect with the success Gregorio Lopez's cause was having in Rome. Arnauld d'Andilly's based his translation on Luis Muñoz's 1658 augmented version of *Vida*. By 1642, Muñoz, officer of the Court, *relator del Consejo de la Hacienda*, writer of other virtuous "lives" (including Juan de Ávila, Luis de Granada, Luisa de Carvajal and Bartolomé de los Mártires), had expanded Francisco Losa's and Alonso Remón's versions by including new information related to the canonisation process, as well as letters concerning the transfer of Gregorio's works and relics to Spain.¹⁹⁹ Muñoz dedicated his first edition of Lopez's *Vida* to Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles, later subjected to a beatification process himself.²⁰⁰ 1648, 1658 and 1674 editions were dedicated to two other royal officers: Carlos Murcia de la Llana, *abogado de los consejos* (lawyer) and *asesor de las Guardas españolas* (assessor for the Spanish Guard), who had approved Remón's 1630 version; and Lorenzo de Brizuela, knight of Alcántara and *tesorero general de su Majestad* (general treasurer for His Majesty).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Jallais, "La vie de Gregorio Lòpez", 8.

¹⁹⁹ Regarding the content of these additions, see Rubial García, *La santidad*, 79-81.

²⁰⁰ Bishop between 1640 and 1653, viceroy in 1642, *visitador general* from 1642, Palafox was an extremely powerful man. We have already briefly mentioned how Juan de Palafox brought several papers concerning Gregorio Lopez to Spain, including a copy of his *Apocalypse* manuscript, which was immersed in controversy around the time of its first publication. See more in Huerga, "Edición", 59-79.

²⁰¹ Concerning D. Carlos Murcia de la Llana, see Félix Díaz Moreno, "El control de la verdad: los Murcia de la Llana, una familia de correctores de libros", in *ARBOR Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, CLXXXV 740 noviembre-diciembre (2009), 1301-1311. Accessed on March 30th, 2017: <http://arbor.revistas.csic.es/index.php/arbor/article/viewFile/396/397>.

Through the study of Justa Moreno Garbayo, recently recovered by Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, we come across some interesting data: Murcia de la Llana, for instance, headed the list of people in charge of legal preliminaries such as censorship, taxes, etc. Printed both by the Royal Press (*Imprenta Real*), and in the shops of Francisco Nieto and Bernardo Hervada, Muñoz's editions of Lopez's *Vida* were very successful; perhaps due to their additional information concerning the process, its publishers were undoubtedly aware of their potential public. The *Imprenta Real* was founded under that name in 1594 and had been since then publishing official texts and decrees, printing all kind of books later on, "predominantly the ones somehow connected with events relating to the royal family", in which we may include the publishing of Losa's first edition in 1632.

Additionally, we can observe further links within the network of printers mentioned in previous sections. Gabriel de León, for example, was the same publisher of both Muñoz's last edition (1674), and Argai's first edition. Antonio Ribero, who published Muñoz's 1648 and 1658 editions, is also linked to another publishing house, namely Francisco Nieto's, Mariana del Valle's second husband. Mariana had been previously married to Juan Martín del Barrio, who had sold the printing machinery to Pedro de Horna in 1647, who in turn had bought it from the widow of Francisco Martínez, responsible for printing one of the earlier versions of Gregorio's biography. Undoubtedly, Gregorio Lopez's biography was printed and sold in some of the most popular bookshops in seventeenth-century Madrid, clearly contributing to successful sales.²⁰² We shall now proceed to examine the reception of these first editions, consequently analysing them in greater detail. Before crossing borders, five printings of Losa's biography – from its first publication in 1613, in México, and two years later, in Lisbon – are known. Both editions were dedicated to viceroys: the Mexican edition to Luis de Velasco, twice viceroy of New Spain, and once of Peru, President of the *Consejo de Indias* at the time; whereas the Lisbon edition was addressed to Miguel de Castro, archbishop, and soon-to-be viceroy of Portugal. These sorts of dedications were essential to the success of the books.²⁰³

²⁰² Garbayo Reyes Gómez, *La imprenta en Madrid*, 23, 27 32, 37, 59-60, 68-70, 108.

²⁰³ In her book about the hagiographical discourse in Portugal, Paula Almeida Mendes, devotes a chapter to the topic of the dedications, considering its importance when revealing relations of sponsorship and clientelism in an

3.1.3.1 Famous readers and reviews

The story of Gregorio Lopez must have been a recurrent subject of talks, discussions, and polemic spiritual readings within the core of educated elites and the court, in Spain and New Spain. His name became an inescapable reference in religious literature, particularly for authors connected to mysticism and/or asceticism. Juan de Undiano, the hermit who triggered an official response to reform the Spanish heremital movement, is an essential piece in Gregorio Lopez's puzzle. In 1576, the then 24-year-old Juan Undiano arrived in Córdoba, coming from Navarre, having made himself a "hermit's apprentice" of the Brother Martín, whose biography he would come to print in 1620, in Pamplona. Undiano lived in the forests of Albayda until the death of his mentor, after which he would move back to Navarre, where he became a priest, and where hermits lived a much less spiritually edifying experience than the solitaries he had met in the south. After becoming a priest, he began his attempt to reform his companions, an effort that, although recorded in the royal edicts, did not have the desired effect, having eventually backfired against him. From 1600 onwards, after battling those who attacked him for not respecting the reform he had fought for, he finally went back to being a hermit, until his death in 1633. In 1623, Gil González Dávila included Gregorio in the history of the capital of the Spanish Empire, referring already back then to the lack of documents in the parish of San Gil concerning Gregorio's kin.²⁰⁴ As we have seen, his interest in the hermit's works resulted in a denunciation to the Inquisition.

Meanwhile, Juan de Falconi's *Carta a una hija espiritual* – which refers to Gregorio Lopez's exemplary life – was already in circulation.²⁰⁵ This other Mercedarian in the history of Gregorio's reception (Falconi was most likely responsible for having led Miguel

age whence writers were still completely dependent on these practices to be able to publish, in Paula Almeida Mendes, *Paradigmas de papel: a escrita e a edição de «Vidas» de santos e de «Vidas» devotas em Portugal (séculos XVI – XVIII)*, (CITCEM, Porto, 2017), p. 87.

²⁰⁴ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de Madrid* (Madrid: Thomas Junti, 1623), 26.

²⁰⁵ Elías Gómez, *Fr. Juan de Falconi de Bustamante: Teólogo y asceta [1596-1638]. Estudio Biográfico-expositivo*, (Madrid: Escuela de Historia Moderna, CSIC, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Madrid, 1956), 366.

de Molinos to Gregorio's cause), had been in Madrid since 1625, and was already a successful confessor in the court when he wrote his famous letters in 1628, in which he conveyed Gregorio's exemplary life through his advice.²⁰⁶

We will see further on that Juan de Undiano, in 1618, came across Gregorio Lopez's *Life*, which inspired him to write his *Exemplo de solitarios*.²⁰⁷ In 1630, the Carmelite Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa included the solitary man in his *Compendio y Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, notoriously informed by the stories of the mystic Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra and Francisco Losa, as followers of Gregorio Lopez.²⁰⁸ Similarly, Antonio de Rojas, in his *Vida del Espíritu*, includes Gregorio as a model for a perfect religious experience. Although the Holy Office condemned Rojas's book in 1631, it continued to be printed throughout Europe.²⁰⁹ Augustinian Gaspar de Villarroel refers to Gregorio's exegetical work, mentioning its inclusion in Alcázar's *Vestigatio*.²¹⁰ By 1629, Gregorio Lopez had been mentioned in Carmelite Friar Marcos de Guadalajara's *Historia Pontifical*²¹¹, and also in León Pinelo's *Epítome de biblioteca oriental I occidental*²¹². The Jesuit, Juan Eusebio Nuremberg could neither ignore Gregorio Lopez's example in his 1633 *Vida Divina y camino para la perfección*.²¹³

In the Americas, Gregorio Lopez's memory was being shaped in a defined direction: every order, every religious institute had found a way to inscribe him into their own story.

²⁰⁶ María Dolores Mira Gómez de Mercado and Antonio García Megía, (eds.), *Juan de Falconi: Antología de Textos*, vol. 116, Fuera de Colección (Almería: Universidad de Almería, 2009), 32-34; Huerga, "Edición", 46.

²⁰⁷ Rafael Haro Serrano, "Introducción" in Juan de Undiano, *Exemplo de solitarios, y vida exemplar del Hermano Martín, solitario en el Bosque del Albayda* [Facsimile of original, Córdoba: Andrés Carrillo de Paniagua, 1673], ([Córdoba]: Asociación de Amigos de las Ermitas, D. L., 1987), 22-24.

²⁰⁸ Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, Lib. III, cap. 20 (México: s. ed., 1944), 149, *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 81.

²⁰⁹ In Spain (1628, 1630, 1641), in France (seven editions between 1646 and 1674), and in Portugal (1645), Rojas's editions serving as a paragon of Gregorio Lopez's publishing and reading networks. Andrés Martín, *Historia de la Mística*, 425-427; Huerga, "Edición", 47.

²¹⁰ Gaspar de Villarroel, *Semana Santa comentarios e discursos* (Sevilla: Andrés Grande, 1634), 234, 2col.

²¹¹ Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Quinta parte da Historia Pontifical*, (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1630), 82. This edition was eventually prohibited by the Roman *Index* of 1667, see Enrique Gacto, "Censura política e Inquisición: la *Historia Pontifical* de Gonzallo de Illescas" in *Revista de la Inquisición*, 2 (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992), 23-40, accessed on March 25th, 2016, <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RVIN/article/viewFile/RVIN9292110023A/1670>.

²¹² Antonio R. de León Pinelo, *Epítome de biblioteca oriental I occidental, náutica i geográfica*, (Madrid: I. González, 1629), 4., 43, 1., 186 f. 13 l.

²¹³ Juan Eusebio Nuremberg, *Vida Divina y camino para la perfección*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1635), 57-58.

It should be noted, for instance, how Rosa de Lima is said to have read and imitated "Gregorio's refusal to communicate to his body the things he experienced mystically in his soul".²¹⁴ A 1660's censorship of a play about Gregorio Lopez provides us with information about other possible platforms and formats for his story reception. "El prodigio de la América y Vida y muerte del venerable Gregorio López" was considered harmless and an excellent vehicle for showing Gregorio's exemplary life to a broader public. We do not know if it was ever directed and played in public; and as the manuscript was returned to its author, there is no copy of the text in inquisitorial file.²¹⁵ In a different setting, Augustinian, Miguel de Guevara, is said to have copied Gregorio's texts in his doctrinal vocabulary into the Matlazinca language.²¹⁶ This occurrence provided Alain Milhou with the possibility to look into one of Spanish Golden Age Literature's mysteries, expressly, the anonymous sonnet *No me mueve mi dios*. Generally attributed to Juan de Valdés, Juan de Ávila, Antonio de Rojas or Miguel de Guevara, the scholar of Spanish spirituality directs its authorship towards Gregorio Lopez's line of thought.²¹⁷

3.1.3.2 The Mexican edition

The viceroy Diego Fernandez de Córdova licensed the first edition in México, following his predecessors' will, namely, Luis de Velasco, *marqués de Salinas*, and García Guerra, archbishop of México. Francisco Losa acknowledged his connection to the marquis of Salinas, who sponsored the publication, mentioning that he had been his chaplain, a fact we were not able to confirm in any record up until now. Of particular interest is the way Losa refers to a moral debt, suggesting that Velasco's sponsoring and "protection" of the

²¹⁴ Ronald Jay Morgan, *Spanish American saints and the rhetoric of identity* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002), 193, n.50. According to Rubial García, Gregorio Lopez is mentioned by Rosa de Lima's, Fernando González's and Leonardo de Hansen's biographers, *La santidad*, 79.

²¹⁵ AGN, *Instituciones Coloniales*, Indiferente Virreinal/ Caja 2351, Expediente 020 (Inquisición Caja 2351), Joaquín de los Hevos, 1660, "Censura practicada a una novela intitulada: "El prodigio de la América y Vida y Muerte de el Venerable Gregorio López"".

²¹⁶ Miguel de Guevara, *Arte doctrinal matlazinca*, 1638, *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 79.

²¹⁷ Andrés Martín, *Historia de la Mística*, 425; Huerga, "Edición", 47; Milhou, "Gregorio López", 62-63.

book “pay as much, as the government of this new world, Your Excellency, owes to Gregorio’s advice and prayers”.²¹⁸

The licences Francisco Losa requested to publish his work took some time to be acquired. The first was given by the Carmelite Vicente de Sancto Thomas, who approved the book at the order of the Marquis of Salinas, probably already in 1611. The following year, García Guerra persisted with the request of the approvals, granted in the following order: by the priest Antonio Olea, in January; by a professor and canon at the Mexican cathedral, Alonso de Muñoz, on August 21st; by the cathedral’s chapter and dean, Pedro de Vega Sarmiento, on August 31st; and by a Jesuit, Rodrigo de Cabredo, on September 15th. On November 23rd of that same year, viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdova, soon after arriving in México, received the report by a Dominican professor, Hernando de Bazán, having given out a licence on December 5th.²¹⁹

There were no objections to Losa’s text; on the contrary, all examiners agreed upon the benefits of its reading. In addition, Losa included in his first edition letters of the following persons: Domingo de Ullóa, bishop of Michoacán (dated from 1598, and indicating that the biography was already completed by that time); Pedro de Agurto, bishop of Cebú; Rodrigo de Cabredo, as provincial for the Society of Jesus; and the Jesuit Pedro de Hortigosa, who would deliver one of the testimonies in the apostolic process for Lopez’s canonisation. The Jesuits were very committed in the promotion of Losa’s book, as we learn from another witness of the informative process: although he never met Gregorio, the Jesuit Pedro de Egurrola recalls talking with Francisco Losa, who had asked him for help with the publication’s procedures, which might explain the significant number of licences from members of the Company.²²⁰

We might also inquire if and how the close connection between Lopez and his biographer with the viceroy Luis de Velasco relates to the chosen printer of Losa’s book.

²¹⁸ My translation of “Para que con su proteccion pague lo mucho, que en el gobierno de este nuevo mundo, debió V. Excellencia a los consejos, y oraciones de Gregorio”, Losa, *Vida*, “Dedicatoria”.

²¹⁹ “Licencia y Aprobación” in Losa, *Vida*.

²²⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, “Testimonio de Pedro de Egurrola”, 200v.

Juan Ruiz was only starting his career as *impresor* (printer) in Ciudad de México²²¹, most likely having taken over his father's (or stepfather's) shop, who was none other than Enrico Martínez, a known protégé of Luis de Velasco.²²² In addition to being a printer, Enrico Martínez, or Heinrich Martin (it is uncertain where he was from, some say French, others say French or even Dutch, but in New Spain he hispanicised his name), was also a cosmographer, author, interpreter of the Holy Office, engineer, a man of multiple interests – like Gregorio Lopez himself. However, it is not clear what sort of relation Enrico Martínez had with Juan Ruiz, there being various opinions due to divergent sources: there seems to be some continuity between both print shops and between their broad interests. According to Emma Rivas Mata, Juan Ruiz became a successful and long-lasting book publisher of seventeenth-century New Spain. Although belonging to the group of printers who were not booksellers, he owned two printing machines, which allowed for a constant and varied production of diverse genres – mainly in Spanish and Latin – during six decades; being himself an author.²²³ It is not known how the books circulated between bookshops. However, what we do know is that from a business still in its early years in México, Losa's text then made its way to another promising printer in Lisbon.

3.1.3.3 The Iberian editions

The question why Lisbon, I cannot answer. The fact is that the second edition of *Vida del siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez* was prepared in the printing house of Pedro (or Pieter) van Craesbeeck, in Lisbon, two years after it had first come out in México. In 1615, the Flemish printer had already established for himself a flourishing business within the

²²¹ José Toríbio Medina, *La Imprenta en México (1539-1821)*, edición facsimilar, vol. I (1539-1600) (México: UNAM, 1912), CXXI-CXXII.

²²² Francisco de la Maza, *Enrico Martínez. Cosmógrafo e impresor de Nueva España* (1943), Facsimile (México: UNAM, 1991); Bruce Stanley Burdick, *Mathematical works printed in the Americas, 1554-1700*, (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2009), 196; Rivas Mata, "Impresores y mercaderes", 85-86; "Printers's devils, Printers's Delights – The book in Spanish America" in *The John Carter Brown Library*, accessed on April 20th, 2017:

http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/regal/pages/printing.html

²²³ Rivas Mata, "Impresores y mercaderes", 85-89.

Portuguese capital, which allowed him to become one of the most “influential and richest [in the city’s] Flemish community”.²²⁴ The book was dedicated to Dom Miguel de Castro, the city’s archbishop, who would be nominated viceroy of Portugal that same year.²²⁵ Dedications of this nature indicate that the book had arrived in Iberia with recommendations and prospects for a good reception, as indeed happened.

The licences and letters of praise were copied from the Mexican edition, with the addition of two elements written in Portuguese: a prologue – the lack of a signature leading us to assume that the publisher might have been responsible for it – which is basically a summary of the book’s content, a possible editorial strategy to invite the reader to continue reading; and a dedicatory, signed by Manoel Pereira, and dated from April 30th, 1615, where he proposes the advancement towards a canonisation process.²²⁶ Printed by Craesbeeck, and regardless of who the publisher may have been, here we see the topic of canonisation brought up for the first time.²²⁷ Its readership

²²⁴ João José Alves Dias, *Craesbeeck: uma dinastia de impressores: elementos para o seu estudo*, (Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Livreros Alfarrabistas, 1996) IX-XII, 28. H. Bernstein, *Pedro Craesbeeck & Sons: seventeenth century publishers to Portugal and Brazil*, (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1987), 17-27. Craesbeeck was granted the title of royal knight in 1617, having also become the official royal printer around 1620. He also contributed to the reception of Felipe III in Lisbon, by building one of the arches that adorned the city for the royal entry, publishing various texts concerning the occasion. The year following the visit, he was assigned the title “Pedro Craesbeeck, impressor del Rey nosso Senhor”.

²²⁵ Regarding D. Miguel de Castro, see Daniel Norte Giebels, “A Inquisição e a Mitra de Lisboa: análise a partir do governo do arcebispo D. Miguel de Castro (1586-1625)”, in *Lusitana Sacra* 23 (Janeiro-Junho 2011) (Lisbon, UAC, 2011), 121-150.

²²⁶ The dedicatory, signed by “Manoel Pereira, Repart-” states that “however small the offer [of the book], it holds within it great treasures and, God willing, it should lead to the canonization being soon taken care of”; my translation of “[...] a oferta, que nem por pequena deixa de enerrar em si grandiosissimos thesouros, e permitirá Nosso Senhor, seja isto parte para que muyto cedo se trate da canonização” [Dedicatória], Losa (1615).

²²⁷ In an edition of *Os Lusíadas do grande Luis de Camoens*, printed at Pedro Craesbeeck’s shop in 1613, we learn that Manoel Pereira is synod examiner of Lisbon’s archdioceses and priest at the Church of S. Sebastião, located in Mouraria, in the centre of Lisbon. We also learn that he is from Elvas, in the south of Portugal. Manoel Pereira writes a commentary on both the epic poem, as well as on the *Life* of Gregorio Lopez: Dias, *Craesbeeck*, 21. However, it is not clear if he is also the publisher of the Lisbon edition. One of the exemplars of that edition, which may be found at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Portuguese National Library) includes a handwritten note where it may be read “À custa de M. el P.ra, mercader de livros” (At the expense of Manoel Pereira, book merchant). He is only identified as a bookseller and publisher between 1645 and 1655, according to Maria Isabel Loff in “Impressores, editores e livreiros no século XVII em Lisboa”, in *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Anos X-XII, 1964-1966, 76; and this edition would reveal that he had started his activity at least thirty years earlier. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that a curate, such as the one that signs the *Lusíadas*, could also have been (or become) a book merchant.

and/or sales were sufficiently significant to make Pedro Craesbeeck print the book a second time in 1625, a rare edition, which possibly sold out due to the opening of procedures by the king, something which booksellers in the Peninsula were well aware of for the interest it amounted to the editions.

In Castille the first edition of Gregorio Lopez's biography was released in Madrid; the city where the proposal for canonisation became more serious after the Mercedarian Alonso Remón became acquainted with the work. María Alejandra Ramírez Vásquez helps us understand how this author might have discovered Gregorio Lopez.²²⁸ She informs us that the younger brother of Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra (whom we shall get to know more about later on) spent some time in Madrid between 1607 and 1617, and that, at least from 1615 onwards, he was in contact with the Mercedarian. Francisco de Córdoba y Bocanegra wanted to hire Alonso Remón (already an experienced author at that time) to write the *Life* of his brother Fernando. With that intent, Francisco brought Spain all the written material of his deceased sibling, while Remón gathered multiple letters from illustrious clerics declaring their acquaintance with Fernando. During that process, the Mercedarian came across the name of Gregorio Lopez, which aroused his interest.

A letter from the bishop of Elna, Francisco de Vera, reveals the cleric's contact in New Spain with that great man who had been Fernando's teacher.²²⁹ Moreover, throughout Remón's account about Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, Gregorio Lopez appears as an authority figure who had inspired the virtuous life of the biographee.²³⁰ During this period, Losa's book most certainly made its way to Remón's hands, who either heard of it and decided to order it, or had the book given to him, so as to provide him with information on the matter he had been hired to write about (although Losa never mentions Fernando).

²²⁸ María Alejandra Ramírez Vásquez, "Un poeta novohispano en olor a santidad: Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra (1565-1989). Obra literaria y bio-hagiografía" (Tese de Licenciatura en Lengua y Literaturas Hispánicas, México D.F.: UNAM, 2013), 39-47.

²²⁹ "Cartas" in Alonso Remón, *Doctrina espiritual que dexo escrita el sieruo de Dios don Fernando de Córdoba y Vocanegra collejida de la de algunos sanctos varones: refierese primero su vida y muerte... por el padre fr. Alonso Remon ... de el Orden de N. S. de la Merced* (Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1617), 11.

²³⁰ Ramírez Vásquez, "Un poeta novohispano", 39-47.

Before we bring to the fore the utmost importance of the Mercederian's edition of Losa's book, we should consider other particularities of Remón's editions. The first edition, dating from 1617, is dedicated to Eugenio Ximénez Cortés, the priest of "Xetafe" or Getafe – a town very close to Madrid which held an old sanctuary. What was the reason behind this dedicatory? Most likely it had something to do with the then recently recovered cult to Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, for whom a new hermitage was being built, being thus in need of a holy intermediary to (re)sacralise the place.²³¹ Remón's published an augmented version in 1630, in the print of Francisco Martínez, containing some papers that had been sent to the Vatican, including Lopez's last will, as well as Felipe III's royal decree requesting the gathering of living testimonies of people acquainted with the hermit. The edition is dedicated to Doña Catalina de Castilla y Sosa, wife of Agustin de Zavala, who was the captain of Nueva Galicia and governor of Nuevo León, although he never set foot on it. Both lived in Zacatecas, where Catalina stayed for 16 years after widowing, the same city where Gregorio Lopez had spent his first American years.²³²

Nonetheless, it is another occurrence that constitutes Remón's edition as essential to understanding how the Portuguese publisher's petition concerning Gregorio's canonisation reached the ears of the king himself. In his study of Alonso Remón, Manuel Fernández Nieto recovers an indispensable source for our own study at hand. On January 25th, 1616, a meeting was held at the *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid, celebrating *la nobilissima villa de Madrid, universal y insigne corte de la Magestad Catolica de el Mayor Monarca*

²³¹ "Historia de la Congregación" in *Real e Ilustre Congregación de Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles*, <http://www.virgendelosangelesgetafe.org/historia-de-la-congregacion/>, accessed on October 26th, 2016.

²³² While it is not intended that the differences between the various editions' contents to be analysed here, we should point out Remón's reference to the dedications ended up staying within the same family, the first edition of Remón's *Life and death of the servant of God, Don Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra* having been dedicated to Don Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra, the father of Doña Catalina. Alonso Remón, *Vida y muerte del sieruo de Dios don Fernando de Cordoba y Bocanegra; y el Libro de las colaciones y doctrinas espirituales que hizo y recopilò en el tiempo de su penitencia el año de 1588* (Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1617). Also worth mentioning is Rodrigo Mendez-Silva, *Epitome de la vida de Fernando de Cordoba Bocanegra* (Madrid: s. ed., 1649), the latter having been the royal chronicler of Castile at the time, having written *Epitome* for genealogical purposes. Concerning Alonso Remón, see for instance, Jesús Paniagua Pérez, "América en la obra de Alonso Remón" in *Humanismo y tradición clásica en España y América* (León, Universidad de León and Secretariado de Publicaciones y Medios Audiovisuales, 2002), 415-440.

de la Christiandad y de el mundo Felipe tercero Rey de las Españas (the most noble town of Madrid, universal and distinguished court of his Catholic Majesty, of the Greatest Monarch of Christendom and the world, Felipe III, King of Spains), where Alonso Remón began by introducing himself as preacher and general chronicler of the Mercedarian Order. Remón then proceeded to congratulate the king for the successes in the canonisation causes of Isidro, the later patron of Madrid, and María de la Cabeza (twelfth-century figures from Madrid), adding how God ("that King of all Kings") had rewarded Felipe's efforts with the discovery of "the new and precious treasure of a saint and most perfect man with all kinds of virtues, Gregorio Lopez".²³³ The friar then went on to resume Gregorio's biography, mentioning its publication in both México and Lisbon. Moreover, as he had been the first to bring it to Madrid, he saw the perfect opportunity to request the licence needed to republish it, with new additional information, hoping to:

[...] augment [it] with enquiries into his lineage and his people, since he is presumed to belong to one of Madrid's noble families, although the holy man was so quiet that it was never possible to obtain from his mouth nothing more than that he was from this town.

It is now also the right time for this diligence, since nowadays many viceroys, bishops, presidents and counsellors of that New Kingdom are living in this Court, and these gentlemen and people may be important testimonies of all kinds, since they communicated and dealt with him [Gregorio], knowing the verity of his sanctity and virtue, so that for a small price, it will be possible to gather the most qualified information of a saintly life, which for many years has been sent to Rome, to the Blessed Vicar of Christ and successors of Saint Peter, with regard to any canonisation.²³⁴

²³³ Manuel Fernández Nieto, *Investigaciones sobre Alonso Remón, dramaturgo desconocido del siglo XVII* (Madrid, Retorno Ediciones, 1974), 58-59.

²³⁴ My translation of "[...] *augmentar este libro con inquirir quien fue su linage y de que gente por que se presume ser de una de las nobles familias de Madrid aunque era el sancto varon tan callado que jamas se pudo sacar palabra de su boca donde se pudiesse entender otra cosa mas de que era natural de esta villa. Es tambien aora muy con sazón esta diligencia por estar y vivir hoy en esta Corte virreyes, Obispos, Presidentes y Consejeros que lo han sido en aquel Nuevo Reyno y señores caballeros y personas principales para testigos mayores de toda acepcion que le comunicaron y trataron y saben la verdad de su sanctidad y virtud con que, a poca costa, se podrá hazer la mas calificada informacion de vida de sancto que de muchos años a esta parte se haya enviado a Roma a los pies de la Beatitud de los Vicarios de Christo y subcesores de San Pedro para canonizacion alguna.*", in *Libro de Acuerdos del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1614 a 1616*, fl. 482; *apud* Fernández Nieto, *Investigaciones*, 58-59.

Alonso Remón's petition to the Court was approved, and one year later he had published his version of *Vida*. In 1617, in his prologue to the reader, Remón reinforced the idea present in the Portuguese edition: Gregorio's example ought not to be "honoured with books but with his canonisation". The Mercedarian hopes for additional information on new miracles and successes in Gregorio's life, which could be brought to light through "many spiritual persons [...] in the Court" who had demanded an edition, specifically from Madrid, Gregorio Lopez's home town, thus making the city more than obliged to divulge such "great saint" as its "son". Alonso Remón inclusively requested that the relics of Gregorio Lopez be brought to Madrid, reiterating throughout the text the town's duty to remember its offspring.²³⁵ However, Remón's intention to present in Rome the most complete informative process ever collected, was, unfortunately, never accomplished. What went wrong?

3.2 Opening the cause

Unlike other causes, such as those of Sebastián de Aparicio, Rosa de Lima, Francisco de Borja, Juan Falconi de Bustamante and Juan de Ávila, Gregorio Lopez's cause did not have the official support of any religious order, nor was it the result of a spontaneous and newly affirmed cult.²³⁶ We might find particularly odd how Felipe III and Felipe IV were so engaged with it. On the one hand, they might have been very optimistic with its outcome, given that Ignacio de Loyola, Felipe Neri, Francisco Xavier and Teresa de Jesús had just been canonised in Rome.²³⁷ All, though, had the support of a religious institute, that naturally had expert knowledge of the protocol, regardless of its ongoing changes.

²³⁵ María Cristina Sánchez Alonso, *Impresos de los siglos XVI y XVII de temática madrileña* (Madrid, Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press, 1981), 53.

²³⁶ Regarding the cases of Sebastián de Aparicio and Rosa de Lima, see Morgan, *Spanish American saints*; for a comparison between Juan de Falconi's and Juan de Ávila's process, see Gómez de Mercado, *Juan de Falconi*, 37-46; concerning Francisco de Borja's, see Henar Pizarro Llorente, "Bisnieto de un santo. Carlos Francisco de Borja, VII Duque de Gandía, Mayordomo Mayor de la Reina Isabel de Borbón (1630-1632)" in *La doble lealtá: entre el servicio al Re y la obligación a la Iglesia* (Madrid: Instituto Universitario "La Corte en Europa" /IULCE-UAM, 2014), 117.

²³⁷ Criscuolo, *et. al.*, *Le cause*, 173.

On the other hand, we have the example of the Duke of Lerma, who pushed for the canonisation of his great-grandfather, Francisco de Borja, although we should keep in mind that Francisco was a Spanish nobleman, who held several important offices before becoming one of the first Jesuits. Nonetheless, we should not forget that the Dioceses were, up until Urbanus VIII's reforms, mostly responsible for the creation and authorisation of new cults.

For the Catholic monarch, the beatification of the "first that shone in the holiness of a solitary life" in those new lands across the seas, might have served as an opportunity to make visible a sort of identity bridge between Creole and Peninsular peoples: "the Madrid native turned New World hermit".²³⁸ Regardless of how canonisation rules were changing, Felipe III was aware of the necessity to have direct testimonies that asserted Gregorio's reputed sanctity, as we can read in his letters to the Mexican archdiocese.²³⁹

3.2.1 Missing parts

In 1620, the king wrote two letters to New Spain concerning Gregorio Lopez: the first announcing his intention to proceed with the canonisation process, and doing so, speeding up the gathering of living witnesses that had met the Santa Fe anchorite personally; and the second, requesting the assemblage of every known material produced by him.²⁴⁰ The first letter resulted in the informative process, which we shall discuss further in this section, whereas the demands of the second letter were never fully accomplished, as we have already seen.

One of the great unknowns concerning Francisco Losa's role in the collaborative process of Gregorio's canonisation is the absence of material he supposedly had in his possession. The two unpublished works attributed to Gregorio were never delivered, although the king had asked for them, and Francisco Losa was actively involved in the procedures for the cause. Without any access to Losa's last will, we are not able to track

²³⁸ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 124.

²³⁹ Appendix III: Royal letters and Gregorio Lopez's last will. Transcribed in several places, for instance in Hueriga, "Edición", 44.

²⁴⁰ Losa, Argaiz (ed.), *Vida y escritos*, 191-192.

down these works he supposedly owned. Had they been lost at the Carmelite convent, although news concerning the process was all over the city? The relics of Gregorio's written works were of utmost necessity, their disappearance having dictated enormous delays in the cause.

We know, for instance, that Francisco de Figueroa – who Pedro de Hortigosa identified as the owner of Gregorio's world map – was in Madrid to defend the Jesuit's negotiation of benefices in the Indies, between 1619 and 1621, the year of his death.²⁴¹ Gregorio's possessions and works were popular amongst the Company, but also amongst the high clerics and officers that left New Spain for whatever reason, bringing with them copies of Gregorio's manuscripts. Such was the case of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, as we have already seen, but also of Doctor Juan de Galdós de Valencia, one of the *oidores* with whom viceroy Galves began his fight against corruption, and who had one of the copies of the manuscript of Gregorio's *Cronología*.²⁴²

Another testimony of the informative process, namely, Gonzalo de Salazar's, reveals: how Pedro de Agurto (that had requested it) and Juan de Jesús, qualifiers of the Holy Office in México evaluated Gregorio's *Declaración*; how it was copied almost entirely in one night, a hard task to accomplish; how the bishop of Merida brought the manuscript to Spain in 1603, in the hands of the Provincial of the Augustinians, Friar Antolínez – professor at the University of Salamanca, thus explaining the presence of a copy at that same University's Library –; as well as how Salazar discovered another copy of the manuscript in 1617, in the province of Tabasco, when a lawyer from the Mexican Audience, Juan de Vera Zapata, handed him a copy that he had picked up from the house of a Mercedarian who had left it there.²⁴³ Almost every religious order had a piece of Gregorio Lopez in its possession, showing recognition for the value of his relics, at least to the member of the religious institutes that possessed such items.

²⁴¹ "[...] y un globo terrestre como si mucho tiempo hubiera estudiado geografía y el mapa tuvo este testigo en su poder y lo dio al Padre Francisco de Figueroa, de la Compañía, que al presente reside en la villa de Madrid, en los Reynos de Castilla", BNE, *Recoletos*, MS/ 7819 "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", fl. 136v. The presence of the Jesuit in the Court is confirmed in Óscar Mazín Gómez's, *Gestores de la justicia. Procuradores y agentes de las Catedrales Hispanas Nuevas en la corte de Madrid*, (México: El Colegio de México, 2007), 251-262.

²⁴² BNE, *Recoletos*, MS/ 7819 "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", fl. 131-131v.

²⁴³ BNE, *Recoletos*, MS/ 7819, "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 256r.-258v.

3.2.2 Part of a political process

Without an in-depth analysis of the time's international context – Reformation, Counter-Reformation, wars and truces amongst Catholic kingdoms and the Vatican – it is interesting to note the expectations of the Spanish Monarchy in sponsoring the process of Gregorio Lopez.²⁴⁴ In 1626, Felipe IV had rushed his ambassador in Rome to get the *remissoriales*, to initiate the ordinary process.²⁴⁵ Nonetheless, we must take into account that the rules for canonisation processes were undergoing various changes at that time: in 1624 it became forbidden to open the causes before at least 10 years since their arrival in Rome had passed; in 1625 two decrees limited the emergence of new cults, preventing any representations of signs of sanctity before the Congregation of Rites had analysed the case; in 1627 it became prohibited to discuss a cause before 50 years had passed since the death of its respective servant of God; in 1628 other regulations concerning cults and relics were established; in 1630, indications were given on how to elect patron saints; in 1631, abuses regarding relics were abolished; and also in 1631, the number of causes to be discussed yearly and their respective proceedings was fixed.²⁴⁶

Nevertheless, money began to be collected for Gregorio's cause. The archbishops set the example, Francisco Manso y Zuniga, for instance, having donated 4 000 *pesos* to the cause. In 1633, the viceroy was asked to designate the people in charge of collecting alms for the cause, also expressing the need to gather all remaining written material of the holy man at the Inquisition's headquarters in Mexico.²⁴⁷ In New Spain, in 1635, Francisco Manso y Zuniga, decided to give the cause a boost by transferring Gregorio's mortal remains to the Cathedral of México, thus granting them a more dignified (and central) place within the religious life of the capital.²⁴⁸ The Mexican archbishop found it also

²⁴⁴ See, for example, Silvano Giordano, "Urbano VIII, la Casa d'Austria e la libertà d'Italia" in Irene Fosi, Alexander Koller, (eds.), *Papato e Impero nel pontificato di Urbano VIII (1623-1644)*, Collectanea Archivi Vaticano 89 (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2013), 63-82.

²⁴⁵ Losa, Argaiz ed., *Vida y escritos*, 191-192; Rubial García, *La santidad*, 78; see Appendix III.

²⁴⁶ Criscuolo *et al.*, *Le cause*, 173.

²⁴⁷ AGN, *Instituciones Coloniales*, Gobierno Virreinal, Reales Cédulas, 1, 101, 193v., and 1, 102r., 194r.-195r..

²⁴⁸ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 78.

opportune to take Gregorio's skull to Madrid, offering it to the king, perhaps as a form of beckoning for royal interference.

When the testimonials for the informative process arrived in Spain, in 1636, Felipe IV wrote to Pope Urbanus VIII, as well as to the pope's nephew, Cardinal Barberini, in addition to his ambassador in Rome, the Portuguese noble, the marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.²⁴⁹ The translation of all the material arriving at the Congregation (the informative process, the *Vida*, other biographies, such as the one written by Juan Díaz de Arce) was a colossal investment. Rubial García found that the arguments used at the time "exclude the supposed negligence of the postulators concerning the delay of the apostolic processes", and adds other justifications: the new rules demanding a fifty-year period between the death of the Venerable and the opening of the cause; the gathering of materials and the election of the postulator; as well as, the lack of support from a religious order in a layman's process.²⁵⁰

A combination of circumstances impacted the Spanish Empire's state of affairs during the last decades of the Catholic Monarchy, especially from Felipe III's death in 1621. Not only did a political crisis between the archbishop and the viceroy of Mexico reach alarming proportions, putting off any subject not related to the tithe controversy, but also, the ceasing of international truces caused tremendous turmoil in the transatlantic channels of communication. The episode between the archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna and viceroy Marqués de Gelves was the culmination of decades of incapacity in dealing with the royal patronage over the Church's profits over the tithes (the tenth of the production). The discussion between the various religious and political institutions of New Spain not only had to clarify the problem with Indian forced labour but also with the incapacity of the Crown to quantify and establish the right proportions over the benefits of the regular orders in New Spain. Amplifying the polemics was the fact that Creoles, Spanish born in the Americas, felt more and more apart from important offices, usually given to Spaniards from the metropolis. The former, even if more and more formed by the Jesuit schools and in charge of the secular benefices, believed to be against as far as

²⁴⁹ Losa, Argaiz ed., *Vida y escritos*, 195-198.

²⁵⁰ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 78, 91.

the distribution of higher positions was concerned, at the same time the regular orders were expanding their domain and control over the Indians and their territory. Pérez de la Serna arrived to the point of excommunicating the viceroy, being called to Madrid to explain the event and the subsequent rebellion.²⁵¹

The archbishop of México, Pérez de la Serna, already had the testimonies concerning the cause of Gregorio Lopez collected by 1622. The discussion over the Royal Patronage that de la Serna brought to Madrid, when returning to the Court in 1624, was reaching its outcome of a long process – started already during the second half of the sixteenth century – the papers for the canonisation of Gregorio Lopez having probably been left behind in a moment of haste. Challenging the institutionalised representation of each group that formed the *novohispana* elite, we encounter multiple conflicts between regular and secular clergies (and their internal fractures and changing positions throughout the major polemics of the time, concerning the ecclesiastical patronage of the Indies). Moreover, the friction between *peninsulares* and *criollos* also impacted the course of events in which Gregorio's cause became entangled. Mazín resumes: "it seems reasonable to conclude that the Creole-Peninsular clash during the first third of the seventeenth century was frequently less about social and cultural differences and prejudices, but rather, a key ingredient in the fight over political power".²⁵²

3.2.3 Witnesses

Notwithstanding, the informative process of Gregorio Lopez brought together men from every religious order (and political faction). However, we should keep in mind that, although after all these centuries we may only access information in its written form – and merely what was successfully preserved of it – this was not the only means to communicate. Many of the witnesses in the apostolic and *non-cultu* processes evidence

²⁵¹ The context is far more complex than I could develop or resume. See more in, for instance, Mazín Gómez, *Gestores de la Justicia*, 272-290.

²⁵² My translation of: "En síntesis, parece razonable concluir que el enfrentamiento criollo-peninsular del primer tercio del siglo XVII fue con frecuencia menos un asunto de diferencias y prejuicios sociales y culturales, que un ingrediente esencial de la lucha por el poder político", in Mazín Gómez, *Gestores de la Justicia*, 243.

the constant hearsay and word of mouth surrounding Gregorio Lopez.²⁵³ When Alonso Remón, for instance, was putting together his first edition and requested the licence needed to publish Gregorio's *Vida*, he did not encounter the engagement that he had expected from diverse high dignities coming from the Indies that had known Gregorio Lopez, and who could thus have endorsed his process. It would be interesting to build a database of the movements of people going back and forth across the Atlantic, and what their respective movements brought with them: archbishops bringing relics and manuscripts; procurators of various institutes discussing exemplary lives and providing details of a layman's biography. Who were they? Do they reveal their personal and/or institutional position in the testimonies they gave?

The secular clergy authorities certainly appreciated such support, as they would similarly appreciate any other religious institute endorsing the cause that sanctified the first candidate ever presented by the archdiocese of México. The excitement surrounding it was nurtured over the decades, up until the Vatican letters arrived, not only by seculars but also in most chronicles narrating the story of a religious institute or diocese in New Spain.²⁵⁴ We should try to put this moment in parallel with the largest picture, where religious institutes were still fighting for their tithe in the mission of colonising the New World. On the one hand, we find the Society of Jesus, along with the Discalced Carmelites – two of the orders that had been recently founded in New Spain – alongside the secular clergy. The Jesuits, closely linked to the education of the creole elite, were considered more able to engage with the Indian population due to their familiarity with the various native languages.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, with much less to lose than the Franciscans, we find the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Mercedarians (the latter having been absent in the process, although having been very active in the edition of Losa's *Vida* in

²⁵³ Appendix IV: Witnesses for the informative process of Gregorio Lopez.

²⁵⁴ Ambrosio de Solís, *Memorias del Siervo de Dios Gregorio López*, México, 1663, Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento; Francisco Arnaldo de Yssasi, *Demarcación y descripción de todo el obispado de Michoacán...* [Valladolid, 25 de abril de 1649], *Bibliotheca Americana*, sept. 1982, v. I, num. 1, p. 82; Agustín de la Madre de Dios (1648-1655), *Tesoro escondido en el Santo Carmelo Mexicano*, México, 1984, cap. X, 27-29; Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de Nueva España*, México, 1926, lib. I, cap. 9, 56 y ss, *apud* A. Rubial García, *La santidad*, 82-83, 245 n. 81.

²⁵⁵ Mazín Gómez, *Gestores de la justicia*, 228-300.

Spain, to which we can attribute the onus of propelling Gregorio's canonisation). The regulars were not only supported by the Indian populations, the local and royal officers, *caciques*, and the viceroy himself having been important pieces of an ecclesiastical game played at a multi-continental scale. In addition to the differences between the meridional vice-kingdoms and the Mesoamerican territories, the viceroy was not in a position to ignore the results accomplished by the Mendicants since the first moments of the Conquest as well as the mutual influence they had both on Indian populations and powerful *encomenderos*.

Four Jesuit priests testified in the informative process for Gregorio's cause of canonisation: José de Vides, from Seville, a former lawyer for the Audience and Chancellery of México; Pedro de Hortigosa, from Ocaña - Castile, officer of the Holy Office and cathedraic dean of Theology at the University of México; Juan de Gallegos, vice-rector of the Jesuit College in Oaxaca; and Pedro de Egurrola, who also taught at Oaxaca. Building upon Rubial García's perplexity with regard to the Jesuits' support, their endorsement, and even complicity, concerning Gregorio's cause, is revealing of their internal contradictions about their ideologies and policies. During the process, it was proved that Francisco Losa had in fact forged the testimony and signature of a Jesuit, Antonio Arias, although we have no information on his intentions to do so.²⁵⁶ We have also seen how the Jesuits had in their possession Gregorio's manuscripts, as well as other material that was never brought to light.²⁵⁷

None of the witnesses was a Carmelite, although Francisco Losa was by that time the chaplain of their female convent, leading the chroniclers of the order to include Gregorio in their narrative. After the canonisation of Teresa de Jesús, and the beatification of Juan de la Cruz, in addition to their possession of Gregorio Lopez's relics, the order began to settle in México comfortably. How come the Jesuits did not engage in such public use of their possession of Gregorio's works? Was it the strict respect by the new *non-cultu* rules?

²⁵⁶ ASV, Riti, *Proc. Ap. Compuls. Mexican.*, 1707, 171v-176r.

²⁵⁷ BNE, *Recoletos*, MS/ 7819 "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", fl. 136v.

When it comes to the secular clergy, besides Francisco Losa, witnesses included four bishops: from Chiapas, Juan de Zapata Sandoval; from Yucatán, Cozumel and Tabasco, Gonzalo de Salazar; from Oaxaca, Juan Bohorques de Hinojosa, who had been ordained by the Dominicans; and from Tlaxcala, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar. Other clerics who testified were Gaspar de Praves, presbyter in Taxco, and Juan de Heredia, canon of Oaxaca. Two of the witnesses in Gregorio's process were Franciscan: Francisco Suárez, guardian of the Province of Jilotepec, and Juan de Santiago, guardian of the Tula convent. Fernando de Rivera, vice-rector of the College of San Luis in Puebla de los Ángeles, testified for the Predicators. The Augustinian who played a role in the informative process was Gerónimo de Ocampo, conventual in Guatemala, after having served as *visitor* of the Province of the Philippines and after having founded the Augustinian convent in Havana, besides having been the companion of the bishop of Chiapas, Juan Zapata y Sandoval.

In the crossfire between New Spain's secular/regular and creole/peninsular elements, we come across the Brothers of San Hipólito, hospital carers whose service no one else was providing, having been instituted as a religious congregation only in 1700, having thus, up until that moment, to ask for the privileges of the regular clergy.²⁵⁸ Three of these Brothers – including one who eventually left to live in the desert (in Chiapas), following Gregorio's example – fit into the information concerning Gregorio Lopez, in the same manner that Gregorio's life was also linked to their religious institution, especially as evidenced in the narrative of Juan Díaz de Arce, one of the most prominent lecturers of the University of México. Díaz de Arce was fascinated by Gregorio Lopez, having written his "intellectual biography" in 1647-1648, as Rubial García describes it.²⁵⁹

Óscar Mazín refers to the seculars' close relation with the Hispanic population and the various inter-ethnic groups, as arising not only due to their spiritual care-taking work, but also due to familial bonds, essential to the maintenance of close networks and affirmed

²⁵⁸ They had a rule, but not its privileges. Josefina Muriel, *Hospitales de de la Nueva España. Vol. I, Fundaciones del siglo XVI* (México: UNAM-IIH and Cruz Roja Mexicana, 1990), 201-207.

²⁵⁹ Juan Díaz de Arce, *Libro de la vida del próximo evangélico exemplificado en la vida del Venerable Bernardino Alvarez* (México: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1762), 253 y ss.; and *Quaestionarii Expositivi pro clariori intelligentia sacrorum bibliorum*, 2 v. (México: Juan Ruiz, 1647-1648).

lineages, from which one could not escape when looking for social mobility and the possibility of political promotion.²⁶⁰ However, precisely because the secular clergy was the institution responsible for the propagation of the hermit's canonisation and collection of necessary funds, with the support of the viceroy, we can hypothesise from the outcome of Gregorio's cause that the seculars' "intellectual and religious" elitist/creole nature strove for the same spiritual and territorial dominion that the regulars had naturally come to monopolise since the Conquest.

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We are informed, in numerous publications concerning the Catholic Church's canonisation processes during this period²⁶¹, of how the cult of saints – and the respective complementary hagiographical literature – went through a formalisation during the Counter-Reformation period, evolving from a spontaneous episcopal phenomenon, eventually confirmed by the Vatican, to a predefined protocol to be followed in the Congregation of Rites, instituted in Rome. While this was a process that took centuries, the stabilisation of procedures was achieved precisely during the first half of the seventeenth century, with pope Barberini, and when the king of Spain's wished Gregorio Lopez had a place at the altars.

The 'elite' failed in convincing 'the people' of the necessity to support the cause, or perhaps the latter's support was directed towards other saints sponsored by other religious institutes. Not to mention, the cause could also have failed due to a lack of peninsular voices more impartial in defence of a land (in need of charismatic figures) that ultimately was not theirs. Gregorio Lopez's process in the Vatican is an example of how such causes "allow[ed] even radically different parties involved in determining the sanctity of the candidate to construct a myth of cooperation and agreement between

²⁶⁰ Mazín Gomez, *Gestores de la Real Justicia*, 241, 347-349. The four prelates who gave their testimony on Gregorio - Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Juan Zapata de Sandoval, Gonzalo de Salazar and Juan de Bohórquez - were all creole.

²⁶¹ See for instance, Morgan, *Spanish American Saints*, 19-38; or, Gómez de Mercado, *Juan de Falconi*, 37-46.

themselves".²⁶² However, the cause of his canonisation – for which Losa's book served as the perfect first step – was formalised precisely during a controversial moment when the collaborative action and discourse by all key figures involved was diverted to different political events such as the implementation of the royal patronage and its effects in the religious institutions of New Spain.

Resuming Part I

Álvaro Huerga, Antonio Rubial García, Alain Milhou, Martin Cohen, Jodi Bilinkoff, Miriam Bodian, Pierre Ragon, and many others, came across Gregorio Lopez within different contexts, reflecting the complexity of his relations, and revealing the diversity of communities in which his *Vida* was read. Even if we set aside the literary or denominational genealogies of the authors and other players of this reception history, there are, nonetheless, significant networks grounded on shared ideals and/or intentions. I was only able to delve into the smaller elements of a larger picture, especially concerning the book history. After identifying the booksellers, publishers, and readers of Gregorio Lopez's *Vida*, I had to investigate their positions within their respective contexts, although I was not able to carefully examine the whole picture, expressly, how these agents behaved within their networks and markets, or how Losa's work fits into the collections and libraries they produced or managed.

Notwithstanding, Gregorio's canonisation process and the various editions of Losa's biography were the result of multiple contacts all over the Atlantic world between 1613 and the 1960s. Antonio Rubial García, in comparing the canonisation processes of New Spain during colonial times, observes that only two of them were successful (Felipe de Jesús, along with the Martyrs of Japan, and Sebastián de Aparicio, beatified in the eighteenth century), although all of these processes confirmed the need for hagiographical discourse to adapt to the new territories throughout the empire. Gregorio's canonisation process for the Catholic Church in the New World aimed at

²⁶² Wood, *The discourse*, 122.

portraying the perfection of the Christian model employing the hermit's model in the Indies.

Gregorio's beatification process, however, was not conducted by any religious order. What could have been an advantage (namely, its support by the archdiocese of México, dictated by the royal will) became a chaotic management of affairs: too much bureaucracy, too many diplomatic agents, as well as a lack of interest or capacity to maintain devotion alive, at least as well as a religious institute could. We do not need to dig too much into the history of Catholic canonisations to see that the promoters involved in Gregorio's cause were either impressively unlucky or incompetent. The experience accumulated in the Vatican allowed space for the formalisation of those processes throughout the seventeenth century, and the sponsors of Gregorio's cause proved to be incapable of controlling a case that was exceptional in so many regards, as evidenced by the lack of monitoring of a determined and steady institution, like a religious order; the ineffective dissemination of the Venerable's written work and the difficulties in obtaining it; and, the postulators' interests having been directed towards the cause's financial administration, rather than to an effective strategy of defensive argumentation.

Paradoxically, the failure of this canonisation might have come as a surprise, the Catholic Monarchy's experience with that type of processes having proved insufficient in Gregorio's case. The documents deposited in the Vatican Archives concerning this matter is more than enough to reconstruct the communities involved in one way or another in the sacralisation of a layman who became a genuine religious 'pop star' in the old and new "Spains" of the seventeenth century. The key figures (witnesses, publishers, readers, sponsors and critics) that produced those narratives and discourses carried with them, whether more or less consciously, their historicities. The whole process of making a saint not only took into account ideological/spiritual motives but was also subject to political, social and economic (real, temporal, material) contexts and situations.²⁶³ Consequently,

²⁶³ Cornelius Conover, "Catholic Saints in Spain's Atlantic Empire" in Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster, (eds.), *Empires of God: Religious encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 104; Morgan, *Spanish American*, 31-38.

we should not only consider the figure of a saint as a popular and/or elitist creation that was shared and consumed by the masses, but we must also take into account how a saint's devotion and its resultant financial revenue was disputed, usually by the institute that sponsored and propagated the cause. In coming to the acceptance that the produced and producing public of the Americas' first hermit's cause was an "intellectual and religious elite", as Pierre Ragon concludes, I believe we have to resist a monolithic representation of this elites and focus on its diverse compositions and interests in various times and spaces.²⁶⁴

Although the extensive documentation produced does not add much to Gregorio Lopez's biographies, it is representative of the core timeline through which we can follow the circuits of production and reading of Losa's book and its numerous editions. In the Latin Catholic world (except for Miguel de Molinos), we identify a more economicist usage of Losa's book, enabling the acquisition of sponsors for the saintly man's beatification process. From its publication, in 1613, Losa's biographical work – which set the tone for the hagiographical legend surrounding Gregorio Lopez – up until 1675, as a result of delays with the process due to the new protocol –, Gregorio's story did not change. Losa's formula was continuously repeated until it finally entered the imaginary of those mentioned above "intellectual and religious elite". In 1636, when the informative process was accepted, the *truth* about Gregorio was already common knowledge. From 1675 onwards, Gregorio's story met the interests of diverse communities and individuals. If we are to look at the French and Anglo-Saxon reading(s) of Gregorio Lopez's *Vida*, for instance, we find the symbolic dimension of a figure that embodied a certain universality of Christian perfection.

The circuits of information using Gregorio's *Vida*, beg for further study, although it seems that it was outside the Catholic Church that Gregorio's legend was transformed in a religious icon. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the production of sanctity was under scrutiny all over the Christian world: the Catholic Church had centralised the task of declaring new saints, and Protestants were ready to criticise the

²⁶⁴ Ragon, *Les saints*, 188.

concept of sanctity itself. Gregorio Lopez's story was caught in the crossfire, and as we have already seen, his exemplary life was widely read amongst different confessional and denominational networks that met to discuss religious ideas and practices. Delving in-depth into these networks is a form of shattering a supposed univocality – symbolised by the interest of the king himself – that created the exemplary story of Gregorio Lopez. Before he became a Venerable, Gregorio Lopez had just been a *gran varón* ("a great man"), like many other men whose stories incorporated the official history of the new territories conquered by the Catholic Monarchy, and by Christendom.

PART II – THE MAKING OF AN OUTDATED NEW WORLD SAINT: THE PRODUCTION OF A LEGEND

Gregorio Lopez's case is one of many in the constructed myth of Christian sacrality of the American territories by the Roman Catholic Church. The man whom we know as "Gregorio Lopez" was brought to us by another man, Francisco Losa, who recognised a story that had to be told, and did so using the rhetorical and hagiographical discourse characteristic of their time. Far from denying Gregorio's historicity, in this second part, we will try to understand Francisco Losa's discourse.

In order to catalogue Gregorio Lopez as a servant of God, the story had to fit into an accepted orthodox framework, Francisco Losa having opted to portray Gregorio as the solitary, the hermit, the mystic and the ascetic, all in one book. Antonio Rubial García identifies the making of the biography of Gregorio Lopez as belonging to a second phase of hagiographical literature in New Spain, "when clerics found in baroque culture [...] the ideal tool to redefine the social role of the American Church".²⁶⁵ Jodi Bilinkoff also made clear how Losa's book was an instrument of institutional criticism (mostly directed at his peers) within a "model of pious masculinity for laymen noted for their ambition, greed, and violence".²⁶⁶ We shall also see how this connects with Pierre Ragon's affirmation that "[e]ntre temps les principaux courants religieux issues de la préréforme espagnole s'étaient tous donné un même symbole en la personne du plus important de ces anachorètes, Gregorio López".²⁶⁷ The French scholar, having studied the desert experiences of many clerics and laymen in the American territories, leads us also through

²⁶⁵ Rubial García, "La Hagiografía", 15-34. The author identifies four stages of the hagiographical genre in New Spain, expressly: 1) 1536-1602 - exaltation of the evangelising missions of the first friars, martyrs, hermits, preachers, and bishops, as seen in *Vitae*, as well as in the chronicles of various religious orders; 2) 1602-1640 - reinforcement of the prodigious work of the Catholic Church in the new territories, and recognition of the challenges within and without the American institutions; 3) 1640-1700 - monks, nuns and laywomen join new martyrs and priests, affirming the creole identity as pious and holy, and thus protected by celestial figures; and, 4) 1700-1821 - affirmation of an American religious pride within a universal Church, the hagiographical production having been centred on the lives of nuns, laywomen, Jesuits, Oratorian priests, Franciscans, missionaries and bishops.

²⁶⁶ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 125.

²⁶⁷ Ragon, *Les Saints*, 120-130.

the universe of the *recogidos* and the *alumbrados* of New Spain.²⁶⁸ Even if Álvaro Huerga had already been quite peremptory, for him, Gregorio Lopez is neither the *prequietist* nor the *alumbrado*, he is an ascetic.²⁶⁹

From the humanisation and elaboration of a sacred history, to the alterity and subjectivity of stories/memories of Gregorio Lopez, a specific sixteenth-century religious (but far beyond that) man, in this second part I shall demonstrate that, instead of asking whether or not he was a mystic, a hermit or any other type of spiritual model, it may prove to be more fruitful to delve into the intentions of the *men* involved in the production of his exemplary legend.

In chapter four Francisco Losa's hagiographical discourse shall be thoroughly analysed, bringing us as close as possible to its construction, (collaborative?) process, intentions, usages, and *topoi*, and in turn, to the *men* behind the literary creation of the "first hermit of the Western Indies". Furthermore, we should make note that most of the witnesses that testified in Gregorio's canonisation process based their testimonies on what they had read in Francisco Losa's *Vida*.²⁷⁰ At the same time, Losa's authority was and is questionable, given other sets of data. Although Losa's biography is our best source, it is also the best gateway to the filters the hagiographer used to present his example. Losa completed the biography in 1598, the comparison between its official discourse with other information being mandatory, especially considering how certain aspects of Gregorio's life were left out of (or included in) the hagiographical legend. However, although Losa's book had been in circulation in manuscript form since 1598, it was only published for the first time in México in 1613²⁷¹, leading us to question why the delay?

In chapters five and six, the last years of Gregorio's life as presented in Losa's *Vida* shall be summarised, expressly, from 1580 to 1596. What is known of

²⁶⁸ Concerning Gregorio Lopez as a *recogido*, see for instance, Andrés Martín, "Introducción a la mística".

²⁶⁹ Huerga, *Estudio Preliminar*, 122-123.

²⁷⁰ Juan de Zapata Sandoval, bishop of Chiapas, for instance, was the nephew of Gregorio's first known host in New Spain. He recalls not only hearing the story from his uncle, and "in all of New Spain in general", but also refers to the "book on the life of the servant of God, Gregorio, which he had seen and read", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Zapata Sandoval", 245r.

²⁷¹ Losa, *Vida*, "Carta del obispo de Michoacán"; dating from December 27th, 1598, when Domingo de Ulloa first read the manuscript.

Gregorio's activities, concerns mostly the periods he spent at the Oaxtepec hospital – where he wrote his pharmaceutical treatise and his interpretation of the Apocalypse – and at the *pueblo-hospital* of Santa Fé, where he resided and performed what we would now refer to as social work, offering people advice regarding spiritual and physical ailments, and sometimes providing them with the respective remedies. In reality, we may ask how between 1579 and 1596, when Gregorio passed away, Francisco Losa and the other witnesses in the canonisation process managed the information that would inform the discourse of Gregorio's sanctity. It remains unclear whether Gregorio Lopez was looking for recognition, or whether he had reached a point where he could not avoid his status of living saint, having been scrutinised and criticised by many.

An examiner of one of Gregorio's *Vida* editions wrote: "because we cannot always have saints present, in their absence their stories substitute them".²⁷² By examining the later period of Gregorio Lopez's life, I bring to light the period that Losa believed was especially worth remembering in an exemplary *Vida*, also questioning how Gregorio himself might have created (or not) the image of a living saint. In doing this, I veer from Milhou's proposal, as Losa's production of Gregorio's *vita* took place during the time its main actor was still alive. Moreover, I will use this overlap between discourse and acting, to begin to challenge Losa's narrative and all the facts we know he did not include.

²⁷² My translation of "[...] *porque no sempre podemos tener presentes los santos en ausencia suya substituyen sus historias*"; "Copia de un papel que el muy Reverendo Padre Fray Gabriel Lopez Navarro [...] escribió al autor desta impresion" in Francisco Losa, ed. Luis Muñoz, *Vida que el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1642), s/fol.

CHAPTER 4. OLD STORIES, NEW NARRATIVES

Although Gregorio Lopez is very often referred to as the first American hermit, he was not the first to live a solitary life in the "New World". Bernal Díaz del Castillo, first chronicler of the Indies, tells the story of Gaspar Díaz, a Castilian soldier who became rich "with *Indios* and deals" in New Spain, having chosen to give it all away by detaching himself from the world, retiring to the proximities of Puebla, in Huejotzingo, to live a solitary life.²⁷³ Even if he was not the first lay hermit of New Spain, Gregorio Lopez became the model for American anchorites, his image having been forged in such a way by Losa, so as to be remembered as a lay father of the *novohispana* Church, having been branded by the Vatican as the *primi anachoreta Indiis Occidentalibus*.

We have seen how the legend of Gregorio Lopez was re-created for centuries. Now we need to focus on its production and to question whether it is possible to get closer to the subject by studying the model shaped by the hagiographical *topoi*. Merely identifying the *topoi* is not sufficient, for they are represented through episodes where real people figuratively shared the stage with Gregorio. Moreover, when looking into Francisco Losa's involvement, the intervention of all the other men and women in the production of Gregorio's legend and devotion should not be ignored. Conversations concerning Gregorio's sanctity began soon after his death: relics of his clothes showed signs of performing miracles, his spirit was present in the dreams of devoted people, and the Catholic Monarchy wanted and needed saints. Given that so many people were prepared to engage in such devotion, Francisco Losa felt the urge to write a text that would bear testimony to Gregorio Lopez's holiness. By 1598, Domingo de Ulloa, bishop of Michoacan, had already read Losa's hagiographical work: "the book captured my soul"

²⁷³ Antonio Rubial García recovers Bernal Díaz de Castillo's reference to Gaspar Díaz: "y fue de tan buena vida, y se daba ayunos y disciplinas, que se puso muy flaco y debilitado, y decía que dormía en el suelo en unas pajas, y que des que lo supo el buen obispo don fray Juan de Zumárraga lo envió a llamar o le mandó que no se diese tan áspera vida, y tuvo tan buen fama de ermitaño Gaspar Díaz, que se metieron en su compañía otros dos ermitaños y todos hicieron buena vida, y a cabo de cuatro años que allí estaban fue Dios servido llevarle a su santa gloria." *apud* Antonio Rubial García, "Tebaidas en Paraíso. Los ermitaños de la Nueva España" in *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 44, n.º 3 (1995), 365. It is worth noting that it was precisely one of Lopez's biographers, expressly, Alonso Remón, who prepared Bernal Díaz de Castillo's manuscript for printing, in Jesús Paniagua Pérez, "América", 424-427.

([...] *que assi se me pega al alma*).²⁷⁴ However, it was Pedro de Agurto – creole, Augustinian, first bishop of Cebú – who best summed up Losa’s intentions, and readers’ consequent responses: “with this History we, the Religious, will be confused and ashamed, as those who seemed secular [sic: lay] exceed us”.²⁷⁵

Francisco Losa made his intentions immediately evident in the prologue to the reader: “Though [...] I understood it was the will of God [...] I should live retired from my neighbours, [...] there ever remained in me a great desire of benefiting them, [...] and therefore I thought myself obliged to write the life of this holy hermite”.²⁷⁶ Also in the “Preface to the Reader”, the biographer excuses himself for any mistake, acknowledging his limitations, for he was not present during all the situations and conversations presented. So how did he elaborate this *Life*?

We must compare the informative process’s testimonies with Losa’s biographies (meaning, its various editions), as well as analyse data from other sources, in order to get a complete picture regarding the biography’s discourse itself. We shall firstly ponder how the production of the saint Gregorio Lopez might have begun with his death. Finally, we shall examine how Francisco Losa used the hagiographical literary construction to write about Gregorio Lopez, proceeding to identify some of his sources, and how the stories told in his book match or complement those of the informative witnesses in the canonisation process.

4.1. Sources and witnesses: constructing a narrative

The educated elite that knew or had heard about Gregorio Lopez also employed the hagiographical *topoi* available to Losa. Also, the public and dangerous critiques made about Gregorio, mainly by members of the clergy, were usually related to his lack of a formal profession and lack of affiliation with any specific traditional Iberian ethnical-religious group. From 1579 onwards, Francisco Losa seems to have been in charge of the

²⁷⁴ Losa, *Vida*, “Cartas. Del Obispo de Michoacán”.

²⁷⁵ Losa, *Vida*, “Cartas. Del Obispo de Cebú”.

²⁷⁶ Losa, *Life*, “The Preface”.

surveillance of this strange man, so he could witness first-hand that which he narrated. At that point, it was as if Gregorio had tacitly consented to perform his intellectual activities, which translated into a sort of social and/or spiritual therapy for those who came to see him. Losa made use of every opportunity to visit him, thus getting ever closer to the holy man, taking to Gregorio the offers the archbishop had sent to Oaxtepec, welcoming him at his home in México City when Gregorio left the hospital and finding him a place to stay in Santa Fe. Francisco Losa even had a say in where Gregorio's mortal remains should be placed.

Francisco Losa became a repository for episodes or miraculous experiences that people experienced with Gregorio, through which they could inscribe themselves into the story of the servant of God. We will see how Losa was very well connected, and entirely aware that the *Life* he was writing would become a success, the people he chose to name and those he preferred to maintain nameless being instrumental for our understanding of the difficulty of that task. Francisco Losa and the testimonies for the apostolic process are also very revealing of Gregorio Lopez's period in Santa Fe, which we can say was the most public part of Gregorio's life. Having no way of knowing that which Francisco Losa was not aware of and that which he chose to leave out of his text, we are left wondering what was left unsaid, and who was left unnamed.

It appears that Losa might have been the manager of a religious agency that was operating intellectually through many networks, evident in the various rituals, visitors, exceptions, and contradictions at play. Moreover, it took Francisco Losa fifteen years to publish his book, perhaps the necessary amount of time to forget the dissemination of Gregorio's connections to many communities of different religious experiences, practices, as well as beliefs, existent in New Spain at the time. The delays with the publication could also be related to the necessity for a gradual erosion of the story's strangeness and the large number of testimonies reflecting complex but lived connections with a holy man. However, what was it that made Gregorio so special?

4.1.1 Francisco Losa: another character?

Jodi Bilinkoff has fittingly pointed out "Losa's single most important job with respect to Lopez was as the defender of his companion's orthodoxy, a task that only a priest could undertake".²⁷⁷ Besides, she believes that were it not for Francisco Losa, and we would not know Gregorio Lopez to the extent that we do, his role as hagiographer also providing insight into the work of "confessors and other clerical promoters" of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁸ Being a diligent hagiographer, many were the occasions in Santa Fe when Losa had his pen at the ready to promptly register Gregorio's spiritual insights.²⁷⁹ I would add that had it not been for Francisco Losa, and there probably would never have been a beatification process, although there might have been an inquisitorial one. Juan de Santiago informs us that, after Gregorio died, he asked don Alonso de Peralta whether it was true that the Holy Office had marked the grave of Gregorio Lopez. The inquisitor replied that in addition to not imagining ever doing such a thing, that he was also sorry to never have met Gregorio while he was still alive. Furthermore, Peralta explains how it was "with great pleasure he [Alonso de Peralta] had given licence to Father Losa to write his life so it would become known to all, and that he had never seen or read in all his life about a man that more perfectly observed the holy gospel".²⁸⁰

However, before he was able to publish his book, Losa was not able to escape the "Inquisitorial nose", as the friar who denounced him so dubbed it. The Mercedarian, Francisco de Sacramento, did not hesitate in denouncing to the Holy Office the heretical opinions of Father Losa, which he came across when passing through Santa Fe in 1603. *No podía ver imágenes* ("He could not stand to see images") seemed like a sure sign of sacrilege in the friar's eyes, which he could not let escape from inquisitorial

²⁷⁷ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 122.

²⁷⁸ "By the late sixteenth century it was not unusual for confessors and other clerical promoters to take notes or begin gathering data even while their exemplary subjects were still alive", Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 122.

²⁷⁹ "[...] though I am certain that he said this not so much for his consolation as for my instruction and benefit, yet I remained so astonished at his declaring this somewhat that passed inwardly betwixt God and him [...] that I immediately write down these words, spoken by him. This happened on the 23rd of March, 1591.", in Losa, *Life*, 173.

²⁸⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonio de Juan de Santiago", 299r.-299v.

scrutiny. So while Losa seemed to inherit Gregorio Lopez's ideas, he did not emulate his acumen in communicating them.²⁸¹ Perhaps Losa was yet to assume the "aura" that came with being a hagiographer, given that the book regarding his companion would only be published ten years later, meanwhile acting as leading promoter of Gregorio's relics and trying to assume his role of spiritual guidance.

Indeed, Francisco Losa's situation changed after the publication of his book, having negotiated in 1616 with the archbishop of México, Juan Pérez de la Serna, his new office as chaplain for the Discalced Carmelites of México City, which he only accepted on the condition that the mortal remains of Gregorio Lopez would join him at his new home a request that was favourable to all involved, offering the order the relics of a saint, and the archdiocese of México the proximity to his biographer.²⁸² Juan Pérez de la Serna must surely have been pleased with having been able to involve the then eighty-four-year-old man in the procedures to canonise his beloved companion. Losa's testimonial was the first and most extensive in the informative process, having been collected in México in 1620, and completed and signed by the Archbishop in 1622, being virtually a paraphrase of Losa's biographical text. Losa was himself an exceptional figure, having given up his work and privileges in México City, to openly devote himself to and be "under the spiritual tutelage of a layman".²⁸³

The Cathedral of México was the institution that ultimately allowed Losa's career to develop in such a singular manner. We see Francisco Losa going from priest, collector of alms and examiner of conscience, to chaplain at Santa Fe and, later on, at the newly founded monastery in México City. It was interim administrator, Pedro de Pravia, who allowed the move to Santa Fe in 1589 after Pedro Moya de Contreras left the archdiocese of México.²⁸⁴ Francisco Losa was a secular priest devoted to his institution, where he held a prominent position. Had it not been for his institutional stature, many of the names we see inscribed in Gregorio's story would not be present. These names include significant

²⁸¹ AGN, *Instituciones Coloniales*, Inquisición (61)/Volumen 281/Expediente 40 – "Testificación contra el Padre Losa 'que está en Santa Fe' por posiciones falsas en un sermón".

²⁸² Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 124, 128, n. 41.

²⁸³ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 119.

²⁸⁴ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 119-120; Losa, *Vida*, 41.

figures in the history of Mexican religious institutions, whose episodes involving Gregorio were most certainly not made up, including Pedro de Pravia, Maese Alonso, Hernando de Hinojosa, Pedro de Hortigosa, Domingo de Salazar, and Esteban Herrera; a very comprehensive list of important persons belonging to the religious and intellectual elites of the time. Losa knew how to capitalise on the “show” he was running in Santa Fe, drawing in people to come and see Gregorio, but including only the names of the visitors he saw fit in his text, whose selection we may be able to understand to some extent. However, in producing the narrative, he had to compromise the reality he experienced with his companion since his networks might have been far more complex than those which his text reveals.

4.1.2 Biographer and biographee connections

If something needs to be added about Francisco Losa, completing our perspective over various aspects not only of the production of the biography but also of his capacities within the cultural elite of New Spain, it is to mention his brother Alonso Losa. Alonso was a bookseller in Ciudad de Mexico. One of the most studied inventories of books, recorded in a protocol commercial transaction, concerns precisely a 1576's sale of books performed by the brother of Francisco Losa.²⁸⁵ Other documents of the Catalogue of the Mexican notarial archive show Alonso Losa as a successful commercial agent in the capital of New Spain. Besides we can infer that Francisco Losa had, if not unlimited, privileged access to any books arriving in New Spain, we can also locate him quite near the necessary network to print and sell the book of his authorship.

It is no surprise that Losa did not fail to include the Mexican political elite that was in contact with Gregorio Lopez, dedicating the biography to the viceroy, Luis de Velasco, who Gregorio requested to stop visiting him, as we will see. Gregorio is also said to have worked and lived at the house of one of the royal officers appointed to New Spain, expressly, Antonio de Turcios and Luis de Villanueva Zapata. Losa narrates how Gregorio

²⁸⁵ Irving A. Leonard, “Una venta de libros en Mexico, 1576”, in *NRFH*, II, 174-185; Idem, *Los libros del Conquistador* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006).

refused to meet the wife of the viceroy (marqués de Villamanrique) when the latter was in office, although accepting her request when she later experienced difficulties. This episode not only was a way of showing Gregorio's indifference to social status: it is also a clear reference to the Mexican viceroyalty of the time, who quickly both rose and fell on the political stage.

Aside from all the evidence that seems to point to a story of heterodoxal religious beliefs of a man who contacted with many diverse religious networks – and its subsequent appropriation by the Council of Trent's dominant, powerful discourse – we are left with several people who were willing to defend Gregorio Lopez against any possible accusations, precisely by including him in the various narratives of their religious institutes. Francisco Losa, Pedro de Pravia, Alonso Sánchez, Juan de Mesa, Pedro Moya de Contreras, and the Hippolytus brothers from the Hospital of Huastepic, all inform us that referring to the Catholic Church in New Spain as a whole is a dangerous generalisation, especially during the decades when the Counter-Reformation was still being instituted in the New World in practical terms. Furthermore, many of these characters belonged to more than one institution, which included their religious order, but also a cathedral, a university, a mission, thus carrying out different activities and owing different loyalties to each institution they simultaneously represented.²⁸⁶

In what concerned ecclesiastical authorities, Losa wanted to show how Gregorio was in fact in contact with religious people from every order, not refraining from pointing out those who, according to their relevance within the Mexican Catholic Church, would further dignify his biography. His contacts included figures such as:

Domingo de Salazar, Spanish, a Dominican missionary who would become the first bishop of the Philippines;²⁸⁷

Juan de Mesa, Spanish, one of the most respected priests in the desolate Huasteca region (and in New Spain in general, due to his devotion to the job, as well as his protective attitude towards the Indians);²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Clara Inéz Ramírez González, *Grupos de poder clerical en las universidades hispánicas* (México: UNAM, 2001), 22.

²⁸⁷ Losa, *Vida*, 11v., 54v.

Alonso Sánchez, Spanish, Jesuit who examined Gregorio in Los Remedios, along with Francisco Losa, having later been sent to the Philippines, displaced from the Jesuit mission in México;²⁸⁹

Pedro Moya de Contreras, Spanish, one of the most beloved archbishops of México, and the first Inquisitor;²⁹⁰

Esteban Herrera, Portuguese, Brother of Saint Hippolytus, in charge of the Oaxtepec Hospital, as well as the representative of the Brotherhood in the Spanish Court;²⁹¹

Bernardino Álvarez, founder of the Brotherhood of Saint Hippolytus, and of the hospital network that spread across New Spain, from Veracruz to Acapulco;²⁹²

Pedro de Pravia, Dominican friar, theologian and professor at the University of México, and *vicario general* of the Mexican archdiocese in the absence of the archbishop;²⁹³

Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa, presbyter, theologian, professor at the University of México, and rector at Santa Fe when Gregorio moved there, later elected bishop of Guatemala;²⁹⁴

Nicolás Martínez, curate, and rector at Santa Fe, successor of Hernando de Hinojosa;²⁹⁵

Juan Cobos, Dominican, theologian in Spain, who later moved to México, where he would come to ask Gregorio for an explanation of the Apocalypse;²⁹⁶

Miguel de Talavera, provincial of the Franciscans in Zacatecas, where he disseminated Gregorio's words via means of his sermons;²⁹⁷

²⁸⁸ Losa, *Vida*, 15r.

²⁸⁹ Losa, *Vida*, 21r.

²⁹⁰ Losa, *Vida*, 54r.-54v.

²⁹¹ Losa, *Vida*, 21r., and Díaz de Arce, *Libro tercero del proximo evangelico*, ff. 17v.-22v.

²⁹² Losa, *Vida*, 22v., and Cristina Sacristán, "Historiografía de la locura y de la psiquiatría en México. De la hagiografía a la historia posmoderna" in *FRENIA*, Vol. V-1 (2005), 14.

²⁹³ Losa, *Vida*, 25r., 53r.

²⁹⁴ Losa, *Vida*, 28v.

²⁹⁵ Losa, *Vida*, 43r.

²⁹⁶ Losa, *Vida*, 64v.-65r.

²⁹⁷ Losa, *Vida*, 65v.

Manuel Reynoso, a well-known Franciscan preacher;²⁹⁸

Pedro de Agurto, creole and Augustinian bishop of the Philippines, who requested Gregorio's declaration on the Apocalypse book, but stopped visiting Gregorio due to his unwillingness to speak unless asked to do so;²⁹⁹

Isabel de la Natividad, sister at the Conceptionist convent of Our Lady of Conception in México.³⁰⁰

Other clergymen also passed word round concerning the servant of God of Santa Fe. In his edition of *Vida*, Luis Muñoz includes the 1620 testimony of Juan de Bohorques, bishop of Oaxaca, who although never having met Gregorio, remembered being told of his presence in México by "spiritual people" such as the Franciscan, Gabriel de la Rioja, and the Dominican, Diego de Aragón. These contacts reveal not only the transversality of Gregorio's contacts within the broad spectrum of religious professionals in New Spain but also the wide variety of their positions within colonial society. Dealing with many prominent figures in both social and political scenes, expressly, missionaries, bishops, inquisitors, theologians, academics, curates, and founders of religious institutes, Gregorio found himself in quite a unique position for a layman with (apparently) no formal education. He also had contact with numerous women, both lay and religious. In addition to Isabel de Natividad, the chronicles of Mexican female orders recall other acquaintances, Marina de la Cruz being a clear example, as we shall see in more detail.³⁰¹ As has already been mentioned, and as we shall see in the ensuing part, when we combine the various contacts Gregorio had with viceroys, war captains, descendants of *conquistadores*, and artisans, we have access to a man that brought together the experiences and expectations of a broad spectrum of people during the last quarter of sixteenth-century New Spain.

²⁹⁸ Losa, *Vida*, 65v.

²⁹⁹ Losa, *Vida*, 74r., 85v.

³⁰⁰ Losa, *Vida*, 119v.

³⁰¹ Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental*, chapters XIX and XX.

4.1.3 A conte(s/x)ted funeral

One of the most studied features of any canonisation attempt in the Congregation of Rites is the candidate's death: how did it happen, how did people respond to it, and what became of the mortal remains. As Losa informs us, Gregorio Lopez got very sick in May of 1596 and died two months later. Fortunately, the witnesses involved in the process help to give us a complete account of Gregorio's funeral, their descriptions proving to be of utmost relevance in this case, since not every funeral became a parade like Gregorio's did. Although not having been there himself, Marcos Berriaza remembers the occasion, recalling how "people from all conditions of life" (*de todos estados de gente*) had gone to the funeral in Santa Fe, having come all the way from México City.³⁰² Gaspar de Praves, who was in Cuernavaca when he received news of Gregorio's death, recalls how he was not able to arrive on time for the service that was attended by those he considered the "most important people in this city" (*gente principal de esta ciudad*).³⁰³

Honours and ceremonies seem to have been prepared before Gregorio's death. After two Brothers of Saint Hippolyte from the Hospital of Oaxtepec visited Gregorio and witnessed his fragile condition, one of them, Cristóbal Anaya, decided that the other, Pedro Sarmiento del Vado, should stay with him. In the event of Gregorio's death, Pedro was to warn Cristóbal, as he did, who immediately came to Santa Fe with another Brother, Hernando Carrasco.³⁰⁴ They brought the habit of their order, to dress Gregorio with it, along with a Saint Augustine ribbon, having arrived a little too late: Gregorio had already been dressed in his ordinary clothes and deposited on a stand. Cristóbal recalls seeing the body and the bier covered with "roses and crosses", in addition to the flowers brought by the people from Santa Fe "as a sign of love and devotion". Cristóbal and Pedro then took Gregorio's body in order to dress it in the clothes that they had brought with them. The moment they began to undress the dead body, the Brothers recognised Gregorio's virginity (*entendió que hera cuerpo virgen según las señales naturales que*

³⁰² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819 "Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza", 229r.

³⁰³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819 "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 265r.

³⁰⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 177r.-179v.; "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Hado", 223v.-226r.; and, "Testimonial de Hernando Carrasco", 194v.-196v.

hecho de ver, "understood that it was a virginal body, due to the natural signs that could be seen"), also admiring his flexibility, since the body proved to be easy to dress and to rearrange on the bier. In a way, it seemed alive.

Cristóbal, his companions and many other people kept vigil over the body during the night. In the morning, after news had spread into México City, scores of people came to pay their last respects "to the saint", many having brought candles. At last, Gregorio was buried: "no coffin, no bier, just his body", having been laid to rest on the right-hand side of the main altar at the church of Santa Fe. Most of the witnesses who were at the funeral were also present three or four days later, when Doctor Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa, professor and theologian at the University of México, elected bishop of Guatemala, gave a sermon praising "Gregorio's virtues and sanctity".³⁰⁵

Both Alonso de la Mota y Escobar and Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa would testify in Gregorio's informative process, more than twenty years later. Alonso de la Mota y Escobar recalled the general sense of "great pleasure and spiritual comfort", noting that the death of Gregorio ought not to have provoked tears, but rather, a feeling of consolation, for he had found eternity. The dean of the Cathedral, and future bishop of Tlaxcala, performed the ceremony, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, along with "all the nobles that were present", having had to fend off the mob's impulse to take the dead man's relics with them: Gregorio's physical remains, whether his hair, beard, or pieces of his clothes. We learn in his testimony about the tradition of "placing crosses in the hands of the deceased"; a tradition that turned those objects into relics for being in contact with Gregorio's body. Mota y Escobar, when it was time to place Gregorio's body in the wooden box where he was to be buried, was given the privilege of swaddling the remains in the deceased's black cloak, a sort of exchange, for the cleric also got to keep Gregorio's shabby dun cape.³⁰⁶ Additionally, Mota y Escobar was given Gregorio's *ferreruolo* (a type of military cape), which kept his "good scent", as did all his clothes and his room in the hermit's hut.

³⁰⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 179v., "Testimonial de Hernando Carrasco", f. 196v., and "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento", 224v.

³⁰⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Alonso de la Mota y Escobar", 160r.-161v.

4.1.3.1. Thaumaturgic relics

As Cristóbal Anaya affirms, it was Francisco Losa, as Gregorio's carer, who began the distribution of the hermit's garments and bedclothes, for the joy and devotion of those present.³⁰⁷ Cristóbal reveals having taken the woollen pillow belonging to Gregorio, as well as a piece of his shirt, Hernando Carrasco having kept the shirt's collar, and Pedro Sarmiento del Vado the Saint Augustine ribbon, as well as a *colletillo de cordobán*.³⁰⁸ Juan de Valdevieso also informs us of the relics that he got to keep, expressly, a piece of Gregorio's shirt, and a doublet.³⁰⁹ Besides, Pedro Cermeño kept the piece of Gregorio's shirt, which Losa had given to him as a relic.³¹⁰ Juan de Santiago exposes how the remains of Gregorio were widely distributed, having received from Losa the saint's stockings, pincushion, drinking cup, as well as, probably later one of the bones from his hands, having kept only the stockings and the piece of bone, and given the other items to people "who asked for it with great devotion".³¹¹

Although we can not know for sure, we can infer how Gregorio Lopez's relics acquired their seeming healing powers. Undoubtedly, his activities as a botanist, his knowledge of medicine, and his role as spiritual guide to the many who sought his advice granted him an aura of a healer. It should then be no wonder that during his burial, an "Indian woman whose face evinced the same illness as that of Saint Lazarus", went home cured.³¹² Other similar cases began to occur: an important Mexican woman used the sleeve of the hermit's doublet to cure her headache; and, the three-month-old baby of a couple of Mexican dignitaries was also healed from a fever using a relic which they had at home. As the biography shows, Francisco Losa not only distributed the relics of Gregorio, but also collected the stories those relics produced, introducing them in a chapter titled: "Some of the miracles that, with the relics of Gregorio Lopez, Our Lord has performed".³¹³ Stories

³⁰⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 178v.-179r.

³⁰⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 177v., "Testimonial de Hernando Carrasco", 196r.

³⁰⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Juan de Valdevieso", 210v.

³¹⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Pedro Cermeño", 167v.

³¹¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 296v.

³¹² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Hado", 226.

³¹³ Losa, *Vida*, 48r.-51r.

made their way to him through reports and letters, as he refers in his testimony.³¹⁴ Curiously enough, there are some names that Francisco Losa omitted in the biography, but mentioned in his report dating from 1620, such as that of the Indian wife of Gabriel de Alvino, governor of Santa Fe, *manca de un brazo* ("crippled in one arm"), who left the funeral feeling relief from her pain, after having kissed Gregorio's hand.³¹⁵ Yet another of these miraculous instances includes that of Maria de Velasco's four-year-old child, who, four days after Gregorio's death, felt ill in her stomach after having eaten a bit of dirt, asked her nanny ("a lady of illustrious blood and Christianity") for *la tirita que le dieron del Santo Gregorio Lopez* ("the bandage that had belonged to Saint Gregorio Lopez which had been given to her"), waking up cured after using it as treatment for one night.³¹⁶

Juan de Santiago explains us how, some weeks following Gregorio's death, he met with Francisco Losa and the chaplain of Santa Fe, canon Nicolás Martínez, the latter having reported various miracles that had occurred in association with Gregorio's relics. According to Martínez, one time when he was going to visit a brother in a convent, he was saved from drowning in a river thanks to Gregorio's pincushion. This brother had been very sick and was getting ready to go to México City to take care of his health when Martínez suggested the use of Gregorio's pincushion.³¹⁷ Upon his return to Santa Fe, canon Martínez was utterly convinced of Gregorio's sanctity, having decided to proclaim it.

There was also the case of presbyter Gabriel de Ayrolo who told Francisco Losa how he believed a face injury and a severe pain in his guts were healed praying to Gregorio and

³¹⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 111r.

³¹⁵ Losa, *Vida*, 48r.; BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 107v.

³¹⁶ Losa, *Vida*, 49r.; BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 108r.

³¹⁷ "Using his pincushion, which I carry with me as a relic, I saved myself from drowning in a river while coming here, giving myself over to him with faith and devotion, miraculously finding myself on top of a plain away from the river. Since your grace is a priest and more perfect than I, and given that you are a religious [man], you shall have faith in the saint and use this relic of his, trusting that you will get well". My translation of: "[...] *mediante un acerico suyo que traigo por reliquia viéndome en este camino ahogado en un río encomendándome a el con fe [298v.] y devoción milagrosamente me halle encima del llano fuera de el río pues vuestra merced es sacerdote y más perfecto que yo por ser religioso tenga fe en el santo y póngase esta reliquia suya y tenga confianza que le ade alcanzar salud*" in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 296v.-299r.

using a piece of his clothes – a case that may or may not have been related to Leonor de Ayrolo (witness in the informative process).³¹⁸ Leonor de Ayrolo also reinforces the centrality of Francisco Losa in what concerns the handling of Gregorio’s relics, having asked her husband to take her to Gregorio’s tomb in Santa Fe in order to heal her eyes. She had heard about Gregorio through her father, who possessed one of his relics. In Santa Fe, Francisco Losa was informed of her problem, having offered to give her “Gregorio’s hat to put on her head, and his shoe for her to kiss” – a hat we were told before Gregorio did not wear, but which had apparently healing powers. Leonor, her husband Pedro, and her sister Ana, all believed that this was what ultimately led to her cure, testified in Gregorio’s favour in 1620, during the informative process.³¹⁹ Moreover, according to Losa, Juan de Valdevieso Turcios, who also testified, was convinced his kidney stones had been expelled from his body thanks to the intercession of the relics his uncle and aunt, Pedro de Goñi y Peralta and Elvira de Villavicencio, had provided him with in order to help with his condition.³²⁰

The ‘saint’s’ devotees shared both their relics and their faith with parents, neighbours, and anyone in need of divine intervention. We can only infer the costs and profits involved in these transactions, if indeed there were any, keeping in mind that, just because there are no mentions of it, does not mean that there was no business surrounding relics, even if only in the form of something akin to a religious economy, where profit was measured in terms of devotion, and costs could be paid through acts of charity.

4.1.3.2 Last wills and resting places

We should not hastily judge Francisco Losa’s intentions in promoting Gregorio’s venerability. The solitary man’s faithful companion merely enabled the materialisation of

³¹⁸ Losa, *Vida*, 49v.; BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: “Testimonial de Francisco Losa”, 109r.-109v.

³¹⁹ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: “Testimonial de Leonor de Ayrolo”, 138v.-140r.; “Testimonial de Pedro González de Castro”; “Testimonial de Ana de Mendoza”, 135r.-138v.

³²⁰ Losa, *Vida*, 51r.-51v.; BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: “Testimonial de Francisco Losa”, 109v. and “Testimonial de Juan de Valdevieso”, 211r.-212r.

his faith, a faith that had begun to spread when Gregorio was still alive. Moreover, Losa must have felt pressured to maintain the devotion of the communities where Gregorio caused an impact during his passage through New Spain. The limitations imposed by the Vatican's new procedures in the canonisation of new saints prohibited such manifestations of devotion, only later, in 1625. Until then, if anyone was able to dignify the memory of the servant of God, it surely was Losa, before anyone else. After having lived for six years with Gregorio Lopez, Francisco Losa felt entitled to assume and assure his function as keeper of the holy man's memory. However, what compelled him to take on this role is not especially evident. Losa remained in Santa Fe until 1616, where while writing his biography and waiting for the right moment (and conditions) to publish it, he had to find ways to provide for himself. Josep-Ignasi Saranyana doubts that Gregorio's companion merely wrote the biography to defend the posthumous memory of the holy man from any condemnation.³²¹ Furthermore, it seems that he not only had to prevent Gregorio's devotion from being tainted with heretical rumours and associations but also, had to keep people's veneration to the holy man alive and thriving, using Gregorio's last will to his advantage.

Juan de Cervantes, *vicario general* of the Mexican archdiocese, was the man responsible for calling the notary, after visiting Gregorio during the time of the illness that would eventually lead to his death. The governor might have exploited Gregorio's weakness to a certain extent, albeit, the hermit's last wishes do not come as a surprise.³²² On July 3rd, the royal notary, Juan de Cárdenas was called to Santa Fe to record in writing Gregorio Lopez's last will. Francisco Losa, as well as two other presbyters, namely, Juan de Laso and Jerónimo de Morón, served as witnesses. As the hermit had no possessions – other than his intellectual property, which we now consider his greatest treasure especially his works that we can consider lost – the document is more of a declaration than a real testament. In it, Gregorio declares himself at the service

³²¹ Saranyana, "Análisis doctrinal del «Tratado del Apocalypsi» de Gregorio López († 1596, en México), publicado en Madrid en 1678" in Roberto Rusconi, (coord.), *Storie e Figure dell'Apocalisse fra '500 e '600, Atti del 4º Congresso internazionale di studi gioachimiti*, (Collana Opere di Gioacchino da Fiore: testi e strumenti, 7, San Giovanni in Fiore, Viella, 1996).

³²² BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial of Francisco Losa", 101.

of God, requesting to be buried according to the decision of the archbishop of México or the governors of the archdiocese at the moment of his death.³²³ His last intentions seemed quite clear: his body and soul were now in the hands of God and of the representatives of his Church in that land. Losa further informs us in his testimony for Gregorio's cause how, in 1616, as part of the deal to accept his office as chaplain of the Discalced Carmelites of México, he helped move, "secretly", the mortal remains of his companion to the convent he would be working for.³²⁴ Losa had promised Gregorio that they would not be separated, even in death, despite having disliked the idea of his companion left behind with "those Indians".³²⁵

Mariana de la Encarnación, chronicler for the Discalced Carmelites, recorded how the transportation of Gregorio's remains occurred, which Antonio Rubial García then summed up: the bones were carried in a velvet-lined safe, during a procession with two priests, all this having happened in total secrecy, so as not to provoke the revolt of the Indians, leaving them with a "little bone" as their only relic. The safe was then put into a wall, on one of the chapel's sides, where Losa's body would also be placed in 1625, following his last wishes, seen that Losa did want to be separated from his companion not even in death.³²⁶ Indeed, Rubial García notes how the Convent of San José became, from that moment on, protected and equipped with devotional material. The relics of Gregorio and the image of Santo Cristo de Ixmiquilpan, not only allowed for a privileged connection to the divine but also served as a source of income for the monastery, where devotees would go to with prayers and alms.

Nevertheless, that was not to be Gregorio's final resting place. Ten years after Losa's death, archbishop Francisco de Zúñiga left instructions to transfer the relics from the Monastery to the Cathedral, a much more suitable place for a servant of God that could

³²³ Huerga, "Edición", 137-138. Gregorio Lopez's last will was also included in some editions of Losa's *Vida*. Appendix III – Last Will of Gregorio Lopez.

³²⁴ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819: "Testimonial of Francisco Losa", 102r.

³²⁵ Mariana de la Encarnación, *Crónica del convento de las carmelitas descalzas de la ciudad de México. 1641*, published by Manuel Ramos Medina, *Místicas y Descalzas, Fundaciones Femeninas Carmelitas en la Nueva España*, (Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Conдумex: México, 1997), 357 y ss. *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 77.

³²⁶ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 77-78.

eventually become a saint.³²⁷ Manso de Zúñiga took Gregorio's skull to Spain, his other remains having been deposited at the sacristy of the Mexican Metropolitan Church.³²⁸ According to the documents from the Archivo General de Indias, the skull first went to the Convent of San Millán of Burgos, having then been donated by Felipe IV to the Monastery of La Encarnación in Madrid.³²⁹ The rest of Gregorio's bones were inspected in 1701, when the niche where they lay at the Cathedral of México was opened for inspection, as requested by the Congregation of Rites³³⁰, having been taken on that occasion to the Capilla de Santo Cristo y las Reliquias, the chapel located right next to the sacristy.



Gregorio Lopez's tomb at the Capilla de las Reliquias, Metropolitan Cathedral of México, México City.

© Lia Nunes, January 15th, 2015.

³²⁷ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de la Nueva España*, (México, 1982), 56 *apud* Rubial García, *La santidad*, 78, 243 n. 48.

³²⁸ Rubial García, *La santidad*, 78.

³²⁹ The skull of Gregorio Lopez is deposited at the reliquary of the Monastery of La Encarnación in Madrid, alongside many other relics (inventory number: 00620125). There is however no information as to the whereabouts of the *Declaración del Apocalipsis* and the *Tesoro de Medicinas*. On a personal note, I would like to thank the conservators at the Patrimonio Nacional in Madrid, for providing me with all this useful information. For lack of funds it was impossible to proceed with the proposal for the DNA analysis of Gregorio's remains, both those housed in Madrid, and those housed in México, so as to examine their provenance, and to obtain any additional data concerning Gregorio Lopez.

³³⁰ ASV, *Riti*, 1717, 260r.-276r.

It becomes quite apparent how the community of Santa Fe was stripped of Gregorio's remains to increase devotion in their newly found home. Francisco Losa became himself the place of memory of Gregorio Lopez, having turned into the guardian of his companion's story and mortal remains. During the attempted beatification of Gregorio Lopez, the archdiocese justified the transfer of Gregorio's remains to the capital as being a way to bring his relics nearer to those who could increase alms and sponsor the cause. However, we may wonder whether, in the long run, this decision did not separate the most fervent devotees from Gregorio Lopez, those he had shared his life with, those he had marked more profoundly, those who fondly remembered him. The Santa Fe community still holds on to the memory of Gregorio Lopez, more so than any other community in México, regardless of how many visitors his final resting place may receive. Ultimately, Losa might have prevented Gregorio's devotion to grow.

