

**PRE-NATIONAL POETICS OF BELONGING:
LIMA FUNDADA (1732)**

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Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo de Benavides y Roches (1664-1743), a renowned writer and statesman in the eighteenth-century Peruvian Viceroyalty, penned the epic poem *Lima fundada* (1732) with a traditional epic plot that narrates the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro: “Canto las armas y el varón famoso / que al vasto nunca imaginado imperio / que de un nuevo orbe otro orbe es prodigioso, / pasó el primero del confín hesperio [...]” (1:1.1-4). The poem’s epic structure, however, violates traditional norms of the genre: it includes three intercalated praise sections that total over 600 of the poem’s 1,100 stanzas.¹ I suggest that these praises lie at the heart of Peralta’s conceptualization of a pan-Spanish identity that transcends physical and political borders. He alters the classical epic models for encomia to forge his own unusual poem that defines mutually shared characteristics and obligations between the Spains and the Viceroyalty. Peralta’s text allows for modes of belonging beyond the traditional means of blood and birthplace. His text allows identification with Spanishness through a variety of civic actions. Peralta’s addition of performance to traditional blood- and place-based belonging points to a unity between the Spains and the Peruvian Viceroyalty that goes beyond ethnic definitions. *Lima fundada* illustrates Peralta’s literary codification of pre-national, ethno-civic requirements for a pan-Spanish identity.

Scholars have moved beyond Benedict Anderson, Ernest Geller, and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s dependence on culture as a core identifier of pre-national groups. Recent theorists maintain that pre-national groups based themselves on “malleable identities whose peculiarities and particularities could be understood by studying the creation, dissemination, and reception of practices, discourses, ideas and stereotypes” (Jacobson 394). Epic poetry since Virgil has disseminated ideas of group identity in contrast to an enemy; as a genre, it is readily

suites to the task of implicitly defining “us.” If, as Tamar Herzog argues, the conceptualization of ‘Spanishness’ began centuries before overt nationalism, then one would expect to find evidence of it in eighteenth-century epic poetry like that of Peralta. *Lima fundada* can be said to illustrate Herzog’s voluntary association of those who were willing to commit themselves to shared identity, or what I summarize as “Spanish is as Spanish does.” The poem further illustrates Herzog’s contention that Catholicism was an additional important identifier (121). I concur that ‘Spanishness’ has been the “fruit of local imagination [... that] has changed and differed depending where, when how, and by whom it was used” (Jacobson 406). As I show in this article, Peralta uses voluntary identity to mount an argument for the better treatment of the Americas by the Spains.

To argue that Peralta’s text implies a kind of pan-Spanish identity, I must first refer to one of his other works, the annals of a viceroy. Peralta’s words in the *Memorias* emphasize that the Viceroyalty should not “considerarse como parte meramente integrante del cuerpo de la Monarquía, sino como parte principal de su poder, y si no como cabeza de su Gobierno, como corazón de su riqueza” (*Memorias* 61). An instrumental metaphor of this strength points to a vision of Spanishness that goes beyond the local or even the wider community of the kingdom; it suggests that the Viceroyalty and the Spains are unified within one body: there is a *Nación*, a world-wide Spanish corpus—albeit one where Peru has special prominence. The two hemispheres share a reciprocal relationship and a merged identity as the attributes of one are added to the reputation of the other, pointing to some form of integral whole.² Each might have a different function, but they belong to an overarching Spanish corpus. *Lima fundada* opens up membership within Hispanism to a much wider pool of potential members than merely the European Spanish. Peralta does praise his Peruvian Creole identity, but he also highlights its participation within a larger Spanish identity. Pan-Spaniards are then further unified by Catholicism. Borrowing from William Safran’s “essential matrix of ascriptive community identity,” which describes the links between language, ethnicity and religion in a variety of contexts (174), I suggest that *Lima fundada* adds civic actions to the ascriptive matrix, allowing a variety of meritorious services to authorize Spanish identification.

Generally speaking, the scholarly record on *Lima fundada* asserts that Peralta's combination of epic poetry and extensive praise rhetoric indicate inept writing. Earlier articles and books on *Lima fundada* characterize it as "defective" poetry or a poor example of epic, often with evidence from the encomiastic sections. For example, Guillermo Lohmann Villena writes, "En efecto, desde el punto de vista literario el poema está defectuosamente compuesto, carece de toda originalidad, la narración es monótona y desleída y a la versificación le faltan brío y aliento épico [...] El lenguaje es afectado y pedestre [...]" (28-29). However, more recent scholars have reconsidered Peralta's contributions. Ruth Hill, Antonio José Mazzotti, David Slade, and Jerry Williams have begun to look past earlier criticisms of the Peruvian's work, recognizing its adherence to eighteenth-century literary paradigms. This study advances their efforts to properly place Peralta's *oeuvre* by considering how its transgression of epic norms offers a locus for new, implied rules for pre-national membership.

