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Preventing Heresy:
Censorship and Privilege in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Publishing

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

_________________________________
Ann Twinam

_________________________________
Maria Wade
Preventing Heresy:
Censorship and Privilege in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Publishing

by

Albert Anthony Palacios, B.Arch.; B.A.; M.S.I.S.

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Dedication

To my mother and sister who always encourage my curiosity.
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Abstract

Preventing Heresy:  
Censorship and Privilege in Sixteenth-Century Mexican Publishing

Albert Anthony Palacios, M.A.  
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Supervisor: Ann Twinam

Prevailing Catholic thought in the sixteenth century perceived heresy as a cancer on society and the printed word an effective carrier. Acceptance of this view throughout the Spanish kingdom resulted in the vigilant scrutiny of printed works, in particular those imported or produced in the Americas. Who reviewed manuscript works destined for or written in Mexico before the printing block hit the paper? Did the New Spanish bureaucracy repress colonial authors intellectually or financially? This thesis examines preventive censorship, or the inspection and licensing of manuscripts considered for publishing, and printing privilege in sixteenth-century Mexico.

Mexican books printed 1540-1612 and official correspondence form the basis of this thesis. The overarching analysis is diachronic-bibliographic in nature. It starts with the origins of preventing censorship in Spain, its transference to New Spain, and its administration during the first decade of the American printing press (1487-1550). Thrusting ahead, it then delves into the bureaucratic, political, and economic nuances of the mature publishing practice at the turn of the century (1590-1612). The conclusion compares the bookend phases, defines factors, and looks at prevailing practices in Europe to contextualize Mexico’s unique publishing industry.

In the Americas, religious authors established, financed, and developed the publishing economy to facilitate indigenous indoctrination and enculturation, enforce Christian hegemony, and promote higher education. As these authors came to dominate in the writing, censorship, and production of Mexican printed books throughout the sixteenth century, printers increasingly assumed a subordinate role. In the European printing industry, non-cleric officials predominantly censored manuscripts and printers assumed primary ownership of intellectual work. Inversing European practice, published authors in Mexico enjoyed significant influence over the censorship, printing, and
economic potential of their intellectual fruits from the onset of colonization to the remainder of the sixteenth century and beyond.
# Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction ............................................................................................1

Chapter 2: Spreading and Protecting the Faith, 1487-1554 ...................................21
  Preventive Censorship in the Iberian Peninsula, 1487-1554 .........................21
  Colonial Censorship at the Eve of the American Printing Press .................27
  Bishop Juan de Zumárraga: America's First Editor-in-Chief .......................36

Chapter 3: Maintaining the Purity of the Faith, 1590-1612 ...............................44
  Colonial Authors: Writing for the Spanish Empire ......................................46
  Censoring the American Output ....................................................................49
  Commercializing Colonial Literature .............................................................55
    Printer Selection .......................................................................................57
    Printing Privilege ...................................................................................60
      The Vice-Regal Privilege of Luis de Velasco II: A Case Study ....64

Chapter 4: Sixteenth-Century Mexican Publishing in Context .........................75

References ..............................................................................................................81

Vita .......................................................................................................................89
Chapter 1: Introduction

Prevailing Catholic thought in the sixteenth century perceived heresy as a cancer on society and the printed word an effective carrier. Acceptance of this view throughout the Spanish kingdom resulted in the vigilant scrutiny of printed works, in particular those imported or produced in the Americas. Following the defeat of Muslim Granada and the subsequent discovery of the New World, the Catholic monarchy was particularly preoccupied with the religious reform of Spanish society and the maintenance of an ideologically ‘unspoiled’ America to sculpt a cohesive nation-state. The idea of a doctrinally pure territory geographically isolated from the heretical ideologies surging through Europe made censorship ever more important in the colonies.1

Who reviewed manuscript works destined for or written in Mexico before the printing block hit the paper? Who were these colonial authors and what role did they assume in the publication of their scholarship? What was the ideological, political, and economic milieu of the burgeoning Mexican printing press? Did the New Spanish bureaucracy repress colonial authors intellectually or financially? These are all lines of inquiry that consequently elucidate the generation, definition, and economic viability of orthodox printed thought in the Spanish colonies. By deconstructing the sanctioned (i.e. extant Mexican incunabula), this thesis pursues answers to these questions and engages two major historiographies, Spanish ideological censorship and the printing press in sixteenth-century Mexico.

Social censorship regularly fell under the juridical domain of the Holy Office of the Inquisition—an institution substantial scholarship has scrutinized. Two panoptic works published at the turn of the twentieth century formally launch the Spanish

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Inquisition’s modern historiography. José Toribio Medina produces the first substantial study of the organization within the context of the Americas, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (1905). Coming from a nineteenth-century historiographic tradition where documents ‘spoke’ for themselves, Toribio Medina presents case abstracts, devoid of theoretical analysis, to construct a narrative of the Mexican Inquisition’s establishment, proceedings, authorities, and notable defendants throughout the colonial period.²

The following year, Henry Charles Lea publishes his four-volume *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906). His prodigious work details the origins, structure, inter-bureaucratic politics, jurisdiction, and methods of the Supreme Council of the Holy Inquisition—the royal assembly from which the Spanish empire’s twenty-one tribunals (including Mexico’s) drew their authority. Resorting to categorization and tabulation of inquisitorial episodes, Lea provides a comprehensive discussion of the organization’s “incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and…the limitations…it placed on the Spanish intellect.”³ Even though the sole use of trial summaries and quantitative approach limit the depth of these investigations, the breadth of these canonical works remains unsurpassed and they continue to serve as invaluable references for scholars considering ideological control in Spanish America.

Early attempts at evaluating the Holy Office’s philosophy and agenda furthered a conception that emerged during the colonial period’s ‘Black Legend’ discourse. Starting in the sixteenth century, competing European powers launched anti-Spanish propaganda to denigrate the Catholic empire’s morality. This campaign focused on the most

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² José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de México* (Santiago de Chile: Impresa Elzeviriana, 1905).
repressive institutions, including the encomienda (a forced indigenous labor system) and the Inquisition, which it colored as “an authoritarian and monochromatic institution bent on enforcing reactionary Catholicism” and stifling intellectual life in the colonies.\(^4\)

Writing during the last gasps of the Mexican Inquisition, ex-inquisitor Juan Antonio Llorente expounds on the royal council as a whole using a few isolated incidents in *Histoire critique de l’inquisition d’Espagne* (1818). In this fantastic treatise, he substantiates the aforementioned preconceived notions with the intent to criticize and repudiate the institution’s actions.\(^5\)

The deep-seated Enlightenment bias emanating from Llorente’s work still rears its head in the twentieth century with Cecil Roth in *The Spanish Inquisition* (1937). Roth presents an absolute and unyielding “Unholy Office,” permanently infused with a medieval spirit that propelled it to “go to any lengths…to safeguard [its] eternal felicity, and to secure that of others whose eyes were blinded.”\(^6\) Even Lea, who intends to contribute a characteristic twentieth-century historical analysis ‘devoid’ of subjectivity and founded on quantitative evidence, is prone to the sentiment from time to time throughout his study.\(^7\) For these authors, and consequently for their audience, the enigmatic nature of the agency and the sporadic infamous trials punctuating its practices obfuscated the ideological and political complexity that prompted the Inquisition’s highly calculated moves.

Several works materialize in the 1960s to refute the perceived ideological homogeneity of the institution. Richard E. Greenleaf initiates the reinterpretation with

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\(^7\) In the foreword, Lea makes the following statement when characterizing the Spanish Inquisition, “…the resolute conservatism with which it held the [Spanish] nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty…,” Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, vol. 1, v.
Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition (1961), setting the philosophical and social stage that led up to the formal establishment of the Mexican Holy Office in 1571. Moving away from generalization, he concentrates on the ideologues at the helm, delving particularly into the philosophy and religious agenda of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga’s inquisitorial enterprise. With sound contextualization, Greenleaf concludes the bishop acted impartially as apostolic inquisitor, basing decisions on a specific Christian humanist ideology and an agenda aimed at eradicating heretical habits, and societal demands.⁸

Attempting to summarize and modernize Lea, Henry Kamen maintains the focus on the corporate body in The Spanish Inquisition (1965), but employs statistical, economic, and sociological/psychological analyses to contextualize it within a multifaceted Spanish society. He argues inquisitorial action arose from class tension where Spanish Christians resented the well-established socio-economic status of Jews, thus reflecting more of a racial intolerance, rather than religious.⁹ Concluding the decade, Greenleaf continues his analytical focus on individual agency and pens a series of discussions in The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century (1969) that illustrate how colonial economics, rivalries, thriving philosophies, and ethnicity played a role in the tribunal’s methodology. Centering the New Spanish institution within colonial

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administrative disputes, he demonstrates the Holy Office proved to be an effective political weapon for those who wielded its authority in sixteenth-century Mexico.\textsuperscript{10} Jumping ahead, current scholarship is now questioning the absolutism of the Holy Office—a seed Greenleaf planted at the end of \textit{The Mexican Inquisition} when he claimed the specific social and political “circumstances [in New Spain] made the Mexican Holy Office of the Inquisition less of a repressive institution in the sixteenth century than many scholars have imagined.”\textsuperscript{11} Starr-LeBeau’s \textit{In the Shadow of the Virgin} (2003) depicts the negotiation taking place in this supposedly ‘unyielding’ institution within the context of the inquisitorial trials of Guadalupe, Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. She argues religious identity and political authority emerged from the Holy Office’s “construction of oppositions out of ambiguities,” a process in which local authorities, not the Crown, defined what constituted heresy and orthodoxy in the community; thus, the Holy Office “was not an oppressive state court imposed upon a helpless populace from without,” but from within.\textsuperscript{12}

As extensive as this corpus is on social censorship in the Spanish empire, relatively few studies consider literary oversight. Greenleaf broaches the subject in \textit{The Mexican Inquisition} (1969) with a few pages on the tribunal’s scrutiny of imported books and two shallow case studies of printers accused of Lutheranism.\textsuperscript{13} Those who delve into the subject approach it much like Greenleaf, by investigating the Inquisition’s punitive censorship, or the examination and suppression of printed books. In a now-classic book, \textit{Books of the Brave} (1949), Irving A. Leonard examines the trans-Atlantic book trade to

\textsuperscript{11} Greenleaf, \textit{The Mexican Inquisition}, 213.
\textsuperscript{13} Greenleaf, \textit{The Mexican Inquisition}, 182-186.
understand the Spanish state’s failed attempts at controlling through the Inquisition the dissemination of European thought in the American colonies. Early in the effort to discredit the “Black Legend,” he proves the Spanish Inquisition remained “remarkably tolerant of popular taste in literature despite the clamor of moralists and reformers.”

Currently, scholars devote more attention to inquisitorial trial intricacies to understand how the prosecution of heretical and dissident literature reflected ideological and social tension in Spanish society. Martin Nesvig scrutinizes inquisition proceedings involving books in *Ideology and Inquisition* (2009) to unfold “the intellectual and cultural formation of [the Mexican inquisitor’s] ideology…and the subsequent application (or misapplication) of that theory in practice.” His overarching aim is to illustrate the “broad and significant disagreements [that] emerged within the Hispanic Catholic world, reflecting less hegemony than discord.” Also analyzing the Inquisition’s punitive censorship, José Abel Ramos Soriano’s *Los Delincuentes de Papel* (2011) presents a qualitative analysis of individuals involved in the denunciation of prohibited books during the eighteenth century, concluding the Holy Office considered the book, not the implicated, as the primary enemy and deserving of ‘punishment’ through censure and destruction.

Since preventive censorship, or the inspection and licensing of manuscripts considered for publishing, fell under the purview of several bureaucracies independent from the Holy Office, scholars have glossed over the activity. Stephen C. Mohler’s

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article, “Publishing in Colonial Spanish America” (1978), could very well be one in a handful of works that seriously treats the practice within the context of the New World. He surveys limitations to the “development of colonial Spanish American letters” pre- and post-printing—publishing legislation, licensing procedure, bookselling surveillance, the Inquisition’s index of prohibited books, and the American printing press. Mohler concludes preventive censorship was more successful at limiting colonial intellectual advancement than punitive censorship given the “overlapping jurisdiction of civil and ecclesiastical authorities in this matter.” Albeit he elaborates on the subject more so than any other does, the analysis is rather superficial since he bases his deductions on a survey of decrees—he scrutinizes theory rather than practice.18

There are many possible reasons why preventive censorship in Mexico remains critically unexamined. In the introduction of Book Censorship (1949), Schons presumes the dearth in the general study of colonial literary censorship “may be due to the scarcity of source material.” Responding to the assumption, Schons compiles a catalogue of new evidence drawn from late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century correspondence found at the Supreme Council of the Inquisition archives in Madrid and the Archivo General de la Nación.19

Yet, the most plausible explanation is that researchers generally find the events or material culture the Church and state condemned more provocative, i.e. punitive censorship. In her introduction of the latest edition of Toribio Medina’s Historia del Tribunal, Solange Alberro reasons early scholar’s fascination is due to the institution’s


19 Schons, Book Censorship, ix.
secretive nature and the Enlightenment conception of a severely repressive organization. Those countering these preconceived notions echo Greenleaf in believing “perhaps a society is best known through its heretics and dissenters.” Concerning book censorship, Ramos Soriano asserts the Inquisition’s punitive censorship was more important than preventive censorship because of the significant importation, diffusion, and consequent intellectual impact of heretical publications in the New World. Regardless of the rationale for this predilection, the fact remains that contemporary researchers still dismiss the enterprise of looking at the production of sanctioned printed thought.

A few works do investigate the practice. Bridging analysis of preventive censorship and bibliography, José Simón Díaz’s *El libro español antiguo* (1983) investigates the state, ecclesiastical, and societal intervention in literary production and adeptly deconstructs the physical structure of a book to delineate the various authorial considerations that went into composing sixteenth century Spanish literature on the mainland. In his two-volume *El libro en España y América* (2000), Fermín de los Reyes Gómez considerably expands Díaz’s work on the surveillance of the printing industry and meticulously compiles the legislation that governed the procedure from the late fifteenth until the early nineteenth century in the Catholic state. He supplies two important conclusions from his survey; the monarchial enthusiasm for the trade’s potential soon faded as is evident by its increasingly restrictive measures, and the regulation varied in its application throughout the empire. Still, these discussions

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23 Díaz, *El libro español antiguo*.
center on preventive censorship taking place in or radiating out from the peninsula, not Mexico.

The thesis presented here is an analysis of that yet thoroughly uninvestigated New Spanish censorship practice. The processual analysis (reconstruction of the publishing process) elucidates the colonial bureaucracy, its application of these royal laws, and illustrates the influence of political and ideological agenda on the composition, censorship, licensing, and commoditization of intellectual work. Given preventive censorship was prerequisite and regularly determined the economics of colonial publishing, the analysis that unfolds in this research necessarily engages the historiography of Mexican printing during the sixteenth century.