4.2 Hagiographical *topoi*

Losa wrote Gregorio's legend in a literary genre that has traversed the history of Christianity. The martyr, the virgin, the confessor, the bishop, the noble, the hermit, the ascetic, the mystic, the monk – all archetypes that somehow imitated Christ – were central figures of stories whose function within their specific contexts was to address contemporary issues. Whether to educate or to critique their contemporary society and customs – which the Bollandists, already in the seventeenth century, strove to show how – these holy and venerable men and women should be seen or read by taking into account their respective historical contexts.³³¹

In his analysis of Losa's biography, and in order to understand the influence of Gregorio Lopez on John Wesley's idea of Christian perfection, Edgardo Cólón-Emeric identifies two (stylistic) parts in the hagiographical text: the first "is an account of Gregorio Lopez cast in the same mould as Saint Athanasius's *Life of Anthony*"; and "the second [...] considers the virtues of Gregorio [...] humility, patience and inward poverty",

³³¹ Rubial García, "La hagiografía", 21.

in addition to giving special attention to Gregorio's knowledge and "his practice of continuous prayer".³³² Colón-Emeric also recovers a quote by G.K. Chesterton that provides us with an interesting departure point in the analysis of the moment Losa's hagiographical construct took place: "it is a paradox of history that each generation is converted by the saint who contradicts it the most".³³³ We shall briefly go through some of the *topoi* used by Francisco Losa, in order to access the construction of his narrative, where Gregorio and his contemporaries embodied the contradiction of praising a way of life that criticised their very own reality. How hard will it be to distinguish which models were Losa's and which were, in fact, Gregorio's?

4.2.1 Blueprints of a hermit in a man's portrait

Later depictions of Gregorio made use of the descriptions Losa provided, but we may also resort to other testimonies, such as that of Cristóbal Anaya, who gives a vivid portrayal of Gregorio:

[Gregorio] was a tall man of thin body with an aquiline white face, pale and yellowed from his penance and abstinence, his forehead wide and without wrinkles, his eyes big and joyful filled with liveliness and honesty, somewhere between green and black, his nose a bit long and sharp, his thighs thin and arched, his mouth pleasant and his lips thin, his teeth small and white, his hair and beard a hazelnut colour, and beautiful, without any artifice, his hands long and thin, and of the same colour as his face. His ordinary attire was made from dun cloth, his waistcoat down to his knees, his breeches and socks ordinary, and I [Cristóbal] never saw him wearing a hat, his speech was low, soft and kind, and he pronounced beautifully holy words, kindling the hearts of those who heard them.³³⁴

³³² Colón-Emeric, *Perfection in Dialogue*, 363.

³³³ Colón-Emeric, *Perfection in Dialogue*, 361.

³³⁴ My translation of: "*hera un hombre alto y delgado de cuerpo de rostro aguilleño blanco aunque palido y con amarillez de la penitencia y abstinencia (!) la frente ancha y sin arrugas los ojos grandes y alegres con viveza y honestidad entre verdes y negros la nariz un poco larga y afilada, las coxas delgadas y arqueadas la boca buena lavios delgados y dientes pequeños y blancos [172v.] el cabello y barva del color de abellana y vienpostas sin artificio alguno las manos de el mismo color del rostro larga y delgada. Su hordinario vestido hera de pano pardo ropilla hasta la rodilla calzon y medias de lo proprio y nunca le visto puesto sombrero, su habla era vasa blanda y*

Marcos Berriaza, a public scrivener for the Ciudad de México council - who had privileged contact with Francisco Losa, having married his niece "Cathalina" Losa - describes Gregorio's "unremarkable plain brown attire", adorned by a "ribbon of Saint Augustine".³³⁵ Concerning Gregorio's clothing, Juan de Santiago and Juan Gallegos state that it was well-known that Gregorio made his own garments. Gregorio's clothing was unrecognisable and featured no particularly striking element, during a time when people used to associate particular garments with particular institutions, and when it was also fashionable to wear rosaries, as well as "medal[s], crosses, or scapulars".³³⁶

It was also common knowledge that he did not wear any hat for he considered himself to be in the presence of God, as Juan de Valdivieso Turcios and Gaspar de Praves, witnesses in the informative process, also observed.³³⁷ Juan de Santiago, Franciscan, reinforces the idea that not using a *sombrero* was a way to reduce Gregorio's necessities, given that his connection with God was internal, so it did not matter whether he had a hat or not.³³⁸ When questioned why he never wore a hat, Gregorio affirmed that "before the worms of the world who were the princes and lords, their vassals did not cover themselves", and that he knew himself to be always in the presence of God, thus respecting what God instructed Abraham to do (*ambula coram me et est perfectus* – "walk with me and be perfect").³³⁹ Concerning Gregorio's choice not wear a hat, other interpretations might be drawn. Luis de Carvajal de la Cueva, and his nephew, for instance, both believed (even if misleadingly) that praying and standing in contemplation with an uncovered head reflected a behaviour typical of Jews.³⁴⁰

Gregorio was frugal concerning his clothes, his food, and even his sleep – only Losa having been able to convince Gregorio to use a very thin mattress and a small blanket to

amoroza linda pronunciación palabras santas y que dichas encendian los corazones de los que las oyan." in BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 172r.-172v.

³³⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza", 227r.-227v.

³³⁶ Toro, *La Familia*, 190-191.

³³⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Gallegos", 205v., "Testimonial de Juan de Valdivieso Turcios", 209r., "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 260v.

³³⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 274v.-275r.

³³⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Jerónimo de Ocampo", 237r.

³⁴⁰ Alfonso Toro, *La Familia Carvajal*, Vol. II (México, Editorial Patria, 1944), 187; Cohen, *The Martyr*, 130.

sleep. Juan de Gallegos had once heard Losa comment that Gregorio merely slept three hours per night. Gallegos went to see Gregorio once, having witnessed his poverty taken to such an extreme, that the only items to be found in his chambers were a table and a bible.³⁴¹ Was this the same room where Gregorio was known to keep his precious and distinguished objects? Usually, in addition to be surprised by his dietary habits, who ever met Gregorio would marvel at his chambers: books, globes, maps, mouldy letters, – but no images, rosaries, or crosses – were all part of his quotidian life. Whether in Nueva Galicia, Huasteca, Oaxtepec, or Santa Fe, these knowledge tools – which he always found ways to build, borrow, or buy – permanently surrounded him, as we read in Losa and in the testimonies for the informative process. It was also this knowledge that attracted people, and not only due to religious matters, as we shall see.

The oddity of Gregorio's diet might have come from the fact that it clashed with his visitors' habits, Gregorio having been disciplined enough to carry on with this same routine for years, and which certainly had something to do with his constant physical debilities. It was public that Gregorio only ate once a day. Marcos de Berriaza recalls having eaten with Gregorio and Losa several times in Santa Fe, and the ritual was always the same:

[...] at mealtime the holy Gregorio Lopez would leave his chambers with a small white pot full of water covered with a table napkin, he would sit at the table and he would eat a little, so little that he did not eat the same as the rest, eating a porringer of soups in a broth with no salt and a few herbs instead, and when this witness [Marcos] asked Licentiate Losa how Father Gregorio ate in such a pleasureless manner, he answered that he was used to it and that he did not fancy anything else [...]³⁴²

³⁴¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Gallegos", 206.

³⁴² My translation of: "[...] *y siendo ora de comer salía de su aposento el santo Gregorio Lopez con un jarrillo blanco lleno de agua [sic] y una servilleta y se ponía a la messa y comía muy poco y de tal manera que no comía de lo que comían los demás sino una escudilla de sopas en caldo sin sal y algunas pocas hiervas, y preguntando este testigo a el dicho Lizenziado Lossa que como comía el Padre Gregorio de aquella manera sin gusto dezía que era su hordinario y que no apetecía [228r.] otra cosa*" in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza", 227v-228r.

The testimonies of Juan de Valdivieso Turcios, Juan Gallegos, Gaspar de Praves and Hernando Carrasco also recorded this customary act. They all recalled that after his meals, Gregorio would stay with his visitors, their conversations having usually revolved around topics such as religion, history, or things of the spirit. Reading the various testimonies, we can imagine Gregorio explaining over and over again that his continuous love of God could not be interrupted by any mundane occasion, not even when he was feeding his body. However, he did not enter conversations that he considered to be “ungodly”, Gregorio only spoke when asked to do so, and he was well-prepared to provide answers for all kinds of doubts.³⁴³

Gregorio’s meal was prepared differently from the food offered to his guests, Lusa having most likely managed this logistics. Albeit, we may assume that Gregorio was mostly responsible for the few products that he ate, given that he was in charge of his home garden, his “vegetarian” regime allowed him to control his food. Furthermore, his (kind of) conversion and his contact with “wild beings” in the North, it was his vegetarian diet and austere nourishment that mostly impressed whoever came into contact with Gregorio. We do not know when exactly he decided to eat meat or fish no longer. As we will see, it has been mentioned how he fasted in México City during the first year of his arrival to the Indies, so it is possible that he was already a vegetarian in Iberia. It could be interesting to correlate his diet option with the fact the México City council was trying to figure out if there was a direct link between the consumption of meat and the large epidemics amongst the Indians, having been highly likely that this presumably preventative measure was discussed in the streets, where the mortality rate due to various epidemics was at an all-time high. Notwithstanding, by tradition, any hermit would have learnt how to lead a balanced, disciplined life, evidenced in their health and dietary habits: planting one’s food, and knowing how to identify aromatic, medicinal, edible, and poisonous plants, were all a part of the hermitic way of life.

Gregorio is known to have inclusively rejected Juan de Santiago’s offer of fruits from the mendicant convents that he managed. The first time the Franciscan sent a gift,

³⁴³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Valdivieso Turcio”, 209r.; “Testimonial de Juan Gallegos”, 202v.-204r.

Gregorio had it delivered to Losa, for he was unwilling to receive it.³⁴⁴ If someone had experience administering alms, that person was surely Francisco Losa, who before retiring with Gregorio to Santa Fe, "took charge of the bashful Poor, who [he] supplied with what they needed during ten years, and asking continuously for some of our alms for this purpose".³⁴⁵ The Franciscans were probably in the best position to understand Gregorio's withdrawal from the material world. Between their vows of poverty (and the availability of products they obtained from their monasteries exploration), they saw in people like Gregorio or Sebastián de Aparicio, models of redemption. Notwithstanding, unlike Sebastián, an entrepreneur before entering religion, Gregorio had nothing to give besides his knowledge.

4.2.2 Infused Science in Union with God

Gregorio Lopez' infused knowledge was one of his most notable features. He most certainly knew the exemplary doctrines and models that he could employ without being accused of deviating attitudes and opinions. Did the witnesses for his canonisation's process stress this characteristic because they had been touched by it or because Francisco Losa insisted so much on its exceptionality? After all, Gregorio Lopez did not perform any heroic action during the evangelisation and colonisation of New Spain, so the biography had to dramatically enhance that which was extraordinary about him. The conclusion was straightforward for most people who became acquainted with Gregorio: given his lack of formal studies and his lay condition – and his simultaneous large body of knowledge – God must have been responsible for infusing Gregorio with such level of wisdom. This, in turn, had a snowball effect: because Gregorio knew too much for a man of his condition and studies, many people went to visit him, first to test him, then subsequently to ask for his advice, enlightening sayings and explanations. In turn, the more people went to him, the more famous he became, and the more people came into contact with his knowledge.

³⁴⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 274v.-275r.

³⁴⁵ Losa, *Life*, 49.

Evidently, Losa and the witnesses involved in the canonisation process emphasised Gregorio's religious knowledge: ecclesiastical history, theology, and a memorable exegesis, given the years he spent in La Huasteca, learning by heart the Bible in Spanish, especially the Epistles of Paul, the Books of Kings and the Books of the Maccabees. Nonetheless, the memory of a man having such vast knowledge – which included subjects as diverse as astronomy, geography, cartography, botany, medicine, history, mathematics, and even tailoring – was a too complex representation to have been generated in people's imaginations merely through a book, no matter how much and how well Francisco Losa tried. Gregorio Lopez was a man of science, since all the things of the world, including knowledge, had to come from God.

The Franciscan, friar Juan de Santiago, reveals in his testimony how he marvelled with Gregorio's sensibility towards him and all the others who came for his advice and consolation. Gregorio seemed to anticipate their thoughts somehow and to be prepared to justify any doubts that his attitudes could provoke. According to Santiago's testimony:

One day this witness [Juan de Santiago] was alone talking with the servant of God Gregorio Lopez was sitting on a chair with one foot on top of the other and this witness watched him quietly and at ease, without revealing any wonderment, noting internally and reflecting on the posture of the servant of God for it was against the doctrine of the seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura and other saints and saint Gregorio answered this witness's thoughts saying to him *what's wrong Friar Juan? Did you notice that this posture is contrary to the saints' doctrine? And this witness was surprised to hear such a remark and that [Gregorio] could have understood what he was thinking, without externally having revealed it.*³⁴⁶

The dean of Santa Fe at the time Gregorio was living there, expressly, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, was more specific in his analysis of Gregorio's behaviour. Towards Alonso,

³⁴⁶ My translation of: "*y un dia estando este testigo solo hablando con el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez estava sentado en una silla y tenia un pie puesto sobre el otro y este testigo mirándole con quietud y sosiego y sin dar muestra de admiración noto y penso ynteriormente la postura del siervo de Dios por ser contra la doctrina del seraphico Dr. San Buenabentura y de otros santos y el santo Gregorio respondienddo al pensamiento de este testigo le dijo que es Padre Fray Juan, nota esta postura que es [287v.] contra la doctrina de los santos y este testigo quedo admirado de oyr semejante cosa y que hubiesse entendido de pensamiento sin haver dado muestra ninguna exterior de lo que pensava [...]*" in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 287r. - 287v.

Gregorio seemed to be more affectionated: *Aquí quedo señor dean en Santa Fee esperando la santa visita* ("Here I stand, Dean, in Santa Fe, expecting your holy visit"). For Mota y Escobar, given that "experience and natural reason[ning] show a living man cannot lead a life without any entertainment or delights", the fact that Gregorio obtained comfort and distracted himself merely through his spiritual pleasures and his communication with God, made him an exceptional example. Alonso compared Gregorio to San Dionisio Aeropagita concerning the form of their prayers. It seemed the "greatest pleasure, and external joy that his [Gregorio's] person and face conserved" came from a form of prayer people regarded as more passive than active, given Gregorio's disposition for contemplation.

Francisco Suárez informs us that Gregorio read *Espejos de consolación* and that how he explained the Franciscan's work indicates "he must have knowledge of the Bible from a very young age".³⁴⁷ Worth noting also is that *Espejos de consolación*, written by Juan de Dueñas, had been prohibited by the 1559 inquisitorial Index.³⁴⁸ Besides, Losa reveals that reading Tauler and Ruusbroeck was very comforting to Gregorio, given that it was a written confirmation of the things God "communicated to his spirit". For two years – already in Santa Fe – Losa read aloud to his companion several spiritual works: "el *Flos sanctorum* de Villegas, [...] la *Chronica de S. Francisco, Prado espiritual* y otros libros semejantes".³⁴⁹ The Franciscans who testified in the informative process also mention these readings.

The repeated references to Gregorio's "union with God", and all the varying descriptions of how this was perceived, establish him as a figure in the history of Spanish mysticism, expressly, of a *recogida* spirituality. Juan de Santiago seized the opportunity to paraphrase Tauler when he affirmed:

And this witness always understood the holy Gregorio to be, due to his supreme perfection and act of love, one of the men Tauler spoke of in chapter 26 of his *Instructions*, one of the noblest men that in such little time brought more benefit to the Holy Church than anyone else in many

³⁴⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suarez", 267v.-268v.

³⁴⁸ Andrés Martín, *Historia de la Mística*, 315r..

³⁴⁹ Losa, *Vida*, 32 v., 70r., 117v.

years; [...] also understanding that this was one of the most perfect and little-known men who were friends with God, sustaining Christendom through their continuous prayers, as Tauler mentions in chapter 31 of the aforesaid book, hidden from and unknown to all others, given that their work and union with God is in its bare essence where no creature can reach.³⁵⁰

Gregorio Lopez was part of a generation that produced many living examples of the religious reformation that took place in Spain (where the circumstances of the Catholic Reconquest of the Moorish part of the Iberian Peninsula and the discovery of the New Worlds pushed the debates beyond the knowledgeable and the expected); a generation that put into practice beliefs, feelings and lines of reasoning in many original ways. For instance, according to Francisco Losa, Teresa de Jesús was one of Gregorio Lopez's most fruitful references during his last years. The biographer revealed to have been particularly struck by Gregorio's fast reading of one of the Carmelite's book. What seems clear is that Gregorio embodied in his own particular way the epoch's spirit(uality), which included the following: an asceticism based on the love for God and the Other; a mysticism rationalised through constant readings, contacts and discussions; and ultimately, a specific sensibility that was balanced with mandatory moments of isolation, which allowed for the acquirement of some distance and perspective.

4.2.3 "Alternative" as a form of social criticism

Not using any form of "rage nor revenge towards those he knew detracted from and gossiped" against him, Gregorio is described by Alonso de la Mota y Escobar as "a man so secure and conscious, that the *garrochas* ("goads") the world threw at him did not hurt

³⁵⁰ My translation of: "[...] *y siempre entendio este testigo del santo Gregorio por la suma perfeccion y acto de amor ser uno de los varones de quien dize Taulero en el capitulo 26 de sus Instrucciones estos son los novilissimos hombres de esta vida los quales en una breve ora trahen [295r.] mas provecho a la santa yglesia que todos los demás fuera de estos en muchos años; y tambien entiende este testigo que fue uno de los varones perfectissimos y ocultos amigos de Dios que con su continua orazion sustentan la Christiandad como lo dize Taulero en el capitulo 31 de el dicho libro ocultos y no conojidos de todos los demás porque su obra y unión con Dios es en la desnuda esenzia de su alma donde no llega criatura.*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 294v.-295r.

nor reach him".³⁵¹ Filtering through the testimonies, we find other similar episodes: Fernando de Rivera, for example, recalls Pedro de Pravia's impressions of Gregorio³⁵²; Juan de Santiago describes a meeting with Franciscan Manuel Reynoso³⁵³; and the testimonies of Pedro de Hortigosa's³⁵⁴, Juan de Zapata's³⁵⁵, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar's³⁵⁶, and José de Vides's evidenced the same formulae³⁵⁷. The repetition shows two particular qualities of Gregorio Lopez: silence and restraint.

However, in the testimonies, we also come across information that complements Losa's biography. Juan de Bohorques, for instance, revisits the episode involving the Dominican Antonio de Ávila, who Gregorio had to refuse to answer in order to avoid disputes³⁵⁸, whereas Pedro de Hortigosa refers something that the witnesses of the informative process recurrently mentioned, namely, how people criticised Gregorio. Hortigosa also mentions how he informed Gregorio of the many things that were said about him and, instead of being outraged, Gregorio excused his critics and claimed he understood them, after all, he was "a useless, idle man that deserved punishment".³⁵⁹ Hortigosa recalls how his fellow Jesuit, Maese Alonso, reprehended Gregorio because he had no images, saying that "heretics do similar things".³⁶⁰ Gregorio's answer reassured Maese Alonso: *no se desasosiegue Vostra Merced que superiores ay aquí en que puede acudir si algo le parece mal y ellos lo remediarian en las quales* [cosas] ("Your Grace should not be disquieted, for there are superiors here you can rely on if something seems wrong to you, for they shall remedy it").³⁶¹

Comparisons were also made with other holy figures of the Church, such as Saint Gregory the Nazarene, adding to the hope that "after his death, Gregorio would be

³⁵¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Alonso de la Mota y Escobar", 152v.-153r.

³⁵² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Fernando Rivera", 185v.-186.

³⁵³ BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 282v. Juan de Santiago seems to refer to the same meeting that Francisco Losa describes in *Vida*, 65v.

³⁵⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Hortigosa", 31r.

³⁵⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Zapata", 255v.-256r.

³⁵⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Alonso de la Mota y Escobar", 157v.-158r.

³⁵⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de José de Vides", 115r.-116v.

³⁵⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Bohorques", 190v.-191r.

³⁵⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 130r.

³⁶⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 130r-130v.

³⁶¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 130v.

declared and acknowledged by those who disapproved of him [...]”.³⁶² This, of course, did not prevent the learned men who visited Gregorio – such as Pedro de Hortigosa, and Ortiz de Hinojosa, as well as many others – to be marvelled by the hermit’s capacity to explain the Bible and answer several questions concerning multiple areas of knowledge. Marcos de Berriaza, in his testimony, refers how Francisco Losa had told (or warned?) him how wondrous it was to find a man who had not studied and yet knew so much regarding nearly every theme.³⁶³ Marcos also recalls Gregorio as a patient, humble man, who was not “presumptuous regarding what he knew”.³⁶⁴ José de Vides completes this image, when he narrates how he observed that to “some of those people who went to him [Gregorio], to ask things more out of curiosity or to cavil, rather than to profit from [his knowledge] and discover the truth, he would reply: *It is the Church that has doctors*”.³⁶⁵

Juan de Santiago, theologian and preacher in three languages, guardian of the convent of Tula, adds a very vivid testimonial of his relation with Gregorio Lopez. This Mendicant was taken to see Gregorio Lopez by another Franciscan, Manuel de Reynoso, who had informed Juan de Santiago of the presence in Santa Fe of a wise and virtuous man, comparable to Saint Jerome, with whom Reynoso had cleared some doubts he had in interpreting the Scriptures. Juan de Santiago was subsequently introduced to Gregorio Lopez, having maintained contact with him throughout all his permanence in Santa Fe. Both shared long conversations, sometimes speaking for four hours at a time of God and things of the spirit. Santiago inclusively used Tauler’s scale to affirm that Gregorio was midway between those who are in the “militant Church” and those who are in the “triumphant Church”.³⁶⁶ Juan also acknowledges the “continuous pure love of God” which Gregorio maintained, in addition to his poverty, given that the only possessions he attributed to Gregorio were his Bible, globe, world map, and bed.³⁶⁷ Furthermore, the

³⁶² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa”, 135r.

³⁶³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza”, 228r.-228v.

³⁶⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza”, 228v.

³⁶⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de José de Vides”, 115r.

³⁶⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 272v.

³⁶⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 271v.-273v.

Franciscan revealed curiosity concerning the way Gregorio interpreted God's words, being surprised by the argumentation Gregorio used, which went well beyond the literal and dogmatic readings available in the official Catholic library.

Gregorio became magnetic to both regular and secular clerics: as a layman, he embodied in practice the religiosity they had learned about only in theory. Moreover, he was like a mirror where all could see their own faults, but he was also simultaneously a powerful example. At the very least, this is what Losa suggests; as does the message conveyed by the diverse witnesses in the beatification process.

4.2.4 A *puer senex* becoming a *homo viator*

As we shall examine in detail in the third part of this thesis, Gregorio's life in Iberia has long been an unsolvable mystery. The less Losa knew about it, the more he could fill in the gaps using a traditional *topos* in western hagiography: the *puer senex*. Fondness for this archetype is observable already with the Greeks and Romans, who praised the child's figure that knew how to learn, to behave, and even to think with the wisdom of an elder.³⁶⁸ The recovery of the classics following the Italian Renaissance paired with a long tradition of storytelling that passed down these literary models through the narratives of the exemplary lives of saints. Surely a particular sort of attitude was widely spread, commented upon, discussed and imitated in the Iberian world in which Gregorio and Francisco were born and raised.

Miguel de Santiago, a Spanish scholar of the history of education, who has investigated the pedagogical, thus social, role the Catholic Church has had over time, states:

Spanish mysticism, influenced in turn by German and Flemish mysticism (through the works of Eckhart, Tauler, Ruusbroeck, Kempis, to name the most prominent), has a tendency to unite passive contemplation with feverous activism, oriented towards the salvation of souls through

³⁶⁸ A. J. Fustigière, "Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folklore dans l'Hagiographie primitive" in *Wiener Studien*, 73, (1960), 123-152.

charity. Also, despite the striking individualism of Spanish mystics (not including here “Illuminism” or “Quietism”, and their heterodox deviations), they tried to popularize and communicate their religious experiences with the explicit purpose of indoctrinating their readers. This did not prevent them from using a direct language, nor from taking advantage of the Renaissance’s aesthetical conquests. The ascetical-mystical thematic was cultivated almost exclusively in the milieus of the religious orders: through an “affective” current (amongst Augustinians and Franciscans), through an “intellectual” current (amongst Dominicans and Jesuits), and through a current that harmonized the previous two (amongst the Carmelites, who represent the most authentic sector of Spanish mysticism).³⁶⁹

This type of world view is commonly portrayed in books, images, and notably, in the experiences of various “religious” apprentices of that time:

Two key sentences of Erasmian thought accurately defined the paths that were able to be taken by reformation doctrines in Europe: *omnia incipiant sapere Christum* (may all things start with understanding Christ). Based on this interpretation, theologians, preachers, and mystics such as Santa Teresa de Jesús, San Juan de la Cruz, and Fray Luis de León, presented to their readers the pedagogy of the divine value of the human being, as well as the access to God through contemplation or through the intimacy of domestic work. Based on another of Erasmus’s doctrines: *non scholae sed vitae discimus* (we do not learn to know, but to live), the Church strove to bring to those who did not have access to the sciences other means of cultural attainment, giving emphasis to major issues concerning life and death, and the customary codes of Christian interpretation of men’s social, familial, and personal behaviours. The channels that

³⁶⁹ My translation of: “*La mística española, influida por la de los alemanes y flamencos (Eckhart, Tauler, Ruysbroeck, Kempis, etc.), tiene una tendencia a unir la contemplación pasiva con un fervoroso activismo, orientado a la salvación de las almas mediante la caridad. Y, pese al individualismo acusado de los místicos españoles (no hablamos aquí del ‘iluminismo’ ni del ‘quietismo’ con sus desviaciones heterodoxas), ellos intentaron popularizar y comunicar sus experiencias religiosas en un claro propósito de adoctrinar a sus lectores. Ello no les impidió abandonar un lenguaje directo y aprovecharse de las conquistas estéticas del Renacimiento. La temática ascético-mística se cultivó casi con exclusividad en los ambientes de las órdenes-religiosas: en una corriente ‘afectiva’ (los agustinos y franciscanos), e una corriente ‘intelectual’ (los dominicos y jesuitas), o en una corriente armonizadora de las anteriores (los carmelitas, que representan el sector más genuino de la mística española).*”, in Miguel de Santiago, “Enseñanza no formal y instrumentos pedagógicos: La Literatura Religiosa” in Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, (coord.), *Historia de la acción educadora de la Iglesia en España, Edades Antigua, Media y Moderna*, Vol. 1 (España: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995), 876-877.

were most appropriate for this alphabetising and educational task were the Word and the Image.³⁷⁰

Paradoxically, contextualising the use of the *puer senex* archetype does not particularly enlighten us in the case of Gregorio Lopez, given that his upbringing (as described by Losa) and the conditions that were available to children of his epoch were not unusual. By looking at the chronicles produced by the religious orders of New Spain, we find multiple examples of priests, monks and missionaries who were educated inside monasteries, far from their families, and from what we could now describe as a formal education.

For now, it might be worth mentioning how in *Vida's* first chapters – in which Losa narrates Gregorio's first years in Iberia and the West Indies – we can identify some reticence concerning the presentation (or omission) of his sources of information. "A grave and credible person" is how Losa describes his source regarding Gregorio's escape to Navarra as a child; with a "certain friend" Gregorio discussed his vision of crossing the Atlantic; and an anonymous "they" told the biographer the value of the stuff the then young man gave away in alms at the port of Veracruz.³⁷¹ We may wonder why Losa omitted their names, especially considering that, one page later, we find the names of Gregorio's first employers, expressly, those of notary San [sic: Juan] Román, and secretary, Antonio de Turcios (one of the most powerful men of New Spain at the time), as well as a transcribed letter from his first host in México City, Luis de Villanueva Zapata (officer appointed by the king, as *oidor de la Audiencia*). Losa's sources, as we shall see,

³⁷⁰ My translation of: "Dos frases claves del pensamiento erasmiano definían con acierto las líneas por donde pudieran ir las doctrinas reformadoras en Europa: *omnia incipient sapere Christum* (que todas las cosas tengan connotaciones cristianas). Desde esta interpretación los teólogos, los predicadores y los místicos como Santa Teresa de Jesús, San Juan de la Cruz y Fray Luis de León trataron de presentar a sus lectores la pedagogía del valor divino de lo humano, el acceso a Dios desde la alta contemplación o desde la intimidad de los trabajos caseros. Desde otra constante doctrinal del mismo Erasmo: (no aprendemos para saber, sino para vivir), la Iglesia trató de equiparar a los no favorecidos por las ciencias con otros medios sustitutivos y formadores de la cultura, poniendo de relieve los grandes problemas decisivos de la vida y la muerte, los códigos de interpretación habitual cristiana para el comportamiento social, familiar y personal entre los hombres. Los cauces más apropiados para esta tarea alfabetizadora y educativa de experiencia vital fueran la palabra y la imagen." in Bartolomé Martínez, "Las escuelas de primeras letras" in Bartolomé Martínez, (coord.), *op. cit.*, 616-617.

³⁷¹ Losa, *Life*, 4-7.

differ in authenticity and authority, also bringing forth the limitations arising from his knowledge and disposal of facts.

Álvaro Huerga and Antonio Rubial García already analyzed the idea of Gregorio Lopez as a travelling man; as a pilgrim that perfectly embodied the adventures of the desert monks and walked their way towards God.³⁷² How was Losa to explain Gregorio's constant movement, starting with his suggestive vision in Guadalupe prompting the young boy to cross the Atlantic? Regardless, the biographer was able to do so in a thorough manner, having been able to justify those movements from 1579 onwards as resulting from Gregorio's social and health problems, consequently leading to his search for lands with more temperate weather.³⁷³ Before that, Losa resorted to the *topos* that Gregorio was avoiding fame, rejecting the burden that came with his notability, escaping both praises and critiques, always guided by the hand of God, showing him every next move.³⁷⁴

Francisco Losa exposes the motivations and critiques behind some of Gregorio's movements, which were usually related to a form of socio-professional persecution by local religious agents. However, Gregorio's drives do not come across that easily, given that his actions were "divinely" inspired. In a polemic but revealing declaration concerning the *Apocalypse*, Gregorio seems to aspire to a society of *homo viators*, when he writes: "*Come, Lord Jesus, and take us from this pilgrimage to our homeland, where we shall praise you, the Father and the Holy Spirit for eternity!*"³⁷⁵ The apocalypticism in Gregorio's words shall be examined further on, though it inevitably is connected to his choice of life.

³⁷² Huerga, "Edición", 17-21; Rubial García, *La santidad*, 71-72.

³⁷³ Losa, *Vida*, 27, 28.

³⁷⁴ Losa, *Vida*, 14v., 17-18, 21v.

³⁷⁵ My translation of: "*Ven, Señor Jesús, y sácanos de esta peregrinación para nuestra patria, donde te alabaremos con el Padre y el Espíritu Santo eternamente!*", Lopez, , *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, 286.

4.2.5 The hagiographical confessor

Gregorio was either mad or heretical to some of his contemporaries. Francisco Losa inclusively does not hide how he detained a priest from denouncing Gregorio to the Inquisition for not having a rosary and appearing to be a "heretical Lutheran"³⁷⁶; nor does he refrain from referring how the Spanish soldiers in Nueva Galicia similarly judged the solitary during his wanderings amongst the wild Chichimeca³⁷⁷. When Gregorio Lopez was examined by order of the archbishop of México, Pedro Moya de Contreras, in 1579, Francisco Losa became spiritually attracted to this enigmatic figure. Lopez longed for solitude, and, eventually, both Losa and Lopez found the perfect place for it in Santa Fe of México. From May 22nd 1589 onwards, Gregorio began to live in Santa Fe, but it took Francisco Losa some time to get permission to accompany Gregorio. How unusual it must have seemed for a curate to want to join a layman, no matter how special he seemed to be.

Losa claims his superiors "highly doubted whether it was fit to allow [him] to retire to a solitary life"³⁷⁸, but after seven months, Losa got a leave. His purpose was clear: Losa was determined to "accurately observe all of his [Gregorio's] actions and words, closely watching him night and day to find out if through familiarity and everyday conversation [he] could discover anything contrary to the good opinion [he] had of his eminent Virtue".³⁷⁹ Had he changed his mind, we probably would not have Gregorio's biography. In any case, Francisco Losa appears to have accompanied Gregorio to examine and control his activities, giving off an aura typical of a confessor/mentor/protector.

As Jodi Bilinkoff has pointed out, when carefully analysing the relationship between biographer and biographee used by Losa, his model does not quite fit reality: Losa's perspective was that of the inquisitor, the examiner of conscience, his status as such modifying our view of his text, as well as impelling us to include other sources so as to complete the image Losa built around himself and his relation with Gregorio.

³⁷⁶ Losa, *Life*, 25-27, 29.

³⁷⁷ Losa, *Life*, 11.

³⁷⁸ Losa, *Life*, 49.

³⁷⁹ Losa, *Life*, 49.

Remarkably, Losa's authority as a biographer is undermined when we read testimonies such as Juan de Santiago's. According to the Franciscan, Gregorio Lopez felt that Francisco Losa did not understand his inner path and spiritual work: "and so said to this witness the servant of God that no matter the many years Francisco Losa ate and came to communicate with [him] and nonetheless he didn't understand the internal path and the work of his spirit as much as if they were apart a thousand leagues".³⁸⁰ This, in turn, was perhaps a consequence of Losa's own intention to keep permanent watch over all of Gregorio's actions. As confessor, Losa continually reminds us of his perceived failure, having never been able to obtain from Gregorio any guilt, repentance, fault or mistake. As a mentor, we seem to have many more references of Losa resorting to Lopez's wisdom than the other way around, although the curate facilitated his companion's access to certain books and new readings, possibly Gregorio's greatest addiction. As protector, Losa's presence certainly ensured a life without much room for any deviations, his constant surveillance having maintained the critical voices at bay, even if he was not able to avoid visits who were considered less appropriate, nor convince Gregorio to perform unwanted pleasantries.

Bilinkoff ends up concluding how some of *Vida's* nuances transformed the *topos* into a bluff: Losa was not as close to Gregorio as he wished.³⁸¹ From the testimonies for the canonisation, we also learn that Francisco Losa was not Gregorio's only confessor. Francisco Suárez recalls talking to the Mercedarian Fray Juan de Sales Carvajal to whom Gregorio confessed while at the Hospital of Oaxtepec.³⁸² Moreover, according to the Mercedarian, Gregorio's soul was one of "God's purest and most holy". Fernando Rivera also recalls how when Gregorio went to the Dominicans' convent in Tacubaya, near Santa

³⁸⁰ My translation of "Y anssi dijo a este testigo el siervo de Dios que con haver tantos años que comia y benia y comunicava con el Padre Francisco Lossa y tan de hordinario no entendia el camino interior y obra de su espíritu más que si estuvieran apartados dos mil leguas", in BNE, *Recoletos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 295r.

³⁸¹ "Losa the hagiographer makes these observations in the context of enumerating López's saintly attributes, of course, but one wonders if these words do not betray a certain disappointment by Losa the man. Nevertheless, as conversion narrative these reflections have the effect of rendering the priest's renunciation even more dramatic and selfless. The once comfortable, respected and 'somewhat arrogant' curate had become the humble servant of the Servant of God", Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 121-124.

³⁸² BNE, *Recoletos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suarez", 269v.

Fe, he confessed to Fray Vicente Calvo.³⁸³ Both, along with Francisco Losa, were amazed by how Gregorio confessed: “while others would beat their breasts saying ‘*I have sinned*’, he [Gregorio] would affirm *by God’s mercy I have not offended Him in any way*”.³⁸⁴

How Gregorio regarded the concepts of sin and confession was one of the hot topics many brought up to discuss with him. “Is it possible for a spiritual person not to venially sin in all their life?”, questioned friar Juan de Santiago.³⁸⁵ Gregorio replied by reminding him that God had not provided Christ’s model with the impossibility of following his example, so long as one respected the first commandment of loving God above anything else, one would usually be free from venial sins and in a position to grow in “love and perfection”. Santiago counter-argued Gregorio’s gospel-based answer with the Doctors’ of the Church consideration that the “righteous fall seven times a day because of venial sins”, Gregorio insisting that the practice of many spiritual men showed that we all could fall while remaining righteous, just as the apostles did after the fall of the Holy Ghost, which meant that the Doctors’ words were not to be taken literally.³⁸⁶

*

Losa spends most of his text justifying Gregorio’s constant, yet internal praying, during which he proclaimed to be with God. Similarly, when we read the testimonies for the canonisation process, we find multiple references to Gregorio’s “ways with God”, a topic certainly inspired by the reading of Losa’s hagiographical account. The constant mental prayers, the capacity to read people’s hearts, and the wisdom to counsel both clergy and laity alike, were all qualities perceived as given by God to a spirit who experienced constant contact with divinity.

La Vida que hizo el Siervo de Dios[...] principalmente en el pueblo de Santa Fe is undoubtedly the most complete biographical work that Francisco Losa was able to write, having had the privilege of being present during the “rare” occasions during which he

³⁸³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Fernando Rivera”, 186v.

³⁸⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Fernando Rivera”, 186v.

³⁸⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 300v.

³⁸⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 300v. -301r.

"learnt from [Gregorio] himself many of those things mentioned" in the book. Nonetheless, the curate acknowledges the impossibility of recording every detail of the time they spent together, alerting the reader to the fact that, "that which is here related, in comparison with what is omitted, is very little, and also those admirable things which I [Losa] observed in him [Lopez] can hardly be well ranged in a historical discourse".³⁸⁷ At the same time, the book also comes off in part as Losa's autobiography, which "succeeds in constructing a text that relates his own story of conversion, service, and sacrifice as well as that of his subject".³⁸⁸ Losa was also assuming and assuring his exemplarity, and by remaining in Santa Fe, declaring himself guardian of his companion's memory and beliefs.³⁸⁹ Notwithstanding, it is interesting that a layman who elicited so many mixed feelings amongst members of the clergy, became their "poster boy" for the illumination of other laymen and women. This brings us to the question how necessary for the Catholic Church and Novohispanic society it was to make Gregorio a saint.

Chapter 5. Because living saints were present – Santa Fe: 1596-1589

A biography published by a secular priest from México City during the beginning of the seventeenth century, in addition to the testimonies, gathered for Gregorio's canonisation process, together aided in the construction of the figure of the first American hermit. Other sources are in agreement about what concerns the representation of the religious layman, although they cast some shadows on the clean orthodox image of the New World Catholic hero. When reading both *Vida* and the testimonies for the canonisation of Gregorio Lopez, the narrative sometimes comes across as being too superficial, and the homogeneity of discourses as being only apparently so. Gregorio was indeed looked up as a living saint. What can we come to know beyond Losa's story? Was Losa's narrative written with any particular social or political message in mind?

³⁸⁷ Losa, *Life*, 50.

³⁸⁸ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 123.

³⁸⁹ Losa, *Vida*, "Prologue".

We must keep comparing Losa's story with the canonisation process's documentation, as well as bringing them together with other material, especially the Inquisitorial processes of the *Alumbrados*, and material related to the Carvajals. Moreover, we may always examine the vast catalogue of sixteenth-century Mexican notarial records, thus analysing the networks outside of their ecclesiastical contexts. The chronicles belonging to the various religious orders also help us better understand the context of events, places and people in Gregorio's biography. By consulting the catalogues housed at the notary offices of México, the Archivo General de la Nación and the Archivo General de Indias, we can note the movements of those same people from Iberia to New Spain. Documentation from the Morelia Cathedral Archive also add some information regarding those same people concerning the period at Santa Fe.³⁹⁰

Firstly, it is impossible to refer to Santa Fe, without mentioning Vasco de Quiroga, for many the perfect example of the humanist spirit, while for others, merely just another dictator. This secular man travelled from Europe to New Spain, as *oidor* of the Mexican *Audiencia*, where he nominated bishop of Michoacán, and where he deepened his reading of Thomas More's *Utopía*. Also while in México, Quiroga began his *pueblo-hospital* project, during the 1530s. Juan de Grijalva elucidates us regarding the house Gregorio Lopez inhabited in Santa Fe:

[...] whenever he [Vasco de Quiroga] could, got away from his affairs at the *Audiencia*, and went to Santa Fe, giving himself over to prayer and other virtuous exercises: there he built a house by a spring, the one that flowed into the city; which due to its location and disposition, as well as its memory of the spiritual men who had passed through there, elevates the spirits, bringing consolation to those who visit it; [there] the sky is so serene, the shade so fresh, the air so pure, the water so clear, the silence so admirable, that everything seems like a sign from heaven, eliciting contemplation.³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ Archivo Histórico de la Catedral de Morelia, *Santa Fe*, 6-6.2-3-104 (rolo 82), 6-6.2-1-178; *Actas de Cabildo de la Catedral de Morelia* – volume 1.

³⁹¹ My translation of: "[...] *todo el tiempo que podía [Vasco de Quiroga], huía de los negocios de la Audiencia, y se iba a Santa Fe, dándole a la oración, y a otros ejercicios virtuosos: edificó allí una casa en un nacimiento de agua, la que va a la ciudad; que por el sitio, y disposición de ellas, y por la memoria de tan espirituales varones, como allí han estado levantan el espíritu, y causan particular consuelo a todos los que entran en ellas; tiene el cielo allí una serenidad tan grande, las sombras tan frescas, los aires tan puros, las aguas tan claras, el silencio tan admirable,*

When Francisco Losa discovered the house, located near the spring waters of Santa Fe, Quiroga was no longer alive, the diocese of Michoacán having inherited its administration. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the place became a source of dispute between the diocese of Michoacán (where Quiroga had built most of the other *pueblo-hospitals*, and where he was remembered to this day) and the archdiocese of México.

Indeed, both the house and its location (still visitable to this day) invite for contemplation, Gregorio and Francisco Losa probably having felt that it was the right place for the *recogimiento* the former needed. In 1589, when Francisco Losa and Gregorio Lopez went to see the house in Santa Fe, Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa (professor at the University of México and canon of the Mexican Cathedral) was rector of the Santa Fe chapel. It is unlikely that Francisco Losa found it difficult to access Hinojosa and to ask him for permission to convert the house Quiroga had built for his sojourns into Gregorio's residence. In fact, Hinojosa not only gave his permission, requesting "that the Indians provide him with food at the expense of the Hospital erected there, which also belongs to the Church of Michoacán".³⁹²

The hagiographer thoroughly describes the daily routine at the hermitage: with the first rays of sunlight, Gregorio would get up and read the Bible for a quarter of an hour, also mentally organising the rest of his day; in the mornings, mostly, he carried out his internal exercises (which Losa was not able to understand whether they were a form of "prayer, meditation or contemplation", on both "sorrowful and joyful things") in no fixed place, for he did it in his chambers, in the corridor, as well as in the garden; mealtime was at eleven o'clock, and depending on whether or not there were guests, conversation would be more or less prolonged, varying according to the degree of his visitors' oral contributions, after which he would return to his chambers; in the afternoon he also received visitors, taking part in conversations that could last for hours in a row, either that

que todo está causando barruntos del cielo; y todo convida a la contemplación", in Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de Nueva España* (México: Ed. Porrúa, 1985), 44-46.

³⁹² Losa, *Life*, 47.

or he would spend time answering his correspondence; finally, before sunset, he would return to his chambers, where he remained until the following morning.³⁹³

In exchange for his residence at Santa Fe, receiving, hosting and helping people became his way of paying back for that privilege. Since the Hospital of Santa Fe provided all his necessities, he rejected all sorts of gifts. More or less willingly, Gregorio devoted much of his time to receiving visitors, Losa having managed the whole affair as well as and when he could. We have already seen how Losa's primary desire for joining Gregorio in Santa Fe was to observe the "hermit" and to find any ensuing flaws. No matter Losa eventually changed his mind about the holy man, how must Gregorio have felt about it? The well-intentioned priest protected him, and in the end, everyone seemed to agree on the benefits that came with Gregorio's advice, discussions and whatever other activities he carried out in Santa Fe, in addition to his spiritual exercises. Nonetheless, he knew that he was under controlled surveillance. Was this surveillance the ideal condition for Gregorio to have been under in Santa Fe? Moreover, was Losa actually in control of Gregorio?

5.1 Transcribing the unconventional into *Vida*

Luis Muñoz attempted to connect the dots when he compared the data of the canonisation's informative process with the biography, matching the stories of the people who starred in Francisco Losa's text to their names.³⁹⁴ This was not a difficult task, given Losa's lively descriptions, and the fact that the memories of those people were still shared by many. "Three Doctors of Theology", a "religious man, professor of the Holy Scriptures", "learned clergymen", "preachers", a "lawyer that was married and now a religious man", a "religious man of great spirit", a "priest wary of things that touched the spirit", someone "devoted to the Virgin", "six and more spiritual men", a "sapient and devout religious man, a friend of [Gregorio's]", a "spiritual and learned religious man". The list of episodes mentioned by Losa – which Gregorio's biographers would compliment with some of the

³⁹³ Losa, *Vida*, 30v.-34r.; Losa, *Life*, 48r.-56r.

³⁹⁴ Losa, Muñoz, *Vida*, 1630.

missing pieces via means of the accounts of the witnesses in the canonisation process – goes on.

José de Vides is an excellent example of this: when he first started visiting Gregorio in Santa Fe, José was still a layman, working as a lawyer for the *Real Audiencia y Chancillería*, thus being very likely that Vides and the “lawyer that was married and now a religious man”, are the same person. José de Vides begins his testimony in 1620 by declaring how important the communication he had kept with Gregorio in Santa Fe for five years had been, having been interrupted when he decided to enter the Company of Jesus.³⁹⁵ In the testimonies, we can sense how varyingly people experienced contact with Gregorio Lopez. Some went to see him to witness something akin to a freak show. Contrastingly, many others seemed to elevate the hermitage of Santa Fe to a place of embodied devotion. José de Vides proclaims how, on both holidays and working days, he would visit Gregorio in Santa Fe, whereas most other people seemed more interested in “bullfights and other recreations”.³⁹⁶ The comparison seems again to indicate that there was an element of “entertainment” that surrounded Gregorio Lopez.

Jesuit, Juan Gallegos, recalls how his Brother, Antonio Arias, lector of Theology at the University of México and whose name was used by Losa to falsify declarations for the process, convinced him to go to Santa Fe to visit Gregorio, in what felt like a school visit: “you will now see a living example of those ancient anchorites that used to populate the deserts”. Juan de Gallegos was in Santa Fe for eight days, “to watch all his actions and words”, observing Gregorio, his routine, movements, and conversations (with Antonio Arias, as well as with a Carmelite and an Augustinian, for example), having returned to México feeling satisfied.³⁹⁷ Gallegos was particularly stricken by Gregorio’s “mortification of the senses”, having even asked Losa if Gregorio was not bothered by the noise around him, given that he appeared to be in constant mental prayer. Gallegos opted to ask Losa, not just because he did not dare to ask Gregorio himself, but also because of Losa’s

³⁹⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de José de Vides”, 113r.-113v.

³⁹⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de José de Vides”, 117r.

³⁹⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan Gallegos”, 204v.-205r.

availability to answer.³⁹⁸ Once, Gallegos witnessed Antonio de Arias question Gregorio about his musical taste, the solitary man having disconcerted the Jesuits by saying that he liked good music, but that his hearing was so damaged that he had to restrain his listening efforts, which included listening to music. During those eight days, Gallegos did not for once see Gregorio weep, moan, complain nor utter any passionate words as any man of flesh and blood would. After having revealed something that was unsettling his mind, Gregorio provided Gallegos with some words of comfort, and with those same words, Gallegos left Santa Fe and never came back.³⁹⁹ Juan de Gallegos's testimony reflects the sort of dynamics that were present at the Santa Fe hermitage. Nonetheless, although he spent some time there, we sense that he never really spent time with Gregorio, claiming to either have heard things from Losa or commenting on the conversations he witnessed between Gregorio and other interlocutors.

Another witness who claims having known Gregorio Lopez during his time in Santa Fe is Juan de Valdivieso Turcio. *Alcalde mayor* and *capitán de guerra* of Guantepec, Juan often passed through Santa Fe to meet his uncle, Pedro de Goñi y Peralta, who owned some lands five leagues away from the *pueblo hospital*, affirming he sometimes stayed for six or eight days with Gregorio Lopez, and that in their contacts – beyond Gregorio's praiseworthy habits, virtue and composure, "which frightened those who dealt with him and who revered him so much" – he felt that Gregorio "knew what was in his heart".⁴⁰⁰ For Juan, Gregorio appeared to be "a man from heaven", who never spoke unless asked to, not answering questions he felt were made just out of plain curiosity. However, when he did choose to answer, he would only use the words that he deemed necessary to satisfy his listeners.⁴⁰¹

Gaspar de Praves, presbyter at the benefice of Tenango, Taxco, shows us the proximity and relation between some of the witnesses in the beatification process. In 1590, Gaspar had been appointed to the chaplaincy of Santa Fe by the rector of the *pueblo hospital*, Doctor Ortiz de Hinojosa. In the four months during which Gaspar served as chaplain at

³⁹⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Gallegos," 203r.-206v.

³⁹⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Gallegos", 202v.-206v.

⁴⁰⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Valdivieso Turcio", 208v.

⁴⁰¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Valdivieso Turcio", 208r.-209r.

Santa Fe, he inevitably heard about Gregorio's presence there, having made it his intent to meet the "holy man". In him, he saw a man who: "[had a] good figure, was gracious to watch with beautiful eyes, charisma, [transmitting] a pleasant calmness for all who stared at him and were marvelled by his modesty and sanctity".⁴⁰² During those four months, Gaspar ate with Gregorio on festive days, and witnessed the "pilgrimage" of both secular and regular learned men who came from México City to expose their doubts to Gregorio, a man who had not studied *latinidad ni ciencia alguna* ("Latinity, nor any other science") but who, according to Gaspar, was able to appease all who came to him, including himself. Gregorio could answer five or six different questions using the same words, which were enough for many of these learned men, who considered him as possessing a "natural light".⁴⁰³

Juan de Santiago informs us that it was another Franciscan, expressly, Manuel de Reynoso, who introduced him to Gregorio Lopez.⁴⁰⁴ Pedro Sarmiento recalls how many "religious" men, especially Dominicans and Jesuits, as well as learned laymen, went to Santa Fe to question him regarding things related to the Scriptures, and how satisfied they all felt when they left the hermitage.⁴⁰⁵ Gregorio's daily routine was thus spent receiving, as well as informally and unofficially guiding people in several different ways. Gonzalo de Salazar, before becoming bishop of Yucatán, was prior at the Convent of Capulhuac, in Toluca Valley, four leagues away from Santa Fe. Although Salazar had heard about Gregorio many years before, while serving at the monastery, during which he often travelled to México City to take care of "important business" concerning the priory, he had to go past the hermitage in which Gregorio resided; Salazar referred to it as an *estalaxe*, a sort of hostel, recalling many visits to Gregorio Lopez, not only on his own, but also in the company of *religiosos* (probably members of his order) who would accompany him on his trips to the capital.⁴⁰⁶ Having once asked Gregorio to serve as intermediary between himself and God, Gonzalo received one of Gregorio's typical

⁴⁰² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 261r.

⁴⁰³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 260v.-264v.

⁴⁰⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago," 271v.

⁴⁰⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Sarmiento", 217v.

⁴⁰⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 252v. -253r.

straight answers, refusing his request, in addition to informing Gonzalo that he did not need him. Especially since the latter had an aunt recollected at the Monastery of *Santa Concepción* able to do just as well that which he was asking for, Gonzalo having had no idea that Gregorio was so well informed.⁴⁰⁷

At the monastery mentioned above also lived Isabel de la Natividad, who Juan de Zapata asserts had a spiritual relation with Gregorio Lopez.⁴⁰⁸ As revealed by Gonzalo in his testimony, Zapata once inquired Gregorio regarding his homeland and who his parents were, describing what ensued as follows, Gregorio's spirit burned, and with a severe face he answered: *My homeland is heaven, and my father is God, just like He taught us when he said, 'you shall not call anyone Father on this Earth, for One is your Father and your Master, and He is in Heaven.'*⁴⁰⁹

Nevertheless, some never gained the courage to address him. On one occasion, when Gonzalo de Salazar was at his priory in Capulhuac, a beneficed priest arrived and told him how afraid he was "to pass through Santa Fe and see the servant of God [because] one day he requested that [Gregorio] would entrust him to God, to which he very severely replied, *that it would be better he serves God and leave the things he was doing and that he should appease himself and search for his soul.*"⁴¹⁰ The priest was so confused and frightened with Gregorio's answer, that he did not dare re-approach Gregorio without first adjusting his conscience, having witnessed first-hand Gregorio's capacity to look into one's soul. Could that priest have been Juan de Zapata, future bishop of Chiapas? In 1593 Zapata found himself in Santa Fe, revealing that he feared the "solitary man" would be able to fathom his imperfections and lack of virtue, without any regard for his high-ranking religious authority. Zapata confessed to be felt puzzled by the fact that a layman like Gregorio was viewed as a "master of sanctity by so many, that he was able to reprehend his [Zapata's] lack of it".⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 263v-264r.

⁴⁰⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Zapata", 244v.

⁴⁰⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 254r.-255v.

⁴¹⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 254v.-255r..

⁴¹¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Zapata", 245r.

The visits to Santa Fe during Gregorio's life, especially by laypeople, reveal Losa's role in this "production". Marcos de Berriaza, who was married to Losa's niece, ate many times with the two companions in Santa Fe, observing many of the conversations described both in the biography and the testimonies.⁴¹² Pedro Bernal Cermeño, a tailor from Puebla, having heard about Gregorio Lopez, found a way to get Losa's approval to meet the man in person. Pedro Bernal affirms how "before he went to see him [Gregorio Lopez], he had made himself available to confess and to go to communion at the village's church, at the hands of Francisco Losa", and that when he got to the hermitage, Francisco Losa turned to Gregorio and said: "this is our brother, Mr. Pedro Bernal, and he comes from Puebla to see Your Mercy", evidently patronising the visitor.⁴¹³ In his testimony, Pedro also recalls how Gregorio advised him on the use of the *Pater Noster* as a meditative exercise. Pedro describes in detail the place as we can still see it to this day. Gregorio then went back inside, while the tailor went to the garden, and fifteen minutes later, after a nap, Gregorio called him up to the hut, where they continued speaking in the corridor. They discussed the prayer for a little longer before other visitors began to arrive; Pedro having praised Gregorio for his wisdom, who in turn redirected the graces he received towards God. Pedro also refers in his testimony yet another of Gregorio's peculiar answers: after having communicated to Gregorio "a defect [he] felt within himself", Gregorio replied that "sin is to give a cuff to a child, we're all sinners, take some holy water and say the *pater noster*, and take communion".⁴¹⁴

Gregorio's house in Santa Fe became a source of entertainment for many people, often at the invitation of Francisco Losa. Sometimes they knew what they were going to see, while other times it appears they were surprised by what they saw. Even those who knew what sort of things they could count on seeing sometimes did not know how to deal with what they encountered. Did they expect some other type of experience, more externalised, more accessible to grasp and categorise, like the raptures, visions, and ecstasies typical of their time's mystics, as they believed his saintly status was probably

⁴¹² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Marcos de Berriaza", 227r., 228v.

⁴¹³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Cermeño", 163v. -164r.

⁴¹⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Cermeño", 164r.-165v.

connected with attending for some sensational experience? Gregorio and Santa Fe became a thing to be seen by the religious elite of the capital: a freak, a layman whose alternative lifestyle was up for show, and unbeknownst to Gregorio, he was its principal entertainer.

Surprising, maybe only to our contemporary interest, is the testimony for the apostolic process of Alfonso Segura Monroy, where we may read:

Remembers mainly to have known an Indian called Ventura that resided in Santa Fe, which must have been more than sixty years old, when this witness met him, and that he went to visit him in the conjuncture of being sick, in company of the Licenciado Don Pedro de Vargas priest and rector of the said town of Santa Fe, that told this witness the fore said priest how he venerated the mentioned Indian for he had been instructed and raised by the servant of God [Gregorio] and because he was a very virtuous person and that was public and commonly said in the town, and it seems to the witness that opinion corresponded seen how he saw and dealt with that Indian for his conversation was very modest and of spiritual things, and that he taught the Christian doctrine to Indian children and his looks were very modest and penitent and so it seemed to the witness that he believes it correct that he [Ventura] recalls seeing alive the servant of God and that for he remembers as he did, for forty years have passed since the said Indian died.⁴¹⁵

What can we conclude from this testimony? Did Losa and all the informative witnesses fail to mention that Gregorio "instructed and raised" children in Santa Fe because they believed it was already implicit that it was part of his religious work? Alternatively, was this work an isolated action rather than a continuous activity? Alfonso Monroy's source

⁴¹⁵ My translation of: "*Si ricorda particolarmente avere conosciuto un Indiano chiamato Ventura, che risiedeva nel luogo de Santa Fe, che per quanto li pare passava li sessanta anni, quando lo conobe esso Testimonio, che essendo andato a visitarlo in congiuntura, che stava infermo in compagnia del Licenciado Don Pietro de Vargas Sacerdote Rettore del detto luogo di Santa Fe, per averli detto ad esso Testimonio, il detto Licenciado, che venerava il menzionato Indiano, perchè era stato instruito, e allevato dal detto Servo di Dio, e perchè era persona molto virtuosa, e che ciò era publico, e commune nel medesimo luogo, e li pare ad esso Testimonio, che quella opinione corrispondesse a quello, che sperimentó quando vidde, e trattó il detto Indiano, attesoche la sua conversazione era molto modesta, e di cose spirituali, e che insegnava Dottrina Cristiana a molti Fanciulli Indiani, & il suo aspetto era molto modesto, e penitente, per quel che parve ad esso Testimonio, che tiene per certo, che avrebe visto vivo il detto Servo di Dio, per ricordarsi, come si ricorda, che sono più di quarant'anni, che morí il detto Indiano [...]*", BNF, *Fond Romain*, Gregorio Lopez, item 2954: *Responsio ad novissimas animadversiones r.p. fidei promotoris super dubio*, "Testis VII. D. Alphonsus de Segura Monroy", 1265r.

was one of those children, expressly, an Indian child named Ventura also revered for his virtues and for catechising Indians in the *pueblo-hospital*. Gregorio's pupil seems to have been brought up in his likeness, having been described as "virtuous", of "modest conversation" concerning "things of the spirit", as well as, "humble and penitent". When Gregorio was not spending large amounts of time with his visitors and/or with Losa's guests – as opposed to the little time he spent at the table, to the amazement of many, on his small and short meals – Gregorio was immersed in his intellectual and spiritual activities. Still, what more do we know about this?

5.1.1 Politics of discretion

In what concerns social interactions, Gregorio Lopez indeed revealed an unusual versatility in the broad spectrum of guests he received at Santa Fe. From Viceroy Luis de Velasco, who visited his hermitage a few times, to the women and native peoples of Santa Fe and its surrounding county, "who much loved and respected the servant of God"⁴¹⁶, Gregorio found himself amidst a routine where he had to deal with not only religious professionals, but with people of all kinds, appeasing their doubts as best he could. By looking into these people within the context of Gregorio's story, we are better able to understand the unusual dynamics presented in Losa's portrayal of the servant of God.

Serving God freed Gregorio from serving others, whether people or institutions. It did not, however, prevent him from being the "living saint" who acted as a bridge between the world and God, something which he believed himself to be, and so did others. Moreover, whether or not we believe this to have been true, such privileged contact with God burdened Gregorio with the task of helping those who believed in it. Despite this, the conversations Gregorio partook in at Santa Fe did not only concern spiritual matters, as usual in hermits. If this had been so, Francisco Losa would not have had the chance to

⁴¹⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 264v.

talk with Gregorio on his views about public matters, as evidenced in the following passage:

He likewise ever defended Princes, Governors and Judges, both ecclesiastical and Civil, with great courage and humility in their subjects' presence; and, when any disparaged their government, replied: *If you were in their place, possibly you would not do so well. Who hath sent us to meddle with the Government?* And, if they persisted, affirming that what the Princes did ought to be reformed, he replied; *you should tell them so: for what good doth it here?* To some that thought themselves spiritual, yet were always detracting, he said: *I do not account him spiritual, nor yet Vertuous that judgeth or speaks evil of another.* He was wont most commonly on these occasions to say: *this thing cannot be remedied here; speak no more of it.* And by his gravity, he added such life and weight to his words, that a certain Person of quality, discoursing of the King's government, was exceedingly abashed by Gregory's saying only; *The king hath as sharp an understanding as any in Spain and will you reprehend him?* And the foresaid person still admires the great change which those words wrought in him. He made another also, who spoke ill of the government of a certain Lord, to desist, by merely telling him: *You dare not say this in his presence.* He showed great consideration and skill in speaking to everyone in his own employment, to the Husband man, Souldier, Gentleman, and the rest, without taking any from his profession. To this purpose he greatly commended the prudence of *S. John Baptist*, in the Counsell he gave to the souldiers, *to be content with their pay, and do no man any wrong.*⁴¹⁷

This sort of opinions drew many people who were in search of all kinds of answers to Gregorio. Losa informs us that Gregorio was sought by "various important men and women; sometimes in person while other times through writing, letting him in on their affairs, and requesting his counsel and prayers for success thenceforth." Not being able to perform the sacraments, given that he was a layman, Gregorio became an alternative means for the confession of diverse people, his discretion had made him a safe counsellor. Losa must have been well aware of the potentialities of this role, likely having been aware of the need to respect the distance and restraint Lopez had to assume in order to maintain his status as the people's confidant.

⁴¹⁷ Losa, *Life*, 130r.-131r.

One of Losa's highest "trump cards" in what concerns Lopez's visitors, was Luis de Velasco, the younger, who:

[...] out of a singular affection and respect which he bare to Gregory came sometimes to visit him and staid shut up with him two or three hours together. He found him of ability to consult with about his affairs; as well those private concerning his soul, as the general and public, belonging to the governing the Commonweale and kingdom.⁴¹⁸

In the first part, we have already made mention of this relationship, described by Losa in his dedication of the book to Luis de Velasco. What could these two men possibly have discussed, especially concerning "the Commonwealth and the kingdom"? Not having any sources to support this interpretation of these encounters, let me at least bring to the fore two aspects of Gregorio's life that may be of relevance. Firstly, it is highly possible that both could already have known each other on the other side of the Atlantic. Also, they could have met in La Gran Chichimeca, as Gregorio travelled there when Luis de Velasco fought native populations near Zacatecas. Could Gregorio's experience in the region have helped Luis to make the decision, decades later, to finish the Chichimeca War? Regardless, as surprising as their closeness was also the parting of their ways. At some point, though Gregorio "much esteemed the great piety and prudence of the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco", he "intreated him [Luis de Velasco] to forbear visiting him [Gregorio] alledging good reasons for his request".⁴¹⁹ What could have caused Gregorio's estrangement from Velasco? As viceroy, Velasco's presence most certainly was not denied frequently, making us wonder if this could have been, as appears with some other cases, a form of protection from indiscrete eyes and ears. Gregorio seemed to be aware that his conversations were under constant scrutiny and he was possibly protecting himself and his friends from further inquiries.

⁴¹⁸ Losa, *Life*, 55r.

⁴¹⁹ Losa, *Life*, 141r.

5.1.2 Science for wizards

Juan de Santiago helps us imagine Gregorio's probable wariness when he told the Franciscan how Losa appeared to be miles away from understanding his "spiritual path and exercises".⁴²⁰ How could that be? Notwithstanding, even if Juan de Santiago makes us question Losa's capacity to comprehend Lopez's *work*, he also informs us how he was not interested in Gregorio's activities, beyond those which he considered "things of the spirit, prayer and contemplation", affirming:

Once, while in Santa Fe, the saint [Gregorio Lopez] took this witness [Juan de Santiago] to a little home garden which was behind the room where he lived, having shown him some borage plants which were as white as paper, although as rough as the other green ones, having told him that with his care, he had turned them white, and that they were like epithems for the heart, also telling him how he had done this so that this witness would be able to do it as well, and that when their stems were tender, he cut off their heads and gave them to drink, or in his words, filled them with the water and smell of angels, and amber, ebony and bezoar stone, and other things appropriate for the heart. He then tied the stem at the top, and little by little the root of the borage plant began to suck and drink up [the liquid], so that the leaves of the borage plant which had been cared for became white, and from its seeds, others were planted, from whence came all the white borage plants that existed in the home garden at Santa Fe, and that he [Juan de Santiago] knows to exist to this day [1622, when he testified]. This witness heard that Holy Gregorio was a mathematician and astrologer, and that he made globes and maps, which this witness had seen in his room, although he did not discuss this with him [Gregorio], for he was not interested in this nor in his profession, but only in things of the spirit, prayer and contemplation.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ In addition to what was already presented, Jodi Bilinkoff's article on Francisco Losa reveals some of the characteristics of Losa and Gregorio's relation. See Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 121-125.

⁴²¹ My translation of : "[...] *una vez estando en Santa Fe llevó el santo a este testigo a un huertecillo pequeño que estaba detrás del aposento donde vivía y le mostró unas borrajas blancas como papel aunque con la aspereza que las otras verdes y le dijo como con el beneficio que les había hecho las había vuelto blancas y que eran como píctimas para el corazón y le dijo el como lo había hecho para que este testigo lo hiciera y fue que estando los tallos de la borraja tiernos [286] les corto las cabezas y les dio a beber como decía o los inchio de agua de ángeles y olores conficionada con ambar aberniz de piedra bezar (?) y otras cosas apropiadas para el corazón y luego ató el tallo por arriba y poco a poco la raíz de la borraja fue chupando y embebiendo en si con lo cual las ojas de las borrajas en quien hizo este beneficio y añadidas se volvieron blancas y de la semilla que hecharon se sembró y saheron todas las borrajas blancas como las hubo entonces en la huerta de Santa Fe y entiende que las hay hoy*

Gregorio's time in Santa Fe was also spent on his botanical experiences, as well as on other activities which we do not know more about, probably for the same reasons the Franciscan did not want to know about activities that were not spiritual. Losa and the witnesses involved in the informative process knew that the primary goal was to canonise Gregorio, thus sharing information that could sacralise his figure, namely, information concerning his religious *work*. Unfortunately, we do not know too much about his other works, except that he put together a *Cronología Universal*, built his own globes, drew his own maps, designed his own moulds for his letters, and mended his own clothes, the discourse constructed around him having served a particular, intentional purpose.

Nonetheless, in his testimony, Losa confirms Gregorio's desire to share his knowledge, the latter having "told this witness [Losa], that if he knew of some curious and good Christian man, he would teach him how to better care for plants, for the benefit of others".⁴²² Notwithstanding, even if Gregorio was able to pass his knowledge on to others, we have no record of this, although he was undoubtedly a repository of various areas of knowledge, skills and competences (to use current pedagogic terminology). When looking back on his life, we should, however, keep in mind the cumulative process of his own education, regardless of its informal or unofficial nature. Besides, Gregorio was radically engaged in his practices, believing that they were put into motion by God. It was precisely his idea of, and connection with, God that moved most people who sought for advice and consolation.

Although Juan de Santiago might have seemed like the perfect apprentice, at a certain point, the Franciscan interrupted his communication with Gregorio. As he recalls, it all happened one day – by then he was already vicar of the convent at San Francisco, in México – when he went to ask Gregorio "how to maintain continuous pure love for God, as the saint [Gregorio] did all the time, without being hindered by his occupations as

en día. Oyó decir este testigo como hera el santo Gregorio matemático y astrologo y que hizo globos y mapas que este testigo vido en su aposento y este testigo no le trató de esto por no ser inclinado a ello ni su profesión sino siempre cosas de espíritu, oración y contemplación", in BNE Recolectos, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 285v.-286r.

⁴²² BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 23r.

vicar and main master of the convent [...] and his preaching work with the Spanish and the Indians?”. Juan describes how he had first internally formulated his question, and how due to his exhaustion upon arrival in Santa Fe, Gregorio told Losa to bring his guest a bit of “watered-down wine and a biscuit”, also recommending that he should get some rest in “Losa’s library, located below Gregorio’s room”. Before dawn, while Juan was preparing to reveal his problems to Gregorio, his doubts suddenly became settled within his soul, Juan having felt with tremendous clarity God’s pure love, although this would not hold him back from carrying out the work that he had to perform, also for the Lord’s glory. Illuminated but confused, the Franciscan was not sure how he would bring up the situation with Gregorio, especially given the fact that the latter’s advice would no longer be necessary. When Santiago told Gregorio that his question had already been answered through God’s mercy within his soul, Gregorio helped him list all of his queries, questioning the friar whether God had reprehended him for looking for answers outside of himself, instead of fully trusting Him, concluding: “follow the inner path that Our Lord has taught you, and do not return to see me, nor communicate with me, for there is no need for it”.⁴²³ From that day on, approximately a year before Gregorio died, the Franciscan did not return to see the holy man. Did Gregorio consider his work with the Franciscan as having been accomplished?

We must take into account that the witnesses were heard under oath, and subject to the scrutiny of the ecclesiastic authorities who were usually in charge of the policing of proper Catholic behaviours and beliefs. It is also striking how Gregorio established different degrees of closeness with his visitors. Through the canonisation process’ testimonies, we can sense what Losa described in more detail. The Jesuit Juan de Gallegos and the Franciscan Juan de Santiago, for example, were both sent to Santa Fe by their masters, to observe and learn from Gregorio. Gallegos only stayed for a week, but Santiago went back there many times, Gregorio having shared much more time with him than with the Jesuit. Moreover, as been stated before, although Santiago appeared to be the perfect apprentice, Gregorio eventually severed their relationship. Had the Franciscan

⁴²³ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan de Santiago”, 287v.-290v.

also been “miles away” from really understanding him? Moreover, could this have been a way for Gregorio to protect Santiago, or was he protecting himself?

5.2 Erased references

Choosing which episodes and stories to include in his *Vida* probably proved to be a difficult task for Francisco Losa, for the nature of Gregorio’s devotion could have been misinterpreted, and any misunderstanding could have led to drawing the Inquisition’s attention, as we learn by reading through several inquisitorial processes. Gregorio and Francisco Losa themselves must have been aware that Gregorio was already under the watchful inquisitorial eye. No charges were laid against Gregorio Lopez while Pedro Moya de Contreras was in charge as inquisitor, viceroy, archbishop or *visitador general*, however Gregorio seems to have been on the inquisitorial radar for a while, perhaps even since the Holy Office was instituted in New Spain, in 1571, there being several references that prove this. Withal, it seems that as soon as Moya de Contreras left New Spain, the Holy Office began to gather more consistent information about Gregorio.

5.2.1 Visits from a famous Jew

An example of how information circulated is evinced in the denunciation presented by Dominican Alonso Romero, in December 1596, when he accused friar Pedro de Mendieta of having revealed inquisitorial secrets to him and five or six other friars, about Luis de Carvajal. Carvajal had “dubiously condemned Antonio López [sic: Gregorio López] [...] who Carvajal believed was a Jew and Judaizer” – Alonso Romero inclusively got the name of the hermit wrong, later correcting it in his declaration.⁴²⁴ It is interesting to note how the condemnation of Luis de Carvajal was the subject of so many conversations,

⁴²⁴ Biblioteca Cervantina del Tecnológico de Monterrey, Colección Conway, Transcription of "Declaración de Fray Alonso Romero, dominico, contra Fray Andrés de Peralta y Fray Pedro de Mandieta, se citan ciertas expresiones de Luis de Carvajal acerca de que Gregorio López era judío", 1-3.

especially considering that it was well-known that he had been in touch with Gregorio Lopez.

Did people's criticism of Gregorio Lopez, during his lifetime, come from visitors such as Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*? By that time his uncle, governor Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, had also been imprisoned, where he would come to die already in 1591. After his first trial in 1591, *el Mozo* was taken to the Hospital of the Convalescents in México, from where he was later transferred to the Franciscan monastery of Tlatelolco, and where, with the help of a friar, he would obtain permission to travel around the country "seeking alms" for the conditional liberty of his family.⁴²⁵

We know that *el Mozo* was arrested for the second time in 1595 when Gregorio was still alive. It was during this period that Luis Carvajal, *el Mozo*, visited Gregorio in Santa Fe wearing his *sambenito*, a clear sign that the Inquisition had condemned him. Notwithstanding, we know more of Carvajal's connection with Gregorio through the testimonies of Luis's cellmates: Luis Díaz and Gaspar de Villafranca. Carvajal described his visit to Luis Díaz, which Cohen sums up for us:

He [Luis] went for a walk in the garden with [Gregorio] Lopez and his constant companion, Father Losa. When Losa wandered off for a few moments, Lopez turned to Luis, pointed to his *sambenito*, and said that he should be the one wearing it and not young Carvajal. Lopez told Luis to be happy with his lot, for he was a sheep divinely appointed as a sacrifice for his entire flock and that in consequence, he should greatly thank the Lord.⁴²⁶

Under torture, Carvajal, *el Mozo*, ended up revealing to the inquisitors that he sincerely believed Gregorio was a Jew, although he withdrew the accusation soon after. Luis Díaz was surprised: how could Gregorio have been a Jew when he was seen as a model Christian by so many? Carvajal argued that Gregorio was misunderstood by Christians, having asked Luis Díaz to deliver a message to Gregorio: that Luis de Carvajal had gladly accepted the path of martyrdom. With Gaspar de Villafranca, *el Mozo* was

⁴²⁵ Luis González Obregón (ed.), *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal, (El Mozo)*, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación XXVIII (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1935), 151-152.

⁴²⁶ Cohen, *The Martyr*, 218.

more cautious, although he ended up revealing to him that, despite Gregorio never having claimed his devotion to the Law of Moses, he was a firm believer in it, which he knew from the conversations they both had had concerning the Scriptures, having asked his cellmate for secrecy in relation to these matters, given that he was probably the only person who knew the truth in relation to Gregorio.

In his studies on the Carvajal family, Alfonso Toro insists on one particular subject matter: Carvajal and Gregorio discussed amongst themselves the Fourth Book of Ezra, a non-canonical text well-known to the people of Israel.⁴²⁷ Furthermore, Carvajal himself clarified that Gregorio never assumed having a Jewish background. I do not wish to delve into the discussion concerning the proximity scholars have observed and highlighted in Gregorio's discourse and attitude with regard to the crypto-Jew and New-Christian realities. For the moment being, Miriam Bodian's interpretation of their connection neatly wraps up the issue at hand, Bodian affirming that "given the importance Gregorio Lopez placed on sacrifice and martyrdom, and his bibliocentric, individualistic theology, Luis's attraction to him is not surprising", also adding how this magnetism reveals "the slippery boundaries between crypto-Judaism and radically inclined heterodox Catholicism in Iberian Lands".⁴²⁸ As pointed out by the diverse authors that studied Gregorio Lopez, the solitary man was surely and constantly walking the line between heterodox Catholicism, crypto-judaism, mysticism, ascetism, and even heresy. However the way he walked that line does not help defining him or his religiosity as one thing or the other.

5.2.2 Visits from a famous mystic

What Francisco Losa does not mention, and which was only disclosed in Alonso Remón's 1617 edition of Losa's biography, is the influence Gregorio had on don Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra's decision to embrace a somewhat radical religious position. Alonso Rémon, the Mercedarian who took on the task of recording this creole mystic's life, claims that Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra was one of the first of Gregorio's

⁴²⁷ Toro, *La familia*, 191.

⁴²⁸ Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses*, 58.

visitors in Santa Fe. Why was Gregorio's unquestionable relation with Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra completely erased from Losa's account?

This young boy, who renounced his right to inherit one of the great *mayorazgos* of the Mexican Bajío, was also the nephew of some eminent creoles accused, condemned and subsequently forgiven, although not forgotten, during the 1566 "conspiracy", namely, Bernardino, Fernando and Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba. When he decided to give himself over to God, his first option was to profess with the Franciscans, although his family ended up convincing him to be ordained under the Dominicans, who had educated him, an ordination that never ended up taking place, Fernando having died three days before the ceremony.⁴²⁹

In another biography of Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, the author, Rodrigo Mendez-Silva, mentions a hearing that took place in 1589, in the Mexican Holy Office. Rodrigo Mendez-Silva had been informed by D. Fernando de Monsalve Bazán y Armendariz, born in México, but resident in Madrid, and who in turn had heard this from his uncle, the Inquisitor don Francisco Bazán de Albornoz, and from Francisco Losa. According to these oral sources Fernando de Córdoba had been inquired by the Holy Office concerning how he felt about Gregorio Lopez. Fernando had assured the inquisitors of Gregorio's good, non-Jewish, lineage, reinforcing his desire to imitate Gregorio's sanctity.⁴³⁰

The first time Fernando left to go to Santa Fe was without giving any notice. He stayed there some days with the holy man, his spiritual master, and then he decided to devote

⁴²⁹ Ramirez Vásquez, "Un poeta novohispano", 39-47.

⁴³⁰ "[...] it was the case that one day the Court of the Holy Inquisition of that city [of México] called him [Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra] to ask him what he felt about his Master Gregorio Lopez, squeezing him, he answered 'What I know of his blood I can assure you it is of quality; of his sanctity I wish no more than imitate it'. Then one of the Ministers said: 'It doesn't matter what you silence now D. Fernando, tomorrow Gregorio Lopez will die, and then you will declare it'. To this he answered: 'It won't be like that, for God has disposed I shall die before my Master'. My translation of: "[...] *fué el caso que llamandóle un día el Tribunal de la Sancta Inquisición de aquella ciudad, para preguntarle lo que sentía de su Maestro Gregorio Lopez, apretandóle, respondió 'Lo que sè de su sangre, puedo assegurar es de calidad; en lo de su santidad, no me toca mas que desear imitarla'. Entonces dijo uno de los Ministros: No importa que aora lo calle D. Fernando, mañana morirà Gregorio Lopez, y nos lo declararà. A esto replicò: Esso no será ansi, que Dios tiene dispuesto muera yo antes que mi Maestro.*", in Rodrigo Mendez-Silva, *Epítome de la vida de Fernando de Cordoba Bocanegra*, (Madrid, Coello, 1649), 51.

his life to God, he did so.⁴³¹ Mendez-Silva also refers to a second visit, which resulted in Fernando asking his parents for permission to move to the Convent of Tezcoco. However, while there, Fernando wrote to Gregorio to complain about the enormous difficulties he felt in his new spiritual life, emphasising the opposition his family and friends manifested to his choice. Gregorio answered him briefly, with a psalm: *Yo me hize como hombre sordo, y que no los oía* ("I pretended to be deaf, and did not listen to them").⁴³² It seems that Gregorio was appealing to passive resistance.

We are told, nonetheless, how Gregorio grieved Fernando's death, having affirmed: "Our friend D. Fernando is not dead, he lives in heaven. How fortunate of him! What a fine favourite we have with God; we should envy and imitate him, and be glad to have had him as our companion, praise the Lord!"⁴³³ This must have gained him the sympathies of Fernando's family. Rodrigo Mendez-Silva gives notice that Gregorio received the visit of Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra, Fernando's brother, praising how good of an intercessor Francisco had in heaven, for "those who go warn those who stay".⁴³⁴

5.2.3 Visits from ambitious religious men

In Juan de Santiago's testimony, which complements Losa's account in what concerns Gregorio's understanding of what religious agency meant to him, he highlights Gregorio's simplicity, something which Spanish (or other European) clerks might have found hard to put into practice. The external or material dimension of the religious profession was seen as an essential element, and when it was put up against the religious

⁴³¹ Alonso Rémon, *Vida y muerte del sieruo de Dios don Fernando de Cordoba y Bocanegra: y el Libro de las colaciones y doctrinas espirituales que hizo y recopilò en el tiempo de su penitencia el año de 1588*, (Luis Sanchez, Madrid: 1617), 12v.

⁴³² Mendez-Silva, *Epítome*, 48v-49r.

⁴³³ My translation of: "*Nuestro amigo D. Fernando no está muerto, que vive en el cielo, ò dichoso él! Que buen valido tenemos con Dios; tengamosle embidia, imitemosle, y alegremonos de aver sido nuestro compañero, al Señor se den gracias por todo.*", in Mendez-Silva, *Epítome*, 68v.

⁴³⁴ Mendez-Silva, *Epítome*, 68r.

feeling that ought to accompany it, the reaction was mostly one of confusion. What was more important: the garments or the feeling?

Proceeding this witness with this conversation with the holy Gregorio he asked him what would he do if he was a priest, to which Gregorio answered *what I do*; and this witness replied how would he dress up to celebrate, to which Gregorio answered *like I do*; moreover he [Juan] asked and how would you do the *mementos* and the saint answered *like I do them*; and the saint proceeded to say *if I was certain I would die in a few hours I wouldn't do more than I do because I'm actually giving to God all that I have in the continuous act of love for him and I cannot give him more if He doesn't give me more by His mercy.*⁴³⁵

Gregorio embodied the simplicity of the Desert Fathers' primitive Church, and Losa was able to convey this message, knowing perfectly well that what Lopez represented was a harsh criticism of the New Spanish clerks' inability to attain that simplicity. Notwithstanding, Lopez's reasoning went beyond just mere criticism. Gregorio's example was a way (to show how) to reconcile the path to perfection with the mundane realities of his fellowmen.

In his biography of don Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, Rodrigo Méndez-Silva includes the story of Friar Juan Bautista González, who had had a revelation in Spain to found the Mercedarian Order in the New World, and with that intent crossed the Atlantic and travelled to Lima. At the port of Callao, when he was about to quit his seemingly unattainable mission, he heard about Gregorio Lopez and decided to go to New Spain to meet this venerable man, who he learned lived in Santa Fe and who everyone seemed to be talking of. Fr. Juan sought to restore the fundamental principles of Peter Nolasco to the Order of Mercy, and he wanted to do that in the Indies. Gregorio appreciated his intentions, but warned him of the difficulty of such task:

⁴³⁵ My translation of: "*y prosequiendo este testigo la platica que va diciendo con el santo Gregorio le preguntó este testigo si vuestra merced fuera sacerdote, que hiziera?, lo que hago, replicó este testigo como se aparejara para celebrar? y respondió como me aparejo, preguntándole más y como hiciera los mementos? respondió el santo como los hago y prosequió diciendo el santo si yo estuviera cierto [292v.] que de aquí a unas horas me havia de morir no hiciera más de lo que hago porque estoy dando actualmente a Dios todo lo que tengo con el continuo acto de amor y no pudo darle mas sí el por su misericordia no me lo da"* in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonio de Juan de Santiago", 292r-292v.

My father, you know too well that things of this kind can be reached from God at the expense of pleas, fatigues of body and soul. That was what the Master Jesus Christ taught. [...] What Your Reverence intends is much, and the ascent of a steep hill has never been easy, such as the reformation to which you aspire. And because the holy founder of this Sacred Religion imposed to it a greater strictness than what is usually understood, so that the holiness of its religious life would correspond to the eminence of the institute in which they professed; we shall commend it to Our Lord [...] ⁴³⁶

Méndez-Silva collected this episode from his friend, Pedro de San Cecilio, chronicler for the Mercedarian Order, as a way to remember the invocation Gregorio Lopez and Juan Bautista González did to Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, in order to accomplish his intent to found the Mercederians in New Spain.⁴³⁷ Moreover, from it we are also able to deduce that Gregorio's fame reached Perú during his lifetime seen that friar Juan heard of Gregorio in Lima, and also that Gregorio understood how difficult it was to reform the Church and its diverse "religions" (i.e.: religious institutes), as the various religious orders were referred to back then.

5.2.4 Visits from women

In addition to the visits from Indians, religious and laymen, children, Gregorio was also visited by various women. Although Losa does mention the visits of women to Santa Fe, he does so superficially, instead drawing the readers' attention to the symbolic dimension

⁴³⁶ My translation of: "*Mi Padre, bien sabe que cosas deste genero se han de alcançar de Dios a fuerça de suplicas, fatigas de cuerpo, y alma. Esso nos enseñó nuestro Maestro Jesu Christo [...] Lo que Vuestra Reverencia pretende es mucho, y nunca fue facil la subida de un monte muy empinado, qual lo es la reformation a que aspira. Y porque el santo fundador dessa Sagrada Religion la impuso en mayor aspereza de la que comunmente se entiende, para que correspondiesse la santidad de vida de sus Religiosos a la eminencia del instituto que professan; encomendamoslo muy de veras a Nuestro Señor [...]*", Méndez-Silva, *Epítome*, 70v.-71r.

⁴³⁷ Pedro de San Cecilio, *Annales del Orden de Descalzos de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, Vol. Primero, Parte Segunda (Barcelona, Dionisio Hidalgo, 1669), 1174; Idem, *Annales del Orden de Descalzos de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, Vol. Primero, Parte Primera (Barcelona, Dionisio Hidalgo, 1669), 245-248. Both San Cecilio and by Méndez-Silva note that, in 1649, the portraits of Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra and Gregorio Lopez were solemnly and publicly placed in the Monastery of Santa Bárbara of Madrid, in the chapel of Pedro Nolasco, as is also recalled in the apostolic process.

of such visits, and focusing on Lopez's sense of charity towards all, including female devotees. Through José de Vides, we also come to know how Gregorio maintained contact with various recollected women, José having testified how he was in contact with Ana de la Concepción, recollected at the Monastery of Jesús María in México. Ana had asked José to send Gregorio a message, asking the servant of God to entrust her to God, due to a matter that had plagued her for the last eight months. Gregorio replied: "I will do it; she shall be faithful to God, and she will have nothing to fear for she will not offend Him".⁴³⁸ José took the message to Ana, who claims to have maintained the dialogue with Gregorio in spirit, through prayer. The *alumbrada*, Agustina de Santa Clara, also mentions encountering Gregorio in her dreams, where they discussed spiritual matters, as we will see in the next section.⁴³⁹ Gregorio was apparently occupied on other levels of existence, through his spiritual contact with those who dreamed of him.

For instance, Losa narrates how one day, while they were all eating at the hermitage – Losa, Gregorio Lopez, Juan de Santiago, a Jesuit and a lay devotee of Gregorio – an honourable widow from México arrived with her son, asking for alms. Losa ended up giving the widow a *libranza*, a sort of bill for the alms with which she left feeling reassured.⁴⁴⁰ Juan de Santiago affirms that this was but one case among many, of people seeking the hermit for comfort and help. Bilinkoff also drew attention to one of Losa's anecdotes: the story of an Indian woman who came to see Gregorio before his death:

She spoke in her own language which Losa understood but not López. The holy man asked the priest to translate 'in case she has some advice for me.' Losa marvelled at the Spanish hermit's great humility, that 'he thought himself of less worth than an Indian woman and that she could [possibly] enlighten him'.⁴⁴¹

Interestingly, Bilinkoff builds upon Losa's authority both as biographer and as a priest the theory that

⁴³⁸ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de José de Vides", 117v.-118v.

⁴³⁹ Huerga, "Edición", 101-102.

⁴⁴⁰ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 280v. -281r.

⁴⁴¹ Jodi Bilinkoff, "Navigating the Waves (of Devotion): Toward a Gendered Analysis of Early Modern Catholicism" in Jane Donawerth and Adele F. Seeff (eds.), *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women*, Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 166.

for a priest like Losa distinctions between persons based upon status – that is, clerical as opposed to lay – were as important or even more important than distinctions based upon sex. Perhaps for him all laypeople fell into the same conceptual category of spiritual dependency upon the clergy, and were therefore all appropriately gendered as ‘female’.⁴⁴²

Was this one of the reasons why we find so much more stories of encounters with Gregorio, in the *Vida*, in which men (not women) were involved? Considering the purpose of the biography, Losa was obviously attending to the figures who would reinforce his narrative (and these would be men). However we have to imagine how much of the dismissed stories would show us a different perspective. Lopez was willing to learn from that Indian woman: how many times did she and other women go to see him; were there other translators beyond Losa?

One of the most curious encounters that took place at Santa Fe, occurred towards the end of Gregorio’s life, an event also described by Losa, although he did not mention any names. Involved in this episode was a “very eminent lady, wife to a nobleman who served his Majesty in a very honourable place” who had accompanied Gregorio during his last weeks.⁴⁴³ Losa, and the other witnesses, used this episode to highlight Gregorio’s power to convert others, or in this case, to convert a sinner and lead her toward salvation: “[...] Both died almost at the same time, with him having felt more sorrow than the ordinary, given the pain he felt for her, and she penitent, apparently having been forgiven piously for her pleas”.⁴⁴⁴ This woman also appears to have been capable of eliciting something extraordinary from Gregorio: passion, since Losa had “never observed any matter trouble him or make him express his grief, except this occasion”.⁴⁴⁵ According to the biographer, when Gregorio received news of her death, “he raised his eyes to heaven and said “God has the power to save this soul” and, while suffering from fever, he moaned and sighed and grieved like no one had ever seen him do before”.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² Bilinkoff, “Navigating the waves”, 168.

⁴⁴³ Losa, *Life*, 61.

⁴⁴⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Juan Zapata”, 241v.

⁴⁴⁵ Losa, *Life*, 66.

⁴⁴⁶ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro de Sarmiento”, 222v.

Cristóbal Anaya and Pedro Sarmiento, both Hospitallers, state in their testimonies that the woman in question was *doña* Josepha Maldonado, who was married to *Licenciado* Francisco Tello de Gúzman, *oidor* of the Royal Court of México.⁴⁴⁷ Moreover, a power of attorney written in México on June 28th, 1597, provides us with additional information: Josepha was born in Salamanca and came to México with her husband in 1580, having left all her possessions to Juan Tello, her son, in a last will dated from July 3rd, 1596. The document was addressed to Francisco Tello's brother, resident in Seville, entrusted with the task of keeping account of the money Juan Padilla Carreño had been obtaining since 1580 from revenues and other extras from the town of Carmona, in Castile, to which Josepha was entitled.⁴⁴⁸ The need to recover those revenues might have arisen due to Josepha's money problems in New Spain, who, further to her mercy for the poor and the sick, had a gambling addiction.

Around the time she prepared her last will, Josepha Maldonado left for Santa Fe, accompanied by her son and a "devout man of ours". According to Losa, she had been there previously, Losa having shown his reluctance in receiving her, since she had thus far not proved herself as being worthy of Gregorio's prayers, given her vices. As he affirms

[...] she gave not so good example, as was wished, in the City, both in point of bravery and immoderate expense, as also in playing at cards wherein she lost much time and money; drawing after her some other noblewomen, who, under her wing, adventured to lose the reins to this vice, without their husbands being able to hinder them.⁴⁴⁹

After some insistence and promises of redemption, she finally was received, and having seen Gregorio so ill, she cried and kissed his hands.⁴⁵⁰ Josepha immediately proceeded to begin cooking for Gregorio, helping with "the saint's illness, as well as bringing him many

⁴⁴⁷ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 179v.; "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado", 220v.; "Testimonial de Juan Zapata", 241v. Juan Zapata does not name Josepha, but he affirms knowing who she was.

⁴⁴⁸ Moreno, Andrés, June 28th, 1597, "Poder especial", in Yvonne Mijares (coord.), *Catálogo de Protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México, fondo Siglo XVI*. Online. Seminario de Documentación e Historia Novohispana, México, UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2014. <http://cpagncmxvi.historicas.unam.mx/catalogo.jps> [Accessed on March 8th, 2016].

⁴⁴⁹ Losa, *Life*, 61-62.

⁴⁵⁰ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Sarmiento de Vado", 222v.

other gifts and medicines at her own expenses”, “without a gown or ornaments of her own, but using just an ordinary dress”.⁴⁵¹ Knelt by his side, Josepha helped Gregorio eating and praying, during six or seven days. Further, into the narrative, Losa highlights Josepha’s path to conversion, describing her burning a “pack of cards”, confessing her regrets to Losa, and asking Gregorio to walk her soul into heaven.⁴⁵² She died two days before Gregorio.

5.2.5 Visits from *alumbrados*

It seems evident that Gregorio was very selective with regard to what he discussed, and with whom, which makes even more interesting the conversations transcribed in the *alumbrados*’ processes, recovered by Álvaro Huerga. Notwithstanding, those conversations were condemned, having come to light following Gregorio’s death. The Holy Office confiscated some correspondence exchanged by Juan de la Plata and Juan Núñez. In one of the letters, written by Juan de la Plata in December 1591, we can read: *Holgará poder ir a ver a v. m. y al señor Gregorio López* (“I wish I could go to see your Grace and Mr Gregorio López”). Both men maintained to have contact with Gregorio, who spoke clearly to them about the “new state” that God would found, a state full of notable saints, and of “incorruptible and immortal people”: Gregorio was discussing the New Jerusalem with Juan de la Plata, Luis de Zárate, and probably others through them.⁴⁵³

Firstly, an excerpt on Gregorio’s geopolitical understanding, which Gregorio urged Juan to keep in secret:

[...] four years ago, when speaking of the end of the world, [Gregorio] had spoken to this witness [Juan Plata] of the statue that the king Nebuchadnezzar had seen, also telling him that the mixing of nations had already been achieved, since the Roman Empire was already divided into kingdoms, and that the kingdom of Castile had been ruled with an iron fist, explaining

⁴⁵¹ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya”, 179v.-180r.

⁴⁵² Losa, *Life*, 62.

⁴⁵³ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 791-792.

how it had dominated others, and that after they had discovered the East and West Indies, and Guinea, the nations had mixed together, and that they did not blend well, nor did they conform to each other, as Daniel says, evident in how they call each other “*mulato dog*”, “*indio dog*”, or “*mestizo dog*”. It could therefore be observed how they were discordant amongst each other, and as such it could be guessed what would come next. And he knew from the Company of Jesus [...] that said statue was already hanging by a thread, meaning that it was about to fall and that this world would soon end.⁴⁵⁴

After all, Gregorio’s political vision of the world was far more social than the rhetoric: Castile was a leftover from the Roman Empire, and its expansion would not be able to hold, due to the incapacity of its various *nations* to live together in harmony. For Gregorio, the way people dwelt with indigenous populations, as well as those born of mixed race, was a sign of decadency of an old empire that Spain was trying to hang on to.

Gregorio knew that what he was discussing was no ordinary matter. Around September 1594, he had asked Juan de la Plata, who had come to visit him in Santa Fe (as he did with any of the other clerics who came to visit him), to pray, to delegate whatever business to God, to eat breakfast, and to then sit with him. Gregorio felt it was time to come clean about a few things, for which Juan had to be ready and open to receive. For Gregorio, this world was about to end, although the next one was already being prepared:

[...] after he sat down, [Gregorio] told him God would have to found a new state, after the world had ended, [a state made up] of saints and saintly people, of incorruptible and immortal people, and that after having reached the utmost state of sanctity that they were able to obtain

⁴⁵⁴ My translation of: “*Item dijo que avia quatro años que el dicho Gregorio Lopez tratando de la fin del mundo dijo a este declarando de la estatua que vió el rey Nabucodonosor que ya se avia cumplido hasta el mezclarse las naciones, porque ya se estava dividiendo el imperio romano y que el reyno de Castilla avia sido de hierro dando a entender que avia domonado a otros y que despues que se descubrieron las Indias Orientales y Occidentales y Guinea se avian mezclado las naciones, e que no se davan ni conformavan unos en otros como dize Daniel, lo qual se ve por que aca nos dizen perro mulato, perro indio, perro mestizo, y assí se ve que andan discordes entre sí, y que ya estavamos como en espera para lo que avia de venir y savia de la Compañía de Jesus dijo a este que dezia el dicho Gregorio Lopez que la dicha estatua estava ya en las uñas como quien dize que estava ya para caer y acabarse este mundo*” in AGN, *Inquisición*, “Proceso Juan de la Plata”, 244r.