Peralta's unusually lengthy encomia establish an expanded definition of Spanish membership. Far from being merely fulsome praise, Peralta understood that encomium celebrates and educates, teaching its audience how to take proper actions in the future (Aristotle 1359a). When specific actions are praised and held forth by the author as honorable or admirable, the act "serves an identification function and promotes or strengthens social or institutional cohesion by generating a kind of communal knowledge, a set of palatable cultural truths" (Miecznikowski Sheard 775). Encomium allows Peralta to trumpet the accomplishments of the elite *peruleros*³ and even the masses of the viceregal populace to suggest elements of cohesive identity: his encomia admit some viceregal subjects into a world-wide group of Spaniards. Scholars have judged Peralta to be a loyal monarchist, a conflicted Creole, or a protonationalist, all opinions which consider questions of loyalty to various Spanish identifications.⁴ To analyze Peralta's nascent sense of a larger identity that transcends the Viceroyalty, I combine theories of ethnonationalism with those of civic nationalism, based on performance of duties and access to rights. *Lima fundada* allows for pan-Spanishness to be ratified by traditional blood lineages and birth place, but also expands it to admit those who are not born into the group identity, but voluntarily adopted Spanishness through their own actions.

The encomia have an additional characteristic that must be addressed: both the aspis encomium and the genealogical encomium are hyperbolically amplified. The intercalated praises which fill cantos 5 and 6, and part of canto 7, exemplify Aristotle's dictum that "[in epideictic] one should also use many kinds of amplification [...]; for it aims to show superiority, and superiority is one of the forms of the honorable [...]" (1368a). The cantos increase in length to accommodate the heroes and great events of the times. Peralta's average-length canto has around 100 octaves in it, but canto 7 almost triples that number. Whereas the vaticinations of many master epics occupied a fraction of their respective poems, Peralta's prophetic intercalation dominates almost as much narrative volume as the central epic storyline. What is more, this weighty canto is qualitatively distinctive in its content.⁵ Peralta's amplification illustrates the extreme loyalty and fidelity of the *peruleros*: their lives provide evidence of their membership in a voluntary pan-Spanish identity.

Peralta employs the epic genre and a highly-wrought Baroque style (both still highly regarded in his time) to empower himself as a Spanish author, but uses epideictic discourse to craft a specific cultural landscape suited to his purposes. Peralta's encomia enumerates the figures and actions in Peru who should be honored and respected as authorities: "[t]hrough epideictic discourse, a community learns who to listen to, who to respect, who to look up to as role models, and who to imitate" (Jasinski 213).⁶ This study of his praise discourses will show who and what he considers worthy of respect and imitation, and the elements that make up his version of a Spanish identity. They are imperative to perceiving the underlying, early formulation of a pan-Spanish identity. Peralta accepts what we would now might call elements of ethnic identity, but widens standards of inclusion to admit new geographies and bloodlines, and many different kinds of service. Those who contribute resources to aid in defense, those whose native royalty can add to the distinctiveness of the *Nación*, and those who serve well can act in ways that make them eligible for Spanish identity, even if blood or birth alone would not have admitted them into the *Nación*.

In Praise of Peruvian Resources

When Anthony Smith refers to *ethnie*, he means in part an ethnocultural group that is associated with a geographic territory. The

1713 Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of Succession with a painful reduction of the geography of the Spains, an assault on their collective size and pride. Territories from Menorca and Gibraltar to Sicily and the Low Countries went to the traditional enemies of the *Monarquía* (France, England, and Portugal). Peralta makes up for the loss of these prestigious lands in *Lima fundada* by elevating the value of the Peruvian Viceroyalty's territory.⁷ Its immensity and the quality of its lands offer a partial restoration to these recently contracted geographic boundaries. Peru substitutes for the lost lands both in terms of nature and position; Peralta elaborates on its enormous size and fortuitous location. His detailed descriptions illustrate Peru's unique contributions to the *Monarquía*. While place and city descriptions or chorographic passages are common to epic, Peralta chooses to describe an entire country, accurately tracing the boundaries of the Viceroyalty from its most northern promontory to its southern tip, and from ocean to ocean on an east to west axis:⁸

Desde el de Velas promontorio adusto
a la del de Horno frigidez intensa
formarán leguas trece veces ciento (44)⁹
al trono hispano aun no capaz asiento.

Desde donde aparece entre cristales
hasta donde el farol muere Febeo
le dan en extensiones casi iguales
dos océanos, Cuna y Mausoleo [...] (4.52.5-53.4)

The Peruvian Viceroyalty represented a geographically extensive territory that augmented the reputation of the Spains. Its lands compensate for territories lost, making the Viceroyalty an important locus for renewed pan-Spanish pride and identity.