Hortencia Calvo’s relatively recent article, “The State of the Discipline” (2003), lays out a thorough survey of the scholarship considering the book in colonial Spanish America. According to Calvo, the literature concentrates on the “the establishment and development of printing in specific regions,” particularly in Mexico and Peru, or tracing “the dissemination of European ideas through print.” Although both lines of inquiry develop throughout the historiography, an emphasis on former, then the latter, emerges in the collective research.²⁵

An obsession to determine the technology’s precise establishment in Mexico and its first printings emanates from the early Mexican printing press’ modern historiography. Henry Harrisse’s rudimentary *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* (1866) marks the beginnings of the study, centering on the identification of the earliest Mexican printed book and, consequently, the first printing press in the Americas.²⁶ However, it is not

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²⁶ Henry Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima: A Description of Works Relating to America, Published between the Years of 1492 and 1551* (New York: G.P. Philes, 1866).
until 1886 with Joaquín García Icazbalceta’s bibliography of sixteenth-century Mexican books that the scholarship on the topic truly takes off.\textsuperscript{27} Building on García Icazbalceta’s research, José Toribio Medina produced a monumental eight-volume bibliographic history, \textit{La imprenta en México} (1912) to trace the development of the New Spanish industry, in which he presents biographies of known practicing printers, sections on engravers, booksellers, and bibliographers, and appends an impressively expanded bibliography of identified books printed in Mexico from 1539 until 1821.\textsuperscript{28}

Subsequent traditional scholarship tends to elaborate García Icazbalceta and Toribio Medina’s bibliographies. In the case of \textit{Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints} (1925), Henry R. Wagner adds to the list of incunabula and seeks out the whereabouts of these books in repositories throughout the world.\textsuperscript{29} Roman Zulaica Garate’s \textit{Los franciscanos y la imprenta en México en el siglo XVI} (1939) retools the precedents to highlight Franciscan authors and furnishes brief biographies of these individuals.\textsuperscript{30} In the 1950s, the ‘origins’ debate resurfaces to definitively identify the first Mexican print in the bibliography.\textsuperscript{31} The detailing of these foundational works continues all the way to the end of the twentieth century with Jesús Yhmoff Cabrera’s discussion of print types and engravings attributed to specific printers in \textit{Los impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI} (1990).\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{27} Joaquín García Icazbalceta, \textit{Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI: catálogo razonado de libros impresos en México de 1539 a 1600} (Mexico: Librería de Andrade y Morales, 1886).
\textsuperscript{28} José Toribio Medina, \textit{La imprenta en México, 1539-1821} (Santiago de Chile: José Toribio Medina, 1912).
\textsuperscript{30} Roman Zulaica Garate, \textit{Los franciscanos y la imprenta en México en el siglo XVI} (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939).
\textsuperscript{31} Francisco Vindel, \textit{El primer libro impreso en América fue para el rezo del Santo Rosario} (Madrid, 1953); Alberto María Carreño, \textit{¿El primer impreso en América?} (Mexico: Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia, 1954).
In the second half of the twentieth century, several works materialize that delve into the lives of early printers in Mexico, and the economic and technological trajectory of their printing houses. Alexander Alphonse Marius Stols publishes two separate works in 1962, *Antonio de Espinosa* and *Pedro Ocharte*.\(^3\) Emerging as a veritable authority on the Cromberger family and their American enterprise, Clive Griffin contributes *The Crombergers of Seville* (1988), where he unfolds the story of the family and its powerful publishing house in Spain. Pertaining to the first Mexican printing press, Griffin interjects substantial cultural, economic, and political details throughout the book to establish the context that brought forth the industry’s expansion into the New World. He concludes the family had relatively little interest in the burgeoning colonial branch given the scarce resources allocated to its operations, investing substantially more on the exportation of its Spanish printed books to the Americas.\(^3\)

The importation of books and dissemination of European thought in the Spanish colonies garners significant scholarly attention starting in the late 1930s. José Torre Revello initiates the line of inquiry with *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América* (1940). He expounds on the output of the Spanish publishing industry and its regulation—focusing on the trans-Atlantic book trade—and provides an extensive appendix on book shipments.\(^3\) Almost a decade later, Irving A. Leonard publishes *Books of the Brave* (1949) where he also analyses the Spanish book trade using shipping manifests and inquisition records.\(^3\) Together, these investigations illustrate a significant


\(^3\) José Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Buenos Aires: Talleres S.A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1940).

\(^3\) Leonard, *Books of the Brave*.  

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“gap existed between legislation [theory] and actual practice,” an issue that surfaced in many other colonial institutions including the Holy Office of the Inquisition.37

Magdalena Chocano Mena’s article, “Colonial Printing and Metropolitan Books” (1997), ingeniously connects both preoccupations in the historiography—the developing Mexican press and the diffusion of European thought into the New World. Assessing the “impact of the printing press in New Spain” from its establishment until the seventeenth century, she tabulates the languages represented in Mexican printed books. From this statistical analysis, she deduces the American printing press primarily served two purposes, “to help disseminate Christian doctrine among colonized native populations in their own languages, and to preserve and expand Spanish colonial culture in the New World.” However, even though the numbers demonstrate the eventual Hispanization of the American printing press, the scholar illustrates the colony’s cultural dependency on the literary production of Iberia when she compares the production of the New Spanish industry to the influx of books coming from the mainland.38


40 Rosa María Fernández de Zamora, Los impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI: su presencia en el patrimonio cultural de nuevo siglo (Mexico: Universidad National Autónoma de México, 2009).
The general historiography of printing censorship and copyright largely ignores the Spanish empire and concentrates on the British, Venetian, and German printing press. In his two-volume study *Books and Their Makers* (1962), George Haven Putnam dedicates entire chapters to the oversight and economic privilege of the Italian, German, French, and English printing industry, only noting Spanish contributions in his “Book-Trade in the Manuscript Period” section.\(^\text{41}\) Later synopses up to the twenty-first century continue the neglect, depicting a European industry controlled by non-cleric officials and printers who assumed primary ownership of intellectual work.\(^\text{42}\)

Attempts to introduce the Iberian printing industry to the European context appear on the second half of the twentieth century and beyond. Guillermo S. Sosa’s *Manual de Incunables* (1972) discusses the development of the printing press and technology throughout Europe by city, with particular attention to the Spanish empire.\(^\text{43}\) In *Albores de la Imprenta* (2002), Jacques Lafaye traces the development and expansion of the Spanish empire’s printing economy, emphasizing and signaling the trade’s ethnic and cultural diversity as crucial in this trajectory. According to Lafaye, the Catholic monarchy, in partnership with the Church, oversaw the industry in Spain and Portugal, unlike most of Europe, but followed suit in awarding economic monopolies over intellectual work to publishers/printers.\(^\text{44}\)

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This thesis project introduces the anomalous author-centric Mexican practice to the general historiography of printing and copyright. Besides using the bibliographies to identify primary sources, this examination situates the technical and economic information Garcia Icazbalceta and Toribio Medina present on the nascent printing press in the political and social milieu of the time. It also takes Simón Díaz's and De los Reyes Gómez’s general discussions of preventive censorship in the Spanish empire and hones in on Mexico, adding a completely new perspective that fleshes out details of the actual practice in the colonies. The reformulation of publishing procedure (preventive censorship and printing) in this research contextualizes and defines the role of the printer in sixteenth century Mexico—one of subordination to the author.

This authorial influence over the printer and the potential connections between writers and censors discovered throughout this thesis directly contradicts Mohler’s assertion that, “men of literary inclination either remained silent or conformed their writings to the dictates of those in control.”45 Consequently, this conclusion supports Chocano Mena’s deduction that “censorship was not uniform and colonial intellectuals and institutions could modify and adapt it to their particular moral concerns.”46 In her work, Schons concludes that “the Inquisition did not interfere as much with intellectual life as has been presumed.”47 Albeit she arrives to this conclusion in an exclusive study of punitive censorship (inquisitorial cases against printed books), this thesis embraces her claim and demonstrates the relative absence of Inquisition officials in the censorship of manuscripts considered for printing.

46 Chocano Mena, “Colonial Printing and Metropolitan Books,” 89.
47 Schons, Book Censorship, xviii.
This research also counters Ramos Soriano’s inference that the Spanish crown deemed punitive censorship more important than preventive. The Catholic monarchy considered both practices equally important; however, preventive censorship played an integral part in the formation of the state’s image, domestically and abroad. Since the intellectual fruits of its vassals reflected the sophistication of Spanish thought and legitimized the Crown’s proclaimed providence, manuscripts presented for printing necessitated careful scrutiny from the state. The Crown also grew cognizant that once printed, ‘erroneous’ ideas would inflict irreversible ideological damage on its political and religious hegemony. In essence, the Crown could easily destroy a book (punitive censorship), but not the heresies it dispersed, making preventive censorship of paramount importance.

An investigation of how ideas emerged, changed, and culminated in a sanctioned printed form proves far from being a fruitless endeavor. The analysis of preventive censorship provides an insight into other publishing concerns that were equally as important as the adherence to traditional mores and Catholic doctrine. Foremost, it provides a basic insight on the makeup of colonial ideology.

The thesis also contributes to the historiography of colonial education. To name a few, it expands on Robert Ricard’s discourse in *La conquete spirituelle du Mexique* (1933) on the authorship of indigenous-language doctrines to indoctrinate Amerindians, and on the politics at play between the missionary orders in the censorship and publication of this scholarship. Looking at the economic and intellectual context of Mexican publishing, this research also informs Joaquín García Icazbalceta’s *Education in

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48 Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 3 August 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.198V, AGI: “aunque este religioso es buena lengua sería, razón ser corregido por otras personas porque después de por impreso y hacer gastado de nuestra hacienda lo que costara la impresión, salido el libro donde de todos ha de por juzgado no es bien que se hallen en el ningunos errores.”

the City of Mexico during the Sixteenth Century (1931). In the essay, he intends to quell any negation of the ‘brilliant Creole mind’ by accounting for the dearth of literary works printed in Mexico during the sixteenth century. García Icazbalceta concludes competition with the “most authoritative books on every subject” produced cheaply in Iberia, high printing costs in Mexico, and limited financing from “powerful Maecenas” severely limited criollo authors in publishing their work in the Americas.50

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico was the breeding ground for many of the colony’s authors and censors. Understanding the intellectual rifts and politics in sixteenth-century Mexican publishing further clarifies the impact individuals, religious orders, and professions partaking in this academic hub had on colonial thought. This elucidation is particularly relevant to two conference papers (1987) exploring sixteenth-century faculty-student dynamics at the university.

First was Mariano Peset’s essay, “Las primeras oposiciones de México,” which investigates franchise in faculty selection, arguing the secular Church expanded the student body’s electorate to diminish the power of civil authorities in the university. In their work, “De estudiantes a catedráticos,” Clara Inés Ramírez González and Armando Pavón Romero examine the composition of the faculty and its aspiring candidates. The authors suggest Creole students actively marginalized competitors from Iberian universities and pressured the university’s administration to transform tenured professorships into temporary positions in order to better their advancement in academia. Both articles illustrate the growing influence students had on the composition of the University of Mexico’s faculty—often the stepping-stone to a bureaucratic career.

50 Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Education in Mexico City During the Sixteenth Century, trans. O’Donnell, Walter J, Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society v. 1, no. 7 (Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, 1931), 57-58.
Much like Nesvig’s work, the present study discusses the inner, individualistic workings of institutional censorship; however, it diverges in that it shifts focus from the Mexican inquisitor and his punitive censorship to the intellectual advisors reviewing manuscripts for provincial authorities overseeing book publishing. It brings to light the identities of numerous experts not under the employment of the Holy Office (and thus not considered by Mexican Inquisition scholars) who consulted religious orders, the Church, and state in preventive censorship, complicating the mosaic Nesvig illustrates of censorial ideology in sixteenth-century Mexico. Significant in Nesvig’s study is the influence of consulting experts, university and religious order theologians who examined and recommended on how to address suspect ideas.\textsuperscript{51} This thesis emphasizes his assertion and argues these individuals primarily formulated (both authored and censored pre-published content) and re-examined printed colonial thought under the auspices of various bureaucracies.

In bringing to the fore previously unknown censors (manuscript reviewers) and tracing connections between these and authors, this study also complicates the ideological milieu determining orthodoxy and articulates academic networks in New Spain. A closer look at the register of names (manuscript authors and their censors) developed throughout this thesis proved particularly useful in seeing how the academic relationships Peset, Ramírez González, and Pavón Romero present resurfaced in the politics of book censorship. Since expertise in any given topic came from a small segment of the population (the administrative elite or missionary orders, of which many were University of Mexico professors or alumni), it was not surprising to encounter a recurrence of authors and censors. However, the interchangeability of these roles (authors censoring

\textsuperscript{51} Nesvig, \textit{Ideology and Inquisition}, 2-3.
each other) and the intimacy of these connections (professor-student) depict an unexpected network of intellectuals that puts in question the efficacy of the preventive censorship apparatus.

Understanding the publishing process in colonial Mexico also further elucidates the hierarchy and responsibilities of colonial administrative bodies, adding to the literature on colonial governance in sixteenth-century Mexico. Case studies emerged throughout the research that gave insight into the unique personal interests, ideologies, and political aims of licensing authorities (primarily viceroys) and authors. These reveal the ideological tension and politics at play in the censorship and economic regulation of literature. Of particular interest was the use of privilegio, or an economic monopoly akin to copyright, as a political mechanism to further vice-regal agenda—figuring into the jurisdictional powers José Ignacio Rubio Mañé delineates in his towering work on the vice-royalty (1955). This processual research also further details John Frederick Schwallé’s bureaucratic study of the Catholic Church in The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico (1987).

Mexican books printed 1540-1612 and extensive official correspondence detailing the publishing process form the basis of this thesis; these are all materials primarily preserved at the Benson Latin American Collection, the Archivo General de Indias, and the Archivo General de la Nación. Consultation of key secondary sources, the bibliographies of Joaquín García Icazbalceta and José Toribio Medina and the legal compilations of José Simón Díaz and Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, helped contextualize these documents.

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This study’s methodology comprised of various critical lenses. Textual analysis—a dissection of the licenses, approbations, dedication, prologue, and colophon appended to a printed book—enabled a reconstruction of the publishing mechanism in colonial Mexico. The examination yielded details on administering officials and censors, dates marking procedure, and privilege protections. Processual analysis traced administrative tendencies in the delegation of preventive censorship and identified procedural complications and solutions to understand the intricacies of the evolving publishing bureaucracy. To complement these findings, discourse and content analysis explored correspondence between censors, authors, and licensing officials, an endeavor that also elucidated professional, academic, and familiar relationships.

The overarching analysis is diachronic-bibliographic in nature, akin to Diaz’s work, but in the context of sixteenth-century Mexico. It starts with the origins of preventing censorship in Spain, its transference to New Spain, and its administration during the first decade of the American printing press (1487-1550). Thrusting ahead, it then delves into the bureaucratic, political, and economic nuances of the mature publishing practice at the turn of the century (1590-1612). The conclusion compares the bookend phases, defines factors, and looks at prevailing practices in Europe to contextualize Mexico’s unique publishing industry.

In the Americas, religious authors (under the auspices of the missionary orders, Church, and state) established, financed, and developed the publishing economy to facilitate indigenous indoctrination and enculturation, enforce Christian hegemony, and promote higher education. This authorial command over the industry started when the state rendered onto the mendicants the printing press to utilize in the spiritual and temporal conquest of the New World. As religious authors came to dominate in the writing, censorship, and production of Mexican printed books throughout the sixteenth
century, printers increasingly assumed a subordinate role, often at the employ of the authors and their umbrella institutions. Inversing European practice, published authors in Mexico enjoyed significant influence over the censorship, printing, and economic potential of their intellectual fruits from the onset of colonization to the remainder of the sixteenth century and beyond.
Chapter 2: Spreading and Protecting the Faith, 1487-1554

For most of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Spanish Catholicism found itself in a perpetual defensive state, guarding against those who threatened the superiority and purity of the faith. Although many converted following the defeat of the Moorish infidels, the Catholic monarchy doubted the devotion of these new converts and established the infamous Inquisition to uproot the heresy that surfaced in Spanish society. With the encounter of the New World, the spiritual battlefield broadened to include yet another opponent, the idolatrous Amerindians, and much like the Moorish and Jewish converts, they too reverted to ‘past’ beliefs.54

The constant resurgence of heresy prompted an inherent distrust of infidels who could potentially denigrate the purity of the faith: in the words of Dominican Fray Pedro de Córdova, "all that are not Christians are enemies of God."55 To battle against the heretics and idolators, Spanish Catholicism resorted to the printing press as its primary weapon; however, much like Spanish society, the printed word of God could be vulnerable to the influence of the enemy, making preventive censorship crucial in Spanish publishing. The following section examines the Iberian practice’s establishment, development, and politics that ensued between the Church and state as a backdrop to understand what would take place in colonial Mexico.

Preventive Censorship in the Iberian Peninsula, 1487-1554

The printing press proved problematic for European powers. It sparked a new economy that required unprecedented regulation and produced another art form

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vulnerable to political scrutiny, both domestically and from abroad. Most importantly, it revolutionized the dissemination of knowledge, problematizing the state and Church's control of dispersed political and religious ideology. As an ecumenical authority, the Catholic Church considered this issue paramount in retaining and asserting its religious supremacy. It acknowledged the technology's utility in diffusing the faith; conversely, it also foresaw the proliferation of heresy. With the industry's exponential growth, the danger of widespread heresy became more present, bringing forth the necessity for preventive censorship, or the practice of examining manuscripts considered for printing.