[...] their body and soul would then be transferred to the celestial [kingdom] of Jerusalem, and that the people from this state before being transferred, would witness the divine essence, and that it would be a state where its men would be like Jesus Christ. And [Juan] understood [...] that this meant that these people together would become *viadores* and *comprensiores*, because a *viador* is one who continues walking and growing in sanctity, and a *comprensior* is one who sees the divine essence.⁴⁵⁵

Divine essence was, therefore, something attainable and possible to see, being a necessary prerequisite for bringing those chosen to populate the new state founded by God. Moreover, we learn through this passage that the *homo viator's topos* was a lived experience, rather than just discourse. Did Gregorio see himself as being prepared for the new state, as both *viador* and *comprensior*? Did he see the divine essence himself, a concept of which he spoke to several of his listeners/followers?

What is clear, is that the idea of the New Jerusalem raised many questions amongst his interlocutors: what would people eat? Would they reproduce? When would it all start? This last question tormented Gregorio to the point where he asked Juan de la Plata and Luis de Zárate to look for any revelations regarding this matter within their network since he had as yet to attain any revelations for himself. Huerga meticulously explains the responses Agustina de Clara, and especially, Marina de San Miguel, provided in relation to this challenge, responses which made Gregorio exceedingly sorrowful, for he would not be able to witness the new city of God, since according to the latter devout woman, God had revealed a time frame for events which would not allow Gregorio to see the new state in his lifetime. Although Gregorio felt ready, his disappointment for not being able to see the emergence of the New Jerusalem brought him to tears, contrasting with the

⁴⁵⁵ My translation of: “[...] *y aviendose sentado le dijo a esse que avia Dios de fundar un estado nuevo, despues de la consumación del mundo de unos sanctos y excellentissimos en sanctidad, el qual estado avia de ser de gente incorruptible y inmortal, y que despues de aver llegado a crescer en sanctidad al punto que cada uno huviessse de llegar, avian sin morir. Y luego dijo que no se acuerda sin morir pero que en cuerpo y alma avian de ser trasladados a la celestial de Hierusalem y que la gente de este estado antes de ser trasladados avian de ver la essencia divina y que avia de ser un estado que los hombres de el avian de ser al modo de Jesu Christo. Y este entendio quando le dijo las dichas palabras que devia de querer dezir que avian de ser viadores y compreensiores todo junto porque viador quiere dezir el que todavia va caminando y creciendo [241v.] en la sanctidad y compreensor porque ve la esencia divina [...]*” in AGN, *Inquisición*, “Processo Juan de la Plata”, 241r.-241v.

image of the stern and unbreakable figure of the solitary man unable to feel emotions.⁴⁵⁶ Should we believe these testimonies, or should we instead partake of Huerga's suspicion about these men's and women's heretical propositions? What was there to condemn? Especially, why was Gregorio left out of the accusations?

5.3 Out of *topoi* or out of dogma?

We now have access to the Holy Office's processes, although, at the time, much of this information was supposedly secret. Still, just how secret? The number of witnesses, officials, and people condemned in the processes that mention Gregorio Lopez is considerable. Such is the case, for example, of the inquisitorial investigation into the *alumbrados*.⁴⁵⁷

Before we go into the complexity of these processes and networks, it must be acknowledged that Huerga's study of the *alumbrados* of México and Puebla has a significant fault, in that it fails to recognise that the focus on the more outstanding characters of the "sect" inevitably obscured a much wider web of people and phenomena, including all that was connected to Gregorio Lopez. The Spanish scholar of the *alumbrados* also fails to mention various elements in his analysis of the inquisitorial process; such as how some of the witnesses in Gregorio Lopez's canonisation process were also witnesses in the processes of Juan Núñez and Juan de la Plata, Pedro de Hortigosa having been one of the inquisitors who analysed Juan Núñez's process. In addition, the Franciscan Juan de Santiago was the confessor responsible for convincing Leonor and Ana de Mendoza to go to the Inquisition, so as to ease their conscience in relation to Juan Núñez – Gregorio had already passed away at the time – both sisters

⁴⁵⁶ AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/ volumen 180/expediente 1, "Proceso contra Juan Plata, clerigo, capellan del convento de monjas de Santa Catalina de Sena en Puebla, por solicitante. Tlaxcala.", 111r.-113r.

⁴⁵⁷ There is plenty of scholarly work on the *alumbrados* movement. Álvaro Huerga's seminal work, clearly informed by Menéndez Pelayo's articles, still viewing it as a sect within sixteenth century Catholic Church. More recent works though, recognise it as being part of a larger ideological and cultural revolution, identifying the transmission of the *devotio moderna* and the reformed radical thought in its interpretation and adaptation in the pre-Reformation Spanish conquered territories. In the long run, most authors are more inclined to consider the *alumbrados* as simply a more extreme manifestation and practice of religion or religiosity than the mystical currents, we now find symbolised by figures such as Teresa de Jesús and Juan de Ávila.

having testified years later in the canonisation cause of Gregorio Lopez.⁴⁵⁸ Leonor and Ana de Mendoza were the sisters of Catalina de Mendoza, the latter having declared that Núñez had once told them (Catalina and her sisters), that he wanted to see them as God had created them, expressly, nude, also citing examples of abuses committed in the name of God, which in Núñez's case, were sanctioned by another Jesuit, namely, Bernardino de Acosta.⁴⁵⁹ Huerga also refrains from questioning how the *alumbrados'* errors were perceived by the Inquisition as being of a heretical nature, while sexual abuses were considered to be beyond the Inquisition's jurisdiction, abuses that were committed by clergymen, namely Dominican and Jesuit friars, in addition to having taken place within a Dominican convent (Santa Catalina de Sena), precisely the order to which Huerga belongs.

It is worth remembering Juan de la Plata's condemnation before the Holy Office, especially given the fact that he used Gregorio's authority to justify his actions on every occasion he could do so. Juan de la Plata was declared in the *auto-de-fe* as a penitent, and the verdict was read publicly, except for the condemnation for *solicitud* (sexual harassment) and "anything that could offend pious ears", thus also concealing the names of his accomplices.⁴⁶⁰ He was also requested to abjure *de levi*, suspended from all his duties for ten years, and perpetually denied the sacrament of penance. Besides, he was exiled from the city of Puebla, and instructed to perpetually remain in seclusion in a place where he would be able to carry out charity work, having gone to the Hospital of Oaxtepec (where Gregorio had lived before moving to Santa Fe) after the verdict.

Juan de la Plata was prohibited of writing, either "for himself or on behalf of any other person", and also of dealing with any kind of revelations he had testified as well as serving nuns in any parish or monastery.⁴⁶¹ In Puebla, the city where he committed his offences, he was present during the reading of all his accusations, including the one on the act of solicitation. The *auto-de-fe* took place in the Cathedral, behind closed doors,

⁴⁵⁸ AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/Volumen 210/Expediente 2 – "Proceso contra Juan Núñez, de León, balanzario de la Real Caja, por alumbrado y sospechoso de judaizante. México", 113v.

⁴⁵⁹ AGN, *Inquisición* – "Proceso contra Juan Nuñez", 69r., 109r.-116v.

⁴⁶⁰ Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN]: *Inquisición*, Libro 1064, 232v.-240r., *apud* Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 865.

⁴⁶¹ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 710.

before all prelates, fellow confessors of nuns, priests and chaplains of every parish in Puebla "where he had been considered a saint, and where his language and pernicious doctrine was adhered to by many".⁴⁶² Because he was ill and weak, he was not condemned to the gallows, nor was he tortured. Of particular importance are the last sentences of his process:

[Juan de la Plata] was not suspended perpetually from celebrating, which was the ordinary penalty for his communication with the nun, because this offence was not under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, nor was it dealt with or known about, besides how much he denied it to be a sacrilege, thus seeing no need to confess it sacramentally. Nor did he abjure it *de vehementi* since, according to the qualification, [the judges] attributed the things mentioned above more to carnality than to an error in his understanding.⁴⁶³

The concept of *alumbrados* was used to explain some clerks' attitude of superiority, and even, abuse of power. It did not prevent the reputation of their perfection and holiness from having spread, just like Gregorio's, who ended up serving as the ideal excuse for the carrying out of such unfortunate "religious" activities.

5.3.1 In light of the sources: a web of people atoning for Gregorio Lopez

The process of the *alumbrados* began with the denunciation of Diego de Torres in 1600, who found it strange to hear that "Gregorio Lopez was as holy as Saint Francis and other saints", when it was widely known that he had no rosary nor images to pray with, for "there was no need of these for someone who communicated so much with God".⁴⁶⁴ One of the accusative items in the *alumbrados'* process, was clear on what the Holy Office's agents thought with regard to the comparison of Gregorio with canonised saints: "To say

⁴⁶² Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 710.

⁴⁶³ My translation of: "[Juan de la Plata] *No fué suspendido perpetuamente de celebrar que era la pena ordinaria de la comunicación con la monja, porque este delito no pertenesce al Sancto Oficio de la Inquisición, ni se trató ni conoció de él, sino en cuanto negaba ser sacrilegio y circunstancia necesaria para confessarla sacramentalmente.*

No abjuró de vehementi, porque conforme a la cualificación, atribuían más la dicas cosas a carnalidad que a error de entendimiento." in AHN: *Inquisición*, Libro 1064, 232v.-240r. *apud* Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 865.

⁴⁶⁴ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 566-567.

that a person that is so recollected was as holy as Saint Francis and other saints, is a proposition that is in itself bold, dangerous, reckless, objectionable and scandalous".⁴⁶⁵ To compare Gregorio to Saint Francis was enough to raise suspicion within that group of both lay and religious men and women present in the room when the comparison was made, and whose beliefs were mostly the result of a manipulation of ideas intended to excuse abusive practices, as the Mexican inquisition and Huerga would conclude. Gregorio was the central authority behind their ideas, Álvaro Huerga having put in much work to separate the mentor from the condemned pupils.

On August 21st, 1600, *Bachiller* Miguel de Consuegra, a 28-year-old clergyman from México City, was called to stand before the Inquisition thanks to a denunciation made by Diego de Torres, concerning a conversation, which had taken place two years before. We are fortunate to be able to travel back in time thanks to the latter's account:

After Gregorio Lopez's death, which took place in Sancta Fee, around two years ago, him [Miguel de Consuegra] and Juan Núñez, *balanzario*, went to the house of Mrs. Maria de Mercado, who had been the wife of Martín Moreno, so as to ask her about the life of Gregorio López, *since curate Francisco Losa wanted to write about it*, and given that Gregorio López had lived at Mrs Maria de Mercado's house, *Gregorio López's sanctity* and how he had built a small adobe hut next to Martín Moreno's small farm having been discussed [...]⁴⁶⁶

When Diego de Torres presented himself before the inquisitors to unburden his conscience about what he knew, he declared how he had witnessed the well-known incident at Maria de Mercado's house, when Juan Núñez compared Gregorio to Saint Francis and justified his lack of a need to use images and rosaries. The inquisitors became curious as to where Diego had obtained such information, and on his personal considerations about it. Álvaro Huerga was thrilled with his answers: on the one hand,

⁴⁶⁵ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 607.

⁴⁶⁶ My italics and translation of: "[...] *después de la muerte de Gregorio López, que murió en Sancta Fee, habrá dos años, poco más o menos, fueron éste y Juan Núñez, balanzario, a casa de doña Maria de Mercado, mujer que fue de un Martín Moreno, a preguntarla de la vida del dicho Gregorio López, porque el cura Losa la quería escribir, por haber vivido el dicho Gregorio López en casa de la dicha doña Maria de Mercado, y allí se trató de la sanctidad del dicho Gregorio López y cómo había hecho un aposentillo pequeño de adobes junto a la estancia de Martín Moreno [...]*" in AGN: *Inq.* 210, 30r-31v. *apud* Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 846.

Diego revealed that although Gregorio was believed to be a saint he did not “suspect good things in relation to him, for it was said that he did not use” universal “means” of Christian piety; on the other hand, Diego affirmed having heard similar opinions expressed publicly, Huerga concluding that the general feeling which people had in relation to Gregorio was more one of strangeness rather than admiration.⁴⁶⁷

More importantly, in this excerpt of the process, we can better understand the relation between the *alumbrados* and the production of Losa’s biography. *Balanzario* (coin weigher), Juan Núñez, had been under investigation by the Inquisition for a long time, the fiscal from the Holy Office making it quite clear that the crimes he was accused of were “old and contagious”, and that the investigation was not due to “just causes and respect, which today had ceased to be”.⁴⁶⁸ We may wonder if Gregorio Lopez’s death could have triggered the process, given that months after it, Juan Núñez was arrested, in March 1597.

We now realise that the writing process of Losa’s biography was a much more collaborative process than that which we had been previously led to imagine. In reading through Juan de la Plata’s process, we become aware that it was not just Losa alone who was writing the biography, in addition to receiving the confirmation that those who later came to be seen as *alumbrados* were an essential source for Lopez’s companion. Maria de Mercado gave important information about Gregorio’s life in Nueva Galicia, as we have seen. And Luis de Zarate had also written his own narrative about Gregorio’s life, probably about the same time Losa wrote his:

[...] Luis de Zárate told him [Juan de la Plata], in Puebla about a year ago, that God had given Gregorio López the intelligence of those words, *vidi civitatem Sanctam Hierusalem*, enabling him to see the whole world with his inner vision, so that in seeing its misery, he [Gregorio] would appeal to God with greater conviction, a vision which (he believes) Gregorio had always had [...]. Luis de Zárate had also written of the life of Gregorio, encapsulating some of its events

⁴⁶⁷ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 565. Could Diego de la Torre coincidentally be the same person who appears in diverse notarial registers dating from 1562 where the name “Gregorio Lopez” is also present? In that case, both men would have known each other since Gregorio arrived in New Spain.

⁴⁶⁸ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 600-602.

and his spirit, and although he taught to [Juan] what he had written, he was not able to remember its contents.

[...] Francisco Losa had written the life of Gregorio López, and had sent it to Puebla, as well as to Mechuacán, he believes, including in his *Life* how he had written to him that he had seen [Gregorio] after his death, having also told him that he had solved some of his doubts, asking for the love of God for that to be erased, for he had fallen and realised those were dreams.⁴⁶⁹

Furthermore, through José de Vides, we are able to map out the web of connections between people who contacted with Gregorio in Santa Fe, namely: Diego de la Torre, Miguel de Consuegra, Esteban de Porres, Juan Núñez, Juan de la Plata, Luis de Zárate, as well as, the *alumbrados*, the inquisitors, and other key players in Losa's *Vida*. During the *alumbrados'* inquisitorial process, Gregorio's worldview was revealed in much greater detail by the accused. Should we take them at their word, or should we instead view their propositions as having been a way to give credence to their own beliefs before the Holy Office?

We may also view this from a different perspective: amongst Francisco Losa's sources, we find that Juan Núñez had been collecting Gregorio's stories for the priest's book. Moreover, and although it may perhaps be a coincidence, both Francisco Losa and Juan Núñez came from Cea, León.⁴⁷⁰ Could they have previously met? What was their relation, as both Consuegra and Núñez knew that Losa was in the process of writing Lopez's biography? Was Francisco Losa aware that the same conversations from which he might have obtained his valuable information for his biography – in this case, to describe

⁴⁶⁹ My translation of: "[...] *Item dijo que el dicho Luis de Zárate dijo a este en la Puebla de un año a sta parte poco más o menos que Dios le avia dado a Gregorio Lopez la inteligencia de aquellas palavras vidi civitatem Sanctam Jerusalem, le dió la vista de todo el mundo con los ojos interiores para que viendo la miseria del, llamasse a Dios con más veras, la qual vista (cree) le dicho el djxo Çárate la tenia siempre el dicho Gregorio Lopez y que tenia las ciencias infusas.* [253r.] [...] *Luis de Zárate ha escrito de la vida del dicho Gregorio Lopez algunas cosas como summa de ella y de su espíritu, y aun que enseñó a este lo que assí avia escrito, no se acuerda de lo que contenia.* [...] *Francisco de Losa ha escrito la vida de Gregorio Lopez y la envió a la Puebla y cree que a Mechuacán, y en su Vida pone el averle escrito que le avia visto despues de la muerte (y cree) que le dijo le avia resuelto de algunas dudas y pide por amor de Dios que se quitte aquello porque ha caído en la queda [¿] y hechado ver que eran sueños*" in AGN, *Inquisición*, "Processo Juan de la Plata", 252v.-253.

⁴⁷⁰ Juan Núñez, in addition to the people in his network, identified as the *alumbrados* sect by Huerga, would be condemned in 1603 for heretical propositions. Huerga, *Alumbrados*, III, 509-785.

Gregorio's first years in Nueva Galicia – would later become the motive behind Juan Núñez's arrest?

It is hard to imagine Losa's ignorance concerning these contacts. For instance, the man who first denounced Juan Núñez to the Inquisition in 1597, *Licenciado* Esteban de Porres also took part in Gregorio's informative process. Porres, *relator* for the Real Audiencia in México, presented a formal complaint against Juan Núñez, with whom he had had a dispute, for Núñez insisted "que el varón perfecto [Gregorio] no tenía necesidad de la oración vocal, sino de la mental" ("that the perfect man [Gregorio] did not need vocal prayer, but the mental prayer"), a classic *alumbrados* standpoint (and one Miguel de Molinos recovers in his *Guía Espiritual* when addressing the memory of Gregorio Lopez).⁴⁷¹ Said dispute dated from 1589/90, having occurred in the presence of Doctor Luis de Villanueva, Gregorio Lopez's first host in México. Interestingly, Álvaro Huerga fails to mention that one of the witnesses in the canonisation cause, the Jesuit (though secular at the time) José de Vides, claims to have gone with the said Esteban de Porres to Santa Fe to visit Gregorio Lopez, somewhere between 1589 and 1593.⁴⁷² Regarding the "things" which Vides and Porres privately discussed on their way to Santa Fe, and for which Gregorio later provided satisfactory answers, could those same matters have been related to those disputed between Núñez and Porres?⁴⁷³

The web of interconnections was however much more far-reaching: the female *alumbradas* affirmed having corresponded with Gregorio Lopez in Santa Fe; Luis de Zárate, another witness in the *alumbrados'* process, claims to have delivered a message from Gregorio to Marina de San Miguel concerning the New Jerusalem⁴⁷⁴; Juan

⁴⁷¹ My italics; Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 737. One of the standpoints of the *alumbrados* was related with the possibility of praying without verbalization, achieving God mentally with their prayers.

⁴⁷² Huerga, *ibidem.*; and BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de José de Vides", 114r.

⁴⁷³ "[...] y una vez entre otras que fue a veer al siervo de dios Gregorio Lopez, hiendo en compañía de este testigo el Licenciado Estevan de Porre, s vezino de esta ciudad que oy vive relator de la Real Audiencia, de ella trataron los dos por el camino y confirieron algunas cosas a solas sin que el siervo de Dios de nadie las pudiese oyr porque tocavan al mismo; y luego como llegaron al pueblo de Santa Fe y em presencia de el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, sin preguntarle alguna cosa de lo que habían tratado por el camino, respondió y satisfizo muy bien a lo que assí habían comunicado por el camino y mirándose este testigo y su compañero quedaron admirados dando gracias a Dios pues tal virtud." in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Joseph de Vides", 114.

⁴⁷⁴ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 623.

de la Plata (one of the sect's key figures) claims to have communicated with Gregorio with regard to Maria de San Silvestre⁴⁷⁵, having shared the same conversation with one of the Dominicans who testified in Gregorio's canonisation process, namely, Juan de Bohorques, which Álvaro Huerga does not mention.⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, Pedro Cermeño, the tailor from Puebla, became acquainted with Gregorio after Francisco Losa's introduction. In Juan de la Plata's process, it is mentioned that Pedro Bernal [Cermeño] declared having taken correspondence from Catalina de Lidueña to Gregorio Lopez, *hombre lego soltero que reside en Sancta Fe* ("[the] single and layman who lives in Santa Fe"), Pedro having written the letter, since Catalina did know how to write. What followed was another advice typical of Gregorio's. Concerning one of the letters, about the use of the scapular, which Catalina had decided to stop wearing, Gregorio responded verbally: "What did they do wrong, for you to stop using it? Just wear it and set a good example for your brothers".⁴⁷⁷

5.3.2 The "divine essence" and the New Jerusalem

The daily routine at Santa Fe was sometimes disturbed, either due to mass at the *pueblo's* church, or when Gregorio got sick and had to interrupt his exercises. Francisco Losa's book collection was at Gregorio's disposal, although he could not control what Gregorio chose to read. One of the condemned *Alumbrados*, Juan de la Plata, reveals in his testimony some additional information. According to de la Plata:

Having been with Gregorio Lopez to deal with matters concerning the New Jerusalem, he took one of Francisco Losa's books, [...] titled *Friar Seraphino de Fermo of the Dominican Order* (he believes), which Gregorio Lopez read, arriving at the equivalent of these words in Latin, "the city of men shall be so wonderful during that time, that it will be like God on Earth". Gregorio

⁴⁷⁵ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 663-664.

⁴⁷⁶ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 663-664.

⁴⁷⁷ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Processo Juan de la Plata", 28r.-33r.

Lopez then added that he had taken the book by chance to read, when he stumbled upon that passage, rejoicing that it stated what he wanted the New Jerusalem to have [...] ⁴⁷⁸

Juan de la Plata adds:

Likewise, Gregorio Lopez also spoke of the prologue that Friar Marcos de Lisboa wrote on the first or second part of the *Chronicle of Saint Francis*, referring to six or seven ages, affirming the seventh age as starting with the marvellous participation of God's glory in coming to Earth, which would soon after lead to His perfection, following the death of the Antichrist [...], [Juan] having understood that [Gregorio] had heard these things from Father Losa's books [...] ⁴⁷⁹

By examining this testimony, we are suddenly faced with a Gregorio Lopez who speaks of a New Jerusalem, discusses books with an *alumbrado* – books owned by Losa, we should note – and gives voice to his apocalypticism.

Gregorio's example and his ideas were undoubtedly inspiring for a whole group of people whose concerns and spirits were not as fully developed as his, allowing them to develop a perspective of the world closer to his own. An example of this is Gregorio's cherished belief in the *essencia divina*, "divine essence" which he spoke of on several occasions. Gaspar de Praves recalls a particular occasion when Gregorio left his visitors in silence, including dean Hinojosa, after a discussion on the *essencia divina* that had taken place over a meal. Hinojosa argued that the scholastic doctors of the Church affirmed that "no living person on Earth could ever see the essence of God", Gregorio having

⁴⁷⁸ My translation of: "*estando este con el dicho Gregorio Lopez tratando de la Nueva Hierusalem, vol. un libro de los que tenia Francisco Losa [...] intitulado Fray Seraphino de Fermo de la ordem de Sancto Domingo (a lo que cree), y yendole leyendo el dicho Gregorio Lopez llegó adonde dezia estas palabras, ó sus equivalentes en Latin, será tan maravillosa la Ciudad de los hombres de aquel tiempo que será Dios visto en la tierra. Y el dicho Gregorio Lopez dijo que avia tomado a caso el dicho libro para ir leyendo y avia topado aquel punto y se allegro por ver quan un dezia lo que el pretendia que via de aver Nueva Hierusalem*", in AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/ volumen 180/expediente 1, "Proceso contra Juan Plata, clerigo, capellan del convento de monjas de Santa Catalina de Sena en Puebla, por solicitante. Tlaxcala.", 245v.

⁴⁷⁹ My translation of: "*assí mismo trato el dicho Gregorio Lopez de un prologo que hace Fray Marcos de Lisboa sobre la primera o segunda parte de la cronica de S. Francisco, tratando de seys o siete hedades dize la septima edad començava en una maravillosa a participación de la gloria de Dios por venir en la tierra y en breve será su perfección despues de la muerte del Antechristo, e se holgó diciendo ha visto como lo dixo allí aquel fraile y entiende este que oyo las dichas cosas tocantes a los dichos libros de el dicho Losa*", in AGN, *Inquisición*, "Proceso Juan de la Plata", 245v-246r.

refuted by declaring that: "Our Lady the Virgin could sometimes [see God's essence] in her prayers", thus ending the discussion, as we may read in the testimonies.⁴⁸⁰ Curiously, Losa does not mention this episode, nor the concept of "God's essence", and we slowly become aware that this is not the only thing which the biographer chose to silence and leave out of Gregorio's biography.

5.3.2.1 Doomed dreamers

The Inquisition was searching for evidence that Gregorio was indeed the mentor of a sect. Otherwise, they would not have asked Juan de la Plata whether:

[...] while Gregorio was alive, he had declared to him [Juan] the doubt he was said to have regarding how, although one could put himself at danger due to frequent and fervent prayers, one should not be stopped from doing this, for it restored life, because in dreams it is not fair that a tribunal as serious as this one [the Holy Office], should waste time on these matters, but rather, should realise, that these revelations were dreams, for it had regarded them as such, and is thus not exempt from blame.⁴⁸¹

Juan de la Plata replied that Gregorio had never told him such things, but that he continued to believe in Gregorio's visionary dreams, additionally revealing himself as ready to learn from the Holy Church, thus having had to regard what he had learned from Gregorio as *mala doctrina*.

As an *imitator* of Gregorio, according to Huerga, Juan de la Plata was simultaneously judged for both his arrogance and stupidity. Having been deceived by his lover, the nun Agustina de Santa Clara, who resorting to the theatricals of pretending to be having

⁴⁸⁰ BNE *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 264r.-264v.

⁴⁸¹ My translation of: "*Preguntado se el dicho Gregorio Lopez estando vivo le declaró a este [233r.] la duda que dize aver tenido de que aunque uno se pusiese en peligro de muerte por la frecuente y fervorosa oración, no avia de cessar de ella por restaurar la vida, porque en sueños no es justo que en un tribunal tan grave como este se gaste tiempo apurando la declaracion de ellos pero que podra este hechar de ver que sus revelaciones han sido sueños pues les ha dado el mismo credito y ygalado con los sueños de que no tiene poca culpa. Dijo que en vida no se acuerda averle dicho el dicho Gregorio Lopez lo contenido en la pregunta pero que en el dicho sueño conocio con luz ser verdad las dichas cosas porque assento en ellas el entendimento y con fuerça y luz de Dios las conocio y las tuvo por verdaderas*" in AGN, *Inquisición*, "Proceso Juan de la Plata", 232v.-233r.

chest pains, so as to make him believe that she was in a state of rapture,⁴⁸² affirmed having had a vision of him as founder of the New Jerusalem (the vision Gregorio spoke of and discussed with his interlocutors in Santa Fe); Agustina and Juan found themselves in trouble when they decided to produce a new “generation” for this new state of God, which at some point led to them having had to abort. They inform us that they used peppermint, laurel, and one other herb; and Juan explained this way they avoided mortal sin by recurring to a game of words: if they used those herbs to cure another ailment, and the herbs turned out to be abortive, then the abortion would have been accidental.⁴⁸³

Gregorio was known for his medical and pharmaceutical capabilities, so we may wonder whether Juan de la Plata obtained from him the information about the herbs that they could use to abort. In this light, we may also ponder whether this type of necessities may have triggered the constant visits to Santa Fe by various men and women. It would indeed explain Gregorio’s discretion, as well as his visitors’, who also sought solutions that the Church could not give without an immediate theological condemnation. Regardless, I do not have any concrete proof to back up this speculative reasoning. We do, however, know that many of Gregorio’s conversations were unknown to Losa and unfit for Gregorio’s hagiography.

It is possible that either a minimal number of people shared these ideas, or that they were more public than the sources have led us to believe, for their content and its respective dissemination was known to be condemnable by the Holy Church and the Holy Office. Notwithstanding, how much did Losa actually know? How much did he have to hide, obliterate and erase from people’s memories? And yet, Gregorio chose to share his most profound beliefs in the regeneration of men and women with them, something which he did not do with ordinary visitors (at least the ones Losa considered fit to include in his hagiography), nor with Losa, perhaps understanding the risk involved in the propagation of his view. Moreover, he may have shared the same ideas, in similar forms, to other people who were neither able to pass them on, nor interrogated about it, as

⁴⁸² Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 866.

⁴⁸³ AGN, *Inquisición*, “Proceso Juan de la Plata”, 159r.-160v., 166r., 207r.-208r.

Núñez, Plata, and others were. This is obviously very much in line with Huerga's perspective: when López contacted with Juan de la Plata and Juan Núñez, the Inquisition's tribunal was but a distant presence, both Plata and Núñez having been considered saintly people up until their condemnation. The reading of Plata's sentence in Puebla was intended to thwart such holy reputation, precisely in the place where he had committed his offences, even if behind closed doors.

5.3.2.2 Of the light

If Gregorio strove towards solitude, making himself available to those who sought for his advice out must have been a way of repaying those who made it possible for him to have a home where he would not be disturbed. Gregorio became a guide for many religious men and women, regardless of how learned and prepared they had been for that task. Moreover, the precautions which he took in transmitting his ideas had not been in vain, given that he was never called to appear before the Inquisition, his supposed disciples having been investigated only after his death. Notwithstanding, these processes reveal the interconnections between people close to Gregorio in one way or another, as well as showing how he was able to pass on his subtle messages, regardless of how they interpreted it.

In what concerns Losa's production of Lopez's hagiography, we now begin to understand just how much of Lopez's life, and ideas had to be left out. Withal, some of those missing elements became evident during the beatification process in Rome. For example, we can better understand Gregorio's religious ideas and how they developed, through Juan de Santiago's testimony:

[...] and he [Gregorio] always understood what he knew was because God was his Master and not the books he read, although it was of great consolation and satisfaction to a soul to see and read uncovered in Tauler and Ruusbroeck the interior things that God communicated to his spirit and amongst them the servant of God said to this witness that His Majesty [God] had shown and taught him that the *greatest union there is between God and the soul is the one without means and immediate of the naked essence of the soul and God* and that Our Lord taught him this narrow

union with the *example of the union between light and air that although being two distinct things and having each one its own being their relation is so intrinsic that only God can distinguish it and no other creature*, and that if between two bodies there were such a narrow and intrinsic union how greater, narrower and intrinsic must be the one [union] between the naked essence of the soul and Our Lord which is *pure and infinite spirit*.⁴⁸⁴

It is hard to tell if, as a Franciscan, Juan de Santiago brought to the fore a metaphor quite similar to the one used by Bernardino de Laredo.⁴⁸⁵ Alain Milhou also points to a particular genealogy of ideas stemming from the first Iberian *alumbrados* connected to Franciscan "recollection" mysticism, and which were somehow present in Gregorio's 'illumination'.⁴⁸⁶ Regardless, Gregorio's *religiosity* seems to have been the result of informed reflection and philosophical introspection. Concerning the previously mentioned relation between air and light, it was a subtle and refined allusion in response to a question that seemed to elicit the curiosity of sixteenth-century devotees: what was the essence of a soul? Surely, Gregorio's was a successful explanation for those seeking to find God in a new land where the Catholic Church was still striving to implement its evangelical mission.

It is also likely that the radicalism of Gregorio's ideas could have made the task of delivering his message more difficult than Losa might have previously imagined. Moreover, Lopez's complexity caught the attention of diverse clerks, eager to find flaws and moral consolation. All in all, Gregorio was indeed somewhere between the ascetic and the mystic, as we may observe in the way he defined the relationship between the "senses", the external physical body, and God:

⁴⁸⁴ My italics and translation of: "[...] *y sacava siempre lo que savia porque Dios hera siempre su Maestro y no los libros aunque le hera de gran consuelo y satisfación a un alma veer y leer en Taulero y en Rusbroquio escriptas las cosas desnudas interiores que Dios comunicava a su espíritu. Y entre ellas dijo a este testigo el siervo de Dios que le avia su magestade mostrado y enseñado que la mayor unión que ay entre Dios y el alma es la sin medio e inmediata de la essencia desnuda de el alma con Dios, y que le enseñó nuestro señor esta estrecha unión con el exemplo de la unión que ay entre la luz y el ayre que siendo dos cossas vastantes digo distintas [292r.]. Y teniendo cada una su ser es tan intrisica la unión que entre si ay que solo Dios la puede distinguir y no otra ninguna criatura y que si entre dos cuerpos avia tan estrecha e intrisica unión quando mayor mas estrecha e intrisica será la que es entre la desnuda essencia de el alma y nuestro señor que es puro e infinito espíritu*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 291v.-292r.

⁴⁸⁵ Andrés Martin, "Introducción a la mística", 53-54.

⁴⁸⁶ Milhou, "Gregorio López", 80-83.

[...] and just like this the servant of God told this witness proceeding with the conversation that the *visions, revelations, ecstasies and raptures were not the sum of perfection nor it [perfection] consisted in those, because God works in each soul according to its necessity and disposition* and that *perfect and skilful souls in the act of pure and naked love don't have the necessity of the sensory suspension seen that to these [perfect and skilful souls] the senses don't obstruct nor hinder the divine internal communication* and so he [Gregorio] never had ecstasies, revelation nor raptures that deprived him of his senses which never hindered *him for they were completely spiritualized and in everything subjected to reason and conformed with Our Lord*; [Gregorio] brought an example to confirm this which says that some Lord had a servant that had never experienced his love and fidelity; when he [the master] and his wife dealt some secrets and things of importance it was behind a shut door leaving the servant outside, however if the servant experienced love and fidelity he is more a son than a servant desiring in everything the best for his master and sharing the same will so that when things of the utmost importance and secrecy are dealt [the masters] don't leave the servant outside but they converse it in front of him and this is what happened with his senses [...].⁴⁸⁷

Gregorio was searching for perfection, and such search bothered those who felt far from reaching it, which is, at the same time, why so many people from all walks of life sought him out. Gregorio believed that God had attributed a specific role and path to each of His creatures and that the personal discovery of this path was meant to guide one's life and prayers, always as "act[s] of pure love".⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ My italics and translation of: "*Y assí mismo dijo a este testigo el siervo de Dios prosiguiendo la platica que las visiones revelaciones extasis y arrobamientos no hera la suma de la perfección ni en ello consistia; porque obra dios con cada alma según su capacidad necesidad y disposición y que las almas perfectas y diestras en el acto de el amor desnudo y perfecto no tienen necesidad de la suspensión de los sentidos porque a estas los sentidos no les impiden ni estorban la divina comunicación interior en que el nunca havia [293r.] tenido extasis, revelación ni arrobamiento que le privase de sus sentidos los cuales jamas le habian estorbado porque estaban perfectamente espiritualizados y en todo sujetos a la razon y conformes con nuestro Señor trujo un exemplo en confirmación de esto que quando algun señor tenia un criado que no havia experimentado su amor y fidelidad, quando el y su muger tratavan algunos secretos y cosas de importancia hera a puerta cerrada hechando fuera el criado pero que teniendo conocido y experimentado el amor y fidelidad de el criado que es más de hijo que no de criado deseando en todo el bien de su amo y siendo una voluntad con el [293v.] aunque traten cosas de mucha importancia y secreto no le hechan fuera sino que las tratan delante de el y que esto ultimo le acecia a el con sus sentidos[...]*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonio de Juan de Santiago", 292v.-293v.

⁴⁸⁸ See, for instance, Losa, *Vida*, 116r.-118r.; BNE, *Recolectos*, MS/7819, "Testimonio de Juan de Santiago", 292v.-293v.

Other witnesses in the canonisation process mostly reinforce Losa's narrative, their testimonies dating from between 1620 and 1622, seven years after the publication of *Vida's* first edition. Gregorio's home in Santa Fe seems to have been far from the quiet hermitage that Losa attempted to depict. Gregorio Lopez surely made an impression on his visitors. Did Losa transform Gregorio's discourse in order to make it reach more people and avoid censorship? The interconnections and promiscuity of ideas within these networks were enormous. What were his devotees, his visitors, his opponents searching for?

Francisco Losa thus would end up becoming the ultimate authority on Gregorio Lopez's story, having established a relationship with the proto-hermit during the last years of his life, a relationship that was sponsored by the archdiocese of México, and through which the presbyter was able to gather sources and information that would eventually come to make up the hagiography that would save both their lives from oblivion. Gregorio was canonizable especially due to his 33-year religious experience in New Spain, Losa having only met him halfway through his life-process. We have seen how the *pueblo-hospital* hermitage became a public space of spiritual consolation, although this was a mission Gregorio took upon himself (under the guidance of God Himself) wherever he was. So far we went through the period the biographer was a direct and constant witness of the biographee's life. Now we shall start to look beyond Losa's eyes.

Chapter 6. Under His eye – from Santa Cruz to Santa Fe: 1589-1580

We have seen how Santa Fe would turn out to be the final destination of the *homos viator* that Gregorio Lopez was, having stayed there for seven years under the careful watch of Francisco Losa, helping all he could. Whether he wished to have lived out such destiny, we will never know. It is also possible that Gregorio was accepting his inescapable fate. Father Losa claims to have received a letter, which could indicate that the conditions during Gregorio's stay at Escobar's place may have changed. Losa, circa 1589, "not thinking it fit upon good grounds to leave him in that place" – leaving the reader in suspense, for what did he deem as being fit, after all? –, decided to take Gregorio to his own house, in México City⁴⁸⁹, located on the same street as the Jesuits College.⁴⁹⁰ Francisco Losa hosted Gregorio Lopez for a few months, Pedro de Hortigosa, for instance, recalling having visited him there several times, when they discussed "spiritual things", which led the Jesuit to hold Gregorio in high regard.⁴⁹¹ Hospitaller Cristóbal Anaya also affirms having visited Gregorio in México City. According to Anaya, although it was "commonly said that one ignores more than one sees", nothing escaped Gregorio's knowledge of the world, whom he considered "a prodigy of wisdom".⁴⁹²

Apparently, and despite Losa having been happy to host him in the capital of New Spain, México City proved to be too claustrophobic for a man who seemed satisfied with just a small hut and small home garden where he could grow his food. Losa probably saw the managing of Gregorio's activities as a way out of his activities in the capital, although without renouncing from his social network, but in fact, capitalising on his connections in directing them toward the spiritual capacities of the living saint. As we shall see, this was a role assigned to him by Pedro Moya de Contreras already from 1579, which Losa gladly accepted and endured for the next decade, while Gregorio was in Oaxtepec.

⁴⁸⁹ Losa, *Life*, 16.

⁴⁹⁰ Archivo Histórico de la Catedral Metropolitana de México, *Actas Capitulares*, Vol. 3, "Quaderno del sorteo de las Guerfanos", March 21st, 1589 "Juana de Ribera, huérfana, vive a las espaldas de la Compañía, a las espaldas del cura Losa", 259r.-259v.

⁴⁹¹ BNE, *Recolectos* Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 125v.

⁴⁹² BNE, *Recolectos* Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal de Anaya", 176r.-176v.

6.1 Ciudad de México - San Agustín de las Cuevas: 1589-1588

What we do know is how he ended up in Santa Fe, expressly, as a result of Francisco Losa having searched with him for a permanent place to reside. But why did Losa set himself such a task? The biographer explains:

This [physical problems] forced him [Gregorio] to remove [from Oaxtepec] to a colder climate namely to a town three leagues from México called San Agustín [de las Cuevas]. He lodged in the house of Juan de Escobar, who had requested him at Guastepec to come thither. From whence, he wrote to me, giving me notice of his arrival; this letter I received having my foot in the stirrup to go to see him in Guastepec. I went to San Agustín, where I found him very weak, and straitened for attendance and looking to. So, not thinking it fit upon good grounds to leave him in that place, I brought him with me to México, and kept him in my house some Months while he was recovering; who also helped many devout and spiritual persons that came to visit him and consult with him about their affairs. And he did so much good in this place that it might be evidently discerned, that our Lord for this purpose brought him to this City: though all the time he lived here he went not out of my house, save to College of the Society of Jesus to hear mass; not even to the viceroy's wife, the Marchioness of Villa Manrique, who much desired to see him, and intreated me three several times to bring him to the Palace; he excused himself to me, saying, that neither he needed the Lady Marchioness nor she him.⁴⁹³

Losa somehow began to manage Gregorio's time as a "living saint". After eight years at the Hospital of Oaxtepec, Gregorio moved to Juan de Escobar's house, in San Agustín de las Cuevas, the name that given to Tlalpan, a noble area located south of the city. Who was Juan de Escobar? And did Losa refer to the Marchioness of Villa Manrique?

6.1.1 The fountains of a vicereine

Indeed, it was because of Blanca de Velasco's sojourns in San Agustín de las Cuevas, that the place became known as "the Marquise's fountains".⁴⁹⁴ The town was involved in a

⁴⁹³ Losa, *Life*, 44-45.

⁴⁹⁴ "Otro de los paseos favoritos de la Virreina era a un lugar cercano a San Agustín de las Cuevas (Tlalpan) que por este motivo se llamó 'las fuentes de la Marquesa'", Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Bocetos de la vida social en la Nueva España* (Editorial Porrúa, México, 1944), 22.

jurisdictional conflict between Xochimilco and Coyoacán, and was the property of the Marquisate of the Valley of Oaxaca (the lands of Hernán Cortéz, later passed on to his son, Martín Cortéz, who would end up being condemned due to his involvement in the 1566 conspiracy, having lost all his territories to the Crown as a consequence).

Blanca Enríquez de Velasco was the daughter of Diego de Zúñiga y Velasco, viceroy of Perú (1561-1564), and niece of Martín Enríquez de Almansa, also viceroy of Nueva España (1568-1580) and Perú (1581-1583). She became the wife of the Viceroy Álvaro de Manrique y Zuñiga (1585-1590), and, thus, *marquesa consorte* of Villamanrique. Blanca, along with her entourage of creole and peninsular women were primarily known for their fondness of fun and games. Around 1588/1589, when Gregorio had left Oaxtepec, the presumably scandalous episode of her stay at Xochimilco was common knowledge. Blanca de Velasco and her entourage had made their way to the Franciscan monastery of Tlatelolco, where they stayed for a week. The friars likely allowed this, either as a form of retribution or as a favour to the viceroy, given the open conflict between the Franciscans of New Spain and the recently appointed commissary, Alonso Ponce.⁴⁹⁵ Many scholars have pointed to this episode as clear evidence of the vicereine's influence on the administration. For Losa to have refused her invitation three times, on Gregorio's behalf, must have been a tremendous social challenge.

As a secular priest, Losa probably saw Manrique's efforts towards the secularisation of ecclesiastical *partidos* (territorial organisational units) as a favourable policy that was negatively affecting the regular orders. The vicereine's parties in Mendicant convents reveal that the institutions that we tend to describe in a general manner were much more complicated than they initially appear. The Franciscans, as well as other religious orders, were inevitably being forced to redefine their strategies concerning evangelisation, a mission which they had taken very passionately since the arrival of the Spanish on the

⁴⁹⁵ Alberto Baeno Zapatero, *Mujeres novohispanas e identidad criolla (s. XVI-XVII)*, (Ayuntamiento de Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá de Henares, 2009), 107-108; Daniela Pastor Téllez, *Mujeres y poder: las virreinas novohispanas de la casa de Austria*, Tese de Maestría en Historia (UNAM, México, 2013), 41; Romero de Terreros, *op. cit.*, 18-22; Antonio Rubial Garcia, "Las virreinas novohispanas. Presencias y ausencias" in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 50 enero-junio (2014), 21-23.

shores of Vera Cruz.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, the viceroalties of Pedro Moya de Contreras, Álvaro Manrique de Zuñiga and Luis de Velasco, served as the backdrop for the new policies of the New World's Church, which were then starting to be put into practice, with numerous consequences for every person and institution in charge of spiritual care in New Spain.

Gregorio Lopez appears as a neutral figure amidst these conflicts. Firstly, he declined meeting *doña* Blanca Velasco in her years as vice-queen of New Spain. However, when the bishop of Tlaxcala, Diego Romano, decided to embargo all their property, in the name of the king, and because of the viceroy's poor performance as viceroy⁴⁹⁷, then Gregorio –already in Santa Fe at the time –, showed his willingness to meet the marchioness (*Ahora visitara yo la Marquesa si me llamara* –“Now I shall visit the Marquise, shall she call me to do so”).⁴⁹⁸

6.1.2 Juan de Escobar: an unknown smith

Little is known about Juan de Escobar, despite the thirty-nine documents in which his name appears in the México City notarial archive. From these, we can discard three, concerning two homonyms who lived in Chiametla⁴⁹⁹ and Tlaxcala⁵⁰⁰ respectively. “Juan de Escobar” is a recurrent name in various documents dating from between 1528 and 1600, sometimes referred to as a merchant⁵⁰¹, sometimes as *vecino* of México⁵⁰². It is

⁴⁹⁶ Georges Baudot, “Los últimos años de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún o la esperanza inaplazable: Nuevos Documentos Inéditos”, in *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique Et Luso-brésilien*, n.º 23, (1974), 23-45, accessible on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40800393>.

⁴⁹⁷ Anderson Roberti dos Reis, “Instruções reais, advertências vice-reais. A escrita do governo ante as circunstâncias da Nova Espanha (século XVI)” in *Tempo* (Niterói, online), vol. 22 n. 39., 051-071, (2016), accessible on: <http://www.historia.uff.br/tempo/site/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/03-Anderson-Roberti.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁸ Losa, *Vida*, 27v.

⁴⁹⁹ Alonso, Antonio, April 5th, 1578, “Obligación de pago”; Alonso, Antonio, March 4th, 1578, “Venta”; *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁵⁰⁰ Pérez de Rivera, Juan, March 27th, 1600, “Venta”, *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁵⁰¹ Grado, Álvaro de, August 3rd, 1632; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, March 24th, 1602, “Declaración”; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, March 24th, 1602, “Poder en causa propia”; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, July 26th, 1600, “Licencia”; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, July 26th, 1600, “Poder especial”; Grado, Álvaro de, January 19th, 1593, “Arrendamiento”; Reyes, Melchor de los, March 9th, 1593, “Obligación de pago”; “Poder especial”; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, June 21st, 1583, “Obligación de pago”; Alonso, Antonio, November 28th, 1569, “Poder especial”; Alonso, Antonio, December 24th, 1569, “Poder especial”; Alonso, Antonio, August 17th, 1564, “Poder especial”; Fernández del Castillo, March 17th,

evident that these references do not all pertain to the same "Juan de Escobar". In the papers documenting the bride price paid by Simón de Oliva in the marriage of Ana de Escobar, we come across the name of a "Juan de Escobar", who by 1571 had already passed away, father of a namesake and Ana de Escobar.⁵⁰³ As Gregorio's stay at Juan de Escobar's house in San Agustín de las Cuevas happened during the year of 1588, or early 1589, we may infer that the person in question was not Juan de Escobar, the father.⁵⁰⁴ We are then left with the *platero de oro* ("gold-silversmith"), brother of Ana de Escobar, who appears to be the same man documented in various records dating from between 1571 and 1596⁵⁰⁵:

- as executor of a will; as tutor of an apprentice of Juan Ruiz, another silversmith, as well as of a young apprentice in his own shop;

1528, "Obligación de pago"; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, 17th of unspecified month, 1547, "Obligación de pago"; Román, Juan, no date, "Finiquito", in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁵⁰² In a letter claiming the tributes referent to Tacuba, canon Antonio de Salazar lists Juan de Escobar as one of the debtors: Moreno, Juan Bautista, October 29th, 1593, "Nombramiento"; Alonso, Antonio, May 14th, 1576, "Poder general"; Alonso, Antonio, February 23rd, 1577; Alonso, Martín, April 8th, 1576, "Arrendamiento", where it is mentioned that Juan de Escobar had a house near the "Acequia de Santo Domingo", in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁵⁰³ Alonso, Antonio, October 30th, 1571, "Obligación de pago", Alonso, Antonio, October 30th, 1571, "Dote", in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁵⁰⁴ Alonso, Antonio, October 5th, 1566, "Poder general", in *Catálogo de Protocolos*. In this document, Juan de Escobar is described as being blind, around 40 years old, and as having his business located in the street of Santo Domingo. It also seems that he is the same merchant mentioned in the 1547 payment obligation, being also plausible that he was in business in 1554, with Pedro Nájera (Calderón, Gaspar, December 19th, 1554, "Obligación de pago"). Two other coincidences also leave us wondering if this may also be the Juan de Escobar in the 1569 "special powers" procuration, and in a 1567 power of attorney in the name of Martín Alonso, who was involved in the 1566 process where Escobar was a witness, and where the scrivener was the same Antonio Alonso (Alonso, Antonio, July 15th, 1567, "Poder general y especial", *Catálogo de Protocolos*). However, it is unclear whether it was his son who, in 1559, was involved in an unclear deal involving a horse, having had to be defended with the help of Alonso, given that he was still a minor (Alonso, Antonio, July 12th, 1559, "Autos" in *Catálogo de Protocolos...*).

⁵⁰⁵ Villalobos, Antonio de, October 19th, 1596, "Obligación de pago"; Villalobos, Antonio de, October 10th, 1596, "Obligación de pago"; Sarabia, Antonio, May 25th, 1596, "Fletamiento"; Villalobos, Antonio de, April 29th, 1596, "Recibo" Villalobos, Antonio de, October 9th, 1595, "Recibo", both receipts pertaining to the transportation of gold to the mines of Sombrerete and Zacatecas; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, November 12th, 1591, "Concierto de aprendizaje y curadoría", where Juan Escobar, brother-in-law of minor Juan de Tarifa, is appointed as his tutor in this contract concerning Tarifa's apprenticeship with silversmith Juan Ruiz; Román, Juan, March 6th, 1584, "Finiquito" in *Catálogo de Protocolos*; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, September 4th, 1576, "Concierto de servicio" in *Catálogo de Protocolos*; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, July 17th, 1576, "Testamento"; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, July 10th, 1576, "Testamento"; Trujillo, Pedro, December 10th, 1573, "Almoneda"; Hurtado, Melchor, September 11th, 1571, "Concierto de instrucción" in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

- as buying jewellery ("*una cornerina con un camafeo pegado en ella, un anillo de cuerno de otro camafeo, se remató a Juan de Escobar, platero, en cuatro pesos*") – in the same auction where "cura Losa" also purchased some items –, being paid in advance for some of his own production;
- as contracting the transport of gold in order to buy silver in Zacatecas.

Moreover, we learn from these documents where his shop was located (*unas casas que están junto a la acequia de Santo Domingo, junto N. Pinto – que lindan con casas de Juan de Escobar*), probably having been inherited from his father, and having also been located close to the convent of Santo Domingo. Besides, we also come to know that he was entrusted by a presbyter to manage his accounts in México, a task which he would later delegate to others, having also been involved in numerous monetary transactions. In addition, in a precious 1593 document, we find Escobar mentioned as one of the residents from whom Antonio de Salazar had to collect tithes in the districts of Tacuba and Coyoacán.⁵⁰⁶ In it, we also discover that Juan de Escobar lived in the same area as, for instance, "relator Porres", whom we know to have visited Gregorio Lopez in Santa Fe.

Given his wide variety of activities, it is not hard to imagine that Juan de Escobar was a well-connected man, professional enough to have been called to take part in a number of deals involving substantial amounts of capital, thus, not surprisingly, capable of owning a property in San Agustín de las Cuevas. This provokes our imagination in what concerns Francisco Losa's reference to Escobar in his biography, referring to him as Gregorio's visitor and host, but one from which Losa felt obliged to rescue his companion from. What might Escobar's intentions have been in hosting Gregorio, as his activities reveal a man more focused on the material world than on the spiritual dimensions of life? Regardless, sources (namely, witnesses in the apostolic process) only inform us that Gregorio's stay with Escobar was merely during a short transitional period, from the serene and protective environment in Oaxtepec to being the 'living saint' who everyone wanted to meet in Santa Fe. Losa's role during this transition is evident, as his 'rescue' of

⁵⁰⁶ Moreno, Juan Bautista, October 29th, 1593, "Nombramiento" in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

the holy man from Juan de Escobar's house reveals. Could Gregorio be running away from the Hospital, and the control he faced in his visits, including by Losa?

6.2 Oaxtepec: 1588-1580

Losa was, indeed, a witness to the eight years Gregorio spent in the hospital founded by the *Hermandad de San Hipólito*, a brotherhood initiated by Bernardino Álvarez, who sought to establish an institute of Hospitallers that expanded into New Spain, due to the need for the assistance of numerous health problems, which no other institution at the time was capable of dealing with, namely convalescent, old and insane people.⁵⁰⁷ The Hospital of Oaxtepec, or to be precise, the *Hospital de la Santa Cruz de Cristo*, was the refuge for many Spaniards and Indians who had no other place to heal their ailments. Juan de la Plata, for example, was sent to Oaxtepec to serve his sentence, in 1601, for ten years. Similarly, in the early 1590s, Luis de Carvajal was sent to a hospital belonging to the same Hospitaller order, expressly, the *Hospital de los Convalescientes de San Hipólito*.⁵⁰⁸

Had Gregorio been sick, so as to be taken to Oaxtepec? According to Losa, this was indeed the case:

Two years had Gregorio Lopez continued in the holy House of our Lady of Remedios when he felt himself very weak and tortured with pains of the stomach and the colick; by reason of which indispositions the cold and strong winds that commonly blow in those high countries were very ill for him: so that for want of health, his removal was necessary to the hospital of Guasteca [sic: Oaxtepec] which is in the Marquisate of Valle, twelve leagues from México.

As soon as the archbishop understood of this resolution, he sent him a horse of his own stable, and some cates together with a servant to attend him and serve him in his journey. [...]

I remember when I asked this great Servant of God [Bernardino de Álvarez] his consent that Gregorio Lopez might be admitted into that Hospital, he answered me; *I would to God, Father Losa, I could bring to my Hospital all the Poor in the World, for I have very great confidence in Jesus Christ that he would keep them all: be it as you desire with all my heart* [...] And in effect it is seen how well

⁵⁰⁷ Cristina Sacristán, "Historiografía de la locura", 13-15.

⁵⁰⁸ Cohen, *The Martyr*, 180-181.

grounded on the Divine providence that work went; since, within two years after it was founded, there was in that house [sic] provision for seventy-five persons, and from thence forward it hath so far increased that god keeps a table in that desert for all sorts of poor and necessitous; Men and Women, Spanish or Indians, who come for cure to this Hospital, not only out of all New Spain, but likewise from Guatemala, and Peru, for the good entertainment they find here, and the plenty of all necessities for their health and refreshment, and the great charity and care wherewith they are looked to, so that almost all those that go thither with incurable diseases in a short time recover perfect health.⁵⁰⁹

Francisco Losa's depiction of the hospital of Oaxtepec seems sufficient in contextualising the eight years that Gregorio spent there. Losa also further informs us that it was Bernardino Álvarez himself who received Gregorio at the Hospital, offering him his chambers and provisions, as well as bringing to everyone's attention that Gregorio was not to be disturbed, an order that was followed until Gregorio decided to leave.

Oaxtepec appears to have been a bittersweet period in Gregorio's life. On the one hand, it seems that he was guided there to be kept under control. Whether the archbishop of México considered Gregorio to have needed some sort of medical assistance is uncertain, although very likely. On the other hand, Gregorio appears to have been genuinely fond of the people who served at the Hospital. We shall now proceed to recall some of the episodes and memories that both Losa and the witnesses in the beatification process retained from Gregorio's period in Oaxtepec.

During this period, the Hospitallers of Saint Hippolytus considered Gregorio a brother of the *Hermandad*, and in that condition, Juan Díaz de Arce included Gregorio in his chronicle of the brotherhood. In addition to supplying information to Losa's biography, these chronicles reflect Gregorio's role within New Spain's religious landscape, both during and after his life. Moreover, referencing to Lopez, especially after his canonisation process started, was a way to bring his devotion into the religious institutes to which Gregorio had somehow been associated. In his chronicle of the Hospitallers, Juan Díaz de

⁵⁰⁹ Losa, *Life*, 35-38.

Arce not only included Gregorio as part of the Hospital's history but also wrote the only intellectual biography of the Venerable, as we have previously seen.⁵¹⁰

Various testimonies attest to the fact that Gregorio was an asset to the Hospital. Brother Esteban Herrera, for example, describes how he once communicated to Gregorio that he felt worried that there were no eggs and fowl left to feed the patients, Gregorio having assured Herrera to trust that God would mend it. As it turns out, soon after, people from many towns arrived at to the Hospital, "some people with fowl, and others with eggs, and others with bread, without any warning whatsoever", and all thanked the Lord.⁵¹¹

The Franciscan Francisco Suárez reveals that Gregorio distributed gifts sent by the archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras through Francisco Losa, which Gregorio would bring to the dining hall and share with everyone.⁵¹² As we read through the testimonies, it becomes clear that Losa was not the only person who maintained close contact with the hermit. For example, Francisco Suárez, who had met Gregorio at the sanctuary of Los Remedios, and knowing of his residence in Oaxtepec, went there to visit him several times.⁵¹³

Similarly, the Dominican Fernando de Ribera reports how his memories of Gregorio went well beyond their meetings in Santa Fe. Fernando was the son of Francisco Torres, resident in Oaxtepec. Moreover, Fernando's godfather was none other than Esteban Herrera, *hermano mayor* ("abbot") of the Hospital. When he was around fifteen or sixteen years old, Fernando became a constant presence at the Hospital, where he ate with the Hospitallers, Esteban Herrera having entrusted him many times with the task of calling Gregorio at mealtime. Fernando recalls Gregorio's eating habits as being very similar to those which he maintained at Santa Fe: he only drank water from his white two-handled jar, which he would place out in the sun, saying that he did it for the sake of his stomach.

⁵¹⁰ We recall the references already mentioned in the first part of the dissertation: Juan Díaz de Arce, *Libro de la vida del próximo evangélico exemplificado en la vida del Venerable Bernardino Alvarez* (México: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1762), 253 y ss.; Idem, *Quaestionarii Expositivi pro clariori intelligentia sacrorum bibliorum*, 2 v. (México: Juan Ruiz, 1647-1648).

⁵¹¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Hado", 225v.-226r.

⁵¹² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Hado", 225v.-226r.

⁵¹³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial of Francisco Suárez", 268v.

After he had finished his meal, he would answer the questions and doubts of those present, then retiring to his chambers, taking his tableware with him. To Fernando, Gregorio gave the impression of being “immersed in prayer and contemplation”, however, Gregorio always kept the door to his chambers open, making himself available to anyone who wished to speak with him.⁵¹⁴

6.2.1 Changing spirits

The presbyter Pedro Sarmiento del Vado recalls how he arrived in New Spain with a fever and aching legs. As a result, he was forced to go to the Hospital of Oaxtepec to cure his maladies; brother Esteban Herrera, in charge of the Hospital, had urged him to eat in the refectory with the other Hospitallers when he got better. Pedro remembers Gregorio as a “tall, thin man with aquiline features, big black and blue eyes, who wore plain dun garments, and kept his head uncovered, causing great admiration to those around him”.⁵¹⁵ On holy days, Gregorio attended mass wearing his cloak. Through Gregorio’s example, Pedro decided to join the Brotherhood of Saint Hippolytus, always rejoicing when he returned to Oaxtepec, where Gregorio often advised him and encouraged him to continue with the Hospitallers’ godly work in serving the poor and the ill.⁵¹⁶

Pedro also refers to many of the learned people who came to visit Gregorio, such as Pedro de Pravia, a Dominican and administrator of the archdiocese of México. Pravia had asked the servant of God to come to the Monastery of Santo Domingo, where they spoke for hours, the Dominican having commented that “what he had heard about Gregorio was not even close to a third of what he is in reality”.⁵¹⁷ Another visitor mentioned by Pedro is Guillén Peraza de Ayala, governor of the *Marquesado del Valle*, who had gone to the Hospital in deep distress, having left in good spirits after being received and consoled by Gregorio. Pedro refers that Gregorio was sought out for his advice about all kinds of

⁵¹⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Fernando de Ribera”, 181r.-185r.

⁵¹⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado”, 215r.

⁵¹⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado”, 214v.-216v.

⁵¹⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado”, 218v.

matters, not just those of a spiritual nature, being able to comfort whomsoever visited him.⁵¹⁸

Hernando Carrasco, a Saint Hippolytus brother who worked at the *Hospital de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves*, was sent by Esteban Herrera to Santa Fe, where he would be able to find Gregorio, Esteban having informed Hernando that the servant of God would show him "the path of virtue".⁵¹⁹ Hernando recalls how Gregorio "urged and advised him to persevere with it [the *Hermandad de San Hippolito*], and to serve God in the aforesaid Hospital". They ate together, and the conversation continued: Gregorio was indeed very fond of the Hospitallers' work, which he had had the opportunity to witness during his sojourn in Oaxtepec. Hernando left Santa Fe feeling consoled and motivated to continue in the *Hermandad*, happy to have had the opportunity to discuss it with Gregorio, having gone on to work at the Brotherhood's Hospital in Vera Cruz.⁵²⁰

Gerónimo de Ocampo recalls seeing a friar of the Society of Jesus in Oaxtepec, remembering the modesty and humility with which Gregorio was able to change the Jesuit's opinion concerning a passage by Saint Paul, having recognised how learned the layman was.⁵²¹ Francisco Suárez once witnessed Gregorio defending a man that a Hospitaller wanted to send away from the Hospital, Gregorio having asked with such bluntness that he should stay, that the Hospitaller finally gave in and allowed it.⁵²²

In Oaxtepec, Gregorio had the opportunity to discuss his geographical knowledge with a sailor:

Gregorio had had a dispute with a sailor because the latter insisted that North was a fixed point without any movement, the saint having insisted that it did have [movement], having made an instrument with which the sailor marked North and learned how it evidently had movement, finally giving in to the saint [...]⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado", 217r.-219v.

⁵¹⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Hernando Carrasco", 192v.-193r.

⁵²⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Hernando Carrasco", 193r.-194v.

⁵²¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gerónimo de Ocampo", 235v.

⁵²² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suárez", 269v.-270r.

⁵²³ My translation of: "*Gregorio tubo una disputa con un piloto sobre dezir el piloto que el norte fuera fijo y no tenía movimiento y el santo decía que le tenía y hizo un instrumento del arte con que el piloto marcó el norte y*

Gregorio was often remembered as someone who spent much time in his chambers, with his stuff, in deep prayer and contemplation, though always ready and available to receive visitors. It is also possible that his contacts in Oaxtepec were mostly unplanned, even if, with time, his presence may have brought an increase in the flux of people and gifts to the Hospital. Nonetheless, his presence certainly provided the Hospital's patients and staff with additional moral support, which lasted for almost a decade.

6.2.2 Keeping contacts and habits

The Augustine, friar Jerónimo de Ocampo, who had been a preacher and *visitador* of the Philippines, and prior of his order in Manila, as well as having been elected to establish a convent in La Havana and companion of the bishop of Chiapas, Don Juan Zapata, provides us with yet another testimony of Gregorio's period in Oaxtepec. After hearing of Gregorio's presence at the Hospital, and as, at the time, he was living at the Monastery of Hayacapa, not too far from Oaxtepec, Jerónimo decided to go and meet him. During the two years he kept in touch with him, discussing many things in the Scriptures, the Augustine always marvelled at seeing so much saintliness in a layman. Cristóbal Anaya also recalls how, when Friar Diego de Contreras, long before becoming the archbishop of Santo Domingo, and his brother, the Augustine Juan de Contreras – both professors at the University of México –, came to speak with Gregorio, they too were surprised by his sound knowledge of the Scriptures. It was a Dominican who, in an indiscretion, told the Hospitaller that Gregorio had said in confession that it was God who had given him "the intelligence of the Bible".⁵²⁴ Ultimately, Gregorio became a walking encyclopaedia of the Holy Scriptures, knowing exactly where to find each passage he was asked for, as well as having developed keys for interpretation to facilitate their reading.

conoció evidentemente como tenía movimiento y se rindió [235] al santo", in BNE, *Recolectos*, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 234v.-235r.

⁵²⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Geronimo de Ocampo", 233v.

Howbeit, not all his visitors were as illustrious as some of those already mentioned. We have previously seen how Losa was forced to conceal some of Gregorio's polemical friendships due to their condemnation by the Holy Office. Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*, had the opportunity of visiting Gregorio in Oaxtepec before his first trial. Through his statement, we can infer that Gregorio had known the Carvajal family for a while. As is stated in *El Mozo's* process:

[...] [Luis] once went to see him [Gregorio] at the Hospital of Guastepeque, having been with him for half an hour, and he [Gregorio] did not say anything to this [Luis] besides good things about Luis de Carvajal, his uncle, and that he wished for his salvation, and when [Luis] told him that he was a tyrant that had brought them to this land, [Gregorio] told him not to say that, that it was wrong, and that men did not know God's ways.⁵²⁵

Small communities, such as the one built around the Hospital of Oaxtepec, are also susceptible to producing rumours that generated confusion. One morning, Francisco Suárez saw a brother from the Hospital leave Gregorio's room, and out of curiosity, asked him what the servant of God was doing. The Hospitaller responded that Gregorio had just woken up and was removing an iron chain from his leg, with which he had slept (*una cadena de hierro a raíces de la carne con que habia dormido*), Francisco Suárez having concluded that Gregorio was even more penitent than he had imagined.⁵²⁶

Juan de Santiago testified that he had heard about this incident from a fellow friar, and when he mentioned the episode to Gregorio, already in Santa Fe, the latter denied the use of cilices or any of these kinds of mortification devices. Since God had given Gregorio the task of expressing continuous love, his senses and members were so debilitated and incapable of any pleasure or recreation through earthly pleasures, that he did not need restraining them through "discipline or other extraordinary harshnesses".⁵²⁷ As we have seen, Gregorio made clear to Juan de Santiago that such devices of discipline only served to tame and hold in "nature and the senses", and that his nature and senses

⁵²⁵ Toro, *El proceso*, 311.

⁵²⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial of Francisco Suárez", 269r.

⁵²⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial of Juan de Santiago", 278r.

had no need for this, for they were already debilitated, and utterly subject to and in conformity with God's will, without any contradiction.⁵²⁸ Nevertheless, many other people carried out these sort of practices. Gregorio's disciple, Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, who most probably initially heard of his master's sojourn in Oaxtepec, used these devices, as Rodrigo Méndez-Silva informs us.⁵²⁹

Gregorio was sick and weak, very likely as a consequence of his very low-calorie diet, which he had defined for himself since his early days in America, resulting in stomach problems, colics, and generalised pain all over his body, which he seemed no longer to need given the strength of his mere spiritual existence. Gregorio's physical self-restraint may have had long-term effects, even if he seemed capable of balancing his minimal food intake with a daily routine that included very little physical activity, instead spending his time on intellectual and spiritual exercises, Gregorio's extraordinary gifts having always surprised those who did not expect him to be so learned.

Whereas Losa always recalled the hermit as having a stern personality, others, like Geronimo de Ocampo, affirm never having seen Gregorio "sad or melancholic", but rather, as being someone with "great joy [...] in his soul, which sprang from his eyes, and words that were gifted and filled with God".⁵³⁰ Cristóbal Anaya's testimony also reflects the variety of perceptions which people had of Gregorio. Cristóbal recalls having once asked Gregorio what book he was reading, to which he answered: "for years now I've been reading only one book".⁵³¹ Cristóbal assumed Gregorio was talking of the "love of God", on which he based his relationship with the divine and his neighbours.

The Hospitaller also mentions the occasion when Gregorio counselled another brother, Lope Rodríguez, about the best way to pray, which Cristóbal took note of using it in his correspondence:

⁵²⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial of Juan de Santiago", 277r.-278v.

⁵²⁹ My translation of: "*Al punto que este dichoso mancebo se dedicó a dios, se privó del uso de sí mismo, passando todo el día, y lo más de la noche en oración, tomando muy pocas horas de sueño aquel delicado cuerpo cubierto de un silicio de cuerdas, y rallos, mortificado por otra parte con disciplinas quotidianas, ayunos, y abstinencias, trayendo siempre en la boca aquellas divina palabras que le enseñó su Maestro Gregorio Lopez Hagase, Señor, tu voluntad assí en la tierra como en el cielo. Amén Jesús*", Méndez-Silva, *Epítome*, 44v.

⁵³⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Geronimo de Ocampo", 237r.

⁵³¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 174r.

[...] the rule that Your Grace asks for praying is given by the perfect master that teaches them, that is God, and although in the Holy Father everything is enclosed so that you don't consider me elusive, I'll give you this one that however brief in words is very compendious in substance and can be said this way; *My Lord God give light to my soul so that I know you and love you with all my heart [...]*⁵³²

Cristóbal additionally points out Gregorio's enthusiasm for reading:

[...] he very much looked for them [books] and borrowing them, no matter how big the volumes, in two or three days he would return them to its owner with diligence and caution, and asking him this witness how did he read them so soon, the servant of God Gregorio said he only saw the argument of the chapters, and if he found in any some doctrine he did not heard about he would only read that, seen that Our Lord had given him very great memory.⁵³³

Like most of the witnesses in the informative process, Cristóbal points out Gregorio's extreme poverty, which was evidenced by his plain clothes and modest bed. When Gregorio was not to be found standing in his room, he would be found reading a small bible, which, following Gregorio's death, was found filled with comments "in its margins, with things of learned men".⁵³⁴

6.2.3 Literary production

Gregorio Lopez's surviving literary production was elaborated at Oaxtepec, most likely written for personal use, with no intention of ever coming to publish these works. Friar Juan de Santiago recalls a "small book written in his [Gregorio's] handwriting, with a chronology of the world", the book having been put together by Gregorio himself.

⁵³² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 174r.-175r.

⁵³³ My translation of: "*Y los procurava con mucho [sic] y dando se los aunque fuesen grandes volúmenes y cuerpos en dos o tres días los volvia a su dueño con delixencia y cuidado y preguntándole este testigo como leya los libros tan presto dijo el siervo de Dios Gregorio que solo mirava el argumento de los capítulos y que si en alguno hallaba [238v.] alguna doctrina que no tuviese noticia de ella aquello leya porque nuestro señor le havia dado muy gran memoria*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Jerónimo de Ocampo", 238r.-238v.

⁵³⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Geronimo de Ocampo", 237r.

Furthermore, given the "brevity and smallness of the book, and the many things that it contained, it looked as if it had been done more out of a supernatural conscience, than through one's own learning".⁵³⁵ The Franciscan was not the only one to recall the existence of the said book. The Jesuit Pedro de Hortigosa also remembered its content:

[...] for if [Gregorio] discussed the History of the Church and the lives of saints, he would refer to what had happened and in which time it did occur, and like that he could write a very brief and very substantial chronology of the main things and events of the world [...] and if he dwelt of the diverse nations and provinces of the world and its ways he would say promptly in which region they were and in which grades of the North they were, and like that he composed a very curious world map and he wrote it of his own hand and a globe as if he had studied for a long time geography [...].⁵³⁶

We have already asked ourselves: What happened to these objects and manuscripts? Despite the information several witnesses give us with regard to a copy of this "Chronology" (supposedly in possession of the *oidor* in charge of sending it to Rome), as well as the whereabouts of Gregorio's world map (in the hands of the Society of Jesus), how did Losa let the opportunity slip to edit his companion's work? Perhaps he wanted to prevent any trouble arising due to the content of Gregorio's writings. We shall now see how, in addition to Losa, numerous witnesses refer to the writing process of Gregorio's most famous works, expressly, his pharmaceutical manual, and his exegesis of the Apocalypse, the only works authored by Gregorio that we have access to today.

⁵³⁵ My translation of: "*por la uxebedad y pequenez [285v.] de el libro y las muchas varias cossas que en el contenia parece mas ser conpuesto conjiencia sobrenatural que con saber proprio*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 285r.-285v.

⁵³⁶ My translation of: "*porque si trataba de Historia de la Iglesia y vidas de santos referia lo que pasó y en que tiempo puntualmente y así pudo de las cosas principales y subcessos de el mundo escribir una cronologia breve y muy substancial. [...] Y si se trataba de diversas naciones y provincias de el mundo y costumbres de ellas dezia puntualmente en que región habitavan e en que grados de norte estaban y así compusso un mapamundi muy curiozo y lo escribió de su mano y un globo terrestre como si mucho tiempo hubiera estudiado geografía [...]*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 131r.-131v.

6.2.3.1 *Tesoro de Medicinas*

Fernando de Ribera once witnessed Gregorio giving counsel during a medical situation in Oaxtepec. Losa also makes mention of the episode: it was the closest Gregorio came to performing a miracle during his lifetime. As the story goes, there had once been a patient at Oaxtepec suspected of having “a piece of skull which had broken off and was bound to enter his brain”.⁵³⁷ The Hospitallers were preparing to open the patient’s head to take out the piece, the patient having asked Gregorio to delegate the situation to God. Gregorio advised him to ask for the Gospel of Saint John to be read before the procedure, thus comforting him. A Dominican, Francisco de Loaysa, *the Elder*, was entrusted with this function, having put his hand on the patient’s head while he recited the said gospel. Once he had finished reading the sacred text, the patient sneezed so strongly, that the piece of skull came out through his nose, having thus avoided the surgery, and recovered in a few days. All pointed to Gregorio’s intercession as the cause of what could only have been deemed a miracle.

Fernando continues his account by referring to the time he spent with Gregorio at the Hospital of Oaxtepec, revealing it was public that Gregorio had made a “book of many medicinal remedies”, which the Hospitallers used to cure various ailments, by following the manual’s instructions.⁵³⁸ Concerning Gregorio’s healing abilities, Francisco Losa adds: “He had a special talent in pacifying and cheering up many of the Sick, who either through their ill humour, or the violence of their disease, were so choleric and peevish, that the infirmarians could not endure them”.⁵³⁹ If indeed the Hospital of Oaxtepec specialised in receiving people with mental health problems, Gregorio’s empathy for the most troubled patients reveals a therapist *avant la lettre*, as seem to show the stories of other hermits. What Losa stresses as a saintly characteristic could be in reality Gregorio’s natural talent to help the others. Gregorio’s calm spirit surely connected to his peaceful activities. We are told Gregorio often visited the Dominican’s monastery, located very

⁵³⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Fernando de Ribera”, 183r.

⁵³⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Fernando de Ribera”, 183r.-184v.

⁵³⁹ Losa, *Life*, 40.

close to the Hospital. It is not hard to imagine Gregorio enjoying the botanical gardens in Oaxtepec, created by Moctezuma and preserved after the Spanish conquest.⁵⁴⁰

Cristóbal Anaya adds in his testimony that Gregorio, besides having had no obligation to assist with the Hospital's services, was also too weak to help out, feeling sort of "offended by the bad smell of incurable and contagious disease".⁵⁴¹ However, Gregorio counselled the Hospitallers on how to heal their patients, and "how to see Jesus Christ in them", animating their spirit with great "fervour and devotion". Gregorio also consoled the convalescent patients, and "although he could not [...] serve and administrate the Hospital and the sick himself, he did what was in his power, and continuously prayed for them".⁵⁴²

Pedro Sarmiento del Vado puts into perspective Gregorio's pharmaceutical book: "having realised that at the Hospital of Guastepec there was no physician, he wrote a book, which this witness [Pedro Sarmiento] came across many times, from where he got many recipes for cures, which he used with the Hospitallers".⁵⁴³ Juan de Santiago heard from another Hospitaller that Gregorio had put together a book of medicines arranged in alphabetical order, to help with the treatment of the hospital's patients. The Hospitaller had a copy from which Juan made a duplicate, so the book was indeed circulating at that time, although it would only be published much later. Concomitantly, Pedro Sarmiento affirms that many copies were made of Gregorio's manual.⁵⁴⁴ Losa adds: "this book the Brothers found useful and advantageous to them in curing the sick, and when they went around the country asking for alms", indicating that the Hospitallers somehow monopolised the circulation of Gregorio's book for their order's benefit.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁰ See, for example, Druzo Maldonado, "El paisaje ritual en la «Pintura de Huaxtepeque» de 1580", in Constanza Vega Sosa, (coord.), *Códices y documentos sobre México. Tercer Simposio Internacional* (México: INAH, 2000), 501-503.

⁵⁴¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 172r.

⁵⁴² BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 172r.

⁵⁴³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado", 219v.

⁵⁴⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro Sarmiento del Vado", 219v.

⁵⁴⁵ Losa, *Life*, 42-43.

The book of medicines, "written by hand with such beautiful handwriting that it looked like a mould"⁵⁴⁶, was a way for Gregorio to give back for the time which he had been lodged at the Hospital. In reality, the manual was widely copied and sent to diverse places, having been of great help in places where no medical practitioners or surgeons were available to assist the ill. The pharmaceutical manual's success, and the cures it gave way everywhere it was taken, further highlighted the perplexity caused by a man who had not studied in any medical school and yet knew so much of the subject.⁵⁴⁷ As other scholars have shown, the merit of Gregorio's pharmaceutical treatise was not academic in nature, given that it was most likely a copy and collection of diverse traditions of knowledge previously studied and compiled by famous doctors of the time (such as Francisco Hernández). Gregorio's book aimed at condensing and making readily available such knowledge, compiling translations of other treatises (usually written in Latin) into Spanish, and organising them into an easily consultable database of medicines, diseases, and their cures. We do not know how he accessed his sources, whether they were available in the hospital's library or whether they were borrowed. The practice alone and the privileged contact he had with numerous natives in different regions of Mesoamerica would be enough to justify a compendium of such orature (the oral knowledge passed on through storytelling and experience).

6.2.3.2 *Declaración del Apocalipsis*

If the pharmaceutical treatise Gregorio wrote had a practical use, reflecting a practical knowledge he seems to have brought with him to and to have developed in the New World, his exegetical work proved to be much more polemic. Why would a layperson choose to write an explanation of the most demanding book of the New Testament to understand? The effects of such a bold task were surely felt in Santa Fe, his fame for understanding the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures accompanied him from Oaxtepec to his last home. Many of Gregorio's visitors were drawn possibly to Santa Fe due to his

⁵⁴⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 173v.

⁵⁴⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristóbal Anaya", 172r.-174r.

biblical knowledge and his continuous research conducted in Losa's library on this subject is demonstrative of an ongoing interest. Juan Núñez, Juan de la Plata, and Luis de Zárate, were all interlocutors in a polemic discussion that recast Gregorio's purely "bibliocentric theology" as a millenarian belief in the New Jerusalem, which he wrote about in his *Declaración del Apocalipsis*.

Some testimonies reveal contacts from Gregorio's life without surveillance. Franciscan, Francisco Suárez, who knew Gregorio before he moved to Oaxtepec, admired the constant state of mental prayer in which Gregorio seemed to be immersed, even when he was writing on the Apocalypse of Saint John. Gregorio once asked Francisco to read out loud to him a "book called *Eusebio*", the friar believing it to have been a request more out of Gregorio's humility, than out of necessity that another read aloud to him, having perhaps also been a form of imparting his knowledge.⁵⁴⁸

The Augustine friar Jerónimo de Ocampo was also aware that Gregorio had written "a treatise in [form of] a declaration of the Apocalypse of Saint John, having heard from Pedro de Agurto, bishop of Cebú, how it was "the most notable thing that had been written about the biblical book".⁵⁴⁹ In addition, Gaspar de Praves, Gonzalo de Salazar, Juan de Santiago, and many others, all knew Gregorio had written a book on the Apocalypse, and that the manuscript had been sent to the Inquisition, "not because it was a heresy, but because it was contrary to the common explanation of the saints and doctors [of the Church]".⁵⁵⁰

Notwithstanding, the Jesuit Pedro de Egurrola reveals the process of Gregorio's writing was not entirely "imbued by God". As he claims, Jesuit Hernando de Tovar, as well as one of the martyrs "who died at the hands of the Tepeguan Indians in 1616", gave him a letter which Gregorio Lopez had written to Francisco Losa.⁵⁵¹ Through Egurrola we can better understand where Gregorio got the inspiration to write his *Declaración*.

⁵⁴⁸ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suarez", 269v.

⁵⁴⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Jerónimo de Ocampo", 234-234v.

⁵⁵⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Gaspar de Praves", 263v.; "Testimonial de Gonzalo de Salazar", 256v.-257r.; "Testimonial de Juan de Santiago", 283v.

⁵⁵¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Egurrola", 200v.-201r.

*Dominus tecum Padre León should write and because he is leaving to the Indians it still did not effectuated. Well, thanks to the Lord say Your Grace. Send the Historiales de Sant Antonio Cathalogo Santorum and Castro contra Herejes that I believe is in the Descalced, Father Cobos came and dwelt about the Apocalipse and asked for a declaration about it that with the fervor of our Lord will be done and for that are these books and the Cesares de Mexia look for its borrowing that for this they are important, our Lord will take us where without glimpsing books we might see the truth. Don't tell Your Grace this to anyone.*⁵⁵²

This letter thus constitutes proof of a reading network; useful information for the Inquisition, but with time it became a relic in the beatification process of Gregorio Lopez. The supposed hermit was continuously surrounded by books, knowing where to obtain books that he did not have in his possession.

It was known that the *Declaración del Apocalipsis* Gregorio had written in the 1580s was held by the Inquisition.⁵⁵³ Juan de Zapata, for example, affirms to have been commissioned by the Holy Office to read it.⁵⁵⁴ Juan de Bohorques confirms this information, adding that Gregorio's text was confiscated because it was written in Spanish and dealt with "mysteries unattainable to common people".⁵⁵⁵ Juan de Bohorques, who never met Gregorio in person, knew that his *Declaración* had ended up in the Holy Office because it had been written in a "Romance" language [vernacular], expressly, in Spanish, as opposed to Latin.⁵⁵⁶ The case could have developed further, had the manuscript been published, but Gregorio never intended to do this.

⁵⁵² My translation of: "Al padre Francisco de Losa en México = Dominus tecum. El Padre León habia de escribir e por estar de partida los indios no se efectuo esta, bueno grazias al Señor dize V. Merced. Invie los *Historiales de San Antonio Cathalogo Santorum* y Castro *contra herejes* [201v.] que pienso que está en los Descalzos. Vido el Padre Cobos, tratóse de el apocalipse, pide una declaración del que con el fervor del Señor se hará y para esto son estos libros y los *Césares* de Mejia. Procure imprestados que para esto són importantes. El Señor nos lleve donde sin ogear libros veamos la verdad. No dé V. Merced parte de esto a nadie = *Gregorio Lopez*", in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Egurrola", 201r.-201v.

⁵⁵³ Juan de Bohorques, bishop of Oaxaca, and Pedro de Hortigosa, Jesuit and examiner of the Holy Office in México, in their testimonies for the informative process, both refer that Gregorio's work not only was in circulation, but also, that it had been examined by the Inquisition, since it had been written in the vernacular. It is said it contained some controversial opinions and that it was left unpublished. BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 130v.-131r.; and "Testimonial de Juan de Bohorques", 191r.

⁵⁵⁴ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Bohorques", 243r. - 243v.

⁵⁵⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 191r. -191v.

⁵⁵⁶ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Bohorques", 191r.

In conversation with Pedro de Hortigosa, Maese Alonso informed him how he had warned Gregorio that in the book he had written on the Apocalypse, there “was an opinion pointed out by those who read it and that it would be a good idea to take it out”, for it could be considered dangerous or sensibly heretical. Gregorio responded that “he was not one for disputes and such issues, and that the book should thus be taken to Rome, and if it were found that [that opinion] should be taken out, he would gladly do so”.⁵⁵⁷ Juan de la Plata also narrates a similar conversation, during which Gregorio demonstrated that he was sure that his opinion would not suffer the censorship his fellow men believed he should fear.⁵⁵⁸

It is not our task here to delve into a literary or theological analysis of the *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, since it has already been thoroughly examined by various scholars, particularly Álvaro Huerga, who became interested in Gregorio Lopez as the trigger for various processes that brought to light the *alumbrados* in New Spain. To Huerga Gregorio Lopez was an ascetic, and his written work reflects his intellectual and spiritual capacities, and show no signs of heresy. Similarly to his practical pharmaceutical treatise, Gregorio’s work on the Apocalypse is credited above all else with providing his contemporaries – who most likely were not looking for a genial literary creation – with an explanation in Spanish of the biblical book, which Gregorio, with no formal education or scholarly or religious training, was able to provide.

*

A learned and devout layman, such as Gregorio, had to be under constant examination, especially with the Dominican Monastery so close by, to avoid any sort of deviation, both in himself and in the ones he advised. The presence of women seems to be absent from Gregorio’s period at Oaxtepec, the time he spent at the hospital having been one of observed contemplation (if we can state these concepts outside the context of a religious order, but as a kind of spiritual state of being, experienced by Gregorio and the ones

⁵⁵⁷ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Jerónimo de Ocampo”, 130v.

⁵⁵⁸ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 863.

around him). Given that his subsistence was assured due to his personal vows of poverty, and that he had no obligations within the Hospital, many viewed him with overt criticism. Contrastingly, Losa viewed his prayer work and counselling to both sick and staff, as the work of a "soldier of our captain Jesus".⁵⁵⁹ However, Gregorio Lopez was mostly remembered, at least by the testimonies for his canonisation process who recalled his staying in Oaxtepec and Santa Fe, as someone who spent most of his time shut off in his chambers, with his books and writings. Gregorio's fame grew by word of mouth, most likely through those who resorted to him for his guidance and assistance. His literary production demonstrates at least two dimensions of the social work he took on regardless of his lack of professional training.

Losa's story links these two periods in Santa Fe and Oaxtepec, attributing them with some continuity in what regards his presence in the story of his companion. Nonetheless, it is fair to say Gregorio had already become well-known in the capital, his move to the Hospital de la Santa Cruz in Oaxpetec having merely just changed his public. Pedro de Hortigosa mentions Gregorio's encounters at Oaxtepec with "Maese Alonso", also known as Alonso López de Hinojosos,⁵⁶⁰ showing that these encounters did not just start when Francisco Losa began to "organise" Gregorio's agenda in Santa Fe or Ciudad de México.

Resuming Part II

As Antonio Rubial García points out, hagiographers wrote their biographies having in mind that "the truth did not have as much to do with *what was* as it did with *what should be*".⁵⁶¹ In the case of Gregorio Lopez, we note how, similarly to the efforts of the primitive church authorities to assimilate the Desert Fathers' spirituality, Losa's endeavour matched the Novohispanic Church's need for including lay experiences in its narrative.⁵⁶² Regardless of how much Francisco Losa had to compromise to write an

⁵⁵⁹ Losa, *Life*, 39-41.

⁵⁶⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 123v., 130r.-130v.

⁵⁶¹ My italics. Antonio Rubial García, "St. Palafox: Metaphorical Images of Disputed Sainthood" in Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, (eds.), *Colonial Saints*, 194.

⁵⁶² Rubial García, "La Hagiografía", 16.

exemplary life, the practice of many spiritual theorisations, such as mental praying, lack of demonstration of belief, lack of symbols of religiosity, and others that had challenged the Catholic Church since the Protestant Reformation were present in Gregorio Lopez.⁵⁶³ The chronicles of various religious orders, other Mexican texts, as well as two re-editors of Losa's biography, namely, Alonso Remón and Luis Muñoz, all help us to complement Losa's text with information they acquired through other people and other sources. Mexican chronicles complete the picture painted by Francisco Losa.

However, Francisco Losa was the only person to inscribe Gregorio Lopez into the enterprise of "transmission and consolidation of Catholic culture in the New World".⁵⁶⁴ The production of Gregorio's exemplary story was a collaborative process in which diverse vital figures from various institutions of the Spanish Empire participated, by adapting the religious-literary model of the anchorite, thus establishing Gregorio Lopez as *the* hermit of the West Indies. This was no easy task for Francisco Losa, who had to adapt the Christian hagiographical tradition to the "colourful" American reality and mould Gregorio's life into a legend of Christian perfection.

Precisely during the hiatus between the completion of the writing process (1598) and the publishing of the book (1613), many of the people connected to Gregorio Lopez either died or moved elsewhere due to diverse circumstances. Could the social networks Losa belonged to before and after Gregorio entered his life have somehow held him back as an author? Furthermore, we should take into consideration how his discourse was shaped by the effect it could have had in revealing some of Lopez's connections, regardless of how much Losa himself may or may not have been in control of those relations. Losa probably felt that it was better to keep his account 'clean', animated by some of New Spain's most illustrious figures than to bring shadowy figures onto the

⁵⁶³ See for instance the case of Miguel Servet, in María Tausiet, "Espíritus libres: el alumbradismo y Miguel Servet" in *Hispania Sacra*, LXV 131, enero-junio (2013), 73-102. Gregorio Lopez's life and ideas may be compared to Servet's, thus very different to that which Losa attempted to transmit, and even more so from the lives and ideas of the sensual *alumbrados* of the second half of the sixteenth century in Spain and New Spain.

⁵⁶⁴ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 126. As most authors have recognised, and as may be observed in most testimonials, Losa's biographical discourse on Lopez became the basis for any approach to his history in both New Spain and Europe.

stage that was Gregorio's life. After all, Losa was the one who remained, thus liable to face any consequences that could result from presenting a false saint.

In the process of collecting information for his book, Losa had appealed to people who Gregorio may have known during his lifetime. Nonetheless, he resorted to common *topoi* of the hagiographical genre and works he had read. What he thought better not to disclose was ingeniously transformed into impassioned apologies. Moreover, he paved the way for other readings and other testimonies. After 15 years, the voices of those who did not praise Gregorio as the model Losa described had been quieted, forgotten, or stifled, Francisco Losa's voice having prevailed above all others.

Admittedly, though, Losa's production process of his narrative started much earlier. In Santa Fe, Gregorio was available to anyone who sought him out, a show managed by Losa, but in which Lopez was the star. Nevertheless, we have observed how until the end of his life (and following his death), Gregorio was under the Inquisition's gaze. In addition to the clerical and political movement brought together to propose him as saint, we also know one of México's condemned *alumbrados* was collecting stories for Losa's biography. Furthermore, one of the crypto-Jews burned at stake in the year of his death had declared under torture that he believed Gregorio to have been a Jew. So why did the Inquisition question Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra about Gregorio, even before the *alumbrado's* process had begun? Regardless *don* Fernando became Gregorio's exemplary disciple, their relation having probably caught contemporaries' interest in Gregorio's habits and actions at Santa Fe. Is this the reason why Losa fails to mention Gregorio Lopez's most perfect and most famous pupil? Did Losa try to hide this specifically or was he trying to conceal Gregorio's connection with creole society? Could he have just been trying to hide his connections to the Mendicants, the order Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra had tried to get into?

People of all ages, genders, and races, knew they could count on Gregorio for advice, alms, opinions, or even cures. This was not the case when Gregorio left Oaxtepec and was hosted by Losa at his home in México City, during which he refused to meet the vice-queen. Many of those who met Gregorio in Santa Fe had heard about his stay in Oaxtepec. Many went in search of his explanation of the Apocalypse, that was probably

circulating in manuscript copies, while others sought his pharmaceutical treatise and expertise. Similarly to Santa Fe, Oaxtepec functioned somewhat like a trap, where Gregorio was kept for his "well-being", and where, for the period of eight years, his visits were conditioned, given that it was more than a hundred kilometers from the capital, and therefore only those who hospitalised there, or who happened to drop by, were fortunate enough to meet the wise man.

As we have seen, beyond the biography and the canonisation process, Gregorio Lopez holds a place in the macrohistory of colonial México from a more or less defined religious perspective. However, from a sixteenth-century point of view, Gregorio Lopez was never a religious man, for he never entered a religious order, nor held any religious office. Perhaps he was, indeed, guilty of a heretical disposition and a lack of orthodox practices. Nonetheless, whether he leant more toward orthodoxy or heterodoxy, Gregorio Lopez's experiences within that history were built out of the exceptionality and disparity of his actions within the contexts which Losa speaks of. Moreover, he was "guilty" of helping people without having been qualified for it, and perhaps this is why he chose to maintain secrecy in relation both to himself and those whom he helped. Because of Francisco Losa's endeavour, we can see in Gregorio Lopez the reflection of the social dynamics of their time and spaces they passed through. Just like any other peninsular or immigrant from Europe that crossed the Atlantic to America, Gregorio Lopez was forced to rethink all that he knew about God, especially given his contact with indigenous cosmovisions present in the places that he went through in Nueva España and Nueva Galicia, having developed a very particular sense of self, as we will see in the next part.

PART III – ALTER-NATIVE FACTS AND HISTORIES OF A SIXTEENTH CENTURY (NOT ONLY) RELIGIOUS MAN

Four hundred years on, we are dependent on the sources produced, by their very nature, within ecclesiastical structures, markedly ubiquitous within the Catholic world of that time (genealogical information, inquisitorial processes, parish registers). Nonetheless, we must keep in mind that the institutions were continually adapting and expanding their “spiritual” territory, via means of their strategies and practices, and in conflict with each other and other powers, expressly, the Spanish empire, as well as the *conquistadores* (conquerors) and *encomenderos* (explorers) of the New World. Spanish Christian spirituality and religiosity were in the process of profound transformations, evident in their protests, reforms, conversions, in the condemnations of Jews, Moors and heretics, as well as in the clashes with the orthodox Catholic institutions, but also with others, being them Mexicas or wild Chichimecas. Perhaps we can evince this complexity, not with a general theory concerning the macrohistory of where Gregorio Lopez lived, but through envisioning a broader picture of things, which we will never be able to see.

Through the narration of Gregorio’s exemplary life, Francisco Losa brings to life multiple (hi)stories where Gregorio was and is part of local narratives in their global dimension. Some parts have become eroded, while others have reappeared, but suddenly Gregorio has become an essential part of the new history of many old and new places of that old New World. Losa advances with the storyline relatively quickly: in one chapter he resumes Gregorio’s first twenty years in Iberia, in the next six chapters he narrates Gregorio’s first seventeen years in Nueva España and Nueva Galicia, and the rest of the book is focused on the period Losa became acquainted with Gregorio, having accompanied him until his death in 1596. Overall, it is a hagiographical account of events of significance in the production of a story of perfection, in line with the promotion of a saintly man while he was still alive.