Pride in Peru's size alone, however, does not define the full extent of its value: its resources also allow it to contribute to the *Monarquía* in material ways, helping to maintain other members of the *Nación*. In the country encomium, Peralta highlights the Viceroyalty's ability to supply much-needed materials to others within the pan-Spanish group. While critics like Ricardo Falla Barreda argue that Peralta's praise of Peru is a form of ethnonationalism that borders on the proto-national, and while Peralta is indisputably proud of his land, I propose that

he is most proud of what the Viceroyalty can offer to the entirety of the *Monarquía*. Rather than merely praising what the Viceroyalty is, Peralta shows how service acts as evidence of membership within the pan-Spanish group. Peru's contributions and its willingness to support the Crown authenticate its Spanish identity.

The bounty of flora and fauna (plus mineral resources, spices, vegetables, bees, marble, hot and cold springs, etc.) emphasize the contributions Peru may make to the Spains and its utility to the *Nación* as a whole. Peralta writes 30 octaves which expand on the attributes of the Viceregal territories, including the land, its products, and its peoples. Peralta summarizes Pizarro's conquest with these words: "Lo que auguraba Seneca has cumplido; (111) / lo que deseó Alejandro (112) has conquistado: / un orbe, en que el autor ha restituido / con usuras de reinos lo negado [...]" (4.90.3-6). Given that the European Spains were often resource-poor and frequently locked into longstanding armed conflicts that reduced material resource availability, Peru indeed offered a wealth of opportunity.¹⁰ While the Peruvian resources listed do include four stanzas on the precious metal mines, Peralta may nevertheless have recognized that gold and silver donations could not be sustained in spite of his insistence that Potosí was "nunca agotable" with a "fecundaría siempre extraída" (4.77.1, 4). The rate of silver mine output was at best only maintaining a certain level, and often declining in spite of newer technologies like mercury extraction.¹¹ To continue its service to the Crown, the Viceroyalty needed alternative products. Peralta's country encomium illustrates other Peruvian natural resources that are or could be of particular value to the pan-Spanish corpus.

One product in particular, lumber, will serve to illustrate how natural resources and service could be teamed in support of the *Nación*. Peralta judges the trees available in the Americas in terms of their value and utility for building a navy. Incessant pirate attacks both ashore and at sea necessitated strong naval defenses. Peralta describes Francis Drake as "Rayo, pues de la pérfida Isabela, / Fiero" (5.41.1-2) and John Oxenham as an "halcón britano" who follows Drake's example (5.43.2); Clipperton is "De ilustres presas robador triunfante" (7.2.5) and Edward David's greed "[...] la costa tala insaciable" (6.67.1). Exploits of pirates from Cavendish to Morgan and Le Clerc are enumerated in Peralta's footnotes. Lima and Portobello were repeatedly sacked by buccaneers, and pirates from around the world attacked shipping channels and port

cities: their exploits are well documented in other sources as well.¹² The defense of shipping lanes and port cities was one of Peralta's deepest preoccupations for decades.¹³ Peruvian forests were naturally equipped to supply the lumber needed for maritime defenses.

Ship builders required trees, and Peruvian varieties compared favorably to the best species in Europe; Peralta explicitly considers their potential use for defense: "Con las que tanto brotan noble leño (107) / montañas de estas fértiles regiones / [...] / Para plantar Repúblicas navales / seminario es inmenso de arsenales" (4.88.1-2, 7-8). Ships made from the Viceroyalty's lumber had the potential to protect the sea lanes and commerce between the Old World and the New. The paratext clarifies the erudite scientific references in the verses, revealing to the ordinary literate reader the value of these forests: "Prodúcense en esta América en copia insigne los más nobles árboles y más ricas maderas, como son los cedros, robles, caobas, [...], y otros muchos: y entre todos son muy apreciables el cocobolo, imitador del ébano y las marías y otros para la arquitectura naval. Las palmas producen duplicados frutos" (99; n. 107).¹⁴ The land's bounty becomes a means by which the Viceroyalty can protect and enrich itself at the same time it advances Monarchical interests. Peralta praises his land for its ability to protect both Peru and the shipping lanes that connect it to the Peninsula. The author emphasizes the goods and service that American lands can offer in defense of the pan-Spanish community, and Peru's potential to augment the resources of the *Monarquía*. By offering the riches of Peru in service to the Crown—and through it the larger world-wide group—Peralta defines an obligation that demands reciprocation and situates Peru as an integral part of the *Monarquía*. In his formulation the Viceroyalty is not a colonized subject, but a critical and fully pan-Spanish member: the Viceroyalty accepts its duties to the *Monarquía* as a whole and voluntarily identifies itself as Spanish.