The Catholic Church first introduced preventive censorship with Pope Innocent VIII's bull of 1487. Since the decree did not carry much weight at the time of its publication, Pope Alexander VI issued his own version in 1501. Under penalty of excommunication and economic sanction, the Church prohibited presses from printing any manuscript (secular or religious) that had not undergone the examination and censorship of "capable and Catholic persons" and received a license from the Holy See. Written as a universal mandate, the objective was to subject the printing trade under the Catholic Church's authority with the help of the state. For European sovereigns, this did not sit well; they perceived the papal proclamation as an encroachment on state matters.56

In response, the Spanish monarchy issued the Pragmatic of 1502 to reclaim dominion.57 The Catholic state recognized the authority of the Church in preventive censorship, but appointed its own officials in the proceedings. According to the


57 The monarchy tended to create civil equivalents of papal governing bodies to assert Spanish absolutism. This was the case with the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the civil branch of the Papal Inquisition. As an independent administrative unit, the Spanish Holy Office could depart from papal dictates, develop its own procedure, retain confiscated wealth in the Iberian Peninsula, and be staffed by state-appointed officials, Cecil Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition* (London: Robert Hale, 1937), 72-73.
Pragmatic, all manuscripts, regardless of the length or content, considered for printing had to undergo review and receive a license from the monarch, audiencia (provincial court) presidents, or select bishops. They were to appraise the manuscript and prevent the printing of questionable, superstitious, vain, or useless material. Breach of this order would lead to the public burning of the unlicensed printed books, confiscation of profits made, a fine equal to the value of the burnt books, and an interdict barring transgressors from practicing the trade.

The state set in place safeguards to prevent intellectual fraud. To deFray costs, the crown required license seekers to pay censors' salaries, opening the door to corruption. Therefore, the state set remunerations at a moderate level to discourage collusion. However, it is likely the identity of reviewers remained classified information privy only to censorial authorities given the level of secrecy already in practice at other monitoring councils such as the Holy Office of the Inquisition. In addition, to counter the modification of manuscripts post censorship, officials required printers to submit the first print copies to verify their authenticity.

The decree additionally specified that the aforementioned authorities could delegate the task of examining and censoring a manuscript to appointed reviewers. It is important to note this avenue for several reasons. First, this would become common

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58 "vean de qué facultad son, y las que fueren apócrifas, y supersticiosas, y reprovadas, y cosas vanas, y sin provecho, defiendan que no se impriman," Díaz, El Libro Español Antiguo, 6.
59 Díaz, El Libro Español Antiguo, 5-7. The officials who could grant printing license were the monarch, the audiencia presidents of Valladolid and Granada, the archbishops of Toledo, Seville, Granada, and the bishops of Burgos and Salamanca.
60 "después de impreso primero lo recorran para ver si está cual debe...y al dicho letrado hagan dar por su trabajo el salario que justo sea; con tanto que sea muy moderado." Díaz, El Libro Español Antiguo, 7.
62 Díaz, El Libro Español Antiguo, 7.
63 "sin que primeramente sean vistos, y examinados por las dichas personas, o por aquellas a quienes ellos lo cometieren...," Díaz, El Libro Español Antiguo, 6.
practice in the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish America during the colonial period.\textsuperscript{64} Second, the monarchy already foresaw the bureaucratic inconvenience of reviewing manuscripts when other state matters were on hand; it thus delegated to others the arduous job of reading, assessing, and censoring.

Given that all manuscripts were under scrutiny, the state recognized the likelihood that licensing officials would lack the necessary knowledge to censor effectively. Thus, this ‘delegating’ clause allowed authorities to relegate their censorial responsibility to a "learned, faithful person of good conscience on the subject" who, "on oath, will examine the manuscript well and faithfully, looking to see if it is truthful, authentic, or approved without any doubt."\textsuperscript{65} Since authorities predominantly based licensing decisions on their recommendations, these trusted censors would essentially determine the ideology reflected on the printing block.

The fundamental purpose of the Pragmatic was to bring the censorial process under the state bureaucracy, not necessarily to take an active role in censoring ideology. The details delineated in the regulation focused on non-ideological aspects of the process. It identified specific bureaucratic authorities, prescribed particular economic sanctions for transgressors, and articulated a process that positioned the Spanish state at the helm. On the other hand, the Pragmatic only offered a broad and vague definition of what constituted sanctioned ideology.

Most indicative of the purely administrative intentions behind this decree was its allowance for authorities to delegate the actual censorship. Even though the Pragmatic introduces the avenue as a possibility for authorities, statements made throughout the

\textsuperscript{64} See Chapter 3 (1590-1612).
\textsuperscript{65} "examinarlas por algún Letrado muy fiel, y de buena conciencia de la facultad que fueren los tales libros, y lecturas, el cual sobre juramento que primeramente haga, que lo hará bien y fielmente, mire si la tal obra está verdadera, y si es lectura auténtica, o aprovada, y que se permita leer, y que no haya duda." Díaz, \textit{El Libro Español Antiguo}, 7.
decree suggest the provision was already considered a given in the process. Ultimately, the state concerned itself with the economics and politics of the trade and let commissioned censors worry about the specifics pertaining to moral and religious ideology.

Regardless of the state's intervention in the publishing process, the Church retained considerable authority. At its essence, the Pragmatic of 1502 was a political compromise; the Church and state shared power with the condition that the monarchy appointed the clerical and secular officials. In the decades that followed, the Church continued to act decidedly on preventive censorship and disagreement over the perceived quality of its censorship ensued. Ideologically, the Church still claimed absolute dominion over matters of religious orthodoxy. With this prevalent view, it is likely authorized bishops licensed solely based on their own ideologies and agendas, whether or not they possessed the necessary knowledge or background to assess the work.

This variance in the process became problematic for the Holy Office, which started compiling its Index of Prohibited Books in 1551 and included countless publications that had supposedly undergone thorough preventive censorship. "Given the ease many useless and impertinent books received license," Charles V questioned the judiciousness of the established process and issued new ordinances in 1554 that secularized and centralized the regulation in the Council of Castile. The aim of this political move was two-fold: to sever the Church from final decision-making concerning

66 "encargamos y mandamos a los dichos Prelados, que con mucha diligencia hagan ver y examinar..." & los prelados "...hagan tomar un volumen dellas, y examinarlas por algún Letrado muy fiel..." with my emphasis; Díaz, *El Libro Español Antiguo*, 6-7.
68 "...somos informados, que de haberse dado con facilidad, se han impreso libros inútiles y sin provecho alguno, y donde se hallan cosas impertinentes." Díaz, *El Libro Español Antiguo*, 7.
the licensing of manuscripts and to assure the efficacy of preventive censorship to the Holy Office.

It is important to underline that even though religious censorship was ordinarily under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, preventive censorship was not among its formal functions. At the end of the fifteenth century, the crown's advisory council on the Inquisition actively examined and suppressed heretical materials pre- and post-printing, primarily in the Kingdom of Aragón. However, starting with the Pragmatic of 1502, the crown officially charged its territorial councils with the task. It is possible the state shifted the authority from its religious to its secular councils due to the economic and political repercussions of the practice. By the mid-sixteenth century, a juridical division in literary censorship emerged. The state and its commissioned censors assumed authority over preventive censorship and the Holy Office occupied itself with punitive censorship, or the examination and banning of heretical publications through the Index of Prohibited Books.

This is not to say that the Holy Office's influence was not present in the process or that exceptions did not exist; its power permeated all matters concerning religious orthodoxy and its officials served in other ecclesiastic and state bureaucracies. Since a large percentage of books dealt with Catholic dogma in the Iberian Peninsula, expert theologians proved crucial in censoring these publications. It is likely calificadores (theologians who assessed evidence for Inquisition trials) also served as manuscript

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censors.\textsuperscript{72} The Kingdom of Aragón consistently proved the exception in state matters; due to its long established fueros (royal privileges), the formation of any Spanish bureaucratic entity (including the Holy Office) proved problematic. Thus, the Inquisition Tribunal of Valencia censored and licensed manuscripts from 1536 until 1571.\textsuperscript{73}

With the arrival of the printing press at the Americas in 1539, Mexico became another exception in the preventive censorship bureaucracy. Given the inconvenience its geographic distance posed on existing licensing procedures, the Council of Castile granted the Holy Office control over the publishing process in the Americas; as apostolic-inquisitor, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga assumed complete authority over the first Mexican printing press.\textsuperscript{74} Perhaps distance was not the only factor that prompted this administrative exception. As the following section proves, manuscripts written for Amerindian indoctrination required preventive censors’ expertise in indigenous languages, a specialized knowledge localized in the Americas.

**COLONIAL CENSORSHIP AT THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN PRINTING PRESS**

The translation of indigenous languages was not only crucial for the temporal success of imperial expansion, but also for the proclaimed spiritual authority of Spain. As agents of the state, missionaries led the ‘spiritual conquest’ of the Natives, a task that demanded intimate knowledge of indigenous culture, beliefs, and, most importantly, language. To decipher the ‘mysteries’ of their spoken word, authors actively engaged in conversations and continuously consulted with natives on the meanings of words to develop translation handbooks; these first-hand interactions with indigenous informants


gave missionary authors intellectual authority in the writing of doctrines for the Spanish empire.

To facilitate the challenge of indoctrinating the Amerindians, missionaries asked the crown to produce print copies of their translated doctrines; however, the concern with the faithful and pure transposition of Christian doctrine into indigenous languages made the request problematic for the state. The knowledge base needed to censor these manuscripts was in the Americas, a fact that inevitably prompted the transference of the publishing process to Mexico years before the printing press had even arrived. As a result, early missionaries, the first and often only Amerindian linguists, soon assumed considerable authority over the censorship and printing of American scholarship.

An early case study of these censorship issues involved the publishing of a Spanish and Nahuatl catechism. In 1537, Dominican Fray Juan Ramírez presented to Charles V his *Santa Doctrina* and requested patronage for its printing.\(^75\) According to established practice, the king subsequently submitted the manuscript for review to the Council of the Indies.\(^76\) However, since this was the first indigenous language work considered for printing, the Council did not possess the necessary knowledge to evaluate and censor the doctrine.\(^77\)

Acknowledging the usefulness of the Nahuatl catechism in indoctrination, it seems the king and his Council gave the manuscript a cursory review, all the while trusting the author's declared zeal and expertise. On March 2, 1537, Charles V ordered

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\(^75\) Charles V to the Casa de la Contratación, 2 March 1537, Valladolid. Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.101V-102R, AGI. “Fray Joan Ramírez…me ha hecho relación…y me suplico que porque su trabajo consiguiese algún efecto…le mandásemos imprimir y encuadernar”

\(^76\) Charles V to Juan Cromberger, 2 March 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.108R, AGI. There is no extant copy of this manuscript or print copy.

\(^77\) Diego de Zárate and Diego Caballero to Isabel of Portugal, 22 September 1537, Sevilla, Indiferente, 1092, N.229, AGI. "...llevar [Fray Ramírez] el libro y traerlo el mismo de [México] a imprimir por ser la primera obra para que quede [en México] como al servicio de Dios y de Vuestra Majestad..."
the Casa de Contratación (the Spanish agency overseeing the American colonizaton) to
grant license and commission Seville printer Juan Cromberger to print up to 500 volumes
of *Santa Doctrina*. Once printed, Cromberger was to hand over the copies to the Contratación.  

Fray Ramírez held the upper hand from the very beginning. First, the author had
enough influence to attract Charles V’s attention without a printer acting as an
intermediary. Second, as the only identifiable Nahuatl linguist in Valladolid and Seville,
he essentially self-censored his translation. Besides obtaining favor over the
intellectual integrity of his interpretation, the author also secured royal patronage to cover
press costs and the privilege to oversee the printing of his manuscript. A few days later
on March 9, the king ordered his court's treasurer, Diego de la Haya, to give Fray
Ramírez four ducados (gold coins) so that he could travel from the royal court in
Valladolid to Seville to attend to the printing of his book.  

Nevertheless, doubt over the linguistic integrity of Fray Ramírez’s publication
soon emerged. In the months that followed, the royal court had no word from the Casa
de la Contratación on the printing and requested a progress report on July 28.  

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78 Charles V to Juan Cromberger, 2 March 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.108R, AGI. The
king also requested that the prints have the largest margins possible, most likely to enable annotation from
the missionaries in the Americas. According to a royal order to the Casa de Contratación on July 28, 1537,
Indiferente, 1962, L.5, F.195V, AGI, the printed volumes were to be bound with parchment covers.
79 In the letter from Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 3 August 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente,
1962, L.5, fol.198V, AGI, Isabel of Portugal requests that the Casa de Contratación search for someone
knowledgeable in the Nahuatl language in Seville to examine and censor the book. It seems the Casa could
not identify anyone in that city, and given that the Casa later sent the manuscript to New Spain for
censorship, one can assume a Nahuatl expert did not reside in Valladolid.
80 Charles V to Juan Cromberger, 2 March 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.108R, AGI: "envío
a mandar a…la Casa de Contratación que lo hagan imprimir y paguen de mía hacienda lo que costare la
impresión."
81 Charles V to Diego de la Haya, 9 March 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 422, L.17, fol.117R, AGI. The 4
ducados equaled 1500 maravedís.
82 Royal court to Casa de Contratación, 28 July 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.196R, AGI. In
addition to requesting a progress report, the court also requested 10 imprints if or when available.

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Coincidently on that same day, Isabel of Portugal (wife of Charles V) received a letter from Contratación officials informing that they had contracted with printer Juan Cromberger, but Fray Ramírez had yet to complete the Nahuatl translation. During this waiting period, Franciscan missionaries, the Dominican’s competitors in Amerindian indoctrination, intervened in the manuscript’s publication. They expressed concerns about the accuracy of the text and requested that Fray Ramírez supply an accompanying Spanish translation.

The officials at the Contratación thought highly of the Franciscan linguistic ability and questioned the expertise of other orders. This sentiment comes across in their letter to the empress stating, "even though [the Franciscans] are the best interpreters from [Mexico], they did not dare to translate [doctrine]." This statement and the forthcoming Contratación recommendations exemplify the burgeoning tension between the Franciscan and Dominican Order in the Americas.

Even though Dominicans dominated in Spain, Franciscans held the upper hand in the Americas during the early phases of colonization. This was largely due to each Order’s stance on the use of force in native indoctrination. Generally dominating the halls of the University of Salamanca, the Dominican Order comprised primarily of theologians who deprecated physical coercion in conversion. Franciscans, on the other hand, were at the forefront of the “spiritual conquest,” often realizing “the practical

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84 García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana*, 26: “fue ordenado por los frailes franciscanos, los cuales aunque son los mejores lengua de allá no se atrevieron a lo traducir.”
necessity of destroying paganism” by force to attain some success. Ultimately, the schism came down to theory versus practice.

In their protest against indigenous maltreatment, the Dominicans engaged in a contentious relationship with civic officials and regularly stood in the way of enterprising conquistadors, significantly diminishing their influence over colonial authority. Accepting a moderate use of coercion when dealing with natives, Franciscans had a different opinion of conquistadors; they saw them as paving the way for the “spiritual conquest.” Franciscans had a particularly high regard for Cortés, who they deemed and later portrayed as an exemplar of Christian behavior. Therefore, when the Dominican inquisitor Domingo de Betanzos went after Cortés' partisans in 1527-28, the Franciscans naturally sided with the conquistador’s faction. This was by no means the beginning of this religious rivalry; mendicant orders arduously competed for indigenous souls.