In order to get a glimpse of what we could call the pre-*life* of Gregorio Lopez in Iberia and the West Indies, I tried to walk in his shoes, having travelled through the places

mentioned by his biographers and translators.⁵⁶⁵ Having had no optimistic expectations of finding any direct evidence of Gregorio's presence in these places, I sought to see things from a different perspective: *if he left no traces, what traces could all those environments have left in Gregorio? "Could"*, given that it is not entirely safe to affirm he was there, or precisely how Gregorio experienced his passage through those places. Nonetheless, we must keep in mind the exceptionality of his story, an exceptionality that was attributed to him by *his* contemporaries: more than a hermit, he was the solitary religious layman who was not affiliated with a religious institution, who knew exactly how to behave under various circumstances, maintaining his silence and keeping his distance when needed.⁵⁶⁶

Continuing with part I's and part II's intent to humanise Gregorio Lopez's story, in part III we will deconstruct the myth by bringing to the fore the alternative stories where we find Gregorio *in-against-and-beyond*. In fact, like in other hermits' stories, wherever he went on his journey, he inscribed himself *in* the history of that place, living *against* what was usual for his time (either by doing nothing or by acting in a very different manner from his contemporaries), while simultaneously conciliating his own will *and* others' perspectives, *beyond* what was expected. His pilgrimage and retirement from the world is presented by Losa as a turning point in Gregorio Lopez's life in New Spain, as we shall see in chapters seven and eight. In chapters nine and ten, as the mystery builds, so do the possibilities for historical imagination and/or informed speculation on the twenty years of experiences Gregorio left Spain with, irrespectively of the 'Gregorio Lopez' he became in a 'New' Spain. One thing is for certain if Gregorio was born, it was due to one simple reason: his parents had sexual intercourse. Once again, we reverse the chronological

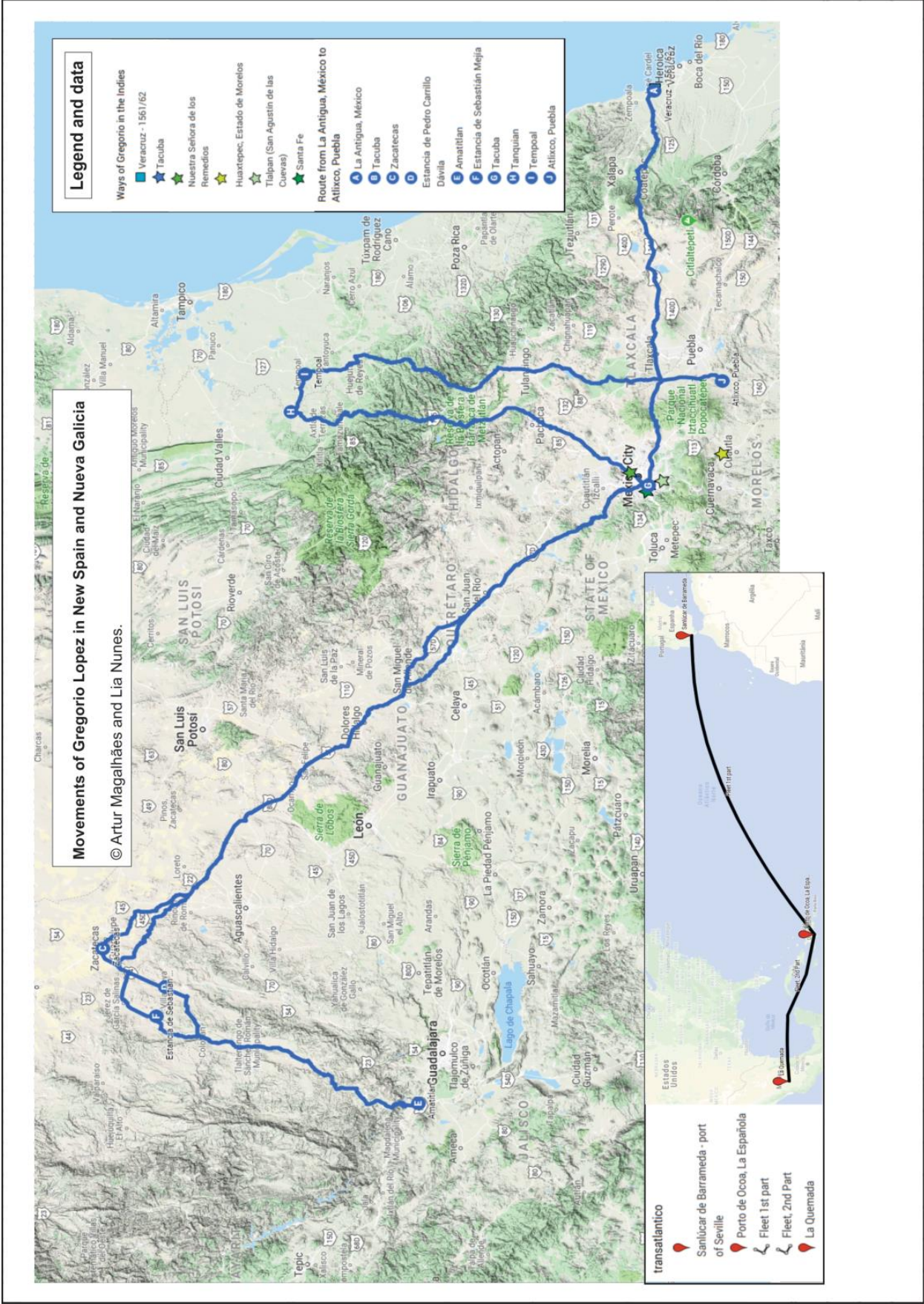
⁵⁶⁵ In my academic pilgrimage in search of Gregorio Lopez, I went to: Linhares da Beira and Madrid (Gregorio's possible places of origin), then Navarra, Burgos, Valladolid, Toledo, Guadalupe (places of passage, pilgrimage, and work), and to a city he had to pass through, at least in theory, to cross the Atlantic, expressly, Seville. Having crossed the Atlantic, I went to Veracruz, México City (in Nueva España); Zacatecas, Jérez and La Encarnación, all part of Nueva Galicia, as well as Tempoal and Tanquián in La Huasteca, Atlixco, Puebla, Oaxtepec, Santa Fe, Tlalpan, and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, all part of Nueva España.

⁵⁶⁶ Losa, *Vida*, 1r.-4r., 71v. Francisco Losa highlights this ability as one of Gregorio's most prominent features on many occasions throughout *Life*.

order of interpretation and analysis, and we shall proceed to peel off all the layers until we reach the core that is Gregorio's subjectivity birth.

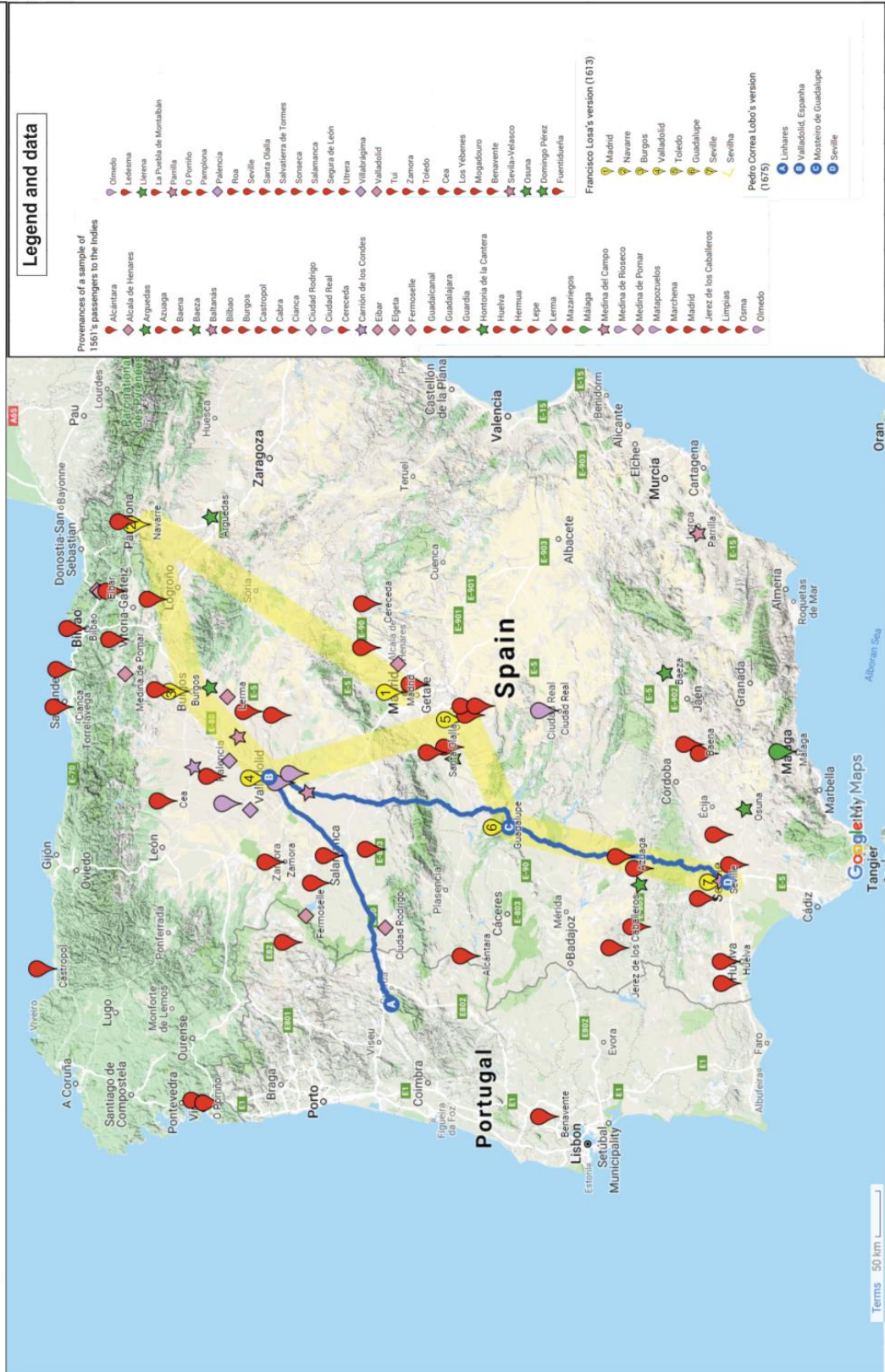
In chapters seven and eight we shall delve into Gregorio's dealings in the Indies, picking up from where we left in part two, namely, the examination of conscience he went through in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, in 1579, from when his presence was noted and authorised by the ecclesiastical authorities. As we will see, Gregorio had already been through a similar process in Atlixco, bringing us to the following question: Where are the sources relative to that event? Finally, we shall examine the moment of his 'turning point' in Zacatecas, when he decided to lead what his contemporaries considered and remembered as a solitary life.

The last chapters of this thesis will prove to be a struggle to not to turn you (the reader), and I (the writer), into the inquisitors. In chapter nine we shall go through the sources we should have (but do not have). We should have records of his passage to the Indies as a regular passenger; when he arrived in México he is said to have worked in a notarial office, but we find no registers of it. From the moment he was born, until the moment he boarded a ship to Veracruz, there are several situations mentioned by Losa we can verify in sources, but then again, what could such sources tell us about this man? That he left his home and became a man of the world? Are we really capable of accessing the effort he put into trying to hide his roots? For if he was indeed Portuguese, a *converso*, an orphan, or a noble bastard, these labels could have got him into trouble in Iberia or anywhere else in the Spanish empire. Who was Gregorio before he turned into a 'saint', and how can we go beyond the legend of his exemplary *life*?



Provenances of a sample of 1561's passengers to the Indies and reconstitution of Gregorio Lopez ways in Iberia (according to Francisco Lora and Pedro Correa Lobo)

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Chapter 7. The sources we do not have (1580-1587/6?)

Itinerant, unremarkable, and attempting to avoid inevitable fame, Gregorio Lopez arrived at the hermitage of *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* in México City in the late 1570s. It was here, though, that the archbishop's order examined him. Had Pedro Moya de Contreras been suspicious or curious? Probably both. However, the Inquisition would only interrogate someone about Gregorio years later. What led to the necessity to evaluate Gregorio Lopez? How was the examination carried out? How does Gregorio's hagiography reflect the stories of the seventeen years during which he resided in New Spain until he was questioned about his solitary lifestyle? What can we learn from the transmission of knowledge and information during the second half of the sixteenth century in the kingdoms of the West Indies?

Cristóbal Anaya voices what was possibly the general understanding of Gregorio's activities:

[Cristóbal] knew and understood how, before the servant of God went to the Hospital of Guastepec, and so it was public and notorious, Sir Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, archbishop of México, having heard of the servant of God and of the many things that were said about him in declaring the Scriptures being a layman, [the archbishop] sent learned religious people to communicate with him, and they talked with him and came back with great admiration and saying great things of his virtue and sanctity and of so much Our Lord communicated with him in the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures.⁵⁶⁷

We face the clergy's inability to make sense of a layman with no formal education, more devout and virtuous than any other known fellowman, having had no authority to pursue the kind of life Gregorio chose for himself. What had Gregorio told Alonso

⁵⁶⁷ My translation of: "[...] *supo y entendió este testigo como antes que el siervo de Dios fuese a el hospital de Guastepec. Y assí fue publico y notorio que el sr. Don Pedro Moya de Contreras arçovispo [234] de México habiendo tenido noticia de el siervo de Dios Gregorio y de las muchas cosas que se decían del en declarar la escriptura siendo hombre seglar, ynvio a que le comunicasen personas religiosas doctas y que le avian hablado y buelto a dar noticia con grande admiración y diciendo grandes cosas de virtud y santidad y de lo mucho que Nuestro Señor le comunicava en la inteligencia de la sagrada escriptura [...]*" in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Cristobal de Anaya", 232v.-233r.

Sánchez and Francisco Losa concerning his previous experiences in the New World? Gregorio was undoubtedly successful at guiding the conversations towards his ideas, instead of focusing on who he was, where he came from, and what he did. Still, his examiners could not find any reason to proceed with a case – what would they have gained from it after all? The Mexican elite could have acted as a powerful shield for Gregorio to carry on with his life, as somehow happened in Oaxtepec and Santa Fe. What about beforehand? If we look into the other defendants connected to Gregorio, there is no evidence of any examination of conscience before the Holy Office arrested the *alumbrados* or the Carvajals. What had Gregorio been doing in Los Remedios to have been sent to Oaxtepec, instead of being prosecuted? Even if we could consider the archbishop's decision an informal prosecution, one thing we know for certain: the examination did not transform Gregorio into a martyr or a heretic of any kind, but instead into a living saint. However, we have no records of such an examination.

7.1 (1580-1578) Nuestra Señora de los Remedios: the examination of conscience

The introduction of the idea of conscience into Christianity was a long process.⁵⁶⁸ The subjects' godliness was marked through the holy sacrament of baptism, so parish records became a way to prove the ancestral purity of their blood. Besides, they were also asked to keep control and vigilance over their conscience as good citizens of the Spanish empire, and as good sheep of the divine flock. Early modernity might provide us with an apt metaphor for a strong sense of identity that was being challenged and was in the process of changing: people became (consciously) part of nations, empires, professional networks, and condemned heresies. A 'religious' sense of identity was becoming diluted within broader contexts, with communities and individuals being able to experience broader horizons. On the one hand, in the Spanish Catholic empire, there was the need to secure kingdoms from heretical menaces, and on the other hand, new worlds to

⁵⁶⁸ For instance, see Adriano Prosperi, "L' Inquisitore come confessore" , in Paolo Prodi and Carla Penuti, (eds.), *Disciplina dell'a anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della societ'a, tra medioevo ed eta moderna, Annali del' Istituto Italicogermanico in Trento 40* (Bologna: Societa editrice il Mulino, 1994), 187-224.

evangelise and colonise. We should note that the examination of conscience was a common practice for penitents who sought confession and absolution already since Paul of Tarsus, but especially after the Council of Trent.⁵⁶⁹

Francisco Losa begins his testimony in 1620 with this examination episode, by mentioning the answer he gave to the archbishop, Pedro Moya de Contreras, expressly, that Gregorio Lopez was *un hombre de virtud muy sólida y fundada* ("a man of solid and well-grounded virtue").⁵⁷⁰ The witnesses of the informative process, not solely based on Francisco Losa's book, were well aware of the archbishop's order to examine the strange man that was living in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. In fact, some of them testified with regard to the examination episode: Juan Gallegos, Jesuit, who was around ten years old when he first heard about Gregorio's examination of conscience; Jerónimo de Ocampo, Augustinian, who was in his twenties when he met Gregorio in Oaxpetec, had also heard about the episode; Juan Zapata de Sandoval, bishop of Chiapas, although having never made acquaintance with the hermit, also recalls the event, believing it to have been the result of "carefully calculated and malicious calumnies"⁵⁷¹; and finally, Pedro de Hortigosa, Jesuit, theologian and *calificador* in the Holy Office, who heard about it from Francisco Losa himself in 1580.⁵⁷² Friar Francisco Suárez was also made aware of the episode when he was in charge of the "doctrine and maintenance of the Indians of some places around" the sanctuary of Los Remedios.⁵⁷³ Perhaps, rather than reinforcing preconceptions towards him, or serving as his outright condemnation, Gregorio's examination was the moment of his salvation from further judgements and resignation to what he ended up accepting as his divine mission.

⁵⁶⁹ Proserpi, "L' Inquisitore come confesore".

⁵⁷⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Losa", 3v.-4r.; Losa, *Vida*, f. 20.

⁵⁷¹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Zapata Sandoval", 242r.

⁵⁷² BNE, *Recolectos* Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan de Gallegos", 202r.-202v.; "Testimonial de Jerónimo de Ocampo", 233v.-234; "Testimonial de Juan Zapata Sandoval", 242r.-242v.; "Testimonial de Pedro de Hortigosa", 124r.-124v.

⁵⁷³ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/ 7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suárez", 265v.

7.1.1 The sanctuary

The *Cabildo* of México was recovering Nuestra Señora de los Remedios as a place and as an integral part of the collective memory of New Spain's new history. In this manner, the viceroy prevented the sanctuary from being under ecclesiastical rule. In 1576, the image of Lady of Los Remedios visited the city for the first time: one of the most deadly epidemics of these years had spread all the way from Veracruz to the capital, and all forms of divine help were welcome. Having been rebuilt in 1574, with a *Cofradía* ("confraternity") in charge of its administration, the sanctuary became prepared to receive devotees and pilgrims and equipped with accommodation where Gregorio may have found shelter.⁵⁷⁴

Francisco Losa narrates the impressions caused by Lopez in the Mexican sanctuary:

For some months at his first coming [to Los Remedios] none knew who he was, and hardly anyone heeded him: for, being extreme wary of not discovering outwardly the favours God inwardly did him, seeming rather in his exterior a simple man, of weak parts, and little understanding, there was none that resorted him, or that light upon that treasure, which God had done in his Solitude. Hereupon he suffered great necessity and lack of maintenance, so I understood he lived there many days only upon wild Quinces.

Yet after some time they began to observe him more, certain devout persons from time to time, when they kept their Novendials there, inviting him to dinner. They marked diligently and exactly the new attire, and manner of life of their Guest. Some were edified with his conversation and carriage, other were afraid of it; judging it somewhat suspicious to leave the common road wherein most went. Others less advised thought him a man of ill life, and a concealed Heretical, abhorring him, and shunning his communication and company; and in this particular he suffered much with very admirable patience: though I have not been able hitherto to learn more particularly the notable things which there befell him.

The news of this came to the Archbishop's hearing, Don Pedro Moya de Contreras of happy memory, who as he became so vigilant and careful a prelate, desired to be informed concerning the life, and manners of Gregory Lopez, and the spirit that guided him.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ Francisco Miranda Godínez, *Dos cultos fundantes: Los Remedios y Guadalupe (1521-1649)* (México, El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001).

⁵⁷⁵ Losa, *Life*, 30-32.

Francisco Losa affirms that Gregorio Lopez lived in Los Remedios for some months before he made his acquaintance. If we take into consideration that Alonso Sánchez (the second examiner) only arrived in New Spain at the end of the summer of 1579, we can, with some certainty, assume that Gregorio Lopez's arrival at Los Remedios took place around the end of 1578, or the beginning of 1579.⁵⁷⁶ Under the protection and sponsorship of the *Cabildo* of México City, the sanctuary's management had shifted from the Franciscans and the archdiocese to the secular community, evincing the viceroy's representative royal power in the New Spanish Church.⁵⁷⁷ Gregorio likely knew the three chaplains in charge of the sanctuary in that period, namely, Juan de Avendaño, later replaced by Francisco Gómez Ronquillo, and Felipe de Osorio, who took over probably after Gregorio's examination. He might have also heard Luis Mayo, the churchwarden, complain in relation to the first chaplain (since Avendaño could not speak náhuatl or otomí, so he was useless for the support of native peoples who wished to adore the Virgin); ask for the second chaplain (who the archbishop recalls as being easily distracted, but who apparently was committed to the rehabilitation of the Marian shrine); and remain quiet in relation to the third chaplain (since Osorio was a powerful name in México, and the placement at the hermitage of Los Remedios was gaining recognition, which meant it could have been quickly taken over by members of the city administration).⁵⁷⁸

Franciscans dropped by the sanctuary to celebrate mass since they were in charge of the (in)doctrination of the Indians who lived close by. Los Remedios was previously under the Mendicants' jurisdiction. One of them, Francisco Suárez, would be drawn to the presence of a mortified man, who looked down, without saying much. The Mendicants were also curious about Gregorio, Francisco Suárez mentioning a friar who had questioned Gregorio about his provenance.⁵⁷⁹ In his testimony, the Franciscan provides

⁵⁷⁶ Concerning Alonso Sánchez, see for instance, Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial - 1572-1767 (compendio histórico)* (México, Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos), 1941, 21.

⁵⁷⁷ Miranda Godinez, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 113-114.

⁵⁷⁸ Miranda Godinez, *Dos cultos fundantes*, 98-99.

⁵⁷⁹ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suárez", 266r.

precious details concerning Gregorio's life in the sanctuary. As he became closer to the man, he began to perceive his spiritual nature.⁵⁸⁰ According to Francisco Suárez's testimony:

Being with him some days [Francisco Suárez] saw many people from this [México] city going to communicate him [Gregorio] their spiritual worries, and he saw how they all left quiet and comforted with his doctrine, because God gave him particular grace to console the disconsolate in spiritual matters, and seeing this witness how many sorrowful women came to talk to him, he [Francisco] asked [Gregorio] if they disturbed him and the servant of God answered that, by God's will, the mentioned women did no pressure of anxiety in his soul, and asking him [Gregorio] to control some scruples he had about being good to confess often he answered with brief and compendious words that it was better not to have what to confess, making him understand that a priest should be so clean in his soul that he should have no guilts to confess no matter how often he confesses.⁵⁸¹

Devotees brought alms and life to the renewed hermitage, Gregorio's presence having brought no harm. On the contrary, people found comfort in him, and the Franciscans saw him as a gift from God, as opposed to a threat. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, in his chronicle of the Real Convento de Jesús María, when estimating the probable date of the meeting between Marina de la Cruz and Gregorio Lopez, declares Gregorio Lopez as having been present in Los Remedios from 1578 until 1580. According to the Mexican priest, although they had other opportunities to meet, Marina – then married to her second husband, Benito de Vitoria, *vecino* of México, and apparently a well-positioned

⁵⁸⁰ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suárez", 265v-266r.

⁵⁸¹ My translation of: "[...] *este testigo, estando algunos días con el, vió yr muchas personas desde esta ciudad a comunicarle sus trabajos espirituales y del alma, y vido que todos salían quietos consolados y satisfechos con su doctrina, porque para esto le dio Dios particular grazia para consolar desconsolados. Y satisfechos [sic] en trabajos espirituales, y viendo este testigo que entravan a hablarle muchas mujeres afligidas, le preguntó que si le ynquietavan. Y respondió el siervo de Dios que por la vondad de Nuestro Señor no hacían presión ninguna de inquietud en su alma las dichas mujeres y preguntándole este testigo una vez para quitarse de algunos escrupulos que tenia que si hera bueno confesarse a menudo [267r.] le respondió con palabras breves y compendiosas que mejor hera no tener que confesar dando a entender que el sacerdote ade estar tan limpio en su alma que no tenga que confesar culpas aún que se confese a menudo*" in BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Francisco Suárez", 266v.-267r.

merchant,⁵⁸² who gave her “great encouragement to proceed in her virtuous exercises” – was one of the women who went to the sanctuary seeking spiritual consolation.⁵⁸³ The chronicler was convinced that Marina had visited Gregorio during his stay at Los Remedios, from whence she promoted their friendship.⁵⁸⁴ Gregorio provided spiritual comfort to those who came from México City, two leagues away, to see him. Gregorio’s case reveals how both regular and secular clergy continued to patrol Los Remedios, taking him as a welcome presence, given that Gregorio attracted devotees to the sanctuary, which they strove to maintain.⁵⁸⁵ The Franciscans were well aware of the strange man. However, how his presence was noted by the archbishop, Pedro Moya de Contreras, is unclear.

7.1.2 The examiners

The exercise in memory recall Francisco Losa and Jesuit Alonso Sánchez would impose on Gregorio Lopez, is determinant to understanding what happened before and after Gregorio’s examination. By consulting the manual for confessors in use during the second half of the sixteenth century, we realise that the examination was conducted according to the social and professional condition of the examined. Furthermore, the examiner was to ask several general and particular questions during the inquiry, looking for signs of sins committed and spiritual/ethical faults. The longer it had been since the last confession, the longer the examination would take.⁵⁸⁶ Thus, a man who did not confess, and who had no apparent professional activity, became difficult to understand,

⁵⁸² Alonso, Antonio, “Poder especial”, August 17th, 1574; “Poder especial”, July 6th, 1576; “Poder especial”, February 3rd, 1580; Grado, Álvaro de, “Poder especial”, September 22nd, 1579; Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, “Escritura”, s.d.; Pérez de Rivera, Juan, January 10th, 1584, in *Catálogo*.

⁵⁸³ Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental*, 96v.-98r.

⁵⁸⁴ Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental*, 96v.-98r.

⁵⁸⁵ BNE, *Recolectos*, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Francisco Suárez”, 266v.-267r, Losa, *Vida*, 19.

⁵⁸⁶ Óscar Martiarena, *Culpabilidad y resistencia: ensayo sobre la confesión en los Índios en la Nueva España* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1999), 49; Martín Azpilcueta, *Repertorio general y muy copioso del Manual de Confesores* (Salamanca: Casa de Andrea de Portonaris, 1556); *Concilio Provincial Mexicano III celebrado en México* (México, 1585).

as was the case with Gregorio Lopez. Nonetheless, we must consider the position in which the examiners were in when questioning Gregorio.

In 1569, Francisco Losa became curate of México City's central parish, and from at least 1571 onwards he became councillor at the University of México. In a report sent to Felipe II in 1575, Pedro Moya de Contreras recognises Losa's knowledge of Latin and his capacity to deal with cases of conscience (*casos de consciencia*). With his brother, in 1573, Losa became administrator of the inheritance of Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano – son of the first *conquistador* Tristán de Luna y Arellano and therefore one of the most powerful creoles of his generation – and his children. Losa was named trustee and executor a few more times throughout his life.⁵⁸⁷ Moreover, around this time, he was the

⁵⁸⁷ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 126, n. 8. Also about Francisco Losa, see Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*, p. 553-554: "LOSA, Francisco – Miembro de la hermandad de San Hipólito. Declarado como *Héroe de Santidad* (Moreno, 1989: 20). Según algunas fuentes, nació entre 1536 y 1540; él mismo, en enero de 1570, dijo que tenía 30 años de edad. Originario de Cea, en el oriente del obispado de León, España. Hermano de Alonso Losa, librero en la Ciudad de México. Fue ordenado de corona el 10 de marzo de 1554 por el obispo de León. Ordenado de grados y epístola el 31 de marzo de 1560 en León; también, ahí, el 13 de abril del dicho año fue ordenado de evangelio. El 22 de marzo de 1561 en León fue ordenado de misa; además, a poco tiempo recibió licencia para cantar misa. Después, pasó a la Nueva España, supuestamente con licencia. Llegó a México con el grado de bachiller en Artes, expedido por la Universidad de Valladolid. Entre 1565 y 1585 fue cura de la catedral de México y, después, a finales de la década de 1580, al parecer, ocupó el curato de Oaxtepec, Cuernavaca. Además, en 1576 fue nombrado *consiliario* de la Universidad en la capital del virreinato. En enero de 1570 fue descrito como cura de la catedral, *cursante en Cánones, y hábil, y hombre virtuoso*. En este año no tenía capellanía alguna. Por este año, mediante una información ante la Aud. de México, pidió una dignidad o canojía. El 3 de febrero de 1573 en México, en compañía de su hermano (el librero), Don Tristán de Arellano y Don Fernando de Velasco, recibió un amplio poder por parte de Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano, mariscal de Castilla, para administrar sus bienes y aquellos de sus dos hijos, menores de edad. En 1575 el arzobispo Moya de Contreras destacó de él que *entiende bien latín y casos de conciencia*. Descrito como bachiller en 1576; en 1578, como licenciado. En octubre y noviembre 1576 su apoderado en Colima era Pedro de Ribafrecha. En 1578 era albacea, tenedor de bienes y, además, uno de los herederos de Diego de Mendoza, vecino de la villa de Colima. El 9 de diciembre de 1589 en Morelia fue nombrado capellán del Hospital de Santa Fe en México. Fue testigo, el 10 de julio de 1620 en la Ciudad de México, durante la *Información sumaria que se hizode las virtudes y milagros del venerable Gregorio López*, probanza para el proceso de su beatificación en Roma. Probablemente fue la persona que más estuvo unida a este eremita y místico, que a partir de 1562 vivía entre chichimecas, cerca de Zacatecas. Francisco Losa falleció el 27 de agosto de 1624 en la Ciudad de México, siendo capellán del convento de los carmelitos descalzos (AA, 2002: N.º 2235-2237; *Cartas de Indias*, 1981: 791; Carrillo Cázares, 2006-2007, 1: 821s, 829-831, 833s y 836; *Descripción*, 1897: 43, 276 y 354s; Mazín Gómez, 2008: N.º 136; Motta Sánchez, 2003: N.º 32; Muriel, 1990: 214; O'Gorman, 1941: N.º 13; Román Gutiérrez, 1993: 380s; Romero de Solís, 2001: 14, 283s y 326; Torre Villar, 1992: 97s).

Según las actas sacramentales de la Ciudad de México, *Francisco Losa, cura*, dio por primera vez la bendiciones nupciales en la catedral de México el 8 de octubre de 1568; desposó por primera vez el día 20 de este mismo mes y año, y celebró y su primer bautismo el 24 de febrero de 1569; como bachiller aparece con cierta irregularidad a

private chaplain of many noble households, and by 1578, as almoner of the Cathedral of México, he was always willing to visit hospitals and help the “shameful poor” (*pobres vergonzantes*) and orphan girls, distributing alms for the most varied causes.⁵⁸⁸ He was also a visibly prominent figure in the capital, his name featured in numerous documents: nominated as executor of last wills; nominating procurators to pay off debts; and even, as auctioneer of exquisite objects, such as *trenzados de Holanda* (Dutch cloth).⁵⁸⁹ His brother, Alonso Losa, was in 1576 a successful book-seller in Ciudad de México, as we have seen.

Losa, and especially Moya de Contreras, must surely have tremendously anticipated meeting Gregorio Lopez, since they must have come across a similar profile on at least two other occasions, as we shall see. Francisco Losa, very likely was already prepared for what he was going to find. Although he does not mention any names, Losa admits to having heard gossip about Gregorio Lopez, originating from (as Losa tried to demonstrate) a less learned cleric. He recalls meeting this priest, who was ready to make a denunciation to the Inquisition about:

[...] a man [Gregorio] whom he feared much was a Lutheran heretical because he did not carry any [rosary] beads about him nor showed any other such signs with which good Christians showed their devotion and uprightness of heart. I asked [the priest] whether he spoke well in things touching our faith; [the cleric] answered that [the man] seemed to be well-grounded in the Catholic doctrine, that he knew all the Bible by heart, that in his behavior he was blameless... I replied familiarly... if you should see a thief without his beads you would not

partir del 1° de abril de 1571, y como licenciado firmó (pero no siempre) desde el 8 de agosto de 1575 en adelante. Siguió como cura de catedral al menos hasta el 8 de noviembre de 1589.

El 5 de septiembre de 1584 en el Sagrario de México fue el único testigo de bautismo de Gerónimo Agustín, hijo de Francisco de Velasco y de Leonor de la Cruz. El 11 de agosto de 1589, también en este templo, junto con Francisco Morales, clérigo presbítero, fue testigo del bautismo de Juan, hijo de Don Antonio de Carvajal de Carvajal y de Doña María de Porras; como padrinos fungieron Hernando de Terrazas y el Dr. Dionisio de Rivera Flores (VV, 2004, CSM, Bau 2-2, N.º 616; CSM, Bau 3, N.º 188, 1078, 1389 y 1511; CSM, Bau 4, N.º 2066; CSM, Mat 1-1, N.º 9 y 10; CSM, Mat 2, N.º 2045Rei).

Tal vez él fuera aquel que se graduó como bachiller en Cánones por la Universidad de México el 2 de diciembre de 1570 (Medina Mondragón de Martínez, 1975: 73)."

⁵⁸⁸ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 116-117.

⁵⁸⁹ Trujillo, Pedro de; [December] 10th, 1573, "Almoneda" in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

therefore account him a heretical, how much less a man of so good a life, so conversant in the Holy Scripture and whose conversation seems only to be with God.⁵⁹⁰

In fact, after hearing the priest's testimony, Losa likely shared the episode with the archbishop. Losa puts forth his arguments in favour of Lopez, also constructing his image as examiner, trying to understand and revealing curiosity concerning the described character. However, is this episode sufficient to affirm that Moya de Contreras sent Losa because he was already "favorably disposed toward Lopez"?⁵⁹¹ Bilinkoff does not hesitate in her analysis, asserting that, even considering "his Erasmian-style indifference to external rituals and 'signs' and his predilection for the ascetic and the mystical, Losa was a 'soft pitch'".⁵⁹² Bilinkoff also shows how the curate of México changed Gregorio's life after that moment. Francisco Losa might have been in a position to assert his innocence, but in that moment, the archbishop decided to send for another examiner. Why?

The Jesuit Alonso Sánchez had only just arrived in México when the archbishop called him for the mission of examining the conscience of a man who was living in Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. We do not know whether Alonso Sánchez spoke with Francisco Losa before conducting his examination, but he was certainly not prepared to meet Gregorio, who ended up surprising him with a long and highly learned conversation. Gregorio Lopez seems to have been resistant to the examination, or even to have tricked the examiner. As Losa informs us:

With this Commission the said Father [Alonso Sánchez] went to our *Lady of Remedies*, spending much time with *Gregory*, and asking him very particular questions concerning the Catholick Faith, his own costumes, and Spirit; to all which he answered with such caution, and humility, and in so few words, that he left (p.33) him still more in suspense, and doubt, and more desirous of getting the truth out of him. Therefore thinking of any other course was but losing time, he resolved to speak plain to him; and so with a grave, & severe aspect he thus bespake him. *I desire to be free with you; My Lord Archbishop sends me to take cognisance of this Sheep: answer me clearly, and plainly.* To which *Gregory* replied: *It is very fit, I should obey my Pastor, and Prelate, and your*

⁵⁹⁰ *Apud* Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 117-118.

⁵⁹¹ Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 117.

⁵⁹² Bilinkoff, "Francisco Losa", 118.

reverence in his name. Having premised this, he began anew to sift him from top to bottom; asking him many, and very subtil questions in matters of our holy Faith, and Christian doctrine: to all which he answered clearly, and distinctly, grounding his answers on the Holy Scripture, and relating the Heresies, that had risen against the Catholick truth, telling the times and principal heads of the Arch-Hereticals, together with the Saints, and Ecclesiastial writers, and Doctors, that have impugned, and written against them.⁵⁹³

Out in the New World, Alonso Sánchez spent a long time examining Gregorio, perhaps due to his consistent enigmatic answers, or perhaps because he felt he could not find the right angle from which to pursue a proper examination, or even still because he was not getting all the information he would have liked to. The Dominican Domingo de Salazar, as *calificador* of the Inquisition, would have been helpful in the 1579's examination of Gregorio Lopez, were it not for his absence from New Spain, having left the Indies in 1576 to go to Spain, and only come back – invested with the dioceses of the Philippines – in 1580.

Coincidentally, Alonso Sánchez departed to the Philippines the following year, along with the Domingo de Salazar⁵⁹⁴, having been sent there after his superior in the Province of México, Juan de la Plaza, began to view him as dangerous. The “feelings of too much recollection and asperities” he was infiltrating into the Company of Christ's soldiers, were not according to what the Jesuits wanted to be seen in the mission of the evangelisation of non-Christian worlds.⁵⁹⁵ Alonso Sánchez would end up on the same ship as the Domingo de Salazar, nominated the first bishop of the Philippines, who had met Gregorio long before in those wild northern lands of the Chichimeca region. It is not hard to imagine Sánchez and Salazar sharing stories about Gregorio Lopez on the way to their new mission.

⁵⁹³ Losa, *Life*, 32-33.

⁵⁹⁴ M. Manuel Pola González, “Fray José Hevia Campomanes, dominico y obispo de Nueva Segovia (Filipinas)” in José Barrado Barquilla and Mario A. Rodríguez León (eds.), *Los dominicos en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas a raíz de la Guerra de 1898*, Actas del VI Congreso Internacional, Bayamón, Puerto Rico, 21-25 de septiembre de 1998 (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2001), 295-296.

⁵⁹⁵ Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas*, 29.

During Gregorio Lopez's examination of conscience, various aspects of the man came to light: lay, learned, reserved, with a feeling of 'blameless'. The Franciscan Jerónimo de Mendieta contributes with an important event for this story, revealing that Pedro Moya de Contreras visited la Huasteca, having stayed at the state of the priest Juan Mesa. The priest fell ill – *le salían las tripas* ("his guts came out", possibly from dysentery, common at the time) – so one of his *negroes* had to perform/predicate the sacraments for the impressed archbishop.⁵⁹⁶ In April 1579, the archbishop began writing to Felipe II about his impressions of the region of Huasteca. Juan de Mesa and Pedro Moya de Contreras surely talked about Gregorio Lopez, given that three, perhaps four years before, the curate of souls and land of Huasteca had been Gregorio's host. It is not hard to imagine Mesa assuring the Mexican archbishop, and previous inquisitor, of Gregorio's harmless intentions and ideas. Mesa might even have taken things further, by asking Moya de Contreras to protect Gregorio, a man who tended to be misunderstood, and who could probably have used some help... or control. Moya de Contreras could then draw his conclusions and discuss them with Juan de Mesa, or with the Dominican who had worked with him in the Holy Office, Domingo de Salazar.

Gregorio arrived at Los Remedios after a stint in Atlixco, from where he had left after being exonerated from all accusations that came upon him during a period of *sede vacante* in the diocese of Tlaxcala (between 1576 and 1578), meaning that the archbishop of México – who supposedly presided over such cases – who Losa refers to, was Pedro Moya de Contreras. We cannot rule out the possibility of another examination of conscience, from which, according to Losa, Gregorio came out absolved of any wrongdoing. Still, we are not able to confirm that Moya de Contreras, first inquisitor of México was indeed, somehow, involved in that decision/process. We shall see how Pedro Moya de Contreras must have confirmed Gregorio's acquaintance with Juan de Mesa

⁵⁹⁶ Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, vol. V, 374; Anonymous, *Cartas de Indias*, (México: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Reprint of Edition published by Ministerio de Fomento (Impr. De M. G. Hernández: Madrid, 1980 [1877]), 219.

when he visited the region in 1579 (Juan de Mesa had been Gregorio's host in Huasteca some years before).⁵⁹⁷

7.2 (1579-1577?) Atlixco

Immediately before arriving at the sanctuary of Los Remedios, Gregorio Lopez spent some time in Atlixco, near Puebla. South-east from México City, Atlixco was an old settlement close to the Popocatepetl volcano, known for its fertile soil, benefiting from the waters that came down from the volcanic hills. Although Huejotzingo had control over the valley, they were not exploring it when the Spanish arrived. Seizing the opportunity to fight the Triple Alliance, they allied with the Spanish and, eventually, those lands ended up falling under royal jurisdiction. From then on, the valley became a source of fertile lands to distribute amongst Spanish settlers, given the proximity of the new City of Angels, Puebla - built from the ground by the Spanish, becoming one of the most 'successful' centres of Spanish occupation in New Spain.⁵⁹⁸

While in Atlixco, Gregorio marched to the beat of his own drum. He found or was found by, protectors with whom he obtained a small lot of land where he built his *choza* (hut) and cultivated his *huerta* (home garden), in exchange for the task of tutoring/schooling his hosts' children. The Romero were important people in the region: despite not belonging to the elite, they were active members of the communities responsible for expanding Spanish territory, either by taking over former Indian settlements, or by beginning from scratch. Having first registered as *vecinos* in Puebla, the Romero then moved to Atlixco (whose fertile valley supplied both Puebla and México City), where they had access to a watermill. Juan Pérez Romero eventually became a governing member of that which was to become Villa de Carrión. However, Felipe II would only declare Atlixco a *villa* (town) in 1579, after Gregorio had left. Furthermore, and

⁵⁹⁷ Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Vol. V, Libro IV, Cap. IV (México: Porrúa, 1980), 374.

⁵⁹⁸ Carlos Salvador Paredes Martínez, *La región de Atlixco, Huaquechula y Tochimilco. La sociedad y la agricultura en el siglo XVI* (México: CIESAS, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991), 159; Héctor Silva Andraca, *Atlixco en la macrohistoria. Investigación referente al nacimiento de la Villa de Carrión*, (Atlixco de Mujica y Osorio: Ediciones del Ayuntamiento Municipal de Atlixco, 1974), 36-39 ss.

of particular interest to us, Catalina and Juan Pérez Romero laid the first stones in the construction of the Franciscan Monastery of Acapetlahuacan.⁵⁹⁹ The Dominicans were expanding towards Atlixco, where there was only one Franciscan convent and a recently appointed priest, all the more reason for the Spanish to settle and colonise the Valley that had been abandoned by some of the first Spanish allies in the New World.

7.2.1 Old-new disputes over a territory

Losa informs us how Gregorio got to Atlixco:

So, having lived in Guasteca about four years, and seeing himself much known, and generally esteemed by the Indians, and Spaniards, through instinct of the Holy ghost [...] he departed for Atrisco; and a League off the town, before his entrance into it, God presented him a man of quality, by name John Perez Romero, who in his house afforded him a lodging, and every thing necessary for his maintenance. He [Gregorio] liked here very well; for his Entertainers were very good Christians, and profited themselves by the good counsels, and the example he gave them (this being the thanks and requital our Pilgrim made them that entertained him, and wherever he went).

The temper of the Country was very grateful to him, and the rivers, brooks, and fresh air of the fields, such as might contribute much to devotion and recollection. Yet it was not our Lord's will he should live there above two years. For, the sower of tares, and Enemy of our welfare useth to obscure and bury the vertue, and light, which shine and enlighten us, that other may not profit, nor go forward in the service of God; as did by his means the Hosts of Gregory, and many of the neighbours about.⁶⁰⁰

Possibly, they would have seen Gregorio as a person possessing the skills to provide their children with primary education. In addition to teaching their children, Romero also gave Gregorio freedom to do his own things; tending to a home garden, reading, and praying.

⁵⁹⁹ Marco Díaz, *Antigua Villa de Carrión. Arquitectura religiosa y civil*, (México: Centro Regional de Puebla and INAH-SEP, 1987), 16-18, 29-31, 61; Arturo Córdova Durana and Gustavo Mauleón Rodríguez, (coords.), *Atlixco. Historia, Patrimonio y Sociedad* (Honorable Ayuntamiento del Municipio de Atlixco: Puebla, 2007), 41; Gonzalo Obregón, *Atlixco. La ciudad y sus monumentos*, (México: INAH, 1981), 26.

⁶⁰⁰ Losa, *Life*, 1675, 28-29.

The sources from Atlixco and Puebla that we were able to retrieve from the notarial and parish registers do not help. The only sacramental-records' book accessible concern only the communities of *Indios* and *Negros*, beginning with the last baptismal registers of 1589: even if we could find information on the Romeros, through the registers of their servants, Gregorio had already left Atlixco by that time.⁶⁰¹ The documentation from Puebla has not yet been transcribed, and unfortunately, the notarial registers still have to be catalogued. Given the quantity of data we may find in the notarial archive of Puebla, we can only imagine the information which we would be able to retrieve in converting it to a digital format such as the online catalogue for the sixteenth-century registers from the capital's Historical Archive. Nonetheless, while we are not able to access more economic data on Puebla and Atlixco, we find no traces of Gregorio, but we do of his hosts in Villa de Carrión.

We already know through Torquemada, that Catalina and Juan Pérez Romero were the main sponsors of the Franciscan monastery in Atlixco.⁶⁰² Juan Pérez Romero's property is referred to in various documents: in the minutes from the Puebla City Hall we find seven references, which may either refer to the man in question or his namesake⁶⁰³ in the book of Mercies attributed to Spanish and Indians, deposited in the National Archive of México⁶⁰⁴; and in what was retrieved by several scholars in the notarial archive of Puebla.

⁶⁰¹ María de los Ángeles Pérez Macuil, (coord.), *Inventario del Archivo Parroquial de la Asunción Acapetlahuacan, Atlixco, Puebla*, Colección Inventarios, n. 193 (México: Apoyo al Desarrollo de Archivos y Bibliotecas de México, A.C.); Archivo Parroquial Santa María de Assunción Acapetlahuacan, Cajas 1, Libros, *Bautismos*, 1588-1605.

⁶⁰² Díaz, *Antigua Villa*, 30-31.

⁶⁰³ Archivo Municipal de Puebla, *Actas de Cabildo*, vol. 5, ficha 2507, Doc. 18, 04/10/1545, "Merced de título de vecindad otorgado a Juan Pérez Romero", 21v. ficha 3468, Doc. 246, 03/15/1548, "Merced de un solar a Juan Pérez Romero, vecino de la ciudad, en la traza, que limita con solar junto de Juan de Ayala, en esquina, en recompensa por las casas que vendió para el sitio del monasterio de San Agustín", 241v.; vol. 6, ficha 3944, Doc. 106, 02/14/1550, "Merced de un solar a Juan Pérez Romero, en la traza de la ciudad, en la cuadra nueva, enfrente del solar que se le dio a aliteratus.", 69; ficha 4547, Doc. 200, 03/31/1552, "Merced de título de vecindad otorgado a Juan Pérez Romero", 195; vol. 9, ficha 6548, Doc. 023, 08/16/1563, "Merced de dos suertes de tierra a Gaspar de la Vega, alcalde ordinario. Se ubican: una en el valle de Atlixco y linda con el caudal junto a las tierras de Juan Pérez Romero, calcetero, y la otra hacia Totimehuacan", 14; ficha 6895, Doc. 115, 09/03/1565, "Licencia a Juan González de Badajoz para trasquilar su ganado en las casas de Juan Pérez Romero", 78v.; vol. 10, ficha 7145, Doc. 051, 12/09/1567, "Licencia y merced otorgada al regidor Diego de Ordaz, para que se pueda sacar tres remanentes de agua en el valle de Atlixco, des agua que se perdía de las tierras de los frailes de Santo Domingo y de Juan Pérez Romero", 38r.

⁶⁰⁴ "Archivo General de la Nación, *Mercedes*, Vol.9, 50v., 95r." *apud* Díaz, *Antigua Villa*, 17.

The document which proves to be the most informative asserts that there were already some Dominican friars in Atlixco in 1575, precisely when Gregorio moved to Atlixco.⁶⁰⁵ Gregorio's hosts belonged to a somewhat privileged group, as *vecinos*, holders of lands and water. The Romero's lived side-by-side to the Dominican friars, from the Puebla Monastery, in charge of some lands in the valley.

Another chronicler provides us with more information concerning Gregorio's activities in Atlixco, namely, Diego Basalenque. He mentions that Pedro García, the Augustinians' second Provincial in San Luis Potosí, who was from Atlixco himself, had been taught the alphabet by Gregorio Lopez.⁶⁰⁶ Nicolás Navarrete further informs us that Pedro García, son of *don* Pablo García and *doña* Cristina Dávalos, was born on June 23rd, 1575, presenting no source for his data, other than his chronicler's authority.⁶⁰⁷ This information leads us to believe that Gregorio must have been in Atlixco from around the beginning of 1577, until 1579, when people began to report seeing him at Los Remedios. We then have to go back "more than two years", following Losa's biography, although it is hard to imagine what sort of education Gregorio could have provided a three year old child. One of the authors got the dates wrong, and we have to be able to accept these mistakes. Being unable to confirm any further these data, we are left with the impression that Gregorio was well established in that valley, the Romero or the García – people of importance, as their titles reveal – having come across Gregorio Lopez, provided him with the basics for a living in exchange for his valuable intellectual capital.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁵ Expressly, a document concerning the mutual agreement between five Spanish land-owners, amongst them Juan Pérez Romero, with regard to the need for regulation of the irrigation ditch and the distribution of water to each holder, in Archivo Histórico de Notarías de Puebla, s.n., July 18th, 1575, "Escrituras de los labradores de la Savana" [incompleto], *apud* Paredes Martínez, *La región de Atlixco*, 119-120.

⁶⁰⁶ Diego Basalenque, *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del orden de N.P.S. Agustín por... Diego Basalenque... del mismo orden...* (México, por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón: 1673) *apud* Joaquín Meade and Rafael Almanza, *Los Agustinos en San Luis Potosí* (México, Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí: 1989), 51-53, 76.

⁶⁰⁷ Nicolás P. Navarrete, *Historia de la Provincia Agustina de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán*. Vol. I (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1978), 319-321.

⁶⁰⁸ Basalenque, *Historia de la provincia*, 146v-147v.

7.2.2 The episcopal denunciation

We must take into consideration that a layman who offered counsel and set an example was an intrusion on the clerical territory of social assistance. As we have already seen, the Augustinian Nicolás Navarrete provides us with information about one of Gregorio's pupils, during his period in Atlixco, shedding light on the apostolic process in the Valley, which includes reports of Gregorio's education of Indians in Santa Fe. In Atlixco, there was presumably only one secular priest, Cristóbal de Miranda, vicar of Acapetlahuacan. Probably, the Franciscans would have been occupied with the Native's disputes with the Spanish, although the Dominicans and the Augustinians were already in possession of various properties in the Valley.⁶⁰⁹

Gregorio was probably doing what others could not. Notwithstanding, after two years in the fertile valley, Losa reports that:

To compass his ends, the Enemy used for his instruments certain religious Persons that lived there, none of the learned sort, though well-meaning, it is likely, and zealous, but non *secundum scientiam*. Who, seeing so great mortification and composedness in so young Man, and such admirable wisdom, virtue, and spirit in one unstudied, and wearing no habit of any Order, wherein he might have acquired such excellent qualities were greatly scandalized, and feared where was nothing to fear and forgetting that saying, the Hood makes not the Monk; [...] they so aggravated the matter before the then archbishop of México, that his Lordship thought it necessary to make very particular information for discovering the truth; which being juridically done, he declared with great solemnity by public sentence the extraordinary piety, innocence, and virtue of Gregory Lopez.⁶¹⁰

Although the bishop exonerated him from any accusations, it remained difficult to understand how an unlearned layman could perform such tasks and demonstrate such exemplary devotion. The puzzlement concerning Gregorio, as it appears, would continue: all attempts to accuse him were unfruitful.

⁶⁰⁹ Silva Andraca, *Atlixco en la macrohistoria*, 101, 141-144, 154-160.

⁶¹⁰ Losa, *Life*, 32-33.

As soon as the king asked for information concerning Gregorio in 1618, and after the release of Losa's book, no one wanted to be seen as one of those who was used as the 'Enemy's instruments'. At the time of the episode though, a virtuous, composed, wise layman was probably too much to handle. After all, those clerics, regardless of who they were, simply carried out what was expected of them, investigating any deviation from normal Christian behaviour. Moreover, given the fame Gregorio had begun to acquire, there was all the more reason to proceed with an investigation. If he was as holy and virtuous as people said he was, he had to prove he was not a charlatan, a mystic, or an *alumbrado*. In any case, it is likely that this episode was common knowledge, given Atlixco's proximity to México City, and the fact that secular and regular priests were in close contact with each other. Once more, Losa decides not to give any further details.

*

In Los Remedios, suspicions arose about Gregorio's unorthodoxy and mental health – either he was a heretical or a fool. In Atlixco, suspicions were a direct result of Gregorio's distinct religious attitude, encapsulated, above all else, in the necessity for "truth". Perhaps, a lack of information, or more precisely, a lack of founded denunciations or accusations against Gregorio that would come up in a formal document avoided the disclosure of susceptible information. The theological arguments and doubts concerning an attitude similar to Gregorio's, turned many lay and religious radicals and/or heterodoxal Christians into witnesses, accused and condemned by the Holy Office.

Gregorio is not known to have performed any official act during this period, otherwise records of it would have been found amongst the infinite folders of notarial activity in Puebla. On the other hand, much of his activity was recorded by hagiographers and chroniclers of religious orders. Regardless, the sources we do not have, namely any records concerning possible denunciations that led to the Atlixco episode and the interrogation in Los Remedios, show that Gregorio more than likely was a suspect for the Inquisition. The fact that Francisco Losa was sent out to ensure an informed opinion, was enough of a demonstration of the authorities' concerns with the subject of multiple

rumours. After meeting Gregorio in Los Remedios, from then onwards Pedro Moya de Contreras showered him gifts, revealing curiosity in relation to the strange man who had brought his knowledge to one of the most important sanctuaries of Nueva España, and in a town long disputed by important native allies and the Spaniards that had started to settle in Atlixco.⁶¹¹ Gregorio Lopez's examination in 1579 became well-known due to a complex combination of circumstances, which included the examination itself, as well as the solitary man's experiences in New Spain and Nueva Galicia in the seventeen years leading up to that moment.

Chapter 8. The sources we could not have (1577/6? – 1563/1?)

A mutual recognition of each other's dignity may have been what brought Gregorio Lopez and Juan de Mesa together, and what compelled Moya de Contreras to examine the man in the first place, the archbishop having wanted to make sure he was not a fraud. Pedro Moya de Contreras's visited La Huasteca, in that same year, where he most certainly discussed various matters with Juan de Mesa, who is said to have hosted Gregorio during his long and meditative period in the region. There are no records of such conversation, nor such examinations and enquiries. Nevertheless, and although there is no documental proof of those moments, we can say Gregorio's story changed from the fact alone that Losa starts to be increasingly present in his life.

While we know from the apostolic process the name of the war captain and settler (Pedro Carrillo Dávila) who welcomed Gregorio onto his lands near Zacatecas, in Losa's biography the only names mentioned are those of María de Mercado and Martín Moreno, although they were all from the same household. Contrastingly, only in Losa's book may we read that Gregorio Lopez was hosted by the important *encomendero* Alonso de Ávalos⁶¹², although Gregorio's residency on Sebastián

⁶¹¹ See, for example, Paredes Martínez, *La región de Atlixco*.

⁶¹² Losa, *Life*, 44.

Mexía's small farm was well noted by a settler involved in an inquisitorial process, which was from the Pueblos de Alonso de Ávalos.⁶¹³

Gregorio is said to have changed when he got to Nueva Galicia, but he might have converted to something whom he had been for some time before. Who was this young man, closer to the "wild Indians" than to his "fellow nationals"? The pieces we can gather on that which was Nueva Galicia, have, with time and tradition, transformed Gregorio Lopez into a foundational element of many local stories. In a territory that was void of Catholic personalities, a solitary man, seen by many as a hermit, became the symbolic figure of a history to come. In order to piece it all together, other people have to join the story. Some we will only meet now. Others we already know (Pedro Moya de Contreras or María de Mercado, Domingo de Salazar). In this chapter, we go through Gregorio's period of which no records could have arrived to us because they were probably never produced. We can assume this by comparison with other stories, of the people we know for sure he was in contact with.

8.1 (1577/6-1572?) Huasteca: description of the middle of nowhere

Whereas Atlixco was a fertile and fought over valley, Huasteca was a whole other reality. Encompassing a large area, very diverse both geographically and demographically, it was a fertile region that was not under Aztec dominion, and thus perfect for Spanish conquest, the latter having assembled more than four hundred local leaders and burnt them alive, consequently destroying the organisation of their communities, from then on vulnerable to capture and slavery.⁶¹⁴ Other sources of vulnerability included deadly epidemics, as well as these communities' proximity to the Gran Chichimeca, where

⁶¹³ AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/Volumen 181/Expediente 2, 1572 – "Proceso contra Juan Sarmiento, minero, natural de Sevilla, por fraile profeso del Orden de San Agustín, en donde se llamaba Cristóbal le la Cruz, por otro nombre Cristóbal Vara, por casado con Isabel Zambrana. Cocula, Obispado de Guadalajara" *apud* Thomas Hillerkuss, *Diccionario biográfico del occidente novohispano. Siglo XVI. J-L, Zacatecas*, Unidad Académica de Estudios de las Humanidades y las Artes de la UAZ, 2010, Many thanks to Thomas Hillerkuss for sharing this reference.

⁶¹⁴ Jesús Rubalcava Mercado, *Nuevos aportes al conocimiento de la Huasteca*, (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Ediciones de la Casa Chata, 1998).

multiple semi-nomad tribes still lived without any political structure. Huasteca soon became a source of private investment entirely based on the exploration of its natural and human resources, through the *encomiendas*⁶¹⁵, functioning as a corridor between the port of Tampico and the Gran Chichimeca, a corridor where traffic, the slave trade, and Spanish and Chichimeca raids, destroyed much of what had been a safe place for trade and peaceful communion with the natural resources that served as the primary sources of subsistence for the Huastecan communities.⁶¹⁶

Juan de Mesa was, supposedly, one of the few Spanish who stayed in Huasteca, protecting as much as he could that harsh place and its people. It had been his home since arriving at a very young age in Nueva España and in La Huasteca specifically, where his uncle had an *encomienda*. Mesa learned the Huasteco language and was allowed and able to study to become a priest. He went on to preach and evangelise the region, having met along the way Franciscan Andrés de Olmos⁶¹⁷ and Luis Gómez, who later on joined the Augustinians. When his uncle died, Juan de Mesa inherited the *encomienda*. Gerónimo de Mendieta, a Franciscan chronicler and missionary, perhaps takes it a little too far when implying that the priest refused to earn a salary. The records show that he, in fact, was paid.⁶¹⁸ Most likely the priest invested it in the pacification of his large parish and on his property, by distributing his goods and profits, while simultaneously appeasing his uncle's conscience, *que pudiera estar cargada por haberse servido de aquellos indios* ("which could have been heavy from having used those Indians").⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁵ Rubalcava Mercado, *Nuevos aportes*.

⁶¹⁶ See, for instance, Joaquín Meade, *La Huasteca. Época Antigua*. (México: Editorial Cossio, 1942), 263-277; or Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, *Las Visitas de la Huasteca (siglos XVI-XVIII)* in Rubalcava Mercado, *Nuevos aportes*, 95-121.

⁶¹⁷ Concerning Andrés de Olmos, see for instance Primo Feliciano Velásquez, *Historia de San Luis Potosí*, vol. I, 3rd Ed. Herederos de Primo Feliciano Velásquez, (México: El Colegio de San Luis Potosí, Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí, 2004), 155 ss.

⁶¹⁸ In addition to it being mentioned in Mendieta's work, it is documented that at least from 1564 onwards Juan de Mesa received a salary as curate in Huasteca: John Frederick Schwaller, *Partidos y párrocos bajo la Real Corona en la Nueva España, siglo XVI*, (México, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1981).

⁶¹⁹ Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica*, liv. IV, cap. IV, 372-375.

Francisco Losa narrates Gregorio's will to remain in the "wilderness of Guasteca the rest of his life".⁶²⁰ However, God's will proved to be different, for "by means of a very dangerous Bloudy-flux, he sent him [Gregorio] which he endured alone, many days, with such inconveniences, as may be imagined, in so great want of all things necessary for his cure".⁶²¹ Having fallen ill in the middle of nowhere, Gregorio was lucky:

But it pleased God that a Priest of very exemplary vertue, called John de Mesa (who without any stipend taught those people, liberally bestowing his Estate on the Poor and needy) had notice of his necessity, where to he applied a remedy with great Charity: sending instantly for the sick man, and providing for him in his own house with all care and tenderness.

He was brought extreme low with his sickness; so that being very weak, as having not been able to eat any thing for many days, he fell into a sleep, out of which he awaked suddenly with some strength and appetite to eat, and within a short time regained his perfect health. Yet notwithstanding this his good Host would not consent that he should return to the Desert, but kept him in his house near upon four years, with very great edification both to himself and the neighbours about, who upon the report of his excellent qualities came to see him. Though he never discovered to any who he was nor what his Vocation, nor the Mental Exercises, he used his meer good carriage and exterior composition gained the admiration and affection of divers.⁶²²

Gregorio could have died in Huasteca, but instead found himself a home where he would come to spend four years with a man of God just like him, or not entirely:

Notwithstanding there wanted not some, that looked upon this with another kind of eye, and likewise framed a different judgement of Gregory's manner of proceeding. For, he having, as they imagined, no work, or exercise to employ himself in, they judged him for a vagrant or unprofitable person. And the suspicion went further: for some took him for an Heretical, though they say him then present at mass, and obedient to the other external obligations of a Christian, as well as the rest.⁶²³

⁶²⁰ Losa, *Life*, 23

⁶²¹ Losa, *Life*, 23-24.

⁶²² Losa, *Life*, 24-25.

⁶²³ Losa, *Life*, 25.

By reading Mendieta, and other chroniclers from sixteenth-century New Spain, people's predisposition to consider and to venerate someone as living saint becomes evident. Notwithstanding, the ethical/moral and ideological codes of the time tended to imply that these men and women were to be found within religious contexts, preferably institutional ones. It is perhaps due to this reason why Gregorio stands out, being also probably why we do not have access to some of the usual sources that we would have, had he been a part of any institution.

8.1.1 Not becoming a priest with Juan de Mesa

Concerning his time in Huasteca, Gregorio only commented on his permanent state of contemplation, and his meticulous memorisation of the Bible – before the Council of Trent forbade its reading in Spanish.⁶²⁴ Moreover, it was precisely this inwardly turned spirituality that the witnesses in the canonisation process seemed to remember from Gregorio's time in La Huasteca, having been a period of isolation, physical recovery – Mesa found him wandering around sick, and probably also depressed and spiritual consolidation. According to Gerónimo de Mendieta, this hospitality was not at all exceptional.⁶²⁵ Mesa was usually cautious with the *caminantes* ("walkers"), offering his help, protection, and hospitality in advance, so that those who passed through the region would not need to exploit the Indians. Gregorio had needed help, having ended up staying, keeping himself busy with his readings, studies, and contemplative exercises for four years.⁶²⁶

In one of the testimonies gathered during the beatification process, we come across a priest's account of Gregorio's time in Huasteca. Alonso de la Mota, first creole bishop of Nueva Galicia, recalls how his father, the captain Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota, received a curious visit:

⁶²⁴ Situation appears to be more balanced. See for instance Wim François, "Vernacular Bible reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Catholic Position revisited", *The Catholic Historical Review* 104 (2018) 23-56.

⁶²⁵ Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Vol. V, 372-375.

⁶²⁶ Losa, *Life*, 23-25.

[...] a cleric named Cosme Garzia, priest in the pueblo and *partido* of Chiapa, *encomienda* of Capitan Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota [...], conversing with him [the Captain] many times many things among others, told him he [Cosme Garzia] was coming once from (sic) Guasteca, from visiting a relative called de Mesa [Juan de Mesa], who had the benefice of that province, and that was hosting in his home a man [Gregorio] whom he esteemed and respected for the great virtue and holiness he knew in his life and habits. And [the Captain] asked him with curiosity what exercise he [Gregorio] had and how was his way of life, to which he [Cosme] answered the main thing he saw was a continuous retreat in his chambers, and when he saw him doing it he was standing close against a wall looking at a cross that was painted in it; and that it looked like he was all the time withdrawn and [the captain] asked how was he [Gregorio] dressed and what stuff did he have in his room to what he answered that the hood was of cloth with no further curiosity and that in his room, he saw a bible, a compass and an earth globe and that he would only get out of his room to eat and, in those occasions, he was short in conversation [...]⁶²⁷

This account allows us to get a glimpse into how information was passed on (enabling us to imagine similar conversations between Father Losa and the priest who almost denounced Gregorio to the Inquisition or between Juan de Mesa and Pedro Moya de Contreras. Cosme García found himself recounting what he had seen on his trip to Huasteca, having captured the Captain's interest by describing this holy man who prayed and studied, although he was not a cleric, who wore a cloth hood without any identifiable

⁶²⁷ My translation of: "[...] *un clérigo presvitero llamado Cosme Garzia, vicario del pueblo y partido de Chiapa, encomienda del Capitan Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota, Padre de su senoria illustrissima el qual es ya difunto, y parlando con el muchas vezes muchas cosas entre otras le dijo que venia de la provincia de Guastepec, digo de Guasteca, de vesitar un deudo suyo fulano [150] de Mesa, beneficiado de un pueblo de la dicha provincia. Y que el dicho beneficiado tenia en su casa un hombre a quien mucho estimaba y respectaba por la gran virtud y santidad que en su vida y costumbres coneja. Y lo oindólo el dicho Cosme Garzia a su Señoria Illustrissima le pregunto que exercicio tenia y que modo vivir, y esto con animo curiozo, a lo qual le respondió que la principal que en el havia visto era un retratamiento continuo en su aposento. Y que haviendole visto algunas vezes que en el siempre se hallaba en pie arrimado a una pared mirando a una cruz que en la pared frontera estaba pintada. Y que le parejía que estaba todo el tiempo [150v.] en actos retirados. Y preguntándole más su Señoria Illustrissima que traje de persona tenia y que alajas en sus aposentos a lo qual respondió que el habito era de pano sin ninguna curiosidad hecho, y que las alajas que le vido en su aposento hera una biblia y un compasso y un globo mundial. Y que sino hera a comer no salía de el aposento y que en aquella ocasión hera escasso o en conversación que con el huésped tenia porque como dezía el dicho Cosme Garzia lo más de la vida passaba retirado en su aposento [...]*" in BNE, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Alonso de la Mota y Escobar", 149v-150v.

element, carrying with him a Bible, a compass and a globe, as well as books and writing material.

Despite Gregorio's uniqueness and suspicious behaviour, Cosme García was to an extent reassured by the fact that it was his relative, Juan de Mesa, who was hosting the man. Juan de Mesa's fame spread far and wide due to his diversified approach to evangelisation. We are told he practised fair trade with the natives and strove to protect them from any arraignment with the Spanish. In order to accomplish this, he would not allow any passer-by to accommodate anywhere else than his home, at his own expense. Moreover, he did not exploit his *encomendados*, resorting instead to his black slaves, whom he supposedly kept well maintained, secure and christianised, also at his home, yet another sign that the man liked company. Juan de Mesa may indeed have been a great companion, Gregorio's reasons for leaving La Huasteca being unknown, Losa only mentioning that Gregorio was becoming exceedingly renowned (as Cosme García's story confirms), which for him was a problem he did not want to share with others, especially his hosts. If Gregorio had a problem with the Inquisition, it inevitably perturbed all who were close to him.

Anyhow, Gregorio spent four years with a priest in Huasteca. What brought him there and what made him leave was never enough to turn him into a missionary, an evangeliser, not even a priest. Also, considering that captain Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota was living in Puebla, we can trace the ways information was travelling and how Gregorio's fame might have preceded him in Atlixco, with the consequences mentioned earlier. We saw how Gregorio left from Huasteca to Atlixco, but how did he get to Huasteca in the first place?

8.1.2 Not turning into a coloniser: Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva

Gregorio had been told Huasteca was a land of wild and abundant "fruits, herbs and roots", motivating him to move there.⁶²⁸ While Gregorio was on his way, Luis Carvajal y

⁶²⁸ Losa, *Life*, 23.

de la Cueva affirms to have come across him. At the time, the future governor of Nuevo Reino de León already held various posts in Pánuco, while conducting the business he knew best: slave trade.⁶²⁹ Because of this reference, the historian Eugenio del Hoyo mistakenly places Gregorio as part of the entourage who accompanied Luis de Carvajal from Iberia, when we know Gregorio to have arrived long before the Governor even considered settling in New Spain.⁶³⁰ Regardless, what seems to be unclear is when Lopez is said to have met Carvajal y de la Cueva.

We know that Pedro Moya de Contreras was no longer carrying out functions as an inquisitor, but rather, as archbishop, when he ordered Losa to examine Gregorio. Therefore, even if Luis Carvajal y de la Cueva denounced or had the intention of denouncing Gregorio, he did so when the Holy Office was busy with other major processes. At this time, for instance, English pirates who had accompanied Hawkins, in 1566, on a pirate attack in the port of Vera Cruz, were arrested and prosecuted in 1568 for accusations of Lutheranism. Without the active participation of Carvajal y de la Cueva in their arrest, as he claimed⁶³¹, given that the future governor of Nuevo Reino de León was *alcalde* of Tampico at the time, he might, at most, have taken the prisoners to México. Could Contreras and Carvajal y de la Cueva have met in this event? We do not know.

Eugenio del Hoyo also finds it probable that Carvajal received Guachichil slaves the following year, in 1569. After that, we only know he must have made his way up North around 1572. In between those dates, Carvajal y de la Cueva's activities were most likely carried out within the region of Huasteca, making it possible to have come across or even received Gregorio in his *estancia* at Tanquían during that period. Losa's biography tells us Gregorio spent four years with Juan de Mesa, meaning that his encounter with Carvajal y de la Cueva probably took place beforehand, when the former began his expeditions to Mazapil, from where he constantly returned due to his slave-trading business, and where he began to accumulate public offices: in 1568 he became *alcalde ordinario* of Tampico,

⁶²⁹ Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino*, 102-110.

⁶³⁰ Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino*, 102-110.

⁶³¹ Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino*, 105-106.

in 1573 *corregidor* of Huajutla, in 1575 *corregidor* of Tamaolipa, in 1576 *capitán* of Huasteca, and 1577 *juez de comisión* in Panúco.⁶³² We might say that while Mesa was trying to save La Huasteca, Carvajal y de la Cueva must surely have been seen as the region's Antichrist.

What we do know is that the governor Carvajal y de la Cueva himself told his nephew (as both would come to depose during their inquisitorial process), Gregorio Lopez had spent some time in his company in Tanquían, Pánuco. Luis de Carvajal, both uncle and nephew sharing the same name, confirmed their acquaintance with Lopez to the Holy Office on different occasions. At least this is what Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*, affirms:

[...] [Carvajal y de la Cueva] had the said Gregorio Lopez in his company in some *estancias* of his own of Tanquían, in the province of Pánuco, where he experienced him being very learned on the Bible, and that he was three or four hours in contemplation, standing, without leaning, without hat. And that praying on one's feet is a usual ceremony for the jews, and [Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*] believes the said Luis de Carvajal, his uncle, denounced the said Gregorio Lopez in the Holy Office; although he doesn't know it for sure, nor from where he was, but he heard the said Governor Luis de Carvajal saying he [Gregorio] was from Toledo, because so had Gregorio told him. And this [Luis de Carvajal, *el Mozo*] has fostered the suspicion he has about the said Gregorio Lopez, for he was from Toledo, where he heard saying there are many Jews and that is certain amongst Jews that in the city of Toledo there are many descendents of them.⁶³³

One of the few references to Gregorio's life in Huasteca comes from an inquisitorial process, and a suspicion that Gregorio Lopez was a crypto-Jew, the only rumour of the kind that we are aware of from the sources that made their way to us, a rumour that was

⁶³² Hoyo, *Historia del Nuevo Reino*, 108-110.

⁶³³ My translation of: "[...] *porque dijo éste el gobernador Luis de Carvajal, su tío, que había tenido el dicho Gregorio López en su compañía en unas estancias suyas en Tanquían, en la provincial de Pánuco, a donde experiment ser muy leído en la Biblia, y que estaba tras o cuatro horas en contemplación, en pie, sin arrimarse, descaperuzado, y que el rezar en pie, es ceremonia muy usada de los judíos, y entiende éste que el dicho Luis de Carvajal, su tío de éste, denunció del dicho Gregorio López en el Santo Oficio: aunque no lo sabe de cierto, ni de donde es natural, mas de haber oído al dicho gobernador Luis de Carvajal, que era natural de Toledo; porque así se lo había dicho el dicho Gregorio López. Y éste ha fomentado la sospecha que tiene del dicho Gregorio López por ser de Toledo, a donde éste ha oído decir hay muchos judíos, y que es cosa cierta entre los judíos que en la dicha ciudad de Toledo hay muchos descendientes de ellos [...]*", in Toro, *La Familia Carvajal*, 186-187.

brought to the surface once again after Luis' and Gregorio's deaths, by precisely, a Dominican, as we saw earlier. This was enough to cast a shadow on Gregorio's ('clean-blood') reputation; a reputation Losa and all the other witnesses – especially those connected to the Inquisition – attempted to maintain.

Besides, although the ecclesiastical Inquisitions worked inside of their respective dioceses, in 1572, one year after the establishment of the Court in México, the Holy Office had much more complex cases to settle. Pedro Moya de Contreras, Domingo de Salazar, and the institution as a whole, were far too busy to have to deal with gossip: the English, Protestant, thus heretical pirates, had to be convicted, and so did all the other "sheep" who had strayed from the Indies' new Church's flock (apostates, blasphemers, fornicators, bigamists, and so on).⁶³⁴

8.2 (1572?) Ciudad de México: remains from the middle of everything

Gregorio Lopez travelled to Huasteca from Ciudad de México, which in turn he had travelled to from Nueva Galicia. How easy (or hard) was it to get to these places? Ciudad de México, the old Tenochtitlan, was one of the largest metropolis of the Spanish empire, always busy with the city's adaptation to its new owners' needs. If one is to look at the accounts of the four years Gregorio spent in La Huasteca, they appear to have been bittersweet. We do not know much, only that he decided to move there after having refused to take the Dominican vows offered by Domingo de Salazar when they met in Nueva Galicia. It is worth mentioning that in 1571, when the Inquisition installed itself in New Spain, Pedro Moya de Contreras took on the role of first Inquisitor, Friar Domingo de Salazar having acted as one of the *calificadores* (examiners) of the Holy Office. These, of course, would only be coincidences, were it not for other sources dating from the following year, expressly, Juan de Sarmiento's peculiar testimony, which we shall subsequently analyse, and the information on Domingo de Salazar's genealogy and

⁶³⁴ The catalogue of inquisitional processes available at the AGN website gives us a good idea of what the Holy Office dealt with (<http://www.agn.gob.mx/guiageneral/>). For a synthesis of the sixteenth century inquisitorial work in New World, see Richard E. Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition of the sixteenth century* (New México: University of New México Press, 1969).

origins. The latter places Domingo de Salazar in the Ciudad de México around 1572, also revealing the process of identification that was inherent to proving *limpieza de sangre* (blood cleansing).⁶³⁵ The former places Gregorio in Nueva Galicia between his first two passages through Tenochtitlan, during the Chichimeca resistance to Spanish conquest and colonisation.⁶³⁶

The Dominican's *información de genealogía* puts into evidence how this sort of genealogical information was transmitted in New Spain. The questioner first tried to find out who the parents and grandparents of the subject were and to ascertain their reputation: were the Dominican and his family *crístianos viejos* (old Christians)? Had the Inquisition condemned them? Was their blood clear of *macula de moros, judíos, [...] conversos* ("Moorish, Jewish, and convert stains")?⁶³⁷ It had to be Domingo de Salazar himself identifying possible witnesses who knew his background, but he did not do so before claiming his death in the temporal world. The friar also went through a similar process when joining the Dominicans, leaving behind the 'Francisco Lopes Salazar', who had been born in a small town in Castilla la Vieja and who studied in Salamanca.⁶³⁸

However, our time frame for Gregorio's passage through Ciudad de México concerns 1571, when the Inquisition had just begun to carry out its work. Back then, Salazar felt motivated to invite and expect the young man to take the order's vows in the capital's monastery. Surely, he must have been aware that sooner or later, people would begin to gossip about Gregorio, as happened in upcoming years. Concerning Gregorio's passage through the Dominicans' convent, Losa gives the following account:

As soon as he came to México, he repaired presently to the convent of the Dominicans to Father Dominic de Salazar, to assist him, as he had promised, in procuring him a Cell in that holy House. But, he being not at present in the city, Gregory Lopez partly declared his intention to some very grave and learned Fathers of the holy Order, who answered him it was

⁶³⁵ AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/Volumen 62/Expediente 6, 1572 – 'Información de la genealogía y origen del dominico Fr. Domingo de Salazar, calificador del Santo Oficio'. México.

⁶³⁶ AGN, *Inquisición* (61)/Volumen 181/Expediente 2, 1572 – "Proceso contra Juan Sarmiento".

⁶³⁷ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Información de Fr. Domingo de Salazar, 107v.

⁶³⁸ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Información de Fr. Domingo de Salazar", 108r.-108v.

not possible to grant him a Cell, without taking the religious habit too, which they offered him with much gladness and the joy of all. So, having staid there some days expecting his Patron, on whose word and favor he relied, and being informed by them about his not returning so soon, and that when he came he could not obtain his request, upon this likewise perswading [sic] himself that his vocation was not to live in Community, but solitary to the grief of the Fathers, and himself for leaving such pious Company.

Thereupon conceiving it more proper for him and in a manner necessary to follow his first vocation, and the course our Lord had shown him and in which he had proceeded so far, to the great improvement of his Soul, he resolved to go to Guasteca; which they described to him for a vast country uncoupled but abounding much in wild fruits, whereon he might live.⁶³⁹

It was in México that Gregorio heard about the rich wild fruits and plants of Huasteca. Who told him? What is odd, is how Gregorio's passage through the Dominicans' monastery is omitted from other testimonies in the canonisation process, especially given the close relation Gregorio maintained with the order, namely in Oaxtepec, and particularly, with Domingo de Salazar. In his biography, Losa refers to Domingo de Salazar's visit to Santa Fe, where the Dominican found Gregorio carrying out the same exercise as in Nueva Galicia twenty-five years earlier:

[...] he discovered something thereof to Don Fr. Domingo de Salazar then Bishop of the Philippines, who returning thence to México for Spain came on purpose to Sancta Fe to visit Gregory Lopez, with whom he had formerly had very great familiarity [...]. When among other questions that this Prelate asked him, one was that he would tell him what exercise in his spirit he used and what God then employed him in? To which he plainly answered: *That his exercise was to love God, and his Neighbour*. Whereto the Bishop replied: *Indeed you told me these very same words in Amaiac now five and twenty years since: How is this? Have you been always practicing one thing?* Gregory answered: *I have ever done this; though there is difference between the work done then and now.*⁶⁴⁰

At this point, we may consider the possible interference by *calificador*, Domingo de Salazar, in the Holy Office's decision not to open any process on Gregorio Lopez. Could it

⁶³⁹ Losa, *Life*, 21-22.

⁶⁴⁰ Losa, *Life*, 52.

be to avoid a connection with his order? Was he waiting for other rumours/stories/denunciations to come to light, to build a stronger case? Or did he wish to protect the dignity he recognised in Gregorio's way of life?

When Salazar met Gregorio in Nueva Galicia, around 1566⁶⁴¹, he invited him to live in solitude in a monastery cell in Ciudad de México:

At that time went preaching in the Mines and towns about Zacatecas Fr. Domingo de Salazar, an eminent person of the Order of Preachers; who by the familiar converse he had with Gregory took such affection to his good Spirit and manner of living that he earnestly requested him to go to the Convent of the order of St. Dominick at México, where he would procure him a cell and maintenance, there to lead his life with the more quiet and security, employing himself all alone in Prayer and the exercise of his vocation without totally depriving himself of the benefits and advantages which a Life in community (of Religious especially) carries with it.⁶⁴²

After years in Nueva Galicia, Gregorio decided to accept Salazar's invitation and go to Ciudad de México, but not without a previous detour. Given the state of his "worn-out clothes", Gregorio decided to go:

[...] to a rich Farmer who willingly entertained him, and gave him charge over those of his family, to instruct them and employ them in their several offices. This Gregory did on the one side with so much care and diligence, on the other with so much love and humility that he made them all astonished at his rare virtue, enamoured with his excellent conversation and company, and desirous to have him ever with them. But he, having in two months gotten

⁶⁴¹ In a letter from March 16th, 1567, we may read: "one domenicane friar that was called Friar something of Salazar that lived in Mexico and preached last lent in Zacatecas [sic] and that he wanted to go there [Zacatecas] and I was pleased for it and would give him four months of permit and because he did not got permit for the whole región without liimit he was sad and disappointed, but as there is no domenicane convent I considered it was enough", my translation of "*un fraile de sancto domingo que se llama Frai fulano de Salazar que ha residido en México predico la quaresma pasada en Zacatecas [sic] y queria ir a esta y yo holgava dello y le dava quatro meses de licencia y por que no se la di sin limite para todo el obispado reçibio pena y descontento y como no aia monasterio de su orden me parecio que bastavan*" "XXXI. Carta del Obispo de la Nueva Galicia a S. M. en la cual se tratan varios asuntos", in Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, *Colección de Documentos Históricos inéditos o muy raros, referentes al arzobispado de Guadalajara*. Vol. I, Número 1, (Guadalajara: Ancira, 1922), 344. As Easter was on March 30th of that same year, it is likely that Domingo de Salazar had been in Nueva Galicia during the previous Lent, in 1566.

⁶⁴² Losa, *Life*, 18.

enough for his poor clothing went thence, leaving in great sorrow at his departure which they could not prevent either with intreaties, and tears or with money, which they offered him.⁶⁴³

Of this farmer, we know nothing. Notwithstanding, even if we vaguely consider the person in question to have been Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, it is hard to imagine Carvajal being referred to as a “rich farmer”. Or we could ask if this was a way precisely to conceal or to avoid this person’s identification. The Carvajal family had been condemned, and Losa probably thought it better to hide their presence in Gregorio’s life. If it had been another, more worthy, family Francisco would certainly have mentioned it.

Moreover, the distance between Huejúcar, Gregorio’s previous place of residence, and Tanquían, where Carvajal’s lands were located, was too large for us to consider a detour of this nature. Although, it would make sense in the story – a young and learned Spaniard taking care of the household, with enough time and space to be noticed on his particular way of praying, making his money to carry on with his costs and activities – it would show fragilities in Losa’s chronology of Gregorio’s life. Losa could not know every detail, and it would be hard to find any source documenting these events.

However, this incident evinces a pattern: Gregorio was able to make his living by serving as a sort of housekeeper or factotum. In a way, this is more or less what we find him doing in Atlixco, as well as in the previous homes he stayed at. Nevertheless, the further we go back, the more gaps we find in Losa’s narrative.

8.3 (1571-1563?) Nueva Galicia: a new kingdom in *la Gran Chichimeca*

The realities of México and its previous empire, or Huasteca and its bloody conquest, were vastly different from the Chichimeca. The Zacatecos – who had shown the silver around La Bufa to Juan de Tolosa, according to the legend of its foundation – as well as Guachichiles, Guamares, Pames, Tepeques, Tecuexes, Copuces, Macolias, Cocas, Tepehuanes, Guaxabanas, Irritilas, and others, did not have any centralised state power, striving to preserve their own languages, dietary habits, culture, and nomadic lifestyle. As

⁶⁴³ Losa, *Life*, 19.

such, warfare became rife within that vast territory.⁶⁴⁴ Given their lack of statehood and centralised political or religious system and given their various languages, these semi-nomadic, warrior tribes became a problem for the new settlers/miners/explorers. On the other hand, the Otomís, Tarascos, Tlaxcaltecos, Mexicas, more sedentary and “political” organised⁶⁴⁵, all adapted to the economies the Spanish begun to implement throughout diverse socio-cultural spaces and throughout the American geographical structures – now organised in a New Spain that the Spanish empire tried to unify.⁶⁴⁶ The result was war and genocide.⁶⁴⁷

8.3.1 Not settling

With regard to the seven or eight years Gregorio spent in Nueva Galicia, we know that Losa’s primary source was María de Mercado, the information given by the biographer concerning those years being confirmed by Pedro Carrillo Dávila’s testimony. His is the only one that we have relative to that period, informing us that Gregorio left his father’s household to go to Mejía’s *estancia*, which was seven leagues away from theirs.⁶⁴⁸

Gregorio was mocked by his equals, while learning from the ‘others’ (who could have been either Chichimeca natives or migrants from other parts of New Spain) how to build a home and eat the fruits of the land. According to Losa, during that period in Gregorio’s life, the “barbarian Indians”, although in conflict with the Spanish, would salute and bring him rabbits and *tunas*⁶⁴⁹ (an abundant and delicious fruit that was gathered in the last

⁶⁴⁴ See for example, Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, & Silver. The Northward advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), or how John Tutino’s, *Making a New World. Founding capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press: 2011), 65-90.

⁶⁴⁵ Tutino, *Making a New World*, 82.

⁶⁴⁶ Steve J. Stern, “Review: New Directions in Andean Economic History: A Critical Dialogue with Carlos Sempat Assadourian”, in *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 12, N.º 1, *Latin America’s Colonial History*, (Winter, 1985), 133-148.

⁶⁴⁷ Sempat Assadourian, *Zacatecas*, 27-140.

⁶⁴⁸ BNE, Ms/7819, “Testimonial de Pedro Carrillo Dávila”, 123r.

⁶⁴⁹ It is interesting to note how Francisco Losa’s anthropological perspective is inherited from a religious writing tradition: “they saluted him with signes, and with severall gestures, and motions of their countenance and hands,

months of summer and then transformed, as any other fruit, into wine and jam). However, he did not entirely disaggregate himself from his hosts Carrillo Dávila, Alonso de Ávalos and Sebastián Mexía or Mejía. As a guest, Gregorio did not have to occupy lands, nor fight for them. As such, his experiences in Nueva Galicia reveal a more complex context where networks and contacts did not automatically transpose into any records.

8.3.1.1 Sebastián Mexía

Of importance is Francisco Losa's reference to the fact that Sebastián Mejía, at his death's door, manifested his desire to make Gregorio administrator of his will, which Gregorio refused, perhaps foreseeing the problems that could bring him.⁶⁵⁰ Sebastián Mejía was the brother of *doña* Francisca Mejía, *Licenciado* Oseguera's wife.⁶⁵¹ Oseguera was *oidor* of the Court of Guadalajara, placed in Zacatecas, having also been the visiting *oidor* in Alonso de Ávalos' lands, in 1557.⁶⁵² Concerning the period with Mejía, Losa relays:

He came to a farm or manour of Sebastian Mexia, where they gave him good entertainment, which he (staying there for some time) recompensed with his good example and pious discourses, which made such impression on his host that forthwith quitting his curious and costly apparel he clad himself in course cloth, such as Gregory wore, to whom he bare such great love and respect that he determined to put his Soul and Estate both into his hands, that so he might take charge and dispose of all according to the great prudence wherewith he perceived God endued him. But he suspecting as much and understanding that Sebastian Mexia was to die shortly, judged it not expedient for him to charge himself with another's

offering him tunas (a fruits that grows there) and some conies and those who had gotten some words of Ladine said Deo gracias to him; showing themselves as courteous and civil to him.", in Losa, *Life*, 11.

⁶⁵⁰ Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*, and Losa, *Vida*, fol. 11-11v. There is still some investigative work that needs to be carried out in order to confirm that these are the same Mejías who wrote to the king in 1572 concerning some inheritance matters; José Enciso Conterras (transc.), *Cedulario de Oficio de la Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia (1554-1680)*, (Zacatecas, UAZ, 2010), 368-370.

⁶⁵¹ "MEJÍA, Doña Francisca" in Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*.

⁶⁵² Thomas Hillerkuss (comp.), *Documentalia del Sur de Jalisco*, (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco/INAH, 1994), 285-286.

estate, who (the freer to serve God) had quitted his own, and so the great grief of all there he went on his way.⁶⁵³

Nevertheless, we have another source: the inquisitorial process of a certain Juan Sarmiento. Sebastián had a property near the Zacatecas' *minas*, in Huejúcar, at the time still a fertile green valley teeming with pines, such as the ones Juan Sarmiento and Juan Pérez de Frías had been gathering to take to the mines. Cristóbal Vara, an Augustinian seemingly unworthy of the chroniclers' attention, renamed Cristóbal de la Cruz when he entered the order, later became known as Juan de Sarmiento, after he renounced religion to become a miner and marry a *mestiza* who had been a servant of Alonso de Ávalos. As a former friar, Juan was familiar with the religious profession and thus attentive to the point where he was the first to doubt Gregorio's orthodoxy, in 1568, having denounced him (amidst the unfortunate circumstances of his own detention) in 1572.⁶⁵⁴

Although Juan Sarmiento did not provide a name, his description matched that of Gregorio Lopez: a young man who dressed in black and evidenced a lisp when speaking with Sebastián Mejía (his host) and the Indians, who lived in a room filled with letters, alphabets, and books, but lacked any images or crosses. According to Mejía himself, affirmed Sarmiento, this was a very learned man who felt that there was no need for a Christian to have in his chambers an image or even a cross.⁶⁵⁵ Even if he knew he himself was at fault for having left the order and acquiring a new identity (and life), Juan de Sarmiento still felt scandalised with what he considered a "Lutheran" tone in that opinion, urging Mejía "to say no more".

The rumours concerning Sebastián's guest reached Sarmiento's and Frías' ears when they were at Martín Moreno's *estancia*. Their overwhelming curiosity led them to Sebastián's place, having arrived there in the evening to see the young man, but Sebastián was zealous of his guest's privacy. After some time, he showed them his guest's chambers filled with books, reading and writing materials, and only a few devotional images. Sebastián and the young man dressed similarly, shared an interest in

⁶⁵³ Losa, *Life*, 17.

⁶⁵⁴ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Proceso contra Juan Sarmiento", 91-95.

⁶⁵⁵ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Proceso contra Juan Sarmiento".

books (probably reading, discussing and interpreting them), maintained a home garden together with the Indians who lived there (we do not know if they were servants, slaves or freemen), and actually, seem to have bonded well. The following day, Juan de Sarmiento and his friend continued on their way to Zacatecas. Sarmiento affirms he went as far as to have warned the vicar in Zacatecas, who promised to investigate further the matter, of which we have no confirmation. While imprisoned in Ciudad de México, a week after presenting his testimony and in the presence of Moya de Contreras, Sarmiento brought up the names of Martín Moreno and Juan García Manzanares to the list of people who could be of help in finding Mejía and his guest (whom we recognise as Gregorio).⁶⁵⁶

Juan Sarmiento was found guilty of all his crimes, having been sentenced to return to his convent. The Sevillian/Augustinian/miner/settler/migrant/apostate strove hard to recall anything that could soften his accusers and evoke their mercy; anything that would distract their attention from him. Sarmiento knew no one could save him, not even the powerful *encomendero* Alonso de Ávalos, whom he was linked to through marriage with one of his servants. Juan de Sarmiento's account proves to be particularly useful to us, and although he does not directly identify Gregorio, Juan de Sarmiento provides details both about the solitary man's story as well as to his relation with Sebastián Mejía and local people. Martín Moreno, resident in Jerez, is identified by Sarmiento as the person from whom he heard about Mejía. Losa also mentions Moreno in his *Vida*, identifying him as the husband of María de Mercado, daughter of captain Pedro Carrillo Dávila, Lopez's first host in Nueva Galicia.

8.3.1.2 Alonso de Ávalos

Concerning Gregorio's previous stage of his journey, Losa is the only person to provide us with some information, although he fails to provide us with a relevant source:

Gregory Lopez liked it well in Amayac, as enjoying there freely his solitude, and meeting with occasions to exercise Poverty, and Patience, in the want of necessaries for his convenience, and

⁶⁵⁶ AGN, *Inquisición*, "Proceso contra Juan Sarmiento", 94.

maintenance. So that he would not have left that place, had not the Love of his Neighbour (whom he desired to tender as himself) seemed to require it. For, his manner of living in the Desert being so new, and unusual in those parts, some rude, and ignorant People wondred, he did not hear Mass on Sundays, and Holydays, having no remote possession nor business in the country, to excuse him from the Church's precept: they conceiving only temporall necessity a sufficient dispensation herein, and not the particular Call of God, and instinct of the Holy Ghost, which drew to the desert of Egypt, and Nitria, and other quarters a great number of men, who set up the Monastick, and Heremitick life, without having opportunity in one? May, divers Years, of fulfilling that precept, and others of like nature; from which in the judgment of all learned, and pious men they were justly excused. And, though Gregory Lopez understood this very well, yet he condescended to the infirmity, and ignorance of that people; and for avoiding all scandall, removed to the Plantation of Alonso de Avalos, where he might hear Mass.

Alonso de Avalos received him with much kindness and demonstrations of courtesy, offering him a Garden, he had of a very good aire and situation; and understanding that he never eat flesh, he commanded his steward to employ an Indian to catch certain little fish for the diet of Gregory. He accepted the Garden but consented not, that any man should set on work for him. And so the two years he spent there he lived almost only upon milk and curds.⁶⁵⁷

Alonso de Ávalos was none other than one of the most powerful *encomenderos* of western *Nueva España*, corresponding to modern southern Jalisco. According to Thomas Hillerkuss, his properties extended throughout the Provincia de Ávalos and in the province of Tuspa/Zapotlán/Tamazula. He also had mines in Guachinango; and he had houses in Guadalajara, Valladolid, México and lands in Chapultepec. It goes without saying that he had diverse administrators for all his properties. Plus, Alonso de Ávalos owned a small *estancia de ganado mayor*, land for large cattle, something like seventeen square kilometers, around the area where Aguascalientes would be founded.

Although we cannot identify the location with certainty where Gregorio spent this stage of his journey, some elements point to the possibility that he could have been in Ávalos' properties located in what would later become Aguascalientes, which was

⁶⁵⁷ Losa, *Life*, 9-10.

relatively close to Pedro Carrillo's *estancia*.⁶⁵⁸ Ávalos' lands were immense, and it is hard to imagine how the administration of such large properties was handled. However, if Gregorio did, in fact, meet Alonso in person as Losa suggests, there are records showing Alonso de Ávalos' presence in Amatitlán, five kilometres from Sayula in the Provincia de Avalos, in 1565⁶⁵⁹, precisely when Gregorio would have been on his lands. Aguascalientes and Amatitlán: both hypothetical locations distance from each other more than three-hundred kilometres.

According to Losa, Gregorio left the *Pueblos de Alonso Dávalos* in 1566, after the earthquake in December of that same year, which destroyed his hut, but left him unscathed, thus able to continue on his journey.⁶⁶⁰ It is more likely that the earthquake was felt in the region of Sayula, than near Zacatecas, thus making the record of Gregorio's presence in Amatitlán more reliable. There are no other references to the period he spent on Alonso de Ávalos' land, bringing us to the following question: How did Juan de Sarmiento fail to mention it, given that Gregorio had received the same sort of treatment from his other hosts – a piece of land in exchange for providing primary education to members of a household, in this case to Alonso's children –, and that, as Losa asserts, he spent at least two years there. On the one hand, even nowadays visiting those lands, it is easy to feel that, no matter the distances, everyone comes to know everyone settling in the region. On the other hand, it is easy to escape the communities and to stay incognito if one keeps isolated. Gregorio only stayed for approximately two years around the Pueblos de Avalos: perhaps Juan de Sarmiento was in a different village and embedded in a routine that kept him from making the acquaintance with the foreigner. Anyway, that information did not get to us.

Of note is that Alonso de Ávalos was very supportive of the Franciscans, who built their religious institutes on his lands. Once again, New Spain's regular chroniclers' silence concerning Gregorio's passage through the lands of the *encomendero* seems odd. Even if the region's Franciscans may have been oblivious to Gregorio's presence, it still seems

⁶⁵⁸ Aguascalientes was founded as La Assunción in 1575. In order to do this, *Licenciado Orozco* had to expropriate Alonso de Ávalos, in Hillerkuss (comp.), *Documentalia*, 205-263.

⁶⁵⁹ "ÁVALOS SAAVEDRA, Alonso de", in Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*, 171.

⁶⁶⁰ Angélico Chávez, *Coronado's friars* (s.l., Academy of American Franciscan History, 1968), 79.

strange that no reference to him was made posthumously, for the canonisation process, seen that any reference of contact with a venerable person would be of interest for the family. Only a nephew of Alonso de Ávalos was alive by then, Alonso de Ávalos de Saavedra, *el Mozo*. Who knows what kept him from providing any information complementing Losa's account: strategy or ignorance of Gregorio's possible contact with Alonso de Ávalos? Moreover, what had brought Gregorio there, or what had triggered his departure from Carrillo Dávila's household and properties?

8.3.2 Not fighting: Pedro Carrillo Dávila

What had brought Gregorio to the lands of Alonso de Ávalos? Losa's calculations do not seem to match the timeline he puts forth, given that if Gregorio left La Provincia de Ávalos in 1566 – because of the earthquake – and if he was there for two years, Gregorio must have stayed in Carrillo Dávila's lands shorter than Losa supposed. Thomas Hillerkuss, having studied most of these powerful households in the newly founded Nueva Galicia, invites me to ask the opposite question: Why wouldn't Gregorio choose to go to Pueblos de Ávalos? In fact, opposite to the state of war around the *minas*, Pueblos de Ávalos "were almost independent", and the royal officers were subordinated to Alonso de Ávalos' will (even if half his *encomienda* was indeed the king's property as well). According to Hillerkuss and most of the scholars who have studied this singular *encomendero*, in his lands, there was peace, tranquillity, respect and safety. Gregorio probably came to find all these things for the short period he lived there.