Provision of goods to the European Spains appears to be a crucial component of Peralta's pan-Spanish identity, to the point where Peralta criticizes those who would decrease the resources available to the *Monarquía*, diminishing the Viceroyalty's ability to serve. In the case of failed leader Viceroy Blasco de Núñez, Peralta establishes community standards with a negative example: "El que allí ves, que mustio y macilento / el rostro no levanta lacrimoso, / es Blasco Núñez, (*) cuyo ardor violento / será a su gente y al Perú ruinoso (7)" (5.10.1-4). Peralta

accuses him of a misplaced obedience and erroneous loyalty to the Crown. Blasco de Núñez does the entire pan-Spanish body a disservice: instead of augmenting the wealth available to the Crown, he etiolates its most important means of supplying resources by destroying the peace in the realm. The paratext details how the viceroy obeys Charles V and attempts to impose the New Laws on the Viceroyalty in 1542:

Traía las nuevas ordenanzas, en que se mandaba quitar los repartimientos o encomiendas de indios después de las vidas de los conquistadores, y los que tenían los obispos, monasterios y hospitales, y los gobernadores, presidentes, oidores, corregidores y demás ministerios; [. . .] con que de esta manera quedaban todos los del Perú sin encomienda. (104; *n.* 7)

By removing this source of status and financial security, Blasco de Núñez disturbs the security of the Viceroyalty as protests break out which impair the wealth-building capacity of the *peruleros*. Peralta's focus on the viceroy deflects criticism from the king and his council. Almost two centuries after the original decree, Peralta hopes to reverse some of these laws and return the system of *encomiendas* to Peru,¹⁵ so he cannot leave Blasco de Núñez's temperance without some sanction. The author praises the viceroy's loyalty, but condemns him for the damage he wrought throughout the Viceroyalty, impairing its wealth-building capacity. To summarize, then, the good viceroys of the realm are exemplary governors, and the poor viceroys are misguided in their exemplary loyalty, but all are dedicated to serving the pan-Spanish interests. *Lima fundada* hints at a pan-Spanish voluntary identity by extending geographic boundaries and simultaneously praising the goods and services it provides to unify and defend the *Monarquía*.

In Praise of Bloodlines

Bloodlines are a second traditional identification marker for a people group. Conventional epic practice reveals the bloodlines at the heart of pre-national identity when the discouraged protagonist wanders away to a secluded area and receives a prophetic revelation listing his or her future generations.¹⁶ The norms of genre dictate the intercalation of a versified genealogy that lauds the protagonist's lineage, conferring

poetic immortality on the royalty, statesmen, and public figures of note that will appear in the future.

In *Lima fundada*, literal bloodlines unite the various lands of the *Monarquía*. The familial lines that constituted the Spanish identity in the Old World now homestead in Peru, extending the *Nación*. For example, when the *genio* announces Antonio de Mendoza's name to Pizarro in the prophetic parade of heroes, he mentions the quality of the viceroy's elite family line: "El que allí viene es el virrey segundo, / ilustre en sangre y en piedad ilustre, / claro Mendoza,* pródigo, profundo, / honor de España, de Mondejar lustre [...]" (5.18.1-4). Peralta's description of Mendoza points out that the elite of the Peruvian Viceroyalty are also the elite of the Iberian Peninsula and European families. Old World blood and honor flow through *perulero* veins in *Lima fundada*. The homoeoptoton of *lustre* emphasizes the honor in his lineage: Peralta relocates this Spanish aristocrat's lustrous ancestry to the New World soil, clarifying the high quality of the Viceroyalty's Spaniards.

In the last few pages of the *Lima fundada*, Peralta sums up this legacy of honor and blood when he describes "La fidelísima nobleza de Lima, que descende en gran parte de los conquistadores de este Reino, y es un extracto de la mayor de España" (379; n. 67). Some citizens of the Viceroyalty can claim membership in the *Nación* because of their roots in the Iberian Peninsula. Peralta's contemporary Lima founds its heritage in part on literal, noble bloodlines. The growth of branches in the New World is of impeccable quality, indistinguishable from their root stock across the Atlantic.

However, in Peralta's transformed version of the genealogical trope, Pizarro's angelic seer also traces a *bureaucratic* 'bloodline' consisting of the office holders who served in Peru as its governors and viceroys. That is, *Lima fundada*'s "genealogical" prophecy does not include Pizarro's future children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren: instead, it includes viceregal office holders.¹⁷ These *peruleros*, as Ruth Hill notes, disrupt "the prevailing scholarly distinction between European and American Spaniard, positing an experimental identification (residence in Peru) rather than a geographical and pseudo-biological one" (*Hierarchy* 10). Their service to the Viceroyalty comprises the core of the shared identity; geographical birth by no means defines the group.¹⁸ Peralta praises all those who serve Peru, not just families who initially

populated it. He highlights the importance of Old World Spanish families, but also expands Spanish identity to include New World scions, and even indigenous royalty. Their actions in any pan-Spanish lands add to the overall distinction of the *Nación* no matter where the people are born or where they serve. By praising civic service as an identifier of Spanishness alongside bloodlines, the author widens the sense of who may become Spanish; his praise discourse sets the standards for voluntary identity.