The religious order conflicts abroad also influenced the politics of literary censorship in Spain. As a possible partisan move in favor of the Franciscans, the Casa de Contratación argued against Fray Ramírez’s de facto self-censorship. Especially since the author was still hastily trying to finish the Nahuatl translation, the bureaucrats advised Isabel that it would be wise to have other knowledgeable persons review and correct the

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86 David A. Boruchoff, "Tanto puede el ejemplo de los mayores: The Self-Conscious Practice of Missionary History in New Spain," Colonial Latin American Review 17 (December 2008): 162. According to Mendieta's Historia Eclesiástica Indiana, Cortés humbly received the discalced Franciscans in Mexico kneeling and kissing the hands of each missionary, with his subordinates and Natives following suit. Franciscans henceforth interpreted Cortés' humility and the example it set on others as exemplary Christian behavior; through humility, Cortés conquered himself in reverence to God. See Chapter 3 in Phelan’s, The Millennial Kingdom, for an in-depth discussion on the Mosaic image of Cortés.
87 Martin Austin Nesvig, Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 106. Please see chapters 4 (The Salamanca Connection) and 5 (The Early Inquisitions) for a detailed discussion on Franciscan-Dominican rivalry.
manuscript, regardless of the author’s perceived expertise. They warned that any error in the translation, grammatical and/or heretical, would be irrevocable once printed and distributed, diminishing the utility and damaging the integrity of the translated Catholic doctrine.

Charles V’s absence at this particular moment could have encouraged this ‘partisan’ contestation. As evidenced by his generous support of Fray Ramírez’s incomplete work, Charles V seemed to have a predilection for the Dominican Order. It seems highly coincidental that the Contratación officials did not report on the status of the printing until July 28, soon after Charles V left Spain to deal with the Ottoman conflict and Isabel assumed the regency (July 10). Still adjusting to bureaucratic procedures and dealing with pregnancy symptoms, Isabel relied on the advice of royal councilors. On August 3, Isabel accepted the recommendation of the Contratación and asked them to find in Seville a "trustworthy person who knows and understands Nahuatl" to examine/censor Fray Ramírez’s Santa Doctrina.

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88 García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana*, 26: “Aun no está acabado de traducir en mexicano por el religioso que lo hace imprimir, y da prisa a ello.”
89 García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana*, 26 & Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 3 August 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.198V, AGI: “aunque este religioso es buena lengua sería, razón ser corregido por otras personas porque después de por impreso y hacer gastado de nuestra hacienda lo que costara la impresión, salido el libro donde de todos ha de por juzgado no es bien que se hallen en el ningunos errores.”
90 Case in point: the writings of Dominican Fray Bartolomé de las Casas prompted Charles V’s extremely controversial New Laws of 1542 that abolished the encomienda system.
92 Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 3 August 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.198V, AGI: mando que luego os informéis si en esa ciudad [de Sevilla] hay alguna persona de confianza que sepa y entienda bien la lengua Mexicana y se lo hallasen, mostrárenos el dicho libro y si hubiere alguna duda, avisarnos el de ellos para que lo mandemos emendar.”
The fruitless search for such an expert in Seville forced Isabel to expand the authority prescribed in the Pragmatic of 1502. The decree only considered romance language literature;\(^{93}\) it did not anticipate the preventive censorship of indigenous translations. The empress had no choice, but to turn to experts in Mexico for censorship. Since Fray Ramírez had yet to finish the book, Isabel postponed the printing.\(^{94}\) Once completed, Cromberger would print copies and the Contratación would send these to the viceroy in Mexico, who would then appoint censors for its examination. The revised book would then return to Spain where Cromberger would produce the final print.\(^{95}\) The dearth of indigenous language experts in Spain inevitably made the Viceroy of New Spain a new authority in the preventive censorship process.

The decision to secure censors in Mexico did not undermine Fray Ramírez's agency in any way. At this point, Fray Domingo de Santa María, a Dominican missionary in New Spain, interfered. In a letter dated September 22 to the empress, Contratación officials stated, “Fray Domingo de Santa María would relate to her majesty the agreement him and Fray Juan Ramírez made in Seville regarding the printing of *Santa Doctrina*.”\(^{96}\) This statement implies Frays Santa María and Ramírez assumed control over the manuscript’s forthcoming examination. Claiming he had completed the work, Fray Ramírez proposed to “take the book to Mexico, where it could be well examined,\(^{96}\)
and bring it back to Seville for printing.” 97 Isabel acquiesced and ordered the Contratación to hand over the manuscript to the author. Fray Ramírez intended to retain oversight of his manuscript’s publication, wherever it took him.

Fray Domingo de Santa María appears to have been a powerful intercessor. Upon delivering the aforementioned Contratación letter, Fray de Santa María persuaded Isabel to let Fray Ramírez accompany his work to and from Mexico, completely trusting the integrity of the censored work to the author and disregarding the obvious conflict of interest. The mere fact that de Santa María readily attained an audience with the empress to discuss the censorship of Santa Doctrina indicates his elevated status. 98 His influence could be due to his membership in the royally esteemed Dominican Order and his missionary work in New Spain at this time, experience that would eventually make him an expert in the Nahuatl and Mixtec languages and the provincial prior of the Order in 1558. 99

Santa Doctrina probably never made it to the Americas for censorship. The last piece of correspondence found regarding the matter takes place in December 11 when the Casa de Contratación asks Charles V for further instruction on how to proceed with the publication of the book. According to the Contratación, Fray Ramirez had returned the manuscript to them, and left for Castile to study under orders of his prelate. 100

97 Diego de Zárate and Diego Caballero to Isabel of Portugal, 22 September 1537, Sevilla, Indiferente, 1092, N.229, AGI: "...porque dizque la tiene toda acabada y el dicho Fray Juan Ramírez se profiere de ir a México a donde podrá ser bien examinada, y llevar el libro y traerlo él mismo de allá a imprimir..."

98 Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 19 October 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.268v, AGI: “he [la reina Isabel] oído lo que este padre [Fray Domingo de Santa María] me ha dicho que le parece que se debe hacer sobre la impresión del libro...”


100 Francisco Tello, Diego de Zárate, and Diego Caballero to Charles V, 11 December 1537, Sevilla, Indiferente, 1092, N.243, AGI: "Fray Juan Ramírez...nos entregó el libro...y que ahora su prelado ha mandado que se vaya a Castilla a estudiar...suplicamos a vuestra majestad mande proveer lo que sea servido que se haga en ello."
more than likely, the manuscript never turned out in printed form, its emergence brought to the state’s attention the need to expand the bureaucratic and economic abilities of New Spain.  

Regardless of the Dominicans’ attempt to retain authority, the fate of the book would likely rest on Franciscan hands. Upon arriving to New Spain, Fray Ramírez was to deliver his manuscript and a royal decree to the Mexican Audiencia’s president (Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza) and oidores (judges). In the mandate, Isabel ordered the judicial body to “congregate the prelates, ecclesiastics, and mendicants knowledgeable of [Nahuatl] and have them examine the book.” At the time, a Franciscan, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, occupied the bishop seat in Mexico. Viceroy Mendoza and the second Audiencia of Mexico had great faith in the prelate’s indoctrinating work. If the Santa Doctrina had come to Mexico for censorship, they would have probably trusted the task to him, which in turn would have likely chosen from his own order, the renowned Nahuatl experts.

It is important to note the printer remained a passive agent in this process from beginning to end. If the manuscript would have passed censorship in Mexico, Isabel expected the Audiencia to return the work along with “notice of the price they thought each volume should carry and the format in which the books should be printed in Spain”—all decisions that would have come from the consuming missionaries.


102 Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 19 October 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.269, AGI: “mi real cedula que va con [este libro] para el nuestro presidente e oidores de la Nueva España en que les mando que junten los prelados de aquella tierra y personas eclesiásticas y religiosos que sepan la lengua del dicho libro y le examinen...”

103 Ricard, La Conquista Espiritual de México, 119-120.

104 Isabel of Portugal to the Casa de Contratación, 19 October 1537, Valladolid, Indiferente, 1962, L.5, fol.269, AGI: “pareciéndoles que se debe imprimir...lo envíen [el libro] y nos avisen del precio que les
Although this was probably due to the monarchy’s investment in the publication, and not the printer’s, the silence and submissive role of the printer in producing this American book would become the norm for books printed in Mexico throughout the sixteenth century.

**BISHOP JUAN DE ZUMÁRRAGA: AMERICA'S FIRST EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

For many religious, particularly for the Franciscans, America was ripe for a social and religious experiment that would bring about the long-sought millennium. At the burgeoning moments of the American colonization, Christian humanism, a philosophy that fused the moral wisdom and individualistic freedom of classical thought with a Christian worldview, was in full force. Reform-minded Spanish Christian humanists relished at the possibility of the recently discovered continent, unspoiled by the social defects of Europe; Bishop Juan de Zumárraga was among these individuals.¹⁰⁵

Soon after his election as the first bishop of Mexico in 1527, Fray Zumárraga recognized the need for a Mexican printing press to facilitate indigenous evangelization and advance colonial education. His advocacy for the technology took full force after the quarrels with the First Audiencia ended in 1533-34. With the support of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, Zumárraga’s lobbying finally gave fruit in 1539; on June 12, Juan Cromberger contracted with an Italian printer under his employ, Juan Pablos, to install and run a branch of the Seville printing house in Mexico.¹⁰⁶

Missionaries were the target audience for the first printing press. Of the twelve books examined, eight were for missionaries to instruct the indigenous. For example, Fray Logroño’s *Manual de adultos* (1540) is a guide for clerics to perform the sacrament parece que se debe llevar por cada uno de los libros que se imprimasen y de la forma que acá se ha de tener en el imprimir.”¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰⁶ Griffin, *Los Cromberger*, 117-123.
of baptism onto indigenous persons. Albeit only three pages exist from the text, the errata page (list of printed errors and corrections for the book) indicates the publication comprised of at least thirty-six pages, necessarily brief for itinerant missionaries.\footnote{Pedro de Logroño, \textit{Manual De Adultos}, facsimilar, vol. 1, 11 vols., Colección De Incunables Americanos, Siglo XVI (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura hispánica, 1944).}

Early missionaries did not reinvent the wheel when producing doctrinal texts for the colonies. They first resorted to existing literature, translated if necessary, and adapted it for the American context. Zumárraga did this (as discussed later) and so did Fray Pedro de Logroño when he adapted and translated parts of \textit{Liber sacerdotalis} (Venice, 1537) for \textit{Manual de adultos} (Mexico, 1540).\footnote{García Icazbalceta. \textit{Bibliografía Mexicana}, 60n.} “Intellectual property” did not exist in the sixteenth century.\footnote{Jacques Lafaye, \textit{Albores De La Imprenta: El Libro En España y Portugal y Sus Posesiones De Ultramar, Siglos XV-XVI} (México, D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002), 31.} Religious authors regularly appropriated the writings of previous intellectuals to further their own arguments and agendas—in fact, quoted precedent often legitimized discourse in medieval scholarship.

Ideological, and probably grammatical, revision of manuscript content was beyond Pablos’ intellectual faculties. Under the Cromberger publishing house in Seville, he solely served at a technical capacity—never editing manuscripts or correcting proofs. This was probably due to his limited literacy, as evidenced by his inability to write his name on a contract in 1532. Apparently, he eventually attained the necessary literacy to assume the compositor role in the New Spanish press; however, given Cromberger’s demonstrated disinterest in the investment, his promotion only occurred just prior to the Mexican assignment, most likely out of necessity rather than adeptness.\footnote{Griffín, \textit{Los Cromberger}, 120.} Given the lack of education, it is expected Pablos exclusively concerned himself with matters pertaining to the trade’s economy.
Consequently, ecclesiastical authorities oversaw the composition and orthodoxy of texts going through the press. The earliest extant publication, Fray Pedro de Logroño’s *Manual de adultos* printed in 1540, depicts a collaborative endeavor on behalf of the Mexican bishops to produce and print American scholarship. Sharing an appreciation for the printed word with his close friend, Bishop Zumárraga, Vasco de Quiroga (Bishop of Michoacán) assumed the role of Maecenas for this work. He ordered, directed, and commissioned Fray Logroño to write the *Manual* and religious poet Cristóbal de Cabrera to compose the introductory Latin verses. Once completed, the corporate body of bishops ordered Pablos to print the work and fronted the printing costs, as credited in the colophon.111

Although the next earliest existing publication does indicate an approval from the ecclesiastical prelates, the bishop-editors probably strongly advocated for this chronicle’s publication given the latent Christian message. Public notary Juan Rodriguez drafted a detailed account of the earthquake that devastated Guatemala on September 10, 1541, centering much of the story on the experience of a “Doña Beatriz.” According to Rodriguez, Doña Beatriz survived the tragedy because of “her kindness and chastity, possibly because God wanted to martyr her as a godly example” for the ‘sinful’ colonists.112 As the title makes explicit, the narrative aims to punctuate the occurrence as God’s call for New Spaniards “to amend their sins and be forewarned of his impending

112 “Su bondad e castidad la salva, posible es que la quisiese Dios martiriar en el cuerpo, en ejemplo de los que da Dios,” Juan Rodríguez, *Relacion del espantable terremoto que agora nueuamente ha acontecido en las Yndias en vna ciudad llamada Guatimala ([Mexico]: [Casa de Juan Cromberger], 1541), f.4.
rapture.” Bishop-editors would have used chronicles attesting God’s wrath, such as this one, as literary fare for their campaign to reaffirm Christian principles.

Of the imprints investigated here, this publication is the only one that appears to be under the order of the state, given that Charles V’s coat of arms marks the final folio. All the other printings explicitly indicate the Church ordered the production through its prelates. This suggests that even though the monarchy had given licensing authority to the viceroy and the Audiencia (as noted in the previous case study), the Church assumed control over preventive censorship when the printing press came to America. Bishop Zumárraga’s arduous activities in establishing the technology in Mexico and the primary use of the press for indoctrinating purposes probably guaranteed this ecclesiastical control.

Books printed 1543 onwards explicitly identify Zumárraga as the printing authority, suggesting he assumed the role of editor-in-chief once relieved from his command as apostolic inquisitor by Visitador and Inquisitor Tello de Sandoval. Of the twelve books examined printed 1539 to 1550, nine indicate in the title page or colophon the printing took place “by mandate of the most reverend don Juan Zumárraga, first bishop of the great city of Tenochtitlan-Mexico,” or some variant of this statement. As

113 “Relación del espantable terremoto que ahora nuevamente ha acontecido, en las Indias en una ciudad llamada Guatemala, es cosa de grande admiración, y de grande ejemplo para que todos nos enmendemos de nuestros pecados, y estemos apercibidos para quando Dios fuere servido de nos llamar,” Rodríguez, Relación del espantable terremoto, title page.

for those not specifying the bishop’s name, two are the aforementioned Manual and Relación, and the other (a microfilm copy) does not have publication data. Besides the occasional royal mandate for a specific printing, Zumárraga determined the intellectual output of the Mexican press until his death in 1548.

Zumárraga’s Christian humanist philosophy, with its Erasmian roots, emanated from the newly established Mexican press. In 1546, Bishop Zumárraga mandated the printing of *Doctrina Cristiana: más cierta y verdadera para gente sin erudición y letras*. William B. Jones’ analysis of sixteenth-century manuscript notations on a copy of the book indicates Zumárraga almost entirely extracted the content from Contantino Ponte de la Fuente's *Suma de Doctrina Cristiana* (1543) and Erasmus' writings.

At the time, the Inquisition had already prosecuted Erasmus' humanist ideals and it was on its way to censoring Constantino. Jones postulates Bishop Zumárraga sympathized with Constantinian and Erasmian principles, intentionally failing to attribute the content to evade inquisitorial prosecution from Spain. On the other hand, Greenleaf contends Zumárraga carefully extracted and only included in his edition content that still fell within Catholic orthodoxy. Whatever the case, the absoluteness

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115 Pedro de Gante, *Doctrina cristiana en lengua española y mexicana* ([Mexico]: [Juan Pablos], 1547); Rodríguez, *Relacion del espantable terremoto*, f.4v.
116 The title does not identify Zumárraga as the author, only as its benefactor, Zumárraga, ed., *Doctrina Cristiana*, colophon, "...por mandado del reverendísimo señor don Fray Juan Zumárraga...".
118 Jones, "Evangelical Catholicism in Early Colonial Mexico," 431.
of his preventive censorship was such that he knowingly tinkered with heterodoxies that could have, and later did in the 1550s, attracted the censure of the Holy Office.\textsuperscript{120}

Given this domination over the press, it would not be surprising if Zumárraga largely, if not wholly, financed the Cromberger’s Mexican branch during its first years. Four of the twelve books examined indicate his patronage in the printing and five credited the congregation of bishops, which included him.\textsuperscript{121} Although the printer possessed economic monopoly by being the only one allowed to practice in Mexico, the bishop-editors and their missionary authors dictated the published ideology and almost wholly financed the publications coming from the press, making the printer economically subservient to the author from the onset.