Concerning the period of Gregorio's life that is of relevance to us here, we shall examine two testimonies given in a period of twenty years: that of María de Mercado, and that of her half-brother, Pedro Carrillo Dávila, son of the namesake Captain involved in the Chichimeca war. When it comes down to Nueva Galicia and Gregorio's stay in that area, we find him, in both the locations in which he lived, embedded within a network of farmers and soldiers: Captain Pedro Carrillo Dávila and his children, his son-in-law, Martín

Moreno, Sebastián Mejía, and the Caldera.⁶⁶¹ These soldiers, probably including Martín Moreno and Pedro Carrillo Dávila, had been profiting from the state of war Pedro de Ahumada Sámano's campaigns generated. Chichimeca were seen as rebels or insurrects, as enemies of the Spanish, and thus were captured and promptly condemned to slavery for a (small but deadly) number of years. When caught, they had a feeble chance of surviving, and as such faced almost certain death. However, before that, they could either try to escape or endure the slave market of Ciudad de México that the Spanish soldiers and captains, such as Carvajal y de la Cueva, had begun to develop.⁶⁶²

These households functioned like forts, in addition to the military *presidios* (military defence points) being attempts to settle amongst the wilderness. By settling, they were also occupying land which the semi-nomadic Chichimeca – although semi-nomadic, they also cultivated things like corn, beans and chilli, using other plants and seeds for both their maintenance and their protection, by making their clothes and weapons – considered their home.⁶⁶³ Gregorio seems to have arrived at the Encarnación ranch by following the paths of rivers and the ensuing fertility that accompanies their courses, having found himself precisely at the meeting point of two of these rivers (the Tenango and the Villa Nueva), about two miles from a farmstead, where he decided to stop for a while.⁶⁶⁴ We do not know whether Gregorio had already met Pedro Carrillo Dávila in Zacatecas, or whether he had no knowledge of him and his lands when he arrived at the Captain's *estancia*. Having no confirmation of the reasons that made him move there, we are left with some room to speculate.

Concerning the setting, what may we see in our mind's eye? No church, but perhaps a cross. Improvised, more or less sophisticated, constructions - at least one belonging to

⁶⁶¹ Philip Wayne Powell, *Capitán mestizo: Miguel Caldera y la frontera norteña. La pacificación de los Chichimecas (1548-1597)*, Juan José Utrilla trans. 2nd reimpression (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011), 132-135, 251, 301-305; Idem, *Soldiers, Indians*, 38-39, 135; Thomas Hillerkuss, (comp.), *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco: siglo XVI*, (Zapopan, México: Colégio de Jalisco; México: INAH, 1994).

⁶⁶² Tutino, *Making a New World*, 82.

⁶⁶³ François Rodríguez Loubet, *Les Chichimeques*, Collection Études Mésoaméricaines, I-12 (México, Centre d'Études Mexicaines et Centreaméricaines, 1985), 158-193.

⁶⁶⁴ Adriana Cabrera Petricoli, "La participación migrante en la conservación y transformación de los templos históricos del municipio de Villanueva, Zacatecas. 1980-2010" (Zacatecas: Doctoral Thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2011), 359-364.

the family - as well as shelters for animals and slaves, probably on the same site as previous settlements on those lands, belonging either to Spaniards or Indians, near water and small roads, in a place that was easy to get to, and easy to flee from. We may also see the Captain and his family: his wife and his children, namely, Pedro, Sebastián and María de Mercado, married to Martín Moreno, grandson of one of the conquerors of Tenochtitlan.

The Captain's wife was probably Ana or Sancha Vásquez de Tapia, who was a daughter of the famous conqueror Bernardino Vásquez de Tapia, and niece of Ginés Vásquez de Mercado, one of the many Spaniards who tried to make it in the North.⁶⁶⁵ Pedro Carrillo Dávila had come to the Indies as a soldier in the 1550s, probably having met his future father-in-law and found an opportunity to strengthen his ties to the new territory through his military duties. In 1563, after ten years as a soldier and by that time already a captain, he moved to the *estancia* at Atemaxaque. Pedro's son, in his testimony, declares being born around 1557, also declaring María de Mercado to be his sister, leading us to believe María de Mercado was born earlier. María de Mercado and Martín Moreno, also a soldier and settler like Pedro Carrillo, either lived on the same *estancia*, or close to it.

Even now, when going to these places – La Encarnación, Tlaltenango, Jeréz, Ermita de Guadalupe, La Labor, Huejúcar, Villanueva – we realise that they were not completely isolated from each other. Although they may have been far from each other, they were connected, communicating and informing one another. When Pedro Carrillo saw the young man arrive, he saw no threat:

And he said his name was Gregorio Lopez and without referring to his parents nor his homeland, his father said [Captain Carrillo Dávila] “so young he wanted to become a hermit”, and [Gregorio Lopez] said “yes” and said he had gone up the river that runs nearby and he had told him he had found a corner very apropos to what he wanted and to have a kitchen garden for his garden ware, and the father of this witness offered him people to [build] the house and he would not accept more than asking for his permission to make some adobe and tools, and so [the captain] gave him a hoe and adobe' molds and he started building and the meanwhile

⁶⁶⁵ Hoyo Calzada, “El Venerable Gregorio López”; “MERCADO, Ginés Vásquez” and “TAPIA, Bernardino Vásquez de”, in Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*.

the adobes were being made, the Chichimeca of that land made him a hut with branches and green herbs where he lived while he was building the hermitage and the Chichimeca helped him and then he stayed in it as great servant of God and hermit of the desert.⁶⁶⁶

The ensuing agreement was probably verbal and quite simple: in exchange for some tools and adobes to build a *choza* (hut) and cultivate his *huerto* (kitchen garden) – and possibly some materials for his intellectual/religious activities – Gregorio would, in turn, teach the Captain's sons how to read and write. The Chichimeca, whose names we, unfortunately, do not have, helped him build his house, offered him food, mocked his God, and spent more time with him than anyone else.

Sometime following Gregorio's death, during a conversation that was reported to the Inquisition, Juan Núñez assured María de Mercado that her deposition would be written down. Losa, however, decided to leave out some of the details and to change some elements. For example, María de Mercado ascribes to Gregorio medical knowledge and authority that Losa does not mention in his book for that earlier period. Moreover, Pedro Carrillo's son gives details of some of Lopez's activities that do not figure in Losa's *Vida*. Concerning the details of the conversation above, María de Mercado would testify:

[...] and asking [Juan Núñez, fulano Mexía and Bachiller Consuegra] her about the life of Gregorio López [...] when he lived in the ranch of Mesquite, eight leagues from Zacatecas, and she told them how Gregorio López lived a saintly life and how he ate every day at noon without eating more till the next day the same hour, and if she had sent him a roast or stew he returned the roast for he did not want to eat more than boiled meat and four tortillas each day, and the house he had was a hermitage, and after she said it was no hermitage but a very small house he had made with adobe, where there was no more than his bed, that were two planks

⁶⁶⁶ My translation of: " *Y vino a decir que se llamava Gregorio López sin decir su patria padres ni parentes y dixo su padre de este testigo que tan mozo quería ser hermitaño, y dixo que si dixo que si y que ya havia ydo el rio arriba que por allí pasan y que le avia dicho que havia hallado una zincenada muy a propósito para lo que pretendía y tener un huertecillo para hortaliza, y su padre de este testigo le ofrezio gente para el edificio y no lo quizo aceptar mas de pedir lizenzia para hazer unos ádobes y que se le diese con que y ansi le dio azadón y el molde de los adoves y el los yva haciendo y tan entanto [120v.] que se yvan haciendo los adoves los chichimecos de aquella tierra le hizieron una choca de ramas y verdes yerbas adonde estuvo tan entanto que se hazia la hermita la qual hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez y le ayudaron los chichimecos y en ella se metio y estaba hecho un gran siervo de Dios y hermitano de el hiermo*", in BNE, Ms/ 7819, 'Testimonial de Pedro Carrillo Dávila', 120r.-120v.

and a blanket and as a pillow he had a stone, and on Fridays he would eat one sardine and four tortillas that she would send him, and close to the mentioned house he had a little kitchen-garden with vegetable things, surrounded by a trench for the beasts not to get inside, and where he was for about three years. And going to see him one day with the said Martín Moreno, her first husband, they found him under a tree, kneeled down, and asking him for some vegetables for collation, for it was Our Lady's eve, he got up and pulled out some radishes from the kitchen garden and rinsed and washed them in the trench and her, for being pregnant, longed for one and the creature could not stay still in her belly any longer and she told it to her husband and it was doing the creature into pieces, and asking him if it could be because of the radishes nonetheless she was fasting, endangering the creature, and the said husband asked the said Gregorio Lopez, who answered that, if she was fasting to take it forward, that he would be held accountable if she would abort – and so she stopped eating them and calmed the creature.

And [Maria de Mercado] also told to the said Juan Núñez how being ill the said Martín Moreno, her husband, with fevers, he told her that he had awoken scared because he was dreaming he had seen in dreams the said Gregorio Lopez opening a trench surrounded by angels with lots of little candles and the mentioned husband with that agony was crying and she kept asking why was he crying, he replied she should leave him alone, for she would most certainly tell all of it to her mother, because women are tattlers. And the mentioned Juan Núñez told her: my lady. All of this shall be written, and she does not recall if it was. All this passed one or two months after Gregorio Lopez died.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ My translation of: "[...] y preguntando a ésta por la vida de Gregorio López, que murió en Sancta Fee, cuando vivió en la estancia del Mesquite, ocho leguas de Zacatecas, y ésta le dijo cómo el dicho Gregorio López hacia vida de un sancto y que comía todos los días a mediodía sin comer hasta otro día a la misma hora, y si ésta le enviaba asado y cocido le volvía el asado porque él no quería comer más de carne cocida y cuatro tortillas cada día, y la casa que tenía era una ermita, y luego dijo que no era ermita sino una casa que él había hecho de adobes muy pequeña, donde no cabía más de su cama que eran dos tablas y una frazada y por cabecera una piedra, y los viernes comía una sardina y cuatro tortillas que ésta le enviaba, y junto a la dicha casa tenía un huertecillo con cosas de verdura, cercado por una zanja para que no entrasen en él las bestias, donde estuvo al pie de tres años. Y yendo ésta un día a verle con el dicho Martín Moreno, su primer marido, le hallaron debajo de un árbol, hincado de rodillas, y pidiéndole verdura para hacer colación, por ser víspera de Nuestra Señora, se levantó y arrancó unos rábanos del dicho huerto y los enjuagó y lavó en la zanja, y ésta, por estar preñada, se le antojó uno y no podía sosegar la criatura en el cuerpo, y se lo dijo al dicho su marido y que estaba haciéndosele la criatura pedazos, y preguntándosele si comería de los dichos rábanos, no obstante que ayunaba, por el riesgo de la criatura, y el dicho su marido se lo preguntó al dicho Gregorio López, el cual le respondió que, pues ayunaba, aquello llevase adelante, que él tomaba a su cargo que no abortaría, - y así dejó de comerlos ésta y sosegó la criatura. Y asimismo contó al dicho Juan Núñez cómo estando enfermo el dicho Martín Moreno, su marido, con calenturas, dijo a ésta que había despertado con pavor porque estaba soñando había visto entre sueños al dicho Gregorio López abriendo la zanja cercado de ángeles con muchas candelitas y el dicho su marido con aquella agonía estaba llorando y diciéndole ésta que por qué estaba llorando, le respondió que la dejase que luego iría ésta a contarle a

In addition to giving people pre-natal advice, Gregorio also appeared in people's dreams surrounded by angels the only "supernatural" episode that is narrated in Losa's hagiographical tale, worth a moment of our attention. We could question ourselves, what did Martín Moreno actually know about angels? Given the fact that he was most certainly a creole, born either in Nueva España or in Nueva Galicia, how was he to know what an angel should look like? Martín could only have known about angels if he had been catechised, or if he had seen murals and statues with their depiction in the few churches that existed in Nueva Galicia at the time, perhaps during trips to Ciudad de México or some other major city. Being a soldier in the *Gran Chichimeca*, it is more likely that he came across images of Satan and sinners being sent to Hell.⁶⁶⁸ María de Mercado herself refers to her husband's vision as a dream, unlike Losa in his book, who describes it as a bonafide apparition. Could Martín Moreno have confused *indios* with angels? Or were these "angels" the children of Pedro Carrillo Dávila, playing in Gregorio Lopez's *huerta*? We know Gregorio taught the young brothers, Pedro and Sebastián, so could Moreno's vision have been an interpretation of an unexpected situation? Anyhow, he believed what he saw, enough to share such a vision.

Given that Gregorio had been hired as educator of the Captain's children, a scenario of children playing around him in the garden is not hard to imagine:

[...] for the father [Captain Pedro Carrillo of this witness sent him [Pedro Carrillo] together with Sebastian de Mercado brother of this witness, who died long time ago, everyday to the servant of God so that he could teach them to read and write and he taught them in his hut or hermitage and he always saw him [Gregorio] with much modesty, arms crossed and looking at [fl. 121] the ground so it looked like he was always in the presence of Our Lord. And to this

su madre, porque las mujeres eran siempre parleras, Y el dicho Juan Núñez dijo a ésta: señora, todo eso se ha de escribir y, no se acuerda si lo escribieron. Lo cual pasó uno o dos meses después que murió el dicho Gregorio López, in AGN, *Inquisición*, 210, ff. 26-29, *apud* Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 844.

⁶⁶⁸ Robert H. Jackson, "Conflict and Conversion in Sixteenth Century Central México: The Augustinian War on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier", in *European Expansion and Indigenous Response*, volume 12 (Leiden, NLD: BRILL, 2013); Dutcher Mann "Christmas in the Missions of Northern New Spain" in *The Americas*, Vol. 66, N.º 3, *Evangelization as Performance* (Jan., 2010), Academy of American Franciscan History, accessed on December 4th 2015 on: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25602444>, 331-351; Kerr, "Preliminary angels".

witness and his brother he would always give good advise as great servant of God and it seems like, if he recalls it properly, they went to this daily exercise in the hermitage for three or four years.⁶⁶⁹

Pedro's children also allowed the captain to keep some control over Gregorio's daily life. Pedro and Sebastián learned from Gregorio how to read and write, received his advice, retaining no more than a child possibly could: a man with no passions, who was permanently surrounded by letters and books. Nonetheless, although Martín Moreno was able to see him surrounded by angels, he was not able to find out where he was from. Besides, María de Mercado, as well as Pedro and Sebastián's mother, regularly sent him food, which Gregorio always denied. Captain Carrillo Dávila would offer him candles, blankets, and anything he believed he could need living on his own, which he also refused.

[...] he saw that many persons were murmuring about the servant of God because they saw him with no rosary nor image in his hermitage and others would say he had a rosary but kept it hidden so no one would see him pray and this witness always saw him looking like an apostle and his conversation was heavenly like and never this witness saw him laugh nor cry or sigh neither action that appeared out of passion or joy and telling him [fl.122] this witness if he wanted them to take him some candles he [Gregorio] never asked for it and they never took it. And he said of the wealth or the bed he did not have anything to do since he only had as bed a little blanket with a table and a stone as headboard, and during the day this witness saw how he would read in a book and write most of the time and how he had the walls of the hermitage full of many curious things of his handwriting for there were white characters written in black blot that looked quite well since he was a great scrivener and he never saw him receiving money from no one and because it was very cold in those lands the father of this witness asked the servant of God Gregorio Lopez if he wanted a blanket from [122v.] Castilla to warm himself

⁶⁶⁹ My translation of: "[...] *porque su padre de este testigo le invió juntamente con Sebastián de Mercado, hermano de este testigo, difunto mucho tiempo, cada día de ordinario aquel siervo de Dios le ensénase a leer y escribir. Y le enseñó en su choza o hermita y siempre le vió con grande modestia, cruzados los brazos y mirando [121r.] al suelo, que parecia estar siempre en presencia de Nuestro Señor. Y a este testigo y a su hermano le dava y dió muy buenos consejos como tan gran Siervo de Dios, y le parece a este testigo según se quiere acordar que acudiría como tres o quatro años a la hermita a este exercicio*", in BNE, Ms/7819, 'Testimonial de Pedro Carrillo Dávila', 120v-121r.

and he did not want it and this witness perceived that during the time he was in that hermitage he never went to have any conversation in their farm nor elsewhere.⁶⁷⁰

Gregorio began his solitary life near the mining centre of Zacatecas, circa 1562/1563, and Losa wrote about it:

[Gregorio] suffered some arraignments from the Spanish soldiers that would pass by in search of chichimeca Indians in order to capture them. Some would call him Lutheran heretical because he would not listen to mass, disregarding the fact that the nearest village was seven leagues from the place he lived; even if he would go hear it every Easter, to come back afterwards to his solitude. Others would call him crazy for having chosen such a dangerous home [amongst the Indians, isolated from any town] and would tell him: “You smell of the grave already”.⁶⁷¹

The search for more information concerning these people and activities during this period proves to be fruitless. All that we know is that there was a war. In 1582, Pedro Carrillo was one of the captains who informed the viceroy about the situation of the Chichimeca war in Nueva Galicia. He spoke in favour of the war, although he recognised the soldiers needed better conditions to fight (better salaries and privileges).⁶⁷² By 1582,

⁶⁷⁰ My translation of: “[...] *Y vido que algunas personas murmuraban de el siervo de Dios, por que no le veían rosario ni imagen en su hermita, y otros dezian que tendría rosario y que lo tendría escondido porque no le viesen rezar. Mas siempre este testigo le vido que parecia un apóstol y que su conversación hera de el Cielo, y nunca este testigo le vido reir ni llorar ni suspirar ni acción que pareciese tener pasión ni alegría. Y diciéndole [122] este testigo que si quería que le trujesen candela nunca la pidió ni se lla llebo. Y dezia que haciendas ni que cama tenia que hazer, porque solo tenia por cama una frazadilla pequeña con una tabla y una piedra por cabejera. Y entre dia veía este testigo como leía en un libro y escribía muy gran parte de el día y tenia por las paredes de la hermita muchas cosas curiosas de su letra, porque havia unas letras blancas en borron negro que paresian muy bien, porque hera gran escribano y nunca le vido a recibir dinero de nadie y por hazer gran frio en aquella tierra le dijo su Padre de este testigo al siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez si quería una frazada de [122v.] Castilla para abrigarse, y no la quiso y este testigo entendido el tiempo que estuvo en aquella hermita nunca fue a tener conversación a la hacienda de este testigo ni a otra parte.*”, in BNE, Ms/7819, ‘Testimonial de Pedro Carrillo Dávila’, 121v-123r.

⁶⁷¹ Losa, *Life*, 10.

⁶⁷² In relation to this matter, I recommend the reading of Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver*, 135: “In spite of the oft-mentioned hardships of the warfare against the Chichimecas and the vexatious restrictions imposed by a viceregal government that had to straddle the fence between royal conscience and frontier realities, there were sufficient perquisites attached to the rank of frontier captain that there seems to have been no great difficulty in recruiting men for the posts. True, it was a trying service for strictly honest men and those observant of the royal will concern treatment of the enemy, and some withdrew from it. But there were advantages too, particularly for

Captain Pedro Carrillo had already founded Jerez (circa 1569/1570), fundamental settlement to the defence of the roads to Zacatecas. Although in rural areas, it was not isolated from people, cattle, and goods. Jerez was founded by Carrillo but also by his son-in-law, Martín Moreno, as well as by Pedro Caldera, whose granddaughter would come to marry Pedro Carrillo's namesake son.⁶⁷³ Thus, Gregorio was part of a household that, along with the clan of the famous captain Miguel Caldera, founded the town of Jerez.

8.4 (1563-1562?) Zacatecas (w)as the limit

However, Gregorio may have been aware of where he was going. We shall see how, for example, he seems to have worked with some notaries in México, one of whom was Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente. In consulting the capital's Catalogue of Notaries, we came across a clause in a will concerning precisely the Caldera⁶⁷⁴, where we may read that Pedro Caldera intended to send some money to his father, Hernando Caldera, in Alcántara, Castile. Gregorio may have found that same document amongst the papers of the notary he seems to have worked with, as we shall see, providing him with the name of someone he could potentially seek out in Zacatecas, from where his journey to the desert began.

those who had not the opportunities that had come to such men as Temiño de Bañuelos, the Saldívars, Tolosa, and the Oñates in the original discoveries of mineral wealth. A frontier captain could, and did, combine search for wealth with search for Chichimecas – some important silver discoveries were made this way. Also, with a captain's prestige and the leeway afforded by viceregal instructions, some profit could be made by recapture of livestock and other loot from the Chichimecas and failure to return it to the original owners, or highhanded supply requisitioning from the estancias without pay. It is apparent from the number of complaints by the frontier landowners that these practices were engaged in rather extensively. In addition, the capture of peaceful Indians was a comparatively easy method of making profit in loot and in slaves."

⁶⁷³ Luis Miguel Berumen Félix, "Conosco Jerez" (Jerez: Berumen Vargas, 2010), 25; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, (revised edition) (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

⁶⁷⁴ "Ítem, confiesa y declara que ahora [...] de los Zacatecas, Pedro Caldera, 132 pesos de tepuzque, para darlos a Hernando Caldera, su padre, en la villa de Alcántara, los [cuales] ha recibido Andrés Pérez, mercader, manda se le entreguen a Hernando Caldera. Y todas las partidas que así lleva para ir a Castilla las lleva y han de ir registradas a su nombre y riesgo. El escribano da fe de conocer al otorgante", Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, 'Testamento', April 2nd, 1562, in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

The Chichimeca *naciones* (nations) – having no political meaning, but rather indicating of linguistic, ethnic groups – felt a massive defeat against the forces gathered by Pedro Ahumada de Sámano, in 1561, which symbolised the beginning of the end of the world as they knew it. Beginning of the end since that war would continue until the last decades of the century, when the Spanish regime's offensive strategy proved to be ineffective and having thus turned instead towards a policy of pacification.⁶⁷⁵ What did Gregorio see when he arrived to Zacatecas? The archive of Zacatecas does not tell us much; a fire reduced most of those early records into ashes, resulting in the loss of decades' worth of settlement records. From what was saved, many scholars help us imagine what Zacatecas must have looked like to Gregorio:

[...] that hamlet scattered on hills and ravines, formed by small houses of adobe and flat roofs, primitive mining facilities, crude mills sledgehammers, stoves and bellows and miserable huts or crews to the black slaves and crowbar' Indians, and [...] all that humble constructions set dominated by the strong house, masonry.⁶⁷⁶

Zacatecas was a chaotic mining centre that had been born out of greed with its silver mills and was still in the process of establishing its position within the natural landscape. Founded in 1548, twelve or thirteen years later it already had its church and some private houses where the *Diputación de minas* held their meetings. Although the deputies admitted the necessity of having their own specific independent building, having agreed

⁶⁷⁵ According to Tutino, Pedro de Ahumada "offered a war of assault and retreat, killing warriors and taking captives, his activities funded by sales of captives legally not slaves." in Tutino, *Making a New World*, 82. It was precisely this phase of the war that Gregorio witnessed. Could his opinion have had some effect on the change of policy, given that it was promoted by his future protector, archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras, and his visitor and future viceroy, Don Luis Velasco, the Younger?

⁶⁷⁶ My translation of: "[...] *aquel lugarejo desparramado por cerros y cañadas, formado de pequeñas casas de adobe y con terrado, primitivas instalaciones mineras, toscos molinos de almadanas, hornillos y fuelles y míseros jacales o cuadrillas para los negros esclavos e indios barreteros, y para que la semejanza fuese mayor, todo aquel conjunto de humildes construcciones dominado por la casa fuerte, de calicanto, de Diego de Ibarra*", Eugenio del Hoyo, "Introducción" in *Primer Libro de las Actas de Cabildo de las Minas de los Zacatecas 1557-1586*, (Zacatecas: H. Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1990), 16.

upon its location already by 1559, in 1563 it did not yet exist.⁶⁷⁷ As a mining centre whose population and silver needed to be protected, there was thus also the need for an administrative apparatus similar to that of any other Spanish “republic”, as they called their local government, especially considering that it was a significant source of wealth in a bankrupt empire.⁶⁷⁸

One thing was to manage an empire based on another’s structures like the Spanish did with the Aztecs or the Incas. Another thing was to expand into territories not even those empires had been able to conquer and control. Nueva Galicia was one of those cases. After the Mixton war, the Spanish believed they had subdued the rebel confederations of rebellious peoples from the north, as such, the conquerors made their way up north and discovered silver mines, a sufficiently good enough reason to fight for settlement there. However, no matter how well informed Gregorio may have been with regard to all this, reality proved to be much more impactful.

8.4.1 (Not) converting

In this section, we shall examine that which Francisco Losa and many other authors identified as a turning point in Gregorio’s life, expressly, when he witnessed the lethal duel between two settlers over silver. Losa probably identified this moment as a turning point in Gregorio’s life, the *topos* of conversion inherited from (medieval) hagiographical literature having served as the ideal frame of reference for a moment of undeniable impact.⁶⁷⁹ In Losa’s narrative, from this moment on, Gregorio Lopez would choose to live

⁶⁷⁷ Mecham “The Real de Minas as a Political Institution. A Study of a Frontier Institution in Spanish Colonial America” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 7, n.º 1, Feb., (1927), 64-65; *Primer Libro de las Actas*, 16, 44.

⁶⁷⁸ Mecham, “The Real de Minas”; Assadourian, “The Colonial Economy: The Transfer of the European System of Production to New Spain and Peru” in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 24, *Quincentenary Supplement: The Colonial and Post Colonial Experience. Five Centuries of Spanish and Portuguese America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1992), 55-68.

⁶⁷⁹ “In the Middle Ages, the concepts of intra- and interreligious conversion existed side by side. The interreligious conversion of pagans, Jews, and Muslims to Christianity entailed the adoption of the new beliefs, rites, and a new institutional source of religious authority. But the broader meaning of conversion was that of intrareligious conversion, which described a Christian’s spiritual movement closer to God, culminating in the transformation and reorientation of the soul, a spiritual epiphany, or in its most extreme cases mystical contact with the divine. This

in "solitude", departing and shutting off from the world he was coming from. Conversion implied change, perhaps not a change of habits, but a change in attitude. Not converting in the right manner, though, could give rise to misunderstandings. Gregorio had his particular way of seeing things, and at that time, all he could see was decadence and chaos. Everything around him, for good and bad, reminded him that the Indies were not his home.

When Gregorio arrived in Zacatecas, he was met with a conglomerate of people (and animals) in search for the best place close to the silver mines, which could also provide all the necessary food and water, although these were probably not sufficient to cope with the needs of a settlement that had begun to grow exponentially. People came, died, tried, died, left, died, worked, fell ill, and survived. Could Gregorio have met Marina de la Cruz? When Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora mentions Marina de la Cruz's acquaintance with Gregorio Lopez, though uncertain about the date of their meeting, he discards the possibility of Zacatecas.⁶⁸⁰

Even if the meeting occurred, it was not sufficiently important to have been mentioned elsewhere, Gregorio's passage through the *minas* having been relatively brief. Losa's description gives us a good idea of the ambience of the *minas de Zacatecas*.

Gregory departed from México to Zacatecas, not out of greediness of wealth, which hath peopled those mines with a multitude of inhabitants, but out of a desire of getting that pure gold of Charity which our Lord Christ counsels us to buy of his Majesty, to make us rich. He staid few days at Zacatecas, where being one day in the chief Piazza of that City, at the time when the wagons departed for México with the Plate, he chanced to see the huge confusion, and tumults of arrest, oaths, perjuries, threats, quarrels, and debates: insomuch as that two drawing their swords at that very instant killed each other upon the place. This increased his

definition explains why *conversion* was also the term used to describe the specific act of taking monastic vows and leaving the decadent, profane world behind for the spiritual refuge of the monastery.", Duane J. Corpis, "Paths of Salvation and Boundaries of Belief: Spatial Discourse and the Meanings of Conversion in Early Modern Germany" in David M. Luebke, *et al.* (eds.) *Conversion and the Politics in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Berhahn Books, 2012), 18.

⁶⁸⁰ Sigüenza y Góngora, *Paraíso Occidental*, 96.

desire of retiring from the conversation of men, seeing what disorders, and extremities they incur for a little earth.⁶⁸¹

These conflicts were probably more usual than that Losa attempted to show. A similar episode is described in the hagiography of Sebastián Aparicio, with the difference that the Franciscan (still secular priest at the time in which it happened) was himself involved in a duel.⁶⁸² Sebastián de Aparicio was a pioneer in what concerned transportation in Nueva España, having been responsible for designing the road to Zacatecas, exploring it as he had done with the road that linked Veracruz, Puebla and Ciudad de México.⁶⁸³ Furthermore, some research into the catalogue of Ciudad de México notaries confirms that the transport of goods, especially precious metals, was not only dangerous over long distances, but also at departure and arrival points.

A document from 1559 narrates a violent scene that took place in México, in which Juan Izquierdo declared laying charges against at least three men who had attacked his slave and the carriages he had attempted to enter city with: a witness confirmed the incident, relating how he had tried to defend himself by throwing stones at the

⁶⁸¹ Losa, *Life*, 7-8.

⁶⁸² In the *Life* of Sebastian de Aparicio, the duel episode demonstrates the saint's capacity to use force, and at the same time, to ease conflicts, instead of worsening the course of events: "*Haviendo Llegado à México en una occasion siendo aun secular, con la quadrilla de sus carretas cargadas de plata del Real de Minas de Zacatecas, una de las que iban por delante se acercó tanto en la Plaza mayor à un puerto de loza de la tierra, que quebró gran parte de ella. Indignado de esto el dueño se dirigió a Aparicio (que iba detrás de la última) y comenzó à llenarle de improperios. Suplicòle èste le perdonasse, haciéndole presente con su regular mansedumbre, no haver estado en su arbitrio lo sucedido. No fue esto suficiente para que dexasse el Lozero de oprobialre; antes bien proseguendo en seguimiento suyo por la Calle de San Francisco, Llegaron las injurias hasta los términos de amenazarle de quitarle la vida.*

Procuraba Aparicio sossegarlo con ofrecerle la paga del daño recebido; mas atropellando aquel por sus satisfacciones, siguiéndolo hasta salir al despoblado, sacó la espada, y le acometió, acompañando el golpe con mayores improperios, y injuriosas razones.

*Apeóse entonces Aparicio, y tirando de la suya, à pocos lances le dió una cuchillada, que lo traxo à sus pies, y poniéndole uno de ellos sobre el pecho, le dixo Hombre sobervio, podreos matar, pues os tengo sujeto, y sin fuerzas para que os defendáis? Conoció el imprudente caido su verdad; y confesando el todo de sus excessos, le pidió por amor de Dios le perdonasse. Hizolo así Aparicio; y mucho mas, en que siendo tan proporcionado el lance para excitar su cólera, aseguraba después de professo à los Religiosos, no haver procedido en el con enojo ni experimentado alguna moción notable de su ira.", in Rodríguez, *Vida prodigiosa del V. Siervo de Dios fray Sebastian de Aparicio...*, México: Imprenta de D. Phelipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1769, 119-120.*

⁶⁸³ We are told in his biography how Sebastian avoided the Chichimeca attacks by bringing them offerings, a strategy that was adopted by the government decades later, by means of Miguel Caldera's suggestion; Rodríguez, *Vida prodigiosa*, 16-18.

aggressors, and how they had beat him with swords and sticks, leaving the slave badly hurt and the carriage severely damaged, for which he wished to be compensated.⁶⁸⁴

What this record show is that violent episodes were frequent in *Nueva España* and *Nueva Galicia*. When Losa identifies the duel in Zacatecas as the moment Lopez chooses to live a solitary life, although he might have been right, we have to be careful in extrapolating such turning point as a conversion moment. On the one hand, we do not know what were the terms of Gregorio's trip to Zacatecas were: Did he want to become a miner or a notary? Did he want to stay in the *real de minas*? Or was Zacatecas a passage point to somewhere else he already had in mind? On the other hand, more than a conversion Lopez assumed a choice. Even if he had in mind something else, clearly he found the conditions (external and internal) to take the risk of living isolated in a place where that would never be the obvious way of living.

8.4.2 Not dealing

In *Vida*, Gregorio evinces his dislike of the *trato* in the Indies, given his experience during his first years in México. If we check where the word *trato* appears in the first Spanish edition and compare it with the respective English translations, we will come across various synonyms for the same word: "business", "converse", "conversation", "behaviour", and "carriage". When using this argument (disliking the *trato de las Indias*) to justify his decision to lead a solitary life, Gregorio refused to reveal his origins, merely stating he came to New Spain on the last fleet that had arrived in the Indies, assuming the mysterious position he would maintain from that moment on.

To better understand what Gregorio turned away from in Ciudad de México, we should take a closer look at what he turned away from in Zacatecas. If we keep in mind that Gregorio was a learned young man, capable of reading and writing extremely well, we may be able to infer similar jobs he could have taken on. We shall see in the following section that even if we cannot be sure that the "Gregorio Lopez" we find as witness and

⁶⁸⁴ See for instance Antonio, Alonso, July 13th, 1559, "Autos", *Catalogo de Protocolos*.

possibly amanuensis in the Notaries of México is 'our' Gregorio Lopez, the prevalence of Alonso Hernandez Bachiller's name in numerous documents is of relevance to us.⁶⁸⁵

Possibly, both Gregorio Lopez and Alonso Hernández Bachiller – based on their acquaintance, and Hernández Bachiller's biography – decided to go north more or less at the same time. Gregorio's name seems to have disappeared from the notary's documents in October, and Alonso produced documentation in the capital until December of 1562. Alonso Hernández Bachiller moved to Zacatecas during the same period as Gregorio, where he pursued a career as a notary and public officer, something which Gregorio might also have done himself. Moreover, Hernández Bachiller also became quite close to the same families Gregorio spent time within the region of Zacatecas, such as the Caldera.⁶⁸⁶ Could it only have been a coincidence?

The best time to go north was towards between November and June; these dates allow us to draw up an approximate schedule, a schedule made to avoid attacks, replenish diligently, and quickly arrive at the remote settlements, having taken around two or three weeks to get to Zacatecas, depending on the state of the roads, the inherent dangers, the amount of luggage, and of course, the animals one disposed of. On his way to Zacatecas, Gregorio most likely travelled with a group, having most certainly been awed by the natural surroundings he came across, and simultaneously, disappointed with what he saw in the Indies.

In order to locate in time and space the "last fleet" Gregorio said to have taken to the Indies, taking into consideration the time it took to arrive in Nueva Galicia, we may resort to an secondary piece of information: the appointed *oidor* of Nueva Galicia, Francisco de Alarcón, was a passenger on the 1561 fleet to the Indies, who wrote to the king expressing his first impressions of the new kingdoms in 1563.⁶⁸⁷ According to Alarcón, on February 2nd, 1562, he still had not arrived in Guadalajara, where the Audience of Nueva Galicia was located, having been chosen to serve as *oidor* there in Toledo in 1560.

⁶⁸⁵ Appendix V: Notary protocols from the *Catálogo de Protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México – Fondo Siglo XVI*.

⁶⁸⁶ Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*.

⁶⁸⁷ Rafael Diego Fernández, *Catálogo de la Colección de Microfilmes del Archivo General de Indias relativos a Nueva Galicia en el siglo XVI del Instituto Cultural Ignacio Dávila Garibi*, 30.

Alarcón justified this delay as having been due to an illness which took some time to recover from in the Mexican capital, providing us also with an estimate of the time it took to cross the Chichimeca region, having arrived in Guadalajara on March 24th 1562.⁶⁸⁸ Although, the *oidor's* route was not the most usual, since the ordinary road to Nueva Galicia was through Michoacán, and only in La Barca, east from Chapala Lake, the caravans would go into the *Gran Chichimeca*. With ox-carts, the journey would usually last between twenty-five and thirty days, while on horseback it would take about twelve to fourteen days, at a comfortable pace.

*

Neither Juan de Sarmiento nor Cosme García, his denouncers, communicated with Gregorio Lopez, as we doubt the unlearned but well-intentioned religious people of Atlixco did, for they did not wish to compromise themselves. Beyond the attempts to identify Gregorio Lopez to the authorities, and any compromising features of events omitted from various sources, there were many elements of daily life that he shared with people that recognised his dignity. The genealogical information divulged in Salazar's and Sarmiento's trials, in addition to Gregorio's dismissal from a religious order and his notarial career, reveal the institutional processes he avoided, likely because he knew what he would be asked. Gregorio could have changed his name and hidden his family's origins for several reasons, having succeeded at least in keeping it from people who did not recognise his choices. Interestingly, during that period, only Carvajal y de la Cueva speculated about Gregorio's origins, concluding that if Gregorio was in fact from Toledo, he was probably a New Christian or a Jew.

Through the testimony of María de Mercado, wife of Martin Moreno, we know that he was giving medical advice already in Nueva Galicia.⁶⁸⁹ However, Loya did not deem it necessary to mention that while in the Zacatecas region, Gregorio provided already something akin to medical assistance, much needed in a region that was so "isolated".

⁶⁸⁸ Diego Fernández, *Catálogo de la Colección de Microfilmes*, 30, 51-52, 55-56, 58.

⁶⁸⁹ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 844.

María de Mercado illustrates such gaps in her testimony. Was there something more suspicious to Gregorio's attitude than just his denial in participating in the region's economy of war? Nothing in Gregorio's behaviour seemed to be out of place according to the testimonies of María de Mercado and Pedro Carrillo, who affirmed what they thought people would like to know. Who knows what they could have hidden or what else they may have witnessed?

What brought Gregorio there, and what subsequently made him leave, is not known, and could just have been a coincidence. Juan Pérez de Frias, war captain, whom we have seen had connections to Juan de Sarmiento and Martín Moreno, was also linked to Carrillo and Caldera.⁶⁹⁰ Jerez, Villanueva, Huejúcar, Tlaltenango... the *camino real* began to be occupied by Spaniards, and we may wonder whether they may have been the ones responsible for constantly criticising Gregorio, either by calling him a fool, or a heretical Lutheran – criticism that could easily (de)generate in an inquisitorial process, for being a heretic or a Lutheran was a crime against the Catholic Church and, inherently, against the Spanish Empire.

Before we delve into Gregorio Lopez's experiences during the first twenty years of his life, which we were only able to access through his connected histories with a few people we know to have been involved in these 'alter-native stories' – micro-histories of people and places too recent and too small to fit a larger historiographical narrative where time doesn't stop. It is worth keeping in mind that before Los Remedios, where the ecclesiastical authorities examined him, Gregorio devoted to social tasks within informal networks, where his manners, skills and discretion were much appreciated. Still, in retrospective, we must remember that when Gregorio spent time with these people, there was no myth surrounding him yet: only their memories were recorded.

⁶⁹⁰ Hillerkuss, *Diccionario*, 249-250, 283, 1705, 1782, 1811-1812.

Chapter 9. The sources we should have (1563?-1561?)

Crossing the Atlantic was a trip towards the unknown, under exceptional and potentially traumatic conditions (akin to getting into a spaceship and setting off for the Moon or Mars), the ocean serving as a bridge between very different geographic realities. We search for Gregorio Lopez in the context of the Iberian and European migrations in the sixteenth century. Back in those days – more than 60 years after Columbus, and 10 years away from the new regulations on the passage of migrants to the Indies, established in 1552 – crossing the ocean had become an ordinary affair, while at the same time it was still a completely new experience, with all the risks that it entailed. How did Gregorio Lopez prepare for his trip? What were his expectations? Was someone expecting his arrival?

9.1 Ciudad de México: the port of New Spain

As rightly pointed out by Chaunu, Veracruz was just a step away from New Spain's port par excellence, expressly, Ciudad de México.⁶⁹¹ However, it was there where one would obtain instructions with regard as to how to proceed on one's journey, receiving help and supplies, as well as the first information (and confrontation with the lived reality) concerning the new world. It took between 15 and 30 days to get from Veracruz to the capital of the Aztec empire, where the Spanish began their journeys on land upon their arrival on Mexican shores. Guided by people tired of paying the price of being part of an(other) empire, and strengthened by the newly arrived heavily armed men and all the horsepower they brought with them, the Spanish were able to reach their goal. Churches replaced temples, and crosses began to proliferate throughout the territory; disease, slavery, poverty, lust and violence took over the land.

We do not know how Gregorio experienced this transition, which had already been experienced by the previous generations, for whom the New World was a complete

⁶⁹¹ Pierre Chaunu, "Veracruz en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI y primera del XVII" in *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 9, N.º 4 (Apr./Jun., 1960), 521-557, accessed on May 6th, 2015 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25135022>.

mystery. Moreover, before Gregorio arrived, an imperial route had already been established between Veracruz and Ciudad de México (the *camino real*), which Cortés, his men and his horses had explored. A quiet dialogue with a wilderness that filled with islands of artificial seamliness to a "new" Spain trying to cope with the need to perpetuate knowledge of that Nature and with the natives who resisted adaptation to the new reality but who simultaneously began to *inculturate*. From the first few decades onwards after the Spanish conquest, the roads to Ciudad de México were redesigned in order to not only make the transportation of people and goods more comfortable, but also to allow for the existence of hospitals and hostelries, much needed at the time to provide assistance and comfort to the recently arrived settlers.⁶⁹²

From what it appears, Gregorio took the Puebla road, or *camino de los Ángeles*, which at the time already passed through this city (Puebla de los Angeles, founded in 1531). The *camino* served as a rite of passage for all the passengers that arrived in Veracruz. México City Council would later approve the construction of another road prepared for wagons and carriages.⁶⁹³

How many pieces of advice must Gregorio, as any other traveller, have received? How many people did he travel with and what knowledge did he take from each new situation: the tropical weather, the foreign food, the overwhelming landscape? Did Gregorio travel with people who had come with him on the same fleet? Who may he have spoken to? Indians already capable of speaking Spanish? Or Spaniards who already familiarised with the diversity of peoples, languages, costumes, diets, arts and crafts? He likely heard conversations concerning the viceroy, Luis de Velasco, regarding his family and clientele.

⁶⁹² Peter Rees, *Transportes y comercio entre México y Veracruz, 1519-1910*, (México: SEP, Sepsetentas, 1976), 17-54.

⁶⁹³ From the coast in La Antigua it was five leagues to *Rinconada*, three leagues to the del *Río* hostelry, four leagues to the del *Lencero* hostelry, one league to *Jalapa* (which was twelve leagues away from Veracruz, where passengers would wait for favourable winds to return to Spain), six leagues to the de *Aguilar* hostelry, and a further six leagues to *Perote*, where there was a hospital for travellers. From Perote, it was eight leagues to *Cáceres*, seven leagues to *Puebla de los Ángeles*, a further four leagues to get to *Huejotzingo*, five more to *Chalco* (during this part of the *camino* México City appeared before travellers' eyes), and an additional six leagues to a metropolis they had never seen before. The *camino* is described in Sergio Florescano Mayet's *El Camino México-Veracruz en la época colonial* (Xalapa: Centro de Investigaciones Historicas – Universidad Veracruzana, 1987), 11-26.

Perhaps he was surprised to know how the *caciques* worked, how the Mexica were organised, and to what point their organisation was maintained or changed. Moreover, he may also have asked around where he could find work, and where the flourishing mining centres were located. He could also have heard about Sebastián de Aparicio, who disseminated cart-building technology; or about the missionary friars who went north and south spreading the word of God.

On his way to México, Gregorio very likely passed through or heard something about some of the places he would come to visit or reside in later years, namely Atlixco, where a Franciscan convent was being built, sponsored by the couple who would host him almost twenty years later; and Oaxtepec, where the hospital he would live in for eight years had not yet been founded. Close to the remains of Montezuma's famous botanical gardens, that hospital was founded by the *Hipólitos*, brothers of charity who had a hospital in San Juan de Ulúa, to whom Gregorio may have donated some of his goods, and with whom he probably contacted and learned more about this new world.

When exploring the social and professional contexts Gregorio was faced with upon his arrival, the *Actas de Cabildo* provide us with valuable information that helps us recreate Ciudad de México's landscape at the time: financial regulations; the effectiveness of tax collection; the value of silver, mercury and slaves; land distribution; native populations' diet and education; the need for women's monasteries and issues surrounding dowries; clandestine weddings; the censorship of books concerning dealings with Indians; Huachichiles and Chichimecas and their attacks on the northern frontier.⁶⁹⁴ Of special relevance to us is the following item, which proves to be particularly insightful as to what kind of city Gregorio came across:

Item that for His Majesty has made privilege to the sons of the conquerors and settlers of this land of which every benefit should be patrimonial like the ones of Palencia's dioceses [...] it should be implored to His Majesty to be served to order the same privilege to be executed and furthermore to order the construction of a college in this city of His and the Royal Treasury property with moderate costs and income where the sons of the residents could be and study

⁶⁹⁴ Manuel Orozco y Berra, Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, (eds.), *Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México*, vol. 6 (Aguilar e Hijos, México: 1871), 489-500.

and from where they could leave provided by His Majesty with merits and good manners to be priests and incumbents of the villages since from them great good would follow and the royal conscience would be better unloaded, for the Indians will have in each village their own shepherd resident [*estante*] in it and they will not die without baptism nor confession as happens presently and none would stay without hearing mass on Sundays and holy days as now most of the people and they will have whom to indoctrinate them and to minister them the sacraments all that is missing everywhere for not having a minister in each village that does it and dissuade them from drinking and idolatries and superstitions and other vices and sins that they commonly commit and beyond this for the Spanish this would be a great privilege that their sons are attributed such benefits as it is ordered either through doing the said college and leaving it to do what was said either by not doing it unless each one of them studies in the university and it will be cause for the virtuous to be it even more and for the others to give themselves to state and virtue understanding it exists in giving them privilege and what to eat if they deserve it and even more for the sons of the neighbour [*vecino*] of this land there is no other opportunity as there is in the kingdoms of Castilla serving knights and principal lords lay and ecclesiastical and prelates and that in compliance of one provision of His Majesty on which orders the dispatch of a list of the neighbours' sons and that there are sufficient to serve canonries and other prebendaries and that a copy and memory of it is done and taken to His Majesty to make give them privilege and the same might be done in compliance of another dispatch there is of His Majesty in which it is ordered to make a list of the qualified persons there are in this city and in whom they should converge to come forward to be provided not only in charge of justice but also prelacies and other offices and dignities to make it clear the privileges that can be given to the neighbours of this city and are given to others that are not [its neighbours].⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁵ My translation of "Item 24" of the instructions to the court discussed during the meeting of Friday, October 3rd, 1561: "Item que por quanto su magestad tiene hecha merced a los hijos de los conquistadores y pobladores desta tierra de que los beneficios de toda ella sean patrimoniales como los del obispado de Palencia como consta de la erecion desta yglesia e la demas que se suplique a su magestad sea servido de mandar que la dicha merced se hefectue y asy mismo lo sea de mandar que en esta ciudad se haga un colegio de su haber y hacienda real con costa y renda moderada donde los hijos de los vecinos esten y estudien y de alli salgan proveydos por su magestad meritos y buenas costumbres a ser curas e beneficiados de los pueblos por que dellos se seguiran grandes bienes y se descargara mayor la real conciencia pues los yndios tendran en cada pueblo su proprio pastor estante en el y no se moriran sin bautismo ni confesion como al presente acaese y ninguno se quedara sin oir misa los domingos y fiestas como agora se quedan la mayor parte de la gente y tendran quien los doctrine y den los sacramentos que agora falta todo en las mas partes por no haber en cada pueblo ministro que lo haga y los aparte de borracheras y edolatrias y supersticiones y otros vicios e pecados que comunmente cometem y demas desto a los españoles se les hara gran merced en que sus hijos sean probeydos en los tales beneficios como esta mandado agora sea haciendose el dicho colegio y saliendo del para ello e no se hacienda sino que cada uno estudies en la huniversidad y sera causa de que los virtuosos lo sean mas y otros muchos se den al estado y virtud

In this context, Gregorio Lopez decided not to capitalise on his religiosity, having opted instead to find work as a scribe in the Mexican capital. As Losa narrates, Gregorio “[got] by his pen wherewith to defray his charges for passing to Zacatecas, where he hoped to find better convenience for that solitary life, which he so desired”, contradicting what Losa would later come to affirm: “and what greater sign of his long and settled virtue, and of a firm Love, than the coming to the Indies, and passing through the richest places thereof, which were México, and Zacatecas.”⁶⁹⁶

9.1.1 Antonio de Turcios: first employer?

As we shall see further on, Gregorio is said to have donated 800 pesos in alms when he arrived in Veracruz, equivalent to the value of twenty barrels of wine⁶⁹⁷, two rather small houses⁶⁹⁸, two years’ rent of a room in the city⁶⁹⁹, four slaves⁷⁰⁰, or a small shipment of

*entendiendo que sy en que hacerles merced y darles de comer si lo merecieren y mayormente que para los hijos de vecino desta tierra no hay en ella otra salida como la hat en los reynos de castilla sirviendo a caballeros como eclesiasticos y prelados y que en cumplimiento de una cedula que hay de su magestad por la qual manda se le envie relacion de los hijos de los vecinos que hay suficientes para server canogias y otras prevendas se haga copia y memoria de los tales y se llebe para que su magestad les hag amerced y lo mismo se haga en cumplimiento de otra cedula que hay de su magestad por la qual se manda se envie relacion de las personas que hay en esta ciudad calificadas y quien concurran las partes que convengan para ser proveydos asy en cargos de justicia como en prelacias y otros officios y dignidades para que les conste que les puede hacer a los vecinos desta ciudad las Mercedes que se hacen a otros que no lo son”, in *Actas de Cabildo*, 495.*

⁶⁹⁶ Losa, *Life*, 183-184.

⁶⁹⁷ “[...] *Hernando Ramos, arriero, estante, se obliga a pagar a Pedro Martínez de Montalvo, su hijo, 133 pesos de oro de minas, por razón de 4 pipas de vino a 47 pesos de oro de minas cada pipa [...]*”, Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, “Obligación de pago”, October 12th, 1562. Another example: “Carta de reconocimiento de deuda de Andrés Girón, jubetero, a Juan Rodríguez, mercader, vecino de México, quien le vendió una pipa de vino en 70 pesos de oro común, 6 tomines y 4 granos de oro [...]”, Hernández Bachiller, Alonso, “Obligación de pago”, November 16th, 1562, in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁶⁹⁸ “[...] *Sancho de Aldama, tratante, vendió a Pedro González de Fuentes un caballo castaño, del hierro y casta de Calahorra, por el precio de 20 pesos de oro de minas de los que recibió 19 pesos en una espada [...]*”, Sanches de la Fuente, Pedro, “Finiquito”, October 8th, 1562.

⁶⁹⁹ “[...] *Francisco Rodrigues Chacón, vecino, arrienda a Josepe Lomelín, presente, unos altos de una casa en que el vive, al barrio de San Pablo, que son siete piezas altas con unas tres piezas de entresuelos que están en la subi[da] de las escaleras, y con la entrada de todo ello y pertenencia de patios [y] corral, porque él queda en los bajos de la dicha casa con la dicha pertenencia de patios [y] corral, lo cual arrienda por tiempo de un año por precio de 40 pesos de oro de minas cada 3 meses, en reales [...]*”, Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, “Obligación de pago”, September 26th, 156[2], in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

merchandise from Seville⁷⁰¹. We do not know why Gregorio decided to give all that money away, but he most surely soon realised that he would have to find work, putting to use his skills as a scrivener, for example.

To avoid repeated considerations of the work of scribes in New Spain, I turned to Yvonne Mijares, an expert on the matter, who helped put together an online catalogue of sixteenth-century documents from the Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México⁷⁰², providing us with excellent insights into the aforesaid professional context in that city during that period.⁷⁰³ The work of notaries, as public servants, was *res incorporalis*, consisting of immaterial goods that could be inherited, sold, or rented out, as Mijares points out, which one could access via means of proper training and professional strategy. Their work had juridical value, enforcing laws that in those days protected the royally dictated monopolies on commerce, taxation, as well as distribution and production of goods. Behind protocol lay hidden social and personal strategies that sought economic gain regardless of the means to attain it, which for obvious reasons, were not documented.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁰ "[...] [An]drés Ruiz, estante, principal deudor, y Bernardino Balderas, vecino, como su fiador y principal pagador, de mancomún, se obligan a pagar a Anton Rodríguez de la [Mag]dalena, vecinos de la ciudad de [...], a Diego Serrano, vecino de la ciudad de los Ángeles, y a Gonzalo Gallego, mercader, vecino de la ciudad de México, 170 pesos de oro de minas, por razón de un esclavo negro, bozal, natural de Bran[...]", Sánchez de la Fuente, Pedro, "Obligación de pago", October 15th, 1562. "[...] Bartolomé Romero, clérigo presbítero, deán de la Iglesia de Tlaxcala, vende a Cristóbal de las Dueñas y a [...] de Salinas, vecino, una esclava negra llamada María, ladina, de tierra de Gelofe, alta de cuerpo, de cuarenta años, que tiene las manos y los dedos algo encogidos, que no los manda bien, habida de buena guerra, por lo que la vende por precio de 170 pesos de oro de minas [...]", Alonso, Antonio, "Venta", March 13th, 1562. Or "Carta de venta hecha por Diego López, mercader, vecino de Santo Domingo, Isla Española, estante en México, en favor de Pedro Morales, Maese de Roa, vecino de México, por 3 esclavos negros, naturales de tierra de Berbesí, el uno ladino y el otro bozal, en 400 pesos de oro de minas [...]", Hernández Bachiller, Alonso "Venta", December 2th, 1562; in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁷⁰¹ "Reconocimiento de deuda hecho por Alonso Téllez, mercader, vecino de México, a favor de Bartolomé de Vallejo, vecino de Sevilla, y de Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, vecino de México, por 899 pesos, 2 tomines y 9 granos de oro por una cagazón de mercadorías venida de Castilla en la nao del maestre Benito Camacho", Hernández Bachiller, Alonso "Obligación de pago", November 24th, 1562; in *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁷⁰² Yvonne Mijares, *Escribanos y escrituras públicas en el siglo XVI: el caso de la Ciudad de México*, Serie Historia Novohispana, 6 (México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1997); *Catálogo de Protocolos*.

⁷⁰³ Mijares, *Escribanos*, 45-71.

⁷⁰⁴ I am led to wonder whether Gregorio knew anything about one of the most sensational processes at the time, namely, that of Martín Cortés, which was started around 1566 by one of *his* companions, Luis de Velasco (the

According to Losa, Gregorio spent some time working with Secretario Turcios and San Román.⁷⁰⁵ Despite the likely typographical error (instead of *San Román* Losa probably meant Juan Román), and the uncertainty with regard to this fact, what is of relevance here is that the biographer relates him to one of the most influential offices in the capital of the new kingdom of the Spanish empire, an enviable position within that professional midst. At that time, Antonio de Turcios happened to be *the* most potent “bureaucrat” of New Spain.⁷⁰⁶ Notwithstanding, the evidence that remains of Gregorio’s work with Turcios points to a possible mix-up, as far as I could reconstruct. It so follows that the notice of his supposed work as a copyist of a *Libro de Mercedes* may be found at an Adam Matthew’s Library manuscript⁷⁰⁷, that comes with notes by several researchers who claim the identity of the amanuensis to be that of Gregorio Lopez. Although, the proof that they present is a signature by another “Gregorio Lopez” who lived in the Philippines until 1604. Given that Gregorio may have worked for one of these prestigious notaries, why is there no record of this? Could Losa have been misinformed?

Nevertheless, between September and October of 1562, in about thirty documents from the capital’s notary offices, there is a witness named “Gregorio Lopez, estante en México” amongst the paperwork of another notary, namely, Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, who was one of the royal notaries of Ciudad de México, whose authority as scrivener was

Younger). See Shirley Cushing Flint; “Treason or Travesty: The Martín Cortés Conspiracy Reexamined” in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 39, N.º 1 (Spring, 2008), 23-44.

⁷⁰⁵ Losa, *Life*, 6-7.

⁷⁰⁶ For more information concerning this matter, see for instance Francisco de Icaza Dufour, “Las escribanías mayores de la gobernación y Guerra de la Nueva España” in *Memoria del IV Congreso de Historia del Derecho Mexicano*, t. I (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986), 547-549.

⁷⁰⁷ Chicago, Newberry Library, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, VAULT Ayer MS 1121 *Register of viceregal orders issued between May 7, 1552 and December 2, 1553 [manuscript]*. The description of the document reads: “Register of orders of the viceroy Luis de Velasco, issued between May 7, 1552 and December 2, 1553, concerning the political, social, economic, and religious administration of México. The orders cover a wide range of routine administrative duties, such as land grants, orders for payment of salaries and commissions, authorisations for construction of convents and monasteries, regulation of Indian activities, appointments to office, settlements of water disputes and other lawsuits, payment of tributes, and ordinances for various municipalities. Many of the orders issued by the viceroy are signed by the government secretary, Antonio de Turcios. A preliminary “Noticia” signed by Ignacio Manuel de Cervantes and dated in México City on September 2nd, 1778, indicates that an analysis of the handwriting of the ms. has confirmed the identity of the copyist as Gregorio López, who, according to Gerhard, probably copied the register in 1562 or 1563. The note also includes a fragment of the original index to the register.” The register also includes “a letter from James Robertson to Clara Smith accompanied by a photograph of the signature of Gregorio López.”

used – as far as the Catalogue informs us – from 1555 to 1578. Given that Gregorio likely contacted with one of the most influential groups of his time, he at the very least was aware of how things worked, detaining knowledge of power of attorneys, learning agreements, payment commitments, receipts, rental contracts, as well as production and service contracts.⁷⁰⁸ Besides, he also likely knew well who was who within the *novohispana* society: merchants, clergymen, public officers, miners, other notaries and apprentices.

Along with Gregorio Lopez, in the thirty documents mentioned above (see Appendix V) three further witnesses who seemed to share notarial duties with Gregorio may be identified, expressly: Hernando Negrete, Juan de la Cruz and Alonso Hernández Bachiller. Concerning the first two, no further data is available in addition to their frequent mention as witnesses in the same catalogue. About Hernández Bachiller, however, who continuously claims the title of *escribano de Su Majestad*, various documents carried out under his professional authority dating from the end of 1562 are available to us. Surely, aware of what was happening in Nueva Galicia, young men like Alonso and Gregorio knew precisely what they ought or not to do when they decided to take the road to Zacatecas. Furthermore, being hosted by one of the magistrates of the royal audience, as we will see next, would have allowed Gregorio Lopez to run into his secretaries, putting to use his skills.

9.1.2 Luis de Villanueva: first host

Although Losa could have had access to information concerning another “Gregorios Lopez”, “Gregorio Lopez” is the name the future hermit used when he arrived in México. The possibility of homonyms could have triggered Losa’s suspicion about his companion’s “true” name, given the practice of changing one’s name was quite common.

⁷⁰⁸ A thorough analysis of the documents from that period, and that same notary office, could lead us to Gregorio’s handwriting and work, which would include being in charge of copying documents, managing the documentation needed for each process diligently, and even accompanying negotiations and agreements of all sorts. Since he would be in the working office we also have to admit that he was present on more occasions than the ones the documents themselves attest.

Who knows how many Gregorios made their way to Calle de Tacuba in México City! At the same time, the Spanish community was growing, but we have to consider only some thousands of people, coming across each other in a completely different setting than their old world. Fortunately, Losa had access to first-hand information, or so it seems judging from a letter he transcribed in 1591, when Gregorio was already living in Santa Fe:

For the further certainty of this his first coming to México I will produce a Letter, which Luis Zapata in the Year of 1591, writes from the Mines of Tasco to the same Gregory Lopez to Sancta Fee, where he then was. *Twenty-nine, or Thirty Years since dwelling in the street of Tacuba in México, there came a Gentleman from Spain, and lodged in my house, clad in serge; who also fasted that Lent with bread, and water: he was called Gregory Lopez; they tell me, you also go by that name. Do me the favour to write whether you be he, and to commend me to God, &c. Gregory write back in the same Letter only these words. I am he, y.r. mention; and will do what you request me.*⁷⁰⁹

In line with Losa's account, Juan Zapata Sandoval, one of the witnesses in Gregorio's beatification process, also refers to *Luis Zapata*.⁷¹⁰ The bishop of Chiapas, aged around 48 in 1621, did not know Gregorio personally, but his uncle, Luis de Villanueva Zapata, was Gregorio's first known host in New Spain. After some research into the matter, it becomes evident that there were two Luis Zapata's, father and son, respectively.⁷¹¹ Doctor Luis de Villanueva Zapata, was nominated *oidor de la Real*

⁷⁰⁹ Losa, *Life*, 7.

⁷¹⁰ "[...] and he also heard D. Luis de Villa Nueva Çapata, uncle of your most illustrious lordship that lives today in the city of México, a person, even if lay, of great virtue and superior intelligence and old age and arts, saying he contacted many times [with Gregorio] and that it was rare and not much seen the virtue and sanctity of the servant of god, Gregorio Lopez, and that he went many times to see him in Sancta Fee where he said he would communicate to him like to an angel in flesh because so it seemed in his clean life and honesty and modesty of person [...]." My translation of: "[...] y oyo tamvien decir al D. Luis de Villa Nueva Çapata tio de su senoria *illustrissima que oy vive en la ziudad de México persona aunque seglar de gran virtud y superior ynteligencia y ancianidad y letras que le trato mucho que era rara y nunca vista la virtud y santidad de el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez y le yva a ver muchas vezes a Santa Fe donde dezia que le comunicava como a angel en carne porque ansi le parecia en su limpieza de vida onestidad y [244] y modestia de persona [...]*" in BNE, Ms/7819, "Testimonial de Juan Zapata de Sandoval", 243v-244r.

⁷¹¹ AGN, *Instituciones Coloniales/ Indiferente Virreinal/ Cajas 1-999/ Caja 0707/expediente 11, 1597*; "Genealogía del Doctor Luis de Villanueva Zapata, ante Alonso Pérez de Bocanegra, alcalde ordinario, y Juan Pérez de Rivera, escribano público." Jaime García Mendoza, "La administración de las Minas de Plata y Haciendas de Beneficio de la

Audiencia in 1560, from which he was suspended in 1565, readmitted in 1567, suspended again for twelve years in 1572, and reinstated in 1575, having died in 1583.⁷¹² Luis de Villanueva Zapata, the one responsible for writing the letter, was appointed to go to the *Audiencia* in Lima in 1591, so the visits to Santa Fe had to have happened after Gregorio answered the missive, given that Luis only returned from Perú in 1597 and Gregorio had died the year before that. Plus, around those dates, Doctor Villanueva witnessed the polemic conversation between Juan Núñez and Esteban de Porres, who had both visited Gregorio in Santa Fe, making it possible that Villanueva's letter may have reached Losa through them.

What may *Licenciado* Villanueva and Luis de Villanueva Zapata have known about Gregorio Lopez? Did Luis Zapata, *the Elder*, know him from Spain, or the transatlantic trip? How did their networks connect?⁷¹³ According to Luis's letter, Gregorio presented himself to that household as a gentleman, although it is not known through what recommendations, in what conditions, and for what purpose he made his way there.

Furthermore, from what we have seen so far, the information and knowledge he gathered during this brief, but intense, period of assimilation/adaptation to New Spain, inevitably led him north. Who might he have met? The Sandovals, who were in the process of courting Villanueva's offspring? Vasco de Quiroga, bishop of Michoacán, who

Familia Sandoval en Taxco (1562-1564)", in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, 6.^a época, enero-marzo 2008 Vol. 19 (México: AGN, 2008), 11-41.

⁷¹² AGN, *Instituciones*, "Genealogía del Doctor Luis de Villanueva Zapata"; *Concilios provinciales primero y segundo: celebrados en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de México*, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (ed.), (México: Imprenta del superior gobierno, del Br. D. Joseph Antonio de Hogal, 1768), 289-290.

⁷¹³ Jaime García Mendoza, who studied the formation of powerful groups in the rich *Provincia de la Plata* in the sixteenth century, observes that between 1562 and 1565 the Sandoval paid various debts, one of these payments having been made to Sandoval's *consuegro*, Luis de Villanueva, totalling 400 *pesos de oro de minas*. Moreover, around 1563/1564, Luis de Villanueva Zapata and Luisa Sandoval received as economic aid 2,120 *pesos de oro común*, as well as other goods such as clothes. They also rented a house that belonged to the Concepción convent, paying a rent of 353 *pesos de oro común*. If we take into account that the aforementioned convent was located on Calle de Tacuba, we begin to connect the dots: Sandoval had a mill there, which belonged to *oidor* Tejada, who in turn connected him to his future wife, and who must also have known Luis de Villanueva, the Elder, who probably also had a residence there. See Jaime García Mendoza, "La formación de grupos de poder en la Provincia de la Plata durante el siglo XVI" (tesis de doctorado, UNAM, 2001); Ídem, "La administración de las minas de plata y haciendas de beneficio de la familia Sandoval en Taxco (1562-1564)" in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, 6.a época, enero-marzo 2008 Vol. 19 (México: AGN, 2008), 11-41, accessed at: <http://www.agn.gob.mx/menuprincipal/difusion/publicaciones/pdf/boletin19.pdf>.

was present in Ciudad de México to take care of some business in April of 1562, including matters on what would come to be known as the *pueblo-hospital* of Santa Fe?⁷¹⁴ One way or another, Gregorio would end up running into the Velasco's family. They also moved from the Península to México and Nueva Galicia, as the marriage of Ana de Castilla reveals, Gregorio having most certainly heard stories concerning all of them.

If Gregorio did, in fact, give away all his goods when he arrived in New Spain, he would have needed a safety net, preferably one that consisted of privileged, respected, virtuous, powerful people. Having nothing might have been a reality for Gregorio, but in a metropolis as large as México City, having a host and a job was indispensable. Gregorio seems to have arrived in México as a gentleman, having stayed at the house of a newly appointed *oidor* (magistrate) for New Spain's Royal Audience – part of a growing political and economic elite, whose contacts probably allowed him to work in the notary offices of México.

A sign of a moralising and internalised religiosity, or perhaps just learned behaviour that he acquired during the sort of life we are made to believe he led until then, was Gregorio's rigorous fasting during Lent. The cleansing of the body and the elevation of the soul, dictated by Jesus, became a slap to the face amidst a vanity fair.⁷¹⁵

9.2 Arriving in La Antigua

Arriving in Veracruz would not only be a blessing for those travelling, but also for those waiting in the port for news, goods, and people. Viceroy Luis de Velasco, upon the arrival of his son in New Spain in 1560, aptly describes what it must have been like:

Firstly, that many peoples of passengers and sailors die in the city of Vera Cruz and out of it, because the discharge boats cannot come to the port of Vera Cruz, that is 7 leagues from the sea, with the clothes and goods they bring: sometimes for the bad weather and the great Sea,

⁷¹⁴ See Alonso, Antonio, "Poder General", April 15th, 1562, *Catálogo de Protocolos*, where we may read: "Don Vasco de Quiroga, primer obispo de Michoacán, residente en México, como albacea de Alonso Rodríguez, clérigo presbítero [...] otorga poder general y de mancomún a Alonso de Cáceres, notario del otorgante".

⁷¹⁵ García Mendoza, "La administración de las minas de plata".

and others for the river's inlet is closed, for during the big Norths the river's mouth closes, and due to it the boats detain from getting in and out for thirty and forty days: for this long time the passengers get sick and many die, and spend their estates and the same danger face those who go from these parts to Spain because there is the same delay in the dispatching. [...] Also, because of the delay of the dispatch, the vessels detain in the port for eight to ten months, and get eaten by the worms, some of them clash, some others get lost by the exhaustion and death of the seamen, pilots, masters, boatswains and other officers, and because it is necessary for them to reside in Vera Cruz, such a diseased site, many of them get sick and die [...] Also, every year two or three of the boats that carry luggage, gold and silver, and other stuff from the city to the Port of San Juan de Ulúa, get lost, resulting in great damage and interests for the merchants and other persons [...] Also, the many robberies committed by merchants' agents, boatmen and Negros [...] Also, because of what was said the goods coming from the kingdom of Castille pay 22 ducats for tone [...]⁷¹⁶

Nowadays, it is hard for us to imagine what the Veracruz of that time must have been like, as the point of arrival and departure for such a long and difficult trip. However, when Gregorio Lopez arrived in the early 1560s, he did not arrive in Veracruz, but rather, in La Antigua, now a small town near Veracruz, where the scale of the first church of continental America there established evinces the immensity of the place, reminding us that this was a port in constant mutation due to uncontrollable natural forces: the river,

⁷¹⁶ My translation of: "*Lo primero, que muere mucha gente de pasajeros o marineros en la ciudad de la Vera Cruz e fuera de ella, a causa de que las barcas de la descarga no pueden venir al puerto de la Vera Cruz, que son siete leguas de Mar con la ropa, e mercaderías que traen: unas veces por malos tiempos e gran Mar, e otros por estar la barra del río cerrada, que en los grandes Nortes que hace resaca cierra la boca del Río, a cuya causa se detienen en entrar y salir treinta y cuarenta días: de aquí subcede que tardando tiempo los pasajeros enferman e mueren muchos, e gastan sus Haziendas e el mesmo peligro corren los que van de estas partes para España porque tienen la misma delación en el despacho [...]* Lo otro, que a causa de la dilación de la descarga, los navíos se detienen en el puerto ocho o diez meses, y se comen de broma, y algunos dellos dan al través, y otros navegando se pierden por ir muy gastados, e habérseles muerto los más de los marineros, pilotos, maestros y contra maestros, e otros oficiales, e como es forzoso que residan en la Vera Cruz, lugar tan enfermo, adolecen e mueren los más [...] Lo otro es que cada año se pierden dos o tres barcas de las que van al Puerto de San Juan de Ulúa con malotaje, plata y oro y otras cosas de la ciudad, como de los que vienen con mercaderías, de lo que redunda gran daño e intereses a los mercaderes e otras personas [...] Lo otro, los muchos hurtos y robos que cometen los Factores de mercaderes, barqueros e Negros [...] Lo otro, que pagan las mercaderías que vienen de los Reynos de Castilla, a causa de lo susodicho, 22 ducados por tonelada [...]" MN, 1560, "Memorial sobre los inconvenientes de hacer carga y descarga en la ciudad y puerto de Veracruz y las ventajas que resultarían de ejecutarlo por el puerto y isla de San Juan de Ulúa", 2 folia, copiado del legajo 16, "Buen gobierno de Indias" AGI, núm. XXI, 345-346, doc. 63, *apud* Antonio García de León, *Tierra adentro, mar en fuera. El puerto de Veracruz y su litoral a Sotavento, 1519-1821* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011), 98-99.

the seas, the rains. The old part of La Antigua gives us a glimpse into the sort of reception passengers would have received upon their arrival, descending upon a true port, in the sense that just as with any port, it was a place where people passed through, home only to a very few who made money out of the necessities of sailors and travellers, but also because it was a safe harbour at the entry of a vast jungle that definitely must have unsettled those who arrived in that new world.

Losa does not provide us with much information regarding Gregorio's arrival, although he does give us some leads:

He was some twenty years old when he arrived at the Port of St. John de Ulúa: and in the city of Veracruz he gave away in alms certain white Stuffs, he brought with him; which as they assured me, might be to the value of about eight hundred crowns. From thence he went to México; but what befell him in that journey is not particularly known.⁷¹⁷

As Losa affirms, Gregorio possessed at least 800 pesos' worth of white clothes, which he gave away upon his arrival: *Dió de limosna algunas alhajas de ropa blanca que traya*, in the Spanish edition, indicating Gregorio's *stuff* or *cloaths*, as translated in the seventeenth-century English editions, not only were white, but were also valuable.⁷¹⁸ Given that a transatlantic passage was between 30 and 50 pesos, Gregorio arrived possessing a lot more than that, having given it all away as alms, raising the question: to whom? A hospital, a church, an individual? Whomsoever received them surely must have been in need of what Gregorio had to give away. Losa did not seem to know anything else about Gregorio's trip to New Spain, but he appeared to be sure as to the value of those goods. If he did give his money all away, how did he make it to the capital? Given that it implied a further three or four weeks of travelling under challenging

⁷¹⁷ Losa, *Life*, 6-7.

⁷¹⁸ *Life's* translations into English vary in the chosen wording from the first to the second edition. Thus far we have been citing the 1675 edition, which reads the same as the one from 1686: "so he being furnished with cloaths, money and some other little things to the value of eightscore pound starling, he gave away and distributed it all" (page 6). The 1638 edition, however, differs: "he gave away in alms/ certain white stuffs he brought with him; which, as they assured me, might be to the value of about eight hundred crowns." (page 10). *Alhajas* is translated in the Oxford dictionaries as "jewellery". As such, we may infer that the white clothes carried by Gregorio were ornamented with jewellery, or were themselves the "jewels", either due to their fabric, or their value in New Spain.

conditions, how was he able to finance it? Could that have been the price that he paid for ensuring a safe journey and arrival at his new destination, or was it the price that he paid for entering the new kingdom? Could he have had those goods stolen from him, or have stolen it himself? Could the “white goods” that he brought with him have been the reason behind his trip? Was he the agent of some merchant? This leads us to his intentions and the consequent reactions: if he did so “for show”, his performance was more than successful. We should also consider that his act of charity may have been carried out in someone else’s name, or that he was simply obliged to do it, as a promise, payment, bet, or even out of a feeling of injustice, after arriving in a place where humanity seemed to suffer so much.⁷¹⁹

The insalubrity of the port of San Juan de Úlva – where most of all ships arriving in New Spain anchored, except for those that stayed in Tampico or Campeche –, was well known. The only things on the small island of San Juan around that time consisted of a wall that provided rings for ships to berth, since they were not able to enter the port, some platforms for the unloading of people and goods and an incipient, though much needed, hospital to receive travellers in need of medical care, something quite common after a journey of that nature, even when it went smoothly. It is worth remembering the advice given to travellers, who were reminded to cleanse both their bodies and souls before the trip, for “the sea is more pitiful to an empty stomach than to those full of bad humours”.⁷²⁰ Could the alms be destined to help these hospitals, which always struggled to obtain support from various authorities?

Francisco Losa metaphorically skips across the ocean, concluding the first chapter of the *Vida* saying that Gregorio “very cheerfully undertook” the course to New Spain, concluding that “I have no hitherto heard in what other affairs it was that he [Gregorio

⁷¹⁹ It is impossible not to think of the coincidences between the stories of Ortuño de Ibarra, *Licenciado* Gregorio Lopez and our Gregorio. *Licenciado* Lopez died in Guadalupe in 1560, expressing in his will the distribution of numerous alms; Ortuño was in the court of Toledo in 1560, presenting the petitions sent by the Cabildo of Ciudad de México; Gregorio received in Guadalupe the call to go to America.

⁷²⁰ Encarnación Lemus, Rosario Marquéz, “Precedentes” in Pedro A. Vives, Pepa Vega, Jesús Oyamburu, (coords.), *Historia General de la Emigración española a Iberoamérica*, *Historia* 16, (Madrid: Hermanos García Noblejas, 1992), 58-59.

Lopez] employed those first twenty years of his life".⁷²¹ Without ever having understood his reasons, Losa *knew* Lopez had followed God's will. Given that he does not provide us with any commentary concerning Gregorio Lopez's transatlantic trip, can we, therefore, assume all went smoothly? Was it such an ordinary trip that he felt no need to describe Gregorio's sea crossing?

9.3 Crossing an ocean

The moment Gregorio jumped on a ship to New Spain, a new reality appeared before him, as did to any other passenger. The sailors sang:

*bu iza - o dio - ayuta noi - o que sono - servi soy - o voleamo - ben servir - o la fede - mantenir - o la fede - de cristiano - o malmeta - lo pagano - sconfondó - y sarrabin - torchi y mori gran mastin - o fillioli - dabrabín - o non credono - que ben sia - o non credono - la fe santa - en la santa fe di roma - o di Roma está el perdon - o San Pedro - gran varon - o San Pablo - son compañon - o que ruegue - à Dios por nos - o por nosotros - navegantes - en este mundo - somos tantas - o ponente - resplandor - fantinete - viva lli amor - ó jóvel home - gauditor.*⁷²²

Eugenio de Salazar continues describing how *A cada versillo de éstos que dice el mayoral, responden todos los otros o o, y tiran de las fustagas para que suba la vela* ("To each little verse, all responded, "oh oh" and pull to raise the sail.") in a letter dating from 1573, a valuable portrait of the transatlantic experience lived by Gregorio around twelve years earlier. The description of the city that the ship and its activities transformed into, a city where the passengers were the foreigners, mentally helps us to embark on those journeys, providing information as to who was in charge, who cooked what, who said the

⁷²¹ Losa, *Life*, 5.

⁷²² "Bogey hoist - or god - help us - or what we are - serve us - or we fly [sic: want] - well-serve - or the faith - to maintain - or the faith - of Christian - or Muslim - the pagan - to the bottom - and Saracens - twisted and dead mastiff - give the Brahmin - or non-believer - which may be or non-believer - the holy pardon - or Saint Peter - great man - or saint Paul - his companion - or which prays - to God for us - oh for us - sailors - in this world" in Eugenio Salazar, John Frye trans., *Seafaring in the sixteenth century. The Letter of Eugenio de Salazar, 1573* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991), 36-39.

prayers, what happened upon the sight of another ship, how women cried hysterically, and how non-human travellers were brought along the journey to be used as food.

It took seven or eight days to get from Seville to the seaports, in addition to the time that was needed to gather the ships in Sanlúcar's bay.⁷²³ Then, from the Canary Islands – where they might or not have had to stop for freshwater and food – to Santo Domingo, it took around thirty days, and from there to Veracruz perhaps another twenty.⁷²⁴ These various places of passage were important for several reasons, having functioned as places for stocking up on supplies, spending some free time, recovering, and where various exchanges, including of a sexual nature, took place. The journey itself could have been quiet and exempt of any pirate attacks, or the rampant presence of disease, or it could have been turbulent, challenging the sailors' experience, as well as the safety of both people and cargo.⁷²⁵ From what we know, Gregorio's journey to New Spain must have come of out of his own initiative, although we cannot completely exclude other hypotheses, namely that he may have been part of a familial or professional entourage (although, usually, all had to present their name and documents, in theory), or an ecclesiastical group; he may have used a different name; or, keeping in mind the Portuguese version of his *Vita*, he may have come as a soldier, or he may just have been part of the ship's crew.⁷²⁶ Besides, he may have travelled illegally, and although Jacobs

⁷²³ Chaunu, "Veracruz".

⁷²⁴ See for instance the works of José Luis Martínez Martínez, *Pasajeros de Indias* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985); and José Antonio Caballero Juárez, *El Régimen Jurídico de las Armadas de la Carrera De Indias Siglos XVI y XVII* (México: IJ-UNAM, 1997), 223-281.

⁷²⁵ Enrique Otte and James Lockhart, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies: Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

⁷²⁶ As we shall see, the Portuguese translator of Losa's *Vida* puts forth a different version of Gregorio's life in Iberia, referring to Gregorio's passage to the Indies as a soldier – which is quite unlikely – Francisco Losa, Pedro Lobo (trans.), *Nascimento, vida e morte admiraveis do grande servo de Deos Gregorio Lopes portuguez, natural da antiga Villa de Linhares composto pelo licenciado Francisco Losa, na vida, & morte escritor verdadeiro, mas não no nascimento, patria, pays, & irmãos deste vara* (Lisboa: Oficina Domingos Carneiro, 1675). Concerning the transatlantic passage, Álvaro Huerga and Alain Milhou attribute it a symbolic dimension, viewing it as a necessary experience for Gregorio's embodiment of the *homo viator* that he continued to be in New Spain and Nueva Galicia, an experience nuanced by the sixteenth century context of travelling (physically and spiritually) to a New World, in Huerga, "Edición" and Milhou, "Gregorio Lopez".

estimates that the number of illegal passengers was not as high as believed, many of these were seen by the crew as either accomplices or transgressors.⁷²⁷

Although it seems unlikely that Gregorio was one of the sailors or part of the crew, he may have been of some help in that regard, or at least an interested learner of the art of sailing, if we take into account his subsequent interest in geography and his possible passages through Guadalupe and Seville, where schools of the aforementioned art were located.⁷²⁸ Could Gregorio, who, as we saw before, made his own maps and earth globes, have exercised his knowledge on this trip? Years later, as we previously observed, one of the witnesses in the canonisation process would speak of an episode involving a sea pilot, to whom Gregorio demonstrated how to find the North, likely recalling his Atlantic voyage, even if we do not know under what conditions he experienced it.

Rodríguez Yanes' study concerning the crews of commerce ships that travelled between the Canary Islands and America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reveals how the "city" that is described by Salazar had rules, both in written and unwritten form. However, by looking into the various professional categories of those crews, it seems unlikely that Gregorio was one of the sailors or a member of the crew on his ship to New Spain. It seems more likely that either records of his presence on the ship were lost, or that he boarded at the last minute. The list of passengers I use to illustrate the possible fleet of 1561 shows people re-registering, either due to losing or countersigning their licence, thus rearranging the official roll.

Before 1561, the *naos* (despite being advised to travel in groups of at least seven) would leave land in accordance with the schedules of the captain, mercantile needs, and the weather.⁷²⁹ In a fleet, each ship-city travelled independently from each other under the orientations of the ship commander. Nonetheless, although we may be able to

⁷²⁷ For more information, see Auke P. Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamerica durante el Reinado de Felipe II, 1598-1621* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), 32-126, as well as José Miguel Rodríguez-Yanes, "La tripulación de las naves en el comercio canario-americano (siglos XVI-XVII)" in *Tebeto. Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura* 5-Vol. 1 (1992), 15-57, and Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Habsburgs*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918).

⁷²⁸ Rodríguez-Yanes, "La tripulación de las naves".

⁷²⁹ Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, *Comercio exterior de México desde la conquista hasta hoy* (México: Imprenta por Rafael Rafael, 1853), 11.

identify the crew, the soldiers, and the passengers, their interactions remain reserved to our historical imagination. Could Gregorio have arrived on the first official fleet to the Indies – as the result of a decision by Felipe II and seafarers (merchants and masters) in July of 1561 in order to make the passage safer from pirate attacks?⁷³⁰

Concerning this fleet, literature leads us to believe it served as either *a* or *the* convoy to be used as the example then onwards on how to travel to and from the Indies.⁷³¹ The fleet Gregorio supposedly travelled with to New Spain left the port of Sanlúcar on June 23rd, having taken 49 days to arrive at La Española. En route, it stopped to stock up on wood, water, and other goods that were needed, having travelled without any significant problems or irregular situations. In La Española, however, the fleet was surprised by news of an expedition to La Florida, having taken the captain Ortuño de Ibarra two days to gather the testimonies of some soldiers who had just come back from there. In these improvised hearings, Luis de Villanueva was called to serve as *oidor* (magistrate) of New Spain, whereas Ortuño de Ibarra was made responsible for the hearing as *factor* (factor, intendant) and *veedor* (supervisor, inspector) “of his Majesty” for the Royal Treasury of New Spain, having presented himself as the Captain-General of the fleet.⁷³²

Perhaps no one expected as immediate a dive into American reality as all experienced when arriving in La Española. Gregorio, similarly to any other informed person moving through Iberia and New Spain, must have been aware of the consequences of political events on people’s lives. We cannot, for instance, dissociate the religious persecution of Protestants (and any other heretics associated with Protestantism) from the prevention against political espionage coming from France and the Low Countries. Subsequently, we

⁷³⁰ “[...] ordenó, por una cédula de 16 de Julio de 1561, que no saliese de Cádiz ni de San Lúcar nao alguna sino en flota, pena de perdimiento de ella y de cuanto llevase, y que cada año fuesen dos flotas con naos para Tierra-Firme y Nueva-España, la una por Enero y la otra por Agosto con capitán y almirante, y que sobre la Dominica se apartasen las que fueran para Nueva-España, yendo el general con las de una provincia y el almirante con las de otra”, in Lerdo de Tejada, *Comercio exterior de México*, 11.

⁷³¹ Caballero Suárez, “Viajes efectuados entre 1521 y 1699” in *El Régimen Jurídico de las Armadas*, Jacobs, *Los Movimientos migratorios*, Chaunu, “Veracruz”.

⁷³² “Testimony and report given by certain soldiers concerning what happened on the journey to La Florida which was made by Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano by order of the viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco”, from 11th August 1561, in Port of Ocoa, in the island of La Española, in Herbert Ingram Priestley, *The Luna Papers. 1559-1561: Volume II*, (Deland: Florida State Historical Society, 1928), 281-283.

shall see how the truces between Spain and France functioned in Europe and the New World, although the Spanish conquest continued its expeditions, such as the one in Florida, striving to prevent its occupation by the French. Florida was a place of crucial importance, for it served as a gate to the north via the east coast, hence the need for it to be occupied and defended.

After having reported on Florida, the captain Orduño de Ybarra departed from La Española in the direction of New Spain, taking approximately an additional twenty more days to arrive.⁷³³ In Ciudad de México, the charters of the city hall coincidentally inform us of this convoy's destiny, including a note dating from October 3rd 1561 that mentions that two of the councillors were absent from town at that time accompanying the viceroy, Luis de Velasco. We may wonder in fact if Velasco was out of capital precisely to receive his daughter and the first news of the convoy.⁷³⁴ Moreover, on the 24th of the same month, Ortuño de Ybarra attended a council meeting, as royal *factor* and *veedor*, bringing with him provisions from the Court that attributed him with that authority. Above all, these references inform us of the approximate schedules of the travellers of that particular convoy, which left La Española around August 13th, arrived in La Antigua probably at the end of September, and finally got to the capital at the end of October.

9.3.1 The sea communities

Despite the lack of certainties, but possessing material that enables us to bridge the two sides of the ocean, namely, through documented sources, we shall now go back and focus again on Gregorio Lopez. Gregorio may also have left Iberia prior to 1561 and stayed in one of the archipelagos on the way to the Indies, or he may even have departed

⁷³³ In his "Historical Introduction", Priestley presents his sources and the expedition by affirming: "The story of the expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellano to La Florida is a chapter in the history of the attempts by Spain to affirm its tenure of North America in the area outside of that held by sedentary tribes of Indians, whose stage of culture was best adapted to the colonial institution developed during the early years of the Conquest." in Priestley, "Historical Introduction", *ibidem*, XIX.

⁷³⁴ "Francisco Sanchez uno de los porteros deste ayuntamiento dixo que fue a llamar a don Luys de Castilla e alguasil mayor Juan de Samano que viniesen a este ayuntamineto e que les dixeron en sus casas que no estan en esta cibdad que abian ydo con el illustrissimo señor visorrey", in *Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México*, 485.

from another port. Moreover, it might be worth mentioning the links that the viceroys Luis de Velasco, both father and son – the former having ruled New Spain when Gregorio arrived, and the latter when he left for the celestial kingdom – seemed to have with Gregorio Lopez. Luis de Velasco, the Elder had been viceroy of Navarra (where Gregorio is said to have spent his childhood), whereas Luis de Velasco, the Younger, future Marquis of Salinas, viceroy of New Spain and Peru, and President of the Royal Council of the Indies, had Gregorio Lopez's *Vita* dedicated to him by Losa. Luis de Velasco, the Younger, born in Carrión, Spain circa 1535, studied at the University of Salamanca, having been called to serve Prince Felipe, accompanying him to the marriage with Queen Mary of England, and to Flanders, where the Prince granted him with the Order of Santiago.⁷³⁵ On January 13th, 1560, Luis de Velasco was part of the list of passengers to New Spain, along with six servants.⁷³⁶ We do not know whether Gregorio may have been part of this entourage, given that he was working as a page in the Court at that time, as Losa affirms. Could he have been at the service of this man?

Another possibility is that Gregorio travelled to New Spain on the 1562 fleet, of which there are records of Antonio de Turcios' presence on board. In light of the professional relationship between them, which Losa delineates in his biography, this would lead us to believe that Gregorio could have come as part of the Secretary's entourage. Given that there is no "Gregorio Lopez" on the fleet's lists, it is possible that he only worked for the Secretary later in 1562. Enrolment in any of these entourages might have happened at the last minute, rushing the bureaucratic process in order to get another servant for the long trip.

Coincidences abound on the 1561 fleet's list of passengers, and as we read through the Pedro Carrillo Dávila testimony for Gregorio's canonisation process, the image of the latter, besides contrasting with the gentleman *clad in serge* who wanted to become a

⁷³⁵ John F. Schwaller "The early life of Luis de Velasco, the younger: the future viceroy as boy and youngman" in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 29, (2003), 17-47, accessed on March 1st, 2015: <http://www.ejournal.unam.mx/ehn/ehn29/EHNO2901.pdf>.

⁷³⁶ Luis Romera Iruela and Maria del Carmen Galbis Díez, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias. Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*. Volumen IV (1560-1566), (Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, 1980), 172-192. And "Pasajeros a Indias", Archivo General de Indias [AGI] *Contratación*, 5537, L. 2, Pares, accessed on May 7th, 2015: http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=3&txt_id_desc_ud=167293&fromagenda=N.

hermit, makes the 1561 hypothesis more plausible. If we carry out some calculations based on Luis de Villanueva's letter, subtracting 29 or 30 years from 1591, this means that Gregorio must have arrived in México around 1561 or 1562. By piecing together the dates when Gregorio arrived in Zacatecas, the notarial clues and Villanueva's letter, and keeping in mind that in order for him to have fasted during Lent, he had to have arrived in México City before February – Lent having begun on February 11th of that year⁷³⁷ – I am led to believe that he departed from Spain with the fleet that arrived in New Spain in September 1561, having fasted at Villanueva's house at the beginning of 1562. Moreover, it is during this period whence we find his supposed activity as amanuensis in the capital.

Even if we cannot be sure as to how Gregorio became a part of this convoy, it is still worth looking further into the fleet he most likely was a part of.⁷³⁸ Registered to leave Spain from the end of 1560 up until June of the following year, we find the large entourages of Ana de Velasco, *Licenciado* Villanueva, and Ortuño de Ibarra. By delving into the people involved, as well as the trip itself and the inherent networking that took place, we may reconstruct the historical – no matter how temporary – communities that were formed while crossing the Atlantic.⁷³⁹ All during the latter part of 1561 up until two days before the departure of the fleet on the 23rd June – as stated by Ibarra, the fleet's commander, in his narration of events until the fleet's stop-over in La Española – people continued to register in the Palace of *Contratación*.

Almost seven-hundred people registered in the boats of circa twenty shipmasters, only to New Spain. There were many other stops in the Atlantic and along the American continent, but we focused on those enrolling to the same destiny Gregorio took. The lists of passengers and shipmasters to the Indies, opens various research paths, enabling us to look deeper into professional groups, such as those of merchants, farmers, weavers, clerics, and royal officers; the networking of servants within these groups, and the composition of various entourages; passengers' places of origin in Iberia – taking also into consideration those that came from the Indies – and their destinations (although in

⁷³⁷ "1562 na religião", *Wikipédia*, accessed on May 13th, 2015, http://pt.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=1562_na_religi%C3%A3o&oldid=40220560.

⁷³⁸ Romera Iruela, Galbis Díez, *Catálogo de Pasajeros*, 172-192.

⁷³⁹ Romera Iruela, Galbis Díez, *Catálogo*, 94-192; AGI, "Pasajeros", 100 – 189.

this chapter we only considered the ones travelling to New Spain); and passengers' civil state and socio-professional conditions.

Apart from the crew members and soldiers who accompanied the fleet, whose registers I could not find, we are left with some of the most notable entourages, all of whom were registered to travel with *Maestre* Pedro Menéndez Marques, including Doña Ana de Velasco, daughter of New Spain's viceroy, originally from Palencia – a small town close to Carrión de los Condes, where she likely spent her childhood –, who travelled with thirteen *criados*, expressly, six maids and seven male servants. On the exact same day as she was registered to travel, May 22nd, her cousin, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, and his retainer, three men of Doña Ana's company, namely, Francisco de Cabrera, clergymen Garcia de Leanis and Francisco Abad de Ibarra, in addition to her brother-in-law, were also registered. Moreover, one of her servants was the brother of another entourage's member, expressly, the already mentioned Ortuño de Ibarra.

With the same captain, Pedro Menéndez Marques, sailed two other families to Nicaragua (a couple, and a woman with her four children) and two single men, one to work as a barber, and one other individual of which there are no further data. Worth mentioning also, is that four passengers postponed their voyage, perhaps to make space for such important delegations. On May 23rd we find registered: three of Ana de Velasco's retainers and four of Orduño de Ibarra's; Maria, a slave travelling with Juan de Villoria, her master; a family from Toledo (whose servant travelled on another ship on May 28th); and, four single men, two from México, and two from Spain, and one single *mestiza* woman from Veragua. On May 24th a woman and her two daughters were registered to travel. Finally, on May 28th, the following people enrolled: an Ibero-American family, whose father was from Zamora, and mother was from New Spain, in addition to their three children and a servant; two brothers; a man whose passage had been postponed in 1559; a man who headed to Chile; and a family of six who headed to Guatemala. This lead us to conclude that each *maestre* may have had more than one ship at the disposal of willing travellers, each ship probably having had a different final destination (between Campeche and Tampico, they would either go to Veracruz, in New Spain, or to Cartagena de Indias

and Panamá, in Perú, especially considering that the *maestres* maintained control of commercial traffic in the Indies.

The commander of the fleet, Ortuño de Ybarra, was actually returning (given that he was already in New Spain at the time), along with seven *criados*, thus repeating the sea voyage experience. Also *Licenciado* Villanueva was enrolled to travel with his court: Gabriel de Logroño, his son from a first marriage, his wife, and seven children – including Luis de Villanueva – three maids, and four servants. Sometimes not all members of an entourage travelled together: another of Villanueva's servants travelled on another ship, as did a retainer of Francisco de Ibarra. Also enrolled to travel were other smaller entourages or delegations, such as the one of the *oidor* headed to Nueva Galicia, Francisco de Alarcón, which included his wife (who probably died during the voyage, considering her absence in the letter we previously mentioned), their four children, and their five servants; or the one of Doctor Pedro Diaz's, which included his family and farmers; or groups of religious men (we have record in this fleet of at least three); and other corporations, such as Juan del Prado's weavers.

All in all, around a fourth of enrolled passengers were single; two dozens were reuniting with their spouses; about fifty were reuniting with family in New Spain, and fifteen couples were going to try their luck. Of note, is how Indians, *mestizos* and slaves did not seem to have to justify their motivation for departure, as all passengers should, by stating their professional situation and expectations. If each ship carried between twelve to twenty passengers, we can estimate that thirty-five to sixty ships would have been needed in total.

From Seville, winds had to be favourable, and the river had to be generous to enable the ships to make it down to Sanlúcar Bay, a task that did not prove to be so easy, especially considering such important retinues.⁷⁴⁰ It is uncertain whether all of the ships stopped in the Canary Islands, where they could obtain supplies for their crossing of the Atlantic. The fleet remained together during a large part of the sea crossing, splitting up

⁷⁴⁰ Pierre Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650), Parti Interpretative, Tome VIII, Conjoncture* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1959).

only in Santo Domingo. There they would stock up on needed supplies and then proceed with their journey, either to New Spain or Perú as well as other destinations.

Passengers and members of the crew certainly shared experiences and expectations: some had family waiting, some did not; some had travelled to many destinations and had many stories to tell; some left being already betrothed; some had new jobs waiting for them; most came from different but nearby hometowns from where others had already left, or from where they were the first to leave to travel overseas. All prayed for the trip to go well, and to be able to survive it.

9.3.2 The legalities

For all passengers, new to the transatlantic experience, their willingness to move on such a large scale meant being dependent on bureaucracy on the one hand, and the ship's staff orders on the other. In addition to the passage and maintenance expenses – which were directly negotiated with the captain – waiting in Seville for the completion of all associated paperwork and/or for the ship to sail also had its costs. According to Jacobs and Martínez, all would have amounted to between ten and twenty thousand *maravedís* (around forty to eighty *pesos de oro común*). Moreover, the process to enrol to the Indies may have taken months or days, depending on travellers' timing and resources. From Guadalupe (where Gregorio had his vision of America) to Seville, for instance, it took about eight to eleven days, in addition to the time spent waiting for the licences and for the ships to sail off.

Without exhaustively going through the list of laws and recommendations concerning migration to the Indies, what we do know is that around the time Gregorio crossed the Atlantic, the control over who could or could not travel abroad was relatively tight. The fact is that this legislation arose out of the monopoly Castilians evoked as their right from the moment they arrived in America, a right legitimated by the papacy, which acknowledged the holy purpose of conquest, settlement, and Christian evangelisation.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴¹ Mazín Gómez, *Gestores*, 13-29.

Thus, it is not strange that heretics and *conversos*, especially those who had already been convicted by the Holy Office, were not allowed to travel, nor that restrictions to foreigners were reviewed continuously, probably as a consequence of their inadequacy and inability to control. Moreover, royal interest in mechanisms for pecuniary access to licences, when the legal conditions for such were not yet in place, does not come as a surprise.