Lima fundada's genealogical encomium enumerates a viceregal honor guard of Lima whose "lineage" flows through civic positions as opposed to the more traditional generations that flow from father to son in noble families. In his hyperbolic amplification of heroes, Peralta includes every viceroy who serves in Peru—whether Spanish or American born—and lists many of the important events that occurred during their rule. Peralta's prognosticator identifies these figures as those who will adorn Lima as "[...] el decoro / serán de Lima, que de heroicidades / aun al nacer tendrá muchas edades" (7.83.6-8). The most meritorious individuals imaginable occupy the Viceroyalty. Whether native to the Old World or New, whether from honorable family lines or humble backgrounds, all of these *peruleros* illustrate an emerging pan-Spanish identity.

Those born in the Americas can cross the Atlantic back to Spain's European holdings and perform distinguished actions, equally contributing to a pan-Spanish reputation. For example, Peralta identifies Marquis Don Antonio Irarrázaval y Andia, the first *perulero* listed and a successful leader, as a "*natural del reino de Chile*" who was "governador de Canarias, virrey en el África de Tremezen, gobernador y capitán general de Orán, virrey de Navarra, de ambos consejos de Estado y Guerra" (7.97.5-8). Irarrázaval's fame transcends his birthplace: his renown crosses the Atlantic and thus illustrates the unity of the Spanish empire. Irarrázaval ruled as a good statesman in the New World, but he also was known for his acts of military greatness in the Old World:

Con quien las islas ya más deliciosas
 lograrán mejorar de Fortunadas; **
 que a las Númidas *** lunas belicosas
 dará tantos terrores de eclipsadas:
 y las vasconas armas generosas

con su valor verá tan respetadas,
 que hará con Nuevo gálico trofeo
 temblar del Pireneo al Pireneo. (7.98)

This ideal initial figure erases any border that the Atlantic might represent. He is born in Chile, but gains fame in Europe. Irarrázaval's example spans the geography of the Spains across the Atlantic Ocean. His loyalty and service to the entire *Monarquía* prove Peralta's assertion that the Spains are united: Peru *is* Spanish. This one man illustrates a pan-Spanish identity that includes both the Viceroyalty and European holdings.

But the bloodlines that make up the pan-Spanish identity are not only those of the Old World Spanish. The Americas contribute to the bloodlines of the *Nación* as well. Peralta honors Inca history as residual culture, using it to add luster to the Spanish identity.¹⁹ Once the conquest is finished in *Lima fundada*, the Inca nobility is assimilated into the *Nación*: the elite Incas disappear, subsumed within the *república de españoles*. Peralta could then, two-hundred years later, describe their noble legacy as part of Spanishness.

Evidence of indigenous honor first appears when the lovely woman from Tumbes narrates the line of Inca kings: Sinchiroca is “fundador segundo / de la ilustre reciente monarquía” (2.19.1-2). When Pizarro's brother and Hernando de Soto meet Sinchiroca's eventual heir in the thermal baths of Cajamarca, they address Atahualpa as “Inca agosto, Monarca poderoso” (2.50.1). To highlight the pathos of the imprisoned Atahualpa, Peralta refers to him as “el fatal Monarca infausto,” a leader who remains “[e]ntre duras cadenas su monarca” (3.11.1, 3.20.3). By the closing cantos of the epic, Manco Inca pleads for his “usurpada monarquía” (8.76.4) and Sacsayhuaman, the great Cuzco fortress, is called “[t]rono de la peruana monarquía” (9.119.4). The Incas, like the European Spaniards, had a dynastic line in charge of multiple realms: they have their own *monarquía*. Peralta carefully weaves this heritage into a residual culture, formed in the past and active within the emergent culture of his day, but unrelated and inaccessible to the non-hegemonic contemporary culture of the common *indio*.

In *Lima fundada*, intermarriages are one means by which indigenous nobility is incorporated within the Spanish corpus. The first intermarriage in *Lima fundada* weds a descendant of Sayri, a prince in