The printing press was a double-edged sword for the Catholic crown. On the one hand, the technology promoted imperial expansion, facilitating the enculturation of the indigenous peoples it brought under its fold at the end of the fifteenth century. On the other, it dispersed into its domains the Protestant heresy surging through Europe in the sixteenth century. Given the tool’s momentous potential for either purpose, the Spanish state demanded careful oversight of book production to harness its power.

Preventive censorship proved to be a point of contention for the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy. The Church first proclaimed ecumenical jurisdiction over all procedures concerning the faith, including the surveillance of the publishing industry.

\textsuperscript{120} Jones, "Evangelical Catholicism in Early Colonial Mexico,” 423n. Zumárraga's \textit{Doctrina Cristiana} remained in circulation even after the Inquisition posthumously labeled Constantino a Lutheran heretic and the Mexican Inquisition banned his \textit{Suma de Doctrina Cristiana} in November 3, 1559.

Perceiving this an encroachment on state matters, the crown counteracted and asserted its authority incrementally, first with a jurisdictional compromise, then with the centralization of the procedure at the Council of Castile.

The state’s absorption of the practice into its bureaucracy was solely a political move; the sovereign was not particularly interested in actively censoring literary works. As an addendum to the regulatory legislation, the monarchy allowed for the delegation of examining manuscripts to expert reviewers, ultimately basing licensing on their recommendations. As the following chapter illustrates, this would eventually be common practice in New Spain.

For literature destined to or produced in the New World, missionaries assumed these censorship roles. Leading the “spiritual conquest” of the Americas, friars developed expertise in indigenous culture and language, documenting their knowledge in vocabularies and grammars. When these primers transformed into translated doctrine, concerns arose over the interpretation of the word of God in Amerindian terms and preventive censorship became imperative. However, the Spanish state could not deny the singular linguistic authority of the missionary author. Since the knowledge needed to examine their translation localized in New Spain, the crown had no choice, but to extend preventive censorship jurisdiction to Mexico where the author’s mendicant peers could adequately review his work.

The case of Santa Doctrina underscores the power of religious orders on state affairs. It illustrates the significant influence a missionary author could have over his intellectual fruits; Fray Juan Ramírez procured royal privilege in the printing and examination of his manuscript. The review also brought to the fore the tensions brewing between competing religious orders. For the mendicants, linguistic expertise equated spiritual and temporal dominion in the American theater.
Franciscans held the upper hand in the New World during the first half of the sixteenth century. Due to their numbers and amicable relations with conquistadors, the Order rose as the indisputable authority in the “Mexican language” (Nahuatl). Soon, one of its own, Juan de Zumárraga, ascended to head the newly-established bishopric of Mexico and later to assume the role of editor-in-chief for the first printing press.

Bishop Zumárraga practically prescribed the output of the press, especially after his fall from grace as apostolic inquisitor until his death. He solicited, established, mandated, and commissioned the printer to produce books that would facilitate the enculturation and indoctrination of the natives, and enforce Christian hegemony among colonists. His authority was such that he put in print and dispersed a near-heretical ideology in the Americas.

In the relocation of manuscript licensing from Spain to Mexico, the printer always maintained a passive role. This was largely because either the monarchy, in the case of Santa Doctrina, or the Catholic Church (Bishop Zumárraga) financed its operations. The moment the state placed missionary authors at the helm of preventive censorship in New Spain, the printer became subservient to them—marking the beginnings of the anomalous Mexican printing industry.
Chapter 3: Maintaining the Purity of the Faith, 1590-1612

The Counter-Reformation occurring in the middle of the sixteenth century placed greater suspicion and distrust on authors and their printers. Ecclesiastics perceived heresy seeped through the publishing process and called for additional preventive steps. In response, the monarchy issued several addendums to the process, one of which mandated the authentication of licensed printed copies to root out intellectual fraud. The ideological threat even warranted the enactment of near-unenforceable penalties (including death) against those who did not comply. The Protestant heresies appearing in printed Spanish thought made the publishing industry even more bureaucratized.

Restrictive legislation brought forth throughout the second half of the sixteenth century consequently suffocated the nation’s printing economy. To bypass the exhaustive process, authors resorted to printing houses outside of Spain to publish their work. The trend was such that Philip III sought to curtail the circumvention in 1610 requiring a special license from vassals intending to print in foreign territories. For many colonial authors, this decree would further constrain their publishing potential given the already limited access to the American printing press.

However, for those few who enjoyed the sponsorship of powerful Mexican institutions (and thus access to the press), the colonial publishing bureaucracy was not necessarily stifling. Albeit lengthy in its review, the close-knit intellectual community in New Spain allowed for numerous exceptions when it came to examining and censoring

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manuscripts. Most important, the procedure granted authors economic privilege over the printing of the work.

What was the stratification and nature of the New Spanish publishing process? What were the relationships that existed between authors, censors, and authorities that ultimately favored colonial authors? This chapter seeks to shed some light on these questions.

The research presented in this section derives from the analysis of twenty-one books printed between 1590 and 1612. In the span of these twenty-two years, the Mexican Church administration was in flux with different regulatory bodies and individuals assuming authority over the licensing of printing. Concurrently, several viceroyes with unique personal interests and political agendas governed colonial Mexico. These included indigenous advocate Luis de Velasco II who served two terms as viceroy of Mexico (1590-1595, 1607-1611),125 and Juan de Mendoza y Luna, a poet and "protector of authors."126

The focus of this chapter explores the mature colonial publishing process at the turn of the seventeenth-century. It will begin with a generalized description of the colonial author followed by the analysis of each level of review manuscripts underwent for publishing consideration. At each stage, the discussion of specific examples will elucidate the complexities of the licensing procedure and explain particular circumstances that deviated from standard practice. This chapter will also examine vice-regal practices to identify censorship exceptions and comprehend the legalities accompanying printing

126 Antonio Herrera Casado, El Gobierno Americano del Marqués de Montesclaros (Guadalajara: Institución Provincial de Cultura, 1990), 52.
privilege. To conclude, a case study of Luis de Velasco II’s depicts vice-regal agenda and prejudice in granting printing privilege.

**COLONIAL AUTHORS: WRITING FOR THE SPANISH EMPIRE**

Not anyone could author a work in colonial Mexico. A specific education, experience, and prestige were necessary to bestow upon a work sufficient credence for publishing consideration. Based on these prerequisites, colonial authors primarily consisted of males, either administrative elites or religious who had attained a college education, gained particular insight in their missionary work, or both.

Given the uncommonness of Spanish nobility attaining a higher education, governing elites primarily authored decrees or accounts of their military/administrative experience. Viceroy extensively used the printing press to announce the will of the sovereign and enforce their own political agendas. Members of the *Audiencia* (the colonial judicial court) considered authorship to be an effective social climbing tool. For example in his book, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, *Audiencia* judge Dr. Antonio de Morga presents the administrative history of the Philippines as an account of his bureaucratic experience. By making his point of view the focus of an historical work, Dr. Morga places himself in the center of the narrative, aggrandizing his self-worth. For non-ecclesiastic administrators, the main purpose for writing was to assert authority or proclaim life experience in an effort to advance their social and political status.

Among the authoring elite and religious were the upper administrative clergy of the secular Church, the standardized local governing body for the Catholic Church.

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Besides attending to the quotidian affairs of the Church, many of these noble ecclesiastics also held positions in the University and the Holy Office of the Inquisition to supplement their income, often writing pieces under the auspices of these institutions.\textsuperscript{130} In 1600, Church canon and counselor to the Holy Office Dr. Dyonisio de Ribera Florez wrote \textit{Relacion Historiada de las Exequias Funerales}, an account of Phillip II's funerary rites as performed by the colonial Holy Office. In this work, he appended a laudatory address to the apostolic inquisitor of the Office, a dedication that would have attracted the attention and possible recognition of his superiors, which in effect enhanced in one way or another his social status. Much like non-cleric administrators, authors in the secular clergy used the printing press to ascend in colonial society.

As the indoctrinating arm of the Catholic Church, religious orders, such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, dominated the authorship of the printed word in colonial Mexico. When the Spanish first encountered the New World, these monastic societies solely represented the Church and exercised full authority over the conversion and acculturation of the indigenous populace. Friars used the printing press to expedite their missionary work and lay the cultural foundation on which to erect the secular Church. Even after this institution assumed ecclesiastic authority and missionary work diminished, the religious orders continued to focus their efforts in acculturating and educating.\textsuperscript{131} Every order erected monasteries and colleges that sometimes housed printing presses and often served as the only educational institutions in many areas throughout New Spain, a propagation that effectively asserted their role as the educators

\textsuperscript{130} John Frederick Schwaller, \textit{The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico} (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 51.

of colonial society.\textsuperscript{132} Thus, from 1590 until 1612, the orders authored over fifty percent of printed works.\textsuperscript{133} Their scholarship discussed many topics, but was at the forefront in medicine, religious doctrine, and indigenous linguistics.

The expertise in these subjects was due to not only its well-educated members, but also its collaborative endeavors. In 1592, the Order of Preachers (most commonly referred to as the Dominican Order) completed the \textit{Vocabulario en Lengua Misteca}. This was a cooperative work composed by various Dominicans and ultimately edited by the Vicar of Tamazulapa, Fray Francisco de Alvarado. In the prologue, Fray Alvarado attributes the order's mastering of the Mixtec language to the accumulated experience of its missionaries. He explains that since the Dominicans were the only proselytizers in the region, friars depended on the linguistic notes of previous generations to continue missionary efforts; this Mixtec dictionary was a compilation of the order's collective knowledge on the language. The editor goes further and credits the Mixtec as additional authors of the work.\textsuperscript{134} This collaborative effort attests to the orders' ambitions in mastering specific subjects and the resulting extraordinary contribution to printed literature.

The orders' dedication to scholarship included not only the thoroughness of a work, but also its veracity. The Order of St. Francis Minor (the Franciscans) appointed \textit{correctores} within its monastic society who examined and adjusted inaccuracies in press molds before printing went into full production. This internal editorial function took

\textsuperscript{132} Schwaller, \textit{The History of the Catholic Church}, 72. Melchor Ocharte's printing press is indicated as being a part of the Convento de Sanctiago Tlatelolco in José Toribio Medina, \textit{La Imprenta en México, 1539-1821 Edicion Facsimilar Tomo I-II} (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989), cviii.


\textsuperscript{134} Order of Preachers, Francisco de Alvarado, ed., \textit{Vocabulario en Lengua Misteca} (Mexico City: Pedro Balli, 1593).
place at the Convento de Santiago Tlatelolco, an institution overseen by the preeminent scholar on indigenous language and conversion, Fray Juan Bautista. This attention to accuracy, collaborative scholarship, and prominence in printed material indicates the orders' fervent dedication to study and their significant influence on colonial thought.

CENSORING THE AMERICAN OUTPUT

To safeguard their academic prestige and credence in colonial society, religious orders examined and censored scholarship produced under their auspices. Before any manuscript written by members of the order went before the secular Church and the viceroy for printing license, the monastic society's colonial administrator commissioned other friars of the same order to examined and censor the work. Upon the reviewers' approval, the provincial priors (or general commissioners, depending on the order) would then grant license so that the work could proceed to the final colonial authorities.

In instances where the work was of utility to several religious orders, monastic societies would also censor another's work. Fray Juan Navarro's Liber in quo Quatuor Passiones Christi Domini (1604) expounded on doctrinal matters that concerned the ritual of numerous religious orders. Friars from the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian orders examined and approved the work before the author's provincial prior, Franciscan Fray Diego Muñoz, provided a license and the work could proceed in the publishing process. This further supports the investment regular orders made in producing trustworthy and useful scholarship.

Not even the works of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the authority charged with expurgating heretical literature, escaped preventive censorship. Written by Holy

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135 Medina, La Imprenta en México, 345-346; Juan Bautista, Advertencias para los Confessores de los Naturales (Mexico: Melchor Ocharte, 1600); Juan de Mijangos, Espejo Divino en Lengua Mexicana (Mexico: Diego Lopez Davalos, 1607).
Office officials, *Relacion Historiada de las Exequias Funerales* (1600) and *Reportorio de los Tiempos y Historia Natural desta Nueva España* (1606) underwent the same scrutiny as any other colonial work. With the exception of royal decrees and papal bulls, all unpublished manuscripts and modified published works needed review and a printing license from the secular Church and the state.

As the central authority of the secular Church in an archdiocese, the archbishop presided over legislative and judicial matters that enforced canon and inquisitorial law, with book censorship falling under the execution of the latter.136 When authors requested a printing license, the archbishop selected and commissioned one or two individuals to review the manuscript. Once examined, the reviewers submitted either a rejection or approval of the work to the archbishop, who would in turn grant or deny printing license based on these recommendations.

However, there were instances where the archbishop seat was vacant, the archbishop was absent, or he was unfit to assume his responsibilities. In those instances, the authority and responsibilities over the archdiocese would go to the cathedral chapter of the Metropolitan Church, the secondary governing body of the secular Church. The chapter's function was to oversee the cathedral's administration of sacraments and operated under a clearly delineated hierarchical structure where each official had prescribed roles and specific status assigned to them.137

Even though the dean (presiding officer) and four dignitaries embodied the power of the cathedral chapter,138 they did not necessarily assume the authority over licensing unpublished works. In *Arte en Lengua Mixteca* and *Vocabulario en Lengua Misteca*

137 Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy*, 12-17.
(1593), the printing permissions identify by name the archdeacon (the second-ranking official) and four lower chapter officers as the executing authorities. The license indicates that the dean's seat is vacant, which explains the presence of the archdeacon;\textsuperscript{139} however, it does not explain the absence of the other dignitaries in licensing the works. This suggests lower ranking officials took on additional responsibilities, no doubt they were eager to do so, given the printed licenses placed their names in a position of power and in the limelight, augmenting their social standing.

If an archbishop could not fulfill his charge (either because of sickness or because he was away inspecting another archdiocese), he would appoint a governor to attend to the regular functions of his office, including the review and licensing of works.\textsuperscript{140} In \textit{Emmanuelis Alvari e Societate Jesu} (1595), Dr. Juan de Cervantes appears as the governor of the archdiocese and executor of the printing license. The document also identifies him as the archdeacon of the Metropolitan Church's cathedral chapter in Mexico.\textsuperscript{141} Dr. Cervantes' two titles show how the membership of the cathedral chapter supported the needs of the archbishopric in governing the colonial secular Church.

The archdeacon was a dual agent in the secular Church. He was second in line to assume control of the cathedral chapter and assisted the archbishop in several functions, including the confirmation and ordination of priests and the inspection of dioceses. As a result, the archbishop favored and frequently appointed the archdeacon as his governor.\textsuperscript{142} The potential to hold the authority of both the archdiocese and cathedral

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[139] Order of Preachers, \textit{Vocabulario}; Antonio de los Reyes, \textit{Arte en Lengua Mixteca} (Mexico: Casa de Pedro Balli, 1593).
\item[140] Schwaller, \textit{The Church and Clergy}, 8-12.
\item[141] Medina, \textit{La Imprenta en México}; Icazbalceta, \textit{Bibliografia Mexicana}.
\item[142] Schwaller, \textit{The Church and Clergy}, 12-17.
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\end{footnotes}
chapter at any given time conferred upon the archdeacon significant influence in the government of the colonial Church.