How much time did it take Gregorio to obtain the necessary documentation in order to climb on board? From 1552 onwards, every passenger had to provide some proof of his or her "clean" blood.⁷⁴² In addition to the costs involved (similarly to any visa or passport today), this implied time to kill for passengers before boarding. Since this proof had to be requested in their place of birth/residence, travellers either obtained it before going to Seville or had to go back in order to retrieve it once they found out about the new regulations. Either that, or they had to find some other solution, such as registering as part of a group, producing a false document, or finding folks in the region who could attest to their claims with regard to their origins.

Without any certainty as to whether it was the first time Gregorio had to deal with this sort of documentation, and without any certainty with regard to his name, social condition, estate, civil/religious identity, and antecedents, what we do know is that he went on this journey. Legally, we also know that Gregorio had to register all his information at the Casa de Contratación, in Seville, including: his origins (either where he had been born or where he had resided in recent years); his ancestry (which would attest to his "clean blood", having had to be confirmed by the local priest and witnesses, a problem for those who had descended from *conversos* or whomsoever was condemned by the Inquisition); his civil state (his social condition at the time of his trip); his destination (only liable to being changed through the payment of a fine); and finally, his ship's captain.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴² See Jacobs, *Los movimientos*, 32-48.

⁷⁴³ Although Romera Iruela and Galbis Díez do not transpose to their *Catálogo* the indication of the shipmaster in the transcription of the passengers registers, we notice this information in the original lists of the AGI, "Pasajeros".

Perhaps it might be worth bringing to the fore other migrants in order to contextualise Gregorio's movements. If we look at the friars from the various religious orders who travelled to America, for example, they first occupied the monasteries just founded in the new kingdoms, from where the most devout and capable (at least this seems to be the criterion during the first missions) were chosen to embark, meaning that friars from all over Spain were to be found across the other side of the ocean. We may also bring to the fore the examples of some men connected to Gregorio's story, thus allowing us to get a better picture of things. Luis de Carvajal, for instance, the Governor and his nephew, were born in Portugal.⁷⁴⁴ The Governor was born in Mogadouro, having moved in his childhood to Sahagún and Salamanca. Following his father's death in Benavente, he was cared for by an uncle, who took him to Lisbon, then Cabo Verde. From there he travelled to Lisbon, Seville, Flanders, and America, after recruiting most of his family, including his namesake nephew. Luis de Carvajal, the Younger, was born in Benavente, having later moved with his family to Medina del Campo, where his uncle would come to take him and his family to Seville, from where they would depart to the Indies two years later, already trained in his uncle's activity as *negrero* (slave trader).

Additionally, we shall also look into the examples of two men who would later come to be accused and condemned for *alumbradismo* in México following Gregorio's death, namely, Juan de Plata and Juan Núñez.⁷⁴⁵ Juan de la Plata was born in Yebenes, from where he moved to Toledo and then México, after having studied in Rome. Juan Núñez's life course followed a similar pattern to Gregorio's: he was born in Cea, León, having moved when he was eleven to Grajal, then Plasencia, followed by Madrid, Salamanca, and finally, Seville, from where he set out across the seas.

From 1560 onwards, no passenger, whether native or foreign, was able to travel without a royal licence. Although the licence was easier to obtain for those travelling collectively (as part of a family, entourage, community or professional group), it was not exceptional to travel without it, by paying for a guarantee that the license would eventually arrive at the Contratación. The Contratación's personnel would then decide for

⁷⁴⁴ Cohen, *The martyr*, 20, 37.

⁷⁴⁵ Huerga, *Alumbrados III*, 593, 639.

each situation, and once all necessary documents had been presented, the migrant would be registered in the passenger's books, where no sign of Gregorio Lopez has been found, making him one of the many persons leaving undocumented. Or was he one of the many who paid directly to a shipmaster, avoiding all the legalities at hand?

*

As Jacobs has pointed out, it seems true that the conditions to go to the Indies were more limiting than inviting, where passengers either had a network, a strategy, or the physical and spiritual conditions to embark on an adventure that began with an uncertain voyage. On the other hand, Chaunu, in his tremendous work on the Hispano-American Atlantic and the ups and downs of the Spanish empire, clearly identifies the period between 1559 and 1571 as a cycle of reprise. After a long period of expansion and the *demi siècle* recession behind, the beginning of the 1560s was the best time to travel overseas in search of the new and to benefit from the overall conjuncture.⁷⁴⁶

The arrival of Gregorio as a gentleman from Spain, *clad in serge*, who stayed at Luis Villanueva's home, leads us to believe he stayed there for at least a part, if not the entire period, which he spent in the city, having already at the time caused an impression due to his fasting during Lent. He indeed arrived as somewhat of a benefactor, having distributed alms amounting to almost a fourth of the salary of a councillor or a home's rent in the city, making it unlikely that he went there as a soldier or member of his ship's crew. Travelling on his own, educated, discrete, and single, Gregorio would have been an

⁷⁴⁶ "Respiration, entre l'exploration purement linéaire et un premier début d'exploitation, essentiellement extensif, certes, mais à un échelon moindre, toutefois, en retrait, sous cet angle, par rapport au premier XVI^e siècle. Une série de accidents politiques, extra-américains et extra-atlantiques auront fixé cette grande respiration, entre 1550 et 1559, commandant le creux de la récession du demi XVI^e siècle." in Chaunu, *Séville et L'Atlantique*: 389. Concerning the year of 1561, which was most likely the date of Gregorio's departure, Chaunu affirms: "et quelque meilleure atmosphère de cette belle année 1561, en ce début d'un nouveau XVI^e siècle, où les prix et, avec eux, les profits, montent en flèche, où d'énormes retours donnent au négoce de Séville des facilités presque illimitées, où l'action des ennemis traditionnels semble, grâce à l'organisation efficace des convois, arrivée à ses ultimes soubresauts..., où Séville se décharge, pleine de confiance, sur les Canaries de l'encombrant et du moins rentable, pour n'utiliser le tonnage encore limité, dont elle dispose qu'aux exportations porteuses des plus vastes spéculations.", Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique*, 459.

interesting man to have around. Still, we should have a passenger record, and we should be able to confirm his professional experience with the secretary of the Court of a New Spain.

Gregorio had left the peninsula and probably felt happier than ever on the ship, where he could observe and learn from the sailors. The sailors in turn would have been thrilled to break their routine, finding in Gregorio a young man who recognised their knowledge of the sea, to whom they could tell stories of pirates, sea crossings, shipwrecks, the conquest of Tenochtitlan, the battles of Cortés and his relation with La Malinche, the Dark Night, the martyrs, the different tribes of Indians, the opulence of nature, and the force of the sea. Arriving in La Española, he would come to know about the unfortunate expedition to Florida, as news of it circulated throughout the port. Curious to know more, he would probably have been told stories of other expeditions, other lands beyond Mexican borders, populated by other Indian populations, from the northern Chichimeca nations to the nomad-savage peoples in the Amazon. He would also come to know how there were always people looking for young men to enlist as part of those exploratory adventures and to fight for the expansion of the Portuguese and the Spanish empires. He would come to know the stories of those who had been able to win something on these adventures, as well as stories of those who did not survive them. Gradually, memories of his old peninsula would fade away.

A boy, turned into a man, who crossed the sea, to arrive in a foreign yet already conquered land. Perhaps the transatlantic trip felt like a playground to the young Gregorio, where he could spend days on calculating the positions of the sun, north, the moon and the stars – a journey of contemplation of the poetic beauty of the dark living blue. A peaceful journey without any shipwrecks or pirates of note, and also without the looming Inquisitional Office, which would only be implemented in the Novohispanic territories in 1571. For the Catholic Church's mission, some things were apparently missing in México, expressly, virtuous people and patrimonial privileges. However, we may read between the lines and observe that native populations only seemed to assimilate concrete elements of Roman Catholic spirituality and that the Spanish in México viewed New World politics as being heirs to the "reconquest" of Granada within a

completely different context.⁷⁴⁷ Work was scarce in the capital, at least compared to the opportunities (New) Spain had to offer. Given the great demand for work, many men provided human power for missions and military expeditions to places like Florida, the Philippines, or the upper north into Nueva Vizcaya.

Choosing not to fully immerse himself in the political, socio-economic, religious, and professional circles of Ciudad de México, was a conscious choice, for the dealings between the elites had a big impact on one's life if one happened to be intertwined in those powerful webs. Gregorio was merely a 20-year-old man who had recently arrived, been hosted and employed in New Spain. For those who continued to arrive, there was also the discovery of the native populations, who provided essential information with regard to the roads, the food, the water, and the coveted silver. Gregorio arrived, circa 1561/1562, after two generations of conquests, occupations, negotiations and natives had either been subdued, or were either fighting or dying from various epidemics and conflicts. Different tribes and nations of natives became indispensable to the Spanish colonisations of America. Gregorio was unfortunate enough to have seen the Anthropocene age begin before his very eyes. In La Gran Chichimeca, for example, the desert we see nowadays is a direct consequence of the deforestation and intensive mining the Spanish began once they took over the mines in Zacatecas. The Chichimeca fought against it, but could not resist more than fifty years, losing the territory where they lived freely, their references, and their lives.

Zacatecas produced metal for the money that the Catholic empire needed for their various war fronts, especially those in Europe. Furthermore, the need for Indian silver meant the need for greater control over the improved mining techniques implemented in the growing *Minas* of Zacatecas. The execution of the New Laws of Burgos (1542) in the Indies that affected first conquerors and their American/Creole offspring, called for a

⁷⁴⁷ See, for instance, Mazín Gómez, *Gestores*; John F. Schwaller, *Originis of Church Wealth in Mexico. Ecclesiastical Revenues and Church Finances, 1523-1560*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

strengthening of the imperial political arm in New Spain.⁷⁴⁸ Luis de Villanueva and Francisco de Alarcón, along with their families, Velasco's and Ibarra's, and their families and clientele, were human tools that were used as part of a politics of domination and control of territory, too far but too precious to have been lost. As would be expected, we will find most of these people inextricably linked to the history of México via means of their actions and decisions, mainly through their fight for power.

Chapter 10. The sources we have (1561?-1542?)

We may ask ourselves what sort of things Gregorio must have left behind from the first twenty years of his life prior to arriving in New Spain, with a similar curiosity to his contemporaries, given his constant silence in relation to this part of his life. If we assume the first chapter of Losa's *Life* as being truthful, Gregorio spent time in the main cities of Iberia. However, only the Portuguese translation offers an alternative narrative:

⁷⁴⁸ About the Laws of Burgos, consult, for instance, Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Historia de Burgos. (Vol. III. Edad Moderna I). Los Burgaleses en el descubrimiento y formación de America*, (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Burgos, 1991), 275-282.

Chronology based on the information given by Francisco Losa⁷⁴⁹:

1542, July, 04 – Madrid, Castile: Gregorio Lopez is born

1543

1544

1545

1546

1547

1548 ~ In the Kingdom of Navarra with an old Hermit during 6 years

1549

1550

1551 (There is a reference to Burgos, in his way to Navarra, or later on to Valladolid)

1552

1553

1554 ~ In the Court, in Valladolid, working as a page, during 2 or 3 years

1555

1556

1557

1558 (During this years, it is mentioned his passage in some Spanish cities, as:

1559 Toledo and,

1560 Guadalupe)

1561

1562 ~ From Sevilla, he leaves to New Spain.

Chronology based on the information given by Pedro Lobo Correa⁷⁵⁰:

1542, July, 04 – Linhares da Beira, Portugal: Gregorio Lopes is born

1543

1544

1545

1546

1547

1548

1549

1550

1551

1552

1553

1554

1555

1556

1557

1558 Gregorio goes to the Court in Valladolid

1559 Goes to Navarra to live with a hermit, passes through Burgos, Madrid,

1560 Toledo, Guadalupe,

1561

1562 ~ (From Sevilla), he leaves to New Spain.

⁷⁴⁹ Losa, Francisco, *La Vida que hizo el Siervo de Dios Gregorio López en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España* (México: Juan Ruiz, 1613); f.1-4.

⁷⁵⁰ Correa, Pedro Lobo (translator), Losa, Francisco, *Nascimento, vida, e norte admiraveis do grande servo de Deos Gregorio Lopes portuguez, natural da antiga Villa de Linhares* (Lisboa: Officina de Domingos Carneiro, 1675); f.7-14.

Francisco Losa's account of this period of Gregorio's life is well-known: Gregorio was born in Madrid to good Catholic parents, having run off to Navarre to live with a hermit while he was still a child, his father having later gone in search to find him, subsequently taking him to the Spanish Court, where Gregorio came to serve as a page. He later decided to abandon his job as a courtier, and visit the most famous sanctuaries in Spain, having had a vision of the Holy Mary inciting him to travel to the Indies, leading to his successive decision to leave the peninsula.

The Portuguese translator, however, provides us with a different account of Gregorio's Iberian life, according to which, "Gregorio Lopes passed to Castile, & villa of Madrid, & from there he went as a soldier to the Indies, where he died saintly".⁷⁵¹ Pedro Lobo Correa adds:

Not much more than sixteen years old, when provoked by a divine impulse he went away from his parents' home leaving Linhares behind, where he was born and his brothers, friends and up growing relatives were, going to Valladolid where in that time the Castilian Court resided, and there he lodged as a page with a great Lord that followed [the Court], which occupation he exercised for a short time, for it seems God wanted a saint pageboy in the World.⁷⁵²

If we look at the Spanish Court's chronology, Gregorio reflects its very movements: the Court was itinerant until 1561, when Felipe decided to settle in Madrid; and, pertaining to the period that concerns Gregorio, the Court was convoked to Valladolid (1542, 1544), Madrid (1552), Valladolid again (1555, 1558) and Toledo (1559).⁷⁵³ These places,

⁷⁵¹ "Gregorio Lopes se pasou a Castella, & villa de Madrid & dahi foi por soldado para as Indias, onde morreo santamente", excerpt and transcript of a letter of Prior Manoel Alvares Migueis, in Pedro Lobo "Prologo", in Francisco Losa, *Nacimiento*, trans. Pedro Lobo Correa (which shall be referred to from now on as Lobo Correa, *Nacimiento*).

⁷⁵² My translation of: "Pouco mais teria de dezaseis annos, quando provocado de hum impulso divino se sahio de caza de seus Pays deixando a villa de Linhares, onde nascera, & os irmãos, amigos, & parentes com quem se criara, indose a Valhadolid, donde naquelle tempo rezidia a Corte Castelhana, & nella se accomodou por pagem com hum dos grandes, que a seguia, cuja occupação exercitou pouco, pois parece foi só para mostrar que for a dEos servido houvesse hum pagem sancto em o Mundo", Lobo Correa, *Nacimiento*, 10.

⁷⁵³ Concerning the Court's movements see: Teofilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels. Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012); Jesús F. Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder. La corte en Valladolid (1502-1559)* (Valladolid: Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2013); Alfredo Álvar Ezquerda, *Felipe II. La Corte y Madrid en 1561* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos, 1985).

incidentally, put Gregorio on the map of Spain's most dynamic centres: political (Valladolid), economic (Burgos), spiritual (Toledo), as well as scientific (Guadalupe). Firstly, however, we shall examine the existing sources for clues regarding the realities of the times and places mentioned in the biography, but instead of asking ourselves what sort of marks Gregorio may have left on those places, we shall reversely consider what sort of marks those places could have left on Gregorio. After all, we are looking at the first twenty years of a hermit's life, notwithstanding, a hermit that was a layman who seems to have had an informal but extraordinary education and access to some of the most important milieus of the Spanish Golden Age.

10.1 Guadalupe: preparing the spirit

It was in Guadalupe that Gregorio Lopez received the inspiration to embark on his spiritual adventure to the New World; and many like him returned there, on their way back to their homes, after having seen it. Before he went to the Indies, supposedly via Seville, Gregorio had spent some time in the monastery's village, having told Losa that:

[...] he had spent some days at our Lady's of Guadalupe, watching the night in prayer at that holy House, beseeching the Perpetual Virgin, the Guide of Pilgrims, to obtain for him Light of her Blessed Son to perform the voyage he had designed and it certain, that most merciful Virgin by a particular Revelation directed his voyage for New Spain; which course he very cheerfully undertook: and this matter he discoursed very particularly with a certain friend of his.⁷⁵⁴

What seems exceptional in Losa's account, becomes ordinary in the contexts in which the actions occurred. Although we were not able to find any records specifically of Gregorio's experience in Guadalupe, there are several records of the multiple visions, apparitions, revelations and miracles the Virgin of Guadalupe performed for Her devotees. From all over Iberia, and probably beyond, as well as from all the then newly occupied territories throughout the globe, pilgrims and released captives arrived uninterruptedly to fulfil

⁷⁵⁴ Losa, *Life*, 5.

vows, ask for cures, or simply pray for Her intercession. Gregorio was but one amongst many in one of the most important religious centres of the Iberian Peninsula at the time; his vision having also been just one amongst many of the kind experienced in this sanctuary.⁷⁵⁵

Regardless, Guadalupe seems to have been decisive for Gregorio Lopez's trajectory. There he probably found the inspiration, or divine vision, to decide which path to take next. Guadalupe was undeniably connected to the New World, as well as to the "new worlds" of science that had begun to open up, which fuelled Gregorio's interest, as reflected in his material goods and written work. The Royal Monastery of Guadalupe, built with royal support in the fourteenth century, belonged to the Order of Saint Jerome. The life of the monks at Guadalupe balanced both contemplative practices and work. From the mid-fifteenth century on, the friars obtained a licence to practice medicine.⁷⁵⁶

Located in the middle of the mountains of oriental Extremadura, the Royal Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe has been a magnetic meeting point for all sorts of pilgrims since the fifteenth century, or perhaps even before, providing the visitors with places to both eat and sleep.⁷⁵⁷ Our Lady of Guadalupe is the patroness of pilgrims, as well as of captives of war, has also become the patroness of the newly colonised Americas after Colón baptised one of his "discoveries" with the Virgin's name. There, in Guadalupe, were baptised the first Native Americans brought to Spain by Colón. Also there, the humanist, geographer, doctor and traveller Hieronymus Münzer (c.1437-1508) describes having seen the chains of captives, luxurious chandeliers and candles, as well as colourful American parrots, a crocodile from Guinea, an elephant tusk, amongst other treasures.⁷⁵⁸ Another traveller, Gaspar Barreiros, points out the exemplary management of the monastery, which was also in charge of the schools of Grammar and Medicine, and

⁷⁵⁵ Isabel Mendes studied the Portuguese pilgrimage to the Monastery of Guadalupe. She identified several records of the pilgrims' testimonies referring to diverse forms of appearance of the Virgin: visions, dreams, voices, or only a light. Isabel M. R. Mendes, *O Mosteiro de Guadalupe e Portugal, séculos XIV-XVIII* (Lisboa: Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 1994), 113-114.

⁷⁵⁶ For example, read *Los hospitales docentes de Guadalupe: la respuesta hospitalaria a la epidemia de bubas del Renacimiento (siglos XV y XVI)* (Junta de Extremadura, 2008), 49.

⁷⁵⁷ Elvira Rovira López, "Guadalupe: visiones viajeras" (article provided by the author).

⁷⁵⁸ Rovira López, "Guadalupe: visiones viajeras".

the Hospital. Could this have been where Gregorio came across the work of Francisco Hernández, or met the doctor himself? Moreover, was this where he learnt how to read and make maps and globes?

In Guadalupe, we know all pilgrims had access to three days of free accommodation and sustenance, similarly to what happened with Teresa de Ávila when she was there. We also know that various members of royalty, including Portuguese and Austrian monarchs, as Felipe II in 1560, visited the monastery and offered generous gifts.⁷⁵⁹ The conquerors of the Americas and the chroniclers of those conquests, commonly went to Guadalupe to ensure success in their ventures. Losa's description leads us to believe that Gregorio, like most pilgrims, spent his nights in the sanctuary, where he would come to make a definitive decision that would forever impact his destiny.

Guadalupe was also the homeland of another Gregorio Lopez, *glosador de las Siete Partidas*, another possible source of inspiration for *our* Gregorio. *Our* Gregorio reiterated many times that he had never had a formal education⁷⁶⁰, having been self-taught all his life, being a good example of a common type of education during his time, an education that was acquired by means of experience, informal agents, readings, sermons, as well as through aesthetic and ethical observation⁷⁶¹. If we check the chronology, we notice that the *other* Gregorio Lopez had retired from the Court years earlier, leaving his life as a courtier to return to Guadalupe. Only his fragile health was able to keep him from joining the Court in Toledo in 1559, having died in 1560.⁷⁶² Could our Gregorio have been at the service of this noble intellectual of the Court, whose name he may have adopted to pay him homage? The other Gregorio Lopez's death in Guadalupe might also have been a good conversation starter when our Gregorio arrived there, having served as a bridge that led to exchanges of information, ideas, and knowledge, expressly concerning the Indies.

⁷⁵⁹ Arturo Álvarez Álvarez, *Cien personajes en Guadalupe* (Madrid: Graficincio, 1995).

⁷⁶⁰ For instance, Losa, *Vida*, 2v.-3, 52v.

⁷⁶¹ See Willem Frijhoff (ed.), 'Autodidaxies. VI^e-XIX^e siècle', special volume of *Histoire de l'Éducation* 70 (1996).

⁷⁶² Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvarino, "Introducción" in José Martínez Millán, (ed.), *La Corte de Carlos V*, 5 vols., (Madrid: Lunwerg Editores, 2000), 7-42.

How did Gregorio get to Guadalupe? Had he already decided that he would live as a hermit there? Was his former life at the Court and as a hermit more or less comparable to the way of life others were trying to develop within Catholic doctrine? Franciscans, Hieronymites, Dominicans, hermits, monks, and laypeople – all were in the process of redefining, rediscovering, and re-experiencing centuries of Christian ideals and life. In Guadalupe Gregorio would also come across the story of this other Gregorio Lopez, a man he may already have known from before he arrived in Guadalupe, and one of the few men who were in a position to create laws that concerned the Indians.

10.2 Toledo: preparing to change

Toledo is the last location in Iberia mentioned in the first chapter of Losa's account of Gregorio Lopez's life. Concerning Gregorio's passage through Toledo, Losa merely refers:

He likewise told me, that being one day in prayer in the holy Church of Toledo, he received a singular gift, and favour from our Lord, the like to which till then he never enjoyed: and, it may be, it was concerning this his way, and that our Lord showed him favour in it.⁷⁶³

For Losa, Gregorio's memory of Toledo was inextricably linked to the "singular gift" that he had received there.

In addition to the new Hospital of Tavera, the new city walls and the reconstruction of the Alcázar (begun by Carlos V), there was nothing new in Toledo. The Cathedral, which had commenced being built centuries before, was still under construction. When Felipe convoked the Court to Toledo in 1559, in order to announce Carlos, his son, as heir to the throne of Spain – the Court having been translocated to Valladolid, where it had been for approximately the previous seven years – the newly appointed king immediately understood that the city was too small for that purpose.

⁷⁶³ Losa, *Life*, 5.

Another rather curious passage from Losa's biography concerning Toledo, suggests that Gregorio may have been present during the ceremonies that made the city so busy throughout those years:

Though it be a thing so natural, especially to men of a good understanding to be pleased with Musick, I never saw him go hear any, all the time I knew him, notwithstanding there was some near his lodging. And he often told me that if the Musick of the great Church of Toledo or all in the world, were but one step of him, he would not go to hear it: but if he were casually present where any was he heard it quietly and gained spirit out of it.⁷⁶⁴

In 1560, Felipe II was in Toledo for the *auto-de-fe* that had been prepared just in time for the celebration of his wedding with Isabel de Valois,⁷⁶⁵ the Inquisition having arrested the primate of Toledo, Bartolomé de Carranza, in 1559. Carranza was one of the most respected Catholic theologians in Spain, representing its interests in both England and Trent.⁷⁶⁶ Of note, is that the Inquisition's heretical obsessions around this time with the *alumbrados* and the Lutherans, coincided with Felipe II's fear of political disorder, as well as with the intense intellectual discussion regarding religious matters, a direct result of in the preceding years the Spanish clergy having received influences from the Italian Renaissance, the Flemish *Devotio Moderna* and *converso* culture, combining them all into an original form of humanism.⁷⁶⁷

We have already seen how Gregorio comprehended the role of Felipe as defender of the kingdom. Did he realise how important it was to be aware of all the heresies, the Reformation, and the heterodoxies, in order to be able to position himself? How may he have come to learn about these things? Was it something debated, as politics or the economic crisis are today? Furthermore, if religion, politics, and the economy, were so very linked to each other, his opinions concerning those issues likely began to form

⁷⁶⁴ Losa, *Life*, 174-175.

⁷⁶⁵ Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*, 380.

⁷⁶⁶ See, for instance, Jesús Alonso Burgos, *El Luteranismo en Castilla durante el s. XVI*, (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Swan, 1983).

⁷⁶⁷ For more on this subject, see: Alonso Burgos, *El Luteranismo en Castilla*, Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Melksham: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España 1517-1648* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001).

around that time, probably with the help of both written and oral information that was perhaps best to conceal.

10.3 Valladolid: preparing to live

Toledo and Guadalupe were two of the places Gregorio told Losa about, in the few stories concerning his life in the Iberian Peninsula. Before we are told of Gregorio's time in the Court, working as a page, Losa, citing one of his sources, "a creditable man", refers to Gregorio's rediscovery in Navarre by his father, who then took him to Court in Valladolid: "[...] when his Father seeking him very carefully at last found him, he brought him to Valladolid where at the time the court was: and there made him serve as a Page, much against his will".⁷⁶⁸

Even if we were to discredit Losa's source, we could only assume the high probability of this having happened. But how did a boy such as Gregorio make his way into the Court and how did his father put him there? Moreover, for whom was he employed in Valladolid? We know that he was able to read and write at the time, and that he was most likely educated in the Catholic faith, but did he possess all the qualities and requirements that were needed to work as a page?⁷⁶⁹ Though pages were working since they were nine years old, how were they chosen to be there? The Portuguese translator also places Gregorio in Valladolid, a destination that was chosen by many Portuguese from the borderlands with Castile, such as Rodrigo Mendes da Sylva, chronicler of the Court who also wrote a biography of Fernando de Córdoba y Bocanegra, and who later would come to be condemned as a *converso*.⁷⁷⁰ Of note, is the fact that Mendes-Sylva was originally from Celorico da Beira, a town approximately twenty kilometres distant from one of Gregorio's possible places of origin.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁸ Losa, *Life*, 4.

⁷⁶⁹ For more information on the ideals, rituals, and practices of the servants of the Court, see Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, "Introducción", 7-42.

⁷⁷⁰ See, for instance, José Antonio Guillén Berrendero, "Valores nobiliarios, libros y linajes: Rodrigo Méndez de Silva, un nobilista portugués en la corte de Felipe IV", *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, XI (2014), 35-60.

⁷⁷¹ Miguel da Sylveira, Rodrigo Méndez-Sylva, Fernando Cardoso, Francisco Pires, Ignacio de Ferreira Leytão, and many others, are the characters that fill up Diogo Barbosa Machado's Bibliotheca *Lusitana* catalogue. Departing

It is likely that Gregorio stayed in the Court in Valladolid between 1554/5 and 1558/9, during which Joana of Austria, Princess of Portugal and Felipe's sister, was regent, due to the absence of both Carlos and Felipe in Spain. According to Jesús Pascual Molina, Joana was a devout princess, who practised a form of spirituality based on recollection, "in which she valued religious experience over intellectual pursuits", having reinforced the Portuguese presence in the Court "out of the necessity to maintain contact with her son", Sebastião, born in 1554, who remained back in Lisbon. Influenced by the Jesuit and Council of Trent spirit of Catholicism, she created a political support group that was more "universal" than conservative, in opposition to the group that had been created by the Duke of Alba.⁷⁷² It is worth remembering that both Iberian monarchies, the Portuguese, and the Spanish, which included the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and Aragon, lived in social and political harmony, making their union in 1580 not as difficult or undesirable as the mythological Portuguese nationalist propaganda from 1640 onwards would have us believe, the presence of Portuguese officials in the Spanish Courts and near Felipe himself having been reflective of this.⁷⁷³

Could Gregorio have been at the service of the other Gregorio Lopez, as previously mentioned, or some other Portuguese lord? Regardless of whom he worked for as a messenger, Gregorio was surely occupied with news of deaths, funerals, changes in power, and all the rituals, ceremonies and correspondence that these involved. During those years, Joanna of Castile died in Tordesillas (1555); Carlos retired to Yuste (1556), abdicating of the Spanish crown and handing it over to his son Felipe; and John III of Portugal died (1557), his death having been followed by those of Eleanor of Austria

from Linhares, Celorico, and surrounding places, these men left for the Indies, Spain, Italy, to be employed in the Spanish Court, in pursuit of their true religion, or to live from ecclesiastical benefice, all of them having produced written work, thus earning an entry in the nineteenth century dictionary of Portuguese authors. All in Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, (Coimbra: Atlântica Editora, [1741-59] 1965).

⁷⁷² Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*, 300-301.

⁷⁷³ James M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King. Ruy Gomez da Silva, Philip II, and the court of Spain* (London: University of California Press, 1995); José Martínez Millán, "Grupos de poder en la corte durante el reinado de Felipe II: la facción ebolista, 1554-1573" in Martínez Millán, José (ed.). *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana durante el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1992), 137-197.

(1558), Carlos I of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor (1558), Mary of Hungary (1558) and Mary I of England (1558).⁷⁷⁴

We do not know how permeable Gregorio may have been to different kinds of information, whether religious, political, theological, cultural, scientific, or economic. Moreover, in what concerns explicitly his religious vocation, he had the opportunity to carefully observe the implementation of the Council of Trent's deliberations, as well as one of the most notable reactions to Lutheranism on Spanish soil in the sixteenth century, expressly, the *autos-de-fe* in Valladolid in 1559, followed by others in various Spanish cities up until 1562.⁷⁷⁵

Gregorio did not appreciate the court life, contrasting them with the strengthening of his religious vocation. According to Losa:

He told me also, that he had been sometime a Page at Court: yet neither the bravery nor business of the Court could make him forget Our Lord, or that interior recollection, to which he found himself called. To which purpose I have heard him say that when he was sent on a message by his Lord it was his principall care to go talking, and conversing mentally with God.⁷⁷⁶

Gregorio is not mentioned in the Court's payrolls,⁷⁷⁷ although he could have been one of the many anonymous *pagenes* (pageboys) that appear unnamed on the lists. After consulting the payrolls in the Archivo de Simancas, I realised that his name was nowhere to be found, although not all pages were listed individually on the lists, with some being listed as *otros* ("others"), or in connection to their progenitors as *hijo de* ("son of"), which could have been Gregorio's case.

Working in or for the Court was a way for Gregorio to provide for himself, whether his father took him there, whether he went there of his own free will. Moreover, regardless of

⁷⁷⁴ Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*, p. 215-352.

⁷⁷⁵ Alonso Burgos, *El Luteranismo en Castilla*.

⁷⁷⁶ Losa, *Life*, 3.

⁷⁷⁷ See Martínez Millán, *idem*, for the names and duration of employment of the workers in the Court of Carlos V. Also, Archivo General de Simancas, Casas y Sitios Reales - *Contas y Oficiales na corte de Filipe 1548*, Legajo 35, expedientes 24 e 25.

how busy he was with God, he found himself amidst a centre of power where he was in permanent contact with the world. The ideals and ideologies of courtiers and their courts were intricately promoted by partisans from diverse spheres of power and defended by members of different religious institutions. Castiglione and Antonio de Guevara, and many others whose works Gregorio might have read, and even served, personalised the antithetical impressions of life in the Court during that time.⁷⁷⁸ Lopez may even reflect a preference for Guevara's idea(l)s, or at least that is the impression that we get from Losa. Although he embodied all the qualities of a good courtier, Gregorio seems also to have felt some contempt for the lifestyle of the court, leading to his departure. Nonetheless, Gregorio would have learnt the habits and behaviours – discretion, manners, protocols – typical of such an environment.

The lifestyle of the Spanish Court, during these years of regency particularly, when compared to other courts, capitals, and countries were markedly austere. At the same time, due to a permanent religious overtone, funerals, coronations, abdications, births, marriages, and trials, were all celebrated with ostentatious religious ceremonies (masses, processions, sermons). Albeit, the profane was also present, in the form of bull races, performances, and tournaments, consuming large amounts of both time and money.⁷⁷⁹ Joana of Austria herself having at one point inclusively reminded her brother Felipe II that the Court's expenses were too high to support.⁷⁸⁰

By looking into the Court's diverse social networks, we not only realise how malleable they were, as well as the implications that they could have had on Gregorio Lopez's life. Speculating on his presence within a milieu of that nature leads us to believe that he would have had access to the various protagonists and contexts of the time.⁷⁸¹ This may have included access to one of the copies of the instructions Carlos V wrote to Felipe II,

⁷⁷⁸ Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, "Introduction".

⁷⁷⁹ Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*; Ruiz, *A King Travels*.

⁷⁸⁰ *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, Fernando Bouza Álvarez, (ed.), (Madrid: Turner, 1988); Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*.

⁷⁸¹ See, for instance, Boyden, *The Courtier and the King*; Martínez Millán, *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana*.

describing his political and religious programme, as well as access to all of the discussions and gossip concerning the Lutherans' process.⁷⁸²

10.4 Navarre: preparing for God

Losa recounts how Gregorio's father had been looking for him before the latter went off to Valladolid Pedro Lobo Correa affirms that Gregorio was called to the hermitic life just after his passage through the Spanish Court. Concerning this part of Gregorio's life, here is what Losa heard from an anonymous third party:

[...] A grave, and creditable Person told me that Gregory Lopez, being very young, went without acquainting his Parents to the Kingdom of Navarre; where he lived six years, or more with a Hermite; and when his Father seeking him very carefully at last found him, he brought him to Valladolid, where at that time the Court was: and there made him serve as a Page, much against his will.⁷⁸³

[...] If therefore at Twelve Years old he had attained such peace and quiet in Prayer, it must be supposed that he began to pray some years before he arrived to this state and degree. And, if the years wherein he had the use of Reason, to the time that he went into the Wilderness, were but few, we may suppose them employed in the exercise of Prayer: especially if it be true (as we have heard, it is) that before he came to Court to be a Page, he lived in Navarre with a Hermite Six Years; as hath bin [sic] said in the beginning of this Book.⁷⁸⁴

Apparently, Gregorio experienced very early on his first "internal revolution", expressly, at the age of six, an important age in the lives of many saints.⁷⁸⁵ According to Losa,

⁷⁸² Alonso Burgos, *El Luteranismo en Castilla*.

⁷⁸³ Losa, *Life*, 4.

⁷⁸⁴ Losa, *Life*, 182.

⁷⁸⁵ In *Relación auténtica sumaria de la vida, virtudes y maravillas del V. Fr. Sebastián Aparicio*, for example, it is mentioned that he was born in 1502 and contracted a contagious disease at the age of six, his mother having been forced to abandon him outside of his village, where he was saved by a wolf (written by Fr. Bartolomé de Letona, published and discovered by Fr. José Álvarez in 1662, and republished in *Anales de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México* Año 4, Julio y Septiembre de 1947, núm. 3). In reality, Novohispanic hagiographical literature offers few examples of great converts, given that most of its subjects "became" saints at a very early age. See Rubial García, "La hagiografía", 22-23.

supposedly at the age of six Gregorio went to the kingdom of Navarre to live with a hermit, having run away from his parents' home. Are we to trust this "grave and creditable man", or was he just a voice for the mythical legend embodied in the religious, literary tradition? Moreover, should we judge Losa for having been trustful enough to include this testimony in the story of Gregorio Lopez?⁷⁸⁶ It seems that the lack of details led the biographer to inevitably find some middle ground between the legend and reality he did not know, basing his narrative on both the commonplace of the *puer senex* prodigy⁷⁸⁷ and the silence of Gregorio.

Luis de Velasco, the *Elder*, was viceroy of Navarre from 1547 to 1548, when Gregorio was five or six years old.⁷⁸⁸ Their chronologies, however, do not match the period that they are said to have lived there. Could they have come across each other or their families before or after that period? Could Gregorio have had a stronger and longer connection with the younger Velasco, with whom he may have travelled? Moreover, how does a child escape from his parents' home to endure such a trip? Or is the reference to Navarre in Losa's book a consequence of its annexation by the Castilian kingdom? Fernando, the Catholic King, had conquered Navarra in 1512; it had functioned since then as an autonomous territory under the authority of the Spanish Crown.⁷⁸⁹ It was through Navarre that many pilgrims coming from the other side of the Pyrenees to get to Santiago via the French Way, which began in Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, had to pass. From Madrid, it took about a week on horseback to get to Navarre, over a distance of approximately 65 leagues.⁷⁹⁰ From 1515 onwards, Navarre became part of the Castilian Crown. It had, thus to be incorporated as part of a much broader ideology and policy

⁷⁸⁶ Francisco Guerra provides us with a name, although he does not give us its source: Guillermo López; in Guerra, *El Tesoro de Medicinas*, 12. Unfortunately, we were not able to find any reference to this man in any source.

⁷⁸⁷ Fustigière, "Lieux communs", 123-152.

⁷⁸⁸ Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *El virreinato: Orígenes y jurisdicciones, y dinámica social de los virreyes* (México: UNAM, 1983), 222.

⁷⁸⁹ Jesús M. Usunáriz Garayoa, "Las instituciones del reino de Navarra durante la Edad Moderna (1512-1808)", *Sep. Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos*, 46, (2001), 685-744.

⁷⁹⁰ Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid et ses campagnes au XVI siècle* (Paris: Mouton & Co, 1967), 79-119.

started by the Catholic Kings, similarly to the conquest of Granada, the Reform of the Spanish Church and, of course, the new overseas dominions.⁷⁹¹

During my stay in Pamplona, I attempted to question the veracity of Francisco Losa's narrative of hermits in Navarre in the sixteenth century. Confirming what is put forth by José Ignacio Homobono and William Christian, scholars of popular religion in Spain, like Jesús Usunáriz Garayoa, hermits (both men and women) and their hermitages were an alternative focus where the sacred, the popular, and the supernatural merged in a non-institutionalised and non-hierarchical manner, which the Church did not trust, at the periphery of their communities, out of reach from the authorities' jurisdictions and interests, despite the fact that eremitism had been a traditional lifestyle from the Early Church.⁷⁹² To this day, various sanctuaries may be found throughout the Iberian landscape, reminding us of the pervading presence of the connection between man, nature and God that characterised the life of hermits. For instance, Carlos López refers to two eighteenth-century hermits in Navarre who were schoolmasters, a phenomenon that would become quite common during the Renaissance, in Europe.⁷⁹³

Through Jesús Usunáriz Garayoa I was introduced to the works of José Goñi Gaztambide, former director of the Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona,⁷⁹⁴ who wrote about the sixteenth-century reform of hermitic life in the kingdom of Navarre promoted by Juan de Undiano. A hermit himself, Juan de Undiano wrote to Felipe II insisting on the necessity to provide rules and limits to the numerous hermits living in Navarre at the time, Felipe II having sent the local authorities to investigate the problem in 1585. The Marquis of Almazán, viceroy of Navarre, would be the man responsible for an inquiry which would result in the *Regla y constituciones de los ermitaños*. There were too many hermits (from which only sixty would be allowed to continue) admitted as such into the

⁷⁹¹ Concerning the "construction of a grand narrative" of the new and extended Catholic monarchy, not just of Castile, but of *Spain*, see Kira von Ostenfeld-Suske, "Writing official history in Spain: History and Politics, c.1471-1600" in José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo and Daniel Wolf, (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing 1400-1800*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 428-448.

⁷⁹² Jesús M. Usunáriz Garayoa, "Los estudios sobre religiosidad popular en la España Moderna en los últimos veinticinco años" in *Zainak. Cuadernos de Antropología-Etnografía*, 18 (1999), 17-43.

⁷⁹³ López, "Apuntes para una historiografía", 324.

⁷⁹⁴ José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*. Volume IV (Pamplona: Eunsa, 1979-1999), 521-536.

hermitic life without any questioning of their previous lives and customs. Some lived in hermitages, while others lived from alms or other services. Furthermore, there were some who did not renounce the company of women or a bohemian lifestyle.⁷⁹⁵ Concerning this reform, and its effects, given that Felipe II would come to apply it, in 1596, to the whole of the Spanish empire, including overseas dominions, what is of special relevance is that it informs us of a form of religiosity that not only existed in Navarre, and throughout Iberia, but also of its popularity and diversity.⁷⁹⁶

As a hermit originally from Navarre, who lived in Navarre, it is unlikely that Undiano did not have the resources, contacts, knowledge or curiosity to discern who Gregorio had spent time with while there. If anyone could have had discovered or confirmed the information on which Losa had relied, it would have been Juan de Undiano. The *Regla y constituciones de los ermitaños* came about as a result of a thorough inquiry ordered by the viceroy of Navarre, seeking to determine the number of hermits, where they were located, the state of the hermitages in which some of them were housed, how they lived, where they were from, whether they were clerics or laymen, what they did with their time, how they sustained themselves, how they used alms, and finally, whether there were women amongst them, hermits, and whether some inconvenience arose from their presence.⁷⁹⁷

Juan de Undiano, the hermit who triggered the creation of the reform, is an important piece in Gregorio Lopez's puzzle. In 1576, the then 24-year-old Juan Undiano arrived in Córdoba, coming from Navarre, having made himself a "hermit's apprentice" of Brother Martín, whose biography he would come to print in 1620, in Pamplona. Undiano lived in the forests of Albayda until the death of his mentor, after which he would move back to Navarre, where he became a priest, and where hermits lived a much less spiritually edifying experience than the solitaries he had met in the south. After becoming a priest,

⁷⁹⁵ Carlos M. López, "Apuntes para una historiografía del eremitismo Navarro" in *España Eremitica. Actas de la VI Semana de Estudios Monásticos, Monasterio de San Salvador de Leyre* (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1970), 309-326; José Goñi Gaztambide, "La vida eremítica en el reino de Navarra" in *Príncipe de Viana*, XXVI, 98-99. (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1965), 77-92.

⁷⁹⁶ Rubial García, "Tebaidas en el Paraíso. Los ermitaños de la Nueva España" in *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 44, No. 3 (Jan.-Mar. 1995), accessed on October 15th, 2012: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25138953>, 368.

⁷⁹⁷ Goñi Gaztambide, "La vida eremítica", 78-79.

he began his attempt to reform his companions, an effort that, although it was recorded in the royal edicts, did not have the desired effect, having backfired against him. From 1600 onwards, after battling those who attacked him for not respecting the reform he had fought for, he finally went back to being a hermit, until his death in 1633. Although they never met, in this work, Undiano interestingly puts forth the possibility that Gregorio Lopez may have met Brother Martín:

And it is possible that after his father found him in this kingdom [of Navarra], and took him to the Court, and tired from its treatment, when he got out and wandered by Toledo, Guadalupe and other parts of Andaluzia till Sevilla, having news in his way of the recollection and life of Brother Martín, he searched and contacted him, that already for ten or eleven years he lived in solitude, and of these last four or five in the mentioned forest of Albayda, near Córdoba. Because in his composure, silence and interiority, he seemed extremely similar [...].⁷⁹⁸

Undiano's *Exemplo* portrays and embodies the archetype of the hermit's apprentice,⁷⁹⁹ describing an ideal while testifying its practical application. Here is how he recalls the counsels of Brother Martín:

I only advise you, that to accomplish your desire [of solitude], three things are necessary as to the Painter to paint a figure, or image, that the board shall be well rigged, that shall have colouring material, and oils, and the necessary brushes. So that the place you choose, shall be quiet without gathering of people, that you shall have bread, and water, so you are not distracted in the search of these necessities, and books or a person that shall teach you how you must live, and exercise.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁸ My translation of: " *Y es possible que despues que le hallo su padre en este Reyno [de Navarra], y le llevó á la corte, y cansado del trato de alla, quando salió y anduvo por Toledo, Guadalupe, y otras partes de Andaluzia azia Sevilla teniendo noticia en el camino del recogimiento y vida del Hermano Martín, le buscó, y trató, que ya avia diez ò onze años que vivía en Soledad, y dellos los quatro ò cinco vltimos en el dicho Bosque del Abayda cerca de Córdoba. Porque en la compustura, silencio, y interioridad, se parecieron en estremo [...]*", in Undiano, *Exemplo de solitarios*, f. 4v.

⁷⁹⁹ Haro Serrano, "Introducción", 22.

⁸⁰⁰ My translation of: " *Solo te advierto, que para conseguir tu deseo son necessarias tres cosas como al Pintor para pintar una figura, ò imagen, que la tabla esté bien aparejada, que tenga materiales de colores, y azeytes, y pinceles necessarios. Assi que el lugar que escogieres, sea quieto sin concurso de gentes, que tengas pan, y agua, porque no andes distraído en busca desto necessario, y libros ò persona que te enseñe como as de vivir, y te as de exercitar*", in Undiano, *Exemplo de solitarios*, f. 3v.

Reading of Brother Martín's example, at least as Undiano recorded it, is like finding a blueprint of Gregorio's life, leading us to ask ourselves whether Undiano imitated Losa, or whether Lopez imitated Martín. Their diet, the poverty that they endured, their silence, their contacts, their ideals – all reflected ethnic, religious and cultural tendencies that connected in the sociopolitical scenario of a kingdom that was to become an empire in approximately fifty years:

The forty years between 1480 and 1530 are crucial in the history of Spain and this spirituality: Granada, America, expulsion of the Jews and exacerbation of the conversos; the regencies era; University of Alcalá; birth of the *descalcez* and their struggle to survive against the enemy of the observance; flowering of *alumbrados*, in connection with the recollected until coexistence is impossible in 1523, for bringing different ideas and experiences with the same words; Franciscan condemnation (1524) and inquisitorial thereof (1525); first political repercussions of Spanish action in America (laws of Burgos of 1512); first news and reactions against Luther (1519 and 1521); communities and Germania's war. (...) During them, the spirituality of the recollection is structured as inner experience and is open to everyone: men and women, married and unmarried, soldiers and merchants, religious and lay people. Even stoutly connected with the *alumbrados*, laity and new Christians mostly [...] ⁸⁰¹

Gregorio had been brought up by a generation that lived in this environment, his generation having embodied the changes in lived devotion and religiosity brought on during the preceding decades, which the Holy Church would end up condemning, limiting and institutionalising following the Council of Trent. Gregorio's generation was all too familiar with change: different kingdoms uniting under one Crown; Jews and Moors converting to Christianity; and Christians being divided into old and new, Protestants, heretics, witches, and hermits, all of whom performed a role within their

⁸⁰¹ My translation of: "*Los cuarenta años que trascurrieron entre 1480 y 1530 son decisivos en la historia de España y de esta espiritualidad: Granada, América, expulsión de los judíos y exacerbación de los conversos; época de las regencias; universidad de Alcalá; nacimiento de la descalcez y su lucha para pervivir frente a la enemiga de hasta que se hace imposible la convivencia en 1523, por significar ideas y vivencias distintas con las mismas palabras; condenación franciscana (1524) e inquisitorial de los mismos (1525); primeras repercusiones políticas de la acción española en América (leyes de Burgos de 1512); primeras noticias y reacciones frente a Lutero (1519 y 1521); guerra de las comunidades y germanías*", Andrés Martín, "Introducción a la mística", 40.

communities, which could embrace, reject, expel, promote, exchange, reform, or convert its members, in accordance with local interests and individual practices. A solitary, we might anachronistically affirm, was a man that above all else sought privacy, far from the public theatre where defamation was the first degree of social condemnation. Certainly, there were many who, from a very young age departed to a religious path. For instance, we are told Brother Martín was included in his family's affairs, although he would eventually be seduced into praying in God's churches, and consequently to begin to fail to perform his duties within the family circle, leading him to be expelled from it, and to seek a home in God.

Not long after he began to "use his reason", Gregorio found God as his Lord, thus forfeiting the opportunity "to be a child in his manners". It is possible that Gregorio spent time with a hermit in Navarre in the 1550s and that he got an informal education, where materials must have been available in order for him to have learnt not only how to read, but also how to write.⁸⁰² Puerto Sarmiento, historian of the pharmaceutical science, could be right in his view of Gregorio as a fragile child from the very beginning, a fragile, almost useless member in the family, to be let go of and forgotten.⁸⁰³ Had he been bullied or abandoned? Nonetheless, it is said these kind of backgrounds prepare people to endure in harsh conditions such as those Gregorio put himself through all the rest of his life.

⁸⁰² "En términos generales y sin olvidar las graves limitaciones en la formación personal y para la intervención directa en los proyectos del nuevo Estado por parte del pueblo llano, una buena parte del equipaje ideológico, de la preparación ética y de las habilidades prácticas del pueblo español se debe a la preocupación e intervención de la Iglesia. Se podría hablar de una cultura «plástica o sensorial», de una educación «ambiental o de comunicación mutua», de una enseñanza, además de la institucional, llamada de «modelado o ejemplar» desde los lenguajes del arte, de los modelos humanos con personalidad muy acusada o desde los mensajes de las grandes creaciones o empresas públicas", in Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, "Enseñanza no formal y recursos pedagógicos. Referencias Bibliográficas de esta etapa" in Bartolomé Martínez (coord.), *Historia de la acción educadora de la Iglesia en España*, Vol. I, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995), 496-497.

⁸⁰³ Puerto Sarmiento, "La vida prodigiosa", 21-23.

10.5 Burgos: preparing to grow

Similarly to Christ, Gregorio then ran away from his parents to be closer to his Heavenly Father, learning to live as a hermit at the expense of his childhood, as a *puer senex*. By following Gregorio's footsteps, we inevitably have to pass through Burgos, where we are faced with an entirely different landscape. As Losa affirms: "But I understood from Gregory Lopez himself, that he had been in Burgos, which is on the way from Madrid to Navarra: and he related concerning this City certain things of edification, and devotion".⁸⁰⁴

It is then Gregorio himself who confirms his passage through Burgos, although leaving open its chronology, relating things of "devotion and edification" that he had witnessed while there. Burgos, where the Velascos lived, was decaying as the most important city for merchants from all over Iberia, Northern Europe and Italy, as well as for all who were travelling to the new Indies, whilst Seville was growing to take its place. Moreover, it was a hub for cultural exchange that came from every direction, especially considering the number of pilgrims travelling the French Way to Santiago de Compostela who had to pass through it. Had Gregorio merely passed through Burgos? From where had he left, and where was he going? The previously mentioned section says he was "on the way from Madrid to Navarra" but what are we to deduce from that?

Regardless of when Gregorio passed through Burgos, whether when he was a child on his way to Navarre or when he was a bit older on his way to Valladolid (either alone or accompanied), what "things of edification and devotion" did he keep from the city? What changes in perception may a six or twelve-year-old Gregorio have experienced? How does one's perception change when arriving in a new city, depending on whether one is just passing through; one has been taken there against his/her will; one is free or not to walk around and get a sense of his/her surroundings; one has never seen a city before?

What may have constituted things of great edification and devotion for Gregorio? Did he attend mass in the city's cathedral, where he got to see its new (1522) golden stairs; its

⁸⁰⁴ Losa, *Life*, 3.

recent (1496) Chapel of the Constable and the new (1524) Chapel of the Presentation; the wonderful Chapel of Saint Anne completed in 1492; and the new (1530) Door of the Pellejería? Did he get to see the Casa del Cordón, where the Constable of Castile lived, and where Carlos and Felipe stayed when passing through the city in search of private funding to help solve the realm's financial crisis? Did he get to see the nearby markets, coming across unusual coins and witnessing the merchants' negotiations, discussions and deals? Did he get an opportunity to hear mass in any other church or a sermon by some of the popular theologians of the time? How did he perceive the ideas discussed in the city, expressly, the *Leyes de Burgos* (1512 and 1542) concerning natives and exploration of the Indies, as well as the conclusions arrived at by the Junta de Valladolid concerning Erasmus' ideas? How many stories might he have heard concerning voyages, pirates, Indians, commerce, conquerors, war, Lutherans, Trent, heretics, and the Inquisition? How many of these stories remained in his memory, his dreams, his nightmares, and world view?

Even if we cannot ascertain the circumstances that led to his passage through the city, his posterior footsteps and knowledge allow us to imagine what may have provoked in him a sense of edification and devotion, namely, the number of travellers, merchants, theologians, and doctors, from all over the world, who congregated there, as he did. Spanish culture thrived in sixteenth-century Burgos, incorporating new elements from all over Europe and the Indies. Everything felt new, from geography to medicine, from politics to economy, from religion to art; everything felt new both for those who were older than him and for him, given his life experience, was already vastly different than that of the immediately preceding generation.⁸⁰⁵

[...] when asked on a certain occasion when he had begun to serve God, whether it were as soon as he had the use of reason; he answered, he knew not for certain, whether it were then or

⁸⁰⁵ For more information see: *Historia de Burgos* (Burgos: Diario 16 de Burgos, 1993), 518-519; and, Sabino Nebreda Pérez (coord.), *Historia de Burgos. Edad Moderna*. Vol. I, II, III (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Burgos, 1991-99).

a little after: but that he was very sure, that our Lord called him very early, so that he had never been a child in his manners.⁸⁰⁶

Gregorio, having been supposedly raised in a family that grant him a baptism, in a noble and well-situated parish, either in Madrid or Linhares, in Portugal, was called to be a servant of God, who taught him how to read, write, inclusively in Latin. Taking the latter into consideration, his parents or caretakers probably did not mind the fact that he spent time with "God" learning how to access and produce information most likely provided by the parish schoolmaster, or perhaps by a small library at home or the workshop of a notary. On the contrary, they probably encouraged it. We would be, nonetheless, naïve to solely consider that a life dedicated to God was Gregorio's only viable career option. Besides his natural inclination for religious work, Gregorio could have been encouraged to pursue other career paths, like becoming a courtier, soldier on the numerous fronts the kingdom had to fight in, clothes or wool merchant, physician or scrivener. In fact, by taking into account the strongly patriarchal organisation of the family and the community during that period, we may say that the way of God, independent of earthly institutions and hierarchies, was a much more open path, able to provide one with a home, a company, and a profession, whilst allowing for innumerable lifestyles.

10.6 Madrid/Linhares da Beira: preparing to walk

Reflecting on recent academic discourse pertaining to popular religiosity in modern Spain, specifically on the study of the transmission of beliefs, Jesús Usunáriz Garayoa, historian at the Universidad de Navarra, identifies the family unit (regardless of the kinship being real or fictitious), as the "sociocultural cell, the element that reproduces and transmits *mental marks*, which will have a basic influence on the formation of its members, and especially, on the *mental construction of beliefs and forms of expression*".⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁶ Losa, *Life*, 3.

⁸⁰⁷ My translation and italics, Usunáriz Garayoa, "Los estudios sobre religiosidad", 35.

Even considering that he may have had some reason to silence this fact, Gregorio made it known that he had brothers and sisters, indicating that his parents kept their progeny together, which more or less illustrates what we would call a family. The name *Lopez* was as common as it was to change names back in those days, which Gregorio may have done in order to hide his family's "rank". Was not the practice of changing names common with conversos, used as a form of hiding their rank by adopting "more Christian" names? Linda Martz and José Carlos Gómez-Menor have studied the occurrence of this phenomenon in Toledo specifically, where many families who were originally Jewish were compelled to find some way to "camouflage" their religious identity – given the new model of society promoted by the Castilian kings and controlled by the Inquisition – by changing their surnames, thus erasing any trace of their ethnicity.⁸⁰⁸ Gregorio's renaming could also have hidden some irregularity in his passage to New Spain. It may have been a spontaneous decision, driven by a religious feeling, or as a way to pay homage to an admired sponsor. Most possibilities entail either familial or social motivations, although we may consider that personal reasons may also have been a motivational source. As Losa informs us:

[...] This is the opinion, some had of the lineage of Gregory Lopez; all, that I could gather from certain discourses I had with him on this subject, is, that his parents were rather poor, than rich; yet, of what rank they were, I could never learn; though a few days before his death I resolved to ask their names, that I might make to them a relation of, and they might rejoice, and reap edification from, so good a life, and death. Where unto he made me this answer: Since I went into the field to lead a solitary life, I have held God only for my Father; my Brethren by this time maybe dead, for I was the youngest. Such oblivion of his Family retained this Servant of God; esteeming all nobility as baseness; and only valuing the power, that God hath given us to make ourselves his sons in the Spirit.

⁸⁰⁸ See, for instance, Linda Martz, "Implementation of Pure-Blood Statutes in Sixteenth-Century Toledo" in Bernard Dov Coperman, (ed.) *In Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews Between Cultures: Proceedings of a Symposium to Mark the 500th Anniversary of the Expulsion of Spanish Jewry* (Newark: Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, University of Delaware Press, 1998); José Carlos Gómez-Menor Fuentes, "La sociedad conversa toledana en la primera mitad del siglo XVI", in *Simposio Toledano Judaico*, (Toledo: Centro Universitario de Toledo, 1972); or Fernando Martínez Gil, "El Antiguo Regimen" in Julio de la Cruz Muñoz (coord.), *Historia de Toledo* (Toledo: Acazanes, Librería Universitaria de Toledo, 1997), 269.

He was born the 4th of July in the year of 1542 on the Day whereon was then kept the feast of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, though now this Festivity be transferred to the 17th of November. He was baptized in the Parish of S. Giles, and called Gregory because born on the aforementioned day. The name of Lopez I take not for that of his house; but that he was willing to assume it for disguising his Family. He had two sisters and divers Brothers; and, though Gregory was in age the yongest of all, yet it is credible that he surpassed them in merit, and in the true Nobility, that derives from Virtue.⁸⁰⁹

Despite the odds of survival concerning new-born deaths rates of the time, Gregorio survived, having later been baptised – which in the sixteenth century was the equivalent of attributing an identification number to a child – in a ritual that presented him to the authorities of his church and his godparents, and was witnessed by his community. The ritual of baptism automatically made Gregorio a member of the Roman Catholic flock, also evidenced in the action of naming the child according to the saint that was celebrated on the day of baptism. This may also give us some insight into Gregorio's worldview for we cannot exclude that due to this name – from the Greek *gregoreo*, meaning "to care", "to watch over" – he would have been familiar with his patron's story. Gregory Thaumaturgus, son of pagans, who converted to Christianity with the help of Origen, bishop of Neocaesarea – where the latter presumably performed miracles and facilitated countless conversions – known and recognised as a theologian and one of the great pastors of early Christianity.⁸¹⁰

If Gregorio came in fact from Madrid, he might have heard the story of San Isidro. Born in Madrid at the beginning of the twelveth century, Isidro later became a farmer, working for his sustenance and choosing to refrain from sexual relations (with his wife), as a form of spiritual repayment for the miracle of his son having been saved from drowning in a well. Isidro would go on to become the patron of Madrid, celebrated for his devotion, virtuous life, hard work, and dedication to the poor. In Jerónimo de la Quintana's we become aware of the common themes in the lives of Isidro and Gregorio Lopez: their

⁸⁰⁹ Losa, *Life*, 2.

⁸¹⁰ Everett Ferguson, Michael P. McHugh and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, vol. 1, (New York: Garland Publications, 1998), 499.

virtues, their devotion to the Ten Commandments, as well as the help of angels in their activities.⁸¹¹ In Linhares, Isidoro de Sevilla was patron of one of the churches who could also have been a likely influence on Gregorio. One of the last classical academics, doctor of the Church, converter of the Visigoth kings, and archbishop of Seville, he produced, amongst other works, the valuable and widely known *Etymologiae*, a reflection of his interest in conciliating Greco-Latin culture with Visigothic customs, for he also promoted the need for education in Hispania.⁸¹² This if we take into consideration the Portuguese version of Gregorio's pre-life.

10.6.1 Madrid

Losa's speculations do not match the Portuguese hypothesis about Gregorio's origins. Pedro Lobo Correa seems to take for granted the fact that he had a family. Moreover, his contemporaries' complaisance in the face of his socio-cultural behaviour led them to believe that he was likely of noble rank. It is also worth remembering that before the Court's presence, Madrid was a town of no more than 9 000 people.⁸¹³ Without delving too much into the composition of its population at the time, it is striking to note that no real investigation was carried out in Madrid with regard to Gregorio Lopez. Not even Jerónimo de la Quintana, who in 1629 wrote about this city, mentioning Gregorio without correcting or providing any further information concerning his origins, found any problem in simply assuming the veracity of Losa's account.⁸¹⁴ Were Felipe III and his Court so excited about another possible canonisation, inspired by the ones they had celebrated in 1622, expressly of Isidro Labrador, Ignacio de Loyola, Teresa de Ávila and

⁸¹¹ Jerónimo de la Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada villa de Madrid. Historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1629), accessed on 15th May, 2014, on:

http://books.google.nl/books?id=dxoPaYgQTjAC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-PT&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Gil&f=false, 162v-168.

⁸¹² Ferguson, *et al.*, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, vol. 1, 593.

⁸¹³ Alfredo Álvar Ezquerra, *El nacimiento de una capital europea, Madrid entre 1561 y 1606* (Madrid: Turner Libros y Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1989), 31. For more information concerning Madrid, and its urban development, see José Manuel Castellanos Oñate, *El Madrid Medieval*. Accessed on 30th September of 2019:

<http://elmadridmedieval.jmcastellanos.com/#..>

⁸¹⁴ Quintana, *A la muy antigua*, ff. 162v-168.

Francisco Xavier, that they took for granted the biography which had been written by Lopez's companion?

Gregorio's possible noble origins are of particular importance, considering that the vast majority of people of his time lacked books and other forms of contact with the political and cultural world(s), thus being limited to the traditional vehicles of information, expressly, sermons and images.⁸¹⁵ The fact that his parents were able to keep their progeny together could already be a good indication that they were rich enough, even if not in titles, in income, from either an *oficio* (craft), or *fazenda* (estate). The latter was the only confirmation that Losa got from Gregorio's second reference to his origins. As it happened, when Gregorio was in the Hospital of Oaxtepec, he had news of a fire in Madrid that had destroyed some houses in a part of the town, houses that Gregorio would later come to comment, belonged to his father.⁸¹⁶ Could this have been the 1580 fire which resulted from the celebration of the annexation of Portugal by Felipe II, a fire that had destroyed the *Puerta de Guadalajara*?⁸¹⁷ We know that the fire destroyed the old gate, but whose houses did it destroy? Could Pedro Lobo Correa be correct when defending that this was the way through which Gregorio paid homage to a possible master in Madrid, whose estate the fire could have destroyed?

The further we delve into sixteenth-century Madrid, the more inconsistencies we find. Firstly, Gregorio left Spain at the same time the Court chose to base itself in Madrid, in 1561, thus reflecting a contrary movement to the large number of people who began to transfer to the Court's new home. Before that, the Court constantly moved around, as we have already observed. Besides, before the Court permanently moved to Madrid, it had

⁸¹⁵ Usunáriz Garayoa, "El estudio de la religiosidad", 35. In addition, concerning the oral and visual transmission of knowledge, see Anneke Mulder-Bakker, "Introduction" in Anneke Mulder-Bakker, (ed.), *Seeing and knowing: women and learning in medieval Europe, 1200-1550*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 1-19; and Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, "Enseñanza no formal y recursos pedagógicos. Referencias bibliográficas de esta etapa" in Bartolomé Martínez, *Historia de la acción*, 496-497.

⁸¹⁶ Although the 1613's original does not contain these words, Losa's 1642, 1648, 1727 versions mention an episode at the Hospital of Oaxtepec, about a man who visited Gregorio and referred to a recent fire in Madrid that had burdened down some houses in the city. Once the man left, Gregorio is said to have affirmed those were his father's house. We do not know the origin of this insertion, most probably connected to the informations gathered in Mexico and Madrid.

⁸¹⁷ *Cartas de Felipe II*, 75-76, 189-190.

already temporarily stayed there, expressly, in 1536, when news of a plague in Valladolid broke out.⁸¹⁸ It was around that time that the king decided to reconstruct the Alcázar, the royal palace of Madrid which was in need of some expansion works, Carlos V having commissioned the architect Alonso de Covarrubias to do so.⁸¹⁹ Of direct interest to us is the restoration of the royal parish and the church of the Alcázar, which were both dedicated to San Miguel de la Sagra. The church had to be demolished to expand the royal palace, the pope having granted permission to do so in 1548, and another church dedicated to San Miguel and San Gil Abad was built in 1549, which was finally annexed to the parish of San Juan in 1606 by Felipe III.⁸²⁰ Thus, there was no Church of San Gil in 1542, when Gregorio was supposedly born. However, was there already a parish of San Gil at that time, or would Gregorio have belonged to the parish of San Miguel de la Sagra?

It must be considered that during this period that area of Madrid underwent an impacting process of gentrification, due to the Court's move there, a significant number of houses having had to be restored, in order to accommodate the courtiers who continued to arrive. Nowadays, this neighbourhood is part of the *Real Parroquia de Santiago y San Juan Bautista*, where we still find sacramental books from the old parishes of Santiago, San Juan and even San Gil, with lists of confirmations, baptisms, and obits, dating as far back as 1539, before the Council of Trent.⁸²¹ Nonetheless, no record of a "Gregorio Lopez" is to be found in the sources we do have. Is it possible that Francisco Losa forcibly attempted to attribute noble origins to Gregorio, through his affiliation with the mentioned parish? It meant that in order for Gregorio to have been baptised in this parish, located close to the royal palace of Madrid, he would have to have lived in the

⁸¹⁸ Pascual Molina, *Fiesta y Poder*, 194-195.

⁸¹⁹ Álvarez Ezquerro, *El nacimiento*, 192.

⁸²⁰ Quintana, *A la muy antigua*, ff. 68-69. For detailed visual information see, for instance, Castellanos Oñate, "Iglesias e monasterios", in *El Madrid Medieval*, accessed on 30th September of 2019: <http://elmadridmedieval.jmcastellanos.com/#>.

⁸²¹ Archivo Histórico de la Real Parroquia de Santiago y San Juan Bautista: Livro de Enterros de la Paroquia de San Juan: 1562-1585; Livro de Bautismos de la Paroquia de San Juan: 1569-1597; Livro de Bautismos de la Paroquia de Santiago: 1539-1566.

noble heart of town. Or could this just be one more sign of Losa's ignorance and/or silence with regard to Gregorio's ancestry?

10.6.2 Linhares da Beira

Let us now take a closer look at the Portuguese claim. Pedro Lobo Correa, the translator, in addition to downplaying Losa's arguments concerning Madrid, gives indirect sources provided by Jorge Cardoso that attest the existence of records that demonstrate Gregorio's Portuguese origins.

[Gregorio Lopez] Was baptised in the Parish Church of Our Lady of Assumption of that same town [Linhares] & had as parents Paulo Lopes, natural of the town of Fornos (...) and the most pious as blissful matron Maria Affonso do Pombal, derived surname and imposed of one she had in her house, & natural from the same town of Linhares, in which was born our Gregorio Lopes, in the 4th of July, day whence was celebrated the Day of Saint Gregory Taumaturgus, in the year of World's Reparation 1542, (...).

The parents of this hero were not illustrious but Noble & of the most qualified of the surroundings, as pious as devote, & their lineage clean of all race. From their marriage they had three sons and one daughter. The first was called Lopo Roiz, who was married with Brites Pacheca of the same town, from whom there is progeny. The second was Alvaro Lopes, who married Anna Ozouro, or Ozorio principal family in the surroundings, from whom at present there are grandchildren that obtain the *legitima* of our exemplar Man. To the third was given the name of her mother Maria Affonso, wife that was of Gaspar Cardozo from the same land. The fourth was the servant of God Gregorio Lopes smaller amongst his brothers, but to believe that in less time he surpassed them in merit and virtues.⁸²²

⁸²² My translation of: "*Foy baptizado na Prochial Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Assumpção da mesma Villa, & teve por pays a Paulo Lopes, natural que foy da Villa de Fornos, Bispado de Vizeu, & Comarca de Pinhel, & a tao pia, como ditosa Matrona Maria Affonso do Pombal, apellido derivado & importo de hum que em sua caza tinha, & natural da mesma Villa de Linhares, em a qual nasceo o nosso Gregorio Lopes aos quatro de Jullho, dia em que se celebrava a Festa de São Gregorio Taumaturgo, no anno da Reparação do Mundo 1542. (...) Erao os Pays deste heroe, não illustres mas [p. 8] nobres, & dos mais calificados daquelles contornos, tão pios, como devotos, & sua linhagem limpa de toda a raça. De seo Matrimonio tiverão tres filhos & huma filha: o primeiro se chamou Lopo roiz, que foy cazado com Brites Pacheca da mesma Villa, de que ha descendencia. O segundo foy Alvaro Lopes, que cazou com Anna Ozouro ou Ozorio principal familia naquellas partes, de quem de presente ha netos, que obtem a legitima de nosso exemplar Varão. A terceira lhe puzerão o nome de sua propria May Maria Affonso, que foy mulher de Gaspar Cardozo da mesma terra. O quarto foy o Servo de Deos Gregorio Lopez menor entre seos*

History tells us that Jorge Cardoso was one of the intellectuals engaged – in the 1640s/1650s, immediately following the restoration of the Portuguese Monarchy – in the reconstruction of Portugal as a newly re-independent kingdom that was in the process of reshaping its identity. Jorge Cardoso did his part by putting together a catalogue of virtuous Portuguese, the *Agiológico Lusitano*, providing a list of spiritual heroes and examples to follow for the nation-state of Portugal, a monumental task which he was not able to finish, likely given the amount of research he needed to do in order to be able to write, as thoroughly as he did, each entry. We are fortunate that Jorge Cardoso treated Gregorio as an extraordinary case, unique to the point that he alluded to him in another entry: Gregorio's "nationality" had been stolen by the Spanish, so his true origins had to be investigated in Portugal to authenticate and authorise his national pureness.⁸²³

In the explanatory preface to his translation, Pedro Lobo Correa reveals that Jorge Cardoso, along with a resourceful network, set up something akin to a manhunt,⁸²⁴ in the

Irmãos, mas de crer he que posto que menor em tempo, os sobrepujou em merecimentos, & virtudes", in Lobo Correa, *Nascimento*, 7-8.

⁸²³ Jorge Cardoso, *Agiológico Lusitano*. Vol. II and IV, (Lisboa: Officina Craesbeekiana and Regia Officina Sylviana, 1652 to 1744), Edição Facsimile, Porto: 2002. "*Exemplos temos semelhantes em muitos Servos de Deos Portuguezes, que florecerão em diversas partes do Vniverso, os quaes ausentes de suas pátrias, as encobrirão o mais que puderão; tal foi o S. varão Gregorio Lopez, que sendo natural de Linhares, villa ao pé da Serra da Estrella, florecendo nas Indias de Castella, nunca a quis manifestar, por mais vezes que se lhe perguntou.*", he writes in Volume II, from 1657. Concerning the author and the *Agiólogo's* book history, see Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes, *A biblioteca de Jorge Cardoso* (Porto: FLUP, 2000), 7-17.

⁸²⁴ All of whom are mentioned in the Portuguese translation dedicated to D. Luis de Menezes, *Conde da Ericeira*, written by Pedro Lobo Correa, himself a notary of the *Contadoria Geral de Guerra e Reino*. Jorge Cardoso, we are told by Pedro Correa, began his quest with Frei Manuel da Ressurreição (or Manuel Raposo), *Procurador-Geral da Congregação dos Descalços de Santo Agostinho*, and his brother, João Lopes Raposo da Castanheda, *Licenciado* and *Juiz de Fora* of the city of Évora, who would write the public instrument copied by the scribes Cypriano de Chaves Siqueira, Miguel Cardoso Homem and António Botelho de Carvalho, the latter having written the book's dedication to D. Luis de Menezes. The public instrument was written at the request of Leonis Pina de Mendonça, a citizen from Guarda – a town close to Linhares – resident in Lisbon, who addressed the instrument to David de Aragão, *Contador e Inquiridor do Juizo Ordinario da Guarda*, brother-in-law of Dionysio da Nave Pacheco, *Escrivão das Sisas e Selos dos Panos of Linhares*, both of whom were from Linhares. Both Aragão and Pacheco are mentioned in the letter transcribed in the Prologue, written by the priest of the Parish of *Nossa Senhora da Assumpção de Linhares*, Manuel Alvares Migueis, addressed a second time to Estevão Ferreira, rector of the Jesuit College of Porto. This list of people just goes to show that there was a network of elitist figures interested in claiming Gregorio Lopez's Portuguese nationality. Moreover, it is a network worth analyzing, especially since most of these people were either workers of the realm or religious authorities, capable of producing, collecting and communicating information.

form of an *inquiriio de genere*, sent to the towns of Covilhã and Linhares in the province of Beira – perhaps due to their proximity to Castile – in search of any information that concerned this “Gregorio Lopez”, deceased with fame of saintly virtue in New Spain. The priest from the parish of the royal town of Linhares da Beira promptly provided some evidence, expressly, the transcription of Gregorio Lopez’s genealogy as the community remembered it, where he registered the testimonials which declared *nemine discrepante*, in what concerned Gregorio being native of Linhares.⁸²⁵

In 1527, Linhares had between 4 000 and 5 000 inhabitants, corresponding to around 4 or 5 people per tenement; being so the average number of tenements had increased from 608 to 1006, between 1496/7 and 1527.⁸²⁶ Praised by the Portuguese translator as one of the most ancient towns of Portugal, Linhares da Beira was constantly refounded throughout the realm’s history, mostly due to its castle’s defensive role on the border with the kingdom of Castile. In 1535, John III of Portugal established it as a county, the town’s architecture evincing the flourishing years Linhares had during the sixteenth century, seen in the Manuelino style inscribed in some of the buildings and in the reconstruction of the parish church. It was a town of landowners and merchants, en route and close proximity to Castile, a Jewish community begun to establish itself there mainly from the late fifteenth century onwards, as happened in many other towns in Beira, after the expulsion of Jews by the Catholic Kings from Castile.

We learn from the Portuguese translation that if Gregorio Lopez was born in Linhares, he was born to a family, headed by Paulo Lopes and Dona Maria Afonso do Pombal, being one of four children in addition to Lopo Roiz, Alvaro Lopes and Maria Afonso. Plus, it is said Gregorio was around sixteen (c. 1558) when he made his way to the Spanish Court in Valladolid, covering a distance of around 300 km - similarly to many others who travelled from Linhares, Celorico and other towns from the same province - to find work, in Gregorio’s case, as a page. In order to be able to confirm this narrative, we would need to access the sacramental books from Linhares for the period when Gregorio was born.

⁸²⁵ Lobo Correa, *Nacimiento*, Prologo.

⁸²⁶ Margarida Neto, “Celorico da Beira na Época Moderna” in António Carlos Marques and Pedro C. Carvalho (coord.), *Celorico da Beira através da sua História* (Celorico da Beira: Câmara Municipal de Celorico da Beira and FLUC, 2009), 103.

Unfortunately, only those from 1571 onwards, when Gregorio was already in Mexico, are available for research. Nonetheless, we are still able to find records of baptisms, marriages and obits of the members of Gregorio's possible family.⁸²⁷

Notwithstanding, before jumping to conclusions – after all, this Gregorio may not even be the Gregorio Lopez which concerns us, and may only have served a posterior polemic to reclaim a *nacional*/hero – I shall bring forth a second group of evidence, also indirect, but nonetheless important because it confirms these claims. Pedro Villas-Boas Tavares, in his thesis on Miguel de Molinos, accidentally came across Gregorio Lopez's name in a seventeenth-century process.⁸²⁸ Around 1670, Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real applied for the role of "familiar"/member of the Inquisition in Portugal. Accusations by two of his contemporaries, who accused Manuel of having New-Christian blood, almost cost him that role, in addition to all the psychological drama which they brought upon him and those closest to him.⁸²⁹ Given the nature of such accusations, the Holy Office was forced to open an inquiry to confirm its veracity, thanks to which we know that he was related to Gregorio. Withal, what makes this process of particular relevance to us, is the fact that Corte-Real was none other than one of Gregorio Lopez's great-grandnephews.⁸³⁰

This *inquiriio de genere* sought to reconstruct, via various records and the consultation of witnesses, as much genealogical data as possible concerning Manuel. The witnesses would be summoned by the inquisitor's commissioners, in this case, the local priests of the places where the enquiries would take place. In the town of Linhares, the witnesses reconstructed Manuel's family tree, some of them having provided information that went as far back as his grandparents, as well as great-grandparents. Two of these witnesses also made reference to Gregorio Lopez, making them a source of crucial importance in the reconstruction of Gregorio's possible familial and social background, a

⁸²⁷ DGLAB-Mf. IAN/TT/SGU/0656, Item 4, Linhares da Beira, *Registos Paroquiais*, Nunes, "Nascimento, vida e morte", 137-161.

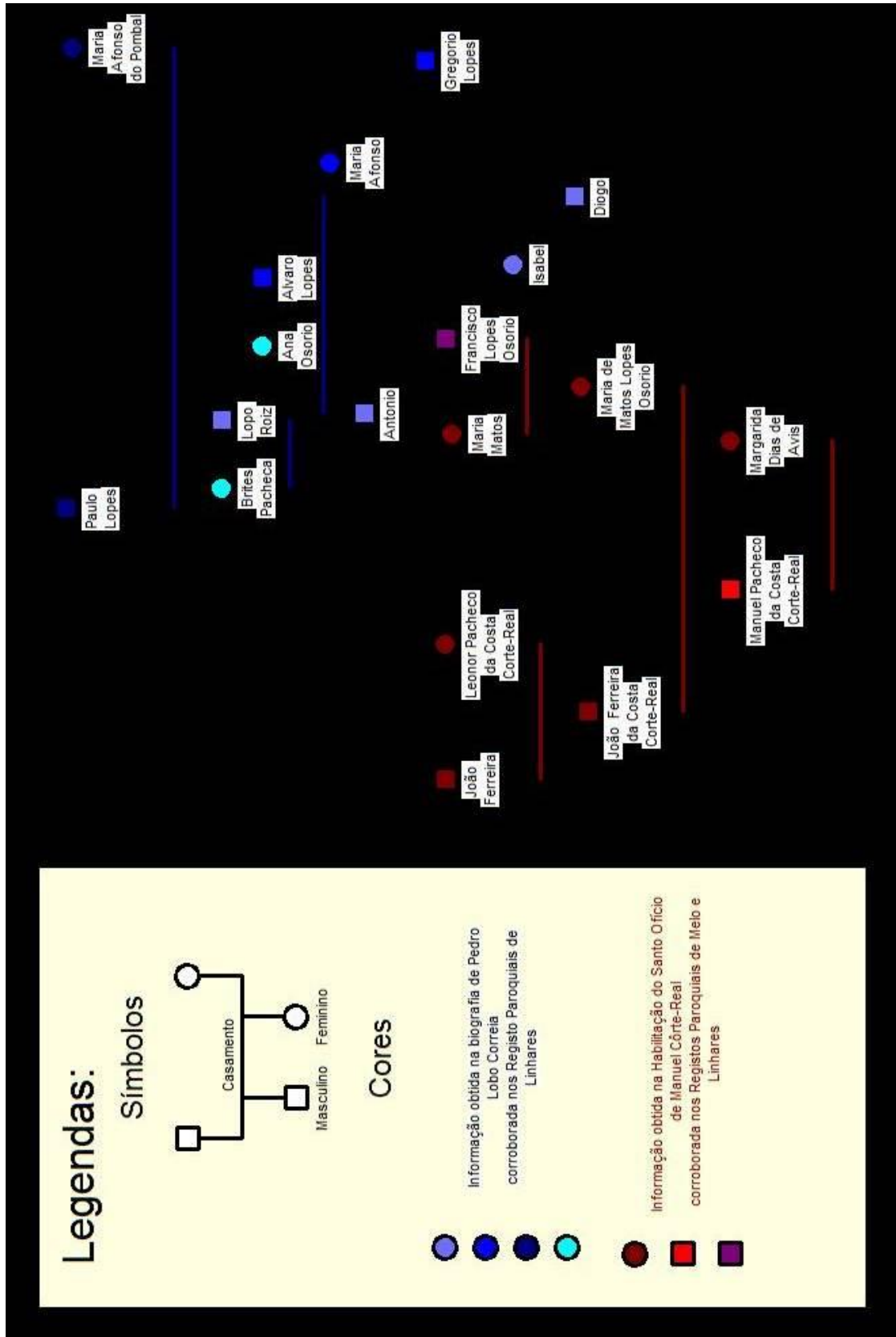
⁸²⁸ Tavares, *Beatas, inquisidores e teólogos*, 213-214; João Baptista de Almeida Fraga, *Melo, na História e na Genealogia* (Lisboa: s. ed., 2003), 190-192.

⁸²⁹ DGLAB-ANTT, "Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real", *Habilitações*.

⁸³⁰ DGLAB-ANTT, "Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real", *Habilitações do Santo Ofício*, maço 30, nº 674; DGLAB-ANTT, Paróquia de Linhares, "Livros de Registos Mistos 1566/1677", Mf. IAN/TT/SGU/0656.

bond that proved to be in Manuel's favour. As it turns out, he did not have "corrupted blood", in addition to having been connected to a famous Portuguese virtuous hero.⁸³¹

⁸³¹ DGLAB-ANTT, "Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real", *Habilitações*.



Gregorio Lopez's generalogical tree, based on Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real's *inquirito de gene*

© Lia Nunes

Gregorio's family lived in what is now called the House of the Bishop, in Linhares da Beira, located close to the town's Jewry and the Church of S. Pedro, no longer in existence. Paulo, his father, had come from the town of Fornos to marry Maria Afonso do Pombal, his mother, whose parents were the owners of a *pombal* ("pigeonry"), where they probably produced ammonia, used at the time to treat animal skin. Álvaro Lopes, one of their children, in turn, had several progenies, including Francisco (Manuel's grandfather), who moved to the nearby town of Melo, where, along with his wife, he worked as a dyer. The fact that he owned his own machinery allowed him to become a clothing merchant, a job which his son would also take on, generating wealth and assets which Manuel would come to inherit, the latter having moved to Cortiçô, a village near Linhares, to marry Margarida. This sort of mobility was noted and remembered matter-of-factly by the communities where the inquiry was conducted.

At this point, the reader may ask why there are two groups of available sources that support the claim of Gregorio having been Portuguese, and no similar records mentioned or even produced that back the most widely accepted hypothesis, that of Gregorio having been born in Madrid? Moreover, why are there no records of a similar attempt to track Gregorio's ancestry in Madrid?⁸³² Although these records exist, they do not mention any "Gregorio Lopez" that was born in San Gil or San Juan Bautista. If Gregorio Lopez was indeed his name (if not, it would have rendered all efforts to track his ancestry useless and meaningless), does it not seem strange that no one in Madrid would have remembered or attempted to discover his ancestors? Besides all the questions on the Portuguese hypothesis of Gregorio's origins, the indirect sources presented produce a direct claim: there was a possible effort to discover his family that was not put to work in Madrid.

What is now a remote village in the mountains of Portugal cannot be compared to the capital of Spain. Notwithstanding, we must keep in mind that both Madrid and Linhares were towns that were in the process of changing and flourishing. Around 1542,

⁸³² Konstantin Mierau, *Re-framing the pícaro: the transient marginal of early modern Madrid between possible world and agent perspective* (Groningen: PhD thesis University of Groningen, 2013). By examining early modern Madrid, the author reminds us of the fast changes that the city was subject to during that period, which might explain the difficulty in tracking down one specific person and their family.

both *villas* presented similarities, natural in two countries that were expanding their territories and their socio-cultural dynamics. They were continually receiving people (although on a different scale, of course); both had many reconstruction works taking place, and both were permeable to mobility. Furthermore, there was a transversal sense of religious humanism and intellectual renaissance, a sense shared by (at the time Prince) Felipe, Gregorio and their generation, their horizon of experiences (and expectations) having been probably much broader than that of their parents and grandparents.

There is no absolute certainty that Gregorio was born in the year 1542. Losa's conviction that he was born in the year above induced Pedro Correa to assume that Gregorio had been baptised on the day attributed to *Gregorio Taumaturgo*. As a child, when questioning his identity, Gregorio would have known that there were other creeds and races, and which of these was the official, safe, and correct one to embrace and assume: "clean old christian persons of clean blood, without any race of Jew, Moor, Moorish, Mulatto, or of other infected nation of newly converted people to our holy catholic faith, and if as legitimate and full old christians they are and have all always been held, commonly reputed, without fame or rumour of the contrary [...]".⁸³³

*

Perhaps his story was so typical that no one remembered it, since second-born children, as Gregorio was, were often taken by their fathers to serve some important lord who could maintain him, this being their most common source of employment. Gregorio could also have gone there of his own volition, having opted to serve a master as a way to survive and be free to pursue a path which he so desired, expressly, the path of knowledge. His other options would have been to enter a religious order or to become a priest, which he never decided to do. Is it possible that the fact that a hermit educated him may have deterred him from the idea of serving God by means of an institution, thus having prevented Gregorio from becoming a clergyman? In this regard, his education

⁸³³ DGLAB-ANTT, "Manuel Pacheco da Costa Corte-Real", *Habilitações*, ff. 103-103v.

was reflective of the spirit of the time, embodying the new horizons, new histories, new languages, new forms and new experiences.

Having been able to visit Burgos, Valladolid, and Toledo, meant that Gregorio possibly heard the stories of many who had had to leave their homes. Being away from the Court provided Gregorio with the opportunity to experience different realities, which would not have been possible if he forever remained serving a master. It was likely during these outings that he probably gathered enough information to know where to move next.

Being in Guadalupe Gregorio would have likely had a glimpse into those new worlds, which would have broadened his horizons. Who knows whether he may have heard of the soldiers who became missionaries, hermits, or monks. Who knows what sort of stories he might have heard concerning the Indians, their cities, their civilisations, their botanical gardens, their drugs and their plants. Who knows how his vision to leave may have arisen, and how he may have created the conditions that enabled him to materialise it. Moreover, who knows why he was not registered in the books of passengers to the Indies. Finally, who knows how many times he may have been approached to enter an order, to start a family, to enter a profession. How many times may he have answered propositions with mere silence? How many times may he have said "no"?

Resuming Part III

Although we may wonder what Gregorio Lopez's life may have been like before he was turned into a living saint, his biographer, our main source of information on Gregorio's life, does not provide us with too many details. We may, however, obtain more details through his contemporaries, his references, as well as through many other anonymous figures. Gregorio is portrayed as someone who stepped aside a career as scrivener, and he refused to enter the Dominican Order, both demanding a previous investigation that likely would have enabled us access to his genealogical information – which we do not have. Moreover, it is curious to note how the period during which he lived in the Pueblos de Alonso de Ávalos, where the Franciscans were the leading religious presence, is such a blurry part of Losa's story, and how Losa kept from his readers (and from his testimony

for the apostolic process) who the clerics who had accused Gregorio in Atlixco (most probably secular priests) were. We also observed how the Jesuits actually helped Francisco Losa in the publication of his book, and how Gregorio's examiner at the Los Remedios sanctuary, Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, was soon after sent to the Philippines, after his order came to the conclusion that a contemplative style and markedly internal relationship with God (which he ended up authorising in the figure of Gregorio Lopez) was not in line with the Company's policies and strategy in New Spain.

The sources we do and do not have demonstrated that Gregorio most likely did not do anything worth documenting – he bought no land, he discovered no mines, he was not part of any trial or war, and he did not marry – and if he did, no records of it remain. Nonetheless, this does not mean that he was not involved in any deals, given that his contracts may have been merely verbal or simply got lost, and concerning only those who had a part in them. In addition, the multiple characters to whom Gregorio Lopez was connected, prove to be especially revealing: the Chichimeca war captain, Pedro Carrillo Dávila; powerful *encomendero*, Alonso de Ávalos; Dominican, Domingo de Salazar; or even the religious deserter, Juan de Sarmiento; the slave-trader, Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva; the secular priest from La Huasteca, Juan de Mesa; the Romero, settlers of Atlixco; the Franciscans from Nuestra Señora de los Remedios; the religious men from the order of San Hipólito in Oaxtepec; the bishop, Pedro Moya de Contreras; the Jesuit, Alonso Sánchez; and, of course, Francisco Losa himself. Most of these people had come from Spain at about the same time as Gregorio, having experienced the open discussion environment lived during the Reformation in the Iberian Peninsula and the difficulties (or lack of them) of bringing this discussion to the Indies, since the idea was to build a New Spain and a New Church immune to these new tendencies the metropolis was trying hard to contend.

By searching for the sources we should have, we encounter other stories that fill in the gaps relative to Gregorio's legend. Like many of his contemporaries, he was just another migrant, having left Spain and arrived in New Spain under the same circumstances as any other traveller. Whether Gregorio travelled to the Americas in 1561, 1562, or before or after those dates, we cannot know for certain. What we do know, however, is that there

should be a record of that passage, unless he was one of many able to avoid presenting any papers. Thus, even the fact that we do not have such a record is particularly telling, although there is also the remote possibility that the circumstances surrounding his trip simply left no trace.

Then come twenty years of story reduced in one chapter, the first. Losa's tale is fascinating and convincing enough, given the multitude of stories of the kind happening all over the Iberian peninsula, but also considering the lack of sufficient and grounded alternatives to the presented facts. The sources we do have, expressly, the sacramental registers from Madrid and Linhares da Beira, reveal no baptism of a "Gregorio Lopez". The comparison between arguments that sustain both hypotheses reveals the possibilities concerning Gregorio's family origins, even from other places than these two (Ocaña, for instance), although the processes of inquiry about this search were not explored as far as they could have been in both places. Nonetheless, the Portuguese data prove to be far more revealing than the non-existent *inquiritione de genere* in Madrid.

The search for Gregorio's possible family further evinces the normality of Gregorio's case, as yet another random *segundón* who left home and went out into the world, taking with him to New Spain twenty years' worth of experiences of an old Spain that was in the process of discovering itself as an empire of faith. Twenty years of which we know practically nothing about, where we may only guess the experiences of a young man who questioned himself like any other. Clearly he had a particular interest in the then-new technologies of information and communication (books, maps, etc.), which allowed whomsoever wished to do so to travel beyond the decrepit old limits of the imagination, delving both into the past and the future, as well as the local and the global.

(DIS)CLOSING GREGORIO LOPEZ: *HOMOS VIATOR* AND *COMPREHENSOR*

This study goes beyond by trying to read Losa's biography without his hagiographical intentions. It took me a long time to synthesise what the 'anti-biography' of Gregorio Lopez could bring to the knowledge of the sixteenth-century Hispanic colonisation of the Americas. The hermeneutical process of considering the story of Gregorio Lopez implied the need for a profound criticism on the construction of a myth, a legend, a story. With a patchwork methodology, I did my best to connect all the dots of an apparent lost story, never-ending for its many mysteries. Using Alain Milhou's formula, I proposed to analyse not only the subject of a hagiographical story but also its production and reception. In Gregorio Lopez's case, it meant more than four centuries of documentation, spread in the Vatican, in Portugal, Spain, and Mexico; documentation that has been reviewed and studied by many scholars of religious studies and historians and that I have collected and presented in the first monograph focused on this Venerable of Christianity, Gregorio Lopez.

The closing remarks of an 'anti-biography', especially this one about Gregorio Lopez, have open, instead of conclude. Departing from a religious text of a determined literary genre, this research attempted to deconstruct the narrative created by Francisco Losa to depict the *exemplum* of Gregorio Lopez. Losa's hagiographical narrative was one of the stories forming the historiographical myth of conquest, evangelisation and civilisation of the Americas, created and developed during the European colonisation of the continent by all European empires and the Christian churches.

Through the process of this deconstruction the question became complicated, and at the same time less complex. Nowadays, it is still easy to find Mexican people considering their country as being "civilised" by the Spanish, their kingdoms, their religion, their language, their history. The success of these processes of cultural transfer was mainly due to the capacity of adaptation, translation and (re)creation of the native heritages and identities and their intertwining with those of the Europeans. The Catholic Church, with the benevolence of the Spanish Crown, not only monopolised religion but also, in Gregorio's timelife, knowledge, so the institution and its multiple institutes and agents

were producing in great part both the processes and discourses of colonisation and evangelisation. The analysis of the reception and the production of Gregorio Lopez's *vita* are but one showcase of how an old religion was implemented in a new continent and its new kingdoms, and how a new history was written, read, sponsored, printed and distributed, in this case through the idea of sanctity. Losa's book was the pretext to enter a reality of many layers of legendary representations and manipulated data.

Notwithstanding, the myth has its truth: supporting and supported by the European empires, the Catholic Church, and other Christian confessions and denominations later on, did implement successfully their civilisation and faith in the American territories. What postcolonial, postmodern and anthropocene theories and research fields have been striving to do is to understand how, to what degree, with what consequences. Lopez's example might not even be the most accomplished for such purpose: his canonisation process was not fully achieved, his identity was never fully disclosed and only a very small group of scholars and erudite people has ever discussed his story. By presenting Gregorio in the mould of the hermit and solitary man, Losa's story appears solely as an opportunity to meet the tradition of the Desert Fathers. However, looking closely to Gregorio's biography Losa also gives us a chance to glimpse at the World he walked away from, guided from God: what kind of world was this of which he did not want to be a part of? And if God was his guide, how could Gregorio be wrong?

The survival of the legend and of the multiple stories we now know Losa omitted from Gregorio's *Vida* does make the picture more complete. Those 'alter-native' stories are still there to be interpreted in connection with the larger picture: Carlo Ginzburg's inspirational work with Menocchio, Natalie Zemon Davis' work with Martin Guerre, show a world of micro histories we can only begin to put together to see the whole picture. In my opinion, that is a long process only in the beginnings; and (negative) critique attitude is still fundamental for unveiling what was behind the History we, citizens, are told in schools.

The 'anti-biography' of Gregorio Lopez is just a step in this long way of interpretation, but also in the communication of new historical research. The abnormality of Gregorio's long afterlife, as I tried to show in this study, has also to do with the various scopes in its

usages, that in part were generated by the complexity of different networks and consequently large and diverse horizons of interpretation opened by Losa's biography.

The greatest *fait-divers* of Gregorio's academic and literary reception is the problem of his 'naturality'. Portuguese or Spanish were relatively new concepts for Gregorio and his contemporaries: people identified their places of birth as their nations, and using the expression 'natural from' for their homelands was also enough to state their 'natural' culture, ethnicity, religion, and sovereignty – 'where they were from' also defined 'who they were'. Gregorio Lopez was part of a generation shaken by the broader contexts of life experiences of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires: borders were being redefined in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas. One's place of birth was no longer enough to know one's religious or ethnic group of people. Records became proof, and those would, of course, be needed particularly in particular circumstances. I was not able to locate neither Gregorio's baptism record nor his registration to pass to the Indies. The exchange of scales could be, as was most probable in the case of Gregorio Lopez, an opportunity to escape the processes of identification at that time. Francisco Losa diverts us from the obvious: either he knew and omitted Gregorio's family background, or he created a story to fit with the mould of his hagiographical tale.

We would have to be able to assemble many other records of baptism to find a better alternative than the one presented by Pedro Lobo Correa's version; a version backed by the thorough research of a group of intellectuals that had nothing significant to win but a recognition of their efforts (in their case, yes, nationalistic efforts to produce a saint for a kingdom in the process of restoration of independence from a period of 60 years of dual monarchy). The non-existence of such an investigation in Madrid shows that Losa's version was flawed but not enough to create the necessity to look into it: his authority as biographer was reinforced by his testimony to the Vatican by order of the king of Spain. Any other version would be just a rumour, no matter how consistent or damaging they could have been. What we know is that Gregorio decided to reinvent his 'naturality': his father was God, his homeland was heaven.

Accepting the Portuguese version, though, allows us to imagine a lot better what the life of a young man like Gregorio's could have been in the Iberian Peninsula between

1540 and 1560. A second son: no possible pretensions to family heritage but a myriad of other opportunities. Losa's and Lobo Correa's versions complement the scenarios: to enter the army, to work at the Court, to live with/as a hermit, to travel in pilgrimage, to go overseas. Other examples from the period show all these scenarios were likely to happen, in addition to Gregorio's life course confirming and reflecting such experiences. The only unlikely is becoming a soldier, for there are no apparent reminiscences of any violent behaviour. Being myself in the places he lived or passed by in the Peninsula and learning its history was enough to understand Gregorio went through important moments, consequential for him and any other of his fellow citizens. The Court moving, businesses moving, ideas moving, beliefs changing: Gregorio was not the only one who left this all behind taking his twenty years of many kilometres with him to the other side of the world.