the line of Manco Inca, to Governor Martín de Loayza: “Da. Beatriz, hija de Sayri y de su hermana, con quien casó en su gentilidad, por uso de los Incas, casó así mismo con Martín de Loayza, gobernador de Chile, de quienes proceden los marqueses de Alcañizes” (110, *n.* **). Sayri’s daughter is the progeny of incest, but Peralta defends it as Inca custom and then uses her religious conversion to cover the immoral stain: “El Sayri en el bautismo que se le hizo, tomó el nombre de Santiago, llamándose D. Diego por la notoriedad de la aparición del santo apóstol a favor de los españoles en los combates del Cuzco, de que se hablará después” (110, *n.* *).²⁰ In one sentence, Peralta forgives the unsavory circumstances of Beatriz’ conception and welcomes her noble blood into the *Nación: estado* and *casta* overcome the potential *raza* of incest.²¹ When her father becomes a Christian and takes the name of the warrior apostle and defender of the Church, he erases any lingering incestuous taint. Sayri’s daughter’s intermarriage with the Spanish Alcañizes line makes not only her fully Spanish, but also their children. Peralta and his contemporaries did not consider such offspring *mestizos*. Instead, they were honorable Spaniards. Peralta adds the Inca’s nobility to that which was already present in the Alcañizes line, and they are absorbed within a pan-Spanish identity.

The second intermarriage is that of Pizarro and the Inca princess. While they meet before the *genio*’s extended prophecy, they do not marry until Lima is founded in the seventh canto. The nuptials wait until after the princess reveals to Pizarro a planned revolt: in renouncing any loyalty to her Inca identity, she gives him two *imperios*, one the Inca Empire and the other her heart.²² The emphasis in Pizarro’s proposal speech is on his finished conquest: “Mas ya que alzar me permitió el destino / una Menfis, de un Orbe por primicias, / que de la fe y del rey lo ha hecho trofeo, / ceda Belona a amor, Marte a himeneo” (8.91.4-8). The conquistador describes her service to Spanish interests, which makes her act as if she were already a Spaniard, but he also emphasizes her nobility and beauty: “Ya es tiempo, ilustre Real Princesa bella, / que de tu alta hermosura el Sol brillante / se haga de mi fortuna augusta estrella [...]” (8.90.1-4). Her service plus her distinguished line make her a very welcome addition to the Spanish collective.

This marriage is a reflection of the unity of two noble families,²³ and no concept of *mestizaje* is needed.²⁴ I differ from Mazzotti in this respect: he believes that this marriage is one that represents the

indigenous as the subjugated feminine and that the marriage is a sham in that it ends without any significant lineage (“Dragon” 207).²⁵ But the unity Peralta foregrounds in these epic marriages is one of like kinds, not one of mixed blood: estate (nobility) and caste (Christianity) drive its unifying force. Peralta’s point is that elite of his day are the children of noble blood—whether of Inca or Spanish nobility is not relevant because Inca nobles were blended in with the *república de españoles*. The *Nación* is being improved through intermarriage as the best of both cultures are represented. The pan-Spanish identity expands to include this new blood.

In Praise of Catholicism

Perhaps even more than bloodlines and service, even more than any other single element of the pan-Spanish voluntary identity, Peralta emphasizes religion as a shared trait. *Lima fundada’s* 319-octave long heuristic imitation of the aspis encomium is updated from classical models to be hyper-Catholic.²⁶ Peralta asserts the *Monarquía’s* cultural superiority over the formerly great Roman Empire by replacing Virgil’s battle images on a shield (or aspis) with figures in a temple: “Era este un templo tan resplandeciente, / que al asombro de lejos parecía / un Sol labrado en máquina luciente, / en que habitaba eternizado el día [...]” (7.81.1-4). Peralta’s genealogical encomia mentioned above with its viceroys and office holders, describes the *peruleros* as they stream into a cathedral. The military and government men of the genealogical prophesy enter the temple to pay tribute to a second series of even more highly exalted religious heroes (7.84.1-4). The columns and statues inside a temple represent the Peruvian paragons of religious virtue. This remodeled aspis encomium promotes a Catholic and peaceful representation of the Viceroyalty.²⁷ One of the many ‘defects’ Peralta elides in his description of Peru is its indigenous religious past. In short, his heuristic imitation modifies the epic tradition by removing heretical religious elements and replacing them with orthodox Catholic ones. By depicting Peru as Catholic, Peralta projects a strong identification between the Peninsular and European Spains and those in the New World, emphasizing shared religious values and the religious purity of the *Nación* as a whole.

Peralta’s reverence trope suggests that because Lima produces saints and holy men and women, it is an ideal Catholic city and thus a perfect

example of the pan-Spanish *Nación*. The Viceroyalty not only serves the pan-Spanish community with its goods and service, but also exemplifies the Catholic religious nature of their voluntary identity. *Lima fundada* provides evidence that the people are pious and that Peru abounds with examples of superior Catholic religiosity. The City of Kings serves as a metonym for all of the New World: its piety should be regarded as a treasure by the *Nación*. Just as the Viceroyalty contributes goods, noble bloodlines, and service to the Spains, it also contributes the best Catholic citizens.