Works discussing the administrative practices of the Catholic Church required additional review and licensing. The Comisaría General de la Santa Cruzada (Commission of the Holy Crusade) was a division of the secular Church that managed the indulgences conceded to the Spanish Crown in exchange for its defense of the faith. After the landmark Council of Trent, an influential conclave that initiated a widespread reform on the Catholic Church's government and dogma, the Commission also assumed censorship responsibilities over works communicating reformed doctrine and religious administration.143

Although it was a separate entity, officials from the archbishopric and cathedral chapter oversaw the Commission. Printed in 1595, La Fundación y Summario de Indulgencias discussed the Order of Our Lady of Mercy's foundation, governance, and privileges granted by the Holy See, subject matter that necessitated the approval of the Commission. At the time, the commissioner of the Holy Crusade was Dr. Sancho Sánchez de Muñón who previously served as maestrescuela (schoolmaster) in the Metropolitan Church's cathedral chapter, provisor-vicar general, and governor of the archbishopric of Mexico.144 In 1604, another printed work, Liber in quo Quatuor Passiones Christi Domini, presented several revised doctrines and prayers actively used in numerous religious orders. Also among its licenses was one from the commissioner of the Holy Crusade and canon of a cathedral chapter, Alonso de Ecija.145 Both

144 Schwaller, The Church and Clergy, 48; Icazbalceta, Bibliografía Mexicana, 425.
145 Juan Navarro, Liber in quo Quatuor Passiones (Mexico: Diego Lopez Dvalos, 1604), folio 2.
commissioners, Muñón and Ecija, had significant roles at one point or another in the governance of the secular Church. The recurrence of these officials in other censorship agencies indicates the administrative fluidity of the colonial Church.

Examination of works at all levels of the publishing process required expert reviewers. Content under scrutiny ranged from specific topics that demanded specialized knowledge of subject matter, such as medicine and indigenous languages, to broader philosophical themes that necessitated a deeply perceptive understanding of the nuances in religious doctrine. Censors of colonial thought were university professors, accomplished missionaries, and church scholars who had amassed decades of experience in their fields and enjoyed reputations as credible fountains of knowledge in colonial society. Surprisingly enough, only a few were official censors for the Inquisition, suggesting colonial officials preferred expertise over ecclesiastic authority in the selection of examiners.

One of these esteemed and frequently sought after censors was Dr. Hernando Ortiz de Hinojosa. Dr. Hinojosa was a canon in the cathedral chapter of the Metropolitan Church, a professor at the University of Mexico, and a censor of the Inquisition. He had an extensive education: three bachelors, three licentiates, a master, and two doctorates in the fields of liberal arts, theology, and canon law.146 The thoroughness of his knowledge in various academic fields made him a recurring figure in the licensing of works. From 1590 to 1612, Dr. Hinojosa reviewed and approved two books on medicine, two on physical science, two on church administration, and two on indigenous languages.147

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146 Schwaller, _The Church and Clergy_, 147-149.
presence in all aspects of education--its administration, teaching, and censorship--truly made this figure a considerable influence on colonial education and thought.

It was common for authors to review the work of their contemporaries given that some subject matter, such as indigenous languages, required particular knowledge only a few possessed. Fray Juan Bautista was an accomplished author who published books on Catholic doctrine and the indoctrination of the indigenous. Known for his proficiency in Nahuatl, Bautista also reviewed for printing license several works dealing with the language, including Fray Juan de Mijangos' *Espejo Divino en Lengua Mexicana* (1607). The interchangeability of roles between author and censor lends itself to the idea of a collegial network where colonial authors shared knowledge, collaborated much as the religious orders, competed for prestige, and possibly established quid pro quo relationships in the publishing industry.

When appointed by publishing authorities, reviewers assessed several factors of the work in question. Censors appraised the work's style, perceived accuracy, utility, and, most importantly, its compliance with Catholic doctrine and Spanish customs. If the reviewers found the work acceptable, then the censor provided a written statement of approval to the provincial prior, archbishop, viceroy, or their interim authorities who would then consider the recommendation in the granting of printing license. The evaluated elements indicate that the censors were primarily concerned with the work's palatability and contribution to society.

Some censors felt their approval not only reflected their expertise on the subject at hand, but also affected their reputation. In his *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México* (1625), Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla retracted his

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approval of Dr. Cárdenas’ *Primera Parte de los Problemas, y Secretos Maravillosos de las Indias* (1592). According to Dávila Padilla, Dr. Cárdenas appended a resolution to the manuscript post censorship that affirmed chocolate and wine broke religious fasting because both nourished, a conclusion the friar found inaccurate. Fray Dávila Padilla expressed he “was ashamed that his censorial approval accredited such a deceit” and presented the ‘truth’ according to Pope Gregory XIII to “correct his censure.”149 Although preventive censorship first emerged to protect the faith against heresy, it soon became a tool for its participants in social ascendency and academic prestige. However, as seen in Fray Dávila Padilla’s case, this instrument could be a double-edge sword that hurt, rather than enhance, a book reviewer’s reputation.

**COMMERCIALIZING COLONIAL LITERATURE**

Vice regal censorship and licensing was also necessary, however, the state's predominant concern was over the economic prospects and intellectual control of the work. Viceroyal occasionally submitted the work for review, but often relied on the censorship of the secular Church and religious orders. Their intervention in the publishing process was mainly regulatory, prescribing printer selection, commercial monopolies or privilege, fines for infringing on this privilege, and the price of a printed volume.

Viceroyals set in place a specific printing procedure to prevent the fraudulent modification of censored and licensed manuscripts. When authors, their representatives,

149 “Siempre tuve pena de que estuviese con mi nombre acreditada una falsedad tan grande como decir que el vino quebrantase el ayuno, y una precipitación de que también el chocolate [como lo presente el Dr. Cárdenas en *Primera Parte*]. Yo he visto la consulta que se hizo al Papa Gregorio XIII…que [la bebida] no quebrantaba el ayuno. No digo esto para dar licencia, sino para decir verdades…Esto he dicho por la necesidad que hay en [*Primera Parte*] de saberse, y por volver por mi censura que cayó en lo que ingirieron en el libro sin que yo lo viste,” Agustín Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México de la Orden de Predicadores por las Vidas de Sus Varones Insignes y Casos Notables de Nueva España*, (Brussels: Ivan de Meerbeque, 1625), 626-627.
or printers requested and attained license to print a work, viceroys first defined any of the aforementioned regulations. Then, in accordance with the royal decree of 1558, the vice-regal secretary had to sign every page, note the total number of pages, verify any amendments, and notarize the submitted state of the manuscript. The secretary would return the certified manuscript to the author or printer who would then create a single print of the work and bring it back to the secretary for comparison with the original. Upon verification of the print, the viceroy would assign the sales price of the volume. In theory, this final phase of the publishing process assured the state reserved the final authority in the industry.

However, this safeguard against censorial circumvention failed at times. In the fall of 1590, Dr. Juan de Cárdenas submitted his *Primera Parte de los Problemas, y Secretos Maravillosos de las Indias* to the viceroy for censorship. Viceroy Velasco II commissioned Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla to review the book, who after doing so, provided his approval on November 23, 1590. According to Fray Dávila Padilla, Dr. Cárdenas added a resolution to the book that went to the printing press without his examination. This oversight on behalf of the vice-regal secretary could have been due to overall negligence when verifying the printed content. The official may have also only taken the January 4, 1591 censorship and approval of Dr. Ortiz de Hinojosa (reviewer on behalf of the secular Church) into consideration during the manuscript-to-print comparison; in either case, the authentication of printed proofs lacked thoroughness.

151 Cárdenas, *Primera Parte*, 60.
152 “El año de mil y quinientos y noventa y uno, se imprimió en México, un libro intitulado *Problemas de las Indias*, y el médico que le escribió tomo resolución de que el chocolate y el vino quebrantaban el ayuno porque sustentan. Este libro me remitió el Virrey de México, para que le examinase, y le aprobé, porque cuando me lo trajeron, no traía esta resolución, ni aun movía la duda. Luego le pareció al autor añadirla y se imprimió sin examinarla,” Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la Fundacion*, 626.
Printer Selection

The selection of the printer was generally at the discretion of the author. In the examined licenses (1590-1612), the viceroy designated the writer or his chosen representative as the sole executor of the printing, whether they undertook or delegated the presswork. There were two instances where the state appointed or suggested a printer during this period. In 1595, Viceroy Luis de Velasco II appointed Pedro Balli as the printer for Fray Antonio de Rincon's *Arte Mexicana*, who, prior to this assignment, appeared to be the exclusive printer of Velasco II's decrees.\(^{153}\) Balli’s name was specifically mentioned again in the license of Viceroy Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo as a possible printer for Dr. Ribera Florez' *Relacion Historiada* (1600), which Balli eventually printed.\(^{154}\) These ‘recommendations’ and his recurrence in printing decrees imply Balli might have attained the esteem of the vice-regal office. Nonetheless, these were exceptions in an industry where printers had to compete for an author's appointment.

Once the author selected a printer, the institution that sponsored his work commonly financed the printing costs. Some publications explicitly stated this support, such as Fray Elias de San Juan Baptista's *Compendio de las Excelencias de la Bulla de la Santa Cruzada* (1599) which proclaimed on its title page that the constable of the Holy Crusade Cristoval de la Paz covered all production expenses.\(^{155}\) In another example, Fray Antonio de los Reyes articulated in the dedicatory note of *Arte en Lengua Mixteca* (1593) that provincial prior of the Dominican Order Fray Gabriel de San Joseph had sent

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\(^{154}\) Dionysio de Ribera Florez. *Relación Historiada de las Exequias Funerales de la Magestad del Rey D. Philippo II Nuestro Señor* (Mexico: Casa de Pedro Balli, 1600), folio 1-2.

his manuscript for printing so that the preachers of the order could conduct their missionary work.\textsuperscript{156}

However, in most of the examined books, the author only alludes to the benefactor of his work and its printing. In 1602, a congregation of clerics composed \textit{Dudas acerca de las Ceremonias Santas de la Misa} in which they expounded on colonial church reforms. The authoring assembly concluded the appended dedicatory note with a statement that the work was under the "illustrious patronage" of archdeacon and archdiocese governor Juan de Cervantes.\textsuperscript{157} Printed in 1591, Dr. Juan de Cardenas' letter to Viceroy Luis de Velasco II in \textit{Primera Parte de los Problemas y Secretos Maravillosos de las Indias} glorified the official's father (previous viceroy of New Spain) and beseeched Velasco II to 'favor' his work so that he may have the ability to complete other scholarship underway.\textsuperscript{158} It is not clear whether the commended authorities commissioned the author's work, the printing, or both. Nevertheless, authors utilized dedications to coax superiors into funding the printing of their work or future writings.

In other cases, the religious orders seemingly covered the publication costs given some printers were at their direct employ. To print the work of the College of Santa Cruz, the Franciscan Order had a press at the attached Convent of Santiago Tlatilulco. The series of printings that came from this locality from 1599 until 1601 emanated from three different printers, Melchor Ocharte, Luis Ocharte Figueroa, and Diego Lopez Davalos, suggesting the press was the property of the Order and the printer was an

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{156} Reyes, \textit{Arte en Lengua Mixteca}, dedicatory note.
\textsuperscript{157} Congregación de Nuestra Señora, \textit{Dudas acerca de las Ceremonias Santas de la Misa} (Mexico: Henrico Martinez, 1602), dedicatory note.
\textsuperscript{158} Cárdenas, \textit{Primera Parte}, 62.
\end{footnotesize}
assigned agent.\textsuperscript{159} As a cloister for Franciscan authors and the owner of a printing press, the Convent of Santiago Tlatilulco was a veritable publishing house in colonial Mexico.

Given this press was under the auspices of the Convent of Santiago Tlatilulco, the convent's guardian had the authority to replace the printer if the production did not meet expectations. In 1600, printer Melchor Ocharte started and completed volume one of Fray Juan Baptista's \textit{Advertencias para los Confesorres de los Naturales}. It appears he initiated the printing of the second volume, but author and guardian Fray Baptista interrupted his work. According to Baptista's dedicatory note, he had halted further printing of the work in "seeing the poor disposition" of the finished product, but continued at the behest of the Franciscan Order's general commissioner. Printed at the end of the second volume, the colophon indicates Luis Ocharte Figueroa, brother of Melchor, finished printing the work in 1601.\textsuperscript{160} As Medina points out, this suggests the author's dissatisfaction with the product led to the printer's replacement.\textsuperscript{161} The patronage of the convent made the printer subservient, and thus disposable, to the religious authors.

Sometimes the author was his own printer. Besides serving as language interpreter for the Holy Office, Henrico Martinez also participated in the publishing industry, producing prints for the Holy Office, the Holy Crusade, and the University. However, the trade was secondary to his scientific pursuits in cosmography and engineering for he had ceased the practice from 1607 until 1610 to design flood-control projects for Mexico City. His scholarship earned him the post of royal cosmographer and yielded two known works, \textit{Discurso Sobre la Conjuncion de Júpiter y Saturno} (1604) and

\textsuperscript{159} Medina, \textit{La Imprenta en México: Tomo 1}, cviii-cix & cxvii; Bautista, \textit{Advertencias}.

\textsuperscript{160} Bautista, \textit{Advertencias: Segunda Parte}, dedicatory note & colophon.

\textsuperscript{161} Medina, \textit{La Imprenta en México: Tomo 1}, cviii.
Reportorio de los Tiempos y Historia Natural desta Nueva España (1606). It is apparent that his academic interests influenced his printing practice since most of the works that went through his press dealt with scientific studies, including his own Reportorio in 1606.\textsuperscript{162} Martinez probably believed his intellectual work, rather than his printing, furthered his social and economic status given the viceroy predominantly granted printing privilege to authors.

\textbf{Printing Privilege}

Besides conferring printing license, viceroys also granted \textit{privilegio}, an economic monopoly over the printing and commercialization of the manuscript. In the licenses of \textit{privilegio}-protected works, the viceroy makes a formulaic statement that declares, "by this I give license and faculty so that [the author] or his representative, and no other person, has the power to print or have someone print on his behalf the aforementioned book for [a specified number of] years."\textsuperscript{163} The statement varies slightly from book to book, but the essence is the same: only the author, or his representative, has the right to print the intellectual content.

It is important to note that authors had to request privilege over the material in order to attain it; however, it was at the discretion of the viceroy whether he would grant the request and for how many years the concession would be in effect. Between 1590 and 1612, \textit{privilegio} ranged from four to twenty years with a median of ten years (about

\textsuperscript{162} Medina, \textit{La Imprenta en México: Tomo 1}, cix-cxi.
\textsuperscript{163} "por la presente doy licencia y facultad para que el o persona con su poder y no otra alguna pueda hacer imprimir el dicho libro por tiempo de...años." Extract from the vice regal license in Farfán, \textit{Tractado Brebe de Medicina}, folio 1-2.
half of the books printed), all granted to authors. Royal officials regularly granted a ten-year privilege given this was the average time it took to sell out a print run.

In some instances, the viceroy granted a lesser protection than petitioned, and in others, he gave the concession without the author requesting it. Such was the case for Dr. Dionysio de Ribera Florez who asked Viceroy Zúñiga y Azavedo for license to print *Relacion Historiada de las Exequias Funerales* in 1600. The viceroy granted the license and automatically provisioned the author copyright for six years. Dr. Ribera Florez was a canon in the cathedral chapter of the Metropolitan Church in Mexico and a consultant to the Holy Office. This gratuitous privilege suggests that there might have been politics at play where the viceroy was safeguarding his interests by protecting those of other influential political figures.

Some viceroys went beyond safeguarding the writer's intellectual content. During his tenure from 1595 to 1603, Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo extended some of the authors' privilege to include engraved images accompanying their work, a protection previously thought to have first happened at the end of the eighteenth century. Interestingly enough, the printer or someone at his employ created the engravings, not the author. This suggests Viceroy Zúñiga y Azevedo considered the

embellishment of content an inextricable quality that defined the character of the privileged intellectual entity. Additionally, Zúñiga y Azevedo required that anyone quoting the work give explicit credit to the author, a specification that enhanced and propagated the scholar's prestige in academia.\footnote{"llevando cada una letbrero del Doctor o Auctor de donde se saco la Historia." Extract from the vice regal license in Bautista, Advertencias, folio 1-2.} This expansion of copyright over printers' graphics and the acknowledgment of the author in extracted material further suggest the colonial administrators favored authors over printers in the publishing economy and actively encouraged scholarship through financial benefit and distinction.