Losa's biography then becomes the effort of trying to justify Gregorio's lack of 'profession'. Presenting him as a religious authority, for people took him for a living saint, Losa had to fit Gregorio into an acceptable category to his readers and, especially, to the institutions authorising his book. The only alternative he had was to present Gregorio as the solitary man living the Desert Fathers' example. When he arrived in Mexico, Gregorio worked shortly as a scrivener, although he did not pursue the activity, at least formally. After going North, Gregorio departed from the temporal world, and maintained for years the same pattern to make a living: exchanging a piece of land, where he grew his food and had his hut and his books, by some service to his benefactors, being it to educate their children and/or to help with the house management. This way, Gregorio could hardly fit the category of 'solitary' man: we know where he was, with whom, and the effects of his presence, usually leading to the necessity to keep moving. The longer he stayed, the greater the chance of creating social friction, especially with his 'professionalised' competitors: secular and regular priests, who saw in him a person with no formal education performing 'their' activities.

Francisco Losa was sent by the archbishop of Mexico to examine Gregorio Lopez. We know the result of this examination: no process and almost a stay of a decade in the Hospital of Oaxtepec founded precisely to assist patients with mental problems. Gregorio

was sent there, apparently with no diagnosed disorder, probably to be kept under control, without having to profess the vows of a religious order – something the Dominicans did not allow him to do years before. The reality was that Losa, Salazar, Contreras, all had heard about this man but had no basis for accusing him of any misconduct, even if there were always people on the edge of presenting denunciations. What Losa transposed to his book was how, no matter how controlled and/or protected, the world kept coming to Gregorio, looking for advice, for guidance, for knowledge – that he kept providing, as his works show; one paraphrasing the Apocalypse book, another organising a list of diseases and cures for medical usage. Able to communicate with individuals from any religious order and social background, Gregorio was an influential figure of his time, only by looking at the roll of people Losa saw consulting with him.

Connected with this problem of the lack of ‘profession’, since Gregorio was a layman until his death Losa had to deal with the matter of what we would now call Gregorio’s ‘religiosity’. Scholars raised many questions about his confession, either Jewish or Christian, and also about his orthodoxy which Losa stresses throughout his book. Research has shown his connections with the Mexican *alumbrados*, and also with New-Christians, with other mystics, telling us how much Losa may have had to keep out his biography. Not in the position of the inquisitor using such records, we get a little closer to Gregorio’s own answer to Losa’s challenges. After all, Gregorio imagined a world for the *homo viator* and *homo comprehensor*, ‘travelling man’ and ‘understanding man’. What else did he do throughout his life?

We read the terms *homo viator* and *homo comprehensor*, ‘travelling man’ and ‘understanding man’, not in Losa’s biography nor in Lopez’s canonisation process, but in the *alumbrados*’s inquisitorial process; thus we cannot conclude these were the words Gregorio actually used. But we read in his explanation of the Apocalypse some connected expressions: “as the man is composed of two natures, spiritual and corporal, what is the reason to see only the corporal and not the spiritual?, If the body sees and enjoys this corporal world why does the spirit not see its spiritual world, that is God [...]?”, or “the twelve fruits are the ones of the Holy Spirit, enjoyed by those who exercised them in this

pilgrimage, pointing out ones in ones and others in others".⁸³⁴ We can sense traces of a spirituality opened not only to an individualised experience of God (individualised meaning he understood each person had to find her/his most fit way to practice religion), but also to a critical view over a superficial perspective of the world, a world to travel and to understand beyond what the eyes can see and what the bodies can touch.

Beyond Losa's hagiographical account, we discover a very particular man of the sixteenth century, extremely hard to classify. Gregorio was a man, and he experienced criticism for not choosing any role associated with his gender at the time. He wanted to dedicate his life to God, but he did not become a 'professional' of religion. He was not a doctor, but ended up providing tools for its practice. He was a consumer, but he reduced consumption to the basics he could not produce himself (especially, books). He lived a solitary life inspired by God and certainly other examples of hermits, even if he constantly had to justify his choice.

Both religion and language are techniques of power, communication, and survival – and the biographical approach to history, using the example of a sixteenth-century failed saint, shows precisely how the use of those techniques varies, more than in time and space, from person to person. Gregorio Lopez used one of the oldest and most effective forms to address both religion and language, excelling the use of silence throughout his life, keeping the power to decide on what/how/whom to communicate. At least, this is what the historiographical narrative kept repeating, as if he was an anomaly in the matrix. Losa presented Gregorio Lopez as a model, representing him effectively in a way the Church and the Crown acknowledged the anomaly and collaborated to insert his story in their powerful narrative.

⁸³⁴ My translation of: "[...] como el hombre sea compuesto de dos naturalezas, espiritual y corporal, ¿ qué razón hay para que vea la corporal y no la espiritual?, si el cuerpo ve y goza este mundo corporal, ¿ por qué el espíritu no verá su mundo espiritual, que es Dios [...]?", and "Los doce frutos son los del Espíritu Santo, de los cuales gozan los que en esta peregrinación los ejercitaron, señalándose unos en unos e otros en otros", in López, *Declaración del Apocalipsis*, 282.

The voice of a quiet man echoing fo(u)r centuries

Losa's process of writing was also more collaborative than we could have thought. The research concerning Gregorio's earlier period in *Nueva España* and *Nueva Galicia* is mentioned in the *alumbrados'* process, connecting Losa with one of the accused, Juan Nuñez. As Jodi Bilinkoff and other scholars pointed out, Francisco Losa had to clean the image of the living saint, and it was not hard. After all, the traces we discovered in other sources regarding Gregorio's connections and ideas are just a few compared to the number of episodes Losa had the chance to witness. No use to reverse the story and affirm that if Losa was not there, Gregorio might have been denounced and accused with the other *alumbrados*, or even on its own ground by the Inquisition. No question about that: Gregorio was protected and controlled by the Church, which undertook a thorough examination of conscience. We can, however, question Gregorio's role in the production of his own story; for it seems evident he was not as open with Losa as the biographer portrayed himself in the relationship with his companion.

Gregorio reached a point of no possible return: being a living saint might have become the way to survive the dangers of believing and doing what he did. In the episodes Losa described we see a distant man discussing with many others, others who had the status and the power but no capacity to accompany the length of Gregorio's radical exercise of putting his ideas into practice. His efforts to comprehend the worlds were his own personal cross to bear. The more he understood, the less he could go back in his consciousness of God, of himself and of the others, forcing him to stay in the margins and not in the social flow he refused to be a part of. Losa tried to be a hermit for a while, to experience Gregorio's formula of silence, abstinence, contemplation, self-constant-evaluation and constraint; and Losa admits the incapacity to keep up with the discipline such exercises require. What is decisive is that Losa recognised the dignity of his choice, whilst others never bothered to try to understand.

When Losa met Gregorio they had both experienced the Atlantic passage to a new world, they had both the opportunity to appreciate how the Indies were adapting to their new administration that was bringing institutions, families, clientele from Spain. Francisco Losa followed the career of the secular clergy with some success, while

Gregorio Lopez decided to perform the unconventional life of a Desert Father in the immense territories of America. Both seem to have carried that path from Iberia, although Gregorio's choice was found odd by his contemporaries, especially if compared with the potential courses of life he could have chosen to strive. Instead of becoming rich, Gregorio chose to become wiser, and quite skillfully, he was able to transform his intellectual capital to survive. That status of a living saint, rich in virtue and wisdom, in direct contact with God, was a privilege only the Church could authorise, as it did. Gregorio and Losa profited from each other, allowing each other to exist.

Francisco Losa was, after all, responding to his institution's need to give a mould to Christian perfection in those new territories. The legend was a way to contra pose the society that created a 'living saint' to juxtapose its faults. He was not the only one, but his story was remarkably propagated through the right channels of communication in order to be officialised. There might have been excesses, there were certainly polemic discussions about it, but the life became a story, then a legend integrated into the myth of sanctity of the Catholic Church. *La vida que hizo el siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez en algunos lugares de esta Nueva España* is a piece of hagiographical literature that resorts to, as Rubial Garcia pointed out, the finest European tradition and the colourful environmental and social landscapes of the New World. It is far beyond just a piece of memory for which we should be thankful, without which Gregorio Lopez would have been an even more secondary and obscure figure in the processes of colonisation that took place in the last forty years of the sixteenth century in that which is now known as Mexico.

Álvaro Huerga studied Gregorio Lopez and the *alumbrados*, concluding that he did not belong to this sect, although he was used as their authority as the Mexican inquisitorial records show. Alain Milhou used those studies to show the opposite: Gregorio was not only the 'ascetic', as Huerga describes him, but he also had views and ideas considered in the borderline of heresy. Mysticism, *recogimiento*, millenarism, *devotion moderna*, we can feel them all in the words others put in Gregorio's mouth. It is hard and even dangerous to continue finding new boxes where to fit Gregorio in. A free spirit? A heterodox Christian? A radical man? These were the

challenges for the Congregation of Rites when evaluating Gregorio's cause of canonisation, based on Losa's biography. We do not know, or at least the records do not show whether the information beyond the biography arrived in Rome. To be a living saint and to die in an aura of sanctity was enough to consider Gregorio a Venerable, but the criticism (even if due to other reasons, mainly political and diplomatic) slowly stopped what seemed a relatively easy process: at the end, Gregorio surely was not the example the Catholic Church wanted to convey.

However, Gregorio Lopez turned out to serve as a perfect example for other communities outside the Catholic Church. From Molinos to Arnauld d'Andilly, from Poiret to Wesley or Tersteegen: Gregorio's *vita* became an alternative for those Christian groups who did not feel represented but still needed authoritative figures like Teresa d'Ávila or Juan de la Cruz. Embodying the possibility of mystical communion with God, Gregorio 'modernised' the Desert Fathers' tradition that Losa translated to the American world, quite unconsciously. His narrative was slowly, throughout centuries, embedded in the religious discourse of a continent in need of recreating its post-colonial identity.

Christianity became a part of the American cultural identity, and independence from the European metropolis slowly gained from the eighteenth century onwards opened space for research. Mexican scholars and writers rediscovered in Gregorio an exquisite story in the light of new readings of historical sources. Its relation with legendary inquisitorial processes like those of the *alumbrados* or that of the Carvajal family provided material for new readings of Losa's biography, to the point of considering Gregorio the solution for the black legend created on the story of the Habsburg's family – taking the solitary man as the king's son Carlos that died very young. The proliferation of studies about the Mexican religious history turned Gregorio Lopez into a case study of too many loose strings, much more complicated than Losa had tried to convey in his biography.

Nonetheless, this research is far from closed. Digital humanities allow a broader use of records to an extent I could not take on during this preliminary collection of sources. For Losa's book history, for instance, a database could be created in order to gather editors, publishers, translators, sponsors, and readers. Also, it would be wise to connect with the

networks of similar books, as the biographies of contemporary American Venerables and canonised Spanish saints. Undoubtedly, such an effort would shed new light on the communities of interpretation using those examples. A parallel effort should be made to analyse the large volumes deposited in the Archivo General de Indias concerning the canonisation process of Gregorio Lopez.

Besides, and focusing on the 'alter-native' stories of Gregorio Lopez's life, there is still a considerable amount of work to be done. It would be imperative to look closely (meaning, to transcribe, transpose, and relate) to the sacramental registers of the Iberian kingdoms since they appeared in the sixteenth century; to the answers to Undiano's enquiry about the hermitages of Navarra; to the records of the Spanish Court widening the focus to other noble houses other than the royal one; to the testimonies of Guadalupe's pilgrims; and cross all those with the lists of passengers to the Indies. Not to mention the same effort to the Mexican data; using the accessible tools already existing (like the digital archive of Mexico City Historic Notarial Archive) and applying them to untreated archives. Not that we would surely find Gregorio somewhere, but mostly for the amount of sources and material which could allow for new researches of long-due revisions of categories and theories concerning the Early Modern History of the Spanish-American worlds.

Gregorio Lopez is an alternative story. The only certainty I bring from years of (preliminary) research with the data mentioned above is that he was not the only one. Gregorio Lopez was not such an extraordinary man; it was his capacity to criticise the world that put him in the position to be portrayed as an example. So more than asking an example for whom, for what, why, when, we could ask who, where, when, why do we not know the 'others'? As a man of many sciences, Gregorio was bio-graphed as a source of wisdom, a person with an exceptional ability to communicate science and to provide the *exemplum* of a new practice of an old idea. His time was that of the pregnancy of modern science, when the change of a worldview was just starting what would take centuries to implement: the ability to criticise and to choose a humane social way of doing, in a time whence men argued about God, their degrees of predestination and free will.

How much do we still need to travel before we start comprehending? The processes of colonisation, with all it entailed (from political domination to evangelisation, from economic exploitation to social and ecological destruction), were tremendously violent. Several times, Francisco Losa points out that violence, in a descriptive way, and in Gregorio Lopez's *alter-native* stories much of that violence stands out in opposition with examples of dialogues, tolerance, creative encounters, and diverse forms of resistance. Gregorio is said not to have preached, nor have engaged on missions, neither to condemn other worldviews, being those of the indigenous communities or the settlers he encountered. In the processes of New Spain's capitalisation, he refused to work on mining, to accumulate and even to consume more than his necessities, and he is said not to have killed, nor enslaved, nor abused anyone.

If we focus only on Gregorio's story, one of our main questions could be: why didn't he become a priest or a member of any religious order, or even a missionary? Gregorio's world was a world where what people did for a living usually matched the way they dressed. The regulars, especially, adopted their order's habit as soon as they took their vows, like real armies of God, and each speciality, each profession, had their particular dress codes. They policed morality and devotion, they treated the ill and the poor, they oriented and tutored whoever sought their advice; similarly to contemporary police officers, physicians, nurses, therapists, teachers, and priests. As with any uniform, the robe simultaneously gave equality and differentiation, also helping in the creation and recognition of the other's *status*. Then again, the answer could point out to a sort of reset of identity: avoiding a profession, he avoided questions about his origins. Anyhow he was in a dubious position by assuming, even informally, a kind of work, from teaching to tutoring and spiritual guidance, connected and ascertained to the structures of the Church and the State.

The reset of Gregorio's identity in New Spain took him to processes of mutual recognition of dignity – amongst the whole society of the New World, from Indians to Spaniards and Creoles, from settlers, clergy, women, men, and children. His contact, incorporation and translation of the American botanics into the knowledge he had of the European pharmaceuticals is the most accomplished portrait of such processes: it was not

enough to read, he experienced with botanics and we can only imagine the talks, the observations, the time consumed in the acquisition and communication of that knowledge. Scholars have been worried in evaluating the genius of Gregorio's works, however I believe it is also important to consider its socialising scope. The works of genius that inspired Gregorio, that were most certainly copied, were written in Latin and organised according to the traditional usage in Europe. Gregorio adapted it to the American reality and practice, creating a manual that spread throughout the continent, to an extent we still have to research thoroughly.

New horizons made the earth a bigger place, so there was the need of new 'History' that was a collage of the old and new stories of other empires, expressly, the Roman one, predecessor to the Catholic Church and the European nations. The Mexicans are still to rediscover the histories erased by such powerful narrative, itself a mythology of figures like C3lon or Colombo and the *conquistadores*, like Lu3s de Velasco, and the viceroys, like Alonso de 3valos and the encomenderos, like Vasco de Quiroga, Carvajal de la Cueva, Sebasti3n de Apar3cio or Rosa de Lima. Those, like Gregorio's, are extraordinary stories, but not extraordinary people: the processes of production and reception of their accounts erased an enormous part of the reality from the narrative. Gregorio did embody practices we empathise with more and more: his vegetarian regime, his social economy (producing his food, borrowing books, sharing knowledge, exchanging tutoring for a place to live), his curiosity and capacity of combining old and new knowledge. But that are Gregorio's echoes in the present.

What is then Gregorio's voice from there, from the past? We start to comprehend, by opening space of dialogue, by sharing and socialising knowledge – something people like Gregorio Lopez did, ever since humanity discovered communication. Our times are challenging for science, as Gregorio's times. Considering the dichotomy or the historical process of religion and science and its discourses are not at stake here. Gregorio was actually practicing both outside any institution, because the tools that conveyed knowledge were now available outside the producing institutions and circulating more or less freely. And he was communicating that knowledge, by translating content, adapting it to diverse audiences, interpreting in community. In the world and time he lived in, or in

the portraits that have been representing it, this was not usual or easily accepted socially and institutionally.

Can Gregorio be an example of other traditions to be recovered in the reconstruction of a more encompassing memory of territories, which were already there before becoming *America*, although their natives lived in Gregorio's lifetime their 'own' apocalypse? So far we begun deconstructing with the goal to learn, understand, and face "many problems confronting the world today not only from the waste of experience that the West imposed upon the world by force, but also from the waste of experience that is imposed upon itself to sustain its own imposing upon the others".⁸³⁵ Losa tried to disseminate a model, but maybe Gregorio is just another relevant example within the academy and the society in general, of the possibility of alter-native stories, of creating new narratives, of being capable to understand each one's path without imposing our own. His voice helps us to understand in-against-and-beyond the social flow of doing, by travelling in the margins and listening to the stories of silence.

⁸³⁵ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "A Non-Occidental West?: Learned Ignorance and Ecology of Knowledge" in *Theory, Culture & Society* 26 (2009), 103-125, there 103, published online in 2010, see://tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/26/7-8/103.

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2945 *Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... Animadversiones*, s.n., s.d.,

2946 *Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... Responsio ad Animadversiones*, s.n., s.d.,

2947 *Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... Sumarium Additionale*, s.n., s.d.,

2948 Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... *Responsio*, s.n., s.d.,

2949 Sacra Rit. Congreg. D. Card. Portocarrero, *Mexicana beat. et can. Ven. Servi Dei G. López. Positio super dubio...Elenchus*. Romae, Typographia Camerae Apostolicae, 1752,

2950 Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... *Animadversiones*, s.n., s.d.,

2951 Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... *Responsio ad Novas Animadversiones*, s.n., s.d.,

2952 *Dissertatio qua Ex Mysticorum doctrina Venerabilis Lopessi Sanctitas ...*, s.n., s.d.,

2953 Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... *Sumarium Additionale*, s.n., s.d.,

2954 Sacra Rit. Congreg. D. Card. Jo: Francisco Albani, *Mexicana beat. et can. Ven. Servi Dei G. López. Positio super dubio...Elenchus*. Romae, Typographia Camerae Apostolicae, 1770,

2955 Mex. Beatif. & Canon. ven. servi Dei Gregorii López ... *Responsio ad Novissimas Animadversiones*, s.n., s.d.,

2956 Johannes de Palafoz & Mendoza *Elogium*, s.n., s.d.

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1705- Versio ord. s. Fama, 1620-1626, 147 ff., 1. Lat.+it.

1706- Versio proc. ord. S. Fama, 1620-1626, 318ff., it. ,

1731- Summarium testium in proc. ord., c. 200ff., 1. Lat.+it.

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1709- Copia " " " " " 187ff., " "

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1711- Versio libri vitae ... exhibiti 1694... 356ff., 1. Ital.

1712- Copia versionis " " " " 344ff., "

1716- Copia auth. Libri compositi a S. Dei s. virtu et alias, exihiti 1694, 197ff., ms. 1. Hisp.

1715- Quaestionarii expositivi, liber quartus de studioso bibliorum...Auctore Dom. Joanne Diaz de Arce... Mexici, 1648, 268ff.,

1715- Proc. ap. Mexican. s. virt. ne pereant..., 1684, 1068ff., 1 lat.

1718-1721- Versio " " " " 4vv. (4730ff.), 1. Lat.

1723, 1726-30- Copia versionis " " " " 6vv. (4901ff.), "

1710- Proc. ap. s. virt. ne pereant..., 1701-1702, 263 ff., 1. Hisp.

1713- Versio " " " " 854 ff., 1. Ital.

1714- Copia versionis " " " " 855 ff., "

1717- Proc. ap. compuls. Mexican., 1702, 323ff., 1. Hisp.

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R.G.Vite.IV.5; Stamp.Barb.U.VII.16 Vita condotta dal servo di Dio Gregorio López nella Nuova Spagna,... Roma, Komarek, 1740.

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R.G.Teol.V.7245(46) Declaración del Apocalipsis /López, Gregorio, 1542-1596., Espirituales españoles. Serie A,Textos ; Madrid : Fundación Universitaria española ;Salamanca : Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1999.

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ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LAS ÍNDIAS (AGI)

Source: ES.41091.AGI/23.15.3130//INDIFERENTE, 3034 - Beatificación Gregorio Lopez*

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | 1 | 1729-09-06 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Que se repitam as ordens ao México(?); - Adverte a necessidade de responder rapidamente às letras da Sagrada Congregação, sem as quais não se adiantará o processo; - Proposta de D. Manuel de Vadillo para o envio dos testemunhos, caso não haja documentos manuscritos. - Fragmento (004) [Conselho: 1729-09-10] | D. Geronimo de Uztaiz - ? + Goyeneche; Silva; Zuniga; Machado; Rojas; Vadillo; Pedrossa; Baquedano; Aguado; Montemor(?); Mutiloa; Sopena; Ibanez; Vertes – (todos à margem); D. Aniello de Nipho; D. Manuel de Vadillo; | Madrid |
| 2 | 3 | 1729-07-20 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alerta para a falta de resposta do México às cartas da Congregação como impedimento para o avanço da causa, solicitando uma rápida resposta do agente mexicano; - Dá conta do envio de cartas por parte da Congregação para o México, nos anos anteriores, sem que tenham recebido resposta. [Resposta: 1729-09-2; Carta: 1728-09-28] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Aniello Nipho (?) + Pe. Frei Eustaquio de Santa Maria; D. Joseph de Ochoa; Pe. Frei Juan Guerrero; Cardenal Zonedari; Cardenal de Belluga; | Roma |
| 3 | 3 | 1729-11-? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sobre a resposta por parte do México às cartas da Congregação; - A necessidade de substituir o nomeado para o papel de recolector das esmolas da causa no México, dentre os prebendados, recaindo, por falta de mais opções, no senhor Elizacochea; - Seguimento de ordens para serem executadas pelo Arcebispo do México [Conselho: 1729-11-7; Conselho: 1729-11-18; Papel: 1729-09-6] | ? - ? + D. Manuel de Vadillo; Joseph de Torres y Vergara; D. Martin de Elizacochea; Lic. D. Alonso Francisco Moreno Beltran Cerrato. | Madrid |
| 4 | 2 | 1728-09-14 | Duas Cópias (uma com o n.º 39) Avisa que por falecimento do Arcebispo, foi recebida a instrução da Sagrada Congregação de Ritos para a solicitação de diferentes obras do venerável Gregorio López. [Carta: 1728-01-23; Resposta: 1729-03-17] | D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua – Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Martin de Elizacochea (mestre escola na igreja do México); D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito de Yucatan); D. Juan de Meñaca; D. Francisco Rodriguez Navarajo; D. Thomas Guardia; D. Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche | México |
| 5 | 1 | 1730-02-3 | Despacho e faculdade da Congregação que remete para a solicitação de diferentes obras e manuscritos de Gregorio López (com o n.º 38). [Despacho: 1730-02-2] | Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco (Conselho) - Arcebispo do México | Madrid |

* The table concerns only File 3034, as a representative sample of Files 3035, 3036, 3037 and 3038. The file description was made by Paulo Paixão. We decided to keep it in Portuguese, as a sign of work in progress: it needs revision, translation, and uniformization. Seen the files' size, this is a research work worthy of its own financed project.

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|--|----------------------------|
| 6 | 5 | 1729-03-4 | Carta dando conta do estado do processo para que fosse adiantado no Conselho. Dois documentos em latim: 1. Ao Arcebispo do México 2. Trâmites processuais [Conselho: 1728-03-5] | Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andre del Corobarrutia + Antonius Banderas | Madrid <-> Roma |
| 7 | 1 | 1727-08-23 | Para que seja dada faculdade ao Arcebispo do México para encontrar obras e manuscritos de Gregorio López, que fossem enviados e sujeitos à aprovação da Congregação segundo os decretos papais, isto antes de se adiantar mais a causa. (nº 36) | D. Aniello Nipho | Roma |
| 8 | 1 | 1724-05-9 | - Dada a morte do padre Sejudo, colector das esmolas para a causa, esse papel estava a ser feito por D. Carlos Bermudes. - Sobre a questão das esmolas e do envio | D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursúa – Sr. Procurador da Beatificação + D. Carlos Bermudes (Arcebispo de Manila); D. frei Joseph de Lanziego (Arcebispo do México); D. Alberto de Velasco (cura da Catedral do México); D. Juan de Goyeneche (parente do emissor, cavaleiro na Corte de Madrid) | México |
| 9 | 2 | 1727-08-23 | Sobre os reparos feitos pelo Promotor da Fé, principalmente a necessidade de apresentar à Congregação obras e manuscritos, motivo pelo qual o Arcebispo devia diligenciar o encontro dessas mesmas. Sem essas obras e a devida aprovação da Congregação a causa da beatificação não podia avançar. Ordens para o México e aumento das diligências, face à ausência de respostas. | D. Aniello de Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Roma- Madrid |
| 10 | 20 | 1729-11-23 | Expediente sobre a fiança que outorgou D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte de 20.000 pesos para salvar os fluxos relativos ao processo. - 1729-11-22 - Contém cópia do documento. - 1729-10-27 - Relação das contas, dada por D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte, correspondentes ao período de 1721-I-2 a 1726-03-31. - 1729-11-4 – Cópia da relação do Conselho. (2 cópias) - Documento latino sobre a causa. [Conselho: 1729-11-24; Conselho: 1729-11-29; Conselho: 1729-12-3 (Aprovação da fiança); Conselho: 1730-5-25] | D. Anton de Salazar y Castillo – D. Geronimo de Uztariz + D. Juan de Goyeneche; Zuniga, Machado, Rojas, Pedrossa, Vaquedano, Mutiloa, Sopena, Ybanez, Verdes (presentes num dos Conselhos) | Madrid; Roma; México |
| 11 | 2 | 1727-04-23 | Refere o envio de uma soma de ouro para servir a causa no Tribunal da Casa da Contratação e outra para se utilizar em Cádiz [Carta: 1726-05-10] | ? – Dr. Manoel de Vadillo | Madrid |
| 12 | 1 | 1730-01-? | Refere o envio de 50 pesos enviados ao Tribunal, sendo entregues a D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte, com vista ao processo de beatificação. [Carta: 1729-09-1] | D? – Dr. Francisco de Varas y Valdes. + Rodrigo de Torres (chefe de esquadra de navios) | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|--|-------------|
| 13 | 1 | 1728-03-19 | Recebida uma ordem para tratar de vender os restantes livros (dos 1500 impressos) para cobrir o gasto na reimpressão, devendo prestar contas a D. Manuel de Vadillo e Velasco [Carta: 1728-03-16] | Miguel Gaston de Iriarte – D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia y Lupide + Juan de Ariztia; D. Manuel de Vadillo e Velasco | Madrid |
| 14 | 4 | 1727-01-9 | Sobre a instância do agente da causa da beatificação para que o Cardeal Bentivoglio coadjuvasse com toda a eficácia possível. [Carta: 1726- 11-23 (D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel Vadillo y Velasco e ao Conselho) [0079-0081]] | Conselho das Índias – D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia + Duque de Arión; D. Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche; D. Diego de Zuniga; D. Gonzalo Machado; D. Diego de Rojas; D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco; D. Antonio de la Pedrosa; D. Gonzalo Vaquedano; Marques de Almodobar; D. Antonio Aguado; Marques de Montemayor; D. Juan Joseph de Mutiolo; D. Antonio de Sopeña; D. Matheo Ibanez Mendoza | ? |
| 15 | | 1729-09-11 | Sobre a ordem para que fossem enviados para Espanha, em cada frota, 1500 dobrões que se colocassem à disposição do Arcebispo de Toledo para serem aplicados em obras pias. [Carta: 1729-03-22 (Vice-Rei); Cédula Real: 1729-02-14] | ? – D. Francisco de Varas y Valdes (presidente da Casa da Contratação) + Vice-Rei da Nova Espanha (Marquês de Casafuerte) | Madrid |
| 16 | 1 | 1727-07- 1 | - Castorena pede o envio de uma caixa de livros, dada a falta deles na Nova Espanha. Para tal o Conselho ordenou a reimpressão de 1500 livros, a serem entregues a Vadillo y Velasco em Cádiz. - Ordem do Conselho para a execução dos gastos presistos com a reimpressão dos livros (8849 reais pelos 1500 livros), condução até Cádiz e entrega a Gaston de Iriarte; - Memória do custo que poderia ter a reimpressão dos três tomos de Gregorio López, reduzidos a um tomo. Inclui o cálculo para setecentos e cinquenta tomos (que é meia jornada). [Conselho: 1727-06-30; Papel: 1727-04-23] | ? - Miguel Gaston de Iriarte (085-086); Manuel Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia (087-090) + D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena (chantre da igreja do México e coletor das esmolos para a Causa); D. Manuel Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid |
| 17 | 1 | 1729-01-15 | - Sobre uma soma de dinheiro enviada por Ignacio de Castorena no ano de 1727, via frota “del cargo de Serrano”, para ajudar na reimpressão da obra. - Recibo de Gaston de Iriarte, depositário, da dita quantia. [Conselho: 1729-02-11; Decreto: 1729-03-3] | Manuel Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia + D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito de Yucatan); D. Pedro de Herrera (test. recibo); D. Thomas de Castro y Colona (test. recibo) | Madrid |
| 18 | 1 | 1728-09-? | Sobre uma quantia de pesos (208) que vieram na frota de D. Miguel de Lambiano, por mão de D. Pedro Pren y Castro. (099-100) - Resposta de Manuel de Vadillo a 5 de Outubro de 1728. (101-103) - Sobre uma quantia de 2034 pesos que o presidente da Casa da Contratação remeteu a D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte, resultado das esmolos recolhidas para a Causa. (104-106) [Resposta: 1728-10-5; Conselho: 1728-11-1] | Manuel Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia + D. Miguel de Lambiano; D. Pedro Pren y Castro; D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|--|---------------------|
| 19 | | 1728-05-24 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sobre uma soma de dinheiro em prata que trouxe D. Juan Miguel Lambiano. - Sobre a chegada do dinheiro nos "caudales" marítimos à alfândega e a isenção do pagamento de qualquer taxa alfandegária, com base numa resolução geral de 13 de Maio de 1723, aos dinheiros destinados a obras pias, desde que devidamente identificadas. <p>[Conselho: 1728-07-7; Carta: 1728-07-12; Conselho: 1728-07-14]</p> | D. Pedro Pren y Castro – D. Phelipe Gonzalez (?) + D. Juan Miguel Lambiano; Sr. Badillo | Cádiz - Madrid |
| 20 | 2 | 1730-05-10 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Apresenta a notícia do falecimento de D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco, em carta de 5 de Maio de 1730. - Sobre a nomeação de D. Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche para que cuide na solicitação da Causa da Beatificação, para que este receba a informação do estado mesma (0110-0112) - A respeito de que se comunique com D. Geronimo de Uztariz, que estava ausente <p>[Carta: 1730-05-5; Carta: 1730-05-18]</p> | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Geronimo de Uztariz + D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco; D. Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche | Roma – Madrid |
| 21 | 6 | 1728-02-16 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sobre o conhecimento dos quatro caixotes de livros da Vida do Venerável Gregorio López que deviam ser entregues por Francisco Sanchez e enviados, com brevidade, para a Nova Espanha, onde seriam entregues a D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara ou a D. Martin de Elizacochea - Sobre a reimpressão dos 1500 livros (D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte) em carta de Março de 1728. - Ordem a Varas y Valdes para a recepção dos 4 caixotes de livros, condução para a Nova Espanha e entrega ao prebendado da Igreja do México. (0122) - Varas y Valdes informa Corobarrutia y Zupide do atraso na entrega dos caixotes, confirmando o seguimento das ordens assim que os tivesse na sua posse. <p>[Carta: 1728-01-30 (0119); Carta: 1728-03-? (0120-0121); Carta: 1728-01-30 (0122); Carta: 1728-03-30 (0123-0124); Conselho: 1728-04-6]</p> | Francisco de Varas e Valdes – Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide + Francisco de Varas e Valdes (presidente da Casa da Contratação em Cádiz); Francisco Sanchez (corsário de Sevilha); D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara (arcediácono na Igreja do México); D. Martin de Elizacochea (chantre na Igreja do México e recoletor das esmolos da Causa); D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte; Juan de Ariztia; D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Cádiz <-> Madrid |
| 22 | 1 | 1727-03- | <p>*Documento apenas apresenta as datas dos Conselhos e os devidos assuntos.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Para que se ponha uma quantia de dinheiro (2034 pesos) à disposição de D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte, destinados à reimpressão dos livros. (0126) - Dada a necessidade de reimpressão é emitida a ordem para o início desse processo. (0127) <p>[Conselho: 1727-03-10; Conselho: 1727-03-17]</p> | * D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte; D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-------------|---|--|---------------------|
| 23 | 2 | 1726-05-10 | Castorena dá conta das esmolas recolhidas e enviadas para a Casa da Contratação, no valor de 2034 pesos, assim como outra de 208 pesos, que seriam conduzidos por D. Juan Miguel Lambiano até Cádiz. Solicita o envio de um caixote de livros da vida de Gregorio López, da edição impressa em Madrid por Bernardo de Hervada no ano de 1674, dado o rentável negócio que com eles se fazia no México. (0128-0130) Certidão do envio dos 2034 pesos, emitido pela Real Fazenda da Nova Espanha, com a respectiva cópia. (0131-0132) [Cédula: 1724-09-11; Conselho: 1726-03-10] | D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Andres de Elcorobarrutia; D. Juan Miguel Lambiano; Bernardo de Hervada; Gabriel de Leon; D. Lorenzo de Brizuela; D. Francisco de la Torre y Ocon (capelão do Conselho das Índias); Antonio Serrano (chefe de esquadra); Joseph Tiburcio Boet y Villalon; Manuel Angel de Villegas y Puente | México - Madrid |
| 24 | | Sem data | [0133] " <i>Papeles tocantes a la solitudine de los escritos del Venerable Gregorio Lopez, y coleccion de limosnas para su Causa de Beatificación</i> " (apresenta o nº 41) | | |
| 25 | 2 | 1740-04-28 | Abordada a questão da falta de resposta do México, sobre as obras e manuscritos do venerável, que já levava vários anos, como impedimento para o avanço da causa em Roma. Havendo a necessidade de emitir novas ordens para que se façam diligências. | ? – Marquês de Belzuce + Frei Bernardino Membrive (postulador da causa); Alonso Moreno (deão da Igreja do México e recolector das esmolas da Causa) | Madrid |
| 26 | 2 | 1740 - 05-1 | - Aponta erros iniciais a partir do México como justificação para os sucessivos atrasos no processo. - Solicita uma cédula real com autorização para tratar pessoalmente da nomeação do colector das esmolas para a causa e, ainda, a protecção do Vice-Rei na execução das mesmas para aumentar o volume de recolha das ditas esmolas. [Este documento é uma cópia.] | D. Alonso Francisco Moreno y Castro – Marquês de Belzuce | México -> Madrid |
| 27 | 4 | 1740-11-10 | - Alerta para a satisfação dos pedidos da Congregação dos Ritos, a recolha de obras e manuscritos no México, como forma de poder avançar com a Causa em Roma, que se encontrava atrasada há vários anos. - Solicita a aprovação e envio das cédulas ao deão e colector das esmolas com as solicitações que este requerera. - (Conselho: 1740-11-11) Confirmação da expedição das cédulas solicitadas pelo deão. [Conselho: 1740-11-11; Papel: 1740-11-5; Despacho: 1738-04-?; Carta (cópia): 1740-05-1 (vide nº 26)] | Marquês de Belzuce – D. Fernando Triviño + D. Alonso Moreno (deão da Igreja do México e recolector das esmolas da Causa); | Madrid |
| 28 | 1 | 1730-01-24 | Envio ao Conselho de uma carta de D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua. (0149-0150) A resposta aborda o conteúdo da carta de Castorena y Ursua sobre a venda dos livros e o pedido de reimpressão e envio de 4 caixotes para o México. [Conselho: 1730-01-26; Resposta: 1730-01-28 (0151-0153)] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Geronimo de Uztariz + D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito de Yucatan) | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|---|------------------------------------|
| 29 | | 1740-04-5 | O duplicado é dirigido ao Arcebispo do México, solicitando o envio de obras e manuscritos do Venerável para satisfazer o pedido da Congregação em Roma. O Marquês requer a Villanueva (e ao Conselho) a necessidade de se diligenciar uma resolução para as sucessivas faltas de resposta e atrasos das solicitações enviadas, em anos anteriores e recentemente, para o México. (0163-0166) [Duplicado: 1728-02-3; Conselho: 1740-04-5] | Marquês de Belzuce – D. Miguel de Villanueva + Frei Bernardino Membrive (postulador em Roma); D. Alonso Moreno (deão); D. Thomas Montaña (antecessor de Alonso Moreno) | |
| 30 | 1 | 1730-05-22 | Eguiarreta, aguardando pela viagem para a Nova Espanha, dá conta a Uztariz que recebera a carta dirigida ao falecido Arcebispo do México, seu antecessor, com as solicitações da Congregação para a recolha de obras e manuscritos. [Despacho: 1730-02-2] | D. Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta – D. Geronimo de Uztariz | Puerto de Santa Maria -> Madrid |
| 31 | 2 | 1728-01-28 | - Comissão para D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara, arceidiacono da Igreja Metropolitana do México, ou, por sua falta, a D. Martin de Elizacochea, chantre dessa igreja, para a percepção e recolha das esmolos pertencentes à Causa da Beatificação. (0173-0176) - Cópia, de 3 de Fevereiro desse ano, com as ordens a serem executadas no México, recolha das obras e manuscritos e a necessidade do envio de livros para o México. (0169-0172) [Cópia: 1728-02-3] | Conselho – D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara + D. Martin de Elizacochea; D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursua; D. Francisco de Varas y Valdes (presidente do tribunal da Casa da Contratação em Cádiz); D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco. | Madrid -> México |
| 32 | 2 | 1740-05-30 | Refere ter recebido o despacho de Abril de 1738, com o pedido da Congregação, e alerta para a dificuldade do mesmo, tendo tomado providências com o provisor e o vicário geral para a sua execução, remetendo novidades assim que as tivesse. [Despacho: 1738-04-27; Conselho: 1740-10-31] | D. Juan Antonio (arcebispo do México) – D. Francisco Campo del Arvé | |
| 33 | 6 | 1745-09-13 | - [1745-09-22] - Remete para a as notícias recebidas do postulador da Causa em Roma e dando um parecer das decisões tomadas pelo Conselho. (0180-0183) - Sobre as notícias recebidas de Roma, enviadas pelo postulador. Contém a decisão do Conselho. (0184-0186) - [1745-08-14] – Notícias várias de Roma dirigidas ao Marquês, entre elas, o estado da Causa na Cúria Romana. (0187-0191) [Conselho: 1745-09-14; Resposta: 1745-06-16] | Marquês de Belzunce – D. Fernando Triviño + Frei Bernardino Membrive (postulador em Roma) | Madrid <-> Roma |
| 34 | 4 | 1745-09-21 | Ordens para que o arcebispo execute as diligências propostas pelo postulador, para verificação e reiteração das obras e milagres de Gregorio López, com o objectivo de culto do venerável. [Carta: 1745-08-14] | D. Fernando Triviño – Arcebispo do México + Frei Bernardino Membrive (postulador em Roma) | Madrid -> México |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|---|-------------------------|
| 35 | 2 | 1730-02-3 | Sobre a nomeação do remetente para o cargo de colector das esmolas para a Causa. Relembra a solicitação da Congregação para a recolha das obras e manuscritos, devendo tomar diligências para a execução desse objectivo. Refere também os livros que se enviaram e foram vendidos no México pelo seu antecessor, devendo tratar de enviar uma quantia relativa a essas vendas para Espanha. (0200-0203) Comissão para D. Martin de Elizacoechea, deão da igreja metropolitana do México, e, por sua falta, ao licenciado D. Alonso Francisco Moreno Beltran Zerrato, chantre da mesma igreja, para a percepção e recolha das esmolas pertencentes à Causa da beatificação. (0204-0207) [Despacho: 1730-02-2; Comissão: 1730-02-2] | ? – D. Martin de Elizacoechea + D. Alonso Francisco Moreno Beltran Zerrato (licenciado); D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito de Yucatan); D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid; Castilblanco |
| 36 | 3 | 1728-01-13 | Envia ao Conselho 3 minutas para que se avalie, juntamente com a informação remetida pelo agente em Roma, e tomem decisões. - O Conselho decide que se inclua a informação do agente em Roma, na carta que se enviará a D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara, acompanhando a que se dirige ao arcebispo. - Carta para Vergara, enviada pelo Conselho, recordando o despacho sobre a recolha das esmolas e, um outro despacho, sobre o pedido da Congregação para a recolha de obras e manuscritos. (0210-0213) [Despacho: 1728-01-?; Carta: 1728-02-3 (0210-0213)] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Anhielo Nipho (agente em Roma); D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara; D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua. | Madrid |
| 37 | 2 | 1727-10-29 | Remete uma carta de D. Aniello Nipho, agente em Roma. O Conselho nomeia, como entendia Castorena, a Vergara como colector das esmolas, e havendo algum impedimento, seria Elizacoechea. [Conselho: 1727-11-4] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide + D. Martin de Elizacoechea (chantre da igreja do México); D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena (prebendado da igreja do México); D. Aniello Nipho; D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara (arcediácono no México) | Madrid |
| 38 | 2 | 1727-11-27 | Sobre os avanços e recuos do processo em Roma, alertando para a necessidade da apresentação de obras e manuscritos do Venerável para poder avançar com o processo. [Carta: 1727-08-23] | D. Aniello Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Roma -> Madrid |
| 39 | 2 | 1721-08-23 | Aviso a D. Aniello que estava encarregue da dependência da Causa da Beatificação de Gregorio López e remete uma letra no valor de 3000 pesos para os gastos na prossecução da Causa. | D. Manuel de Vadillo – D. Aniello Nipho + D. Alonso Carnero (Ministro do Conselho das Índias); Marques de Ipolitamare; Carlos Francisco Rossi | Madrid -> Roma |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| 40 | 2 | 1728-09-14 | Expressam ter recebido o despacho de 28 de Janeiro de 1728 e a instrução da Congregação de Ritos solicitando as obras e manuscritos de Gregorio López, expõem as diligências efectuadas sobre esse assunto- [Carta: 1728-01-20] | Cabido da Igreja do México – D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito doe Yucatan); D. Juan de Meñaca (membro do Cabido); D. Thomas Guardia (membro do Cabido); D. Francisco Rodriguez Navarijo (membro do Cabido); D. Martin de Elizacoechea (mestre-escola na Igreja do México) | México -> Madrid |
| 41 | 2 | 1728-04-10 | Recorda o envio ao Conselho dos gastos efectuados e respectiva conta com a Causa, até ao final do ano de 1727, referindo ainda as necessidades prementes ao avanço do processo. | D. Aniello Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | |
| 42 | 2 | 1728-01-28 | Discursa o balanço anual sobre as diligências tomadas no que respeita à recolha de esmolos, à reimpressão da obra sobre a vida do Venerável. Dá conta da morte de D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara, arcediácono da Igreja, e da vacância do mesmo, apresentando um sucinto currículo. | D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Joseph de Torres y Vergara (arcediácono da Igreja); | México -> Madrid |
| 43 | 4 | 1727-11-15 | Resposta a questões sobre o processo de Beatificação, contas dos custos em diligências tomadas, pedido da Congregação dos Ritos, inclui uma breve lista com instruções para serem enviadas para o México, com o intuito de satisfazer as exigências daquele organismo. [Carta: 1727-07-12; Carta: 1727-05-22] | D. Aniello Nipho - ? | Roma |
| 44 | 1 | 1729-08-9 | Sobre o envio de 660 pesos por Castorena y Ursua pertencentes à Causa da Beatificação. [Carta: 1729-08-2] | D. Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta - D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito doe Yucatan); D. Clemente del Campo; D. Rodrigo de Torres (chefe de esquadra); D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Puerto de Santa Maria |
| 45 | 1 | 1728-05-22 | Contas. Refere dinheiro que se devia entregar a D. Manuel de B(V)adillo. | Juan Miguel Alaviano - ? + D. Francisco Pren; D. Antonio de Estumiana | Cádiz |
| 46 | 3 | 1728-03-6 | Assinala ter recebido a carta do agente em Roma, com data de 17 de Janeiro, que lhe remeterá Vadillo, dando conta do estado em que se encontra o processo, acompanhado pela conta dos gastos efectuados até ao final do ano passado. (0243-0244) Carta de D. Aniello Nipho a Vadillo y Velasco com as questões relacionadas com as contas do ano anterior relativas à Causa em Roma. (0245-0248) [Papel: 1728-03-4; Carta: 1728-01-17; Carta: 1727-11-15] | Andres del Corobarrutia – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid; Roma- Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|---|--|--------------------|
| 47 | 2 | 1728-10-2 | Sobre algumas questões relacionadas com a entrega de uma quantia de 208 pesos enviados do México, sujeitos à quebra da moeda, e da sua integração nas isenções de dinheiro destinado a obras pias. [Papel: 1728-10-1; Conselho (consulta): 1728-06-19] | Andres del Corobarrutia – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Miguel Lanviano (chefe de frota); D. Pedro Pren y Castro | Madrid |
| 48 | 1 | 1729-03-28 | Fragmento de carta, apenas apresenta 6 linhas. | Francisco Diaz Roman – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid |
| 49 | 1 | | Papel com o seguinte texto: " <i>Se saco de este legajo una representacion del Marques de Casafuerte, com un testimonio que contenia estar destinada cierta cantidad de vacantes, y de bienes de defuntos a la Beateficacion del venerable Gregorio López, y dla representacion y testimonio se puso en manos del señor Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyoneche.</i> " | | |
| 50 | 2 | 1728-07-21 | O vice-rei avisa com testemunho e recibo do despacho onde se ordenava que se aumentasse a devoção dos fiéis para ampliar a recolha de esmolas para a Causa, e explica as providências efectuadas com vista à sua execução. [Conselho: 1729-03-23] | Marques de Casafuerte (vice-rei do México) – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | México - Madrid |
| 51 | 6 | 1728-07-17 | Testemunho dos Autos em virtude da real cédula sobre as esmolas para a conclusão da causa de Beatificação do venerável Gregorio López. | | México |
| 52 | | 1729 | Conjunto de 3 cartas Carta: 1729-09-9 (0270-0272) - Sobre os 1017 pesos, pertencentes à Causa, enviados do México via Corunha que deviam ser entregues a Gaston de Iriarte. Carta: 1729-08-12 (0273-0275) - Sobre a quantia remetida por Castorena y Ursua, 2034 pesos, e a metade que chegara via Cádiz, solicita a entrega da outra metade. Carta: 1729-10-26 (0276-0277) Remete para a carta vinda de Roma e a resposta teológica que se criara para apresentar à Congregação dos Ritos defendendo a importância e virtude da Causa. Solicitando uma resposta para Roma para que fossem tomadas as diligências para o favorecimento da Causa, valendo-se da posição do Cardeal Bentivoglio. [Carta: 1729-08-19; Conselho (consulta); 1729-05-27; Papel: 1729-08-11] | D. Geronimo de Uztariz – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Francisco de Varas; D. Joseph de Goni(?); D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte; D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (chantre da igreja do México e colector das esmolas da Causa); D. Antonio Serrano (chefe de frota); Cardeal Bentivoglio; D. Aniello Nipho. | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|---|-------------|
| 53 | 1 | 1730-02-4 | Duas cópias: - De uma carta onde informa que o Cabido do México em sede vacante recebera uma carta endereçada ao Arcebispo, entretanto falecido, com a solicitação da recolha das obras do Venerável, enviando instruções para que se tomem diligências com vista à sua breve execução. (0278) - outra de 14 de Janeiro de 1730 em que informa da recepção das gastos com a Causa referentes aos anos de 1728 e 1729, dando ênfase à necessidade de uma resposta, com a maior brevidade possível, por parte do Arcebispo do México às solicitações da Congregação dos Ritos, para se poder avançar com o processo em Roma. [Carta: 1729-12-31; Carta: 1729-09-9] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Aniello Nipho | Madrid |
| 54 | 2 | 1727-04-23 | Remete para o conhecimento do dinheiro da Causa, 2034 pesos, enviado por Castorena ao tribunal da Casa da Contratação, o mesmo solicita o reenvio de um caixote de livros da edição de 1671 da Vida de Gregorio López, com o fim de aumentar a devoção do Venerável. Sendo aquele dinheiro utilizado para a reimpressão dos livros que se pedem. [Carta: 1726-05-10 (de Castorena)] | D Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco. + Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua; D. Antonio Serrano (chefe de frota); D. Juan Miguel Lambiano | Madrid |
| 55 | | 1727-07-1 | - Apresenta, o que parece ser um rascunho de carta sem data, a tomada de decisão do Conselho para o pedido de um caixote de livros por Castorena, com o dinheiro que enviara, dando o emissor um parecer orçamentado da reimpressão dos livros solicitados. (0284-0287) - Dada a ordem do Conselho para a impressão de 1500 livros da vida e escritos do Venerável é remetido os custos calculados do que se acha necessário para esse objectivo. (0288-0289) Segue um papel intitulado “Memoria del coste que podran tener la impression de los tres tomos de Greg[or]io López, reducidos a un tomo”. (0290) [Carta: 1727-04-23 (<i>vide</i> nº 54); Papel: 1727-06-30 (<i>vide</i> nº 57)] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua; D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | |
| 56 | 4 | 1727-09-20 | - Rascunho sem data, focando a questão no reparo das contas e gastos com a Causa remetidas para a Contadoria do Conselho. (0291-0293) - Sobre os reparos feitos pela Contadoria do Conselho às contas e gastos previamente apresentadas pelo agente em Roma, bem como medidas a tomar futuramente na apresentação das mesmas. [Papel: 1727-09-9; Carta: 1727-05-22; Carta: 1727-08-9] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | ? |
| 57 | 1 | 1727-07-30 | Solicitando ao agente em Roma o reparo do conteúdo das contas apresentadas ao Conselho. [Conselho: 1727-06-30; Conselho: 1727-07-5] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------------------------|---|--|-------------------|
| 58 | 1 | 1727-05-22 | Conhecimento das observações (animadversiones) tomadas pelo Promotor da Fé face ao processo e Causa do Venerável, que se compuseram em 180 folhas, pelo que seria necessária a cópia para distribuição às diversas entidades envolvidas. Envia a conta do caudal de dinheiro enviado e gasto na Causa desde 1 de Janeiro de 1723 até 24 de Maio de 1727, dos quais sobravam 140 escudos | D. Aniello Nipho – + Lambertini (Promotor da Fé em Roma) | Roma |
| 59 | 2 | 1727-07-4 | Relatório de contas, feito por ordem do Conselho, das despesas enviadas por D. Aniello Nipho, agente da Causa em Roma. [Conselho: 1727-06-30] | Assinado por D. Juan Antonio Franco e D. Joseph Manuel de Liaño + D. Juan de Goyeneche; D. Manuel Vadillo; D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Madrid |
| 60 | 4 | 1727-05-22 / 1727-08-9 | Duas cartas com o seguinte teor: - Informa das ordens anteriores para que os Cardeais Bentivoglio e Zonedari usassem a sua influência para acelerar junto do Promotor da Fé as suas observações sobre o Venerável. Tendo recebido as ditas observações, urge a necessidade de as copiar e distribuir pelos demais intervenientes. Adverte ainda para o envio das contas do dinheiro enviado e despendido com a Causa no período entre Janeiro de 1723 e Maio de 1727. (0305-0308) - Comunica ter recebido o relatório de contas feito pelo Conselho, assumindo e explicando a causa do erro que lhe era apontado no mesmo. Lembra a necessidade de lhe enviarem as respostas feitas pelos teólogos às observações do Promotor da Fé, assim como, o envio de novos fundos para suprir as necessidades processuais futuras. (0309-0312) [Carta: 1727-04-26 (de Nipho); Carta: 1727-04-19 (de Vadillo); Carta: 1727-07-12 (de Vadillo)] | D. Aniello Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Cardeal Bentivoglio; Cardeal Zonedari; Monsenhor Lambertini (Promotor da Fé); Francisco Nipho (irmão de D. Aniello) | Roma -> Madrid |
| 61 | 2 | 1727-09-17 | Novo relatório de contas, feito por ordem do Conselho, após a resposta enviada por D. Aniello Nipho, comprovando as explicações dadas para os erros iniciais e anuindo a necessidade de envio de novas remessas monetárias para custear futuras despesas com a Causa em Roma. [Conselho: 1727-06-30; Decreto (do Conselho): 1727-09-9] | [Assinado por D. Juan Antonio Franco e D. Joseph Manuel de Liaño] | |
| 62 | 2 | 1723-04-23 | Sobre a remessa de 500 dobrões de ouro enviados ao agente da Causa em Roma [Papel: 1723-04-19] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Aniello Nipho; D. Juan de Goyeneche; D. Julio Cesar; D. Luis Quarantote; D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte. | Madrid |
| 63 | 2 | 1722-12-19 | Anuncia ter terminado as escrituras sobre as virtudes em grau heroico do Venerável, revistas pelos teólogos da Corte Romana, procedendo ao encaminhamento para o Promotor da Fé, para que este faça as suas observações e se avance com o processo. Remete as contas referentes aos anos de 1721 e 1722 e solicita o envio de novas remessas que possam coadjuvar os avanços do processo dentro da Corte. | D. Aniello Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Roma |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|--|-------------|
| 64 | 1 | 1721-08-19 | Sobre os 3000 pesos enviados a Iriarte, que deveriam ser encaminhados para o agente em Roma, Nipho, com vista ao avanço do processo de beatificação. [Papel: 1721-08-10] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte (depositário dos “caudales” referentes à beatificação); Anielo Nipho | Madrid |
| 65 | 2 | 1721-01-14 | Remete a conta dos gastos efectuados no ano de 1720, na causa do venerável Gregorio López, associando uma nota dos gastos que se vão fazer, pedindo um adiantamento de dinheiro. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Alonso Carnero | Roma |
| 66 | 2 | 1720-01-16 | Envia a conta dos gastos efectuados desde 26 de Janeiro de 1718 até 31 de Dezembro de 1719, na causa do venerável. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Alonso Carnero | Roma |
| 67 | 2 | 1721-02-19 | Sobre as diligências que se deviam fazer no ano de 1721, alertando para a urgência do envio de fundos para sustentar as mesmas. [Carta: 1721-01-14 (<i>vide</i> nº 65)] | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Alonso Carnero | Roma |
| 68 | 1 | 1721-08-19 | Documento incompleto, falta a folha da frente, começando o texto no verso, com o seguinte teor: - Despacho solicitando a recolha de 2 mil pesos do Cabido da Igreja do México, que foram deixado à Causa. - Para além desse valor, adianta já ter 500 pesos. | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Carlos Bermudez de Castro; D. Nicolas Adalid Gamero. | Madrid |
| 69 | 2 | 1720-08-19 | -Remete o conhecimento dos 500 pesos que trouxe D. Nicolas Adalid Gamero provenientes das esmolas da Causa. - Solicita uma cédula real para que o Cabido da Igreja do México entregue os 2 mil pesos que foram deixados por um prebendado. | D. Carlos Bermudez de Castro – D. Alonso Carnero | México |
| 70 | 2 | 1721-07-14 | Sobre a nomeação do ministro do Conselho, sucessor de D. Alonso Carnero, que se mostre solícito aos encargos e dependências pertencentes à Causa. [Recebida: ?-01-1721] | D. Andres B_ (?) – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco +D. Alonso Carnero (ex-ministro do Conselho) | |
| 71 | 2 | 1721-08-9 | Remete para a nomeação do ministro do Conselho, sucessor de D. Alonso Carnero. Apresenta a correspondência e papéis que estavam na posse do falecido, que seria entregue ao seu sucessor. [Carta: 1720-01-16 (<i>vide</i> nº 66); Carta: 1721-01-14 (<i>vide</i> nº 65); Carta: 1721-02-19 (<i>vide</i> nº 67); Carta: 1720-08-19 (<i>vide</i> nº 69); Papel: 1721-04-3; Papel: 1721-04-5; Papel: 1721-04-26] | Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide – D. Manuel de Vadillo + Conde de Villahumbrosa (ex-ministro do Conselho); D. Anielo Nipho; D. Alonso Carnero; D. Carlos Bermudez de Castro; D. Baltasar Guebara (chefe de frota); D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Madrid |
| 72 | 1 | 1721-07-19 | Carta Real para que D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco, ministro no Conselho, entenda e cuide da beatificação do venerável Gregorio López “protohermita de las Indias”, após o falecimento de D. Alonso Carnero | Rei - D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Madrid |
| 73 | 27 | ? | Original ou cópia do conhecimento das observações (animadversiones) tomadas pelo Promotor da Fé face ao processo e Causa do Venerável [Possível sumário no nº 75] | Promotor da Fé | Roma |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|---|---------------------|
| 74 | 2 | 1728-06-20 | Cópia de uma carta enviada: Sobre os recibos referentes ao envio de remessas de dinheiro (208 e 2034 pesos), bem como o pedido de expedição de um caixote de livros para o México. [Carta: 1728-01-11 (de Castorena)] | [Conselho] – D. Ignacio Castorena y Ursua | Madrid |
| 75 | 1 | 1727-07-11 | Sumário no verso de uma carta: "Remetiendo copia de las animadversiones que há formado el Promotor de la Fee en la causa del venerable siervo de Dios Gregorio López, la qual dizem se quedan viendo por los Abogados y theologos para responder a ellas" [Possível sumário do nº 73] | Anielo Nipho | Roma |
| 76 | 2 | 1727-10-29 | Remetida a D. Andres uma carta do agente em Roma, com as considerações da Congregação sobre as diligências necessárias para fazer avançar o processo em Roma, entre outras, a solicitação às entidades mexicanas das obras e manuscritos do Venerável. | ? – D. Andres del Corobarrutia D. Ignacio Castorena (prebendado no México) | Madrid |
| 77 | 2 | 1730-01-28 | Relata a notícia que recebera de Castorena sobre a venda dos livros enviados para o México e a remessa de dinheiro para pagar o impressor, por inutilidade no conteúdo de um dos caixotes, e entregar ao recolector das esmolos da Causa. [Papel: 1730-01-24] | D. Geronimo de Uztariz – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua (bispo eleito de Yucatan); D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal (impressor); D. Martin de Elizacoechea (recolector das esmolos da Causa e sucessor de Castorena) | Madrid |
| 78 | 2 | 1729-09-3 | Manda a conta dos gastos expedidos nos anos de 1728 e 1729, repetindo que não se pode adiantar a Causa se não chegarem as respostas às Breves enviadas para o México pela Congregação dos Ritos. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Roma |
| 79 | 3 | 1727-07-12 | Aviso da recepção da conta enviada a 22 de Maio de 1727, contém os reparos feitos pela Contadoria do Conselho das Índias, para que sejam satisfeitos. Inclui o relatório de Contas apresentado pela Contadoria (0422-0423) [Carta: 1727-05-22 (de Nipho); Relatório de Contas: 1727-07-4] | [Conselho] – D. Anielo Nipho +D. Juan de Goyeneche; D. Julio Cesar; D. Luis Quarantioti; D. Manuel Badillo; D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte; D. Juan Antonio Franco (oficial da Contadoria); D. Joseph Manoel de Liano (oficial da Contadoria). | Madrid -> Roma |
| 80 | 2 | 1729-07-4 | Avisa o recebimento dos 4 caixotes de livros, em processo de venda e incremento da devoção do Venerável, embora os livros de um caixote se apresentassem inúteis à circulação, imputando o pagamento desse produto ao seu impressor [Recebida: 1730-01-23; Resposta: 1730-02-13] | D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal (impressor); D. Martin de Elizacoechea (recolector das esmolos da Causa e sucessor de Castorena) | México -> Madrid |
| 81 | 1 | 1730-01-28 | Conhecimento do duplicado do nº 77 | D. Geronimo de Uztariz – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|--|---------------------|
| 82 | 2 | 1726-04-6 | Aviso da recepção dos despachos reais para os senhores cardeais Belluga e D. Felix Cornejo, com intuito que estes coadjuvem e protejam os interesses da Causa na Corte em Roma, principalmente a conclusão das Observações do Promotor da Fé. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Cardeal Belluga; D. Felix Cornejo | |
| 83 | 5 | 1721-08-23 | - Sobre a sua nomeação como agente da Causa em Roma, solicitando o envio de um conhecimento real de tal nomeação aos seus cardeais. Inclui as cartas de resposta, após o envio do conhecimento real. - Carta do cardeal Acquaviva (1722-04-18), como ministro do Rei – (0436-0438); - Carta, em italiano, do cardeal Zonedari (1722-04-25), como relator da Causa – (0439-0440). | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | Roma -> Madrid |
| 84 | 1 | 1722-04-25 | Sobre uma questão de favores. | D. Angelo (secretário da Embaixada e capelão) - ? | Roma |
| 85 | 2 | 1726-01-5 | Avisa ter pedido que o Promotor da Fé entregasse a primeira parte das Animadversiones e que tinha entregue aos advogados para que iniciassem a resposta às ditas, com o devido cuidado e rigor. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo Monsenhor + Lambertini (Promotor da Fé) | Roma -> Madrid |
| 86 | 1 | 1726-05-11 | Avisa ter entregado o despacho, desde que se remetera, para que o cardeal Belluga proteja a Causa do Venerável na Corte Romana. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Cardeal Belluga; Monsenhor Lambertini (Promotor da Fé) | Roma -> Madrid |
| 87 | 1 | 1724-04-8 | Informa ter entregado ao Monsenhor Lambertini as Animadversiones para que este forme a sua perspectiva como Promotor da Fé, com um pedido de celeridade na sua execução. | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Monsenhor Lambertini (Promotor da Fé); Cardeal Acquaviva. | Roma -> Madrid |
| 88 | 1 | 1725-05-14 | Sobre a tomada de conhecimento da sua nomeação como recolector das esmolas para a Causa, bem como, a responsabilidade e empenho que esta lhe merecia. [Cédula Real: 1724-10-11] | D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | México -> Madrid |
| 89 | 2 | 1722-04-22 | - Dá conta de ter recebido as duas cartas enviadas para os cardeais Acquaviva e Zonedari, entregues pelo seu irmão Francisco. - Alerta para a importância da escritura das virtudes do Venerável, e para a revisão dos teólogos e outras personalidades experientes nestas causas, como garantia de sucesso. - Informa da falta de resposta do México sobre a questão dos milagres. [Apresenta nota no final com o seguinte teor: " <i>Las adjuntas son las respuestas delos Señores Cardenales Acquaviva y Zonedari;</i> " (vide nº 83)] | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Cardeal Acquaviva; Cardeal Zonedari; Padre Mestre Caveno (procurador-geral dos " <i>Mercenarios Calzados</i> "); D. Alonso Carnero | Roma -> Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|--|---|--------------------|
| 90 | 3 | 1727-05-22 | - Sobre as ordens recebidas para que os cardeais (Bentivoglio e Zonedari) se empenhassem no adiantamento da Causa, junto do Promotor da Fé, para a conclusão das Observações. - Participa o recebimento das ditas (em 180 folhas) e da impressão das mesmas para serem distribuídas aos teólogos e advogados para avaliação e formulação de uma resposta. - Envia uma conta com a apresentação do dinheiro recebido e gasto entre Janeiro de 1723 e 24 de Maio de 1727. (0459-0460) [Carta: 1727-04-26 (de Nipho); Carta: 1727-04-19 (de Vadillo)] | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco + Cardeal Bentivoglio; Cardeal Zonedari; Monsenhor Lambertini; | |
| 91 | 3 | 1727-05-22 | Solicita a necessidade de envio de uma nova remessa de fundos, sem a qual a Causa não poderá avançar com as suas diligências. Duplicado desta carta (0464-0465). [Carta: 1727-04-19 (de Vadillo)] | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo | Roma -> Madrid |
| 92 | 4 | 1727-07-12 | Tendo recebido um alerta de D. Joseph de Ochoa para o não recebimento das contas relativas a 1721 e 1722, que deveriam ter sido entregues pelo seu falecido irmão D. Francisco, enviada um duplicado dos mesmos documentos, solicitando a aprovação e o rápido envio de fundos para financiar as seguintes diligências. Duplicado da carta apresentada no nº 63 com data de 19 de Dezembro de 1722 (0467-0469), que por sua vez apresenta um relatório de contas, referente ao período entre Janeiro de 1721 e 19 de Dezembro de 1722. (0470-0472) | D. Anielo Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Joseph de Ochoa; D. Francisco Nipho; Monsenhor Lambertini. | Roma -> Madrid |
| 93 | 2 | 1723-06-5 | Avisa ter recebido a letra de 500 dobrões, enviada pelo Conselho, entregue por mão de seu irmão D. Francisco Nipho, com vista à continuação da Causa do Venerável. | D. Anielo Nipho - D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Francisco Nipho (irmão de D. Anielo Nipho); Monsenhor Lambertini (Promotor da Fé) | Roma -> Madrid |
| 94 | 1 | 1723-05-1 | Dá conta da entrega da letra do dinheiro com destino a Roma e o respectivo envio. | D. Francisco Nipho – D. Manuel de Vadillo | Rivas -> Madrid |
| 95 | 2 | 1727-04-26 | Comunica estar na posse do conhecimento que D. Joseph Patiño, encarregou por ordem real os cardeais Bentivoglio e Zonedari, para que procurem conhecer formas eficazes de adiantar a Causa, principalmente junto do Promotor da Fé para que finalize as suas Observações. | D. Anielo Nipho - D. Manuel de Vadillo + D. Joseph Patiño; Cardeal Bentivoglio; Cardeal Zonedari; Monsenhor Lambertini (Promotor da Fé); Cardeal Belluga. | Roma -> Madrid |
| 96 | 1 | s/data | Separador com a inscrição "Venerable Gregorio López". | | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------------|---|--|-------------|
| 97 | 2 | 1724-11-20 | Em cumprimento do que, por carta de 19 de Setembro se preveniu, fossem separados e estivessem à disposição do Conselho os 12.179 pesos, que o Marquês de Villahermosa de Alfaro remeteu na última frota, e fossem aplicados à Causa. Para tal, pedia que fossem enviados os autos onde se expressava a vontade do Marquês, bem como se enviasse o aviso da sua chegada. [Carta: 1724-09-19 (de Corobarrutia); Conselho: 1724-11-28; Resposta: 1725-02-14] | D. Joseph Valdivieso / D. Joseph Patiño - ? + D. Andres del Corobarrutia y Zupide; Marquês de Villahermosa de Alfaro (ouvidor da Real Audiencia de México e Juiz geral dos bens dos defuntos). | |
| 98 | 2 | 1681-04-28 | Emite o parecer que o Rei devia ordenar ao Marquês de Carpio o envio a D. Bernardo Gallo da execução das ordens para que deixem Roma os Prebendados das Igrejas de Espanha (que aí não pudessem residir), para ser empregue na solicitação feita pelo Conselho, encarregado da Beatificação, segundo os motivos que s apresentam [Consulta: 1679-05-6; Carta: 1679-04-2 (de Santillan); Resposta Real: 1681-05-11] | Conselho das Índias – Rei (?) + D. Bernardo de Gallo; Marquês de Santillan; Marquês de Carpio; D. Turibio Alfonso Mogrovejo (arcebispo de ?, beatificado em 1726)) | Madrid |
| 99 | 1 | s/data | Apresenta notas, com o que parecem ser ordens, para envio em resposta de alguma correspondência. - Para que D. Manuel se concentre na escrita da Vida do Venerável. - Para a emissão de despachos ao Vice-rei com o intuito de incrementar as diligências, face às solicitações de Roma, e fomenta a recolha de esmolas para ajudar a Causa. | ? - ? | |
| 100 | 2 | 1722-10-18 | Inclui folha com a inscrição "Venerable Gregorio López"; Sobre a descoberta de 3 cartas originárias do México com destino a Roma, encontradas entre documentação do falecido D. Hernando, uma enviada de imediato ao agente em Roma, outra era do arcebispo do México para a Congregação dos Ritos, e a última para o promotor fiscal da Cúria do México. | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andres del Corobarrutia + D. Hernando (criado de D. Alonso Carnero); | Madrid |
| 101 | 1 | s/data [1668] | Rascunho, de possível carta ao Cabido, solicitando a essa entidade o envio dos dinheiros relativos às esmolas da Causa. [Carta: 1669-12-2 (do ouvidor do Cabido)] | [Rainha?] – Cabido da Igreja do México | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| 102 | 6 | 1660-02-9 | <p>Dos documentos enviados para Roma com dois despachos do rei sobre a canonização de Gregorio López, um para o embaixador na mesma cidade, e outro para o Conde Penãranda para que os remetesse na primeira ocasião.</p> <p>- [1664-05-20] O rei dando conta da morte e feitos de Gregorio López no México e dos seus escritos, solicita ao Cardeal que trabalhe visando a concessão de "Bullas de Rotulo", para que ratificassem as Informações e se tratasse da canonização. (0498-0501)</p> <p>- [1664-05-?] O Rei encarrega o Conde de Penãranda para que se interponha com Sua Santidade, como fica encarregue de enviar as "Bullas de Rotulo" para ratificar as Informações que estão feitas para a canonização do Venerável Gregorio López. (0502-0504)</p> <p>- [1664-05-?] Rascunho ao embaixador na Corte Romana para a solicitação das "Bullas de Rotulo". (0505-0506)</p> <p>[Carta: 1660-02-1 (do Rei a D. Luis Ponze); Carta: 1663-07-7 (do Rei a D. Pedro de Aragon)]</p> | <p>Rei – Cardeal de Aragon (0498-0501)</p> <p>Rei – Conde de Penãranda (0502-0504)</p> <p>+ Dionisio de Suescun; D. Luis Ponze; D. Pedro de Aragon (embaixador em Roma); Conde de Penãranda (Vice-Rei do Reino de Nápoles e presidente do Conselho Real das Índias);</p> | Madrid |
| 103 | 2 | 1676-06-12 | <p>Encarrega o Cardeal da solicitação, com brevidade, dos expedientes e despachos que se referem, nomeação do bispo de Haxcala e ordens para os bispados das Filipinas, pela falta que fazem, exigindo a maior brevidade possível para o avanço dessas questões.</p> <p>[Carta: 1676-05-2 (do Cardeal)]</p> | <p>D. Carlos (Rei) – Cardeal Hidhardo (embaixador em Roma)</p> <p>+ D. Manuel Fernandez de Sahagun e Santa Clara (bispo de Guadalajara)</p> | Madrid |
| 104 | 1 | 1730-01-23 | <p>Remete a instrução dada pela Congregação de Ritos ao Arcebispo do México.</p> <p>[Conselho: 1730-01-25]</p> | <p>D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco –</p> <p>D. Geronimo de Uztariz</p> <p>+ D. Anielo Nipho</p> | Madrid |
| 105 | 2 | 1729-12-31 | <p>Sobre a nomeação do Arcebispo do México, o agente consultou o Cardeal Zonedari e os advogados da Causa, tendo acertado o envio de um duplicado da carta da Sagrada Congregação dos Ritos que continha a solicitação de novos manuscritos e testemunhos autênticos sobre o Venerável, advertindo para a urgência da resposta à mesma.</p> <p>[Carta: 1729-09-17 (de Vadillo)]</p> | <p>D. Anielo Nipho –</p> <p>D. Manuel de Vadillo</p> <p>+ D. Juan de Bizaror (arcediácono de Sevilha);</p> <p>Cardeal Zonedari</p> | Roma -> Madrid (recebida: 1730-I-22) |
| 106 | 1 | 1730-01-28 | <p>Informa o recebimento da carta de D. Anielo Nipho, acompanhada por outra da Congregação com as ditas instruções ao Arcebispo do México, remetida para o recém-nomeado para o cargo.</p> <p>[Conselho: 1730-01-23]</p> | <p>D. Manuel de Vadillo - ?</p> <p>+ D. Anielo Nipho.</p> | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-------------|---|---|----------------|
| 107 | 5 | 1715-05-29 | Para que se reintegrem, dos próximos "Caudales" provenientes das Índias, 16.437 pesos que se retiraram do Depósito pertencentes à Causa. [Decreto Real: 1698-04-13] | Conselho das Índias - ? + D. Alonso Aracul; D. Gonzalo Machado; D. Manuel de M(?); D. Miguel Calderon; D. Nicolas Manrique; D. Jozeph Munibe; D. Diego de Zuniga; D. Diego de Rojas; D. Antonio Valcariel; Marquês de Vadillo; D. Alonso Carnero ; D. Juan Francisco; D. Pedro Garicochea; D. Diego Peredo; D. Diego de Morales. | Madrid |
| 108 | 2 | 1696-12-5 | Remete 4 contas de D. Agustin Nipho, sobre o dinheiro enviado para Roma, a ser utilizado no processo de canonização, desde 17 de Outubro de 1682 até ao final de Dezembro de 1693. Junta também alguns papéis tocantes às remessas que se enviaram a D. Bernardo Gallo. [1696-12-1] " <i>Relacion de las cantidades, que del efecto y deposito pertencient a la Beatificación del Venerable Servo de Dios Gregorio López, devem estar existentes en la Tesoreria General del Consejo, de resto de todas las remitidas de las Indias aplicadas para dicho efecto.</i> " (0532-0536) | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Bernardino Antonio Pardiñas + D. Agustin Nipho; Conde de Villaumbrosa; D. Bernardo Gallo; | Madrid |
| 109 | 7 | 1696-11-27 | Sobre o dinheiro existente na Tesouraria Geral do Conselho relativo à Causa da Beatificação. - [1696-11-26] Contém carta de Carnero para Pardiñas sobre as contas relativas aos anos de 1694 e 1695, bem como as anteriores até ao final de 1693. (0539-0544) - [1696-11-27] Outra carta de Carnero para Pardiñas dando conta das decisões tomadas em Conselho, nesse dia, sobre as seguintes diligências a tomar no que concerne à Causa. (0545-0548) - [1696-12-12] Carta da Tesouraria para Pardiñas sobre o expediente de correspondência relativo ao dinheiro existente na Tesouraria para a Causa. (0549) [Carta: 1696-11-26; Conselho: 1696-11-27] | Tesouraria Geral do Conselho [Luis de Astorga e Juan Antonio P(?)] – D. Bernardino Antonio Pardiñas Villar de Francos + D. Agustin Nipho; D. Francisco de Zevallos; D. Francisco Pinedo | Madrid. |
| 110 | 1 | s/ data | Separador com a inscrição " <i>B. Gregorio López</i> " e o nº 147 no canto superior esquerdo. | - | - |
| 111 | 1 | 1668 - 12-? | Ordem para o Marquês, na qualidade de embaixador em Roma, tomar as diligências necessárias para avançar com o processo do Venerável, nomeadamente com a emissão das cartas. | Rainha – Marquês de Astorga e de Velada + Frei Antonio Gonzalez de Acuña (Ordem de S. Domingos) | Madrid -> Roma |
| 112 | 2 | 1668 - 12-? | Dá conhecimento do estado do processo e das ordens que transmitiu ao embaixador em Roma para a obtenção das "Bullas del Rotulo" para a Beatificação, solicitando que possa conceder o seu apoio no seguimento de tais diligências. [Cedúla: 1665-09-3 (do Conselho das Índias)] | Rainha - Frei Antonio Gonzalez de Acuña + Frei Martin Pereyra (Ordem de S. Domingos); Juan Bautista Saenz Navarrete; Marquês de Astorga; | Madrid -> Roma |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|----------------|--|---|-------------------|
| 113 | 1 | 1668 - 12-? | Sobre a solicitação das "Bullas del Rotulo". | Rei – Papa + Marquês de Astorga | Madrid -> Roma |
| 114 | 3 | 1668- 11-29 | Parecer do Conselho para que se escreva ao embaixador em Roma sobre a questão do frei Antonio Gonzalez e a carta enviada ao Papa, bem como, o pedido para que se repitam os procedimentos na vila de Madrid aquando da beatificação do glorioso S. Isidro. [Carta; 1665-03-28 (de D. Pedro de Aragon); Cedúla: 1665-09-3 (do Conselho das Índias)] | Conselho da Índias – D. Alonso Fernandez de Lorca + Marquês del Carpio; D. Alonso Ramirez; Marquês de Monte Alegre; Juan Bauptista Navarrete; D. Thomas de Valdes; D. Antonio de Castro; D. Juan de S. Fellice(?); D. Alonso de los Rios; D. Lorenzo Matheus (membros dos Conselho); D. Pedro de Aragon (antigo embaixador em Roma); Frei Antonio Gonzalez de Acuña (Ordem de S. Domingos) | Madrid |
| 115 | 3 | 1661- 09-27 | Solicitações de diversas confirmações à Secretaria da Nova Espanha. | ? – D. Juan Diez de la Calle (Secretário da Nova Espanha do Conselho das Índias) | Madrid |
| 116 | 1 | S/data | Ordem para o desenvolvimento das diligências com vista à obtenção das "Bullas del Rotulo". | Rei – D. Luis de Guzman Ponce de Leon (embaixador em Roma) | |
| 117 | 1 | 1677- 12-18 | Remete uma carta para o Papa para que se prossiga na Sagrada Congregação dos Ritos, a causa pendente relativa à Beatificação da Madre Maria de Jesus. Inclui carta do Rei para o Papa sobre o pedido de beatificação da dita Madre. (0574) [Carta: 1674-09-1 (da Rainha ao cardeal Hidhardo)] | Rei – Marquês del Carpio ("Gran Chanciller de las Indias" e embaixador em Roma) + Cardeal Hidhardo; Madre Maria de Jesus (foi religiosa no Mosteiro "de la Concepcion de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles); D. Antonio del Castillo Camargo ("Gran Chanciller" do Conselho da Cruzada) | Madrid |
| 118 | 2 | 1671- 02- ? | Solicitação para dar conta do estado em que estão as diligências que dizem respeito à Beatificação do Venerável Gregorio López. Requerendo conselho sobre a pessoa que possa continuar nessas funções. [Despacho: 1668-10-13 (do Conselho das Índias); Despacho; 1665-09-3] | ? – D. Frei Antonio Gonzalez de Acuña (bispo eleito da Venezuela) + Marquês de Astorga | Madrid |
| 119 | 1 | s/data | Rascunho de carta real para o Papa sobre a questão do pedido das "Bullas del Rotulo". | Rei – Papa + D. Pedro de Aragon | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-----------------|--|--|-------------------|
| 120 | 2 | 1664- ?-? | Despacho real com ordem para continuação da recolha de esmolos para financiar o processo de Beatificação. [Carta: 1663-12-8 (de D. Juan de Cuenca ao Rei); Cédula: 1660-06-14] | Rei – D. Juan Francisco Montemayor de Cuenca (ouvidor da Audiência do México) | Madrid |
| 121 | 2 | ? - ? - ? | Ordem para que se encarregue junto de Sua Santidade, como já tinha sido solicitado, da obtenção e envio das "Bullas de Rotulo". | Rei – Conde de Peñaranda | Madrid -> Roma |
| 122 | 2 | 1660 - ? - ? | Solicitação ao Marquês D. Luis Ponze de Leon para que suplique ao Papa a concessão das "Bullas de Rotulo" como forma de ratificar as informações tidas sobre a canonização do Venerável. (apresenta um nº 56) | Rei – Marquês de Castel Rodrigo (embaixador em Roma) | Madrid -> Roma |
| 123 | 1 | ? - ? - ? | Ordem para que se encarregue junto de Sua Santidade da obtenção e envio das "Bullas de Rotulo". | Rei – Conde de Peñaranda | Madrid -> Roma |
| 124 | 1 | 1695- 06-20 | Sobre o envio de uns retratos de Gregorio López, um deles para ser colocado numa ermida em Santa Fé. [Conselho: 1695-06-25] | ? – D. Bernardino de Pardinas + D. Alonso Alberto de Velasco (Cura da Catedral do México); (viúva de) D. Francisco Canales. | Madrid |
| 125 | 2 | ? - ? - ? | Sobre a consulta à Contadoria sobre o valor do caudal relativo aos efeitos do Venerável. | ? - ? + D. Alonso del Castillo; Conde de Villa Umbrosa; D. Lope Gaspar | |
| 126 | 1 | 1695- 02-12 | Remete para a necessidade de se tomar resolução de alguns despachos solicitados pelo agente Nipho. Ainda aponta para as informações recolhidas no México, apresentados e aprovados à Congregação em Roma, solicitando o pagamento ao notário que as traduziu para italiano. [Papel: 1694-06-12] | D. Bernardino de Pardinas – Conde de Villa Umbrosa | Madrid |
| 127 | 1 | 1694- 06-12 | Sobre algumas somas de dinheiro recolhidas para a Causa, principalmente no México em Maio de 1693. [Papel: 1694-04-17] | ? - ? + D. Geronimo Ortiz de Sandoval | Madrid |
| 128 | 8 | 1721- 03-4 | Apresenta a notícia sobre o novo crédito real que resultou, a favor do Caudal Depositado, para a Causa do Venerável. Relata a chegada de diversos caudais provenientes das esmolos mexicanas, desde o ano de 1698. | D. Andres de el Corobarrutia – Conselho das Índias + Membros do Conselho das Índias | Madrid |
| 129 | 1 | 1721- 02-15 | Despacho do crédito real para a Causa | Contadoria – Conselho | Madrid |
| 130 | 8 | 1721- 03-4 | [Parece ser um rascunho ou cópia do nº 128] Apresenta a notícia sobre o novo crédito real que resultou, a favor do Caudal Depositado, para a Causa do Venerável. Relata a chegada de diversos caudais provenientes das esmolos mexicanas, desde o ano de 1698. | D. Andres de el Corobarrutia – Conselho das Índias + Membros do Conselho das Índias | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|----------------|---|--|----------------|
| 131 | 5 | 1729-05-27 | Versa sobre o motivo de não ter sido entregue uma quantia de dinheiro precedida das esmolas para a Causa da Beatificação, que vinham numa frota que chegou à Galiza no ano de 1727. [Apresenta um nº 152 (img 0645)] | D. Geronimo de Uztariz - Conselho das Índias | Madrid |
| 132 | 5 | 1729-05-27 | Cópia do nº 131 Versa sobre o motivo de não ter sido entregue uma quantia de dinheiro precedida das esmolas para a Causa da Beatificação, que vinham numa frota que chegou à Galiza no ano de 1727. [Apresenta um nº 153 (img 0655)] | D. Geronimo de Uztariz – Conselho das Índias | Madrid |
| 133 | 1 | 1730-02-16 | Remete para a carta do agente em Roma com os gastos feitos com a Causa nos anos de 1728 e 1729. [Apresenta um nº 154 (img 0656)] | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco - ? | Madrid |
| 134 | 2 | 1705-07-7 | Sobre o envio de uma soma de dinheiro a D. Agustin Nipho para continuar com as diligências da Causa. [Apresenta um nº 155 (img 0661)] | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Manuel de Aperregui (?) | Madrid |
| 135 | 3 | 1705-05-26 | Sobre o envio de 1000 escudos a Roma para continuar com as diligências da Beatificação. | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Manuel de Aperregui (?) | Madrid |
| 136 | 2 | 1717-03-9 | Solicitação para que se force o assunto da Causa na Congregação dos Ritos e junto dos demais Cardeais com a finalidade da aprovação dos processos apostólicos [Apresenta um nº 144 (img 0667)] | Cardeal Acquaviva – D. Diego Morales Velasco | Roma -> Madrid |
| 137 | 2 | 1717-01-13 | Sobre uma quantia de dinheiro enviada na frota de D. Fernando Chacon. [Apresenta um nº 145 (img 0673)] | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Diego Morales Velasco | Madrid |
| 138 | 2 | 1716-12-30 | Apresenta a conta que remeteu D. Aniolo Nipho dos gastos com a Causa do Venerável, pedindo que lhe satisfaça o seu alcance e que lhe quitem mais 1000 pesos. | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Diego Morales y Velasco | Madrid |
| 139 | 2 | 1715-05-18 | Sobre os “caudales” enviados para prover a Causa. [Apresenta o nº 146 (img 778)] | ? – Conselho das Índias | |
| 140 | 2 | 1715-06-19 | Cópia - Sobre o envio da carta em que o arcebispo “de la Plata” apresenta a quantia dos donativos dos curatos. | ? – Conselho das Índias | |
| 141 | 1 | 1702-03-28 (?) | Papel incompleto, com data provável, apresenta notícia sobre quantia de dinheiro direccionada para a Causa. | ? - ? | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-------------|---|--|-------------|
| 142 | 2 | 1717-03-9 | Expressa que em carta de 18 de Janeiro passado teve notícia como D. Anielo Nipho, residente na corte romana, tinha a seu cuidado a Causa da beatificação, ordenando-lhe que nela devia aplicar o seu esforço com vista ao seu adiamento, principalmente no exame, por parte da Congregação dos Ritos, das virtudes do Venerável nas Índias, sendo-lhe remetidos meios para o efeito. [Apresenta o nº 143 (img 0691)] | D. Juan Antonio Diaz Arze – D. Andres del Corobarrutia | |
| 143 | | - - | Separador apresentando o seguinte texto: "Benerable Gregorio López". [Apresenta o nº 150] | | |
| 144 | 1 | 1695-05-7 | Sobre a apresentação de contas da Causa | Marques de Santa M(?) – D. Bernardino Pardinás | Madrid |
| 145 | 2 | 1695-11-12 | Cédula com a apresentação do dinheiro na posse da administração da tesouraria geral do Conselho, pertencente à Causa da Beatificação. | Tesouraria – Conselho das Índias | Madrid |
| 146 | 2 | 1695-11-4 | Sobre a dependência do Venerável e andamento do processo em Roma. | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Bernardino Pardinás | |
| 147 | 2 | 1695 - 11-4 | Remete para o envio de diversos caudais das Índias. | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Bernardino Pardinás | Madrid |
| 148 | 1 | 1695-?-19 | Sobre o envio de dinheiro e respectivas remessas para o avanço do processo da Causa | Marquês de Fuente Hermosa – D. Bernardino Pardinás | Madrid |
| 149 | 1 | 1695-11-17 | Informa do envio da letra contendo o dinheiro dirigido ao processo de beatificação. Inclui uma nota com a descrição dos valores recebidos e pagos, com data de 16 de Novembro de 1695. (0711) | D. Alonso Carnero – D. Bernardino Pardinás | Madrid |
| 150 | 1 | 1695-09-1 | Refere o motivo porque não é remetido o relatório que fora ordenado, pelo caudal existente para a beatificação do Venerável. | Contadoria do Conselho – D. Bernardino Antonio Pardinás Villar de Francos | Madrid |
| 151 | 5 | 1722-10-18 | Nota de envio da carta do agente da Causa em Roma, solicitando conselho para a resposta da mesma. Inclui carta de D. Anielo Nipho enviada de Roma a 12 de Setembro de 1722, sobre os avanços do processo. (0715-0718) | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco – D. Andres del Corobarrutia | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|--------------------------------------|---|--|-------------|
| 152 | 3 | 1700 - 03-2 | Depois do envio à Contadoria das contas, apresentadas por D. Alonso Carnero, das despesas efectuadas em Roma com vista à beatificação de Gregorio López, solicita que se envie um suplemento de dinheiro a D. Aniello Nipho. Rascunho do pedido de suplemento (0726-0727) | Contadoria do Conselho – D. Domingo López Calo Mondragon | Madrid |
| 153 | 2 | 1696- 06-30 | Duas cartas com diferentes destinatários sobre a sua nomeação para o cargo de superintendente das esmolos, recolhidas para o processo de beatificação, e dando conta do envio numa frota de uma soma de dinheiro. | D. Miguel Calderon de la Barca – D. Bernardino Pardinias e Marquês de Fuente Hermosa | México |
| 154 | 2 | 1697- 04-22 | Sobre a nomeação de D. Miguel Calderon de la Barca para o cargo de superintendente das esmolos. | D. Bernardino Pardinias – Marquês de Fuente Hermosa | Madrid |
| 155 | 2 | 1696- 06-21 | Remetem-se, por indicação de D. Miguel Calderon, 20 mil pesos dados de esmolos pela viúva do capitão D. Francisco Canales, com vista à beatificação do Venerável. Inclui cópia do documento (0737-0738). | D. Alonso Alberto de Velasco – D. Bernardino Pardinias | México |
| 156 | 6 | 1721- 04a06 - | Conjunto de cartas com o seguinte teor: - 1721-06-13 – Conselho solicita informação sobre caudal à Contadoria (0739); - 1721-06-21 – Conselho solicita informação sobre caudal na posse do depositário da Causa, D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte. (0740); - 1721-04-5 – Conselho solicita a Gaston de Iriarte que envie uma letra de 3 mil pesos a D. Alonso Carnero dos depósitos da Causa, para que seja remetida ao agente em Roma. (0741-0742); - 1721-04-3 – Alonso Carnero dá conta ao Conselho da apresentação de contas do agente da Causa em Roma e das suas necessidades para poder avançar com o processo, apresentando o envio de determinada quantidade como meio para suprir as mesmas. (0743-0746); - 1721-04-8 - Carta dirigida a D. Francisco de Varas informando de certos "caudales" enviados, bem como, do pedido de D. Alonso Carnero. (0747-0750) [Apresenta o nº 139 (img 0739); Apresenta o nº 138 (img 0741); Apresenta o nº 137 (img 0750)] | Conselho – Contadoria do Conselho – D. Alonso Carnero | Madrid |
| 157 | 13 | 1663- 03-20 a 1669- 12-3 | Conjunto de papéis, cartas, cédula sobre questões relacionadas com a organização religiosa nas Índias Orientais, diversas referências às Filipinas. Sem menção a Gregorio López. | Conselho das Índias - ? | |
| 158 | 8 | 1789 - 1790 | Diversos papéis sobre o envio de frei Christoval de Quesada ("apostata de la merced") para Cádiz, partindo da Nova Espanha. Sem alusão a Gregorio López. | Conselho das Índias - ? | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-----------------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 159 | 1 | s/ data | Separador com o texto: "Cartas y papeles escritos al Señor Don Manuel de Vadillo, sobre la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López." | | |
| 160 | | 1729 | <p>Conjunto de 11 cartas escritas ou remetidas a D. Manuel de Vadillo:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1729-08-11 – Carta dirigida a Geronimo de Uztariz sobre a apresentação das virtudes do Venerável à Congregação dos Ritos em Roma. (0793-0794) - 1729-10-24 – Papel sobre a apresentação à Congregação dos Ritos e diligências futuras a serem tomadas em Roma. (0795) - 1724-05-4 – Carta remetida do México sobre a recolha de esmolas para a Causa e seu envio para a Metrópole. (0796-0797) - 1723-05-26 a 1724-03-16 – Traslado de uma cédula real e correspondência entre Madrid e o México sobre a questão da recolha e envio das esmolas, para financiar a Causa e suas diligências em Roma. (0798-0806) - 1727-09-8 – Carta enviada a D. Andres del Corobarrutia sobre as Animadversiones do Promotor da Fé. (0807-0808) - 1727-07-5 – Carta recebida sobre a apresentação de contas dos "caudales" entre 1723 e 1727. (0809-0810) - 1726-05-7 – Troca de correspondência com Andres del Corobarrutia sobre a recolha de esmolas no arcebispado de Manila. (0811-0812) - 1727-07-5 – Cópia da carta recebida sobre a apresentação de contas dos "caudales" entre 1723 e 1727. (0813-0816) - 1729-10-26 – Carta sobre os desenvolvimentos do processo da Causa em Roma. (0817-0818) - 1727-05-22 – Cópia de uma carta enviado por D. Anielo Nipho versando o estado do processo de beatificação. (0819-0822) - 1728-09-22 – Carta do agente em Roma sobre os reparos feitos pelo Promotor da Fé e da relevância das virtudes do Venerável. (0823-0826) | D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco | |
| 161 | 63 | - - | "Animadversiones" do Promotor da Fé da Congregação dos Ritos em Roma sobre Gregorio López. | | |
| 162 | 2 | 1724-09-26 | Envio de algumas quantias de dinheiro pelo Marquês de Villahermosa de Alfaro para a Causa da beatificação- | Casa da Contratação - Rei | Cádiz |
| 163 | 2 | 1724 - ? - ? | Sobre o estado do envio dos "caudales" para a Causa. | ?-? | |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|-------------|---|---|----------------|
| 164 | 2 | 1724-05-6 | Certidão sobre o envio de "caudales" para a Causa | | México->Madrid |
| 165 | 2 | 1724-05-6 | Participação ao rei da nomeação do arcebispo do México como colector das esmolas destinadas à beatificação do Venerável, pelo qual envia uma quantia para a dita Causa. | D. Juan Ignacio Castorena y Ursua – Rei | México->Madrid |
| 166 | 2 | 1725-02-14 | Sobre a consulta feita a um fiscal acerca dos "caudales" enviados e quantias disponíveis para a Causa. | | Madrid |
| 167 | 2 | 1663 - 03-? | O ouvidor de Guadalajara dá conta da chegada às Filipinas de frei Jorge de Luna, da ordem de S. Francisco, com diferentes bulas e despachos. | | |
| 168 | 2 | 1663-03-? | Sobre a ida de frei Jorge de Luna para Manila. | ? | |
| 169 | 1 | 1721-04-29 | Carta enviada a D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte solicitando ordem para fazer o câmbio e levantar a letra de 3000 pesos para ser enviada para Roma. | ? - D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Madrid |
| 170 | 1 | 1721-04-26 | Sobre a ordem de suspensão de levantamento de uma letra devido às subidas abruptas no câmbio. | D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte – D. Andres del Corobarrutia. | Madrid |
| 171 | 1 | 1721-06-5 | Sobre os testamenteiros de D. Alonso Carnero | Conde de Villafranca de Gaytan – D. Andres del Corobarrutia | Madrid |
| 172 | 1 | 1721-06-1 | Ordem para que fossem recolhidos todos os papéis que pertenceram a D. Alonso Carnero, principalmente aqueles relativos à Causa do Venerável. | Conselho das Índias – Conde de Villafranca de Gaytan e testamenteiros de D. Alonso Carnero | Madrid |
| 173 | 2 | 1721-08-12 | Sobre o envio da letra de 3000 pesos para Roma, com um câmbio mais baixo oferecido pelo tesoureiro do Marquês de los Balbases. | ? - D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte | Madrid |
| 174 | 2 | 1721-06-29 | São abordados os temas das cartas e papéis relativos à Causa que pertenceram a D. Alonso Carnero e, ainda, a questão da recolha da esmolas no México. | Contadoria – D. Andres del Corobarrutia | Madrid |

| SÉRIE | FLS. | DATA | DOCUMENTO [REFERÊNCIAS (CARTAS OU RESPOSTAS)] | EMISSOR - REMETENTE + ONOMÁSTICO | TOPOGRÁFICO |
|-------|------|------------|---|--|-------------|
| 175 | 1 | 1721-07-23 | Conhecimento enviado à Contadoria sobre um papel enviado por D. Alonso Carnero dando conta dos "caudales" enviados para a Causa em Roma entre os anos de 1717 e 1720. | ? – Contadoria. | Madrid |
| 176 | 1 | 1721-07-19 | Sobre a outorgação de 500 pesos para a Causa, por Nicolas Gamero, no México. | D. Miguel Gaston de Iriarte – D. Andres del Corobarrutia. | Madrid |
| 177 | 2 | 1721-07-7 | Sobre o despacho de 500 pesos para a Causa, por D. Nicolas Gamero, que estavam na posse de D. Francisco Varas, este utilizou-os e devolveu com juro de 5%. | D. Francisco de Varas – D. Andres del Corobarrutia | Cadiz |