Three examples from the encomium—a saint; an exemplary priest, and a lay brother—show the range of the Viceroyalty’s religiosity. First, in Peralta’s theology, Saint Rose’s life attests to God’s blessing and divine favor, symbolizing the completion of Peru’s trajectory from a pagan land to Catholic kingdom, and authenticating its membership in the Catholic *Nación*. Inside the temple described by the *genio*, the space is defined by several richly wrought columns that dominate the room, the chief of which represents Saint Rose:

La Rosa (prosiguió) Sol tan fecundo
de luz, que en ella sola recogida,
compensará la gracia al nuevo mundo
siglos de santidad en una vida
cuánto hay de ardiente, místico y profundo
se unirá en su pureza esclarecida:
y a Lima le dará por más corona
todos los Santos solo una Patrona. (7.198)

Saint Rose’s presence as Peru’s first saint represents proof of the Viceroyalty’s exemplary religious purity. In Peralta’s estimation, her sanctity testifies to divine approval of the Viceroyalty, and it compensates for the *imperio*’s previous history of indigenous worship. According to Peralta, the Christ child walked with Rose, “Donde en nuevo favor nueva María / conducirá al inmenso que la guía” (7.199.7-8). Peralta presents Rose as a new Mary, another mother to Christ in the New World. Her perfect sainthood erases any taint of pagan or satanic religions.

A second example of Peralta’s exalted religious figures comes later, when Peralta begins to narrate the icons that adorn the walls of the

temple, including among others the Greek priest Father Ruiz and the humble tailor Nicolás de Dios. The shift in the ekphrasis from the pillars of the temple to separate icons is explicit: “Los que se ven allí sobre lucientes / preciosos de esmeralda pedestales / en estatuas de oro refulgentes / en las naos brillar colaterales, son los demás héroes [...]” (7.215). These pedestaled representations of holy men and women of Peru include other saints, exemplary priests and archbishops, martyrs for the Catholic faith, holy women who founded and funded convents and schools, and architects of churches and convents. The extensive list illustrates how God has favored the Peruvian Viceroyalty; Peralta implies that they are as fully Catholic as any other Spaniard.

The humble figures of Padre Ruiz and lay brother De Dios are, in Peralta’s opinion, superior to epic’s past heroes. Padre Ruiz exemplifies the new standard for philosopher-conqueror heroes: acts of faith trump those of both the sword and science. Peralta labels Father Ruiz as a ‘better Ulysses’ in his verse: “Hacia ese lado brilla el justo Griego, (233) / mejor Ulises vencedor de encantos (234) / a quien mejor Calipso en mejor fuego / abraza el pecho [...]” (7.252.1-4). Father Ruiz’s fiery temptations are greater, and thus his victory and virtue are correspondingly greater than those of the ancient hero. The footnote fleshes out the details of Ruiz’s accomplishments: “Enfermero del hospital de Santa Ana, natural de la isla de Cefalonia. Vencía heroico frecuentemente las tentaciones del demonio. Apareciósele muchas veces María Santísima” (259, n. 233). Resisting the temptations of Satan himself means that Ruiz achieves a higher moral status than even Ulysses because his resistance is more spectacular than Ulysses’s resistance to Circe and the Sirens: “Alúdese a los encantos de Circe y canto de las Sirenas, que fingieron haber vencido Ulises, y al amor de la ninfa Calipso” (259, n. 234). The fictional triumph of Ulysses cannot compare to the more difficult battle inherent in Ruiz’ virtuous resistance. Peruvian religious men are extraordinary in their devotion, and add luster to the reputation of the *Nación* as a whole.

The third example of these highly regarded figures of the faith, lay brother Nicolás de Dios, illustrates that though he is both indigenous and a plebian, his faith also allows him to be honored as part of the pan-Spanish identity because of his contributions to Catholicism. The verses again give the reader the basic details of his name and a cryptic reference to his contribution: “De Dios el Nicolás reluce luego, (235)

/ índico digno de celestes cantos; / Jacob de aquel lugar, que luz exhala, / Casa de Dios y de ángeles escala (236)” (7.252.5-8). In the footnote Peralta reveals that the layman is a tailor by trade, and indigenous. As neither noble nor of Spanish stock, De Dios would not normally merit inclusion in an epic poem. However, his exemplary virtue makes him an exceptional figure, which allows his inclusion in the epic poem and admits him to the pan-Spanish identity. The paratext explains the exact nature of the benevolent act that merits recognition and gives additional details that help the reader allegorize the ladder vision of Jacob, one of the three greatest Biblical patriarchs of the tribes of Israel:

(235) El venerable hermano Nicolás de Dios, indio natural, sastre, de prodigiosa virtud. Dio la casa o lugar en que se fundó el Beaterio de Jesús, María y José, que después pasó a ser el Monasterio de este nombre, que es de religiosas capuchinas.

(236) Alúdese a la visión de la escala de Jacob en el lugar que llamó Casa de Dios y Puerta del Cielo. (259, n. 235, 236.)