*Privilegio* was far from being absolute and inalienable. In 1610, Fray Vicente de Mijangos, the Attorney General for the Order of Saint Augustine, requested from Viceroy Luis de Velasco II the transfer and extension of *Tratado Brebe de Medicina*’s printing privilege from its deceased author, Fray Agustín Fárfan of the same order, to the Convent of Saint Augustine. Initially printed in 1579, this work was in high demand (and consequently profitable) for Fray Fárfan, who reprinted the book in 1592 with a fifteen-year privilege. Given the author passed away in 1606 and the protection ceased in 1607, Fray Mijangos petitioned the viceroy for the reassignment and prolongation of the work's copy right to secure the profits for the order's convent.\footnote{Agustín Farfán, *Tractado Brebe de Medicina, y de Todas las Enfermedades* (Mexico: Emprenta de Geronymo Balli, 1610), folio 1; María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, *Los Cirujanos en los Conventos de la Ciudad de México: Siglos XVI-XIX* (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2008), 213-214.} This case implies *privilegio* protection endured even after the death of its holder and emphasizes the fact that colonial privilege was not a true 'copyright.'

Even though an author's work complemented the interests and agendas of a viceroy, this did not guarantee a favorable *privilegio*. In 1605, cosmographer and interpreter of the Holy Office Henrico Martinez wrote a study on the climate and natural geography of New Spain, *Reportorio de los Tiempos y Historia Natural desta Nueva*
España (1606), and dedicated it to Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna. A poet himself, Viceroy Mendoza y Luna had an affinity towards scholarship. He established academic centers for the orders (in particular the Jesuits) and often commissioned work in history, indigenous languages, and geography. When Reportorio de los Tiempos came before him for licensing, Viceroy Mendoza y Luna was addressing the floods that affected Mexico City in 1604 and again in 1606, rigorously financing studies and projects that would alleviate this hydrological issue.\footnote{Casado, El Gobierno Americano del Marqués de Montesclaros, 23-24, 52-55.} Martinez was an engineer who dedicated his efforts to the cause soon after printing this work. Still, in spite of this alignment between the author's work and the Viceroy's agenda, Martinez did not attain the full privilege tenure he requested from Viceroy Mendoza y Luna. He requested a ten-year privilegio and only received a six-year term. The reasoning behind this decision is not clear, but there is a possibility that Martinez's dual role as author and printer might have influenced the viceroy's perception of how much protection he needed to secure profits.

Viceroy's not only defined privilegio, but also prescribed the penalties for those who violated the protection. The standard punishment included the confiscation of printing molds and equipment, illegal prints, and a fine of five hundred pesos that would go to the Council of the Indies, the trial's presiding judge, and the informer in equal parts. However, from 1590 until 1612, there is only one instance where the viceroy channeled half of the retribution to the author.

In the licensing of Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (1609), Viceroy Luis de Velasco II indicated the division of confiscated goods and fines between the Council of the Indies and the author, Dr. Antonio de Morga. Dr. Morga was the Justice of the Peace in the Audiencia of New Spain and consultant to the Holy Office of the Inquisition. He was
also the only published author that was a member of the Audiencia during this period. Dr. Morga's unique claim to the fines further supports the notion that viceroys used privilege as a political device. Whether colonial administrators enforced the protection or levied penalties remains unknown. However, the printing restrictions and the resulting costly fines for their violation evidence the intent of the state to protect authors' intellectual ‘property.’

Although vice-regal privilege did not fluctuate significantly, there are instances where several factors seem to be at play when determining the extent of economic protection given to an author. The following section takes a closer look at two cases involving similar works granted drastically different vice-regal privilege. This case study seeks to elucidate the factors that guided Viceroy Velasco’s decision-making in the licensing and economic protection of colonial books during his tenure.

**The Vice-Regal Privilege of Luis de Velasco II: A Case Study**

In 1591, Dr. Juan de Cárdenas went before Viceroy Velasco II to attain a printing license and a ten-year monopoly for *Primera Parte de los Problemas y Secretos Maravillosos de las Indias*. In three parts, Dr. Cárdenas discussed the New Spanish geography and climate, its curative botany, and the life ways and illnesses of its inhabitants. “Taking into consideration the benefit a printed copy would bring to the republic,” Velasco II granted the author license and a four-year (*not* a ten-year) privilege. To enforce the protection, he also prescribed a five-hundred *peso* fine and the confiscation of the illegally produced molds and books.172

A year later, Dr. Agustín Farfán also requested license and an unspecified privilege for his *Tractado Brebe de Medicina, y de Todas las Enfermedades*. Much like a

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172Velasco II states, “Y por mí visto, teniendo consideración a la utilidad que se sigue a toda la república, de que el dicho libro se imprima y salga a luz.” Cárdenas, *Primera Parte*, 58.
manual, the book presented an extensive series of health issues and methods to cure them, either with medicinal concoctions or surgery. Given “Dr. Farfán’s reliable proficiency in medicine and surgery,” the viceroy not only gave license, but also a fifteen-year printing monopoly. For penalties, Velasco II applied the five-hundred peso fine, the confiscation of the unauthorized prints and molds, and the seizure of the transgressor’s printing press.\textsuperscript{173}

In the first two years that he served as the viceroy of New Spain, Velasco II granted the least and the most favorable printing privilege he would confer in this post (1590-1595, 1607-1611). Of the fifty publications identified as printed under the license of this viceroy, there are twelve known privileges ranging from four years (Dr. Cárdenas) to fifteen (Dr. Farfán), with ten years being the most common term.\textsuperscript{174} What factors

\textsuperscript{173} In the license, the viceroy lauds how Dr. Farfán, “en todas ocasiones ha mostrado su suficiencia en Medicina y Cirugía.” Concerning penalties, the transgressor will, “perder la imprenta, y todos los moldes y recaudos [prints] de ella.” Farfán, \textit{Tractado Brebe} (1592), f.1v-2.

\textsuperscript{174} This was an analysis of a list of publications printed during the two vice-regal terms of Velasco II compiled from the bibliographies of Icazbalceta and Medina. Here is a breakdown of this list by publication type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th># of Publications</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th># of Publications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Papal bull</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University thesis</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Royal decree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Official authorities (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, Papal See, King/Viceroy, Holy Office of the Inquisition) did not require a vice-regal privilege given only they could authorize the printing/reprinting of their proclamations. Unlike these which were not sold and printed for posting, books had an economic value, making privilege over their printing a sought after vice-regal provision. This is a breakdown of Velasco II’s privileges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Velasco II’s Privileges</th>
<th># of Privileges</th>
<th>Term in Years</th>
<th># of Privileges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
could have influenced Velasco II’s preferential treatment towards Dr. Farfán and not to Dr. Cárdenas, both medical doctors who wrote about health issues and dedicated their books to him? Did the viceroy base privilege on his perception of the author’s intentions, education, and experience? How did Velasco II’s values, political agendas, and day-to-day business play into these decisions? A background of the viceroy’s goals and administrative agenda is in order to shed light on these questions.

Strife within New Spain’s administrative elite prompted the appointment of Viceroy Luis de Velasco II. His predecessor, Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, imposed an authoritarian agenda that divided the colony soon after his 1585 inauguration. Among his political enemies, and perhaps the most influential in his downfall, were the religious orders whose privileges he sought to curtail. In the complaints submitted to the Council of the Indies, colonists depicted a tyrannous Manrique de Zúñiga with “scandalous greed.” Although these accusations disquieted the sovereign, the coup de grace for the viceroy’s government came only after his jurisdictional encroachment and subsequent armed confrontation with the Audiencia of Guadalajara in 1588. Fearing a civil war, Philip II deposed Manrique de Zúñiga and named Velasco II viceroy of New Spain on July 19, 1589.

Velasco’s loyalty and servitude to the Hapsburg monarchy dated since the arrival of Charles V to Spain in 1517. Under this sovereign and the next (Philip II), the family

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Although some information on the printing privilege and penalties of printed works came from the aforementioned secondary sources, the bulk of the specifics concerning Velasco II’s privilege came from the extant books preserved at the Benson Latin American Collection in Austin, Texas.

175 Also known as Marquis of Villamanrique.
176 Viceroy Manrique de Zúñiga “prohibited and censured correspondence destined for Spain, suppressed criticism from ecclesiastics under penalty of exile, demonstrated scandalous greed, favored his relatives in coveted administrative posts..., and undermined the authority of the Audiencia,” José Ignacio Rubio Mañé, El Virreinato, tomo 1 (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 2005), 130-131.
177 Rubio Mañé, El Virreinato, tomo 1, 130-131; Julio Zárate, Don Luis de Velasco el Segundo, Virrey de México (México: Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos, 1950), 11-15.
actively participated in the royal court and assumed various colonial administrative posts throughout the Spanish empire. Although powerful ties to New Spain already existed, the Velasco’s ascent to colonial regency started when Luis de Velasco I (the elder) became viceroy, serving a well-lauded term from 1550 until his death in 1564.\(^{178}\) During his tenure, Velasco I implemented the 1542 New Laws passed to protect indigenous vassals from exploitation; this agenda created a lasting political rift in the colony that would eventually propel Velasco II to the vice-regency and color his stance in favor of the indigenous.

Luis de Velasco, the younger, partook in royal affairs since the age of sixteen; however, it was not until the 1566 conspiracy trials of Martín Cortés that he truly proved his loyalty to Philip II. Although Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (1535-1550) refused to implement the New Laws, Viceroy Luis de Velasco I (1550-1564) did not and made a “public commitment to improving the treatment of the natives.” This political move resulted in the emergence of two factions headed by the viceroy (allied primarily by the religious orders) and Martín Cortes (supported by the affected conquistadors and early settlers reaping from indigenous labor). As tensions rose, rumors circulated that some in the *encomendero* faction were planning to rebel against the royal government and place the son of conquistador Hernán Cortes as the figurehead. Soon after his father’s death, Luis de Velasco II confirmed the rumors and stood in court as the central informant against the conspirators, effectively suppressing the stirrings of the looming revolt.\(^{179}\) Given Velasco II’s proven loyalty in this case, Philip II had no reason to doubt the new viceroy would bid his will in 1590.

\(^{178}\) Schwaller, ”The Early Life of Luis de Velasco, the Younger,” 20.

\(^{179}\) For a detailed discussion of the Cortés conspiracy and Velasco II’s role in them, see Schwaller, ”The Early Life of Luis de Velasco, the Younger,” 38-43.
Indigenous indoctrination and welfare took center stage in Philip II’s instructions to the incoming viceroy.\textsuperscript{180} In light of the previous crisis, colonial economy and bureaucratic reform also figured prominently; however, the composition of the decree suggests he gave native issues precedence. In the first quarter of the document, Philip II stressed the importance of indigenous enculturation and ordered Velasco to provide financial and administrative support for this undertaking. If this priority did not come through the decree’s literary structure, the opening and closing statements definitely made the point clear; native conversion and conservation should be at the crux of the vice-regal agenda for the upcoming years.\textsuperscript{181}

In line with Philip II’s wishes, Velasco II first tackled the Chichimec problem—a landmark in his vice-regency. Since his father’s administration, the hostility of the Chichimec natives hindered Spain’s attempt at successfully expanding and controlling the northern frontier, home of the lucrative Zacatecas mines. After decades of stagnant negotiations, Chichimec emissaries finally met with the viceroy in 1591 to set the conditions for peace: an annual allowance of meat and clothing for the Chichimec on the condition that they allowed Tlaxcala natives (loyal subjects) to form pueblos (settlements) in their territory.\textsuperscript{182} For the time being, this treaty would secure the crucial communication and supply link between the capitol and its mining economy.

\textsuperscript{180} In the July 19, 1589 document, almost half of his directives (22 out of 52 identified) pertained to native issues: facilitation of religious indoctrination/education, protection from Spanish exploitation (in tribute and labor), and productivity in agricultural economy, Felipe II, “Las Instrucciones Reales Al Primer Gobierno De Don Luis De Velasco II,” in Dos Documentos Virreinales: Las Instrucciones Al Virrey Luis De Velasco II y Las Instrucciones y Memoria Del Segundo Duque De Alburquerque, ed. Ernesto de la Torre Villar, 1. ed., Documental / Instituto De Investigaciones Históricas 28 (México, D.F: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010), 11–30.

\textsuperscript{181} Opening directive: “os [Felipe II] mando, y mucho encargo que tengáis por muy especial, y por mas principal cuidado el de la conversión, y cristianidad de los dichos naturales indios…[y que] los dichos indios no reciban daño, y perjuicio en sus ánimas…y cumpliréis con toda diligencia y cuidado como de vos se confía…” Closing directive: “os [Felipe II] encargo generalmente que miréis mucho por…[el] buen tratamiento y conservación de los naturales…,” Felipe II, “Las Instrucciones Reales,” 11–30.

\textsuperscript{182} Rubio Mañé, El Virreinato, tomo 2, 72-73.
For Velasco, indigenous health was crucial in sustaining a frontier economy. Epidemics often decimated native populations in the northern territories, especially those laboring under the hazardous working conditions of the Zacatecas mines. In order for settlements to survive in this region, populations needed to be stable and growing to maintain self-sufficiency. This also applied to the mission enterprise, which could only justify its cause and facilitate enculturation if the population numbers were there. In the case of the Chichimec pacification, the survival of the loyal Tlaxcala natives among the Chichimec kept the peace treaty in place. Velasco II understood the effect indigenous welfare had on the prosperity of the colony. In a letter to Philip II, Velasco II discussed how illness continuously plagued indigenous pueblos, resulting in significant population losses.\footnote{“Los indios han padecido en algunos pueblos, y provincias enfermedad, que casi jamás falta entre ellos, de que resulta haberse contado de nuevo algunos pueblos, en cuyas cuentas siempre hay falta de gente,” Luis de Velasco II to Philip II, 5 June 1590, MEXICO, 22, N.16, Audiencia de México Collection, AGI.} Although Philip II’s instructions already made this a priority, familial ties with the mining elite probably made this a particularly present issue for Velasco II.\footnote{Velasco II’s sister, Ana de Velasco, was married to one of the founders of the Zacatecas mines, Diego de Ibarra, Schwaller, “The Early Life of Luis De Velasco, the Younger,” 27.}

Velasco II’s concern for indigenous welfare at the frontier possible influenced his evaluation of Cárdenas’ manuscript. Even though Dr. Cárdenas’ work complemented Velasco II’s general agenda in theory, it did not in practice. As Emilio Uranga points out in his comparison between Fray Farfán’s \textit{Tractado Brebe} and Dr. Cárdenas’ \textit{Primera Parte},\footnote{Emilio Uranga, “Juan de Cárdenas: sus amigos y sus enemigos,” \textit{Historia Mexicana} 16, no. 4 (April-June 1967), 489.} Cárdenas admits well into the work that he wrote it “simply for the enjoyment and curiosity of those in the Indies who scrutinize similar mysteries.”\footnote{“me pareció, con muy bastantes experiencias y razones, desterrarlo [el yerro] de los entendimientos, estableciendo en todo ello la verdad y lo que real y verdaderamente pasa, y esto es nomas para gusto y curiosidad de muchos que veo en las Indias escudriñar semejantes secretos,” in section 2, chapter XVI, Cárdenas, \textit{Primera Parte}, 225-226.} Velasco II probably took note of this intention when he read Dr. Cárdenas’ dedicatory note to him:

\textit{Primera Parte}
the author’s rationale for writing Primera Parte was only to “motivate others more expert and ingenious [to contribute].” In effect, Cárdenas “wrote more for the curious layman.”

Velasco II probably deemed Dr. Cárdenas’ Primera Parte particularly esoteric considering the day-to-day issues he was addressing around the time the author requested license and privilege. On the day Dr. Cárdenas presented his petition (February 13, 1591), Velasco II dealt with three situations involving the alcalde mayor (pueblo administrator) of Celaya, two petitions for native labor, one on the requisition of Coahuila mines, and another concerning bookkeeping. From January 29 until February 13, the majority of cases brought to the viceroy involved either pueblo governance or petitions for indigenous laborers.\(^\text{188}\) The ‘curiosities’ of Dr. Cárdenas offered little to alleviate the matters at hand.