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| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------|------|-------|------------|--|
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Bandos | 11 | 34 | 101 | 20/07/1786 | Mandas forzosas. Bando con insercion de real cédula que manda suspender la cobranza de la establecida para la Beatificación de Gregorio Lopez. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Bandos | 14 | 35 | 102 | 20/07/1786 | Mandas forzosas.- Circular que acompaña el bando con insercion de real cédula que manda suspender la cobranza de la establecida para la Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D25 | 541 | 255 V | 29/10/1663 | Religiosos. Comisión que se dio al oidor de la real Audiencia de México, para que se encargue del cobro de las limosnas que reunieren para la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D25 | 541 | 255 V | 29/10/1663 | Religiosos. Comisión que se dio al oidor de la real áudencia de México, para que se encargue del cobro de las limosnas que reunieren para la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D25 | 617 | 358 | 15/04/1664 | Religiosos. Pidiendo al virrey de la nueva españa, colabore en la solicitud de limosnas, para la Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D25 | 629 | 374 | 30/06/1663 | Religiosos. Dando respuesta al oidor de la audiencia de México, lic. Francisco Montemayor de Cuenca, sobre su actuación en el cobro de las limosnas destinadas a la Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------|------|-----------|------------|--|
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D26 | 24 | 30 | 28/03/1665 | Religiosos. Ordenando que se remitan a España, \$2,000.00 del dinero que hubiera reunido para la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1421 | 518 f. | 1/05/1686 | Religiosos. Beatificación de Gregorio López. Autorización para que en término de seis años se pidan limosnas para los puestos de la Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López, en las provincias de la Nueva España, Guatemala, Islas Filipinas y Barlovento. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1422 | 518 bis | 21/09/1686 | Religiosos. Beatificación de Gregorio López. Obedecimiento a la real Cédula de primero de mayo de 1686, sobre la Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1427 | 525 | 5/12/1686 | Religiosos. Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. Parecer del fiscal de S.M., en lo relativo a la beatificación de fr. Gregorio López así como pedir limosna por seis años en las provincias |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1428 | 525V | 5/12/1686 | Religiosos. Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. Real acuerdo que se tomo por el virrey, presidente y oidores de la Nueva España, sobre pedir limosna en las provincias para la beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1476 | 574 f. | 30/12/1686 | Religiosos. Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. Acusando recibo de una carta de 30 de mayo de 1686, que remitió la Audiencia de México, sobre el estado que guardan las cantidades que se mando pedir de limosna para los gastos de Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | D30 | 1477 | 574 v. | 02/09/1689 | Religiosos. Beatificación de fr. Gregorio López. Obedecimiento y parecer del sr. Fiscal del S.M., en relacion con la real Cédula de diciembre 30 de 1688, exp. 1476. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 1 | 101 | 193V | 12/02/1633 | Religiosos. Libros. Al Marqués de Cerralvo virrey de la Nueva España, para que ordene se haga la búsqueda, en el Tribunal de la Inquisición, de los libros que escribió el Venerable Gregorio López y especialmente el que hizo en Declaración del Apocalipsis, y se remitan en caja aparte el Consejo de las Indias, dirigidos a Diego de Cárdenas. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 1 | 102 | 194 a 195 | 12/02/1633 | Religiosos. Al Marqués de Cerralvo, ordenando que se designen personas idoneas en la Nueva España, para solicitar limosna destinada a la canonización de fr. Gregorio López, desposiándose en una arca, bajo la vigilancia del arzobispo de México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 8 | 26 | (2 fojas) | 28/03/1665 | Beatificación del beato Gregorio López. Que se mande todo lo reunido para este objeto. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------|------|-----------|------------|---|
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 8 | 61 | (1 foja) | 07/11/1679 | Beatificación del beato Gregorio López. Aprueba que se haya nombrado al oidor Dn. Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 16 | 62 | (2 fojas) | 23/06/1678 | Limosnas. Remitir lo recaudado para la Beatificación del beato Gregorio López, por haber salido Dn. Diego de Balverde, encargado de ella. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 18 | 75 | 1 | 07/12/1680 | Remitir limosnas. Para que se remita en la flota a cargo del general Gaspar de Velasco, las limosnas para la canonización del beato Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 44 | 22 | 3 | 26/5/1723 | Se procurara animar a los católicos para que den limosna, que sirva para la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López. Religiosos. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 61 | 17 | (2hojas) | 21/03/1741 | Beatificación. Ordenando se ayude a reunir el dinero para el siervo Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 63 | 6 | (5 fojas) | 19/03/1743 | Venerable Gregorio López. Que se remitan las obras y manuscritos que se necesitan en Roma, para su Beatificación. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 64 | 99 | (4 hojas) | 10/11/1744 | Venerable Gregorio López. Pide las obras y manuscritos que traten de este santo. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 65 | 45 | (2 fojas) | 18/05/1745 | Venerable Gregorio López. Acusa recibo de los escritos que se le enviaron. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 131 | 68 | (2 fojas) | 1/06/1785 | Manda. Que se suspenda por ahora la forzosa que se cobraba para la causa de Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 131 | 149 | (1 foja) | 22/06/1785 | Manda forzosa. Cédula del expediente numero 68 que dice: que se suspenda por ahora la que se cobraba por la causa de Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 131 | 200 | (1 foja) | 23/07/1785 | Manda forzosa. Cédula del expediente numero 68 que dice: que se suspenda por ahora la que se cobraba por la causa de Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 241 | 21 | 38 | 1677 | Índice de reales Cédulas. Tratando del buen trato a los indios; remedio en los daños públicos y para que se pida limosna para la Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 241 | 23 | 41 | 20/06/1677 | Beatificación de Gregorio López. Para que en todas las Indias, se pueda pedir limosna por tiempo de seis años para la Beatificación (Impreso). |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados | 584 | 18 | 1exp | 1765 | Edicto expedido a pedimento del Dr. D. Luis Fernando de Hoyos, dean de la Catedral, para la colecta de limosnas para la Beatificación de D. Gregorio López, en virtud de real Cédula de 16 de septiembre de 1760. México. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|------|------------|------------|---|
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | Impresos Oficiales | Conten. 06 Vol.15 | 23 | 83-86 | 20/07/1786 | México. Circular de Bernardo de Gálvez, virrey de Nueva España, disponiendo la publicación del bando que inserta la real cédula, expedida por Carlos III, rey de España, del 1 de junio de 1785, suspendiendo el cobro de la manda forzosa para la causa de beatificación de Gregorio López. Se anexa el bando. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Gobierno Virreinal | General de Parte (051) | 13 | 56 | 86V | 7/2/1671 | Vuestra Excelencia. En conformidad del real acuerdo concede licencia al cabildo secular de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles, para que de limosna para la Beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López, otros quinientos pesos. Puebla. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Arzobispos y Obispos) Cajas 1-999 | 0965 | 6 | (1 foja) | 1786 | Historia eclesiástica, que contiene lista de Beatificación, de Gregorio López, Sebastián de Aparicio y Pedro de Betancur (S/L). |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bandos) Cajas 3000-3999 | 3820 | 13 | (27 fojas) | 1786 | Bandos sobre la suspension en la Real Cédula que se inserta de la Manda forzosa para la causa de beatificación de Gregorio López. México |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bandos) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4497 | 15 | (2 fojas) | 1786 | México, 1786. Bando expedido por el Virrey Gálvez de la Real Cédula, sobre la suspensión de la manda forzosa de recaudar fondos para cubrir el costo de la causa de beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bandos) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4497 | 38 | (13 fojas) | 1786 | México, 1786. Bando que anuncia la suspensión de la manda forzosa de la colecta de dinero para cubrir el costo de la "causa de beatificación de Gregorio López". |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bandos) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4954 | 5 | (5 fojas) | 1786 | Informe de la real Cédula que pide la suspensión que ha mandado hacer el rey de la manda piadosa para la causa de Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bandos) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4497 | 38 | (13 fojas) | 1786 | México, 1786. Bando que anuncia la suspensión de la manda forzosa de la colecta |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--|-------------|------|-------------|------|---|
| Indiferente Virreinal | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bienes de difuntos) Cajas 5000-5999 | 5180 | 23 | (114 fojas) | 1754 | Autos sobre el testamento de Manuel Fiayo, vecino de la ciudad de Antequera, natural de la villa de Seisa, en el Reyno de Portugal, hijo lexítimo de Francisco Fernández Fiallo y María Sorraya, difuntos, en la forma y manera siguiente: Primeramente encomiendo mi alma a Dios y enterrado en el Sagrado Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de esta Ciudad de la que es fundador, con el hábito y guarda de Nuestro Padre San Francisco y la disposición de un dicho entierro y funeral lo dejo a la voluntad de mis albaceas. -Ítem, mando se manden decir 1000 misas rezadas y limosna se pague por la pitana ordinaria.y también se dé limosna a las mandas forzosas y acostumbradas y la del venerable servicio de Dios Gregorio López, a 5 pesos a cada una con que las aparto con derecho de mis bienes. - Ítem: Mando se repartan el día de mi entierro 1000 pesos a los pobres en que se incluyan los de la cárcel. - Ítem: Mando se le den al Convento de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, al Convento de San Agustín, de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, al Hospital de Belem, a de Religiosas del Carmen, a las Religiosas de Santa Mónica, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, al Colegio de las Niñas, a la Santa Casa de Jerusalem, a la Redención de Cautivos, con 3000 pesos, a cada uno de los Conventos. -Ítem: Mando que después de mis días se le dé libertad a una negra mi esclava llamada Pasquala, por lo bien que me ha servido, y también se le den 100 pesos en reales, para que busque su vida. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Bulas de Santa Cruzada) Cajas 1000-1999 | 1610 | 13 | (8 fojas) | 1727 | Breve sobre la beatificación y canonización de GregorioLópez, escrita en Latín. Roma. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Clero Regular y Secular) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4757 | 31 | (2 fojas) | 1710 | Testamento de Martin de Bararrette, presbytero. É coloca como albacea, tenedor de bienes y herederos a Don Franciscio de Aguirre. Entre sus disposiciones se destaca la ayuda a la beatificación del siervo de Dios GregorioLópez. México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Clero Regular y Secular) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4957 | 95 | (1 foja) | 1786 | Real Orden sobre la suspensión de la manda forzosa para la beatificación de Gregorio López |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Clero Regular y Secular) Cajas 5000-5999 | 5455 | 015 | (6 hojas) | 1687 | Documentación referente a la canonización de Gregorio López. Nombramiento otorgados a los bachilleres Thomás de Coca, Sebastián de Messa, y Mathías de Cuéllar, para el recaudo de limosna para gastos de la Beatificación y canonización de Gregorio López. México 1687. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
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| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Cofradías y Archicofradías) Cajas 6000-6743 | 6630 | 94 | (2 fojas) | 1699 | Declaración de dar la limosna a las mandas forzosas y acostumbradas a 2 reales, una, y otros 2 para ayuda a la Beatificación o canonización del Venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López, y otros dos para ayuda a los santos lugares de Jerusalén. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Inquisición) Cajas 2000-2999 | 2351 | 20 | (2 fojas) | 1660 | Censura practicada a una novela intitulada: ``El prodigio de la América y Vida y Muerte de el Venerable Gregorio López``. Sin Lugar. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados) Cajas 2000-2999 | 2826 | 3 | (129 fojas) | 1786 | Serie de notificaciones de acuse de recibo que hacen alcaldes de distintas poblaciones donde dicen haber recibido del bando que contiene la Real Cédula de junio de 1786 donde se suspende la mandada forzosa para la causa de beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4188 | 33 | (1 foja) | 1686 | El Rey, Despacho para que se concurren con limosnas para la causa de beatificación y canonización del venerable siervo de Dios, Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Indiferente Virreinal | (Civil) Cajas 4000-4999 | 4757 | 42 | (2 fojas) | 1714 | Cotejo del testamento del alférez Joseph Díaz de la Rossa, natural de San Luis de Barrameda, en la Provincia de Andalucía, Reynos de Castilla. Nombra como su albacea a Doña Nicolasa de Ayala. Entre sus cláusulas destaca que se dieran mandas forzosas en que incluye la de Gregorio López, a dos pesos cada una. México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Inquisición | Inquisición (61) | 854 | 1 | 360 | 1737 | Denuncia de un libro escrito en Madrid el año de 1727, el cual contiene la prodigiosa Vida del V. Siervo de Dios, Gregorio López y la admirable Exposición del Apocalipsis; pero en el último Tratado que es de medicina, contiene varias supersticiones. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Inquisición | Inquisición (61) | 859 | 1 | 439-440 | 1739 | Denuncia contra el libro de la Vida del V. Gregorio López y remisión a los pp. calificadores para su expurgación (supersticiones). México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Inquisición | Inquisición (61) | 1133 | 11 | 125 | 1739 | Fr. Esteban Navarro, religioso sacerdote de esta Provincia de Santiago de México, denuncia ciertas proposiciones que se hallan en un libro impreso en Madrid año de 1727, en la Imprenta de Juan de Ariztia. El cual libro contiene la prodigiosa Vida del V. siervo de Dios Gregorio López, y la admirable Exposición del Apocalipsis. Pero en el último Tratado que es de medicina, en la página 340, dice de varias yerbas medicinales, y sus virtudes en forma supersticiosa. México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Inquisición | Inquisición (61) | 1480 | 9 | 233-259 | 1612 | Explicación del Apocalipsis, por Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Real Hacienda | Tribunal de Cuentas | 4 | 18 | (36 fojas) | 04/09/1759 | México. El Tribunal pide información de la limosna recogida para la canonización del V. Gregorio López. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
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| Instituciones Coloniales | Real Hacienda | Tribunal de Cuentas | 4 | 9 | 20-22 | 04/09/1759 | México. El Tribunal envía al señor Marqués de las Amarillas la certificación de las cantidades enteradas en las Reales Cajas de Guadalajara, colectadas de limosna para la canonización de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Bienes Nacionales (014) | 584 | 18 | 1 exp. | 1765 | Edicto expedido a pedimento del Dr. D. Luis Fernando de Hoyos, dean de la Catedral, para la colecta de limosnas para la Beatificación de D. Gregorio López, en virtud de la real Cédula de 16 de septiembre de 1760. México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Bienes Nacionales (014) | 1105 | 9 | (1 exp.) | 1749 | Respuesta de s. E. I., a D. Juan Antonio Valenciano, secretario del Consejo, sobre pedir limosna para que siga la causa del v. Gregorio López. México. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 11 | 106 | 57-58 | 27/10/1635 | México. Acta del claustro pleno, celebrado el 27 de octubre, en el que se refiere: la lectura de una cédula real para la beatificación y canonización de Gregorio López; el nombramiento de los examinadores Nicolás de la Torre, Cristóbal Hidalgo Vendaval, fray Tomás Cano, fray Antonio Barrientos y Pedro de la Reguera. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 18 | 42 | 32v-4 | 1686 | - 26 de septiembre.- Acta del claustro pleno celebrado en esa fecha, en que se refiere la lectura de las Cédulas de Su Majestad, autorizando a Antonio Ortiz de Otalora a recolectar limosnas para la Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 18 | 43 | 32v-4 | 1686 | Otalosa, Antonio Ortiz de.- 26 de septiembre.- Acta del claustro pleno celebrado en esa fecha en que se refiere: la lectura de una Cédula de S.M. autorizando a Antonio Ortiz de Otalora a recolectar limosnas para la beatificación de Gregorio López y el nombramiento de la comisión que irá esperar al nuevo virrey Conde de Monclova. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 18 | 260 | 33-35 | 26/09/1686 | México. Acta del claustro celebrado el 11 de mayo, en el que se refiere: la orden de beneficiar unas borlas para ayuda a conseguir la beatificación de Gregorio López; la lectura de un memorial del rector de San Ildefonso, pidiendo las normas para los juramentos de los cursos. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 18 | 266 | 42-45 | 19/12/1686 | México. Acta del claustro pleno celebrado el 19 de diciembre, en el que se refiere: la lectura de unas cédulas reales sobre la canonización de Gregorio López y la elección de rector y vicerector; la petición del papel de secretario; la lectura de una carta de Antonio de Mendoza, procurador de España, sobre las provisiones de prevendas. |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA / VOL. | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO |
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| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 19 | 424 | 241-243 | 15/05/1702 | México. Acta del claustro pleno celebrado el 15 de mayo, en el que se refieren las peticiones presentadas por el doctor Antonio de Terreros para ser procurador de la Universidad en España y el encargo de felicitar a Su Majestad por su real Coronación y casamiento; la petición de los doctores Juan de Narváez y Alonso Alberto, solicitando ayuda para la canonización del beato Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 21 | 171 | 123v-6 | 1731 | 11 de marzo .- Acta del claustro celebrado en esa fecha en que se refiere la orden de beneficiar unas borlas para ayuda a conseguir la Beatificación de Gregorio López. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 21 | 378 | 124-127 | 11/5/1731 | México. Acta del claustro celebrado el 11 de mayo, en el que se refiere: la orden de beneficiar unas borlas para ayuda a conseguir la beatificación de Gregorio López; la lectura de un memorial del rector de San Ildefonso pidiendo las normas para los juramentos de los cursos. |
| Instituciones Coloniales | Regio Patronato Indiano | Universidad | 23 | 127 | | 15/1/1755 | México. Acta del claustro pleno celebrado en esa fecha en que se refiere la orden de beneficiar las borlas de Agustín Quintela y el doctor Francisco Dongo para la beatificación del siervo de Dios, Gregorio López, y la notificación al bachiller Carlos Tapia de su elección de conciliario. |

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DEL ARZOBISPADO DE MÉXICO (AHAM)

Source: Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO | ONOMASTICO | TOPOGRAFICO |
|---------|-----------|------------------------|------|------|-------|----------|--|---------------------------|-------------|
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 1 | 38 | ca. 1700 | Dos cuadernos impresos acerca de la vida y virtudes de Gregorio López, que tienen como título: <i>+ Mexicana, del Siervo de Dios Gregorio López</i> . Contiene las advertencias que se hacen a los testigos que se han de presentar en la causa de la beatificación y canonización de este Siervo de Dios. | Alonso Alberto de Velasco | |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO | ONOMASTICO | TOPOGRAFICO |
|---------|-----------|------------------------|------|------|-------|-----------|--|--|--------------|
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 2 | 26 | 1702 | Varias cartas y otros documentaciones referentes a la beatificación del Venerable Gregorio López, desde 1620 a 1703. | Antonio de Robles, Alonso de la Peña, Jacinto de la Serna, Diego de Villegas, fray Andrés de los Santos, Bernardus Caselius, Antonio Martínez, Cristóbal Millán, Pedro Rincón, Gregorio Martín del Guiso, Jerónimo de Aguilar, Juan Fernández de Moya, Alonso Alberto de Velasco, Marqués de Guadalcazar | Madrid, Roma |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 3 | 1 | 1728 | Carta del Cabildo sede vacante de México al rey, sobre facultad de la Sagrada Congregación de Ritos para la solicitud de diferentes obras para la causa del venerable anacoreta Gregorio López, cuyos instrumentos se han entregado al doctor don Martín de Elizacochea, maestrescuela de esa Catedral. | Juan Antonio Fábregas Rubio | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 4 | 22 | 1647-1664 | Autos hechos contra el capitán Gabriel de la Cruz Contreras, escribano público de esta Ciudad de México, sobre el entrego de 4 mil pesos de la limosna para la beatificación y canonización de Gregorio López. | Manuel de Escalante Mendoza, Alonso de la Peña, Diego de Villegas, Bartolomé Quevedo, Francisco de Montoya | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 5 | 13 | 1646 | Donación que hizo el ilustrísimo señor doctor don Francisco de Manso y Zúñiga, arzobispo que fue de esta Santa Iglesia de México, de cantidad de 7 474 pesos 5 reales, que le quedó debiendo esta Santa Iglesia, los cuales donó en esta manera: 3 mil para un ornamento a disposición del Cabildo; 2 mil pesos para ayuda de la beatificación del Venerable del | | |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO | ONOMASTICO | TOPOGRAFICO |
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| | | | | | | | Siervo de Dios Gregorio López; 2 mil para que estando beatificado y canonizado para su colocación en esta Santa Iglesia; y dichos 4 mil pesos han de estar en poder de la fábrica, y asimismo dona a la fábrica todo lo demás que le pueda tocar. Fechada en Burgos a 19 de marzo de 1646. | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 6 | 2 | 1686 | Real cédula impresa, fechada en el Buen Retiro a primero de mayo de 1686, para que en toda la gobernación de esta Nueva España, se pida limosna por tiempo de seis años, para los gastos de beatificación y canonización del venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López. | Francisco Fernández Marmolejo | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 7 | 1 | 1738 | Portada titulada: <i>Papeles que le tocan al Venerable Gregorio López, hanse hallado fuera de sus apartamentos en el reconocimiento que se está haciendo de este archivo. México y junio de 1738.</i> | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 8 | 2 | 1724 | Edicto del arzobispo de México José de Lanciego y Eguilaz, del 28 de febrero de 1724, en que se inserta una real cédula de Felipe V, fechada en Madrid el 26 de mayo de 1723, sobre recolectar limosnas con el fin de continuar la causa de Gregorio López. | | Roma |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 9 | 2 | 1687 | Edicto del doctor Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, obispo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, del año 1687, en que se inserta una real cédula de Carlos II, fechada en el Buen Retiro el primero de mayo de 1686, para que se pida limosna por tiempo de 6 años, para los gastos de la beatificación y canonización del venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López. | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 10 | 22 | 1691 | Traslado de un libro del Padre Antonio Arias, en la parte intitulada <i>Algunas conjeturas y razones a favor y defensa del espíritu de Gregorio López y de su modo de vida, donde también se responde a las objeciones que podría haber en contrario.</i> | Antonio Martínez | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 11 | 2 | 1650 | El doctor Jacinto de la Serna: Sobre la donación de 1 100 pesos del ilustrísimo señor arzobispo Manzo, para la canonización del beato Gregorio López. Carta de pago | Diego de Benavente, Juan de Aguirre, Manuel Bravo de Sobremonte, | |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO | ONOMASTICO | TOPOGRAFICO |
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| | | | | | | | de 2 898 pesos. | Juan de Ortega | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 12 | 44 | 1683 | Instrucciones de los abogados de la Curia Romana para la beatificación y canonización de Gregorio López. Comienza con un escrito impreso en latín titulado: <i>Mexicana. Beatificationis, et canonizationis V. Servi Dei Gregorii López, primi Anachoreta in Indiis Occidentalibus Novae Hispaniae.</i> | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 13 | 1 | 1686 | Edicto citatorio contra todos los que tuvieron o pretendieren tener interés en la causa de la beatificación y canonización del venerable siervo de Dios Gregorio López, primer anacoreta en estas Indias Occidentales, del doctor don Diego de la Sierra, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México, el 14 de enero de 1686. | Antonio Martínez de Muñatones, García de Legaspi, José de Adame y Arriaga | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 14 | 3 | 1686 | Edicto citatorio contra todos los que tuvieron o pretendieren tener interés en la causa de la beatificación y canonización del Venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López, primer anacoreta en estas Indias occidentales de la Nueva España [este ejemplar no tiene los sellos del anterior]. | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 15 | 57 | 1688-1690 | Testimonio de las cartas responsivas de los señores jueces remisoriales en la causa de beatificación y canonización del Venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López a la Congregación de Sagrados Ritos. | Antonio Martínez de Muñatones | Guadalajara, Roma |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 16 | 2 | 1686 | Edicto del doctor Diego de la Sierra, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México, del 12 de diciembre de 1686, en que se inserta la real cédula de Carlos II, fechada en el Buen Retiro a primero de mayo de 1686, para que en todo el Arzobispado de México se pida limosna por tiempo de seis años, para los gastos de beatificación y canonización del Venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López, en la forma que arriba se expresa. | | |

| FONDO | SECCIÓN | SERIE | CAJA | EXP. | FOJAS | ANOS | DOCUMENTO | ONOMASTICO | TOPOGRAFICO |
|---------|-----------|------------------------|------|------|-------|-----------|---|--|-------------|
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 17 | 3 | 1686 | Edicto citatorio contra todos los que tuvieron o pretendieren tener interés en la causa de la beatificación y canonización del Venerable siervo de Dios Gregorio López, primer anacoreta en estas Indias Iccidentales de la Nueva España. | | |
| Cabildo | Haceduría | Causa de santificación | 55 | 18 | 531 | 1620-1702 | Proceso compulsorial original en la causa de la beatificación y canonización del Venerable Siervo de Dios Gregorio López, primer anacoreta en estas indias occidentales, que con autoridad apostólica comenzó el ilustrísimo y exelentísimo señor doctor don Juan Ortega Montañés, arzobispo de México, virrey de esta Nueva España, y continuó su vicario general el señor don Antonio de Aunsibay Anaya, canónigo más antiguo y después chantre de esta Santa Iglesia, y los señores doctor don Antonio de Villaseñor Monroy, canónigo comisario subdelegado general de la Santa Cruzada; el señor doctor don Pedro de Ávalos y de la Cueva, canónigo magistral; el señor doctor don Antonio de Gama, canónigo penitenciario; y el señor doctor don Rodrigo García Flores de Valdés, canónigo lectoral, nombrados por su Señoría Ilustrísima Excelentísima, y deputados jueces delegados por la Congregación de Sagrados Ritos, para compulsar los autos del proceso informativo hecho antiguamente con autoridad ordinaria [...] que se comenzó a 8 de junio de 1701 y se feneció a 26 de abril de 1702. | Alonso Velasco, José Vidal de Figueroa, Agustín de Eguiar, Bernabé de Usarrez, Pedro del Castillos, Jerónimo de Aguilar, Francisco Suárez, Bartolomé Rosales, fray Agustín de Betancurt, Antonio de Oviedo | |

APPENDIX III: LAST WILL OF GREGORIO LOPEZ AND ROYAL LETTERS ASKING FOR THE CANONISATION PROCESS

Last will of Gregorio Lopez

Sacados de los mismos papeles orginales que se enviaron a Roma, que están en poder de Gerónimo de Aguilar, notário, y sus orginales quedaron en México en el capítulo de los canónigos, como lo muestra el testimonio del susodicho enviado a la Villa de Madrid, que está en poder de Francisco Testa, escribano del número y mayor de esta dicha villa que es del siervo de dios Gregorio Lopez.

En el nombre de Dios. Amén.

Sean cuantos esta carta vieren cómo en el pueblo de Santa Fe, en tres dias del mes de Julio de 1596 años, ante mí, el presente escribano, y testigos, pareció presente Gregorio Lopez, residente en el dicho pueblo, a quien doy fee conozco, y dixo que por quanto él está al presente enfermo del cuerpo y en la cama, y sano de la voluntad y en su memoria y entendimento, y entiende que Nuestro Señor es servido de llevarle a descansar de esta vida a la outra, y algunas personas devotas suyas le han pedido hiciera y ordenara su testamento, y por haber vi(vi)do en pobreza y recogimiento no tiene bienes ningunos de qué testar, no los ha deseado, sino sólo la salvación de su alma para la vida eterna; pero por lo que toca a dar sepultura al cuerpo y porque también en esto no tiene voluntad sino lo que Dios nuestro señor, todopoderoso, en quien cree y adora, ordenare, le há parecido y parece hacer esta declaración, según y de la manera que hizo aquí, explicado en la forma siguiente: que por quanto él no tiene ni ha tenido voluntad suya en ninguna cosa, sino en lo que solamente Nuestro Señor ha servido de le ordenar y ha estado y está puesto a su prelado, que há sido el Ill.mo Sr. Arzobispo de México, quiere y es su voluntad, que siendo Nuestro Señor servido de llevarle de esta presente vida a su santa gloria, su cuerpo sea sepultado en la iglesia, parte y lugar que al dicho Sr. Arzobispo de México, que es o fuere, le pareciere, y por su auséncia al gobernador o gobernadores que por él fueren puestos, de la forma y manera que le pareciere y bien visto le fuere, así en esta ciudad de México como en outra cualquiera parte de su arzobispado, sin que en esto ninguna persona le ponga ningún impedimento, por quanto ésta es su última voluntad, si alguna puede tener o há tenido en esta vida: a los cuales ruego y suplica hagan el bien que les pareciere por su alma, porque dios depare quien haga por ellos outro tanto; y porque no outra cosa de que disponer ni ordenar, no nombra albaceas ni herederos, por no haber para qué.

Y esto dixo y delcaró en esta manera y fimólo de su nombre en el registro de esta carta, siendo testigos el Licenciado Francisco Losa y el bachiller Gerónimo de Morón y el bachiller Juan Laso, presbíteros. *Gregorio Lopez*. Ante mí, *Juan de Cárdenas*, escribano real.

Biblioteca Universidad de Salamanca, ms. 2325, fl. 56 r-v. apud Huerga, "Edición...", 137-138.

Muy reverendo en Christo Padre Arçobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de México, del mi Consejo.

Ya tendreis noticia que en el Pueblo de Santa Fe, dos leguas de essa Ciudad, a veinte de Julio del año de mil y quinientos y noventa y seis falleció un siervo de Dios llamado Gregorio Lopez, con opinõ, y fama de varón Santo, por espacio de treinta y tres años de los cinquenta y quarto que vivió, vivió en soledad, adornado de las virtudes de penitencia, humildad, y caridad con Dios, y cõ los proximos, y admirable don de oracion, y inteligencia de la Sagrada Escritura y ciencias naturales, y humanas, con aprovacion universal de los Perlados, y moradores de esse mi Reino.

Y atendiendo a que Dios nuestro Señor sea glorificado, y que su siervo Gregorio Lopez sea honrado en essas nuevas tierras, a las quales ha edificado, y admirado con su santa vida, y Milagros, y enriquecidolas cõ el Tesoro de su cuerpo, siendo el primero que en ellas ha resplandecido en santidad de vida solitaria,

me he movido a desear procurer sea beatificado, y que antes de faltar los testigos que lo conocieron, y trataron, se hagan las informaciones sumarias que han de precede antes que su Santidad dé sus remisoriales, en virtud de los quales se hagan informaciones que han de preceder a la beatificacion.

Y ansi os ruego, y encargo que luego hagais estas sumarias informaciones, y hechas me las embieis con toda brevedad dirigidas a Juan Ruiz de Contreras mi secretario en mi Consejo Real de las Indias.

Y del recibo desta me avisareis en la primera ocasion.

De Madrid a diez y ocho de Febrero de mil y seiscentos y veinte.

Yo El Rey

ASV: Riti 1704 [fl. 24] apud Huerga, "Edición...", 61-62.

El Rey

Marqués de Guadalcázar, Pariente, mi Virrey y Capitán General de las provincias de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ella:

Habiéndose tratado de las cosas del Santo Gregorio López [de] que tendréis noticia en esa tierra, se desea poner en ejecución su canonización; y para que en esta conformidad se hagan las diligencias, há parecido advertiros que, en un libro que anda impresso de su *Vida*, en el capítulo diez y nueve, que trata de la fortaleza y magnanimidad, a fojas 89, dice estas palabras:

El libro que hizo en declaración del Apocalipsi, que, a opinión de hombres sábios, es de grande estima, mandaron los Inquisidores fuese visto y examinado por don fray Pedro de Agüero, obispo de Cibú, el cual dio por aprobación que no había visto mejor aplicación sobre aquellas divinas revelaciones; que se admiraba que conta resolución y brevedad dijese tanto, que no había visto hombre tan puntual en historias, y que creía tuvo lumbre sobrenatural para escribir aquel libro.

Y quando la Santa Inquisición metió la mano en aquel negocio, no mostro ni creemos tuvo Gregorio sentimiento alguno, nio quiso quedaran traslados, ni tratar de él más que si no fuera obra suya.

Esto presupuesto, es encargo y mando que, com toda diligencia y cuidado posible, hagáis averiguación en el tribunal de la Santa Inquisición de esa ciudad, y por todas las vías que se pudiese averiguar, dónde esté este libro, y procureis certificar la idoneidade de él; conviene a saber: que este mismo libro, de que se trata, sea el mismo que obró y escribió Gregorio López y el que se llevó a la Inquisición.

Y para que estos autos se hagan legalmente, haréis que esa mi Audiencia, décomisión, a pedimento vuestro o del fiscal de ella, por ser matéria de gobierno, para que se haga esta averiguación y se halle este libro; y asimismo procuraréis otros que haya hecho, y papeles que haya escrito.

Todo lo cual, junto com los autos que sobre su averiguación se hicieren, los enviaréis a buen recaudo, y en caja aparte, dirigido a mi Consejo de las Indias – porque se tiene por milagro muy particular que un hombre sin letras escribiese en matéria la más alta y dificultosa y oscura de las Divinas Letras.

Y pondréis en esto mucho cuidado, porque la fuerza y grandeza de este milagro trae dependencia de lo que dijo el Tostado Abulense, nuestro español, que la inteligència de este libro estaba reservada a solas personas que sólo Dios la quisiese revelar.

Y del recibo de esta carta y de lo que en ejecución de ella hiciéreis, me avisaréis luego, por el cuidado com que se queda de la canonización de este Santo, sin perder punto ninguno.

En Madrid, 18 de Febrero de 1620 años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor,

Pedro de Ledesma

***Vidas y escritos...*, ed. Argai, *apud* Huerga, "Edición...", 61-62.**

APPENDIX IV: WITNESSES FOR THE INFORMATIVE PROCESS OF GREGORIO LOPEZ

INFORMATIVE PROCESS

| NAME | HOMELAND | RELIGIOUS CONDITION | PROFESSION / OFFICE | AGE AT THE INTERVIEW | PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW | DATE OF DEATH ⁸³⁶ | OBSERVATIONS |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Francisco Losa | [Peninsular] Cea/León | Secular – Priest | Chaplain of the Discalce Carmelites in México | -/+ 84 | Ciudad de México, 1620/07/10 | 1624/08/27 | His tumular stone refers Francisco Losa died at 89 years old and also indicates he abdicated his office in the Parish of the Mexican Metropolitan Church to become Gregorio's companion and afterward the chaplain of the Carmelites' convent. The tumular stone was placed in November 4 th 1684. Plus, Alonso Alberto Velasco refers to him as one of the first "cura propietario" of the Mexican Cathedral, where he also was defensor of prisoners and eventually the procurator of Gregorio's cause of beatification as the first anchorite of the West Indies. |
| 2. José de Vides | [Peninsular] Seville | Regular – Jesuit | | c. 60 | Ciudad de México, 1620/08/22 | 1627/10/10 | The Jesuit José de Vides was, before entering the Compañía, lawyer in the Royal Audience and Chancellery of México. He was natural from Sevilla. About him see Esteban J. Palomera, <i>La obra educativa de los jesuitas en Guadalajara, 1586-1986: visión histórica de cuatro siglos de labor cultural</i> (México, ICG-ITESO-Universidad Iberoamericana, 1986), 56. |
| 3. Pedro Carrillo Dávila | [Creole] La Encarnación /Zacatecas | Lay | Captain (vecino in minas de San Luis Potosí) | > 63 | Ciudad de México, 1620/08/26 | No information | Francisco de Arteaga, Jesuit's Provincial explains all the diligences that were made to find information of the four Jesuits that testified in Gregorio's process: he can only certify two of the obits through the edifying letters of Joseph de Vides and Pedro de Ortigosa. Joseph de Vides died in the house of the Society in Ciudad de México and his letter dates from October 13 th 1627. |

⁸³⁶ All complementary information about the witnesses of the informative process, namely the time of their death, are in Archivo Secreto Vaticano, *Riti*, 1717, ff. 177-180.

| NAME | HOMELAND | RELIGIOUS CONDITION | PROFESSION / OFFICE | AGE AT THE INTERVIEW | PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW | DATE OF DEATH ⁸³⁶ | OBSERVATIONS |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 4. Pedro de Ortigosa | [Peninsular] Ocaña/Castilla | Regular – Jesuit | Qualifier of the Holy Office in México; Theologian in the University of Spain and New Spain | =/- 74 | Ciudad de México, 1620/09/01 | 1626/05/11 | About Pedro de Ortigosa, Jesuit, natural de Ocaña, Toledo, see Jesús Paniagua Perez y Ma. Isabel Viforcós Marinas "Edición, introducción, notas e índices", in Gil González Dávila, <i>Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de la Nueva España</i> , tomo I, (Leon: Universidad, 2004), 158, n.299. Francisco de Arteaga also found the edifying letter for Pedro de Ortigosa, dated of 14 th May 1626. These letters were a kind of obituary dedication to the deceased members of the Society, where his work was described and remembered. |
| 5. Ana de Mendoza | [Peninsular or Creole?] 'Española' – Mexican | Lay | Wife of Pedro G. de Castro | -/+ 36 | Ciudad de México, 1620/09/02 | No information | No register of obit was found in the sacramental book of the parish where Ana de Mendoza stated she was living. The book started in 1644, so her obit was either earlier than that date or it was registered in another parish. |
| 6. Pedro González de Castro | [Peninsular or Creole?] 'Mexican' | Lay | Steward of San Lazaro's hospital | 29 | Ciudad de México, 1620/09/02 | No information | No register of obit was found in the sacramental book of the parish where Pedro de Castro stated he was living. The oldest neighbours of the parish were also questioned, without further information. |
| 7. Leonor de Aryolo | [Peninsular or Creole?] 'Española' – Mexican | Lay | Ana de Mendoza's Sister; daughter of Nicolas de Aloroso and dona Ana de Mendoza | 34 | Ciudad de México, 1620/09/02 | No information | Seen that Leonor de Yrolo and her sister, Ana de Mendoza, Pedro González de Castro lived in the Hospital de San Lazaro, parish of Santa Catharina, and that the successor of Castro as "mayoral" of the said hospital died in 1645, it is assumed Pedro González Castro died much earlier. |
| 8. Alonso de la Mota y Escobar | [Creole] | Secular – Bishop , Dominican | Bishop of Tlaxcala | c. 74 | Puebla, 1620/11/03 | 1625/03/16 | About Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, we can find information in Alba González Jácome (introducción y notas), in Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, <i>Memoriales del Obispo de Tlaxcala</i> (México, Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo, 1987), 1, 15. It is referred that Diego Díaz de la |

| NAME | HOMELAND | RELIGIOUS CONDITION | PROFESSION / OFFICE | AGE AT THE INTERVIEW | PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW | DATE OF DEATH ⁸³⁶ | OBSERVATIONS |
|--|----------------------------------|--|---|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | Carrera brought to New Spain Gil González d'Ávila's <i>Teatro Eclesiastico de la primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales</i> , where it reads Alonso de la Mota y Escobar was buried in the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús, in Puebla. |
| 9. Pedro Bernal Cermeño | [Creole?] Puebla | Lay, Married | Tailor ('Vecino' de Puebla, Lives in the street of the Compañía de Jesus in Puebla) | > 50 | Puebla, 1620/11/04 | No information | |
| 10. Juan Pérez de Gálvez | ? | Lay | Physician | 40 | Puebla, 1620/11/06 | No information | Testifies to corroborate the miracle described by Pedro Bernal Cermeño. |
| 11. Cristóbal de Anaya | [Peninsular:] Ávila/Castilla | ≈ Regular – Brotherhood S. Hipólito | Provincial of the Brotherhood of San Hipólito | 63 or 64 | Puebla, 1620/11/10 | 1624/09/26 | About Cristóbal Anaya you can check Juan Díaz de Arce, <i>Libro tercero del proximo evangélico...</i> , México, Hipólito de Ribera, 1652, 27-32, and Josefina Muriel, <i>Hospitales de la Nueva España</i> . Tomo I. Fundaciones del siglo XVI (México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas/Cruz Roja Mexicana, 1990), 236, 240. Antonio de Luna y Arellano, brother of San Hipólito, resorted to Juan Díaz de Arce to give information about Cristobal Anaya: he died with 78 years old, in the day of San Cosme and San Damian, and he is buried in the Altar of Nuestra Señora de lo Socorro in the Hospital of San Roque, Puebla. |
| 12. Hernando de Ribera | [Creole (?)] | Regular - Dominican | Vice-rector of the <i>Colegio de San Luis</i> of Puebla | c. 50 | Puebla, 1620/11/23 | No information | No information found in the archives of the Dominicans nor in the convent of Puebla, where Hernando de Rivera or Ribera assisted. |
| 13. Juan [Bartolomé] de Bohorques [e Hinojosa] | [Creole] México | Secular – Bishop (Dominican) | Bishop of Oaxaca | 55 | Íxultra/ Oaxaca, 1620/12/28 | 1633 | Juan Bartolomé Bohorques de Hinojosa was ordained priest by the Dominicans, and was nominated bishop of Antequera in 1617, as David Cheney collected for the "Archdiocese of |

| NAME | HOMELAND | RELIGIOUS CONDITION | PROFESSION / OFFICE | AGE AT THE INTERVIEW | PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW | DATE OF DEATH ⁸³⁶ | OBSERVATIONS |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | Antequera, Oaxaca" in http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bdbeh.html . Accessed on 13 th January 2016. Once more, Dávila's <i>Teatro Eclesiástico</i> appears as source of information: Juan Catano [sic] de Bohorques "came to Spain, was promoted to the diocese of Venezuela and then to Oaxaca, where he arrived on August 27 th 1617 and died in 1633. |
| 14. Hernando Carrasco | [Peninsular] El Provencio / Castilla La Mancha | ≈ Regular – Brotherhood S. Hipólito | Provincial of the Order of San Hipólito | +/- 54 | Oaxaca, 1621/01/03 | 1640/01/04 | Antonio de Luna y Arellano quotes Díaz de Arce once more, to give the certificate of death of Hernando Carrasco, at seventy-five years old, in the Hospital of Oaxtepec, where he was buried, near the grids of the main altar. |
| 15. Juan de Heredia | [?] | Secular - Canon | Canon of the Cathedral of Oaxaca | +/- 50 | Oaxaca, 1621/01/04 | No information | |
| 16. Pedro de Egurrola | [?] | Regular - Jesuit | | 36 | Oaxaca, 1621/01/04 | No information | Unfortunately not all Jesuits were remembered in a edifying letter. |
| 17. Juan de Gallegos | [?] | Regular - Jesuit | Vice-rector of the Jesuit college of Oaxaca | +/- 50 | Oaxaca, 1621/01/04 | No information ⁸³⁷ | As Pedro de Gurrola [sic], Juan Gallegos was also forgotten in the Jesuits's records. |
| 18. Juan de Valdivieso [Turcio] | [Creole (?)] | Lay | <i>Alcalde mayor</i> and Captain in Teguantepec | 45 | Tehuantepec/ Oaxaca, 1621/01/11 | No information | |
| 19. Pedro Sarmiento de el Vado | [Peninsular] | ≈ Regular – Brotherhood S. Hipólito | Presbyter in Chiapas | 72 | Chiapas, 1621/01/22 | No information | About Pedro Sarmiento del Vado see Díaz de Arce, <i>Libro tercero del proximo evangélico...</i> , 32-41. Seen that Díaz de Arce published his work about the Brotherhood of San Hipólito in 1652, Antonio de Luna y Arellano can only affirm Pedro Sarmiento del Vado died before that year, during his hermitic retirement to Chiapas. |
| 20. Marco Berriaca | [Creole (?)] | Lay | Public Notary of the <i>cabildo</i> of Chiapas | c. 55 | Chiapas, 1621/01/25 | No information | |

⁸³⁷ ASV Riti, 1717, ff. 179.

| NAME | HOMELAND | RELIGIOUS CONDITION | PROFESSION / OFFICE | AGE AT THE INTERVIEW | PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW | DATE OF DEATH ⁸³⁶ | OBSERVATIONS |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | | | (Married with Francisco Losa's niece) | | | | |
| 21. Gerónimo de Ocampo | [?] | Regular - Augustinian | Preacher and visitador of his order in Filipinas and Cuba vicar of the order in Santiago de Guatemala | > 60 | Santiago de Guatemala, 1621/02/09 | No information | From the Augustinian Provincial there were no news regarding the death of Geronimo Ocampo. |
| 22. Juan de Zapata Sandoval | [Creole] México? | Secular – Bishop [Agustin] | Bishop of Chiapas (nephew of Luis de Zapata) | 48 | Santiago de Guatemala, 1621/02/11 | 1630/01/00 | It is as well Gil González Dávila informing the death of Juan Zapata y Sandoval occurred in Guatemala, where he was buried. |
| 23. Gonzalo de Salazar | [Creole] México | Secular – Bishop [Agustin] | Bishop of Yucatán, Cozumel and Tabasco | c. 60 | Mérida, 1622/01/02 | 1636/08/31 | The Madriolen's chronicle of the Indian Church was again used to declare Gonzalo de Salazar died at the age of 76 and was buried in his Church of Mérida, in Yucatán. Moreover, it is mentioned Salazar's donation of a 40,000 pesos' oratory to his Church in Merida, where he died on a Sunday, at 3 a.m. |
| 24. Gaspar de Praves | | Secular – Priest | Presbyter of Tonango/Taxco | c. 63 | Ciudad de México, 1622/04/15 | | |
| 25. Francisco Suárez | | Regular - Franciscan | Guardian of the Province of Jilotepec | 60 | Ciudad de México, 1622/04/22 | 1640/09/17 | Information provided by Agustin de Vetancurt, that consulted the <i>Libro Antiguo de los Religiosos Difuntos</i> of the Province of Santo Evangelio of México, and whom still met Francisco Suarez in his deathbed. |
| 26. Juan de 27. Santiago | | Regular - Franciscan | Guardian of Tula's convent Theologian and Preacher of the Indians | 66 | Ciudad de México, 1622/05/04 | 1629/07/04 | Agustin de Vetancurt recovers the obit register that he also included in his <i>Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio</i> in the section of the <i>Menologio Franciscano</i> . Juan de Santiago died in the Monastery of Tacuba, where he lived, and was buried in the Convent of San Francisco, in Ciudad de México. |

APPENDIX V: NOTARY PROTOCOLS FROM THE CATÁLOGO DE PROTOCOLOS DEL ARCHIVO GENERAL DE NOTARÍAS DE LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO – FONDO SIGLO XVI

SOURCE: *CATÁLOGO DE PROTOCOLOS DEL ARCHIVO GENERAL DE NOTARÍAS DE LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO,*

FONDO SIGLO XVI. ONLINE.

IVONNE MIJARES (COORD.). SEMINARIO DE DOCUMENTACIÓN E HISTORIA NOVOHISPANA, MÉXICO, UNAM-INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS, 2014.

[HTTP://CPAGNCMXVI.HISTORICAS.UNAM.MX/CATALOGO.JSP](http://cpagncmxvi.historicas.unam.mx/catalogo.jsp)

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
|--------------|--------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| 1562.09.23 | Poder en causa propia | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 151, Leg. 7, f. 191rv, Ficha 150.0 | Pedro Bernardo de Quirós, clérigo presbítero, arcediano de la santa Iglesia de la ciudad de Guadalajara del Nuevo Reino de Galicia, estante, como cesionario de Pedro [...], vecino, según consta de una escritura que pasó ante Hernando de la Peña, escribano de Su Majestad, el 4 de febrero del año de la fecha de esta carta; otorgó poder especial a Francisco González, mercader, para que cobre para sí 181 pesos y 6 tomines de oro que corre a Lope de los Ríos por razón del resto de una escritura de traspaso que pasó ante Juan Lopez de Castillo, escribano nombrado en las minas de Jocotlán [Xocotlán] | Juan Díaz de Gibraleón, Francisco Díaz, Gregorio López [vecinos y estantes] |
| 1562.?09 | Concierto de aprendizaje | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 151, Leg. 7, f. 196rv, Ficha 155.0 | Francisco de Acosta, estante, entra como aprendiz de Francisco Nolasco Negrete, guadamalicer, por tiempo de 2 años a partir del día de la fecha de esta carta hasta el día de Navidad del año de 1563. Ambas partes se obligan al cumplimiento de lo establecido en la escritura. | Alonso Fernández, Hernando Negrete, Gregorio López, [vecinos y estantes en México] |
| 1562.10.20 | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Notaria 1, Vol151, Leg7, Fol198-198v, Ficha 158.0 | Gonzalo Rodríguez, mercader, se obliga a pagar a Juan Díaz de Gibraleón, asimismo mercader y vecino, 696 pesos y 6 tomines de oro que corre por razón de otros tantos que el otorgante y Pedro de Céspedes le debían de una obligación de pago. Plazo: [..., en la ciudad de México o] donde le fueren pedidos. | M[...] Pérez, Hernando Negrete, Gregorio López, [vecinos y estantes] |
| 1562.10.20 | Poder en causa propia | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 151, Leg. 7, f. 202rv, Ficha 160.0 | Juan Mejía, vecino, otorga poder especial a Juan Rodríguez, mercader, asimismo vecino, para que en su nombre cobre de Sebastián González, estante, 40 pesos de oro común por razón de una escritura de obligación de mayor cuantía que pasó entre Ceberín de Bustillo, escribano de Su Majestad. El otorgante cede dichos 40 pesos en el apoderado por razón de 4 varas de paño verde, 2.5 varas de Holanda, 10 varas de ruán, 1 vara de terciopelo pardo. No firmó porque dijo no saber, y en su nombre lo hizo un testigo. | Hernando Negrete, [...] de la Cruz, Gregorio López, [estante] |
| 1562.10.1[0] | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez | Vol. 151, Leg. 7, f. | Juan de León, Diego de Valverde, Gabriel López, vecinos, como principales | Hernando Negrete, |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
|--------------|--------------------|--|---|---|--|
| | | de la Fuente, escribano real | 203rv, Ficha 161.0 | deudores, y Diego de la Torre, mercader, estante, como su fiador, se obligan a pagar a Gaspar Huerta, ausente y a [...] Huerta, asimismo vecino, 558 pesos de oro que corre por razon de 139,5 libras de seda. Plazo: 4 meses, en la ciudad de Mexico o donde le fueren pedidos y en reales. El escribano da fe de conocer a los otorgantes. | {Alonso Hernández} Bachiller, escribano de Su Majestad, Gregorio López, [estantes] |
| 1562.10.17 | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 151, Leg. 7, ff. 206-208v, Ficha 164.0 | Francisco González [se obliga a pagar] a Martín de Aranguren 1,926 pesos, 1 tomin y 7 granos de oro común por razón de una serie de mercaderías de las que se contiene memoria en la escritura: varios cajones de diferentes números, pipas de vino, varas de enceras, anteojos de cristal y de catarata, libras de hilo, porcelana, etc. Plazo: en 21 meses, con 3 pagos iguales cada 7 meses, en la ciudad de Mexico o donde fueren pedidos y en reales. El escribano da fe de conocer al otorgante. | Alonso Hernández {Bachiller}, escribano de Su Majestad, Hernando Negrete, Gregorio López, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.10.12 | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 153, f. 69rv, Ficha 74.0 | Esteban Martín, arriero, estante, se obliga a pagar a Pedro de Montalbán, vecino de la ciudad de Veracruz, presente, y a Juan Núñez, su hermano, presente, 37[6] pesos de oros de minas por razón de [...] pipas de vino. Se da por contento y entregado. Plazo: a finales de febrero de 1563, en reales, so pena del doble y costas. El escribano da fe que conoce al otorgante. | [...] Ramos, arriero, Gregorio Lopez, Hernando Negrete, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 156?.00.[04] | Poder especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 611rv, Ficha 456.0 | Bel[trán] de Cetina, vecino, otorga poder cumplido a Pedro Pérez de la Puebla y J[...] López, escribano, ausente, o a cualquiera de ellos <i>in solidum</i> , especialmente para que en su nombre pueda [...] residencia y cubrir el cargo que ha tenido de corregidor del pueblo de Cuiseo [Cuitzeo], asistir a ella y recibir los cargos que le fueren impuestos y responder a ellos, y dar los descargos que le convengan y poder responder de la dicha residencia. | Juan R[...], Gregorio Lopez, Juan de la Cruz, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 156[2].09.23 | Recibo | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 622rv, Ficha 467.0 | Alonso Álvarez de Toledo, mercader, vecino, en voz y en nombre de Alonso de Angulo Montesinos, vecino de Mechiacan [Michoacán], y por virtud del poder que de él tiene, que pasó ante el escribano de Su Majestad Andrés Ruiz, otorga y conoce que recibe de Andres de León, presente, 86 pesos de oro común que el dicho Alonso de Angulo hubo de haber del resto de 500 pesos del dicho oro, que dio por cuenta de cierta cantidad de lanas que le vendió, como apareció en unas escrituras de venta que pasó ante Juan Franco de Vill[alob]os, escribano de Su Majestad. Lo cual dio y entregó por el dicho poder que así tiene de Alonso de Angulo. Se da por contento y entregado. | [...]er, Gregorio Lopez, Juan de la [Cruz, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.[09].23 | Poder Especial | Pedro | Vol. 154, | Miguel Rodríguez de Acevedo, vecino, | Garci |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
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| | | Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | f. 623rv, Ficha 468.0 | otorga poder cumplido a Francisco de Medina, mercader, estante, ausente, especialmente para que pueda obligar por todos los maravedís y pesos de oro y cualquier cantidad que le pareciere y quisiere, para que los dé y pague a las personas de quien compre cualquier mercaderías, vinos, y neg[...], azogue, sal, y otras cosas que quisi[ere] o por dineros o plata que le prestare y por todo lo demás que bien visto os fuere, y en la dicha razón pueda ante cualquier escribano o escribano dar y otorgar las escrituras de obligación que convengan y fueren necesarias. [al margen: [...ra Francisco de [Medina] para obligarle. Fecho] | M[artínez B]jadajoz, Juan Martínez, Gregorio López, Hernando Negrete, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.09.2[3] | Poder en causa propia | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 624rv, Ficha 469.0 | Francisco González, mercader, vecino, dice que por cuanto Pedro Bernaldo de Quirós, clérigo, presbítero, arcediano de la Iglesia de Gualdalajara del Nuevo Reino de Granada, presente, le debía 210 pesos de oro común por otros tantos que cobró por él a Pedro Sánchez de Palenzuela, Bartolomé Saucedo y Juan Calero, y ahora se los ha pagado 181 pesos y 6 tomines que le traspasó contra Pedro Verdugo, estante en las minas de Xocotlán, y los 28 pesos y [...] tomines restantes se obliga a pagarlo a Francisco [...] de Es]cobar, persona a quien él envió para que le cobrase los dichos pesos de [...], c[i]ertos pesos de oro, por tanto por esta [carta] da su poder cumplido para que [...] Francisco Hernández López], para que los tome y haya para sí como cosa propia y para que de lo recibido pueda otorgar las cartas de pago y finiquito que convengan. | Grego[ri]o López], Juan de la Cruz, y Francisco Díaz (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.09.23 | Poder especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 625rv, Ficha 470.0 | Miguel Rodríguez de Acevedo, vecino, otorga poder cumplido a Francisco Safa[te], residente en las minas de Tasco [Taxco], ausente, especialmente para que pueda recibir de Bartolomé Ortiz, vecino de la villa de Toluca, 610 pesos de oro comun que le debe por una obligación de plazo pasado, y una vez cobrado que le dé el dinero o se lo entregue a Francisco de Medina, en su nombre. [al margen: Francisco Sarfate para [co]brarlo de Bartolome Ortiz] | Garci Martínez, [Gregorio] López, Juan Martínez, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.09.20 | Poder general y especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 626rv, Ficha 471.0 | Cristóbal Escude[ro], mercader, estante, otorga poder cumplido a Francisco de Olalde y a Martín Jiménez, vecino, minero de las minas de Guanajuato, ausentes, y otorga poder especial para que reciba y cobre cualquier plata que saliere y procediere de las haciendas que tiene en las minas, que eran de Luis Ramírez de Vargas, así como de Pedraza, mayordomo de la dicha hacienda, como de otras cualesquier personas en cuyo poder estuviere y para que pueda | Alonso Hernández Bachiler, [escribano de] Su Majestad, Francisco Díaz y Gregorio López ([vecinos y estantes]) |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
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| | | | | otorgar las cartas de pago y finiquito que convenga. | |
| 156[2].09.24 | Recibo | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 627rv, Ficha 472.0 | Pedro de Herrera y Miguel Sánchez, estantes, ambos de mancomún, dicen que por cuenta entregaron a Diego Agún[dez], vecino, ausente, una escritura de obligación de 1,000 y tantos pesos de oro común contra Juan de Plasencia, para que de ellos cobre 433 pesos y 4 tomines del dicho oro, y cobrado se los devolviese para cobrar el resto que de ella quedaba debiendo, como aparece por la escritura que del recibo de ella les otorgó, a que se refiere y ahora vos, el susodicho, habiendo cobrado los 433 pesos y 4 tomines, se los entregó, y se dan por contentos y entregados. | Alonso He(nández Bachiller) Gregorio López, y Francisco de Olalde, (vecinos y estantes) |
| 1562.09.25 | Poder especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 628rv, Ficha 473.0 | Miguel [Rodrigo de] Acevedo, vecino, como depositario general que es de la Real Audiencia, otorga y conoce que recibió de Pedro Martínez de Montalbán, vecino de la ciudad de Veracruz, y de Juan Martínez, su hermano, estante en Mexico [testado] 2,5[2]0 pesos y 5 tomines de oro común que se perdió en el mar viniendo a esta Nueva España, en la flota de Francisco de Écija y Hernan Pérez, que por mandado de la Real Audiencia y por virtud de la real provisión, emanada de ella que por ella se dio y se mandó entrarse en su poder lo procedido de lo susodicho, y por virtud de poder que de él tenía Pedro Martínez, recibió y cobró los dichos pesos de oro con más cantidad de pesos de oro que di[er] haber gastado en ciertas costas y gastos que en [la c]obranza de ello hizo, como parecerá por [...] razón que de ello dará cada que le fue[re ped]dida; y de los dichos 2,520 y 5 tomines del dicho oro que así parece [ha]ber quedado líquido del dicho, procedido de [ello], se da por contento, [pagado y] entregado, por cuanto los 2 [mil pesos] de ellos dio en su nombre a Tolomeo [Espí]nola a cuenta de lo que Tolomeo [...] de]bía, y los 520 pesos y 5 [tomines ... qued]aron y se los recibio en cuenta [...] [en]tre él y Pedro Martínez. | R[odrigo] Doria, Juan de la Cruz, Gregorio López (vecinos y est[antes]) |
| 156[2].09.2[5] | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, ff. 629-631v, Ficha 474.0 | Diego [de] la Torre, mercader, estante, como principal deudor, y Hernando Hurtado, mercader, como su fiador y principal pagador, haciendo deuda ajena suya propia, ambos juntamente dicen que se obligan a pagar a Juan Martínez de Je[...], vecino de la ciudad de Sevilla, ausente, y a Pedro Gallego, mercader, presente, 11,946 [pesos y 1] tomin de oro comun, por razon de las mercaderías siguientes: fardos, angeos, marquilladas [sic], cajas de cera, manteles, servilletas, camisas de ruán, fustanes, tafetanes, peines, camisas de holanda, camisas de | Alonso H(ernández Bachiller), escribano de Su Majestad, Gregorio López, Diego Fe[lipe], ([vecinos] y estantes) |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
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| | | | | presillas, arcabuces, tijeras varias, cajones, almohadas, hilo casero, hilo negro, cajón para sedas, terciopelo negro, barriles de miel, carbasón, etc., a los precios declarados. Plazo: 1,500 pesos de oro de contado hoy día de la fecha y el resto se pagará contando desde el 21 de seotiembre en 24 meses en tres pagas iguales cada ocho meses, en reales de plata. | |
| 1562.09.2[3] | Obligación de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 632rv, Ficha 475.0 | Pedro Bernaldo de Quirós, clérigo presbítero, arcedianos de la Iglesia de la ciudad de Guadalajara del Nuevo Reino de Galicia, estante, presente, se obliga de pagar a Francisco González, mercader, presente, 28 pesos y 2 tomines de oro comun, los cuales son por razón del resto de los pesos de oro que por el cobró de Pedro Sánchez de Palenzuela, Juan Calero y Bartolomé de Saucedo, por el resto de lo que el así cobró, hizo traspaso de ell[os] ante el presente escribano contra Lope de lo[s] Ríos, que se lo debía, y por la dicha razón[n] debe líquidamente los pesos de oro, so pena del doblo y las costas. Plazo: en un mes en reales de plata. [al margen: testado] | Francisco de [...], Gregorio López, Juan de la Cruz, (vecinos y estantes) |
| 156[2].09.26 | Arrendamiento | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol 154, f. 638rv, Ficha 477.0 | Francisco Rodríguez Chacón, vecino, arrienda a Josepe Lomelín, presente, unos altos de una casa en que é vive, en el barrio de San Pablo, que son siete piezas altas con unas tres piezas de entresuelos, que están en la subi[da] de las escaleras, y con la entrada de todo ello y pertenencia de patios [y] corral, porque él queda en los bajos de la dicha casa con la dicha pertenencia de patios [y] corral, lo cual arrienda por tiempo de un año por precio de 40 pesos de oro de minas cada 3 meses, en reales; el arrendamiento comienza a correr desde el 1° de octubre. | Alonso He[erra] [sic: Alonso Hernández Bachiller?], Gregorio López, Hernando Negrete (v[ecinos] y estantes) |
| 156[2].09.23 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 649rv, Ficha 483.0 | Hernando Gutiérrez Altamirano, vecino, otorga poder general a Juan Losa, mercader, vecino, presente [al margen: "a Losa" "fecho"] | Juan Dí[az Gibra]león, Francisco de Velasco y Gregorio Lóp[ez], ([vecinos] y estantes) |
| 1562.09.23 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 650rv, Ficha 484.0 | Miguel Rodríguez de Acevedo, vecino, otorga poder general a Francisco de Medina, mercader, estante, ausente. | Juan de la Cruz, Francisco [de Velasco] Gregorio López, (vecinos y estantes) |
| 1562.09.03 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano | Vol 154, f. 651rv, Ficha 485.0 | Juan Fernandez Caro, vecino, otorga poder general a Baltasar de Rueda. | Alonso [Hernández] Bachiller, Gregorio López, |

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| | | real | | | J[ua]n de la Cruz, (vecinos e estantes) |
| 1562.10.2[...] | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol.154, f. 653rv, Ficha 487.0 | Francisco González, mercader, otorga poder general a Pedro de Larrea Zamudio. | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller], escribano de Su Majestad, Hernando Negrete y Gregorio López (vecinos y est[antes]) |
| 1562.10.08 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 154, f. 654rv, Ficha 488.0 | Juan Ochoa de Zubieta, estante, otorga poder general a Gaspar de Lanzarote, vecino. | [Hernando Ne]grete, Gregorio López, Al[onso Hernández Bachiller], escribano de Su Majestad, (estantes) |
| 1562.[sm].07 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol154, f. 655rv, Ficha 489.0 | Juan de Cuencas, vecino, otorga poder general a Jusepe de Paz. | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller], escribano de [Su Majestad, Hernando] Negrete, Gregorio López, [...] |
| 156[2].10.17 | Concierto de partido y servicio | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 1rv, Ficha 1.0 | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuentesalida, labrador, estante, dice que entró a servicio y partido de Alonso Rodríguez Lanzarote, por tiempo de 3 años, tiene de hacer 3 sementeras, la primera comienza a correr desde el 1° de enero de 1563, y durante el cual tiene de atender la labor de pan y de otras semillas que se han de sembrar en la estancia que Alonso Rodríguez tiene en el pueblo de Tepozotlán, y por su trabajo le ha de pagar por los 2 años la 1/5 parte del trigo, maíz y demás semillas que siembre, y por el tercer año le ha de pagar el sesmo, horro de todas las costas, en especie, de lo que recogiere al final de cada cosecha. Pedro Sáanchez se obliga a atender y servir en el dicho tiempo, hacer las sementeras, a coger, trillar, y limpiar el trigo. Y si en 4 meses Alonso Rodríguez no estuviera contento con el servicio de Pedro Sánchez le podrá pagar por su trabajo desde hoy día a tal fecha 100 pesos de oro de minas por año, y éste se obliga a arar, domar novillos, y todo lo que fuere en beneficio de la | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller], Hernando Negrete, Gregorio López, (vecinos y estantes) |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
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| | | | | hacienda. | |
| 1562.10.16 | Poder especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 2rv, Ficha 2.0 | [Diego] de Soria, clérigo presbítero, estante, dice que ha otorgado poder al doctor Alonso Bravo de La[gu]nas, canónigo, y a don Diego Pérez de Gordillo, chantre de la Iglesia de [Me]chuacan [Michoacán], quienes están en corte de Su Majestad, y a Agustín Espíndola, estante en la ciudad de Mexico, para que parecieran ante Su Majestad y pedir en su nombre cualesquier mercedes según el poder que pasó ante el presente escribano, porque para la expedición de su [...] que ha de hacer por virtud del poder ser[án] menester dineros, por lo que otorga poder especial al doctor Alonso Bravo de Lagunas, a don Diego Pérez Gordillo y a Agustín Espíndola, <i>in solidum</i> , para que lo puedan obligar hasta en cantidad de 500 ducados, para pagárselos a persona de quien los tomen. | Alonso H[ernández Bachiller, escribano de] Su Majestad, Gregorio López y Hernando Negrete [...] |
| 1562.10.15 | Obligacion de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 3rv, Ficha 3.0 | [An]drés Ruiz, estante, principal deudor, y Bernardino Balderas, vecino, como su fiador y principal pagador, de mancomún se obligan a pagar a Anton Rodríguez de la [Mag]dalena, vecino de la ciudad de [...], a Diego Serrano, vecino de la ciudad de los Ángeles, y a Gonzalo Gallego, mercader, vecino de la ciudad de Mexico, 170 pesos de oro de minas por razón de un esclavo negro, bozal, natural de Bran. Plazo: los pagará en paz y sin pleito alguno 200 pesos de oro de tepuzque, en 8 días, y lo restante en 4 meses, so pena del doblo y costas. [al margen: "fecho"] no firmaron porque dijeron que no sabían. | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller] (firma como Fernández), Gregorio López, Hernando Negrete, (vecinos y estantes) |
| 1562.10.12 | Obligacion de pago | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 4rv, Ficha 4.0 | Hernando Ramos, arriero, estante, se obliga a pagar a Pedro Martínez de Montalvo, su hijo, 133 pesos de oro de minas por razón de 4 pipas de vino, a 47 pesos de oro de minas cada pipa. Plazo: [...] de 1563, so pena del doblo y costas. [al margen: fecho] | [...] Martín, Cristóbal de Dueñas, Gregorio López, (vecinos) |
| 1562.10.15 | Poder general y especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 32rv, Ficha 30.0 | Alonso Cabellero y Andres Gutiérrez, mercaderes, estantes, por ellos mismos y por la Universidad, otorga poder especial Luis Pérez, vecino, para que pueda ante el señor alcalde mayor de la ciudad de Veracruz o su lugarteniente, presentar cualesquier provisiones reales y mandas de la Real Majestad y cualesquier justicias del virrey Luis de Velasco. Asimismo le otorgan poder general. [al margen: "fecho"] | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller], escribano de Su Majestad, Hernando Negrete, Gregorio López |
| 1562.10.17 | Poder especial | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 37rv, Ficha 32.0 | Diego de [...], clérigo presbítero, vicario de la provincia de [...]Julco, estante en la ciudad de Mexico, otorga poder especial al doctor Alonso Bravo de Lagunas, canónigo de la Iglesia, y a don Diego Pérez Gordillo, chantre de la Iglesia catedral de Michoacán, estantes en la | Alonso Hernández [Bachiller], escribano, Hernando Negrete, Gregorio |

| DATE | DOCUMENT TYPE | NOTARY | DOCUMENT REFERENCE | SUMMARY | WITNESSES |
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| | | | | corte de Su Majestad, y a Agustín de Espíndola, <i>in solidum</i> , para que puedan aparecer ante Su Majestad y los señores del Real Consejo de las Indias, para pedir y suplicar que se le hagan cualesquier merced o mercedes, y se las traigan a esta Nueva España a su costa y riesgo. [al margen: fecho] | López, (vecinos y estantes) |
| 1562.10.[...]6 | Poder general | Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, escribano real | Vol. 155, f. 38rv, Ficha 33.0 | Francisco de Saavedra, vecino, otorga poder general a Alejo de Munguía, vecino, y a Martín Alonso de Herrera, residente en las minas de Zacatecas. | Hernando Negrete, Alonso Hernández Bachiler, escribano de Su Majestad, y Gregorio López, (vecinos y estantes) |

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Summary

THE ANTI-BIOGRAPHY OF GREGORIO LOPEZ DECONSTRUCTING A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY *VITA*

The aim of this anti-biography is to challenge the traditional discourse on Gregorio Lopez, in searching for him and his story in the most varied contexts. My proposal is to go by the largest perimeter of the spiral to collect as much data as possible, thus reversing the chronology of three phases, connecting that which we could designate as Gregorio Lopez's after-life (the reception of *Vida*), *life* (the production of the hagiography of a living saint) and pre-life (the historical facts *in-against-and-beyond* the 'alter-native (hi)stories' upon which a religious discourse was elaborated).

Part I focuses mainly on the reception of the "first hermit of the Indies" myth, the way in which Losa's biography was received, having led to the start of a long and unfinished canonisation process. Parallel readings and numerous polemics arose out of the dissemination of Losa's work, and in a way, defined Gregorio as a figure of the New World's religious history. I have decided to begin with the ways in which Gregorio Lopez was recently studied within academia. From there we are able to understand how essential Francisco Losa's biography is to the comprehension of the reception of Gregorio's story. Furthermore, I shall attempt to chronicle a short book history of Losa's book, intersecting it with the canonisation process of Gregorio Lopez, delving into the networks in which it was read, published, and translated. The process of beatification itself underwent important alterations precisely during the time when Gregorio Lopez was proposed to be canonised at the Vatican, a fact that invites us to look at the political and ideological dimensions of the cause: sponsors, expectations, financial costs, as well as the agents involved. As such, this part focuses on the last four centuries, from the first publication of Losa's *Vida* in 1613, until nowadays.

Studying Gregorio Lopez, the hagiography is our central story and source. Part II delves into the moment of Losa's elaboration of the legend, which we know had already been concluded in 1598, making us question why it took so long to be published (1613); a moment which I extend to the last period of Gregorio's life, whence he was accompanied by Losa, between 1579 and 1596. Indeed, Losa informs us that he was

already writing episodes of Gregorio's holy life while in Santa Fe, entitling us to include Gregorio as part of that process – although it is not clear whether he actively participated in creating the image Francisco Losa presented. Many considered Gregorio a living saint, while at the same time others questioned and criticised his way of life. By looking attentively at how Losa constructed his narrative, we become better prepared to understand how Lopez lived with and beside that literary construction. By looking at the literary topoi, as well as through diverse historical sources – recovered by the process of discourse analysis of Part I –, namely other biographies and inquisitorial processes in which Gregorio is mentioned, we are able to make the 'legend' more 'real'. Better said, after deconstructing the myth, we will crack the literary capsule that Losa used to create a religious legend – a legend that Losa started to create already from 1579, when he first met Gregorio Lopez, by order of archbishop of Mexico, to examine his conscience. Part II focuses on the period between 1579 and 1613, when Francisco Losa finally got to see his biography printed.

I include in this dissertation the stories of Gregorio Lopez '*pre-Vida*', which is to say other contexts and facts that might help us decompose and recompose his existence before he became a model for Christian perfection in the New World. Part III focuses on the period during which Gregorio was not yet considered a holy man, during which he also was able to escape a system of mentalities' control imposed, both politically and culturally, by the Catholic Monarchy. This part of the anti-biography deals with the sources we can use belonging to the period of Gregorio's life that was not under scrutiny, expressly, between circa 1542 and 1579. Gregorio's life before he was seen by the Novohispanic society as a spiritual guide, although he never took up the religious habit or profession, is as much of a mystery as an opportunity to get into the history of the common man that crossed the Atlantic in the middle of the sixteenth century. All we can do is to gather as many sets of sources as possible, so as to compare them with the ecclesiastical records and notarial documentation from the colonial administration in the Americas. A permanent blur lessens the possibilities of accessing Gregorio's realities; and trying to find him in passenger lists, parish records, inquisitorial processes, and other documented events has proven to be a difficult task. The impossibility of finding the needle in the haystack, is only rewarded through the potentialities that come from being

inside the haystack itself, with everything these sources entail. The reconstruction of the historical communities of the several places Gregorio passed through is the main challenge in this third part.

The anti-biography of Gregorio Lopez brings forward the analysis of how a hagiographical legend was produced and propagated in Early-Modern History and how, although the creation of this same legend failed the canonising purpose that lay behind it, it demonstrates, through the *(hi)stories* of a single man, the complexity of the processes of colonisation and evangelisation of the American continent. The main question that remains is knowing whether the success of the cultural and religious colonisation as a civilisation process was/is itself a historiographic myth that we have to deconstruct. Can Gregorio be an example of other traditions to be recovered in the reconstruction of a more encompassing memory of territories that already *were* in and of themselves before becoming *America*, although their respective natives lived during his lifetime their own apocalypse?

We shall sift through all the data in order to answer a few simple questions: Why is Gregorio Lopez worthy of being a 'voice from the past'? How did he become a model? In what ways is he an example?

Samenvatting

DE ANTIBIOGRAFIE VAN GREGORIO LOPEZ DECONSTRUCTIE VAN EEN ZESTIENDE-EEUWSE VITA

Deze antibiografie beoogt vraagtekens te plaatsen bij de historiografie over de zestiende-eeuwse heremiet Gregorio Lopez, door naar hem en zijn levensverhaal op zoek te gaan in de meest uiteenlopende contexten. Daartoe heb ik zoveel mogelijk primair bronnenmateriaal verzameld en benader ik het leven van López in omgekeerd-chronologische volgorde: achtereenvolgens laat ik mijn licht schijnen over López' voortbestaan (de receptiegeschiedenis van zijn Vida), bestaan (het totstandkomingsproces van het hagiografische beeld van López als 'levende heilige') en vóórbestaan (het contrast tussen verifieerbare historische feiten en de 'alternatieve geschiedenissen' waarop het over López handelende godsdienstige vertoog is gebaseerd).

In deel I richt ik mij hoofdzakelijk op de receptiegeschiedenis van de door priester Francisco de Losa geschreven biografie van López en het onvoltooid gebleven proces van heiligverklaring waartoe deze biografie de stoot heeft gegeven. De uit Losa's werk voortgevloeide verschillende, naast elkaar bestaande interpretaties en talloze polemieken hebben López in zekere zin verankerd in de religieuze geschiedenis van de Nieuwe Wereld. Om López in die religiegeschiedenis te kunnen positioneren, bespreek ik allereerst de recente wetenschappelijke literatuur die aan hem is gewijd. Een bespreking van deze literatuur maakt duidelijk welke cruciale rol Losa's biografie heeft gespeeld in de mythevorming rondom de figuur Gregorio López. Vervolgens neem ik deze levensbeschrijving zélf tot object van onderzoek aan de hand van boekhistorisch onderzoek en de receptiegeschiedenis van Losa's Vida, door deze te relateren aan het canoniseringsproces van López en door een reconstructie te bieden van de netwerken waarin zij is gelezen, gepubliceerd en vertaald. Uitgerekend toen het voorstel om López heilig te verklaren aanhangig was, onderging het canoniseringsproces in de Rooms-Katholieke Kerk als zodanig belangrijke wijzigingen. Ik ga op zoek naar degenen die bij López' heiligverklaring waren betrokken en probeer te achterhalen welke politieke en ideologische motieven achter hun betrokkenheid schuilgingen, welke verwachtingen zij

koesterden en welke kosten het canoniseringsproces met zich meebracht. Deel I omspannt de laatste vier eeuwen, vanaf de publicatie van Losa's biografie in 1613 tot nu.

Hoewel Losa zijn levensbeschrijving van López al twee jaar na diens overlijden, in 1598, had voltooid, liet de publicatie van de *Vida* nadien nog vijftien jaar op zich wachten. Deel II handelt over de jaren die aan het verschijnen van de *Vida* voorafgingen, beginnend in 1579. In dat jaar kreeg Losa van de aartsbisschop van Mexico de opdracht López aan een gewetensonderzoek te onderwerpen, waarna hij López tot diens dood heeft bijgestaan. Daar Losa naar eigen zeggen al tijdens diens leven met het schrijven van de *Vida* is begonnen, kan López zélf invloed op de mythevorming rond zijn persoon hebben uitgeoefend – of dat daadwerkelijk het geval is geweest, blijft evenwel onduidelijk. Losa en velen met hem beschouwden López als een levende legende. Zoals uit onder meer inquisitieverslagen blijkt, hadden anderen daarentegen ernstige bedenkingen of zelfs een aversie tegen López' manier van leven. Door de inhoud van de *Vida* te ontleden door middel van een vertooganalyse en te plaatsen náást gegevens die andere vitae en inquisitieverslagen aandragen, licht deel II de mythische sluier op die Losa over het leven van López heeft geworpen. Door Losa's levensbeschrijving van López, met andere woorden, te 'deconstrueren', brengt deel II aan het licht hoe de mythevorming rond López al tijdens diens leven zijn beslag kreeg en van welke literaire topoi Losa zich daarbij heeft bediend.

Nimmer tot priester of monnik gewijd, staat López volgens Losa model voor ware christelijke perfectie. Omdat Losa López pas in 1579 voor het eerst ontmoette, draagt al wat hij meedeelt over López' levensloop voorafgaand aan dat jaar, een sterk speculatief karakter. López zou in 1542 ter wereld zijn gekomen in Madrid, dat rond diezelfde tijd uitgroeide tot hoofdstad van het Spaanse Rijk, en de wijk hebben genomen naar Mexico om te ontsnappen aan de gewetensdwang die de inquisitie op last van het katholieke vorstenhuis op het Iberisch schiereiland uitoefende. Deel III richt zich op onderzoek naar het leven van López vóór het ontstaan van de legendevorming rond zijn persoon, vanaf zijn geboorte tot aan zijn eerste ontmoeting met Losa. In plaats van als toonbeeld van christelijke godsvrucht staat López in deel III model voor de vele Iberiërs die in het midden van de zestiende eeuw de overtocht naar de Nieuwe Wereld maakten. Om het relaas van Losa na te trekken, zouden kerkelijke archieven, notariële akten en

administratieve stukken van het koloniale bestuur uitkomst kunnen bieden. Aan het zoeken naar dergelijke documentatie zijn grote heuristische uitdagingen verbonden: het blijkt geen sinecure López te traceren in documenten als passagierslijsten van trans-Atlantische schepen, parochienotulen en inquisitieverlagen. Op zoek gaan naar López in zestiende-eeuwse bronnen, met weinig meer aanknopingspunten dan degene die Losa biedt, is als het zoeken naar een speld in een hooiberg. Deel III laat zien dat het zoeken naar deze speld, óók zonder duidelijke uitkomst, de moeite waard is en een nieuw licht werpt op López en zijn omgeving. Ik neem de lezer in deze zoektocht bij de hand door een reconstructie te bieden van de dorps- en stadsgemeenschappen die López op het Iberisch schiereiland en in Nieuw-Spanje (mogelijkerwijs) heeft aangedaan.

Deze antibiografie van Gregorio López laat zien hoe een hagiografische legende in de vroegmoderne tijd tot stand is gekomen en is verbreid. Deze legende had oorspronkelijk ten doel om de historische figuur over wie zij handelt, door het Vaticaan heilig te laten verklaren. In deze antibiografie dient de legende een ander doel, namelijk om, aan de hand van een kritische 'deconstructie' van haar inhoud, de complexiteit van de kolonisering en kerstening van het Amerikaanse continent in al haar facetten te bestuderen. De antibiografie van López werpt als belangrijkste vraag op of de als succesvol 'beschavingsproces' gepresenteerde culturele en godsdienstige kolonisering van (Midden-)Amerika als zodanig een historiografische mythe is die eveneens 'deconstructie' behoeft. Bevat de zoektocht naar López aanknopingspunten om tot een herziening van de (katholieke) missiegeschiedenis op het Amerikaanse continent te komen?

We zullen alle beschikbare gegevens doornemen om tot antwoorden op de volgende vragen te komen: Waarom is de stem van de historische figuur López het waard in de huidige tijd te worden gehoord? Hoe is López een 'modelgelovige' geworden? En in welke zin is hij een voorbeeld (geweest)?

Acknowledgements, *although I prefer Bem-Haja*

Where I am from, Celorico da Beira, in the Star Mountains (Serra da Estrela, PT), we can still hear people saying 'bem-haja' to say 'thank you', not using the most common "obrigada" (meaning 'obliged to') or "agradecido" (meaning 'thankfull'). Literally it means 'well be/well there be' in English, something more like 'good for you', 'so that you have good'. To acknowledge is not enough to express my thankfulness to all those who have, somehow, allowed me to be here, writing the last piece of words in this puzzle which was created to reconnect us with an old-new story of our long existence on Earth. I will never be able to properly recognize the effort Mirjam and Mathilde made to make a sense out of the pieces I wrote for too many years, collected now in this monograph. It is outstanding how they edited my poor academic reasoning, knowing I am much fonder of free story-telling than I could even suspect, giving it sense and polishing unfinished ideas. As good as it gets, I might say it here, given my lack of discipline. I could never have arrived so far in reuniting these pieces if it wasn't for the corrections and suggestions Thomas gave me along the way, in Mexico, when my writing finally started to produce some logic. In fact, I could only be sure the thesis was acceptable when João Paulo Oliveira e Costa read it and, with his assertive comments, gave me his permission to proceed. Having worked in the publishing business, by the hand of the exceptional Joana Morão, to whom I owe my life, I realise now I had a magnificent team coordinating this publication: from the graphics (Joana Torgal, Artur Magalhães) to the translation (Diana Simões); from the format (Joana Morão) to the content (Gregorio Lopez & Francisco Losa); from the printing (Canto Redondo) to the revision (Mirjam de Baar, Mathilde van Dijk, Thomas Hillerkuss, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Diana Simões and Luda). What you have in your hands could not exist without their patience and hard work. I have much to thank them, and I owe them and many more the understanding that this was just a dream that allowed me to live a life for these last ten years where I could realise all that will allow me to keep on, to keep dreaming, to keep walking. The anti-biography of Gregorio Lopez is a never-ending history of a story. The hermeneutic process of this thesis turned into the greatest challenge, so it is impossible to translate into words all the discussions, conversations, and internal monologues provoked by this research. And it is still a challenge to avoid this scholarly work to turn into a political manifest. To find out the political meanings of resistance, negative criticism, alternative and social economy helped me looking for different perspectives and turning away from ecstatic views. Instead, it urged me to look for complexity, a complexity that Gregorio Lopez, as a subject of his time and spaces, called upon him and his contemporaries, by simply taking different roads. Finding and associating Zygmunt Bauman and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, John Holloway and Fernando Pessoa, Slavoy Žižek and Agostinho da Silva, animated my spirit and guided me through this intellectual

adventure. From the side effects of this intellectual voyage there is no return, and this spiritual dive into the world of Gregorio Lopez allows to me thank him, and all the free spirits of the world for teaching me that freedom is not a human right or a civil duty, but the natural state of any living being.

Slaves to our bodies, our spirits have to learn it in order to forget it, and as Carlo Cipolla explained it beautifully... *allegro ma non troppo*. While flying this world, we find webs along the way, from which we must decide to engage with or to be engaged. It can feel and we can see it as a cage, a web, a crack, a puzzle; I prefer to see it as a patchwork. Mine got considerably bigger when I started this process of engaging into an academic research (which, although I have much to thank the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, I came later to discover it was not the right job for me, also because it was a fellowship, not a contract like for all my colleagues in the Netherlands, eight years ago, when I was granted the opportunity to study Gregorio Lopez). Although this PhD felt like a golden cage, during the time I was funded to study Gregorio Lopez, I entered willingly on it; and I did so with much help. And I could not find better advice than the ones I got from Joana Serrado (a primordial string in my life, people named Joana are my masters, my best friends); who believe in me from the very beginning, compelling me to apply to Groningen. Joana helped me by conducting me inside this academic house through a golden gate, helping me to find a place in the Faculty, in the City and in the World – as my sisters Joana Nunes, Joana Tapada, Joana Fraga, Joana Morão, Joana Torgal, Joana BC did, do and will continue doing in life; showing me the value, the passion, the pursue of perfection in everything they do. The way my role-model forever, my great-grandmother ‘Vó Marquinhas’, did her patchwork, each piece she did had a lining. I learned from her that backing would become the basis of the patchwork, even when you could only recognize it after it was done, giving it the stability. My scientific basis, from where I felt comfortable to endure in this journey, became invisible in this work, for it embodied me (or was I embedded in it?). What at some point became a scientific pilgrimage around this sixteenth-century man, started in 2007, at the end of my History degree in the University of Coimbra. I must acknowledge my professors who advise me then – Margarida Neto, Guilhermina Mota, Saúl António Gomes, José Pedro Paiva, and also Teresa Veloso, João Marinho dos Santos, Rosário Morujão, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca. And especially I shall recognize someone that remained present along the way: Joaquim Ramos de Carvalho is and will be forever the tutor for Digital Humanities, the one who strives for the application of new technologies into the treatment and analysis of sources, especially for knowing the potentialities and impact it would have in the interpretation and communication of historiography. I am extremely grateful for all his patience and availability to work with his database (TimeLink) in my research; and also, for introducing me to Alexandre Pinto, João Carvalho and Ana Isabel Ribeiro who had to tolerate my digital ignorance and helped me

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meaning of fasting and of migrating. With them I always learn, theory and practice, ideas and experiences, always in the vanguard of the world. Back to Madrid where I always feel my favourite Iberian philosopher alive (after you my dear Rudolfo), Rafael Agudo, who will never realise the importance of having offered me what became my motto, *sueña y disfruta*. Museums, libraries, archives, and the first real challenge (the contact with the zealous priest of the Real Paroquia de Santiago y San Juan Batista, who, after many attempts, agreed with showing me the sacramental books of his archive, showing me at the same time the power of forgiveness – giving me also the first glimpse of the American Catholicism by meeting the young San Salvador priest, a priest who had joy). And also in Madrid, the first encounter with the necessary questioning of Gregorio as the character Francisco Losa and religious history depicted, through Juan Sarmiento (Uni. Madrid); with the Latin-American generosity Gleydi Sullon Barreto showed me by sharing her research and her data; with the impressive work developed by the new generation of Spanish researchers, as Rocío displayed in a guided tour by the Reina Sofia (and that I could later on check with the wonderful group I met in a conference in León: Jorge, António, Juan Pablo, Laura, Julia, Carlos, Gemma, Virginia, Bernardo and his gang). The Spanish piece needed three more stops to be concluded: Toledo, Guadalupe and Sevilla. In Toledo I found beauty again and I found the meaning of the mythical Iberian tolerance invented long before the Low Countries could appropriate its concept. In Guadalupe I found peace and the example of a good public officer, the local historian Elvira. In Sevilla I found the abandoned dreams of thousands who took “the road” to America so many centuries before I put a step on it, and where I could return (with the constant excuse to return for the wonderful Archivo General de Índias) to attend another conference (I also have to thank people from the eCost Action the wonderful work they do to bring academics together for Europe: Sabrina and Margriet, for being able to meet the work of the Seville research centre and also José and António from UBI). Spain, my piece of Spain taught me the future with the past. I could understand better the reality of Gregorio Lopez than the result it became to: a peninsula of many kingdoms that wanted to be an empire just like the one in its closest genesis, relentless to lose their strength in order to become a greater power. A power we know now only brought more exploitation, more problems, more corruption, more genocides, more destruction and death. Spain is the false union of many Portugals never strong enough to fight for their own existence, accepting fake borders for the sake of its promised survival. The empire fell, and these small nations forgot to fight for their own existence, for it would be hard to survive, so they said. Portugal is still standing. Spain is more and more wounded by its never-ending internal quarrels, scars of civil wars never forgiven, never forgotten. I do hope it can stand different than it is, I do know it can become a better place to be, closer not to what it was but to what it already is. Mexico showed me that this learned lesson is even more real than I could imagine. A big country full of different nations, *gentes con milles gentes adentro*. To

cross the ocean was to be fully aware of the minimal dimension of humanity in face of the universe and its greatness. The sea is the best place to understand we are just another species in a piece of rock in the middle of many other rolling stones around as many suns as the grains of a Caribbean beach. Mexico took me to New York and to the summer storms in Times Square, to Lygia Clark in exhibition in the MoMa, which we could see thanks to Christine's generosity to host us in her house in Manhattan. There I met Martin Cohen and Shelby, whom I thank the books offer I still have to honour by many future researches; whom I thank for receiving us in their office in the middle of the summer, to share their wisdom of life and to provide us with another example of how love transforms into higher forms, such as partnership, complicity and friendship.)

My journey in Mexico started in Tulum with my man Davide. Hosted by the good people of Hostelito and then by Ariana and her family in Aerolito, I felt at home. I felt protected and I knew there I was collecting new fabrics for this patchwork, without even knowing already how many different colours, patterns, and shapes the immensity of America could offer. From Tulum I needed to move to Zacatecas, with time to make some stops: from Merida I tried to find a way to Veracruz, Gregorio's first stop in the other side of the ocean and there I found Paco whom I thank for taking me to La Antigua, for his teaching how to make and for having offered me a dreamcatcher. Paco was also the responsible for arrangements for me to cross Mexico from Veracruz to the Pacific coast, where I was received by his friends: Adriano, Manuel, Alejandro and Armandito, who cooked for me, took me to the jungle, took me to the sea, took me to the freedom of showering in the storm and made me wonder if Gregorio ever saw the Pacific. Then, Zacatecas where Thomas received me in his house, where we had brutal discussions all around my idealistic views, bringing me down to reality, like when we visited a mining camp in the North. I have to thank him and Edith for putting up with my pretension of knowledge, and I have to thank my colleagues in the course of EtnoHistory in the Universidad de Zacatecas for taking me out and for teaching me so many wise lessons: Adriana & Adriana, Lupita, Alejandra, Oswaldo, Daniela, Hesby, and Hallier who was the first to teach me we are the last generation that grew up without internet and thus changed my all perspective on History and on the world we live in. I also have to thank Julio Castro, Leonardo Berumen and Bernardo Del Hoyo Calzada who kept alive the local erudite interest in Gregorio Lopez, and once again Thomas for taking me to the place where Gregorio made his hut after deciding to live a solitary life, a beautiful place I would have liked to stay a bit longer at, just as he did. I was able to visit Jerez, the surrounding territory and its small villages and libraries, where I was always welcome. Before travelling to Mexico City I was able to stop in Real de Catorce and meet the wonderful Casa Curtos and Tacha's family (mil gracias peyotitas!); there I quickly forgot about 'losing' my wallet with the poetic conversations with Ant3nio Ocaña, who sent me safely to Aguascalientes, to find my way

to Tanquian. António opened me his náhuatl heart to offer the huichole art and to send me safely to La Huasteca. I started navigating the region from the Regional Archive, and continued to Tempoal and then to Xilitla, where I met the creative Emma, who I thank for hosting me and for giving me a ride to Mexico City. Thanks to Oswaldo I had a bridge to Mexico City, Davide Areola, DavidOso to whom I own introducing me to what communicating science truly means, to whom I thank so much for taking me with him to learn how you do science with community, along with Laura, Tania, Chaco, Roberto. From Davide's house I could go to all the Archives and Libraries I needed, from the Archigo General de la Nación, the archives of the National Museum of Anthropology, the archive of the Jesuits and the Franciscans, the Archive of the Archdioceses, the Archivo de Notarias, Archivo del Distrito Federal, from where I went to visit every professor I could think of to get closer to Gregorio: the generous Antonio Rubial Garcia, but also Yvonne Mijares, Álvaro of Templo Mayor, Carlos Paredes of CEDLA that received me later on in Morelia, Francisco Rivas Castro that took me to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. Thanks to Davide I had a place from which I could go into the great city Mexico was and became; and from where I could make my own city and what I took from her with me: the market of Tlalpan and Rosa Maria and Maria, and the talented musicians of La Beguña; el Chopo and Marco, my vinyl records dealer, and the fantastic Alfred Jarry Romero; Coyoacan and my wonderful Rui. From Mexico City I also travelled to Puebla, to meet John Holloway, whom I thank for allowing me to attend his seminar for a couple of weeks. In Puebla, with Edite, Sagrario, Sergio, Manuel, and all the colleagues of the seminar I had to force myself to make questions I had never imagined: with them I learned the impossibility of institutionalising rebellion. From Puebla I visited Arixco, where the permission of the Bishop of Puebla allowed me to see the oldest archive of the town (no traces of Gregorio, not even in the promising archive of notaries of Puebla); and from Atlixco I met the volcanoes Rosita and Don Goyo with the help of Julio Glockner, whom I thank for teaching me Gregorio was just another symbol of a failed historical process still in place. Also, from Mexico I could visit Oaxtepec, where the mayor of the city guided me through the Hospital where Gregorio spent some years of his life – and to whom I thank for teaching me what local politics is about. And from Mexico, by the hand of Maria de Jesus Nava and Moises I was allowed in the hermit of Santa Fe, a place still pure that is carefully cleaned and secured by Señor Adrian: I have to thank them for keeping it a magical and mystical place. When I came back to Mexico a second time I still went to Morelia, thanks to Gloria with whom I visited the places built by Vasco de Quiroga. I could go on, but I forgot so many names. I can surely affirm my patchwork wouldn't be as colourful, beautiful, resistant, and immense as I feel it is today.

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Faculty staff welcomed me with great generosity and made me realise how important it is to have a safe work environment. From Kocku (who insisted I had to engage in mastering my poor English, challenging me to overcome myself) to Yme and Lautaro (who I felt my degree of craziness was appreciated by); from Erin (who was always so kind to hear my doubts on my academic vocation) to Hans Renders (who teach me all about biography, before I decided to do an anti-biography). Without their help I wouldn't have grown as a researcher, I wouldn't have had the conditions to also go to France, to the national library to meet Pierre Ragon, whom I thank for explaining how a canonization process works; and I wouldn't have had the opportunity to enter the Vatican Archive and Library and meet Father Saldanha. I thank also the people I encountered in the many conferences I could attend, specially Jodi Billinkoff, and Ana Valdez. However, the joy of Science I felt it when discussing my project with all the colleagues of the Graduate School: Iris, Marije, Dave, Tom-Erik, Lea, Joas, Myles, Daniel, Luisa, Petru, Giacomo, Iis, Tsila, Suzan, Mirjam, Viviana, Froujke, and also Binne, Jonne, Joana. Plus, thanks to the Introductory event I met the most wonderful people: Soledad, James and Peki, Pedro, Isabel and Philip, Angelica and Marteen, Maria Fernanda, Maxi. Forgive me those who I forgot to mention here; my staying in the Netherlands was and is remembered with much more important memories, the ones related with the true reason the universe took me there, the moment I met the man of my life, my Davide Sferrazza. I would not have met him if it wasn't for Jiries, my sisige, Nikoleta, Dimitra, Miguel: you were my first and great rocks in a country of water. I would not have met him if it wasn't for Il sole in cantina, where I met Leo and Anto, Marian and Marinella, Rui and Ausilia, Nelly and José, Igor and Piera. And if it wasn't for it I would not have met Joe, Matteo, Vera, Vilius, Martina and Olegksi, Michel and Stefan, and the most wonderful generations of artists and musicians who filed my heart with music and art, too numerous to name them all, from Renske to Esat, from Aleksandar to Helene and the list is endless. Davide also gave me Peter and Luca and Carmine, Wyno, Mirjam and Jaap, Fokko and Sasha, Stintje and Jeff, Anja and Ronald, Partiboi, and Herman. Giorgio, Savia, Enzo e Sara, you too allow me to be present in Davide's family, even when I'm distant. My Dutch piece in this patchwork of life made it all possible and for that I am extremely grateful: no matter how much I suffered, your support made it possible for me to thrive. I knew I was in the right way to transform the golden cage into a patchwork when Davide met my strong women sorcerers: Diana, Sónia, Tania, Linda, Joana, Claudia, Licas, Joana, Lita; and when they gave us their blessings. I was privileged to meet all this people that made me grow. Also warmly acknowledged, my big sisters: Marta (atoiosoiotoio), Patricia-Tita, Joana-Jo: you were more patient with me than I deserved. But I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for my mother, who insisted in carrying me, although I was not desired. At the end, mother, this is because of and for you.

To all, my sincere bem-haja!