On the other hand, Dr. Farfan’s book was for practical application. It was a straightforward manual on the treatment of illnesses; for example, “to heal a persistent wound, [Dr. Farfán recommended] the consumption of a strong [bull’s] fat or kidney fat with four ounces of oil.”\(^\text{189}\) According to Velasco, Fray Agustín Farfán wrote Tractado Brebe de Medicina to “help [the province’s] poor and ignorant, who lack the medical

\(^{188}\) “[Primera Parte] servirá sólo de dar motivo a que otros más expertos y limados ingenios que el mío, puedan añadir lo bueno que falta, y cercenar lo malo que sobra…yo escribo más para curiosos romancistas…,” in “Prologo al Lector,” Cárdenas, Primera Parte, 63-64.

\(^{189}\) “Para sanar una llaga antigua, tomen sebo de macho bueno, ó de una riñonada de carnero y aceite común de cada cosa cuatro onzas,” Farfán, Tractado Brebe (1592), [vice-regal license].
recourse to remedy the illness that endures in native *pueblos* and *haciendas* (ranches).”190 The author’s intent and writings were in line with Velasco II’s promise to the king, “to relieve the *pueblos* [from illness] whenever possible and with public works.”191

Velasco II presents no opinion of Dr. Cárdenas’ qualifications in his license. However, the author’s expertise and youth might have influenced his decision. When he presented his book for licensing, Dr. Cárdenas was twenty-eight and had just earned his Doctorate in Medicine the year before. Although a proud man,192 Dr. Cárdenas was self-conscious about his age, sensing “scientists and learned men…wouldn’t need the musings [Primera Parte] of a young man.”193 He was also preoccupied with being construed as overreaching, and thus an inexperienced scholar. With a title claiming to discuss “the Indies,” Cárdenas foresaw criticism on the book’s brevity and its exclusion of Peru. “Considering how much was necessary to write about these provinces,” Cárdenas proposed plans to compose a second part focused on Peru that would “soon come to light.”194 This discourse on the ‘incompleteness’ of the work could have negatively affected Velasco II’s perception of the author: an ambitious, yet immature doctor seeking to publish an ‘incomplete’ esoteric work.

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190 “con ánimo de aprovechar a este reino y repúblicas del, y ayudar a la gente pobre y ausente que carece de socorro de médicos para remedio de las enfermedades que padece estando en pueblos de indios y haciendas del campo, y no teniendo posibilidad para curarse por mano de terceras personas interesadas, y para otros efectos ha estudiado [Farfán] con cuidado, de sacar a luz un libro…,” Farfán, *Tractado Breve* (1592), [vice-regal license].
191 “,” Luis de Velasco II to Philip II, 5 June 1590, MEXICO, 22, N.16, Audiencia de México Collection, AGI.
192 “graduó en Medicina, profesión que, según nos cuenta, ejerció con cierto renombre, al punto que uno de sus pacientes no temía a la muerte “teniendo a mí [Dr. Cárdenas] por su médico,” Ariel Guiance, “Cuando América Era El Paraíso: Medicina, Utopía y Ciencia En La Obra De Juan De Cárdenas,” *Revista De Historia De América*, no. 120 (July 1, 1995): 10-12.
193 “yo escribo más para curiosos romancistas que para hombres científicos y letrados (pues éstos no tienen necesidad de documentos de un hombre mozo),” in “Prologo al Lector,” Cárdenas, *Primera Parte*, 64.
194 “considerando lo mucho que de estos grandiosos reinos había que escribir y el poco posible mío para sacar a luz tan larga historia, me pareció dividirla toda en dos partes, una que declaro lo tocante a estas provincias del norte, y otra que sirva solo de tratar grandezas del Perú, y ésta Dios mediante saldrá muy en breve a luz,” in “Prologo al Lector,” Cárdenas, *Primera Parte*, 64.
Yet, silent as he was in Dr. Cárdenas’ license, Velasco II lauded Dr. Farfán’s abilities. According to his licensing statement, the viceroy granted the petition based on “Dr. Farfán’s extensive education and experience, and the fact that in all occasions, he had demonstrated proficiency in medicine and surgery.” At the time, Dr. Farfán was already a renowned surgeon; in his sixty years of age, the friar had served as Philip II’s chamber doctor, pharmacy inspector, superior of two convents, and belonged to the University of Mexico’s faculty. In addition, official documents described Farfán as indefatigable in his medicinal practice, much of the time providing charitable consultations to the less fortunate, in particular, indigenous people. Due to this impressive vita and dedication to the Amerindians, Velasco II thought highly of Dr. Farfán and his scholarship.

Personal bonds with Dr. Farfán might have also prompted Velasco II's generosity. Dr. Farfán's relationship with the Velascos begins as early as 1567, the year Farfán graduated from the University of Mexico with his Doctorate of Medicine. Under request from Farfán's mentor, Luis de Velasco II and his uncle, Francisco de Velasco, gave him a sword and spur to honor him on his graduation. In his dedicatory note, the author also references the viceroy's father, stating Velasco I "was more of a father and friend, than

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195 “le mandase dar licencia... por la mucha satisfacción que se tiene de las muchas letras, estudio, y larga experiencia del dicho doctor Fray Agustín Farfán, y teniendo consideración a lo bien que en todas ocasiones ha mostrado su suficiencia en Medicina y Cirugía, he acordado de le dar como por la presente le doy licencia y facultad...[para] imprimir...,” Farfán, Tratado Brebe (1592), [vice-regal license].
196 His name appears as “Augustín Farfán” in the 1592 printing of Tratado. Prior to Farfán’s profession into the Augustine Order on September 26, 1569, his name was “Pedro García Farfán y Elexalde” according to Carlos Agustín Rodríguez Paz and Rosa María Carreón Bringas, “Dr. Agustín Farfán, cirujano Novohispano del siglo XVI,” Revista Médica del Hospital General de México, S.S. 56, no. 4 (October-December 1993), 161-162.
prince and Viceroy," suggesting a close relationship between the two figures. This early experience with the Velascos could be the reason behind Dr. Farfán's dedication of the book to the viceroy and Velasco II’s preferential treatment towards the friar.

Dr. Farfán's intention to help indigenous communities, the utility of *Tratado Brebe*, his illustrious credentials, and a possible personal connection with the Velascos may have influenced the viceroy's generous protection of the work. Compared to the socially conscious Fray Fárfan who posed practical solutions to pressing issues, Cárdenas and his work did little to support or further Velasco II’s work in bettering the welfare of the natives. This case study provides an in-depth exploration that reinforces the argument that viceroys privileged those who contributed to their interests or political agendas.

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Preventive censorship went beyond scrutinizing colonial thought. It ensured the veracity, stylized the content, and delineated the ownership of scholarship. Colonial administrative entities had different concerns in book publishing--the creation, censorship, and ‘ownership’ of written content. Religious orders concentrated on the production of rigorous and irrefutable scholarship conceived through collaborative efforts, the use of *correctores*, and self-review before works proceeded to final licensing authorities.

The secular Church invested itself in the examination and censorship of works to maintain traditional mores and religious purity in colonial thought, often providing the only review a work would receive in its publication. This is evident in their commission of expert censors of various disciplines and careers as well as their presence in other examining entities, such as the *Comisaría General de Cruzada*. Viceroys primarily

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199 “el ilustrísimo señor don Luis de Velasco, padre de vuestra señoría…[que fue] á todos mas padre, que príncipe, mas amigo, que señor,” Farfán, *Tratado Brebe* (1592), [dedication t Luis de Velasco II].
preoccupied themselves with the economic regulation of the printing economy that included the pricing of books and, most importantly, the intellectual control of its content. Given the limited proliferation and use of the printing press in New Spain, printers had little to offer viceroys in exchange for such economic concessions. This, however, was not the case in Europe.
Chapter 4: Sixteenth-Century Mexican Publishing in Context

Sovereigns across Europe marveled at the invention of the printing press. The technology’s expediency in reproducing, and consequently dispersing ideology attracted world powers. Monarchs sent printing apprentices or transplanted printers to bring the technology to their respective domains. However, this intrigue soon turned to suspicion as they witnessed its subversive potential. At the turn of sixteenth century, sovereigns scrambled to subdue the power they had inadvertently unleashed.

To harness its extraordinary influence and channel it towards the reinforcement of hegemony, preventive censorship emerged. Royal councils formed and local authorities emerged to examine, censor, and license manuscripts considered for printing. In some cases, such as in England and Venice, the governing bodies looked to the publishers and printers for this surveillance. By the middle of the sixteenth century, printing hubs existed where tradesmen forged informal relationships, codes of ethics, and official guilds to more-or-less stimulate fair competition. Sovereigns took advantage of the industry’s professionalization and molded it into an effective conduit to censor and license written thought.200

Claiming ecumenical jurisdiction over all things affecting the faith, the Catholic Church also sought dominion over censoring publishable thought. The papal bulls of Innocent VIII (1487) and Alexander VI (1501) demanded printers submit both religious and secular manuscripts for censorship and license from the Holy See. The Church’s attempt to regulate written thought and its industry inevitably threatened the sovereignty of civil authorities.

Responding to the perceived encroachment, European states substantially curtailed the Church's control in publishing in the sixteenth century. The Reformation effectively ended ecclesiastical censorial administration in England, the Venetian Republic often contested its regulatory efforts, and German officials and printers never accepted its authority.\textsuperscript{201} Sovereigns sought to assert dominion over what they considered a state affair and formed regulatory entities independent from the Church. Spain was no different.

However, the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic Church had an intimate reciprocal relationship. For the Church, Spain conquered the infidel Moorish territories and the gentile Americas. In turn, the Church served as its hegemonic arm domestically and legitimized the monarchy’s proclaimed providence abroad. Thus, it reigned in the production and censorship of written Spanish thought; its clerics generated over fifty percent of the books printed in Spain and Mexico and dominated in censoring intellectual work in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{202}

Contention still surfaced in the alliance. In line with other European powers, Spain reacted against the papacy’s objective to control the ideological tool. The Catholic monarchs enacted the Pragmatic of 1502 to supersede Alexander VI’s 1501 papal bull. This political move simply brought the censorial practice under Spain’s bureaucratic fold through the appointment of civil and ecclesiastic authorities in the procedure. Regardless of its attempt to abridge the dominance of the papacy, the monarchy could not deny the Church its stake and intellectual authority in matters concerning its newest vassals, the Amerindians.

\textsuperscript{201} Putnam, \textit{Books and Their Makers}, 439.
\textsuperscript{202} For the Iberian Peninsula, see Díaz, \textit{El Libro Español Antiguo}, 22; For Mexico, refer to previous discussion.
Prior to the establishment of the American printing press, the Catholic monarchy attempted to retain its central role in licensing literature destined for Mexico. However, established procedure and its authorities changed the moment Fray Ramírez requested a license to print his indigenous-language doctrine, *Santa Doctrina*. Since licensing authorities and their appointed censors in Spain did not possess the necessary knowledge to censor the translated doctrine, the monarchy had no recourse, but to rely on its Audiencia and indigenous linguists (the religious orders) in the Americas. The language barrier Fray Ramírez’s *Doctrina* posed effectively expanded the Pragmatic of 1502 to add New Spanish officials to the roster of licensing authorities.

Although the Crown formally extended licensing authority to the Mexican viceroy and Audiencia, the task fell on the colonial Church, or more specifically, the religious orders, when the technology crossed the Atlantic. As the primary advocate for the printing press in the Americas, Maecenas, and eventual editor-in-chief, Franciscan friar and Bishop Juan de Zumárraga seemingly mandated the production of the first Mexican printing press. Given the bureaucratic infancy of the New World, the state acknowledged its significant dependence on the religious orders to police ideology, essentially handing over the authority to the Church during the burgeoning years of the Mexican trade.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the state attempted to wrest the control entirely from the Church in the Iberian Peninsula. Charles V issued new ordinances in 1554 that intended to sever the Church from preventive censorship by centralizing the procedure in his Council of Castile. However, interbreeding between colonial ecclesiastical and civil bureaucracies maintained the Church’s authority in Mexico.

At the end of the sixteenth century, manuscript licensing in Mexico had essentially reverted to the power-share established by the Pragmatic of 1502—manuscripts required a printing license from both the Church and the state. However, in
requiring a dual license, there was an implicit understanding between both powers; the Church censored ideology through the appointment of clerics in manuscript censorship, and the state regulated the economy through printing privilege and pricing.

With the exception of France and Spain, publishers/printers generally censored manuscripts in Europe. In England, the Stationers' Company (a guild of printers and publishers) served as the regulatory body for the monarchy. The Venetian Senate made individual printers accountable for the books they produced. As previously indicated, the trade’s censorship responsibilities arose from its professionalization and concentration in burgeoning cities.

In exchange for their ideological oversight, sovereigns granted economic monopoly to these tradesmen. The English Stationers’ Company attained a royal monopoly on printing that only its membership (which excluded authors) enjoyed. Venice allocated the majority of printing privileges to the censoring printers. Take Aldus Manutius for example; being the only printer capable of producing Arabic, Syriac, and Greek works at the time, he attained a twenty-year privilege over these printings in 1496. This suggests that the Venetian Senate’s concession of such an extraordinary privilege was to hold one publisher (not a multitude of authors) responsible for content produced in a different language. Before the contemporary notion of copyright came into being, authorities used printing privilege to reward and hold accountable the stewards of state intellectual hegemony, domestically and abroad.

Authors in Europe could attain privilege over their work if they achieved celebrity or if their work was of particular interest to the local or imperial administration. Local

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pride in an individual's work often secured significant economic protections and judicial reinforcement, such as Dürer's work in Germany. Some authors whose appointed work involved the representation of the monarchy or the empire, such as historians and geographers, at times enjoyed printing privilege over their scholarship, as was the case with the Historian of the Venetian Republic in 1486.

However, these were exceptions rather than the rule. States only rewarded the few whose service to the crown brought substantial honor and intellectual supremacy to the empire, through either cultural acclaim or influential legitimizing narratives. In comparing the service of authors to that of the publishers and printers, monarchies simply saw more value in the printers' censorship and regulation of written thought than in thought itself. Spain partly followed suit. Printing privilege predominantly went to printers in the Iberian Peninsula even though the Church provided the Crown with ideological surveillance. Although the convention transferred to the Americas with Seville printer Juan Cromberger’s economic monopoly, it was short lived.

The Church and its authoring clerics, not the printers, censored the press and enjoyed the lion’s share of the trade’s economic monopoly in the Americas through most of the sixteenth century. The Church, through its religious orders, established, financed and developed the publishing industry to facilitate enculturation and indoctrination of the natives and enforce Christian hegemony on its colonists. With the Church assuming the role of Maecenas, the printer automatically became subordinate to the religious author.

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This political, economic, and religious milieu in the first half of the sixteenth century constructed a colonial publishing practice that centered on the religious author/censor.

Towards the end of the century, a relatively small group of New Spanish lettered elite produced the sanctioned thought of the state. Most of these men both matriculated at the University of Mexico or belonged to the mendicant colleges, partaking in academic networks (professor-student) that tended to transfer into the colonial bureaucracy. Since authors (primarily the religious orders) were often the experts consulted in preventive censorship, the vice-royalties primarily granted *privilegio* to the author, and not the printer. One sees in sixteenth-century Mexico the absolute exaltation and economic privilege of the creative mind not seen in Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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Given the scholarly penchant for societal taboo, the idea that examined and licensed works embody sanctioned thought in colonial Mexico has unfortunately led to the disregard of the administrative complexity and multifaceted conception of book publishing. The licenses in approved printed works provide a wealth of specific information concerning administrative workflow, colonial bureaucracy and politics. Most significantly, it introduces the unique author-centric American practice to the history of a printing industry that predominantly privileged printers/publishers with economic monopoly over intellectual work. As this study proves, great insight can come from deconstructing the sanctioned.
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Vita

Albert Anthony Palacios earned a Bachelor of Architecture and a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin in 2009. His undergraduate thesis explored Spanish colonial enculturation as manifested in the architectural and aesthetic design of his hometown cultural icon, the Nuestra Señora de la Concepción del Socorro Mission in Socorro, Texas. In 2011, he earned a Master of Science in Information Studies from the University of Texas at Austin with concentrations in preservation administration, museum studies, and interactive technologies. Since 2010, Albert has served as the Film Curatorial Assistant at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center.

Permanent email address: aapalacios@gmail.com

This thesis was typed by Albert Anthony Palacios.