Because of his virtue and generosity, De Dios donated the real estate to found a house for *beatas*, or holy women. He repeats Jacob's foundation of a house for God through his faith (Genesis 28.10-22). Like the Jewish patriarch of the Old Testament, the Peruvian tailor established a relationship with God and thus a way to heaven. In Genesis, God gives Jacob a significant promise when He shows him the dream of the stairway to Heaven: “I am the LORD, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie, I will give it to you and to your descendants [...] I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you” (NASB Gen 28.13, 15). Peralta establishes a parallel between Nicolás and Jacob. Faithful *peruleros* who merit God's favor extend the pan-Spanish identity into new lands and new peoples. In short, these three examples typify the way in which Peralta amplifies the traditional epic aspis prophesy and describes at length the superior religious people in Peru's history. The author uses Peru's vital Catholicism as evidence of the Viceroyalty's fitness for a world-wide community of Spaniards. The pure faith of the Peruvian Spaniards has brought the ultimate resource to the Spains: the treasure of new souls.

Individuals alone do not provide all of the evidence of the *Nación's* Catholicism. Peralta furthermore includes historic events

and the public's response to them, portraying a collective religious action. Recording the Viceroyalty's response to grievous disasters (like earthquakes, floods, the loss of Luis I) allows Peralta to praise the pious reactions of the Viceroyalty's people.²⁸ An example of this kind of praise appears in Canto 6, where the reader finds the response of the Peruvian public to a chain of terrible natural disasters that showcases their piety. In 1687 a severe earthquake is followed by aftershocks, which then ignite a second serious quake and a tsunami (6.79-90). The people's ultimate response to this "cruel latido" is pious adoration of God's mercy in halting the disasters:

Memoria de tan duras agonías
de annuos ruegos serán sacros fervores: (86)
Así habrán dado en oblaciones pías
culto a eternos divinos protectores; (87)
en que el recuerdo hará con acción clara
lo triste en el dolor, gozo en el ara. (6.90)

The city's devotion turns these pious responses to the trauma into religious rite: "Establecióse por día de fiesta en la ciudad el referido de 20 de octubre, [...] para aplacar a la Divina Majestad en memoria de aquel terremoto" (160, *n.* 86). The disasters show the courage and long-suffering patience of the city's inhabitants and prove their unwavering devotion to God. Troubles far beyond those which the average realm experiences provoke prayers and demonstrate the superior quality of the Viceroyalty's faith. Peralta points out that the Viceroyalty is an extraordinary exemplar of Spanish Catholicism and a valued territory to be carefully tended. Furthermore, his text suggests that the unity of religion, like that of bloodlines, allows viceregal subjects to fully embody the pan-Spanish identity.

Peralta's implicit *petitio*

The rhetorical position afforded to Peralta by a shared pan-Spanish identity enables him to propose changes that are needed to preserve the pan-Spanish system as a whole. Within *Lima fundada's* encomiastic discourses, Peralta embeds an indirect petition for redress. His extensive praise establishes that Peru is fully Spanish by virtue of both its resources, bloodlines and Catholic service; this combination creates an implied

obligation on the part of the Crown because the threats that endanger Peru's exemplary nature threaten the pan-Spanish community as a whole. New World Spaniards must be protected and carefully cultivated.

The Viceroyalty found itself in difficult times during Peralta's day. First, foreign settlers threatened to (and did) encroach on Peruvian lands.²⁹ Second, the pirates mentioned above routinely threatened the control of sea lanes that was crucial to the *Monarquía's* commerce and communications.³⁰ Illegal commerce posed a third major threat. Contraband goods smuggled out of Peru through host of illegal channels meant lost funds and taxes to the *Monarquía*.³¹ All of these threatened the Viceroyalty's ability to support the Spains with valuable natural, human, and spiritual resources. The Crown knew of these threats, but in the opinion of the viceregal elite, it still neglected Peruvian interests. The *Monarquía* siphoned off critical funding for the wars in Europe when the Viceroyalty's valuable resources required those funds to protect it from harm. Peralta's inclusion of extensive praise rhetoric defends the Peruvian Viceroyalty as part of the Spains, shows how it provides for the *Monarquía*, and implies that it is neglected by the Crown.

The disparity between how Peru deserves to be treated because of its contributions to the *Nación* and how the *Monarquía* neglects it is the subject of Peralta's subtle critique. He records and textualizes identity standards even as he criticizes some of shared values and suggests improvements to them: he writes a carefully-crafted rhetorical attack in that encomium can be both philosophical *and* expedient. As Miecznikowski Scheard explains, "Accepted values may be under scrutiny, or they may have been forgotten, so the disparity between existing and desired conditions becomes the subject of critique" (779). Between epic and encomium, Peralta highlights and emphasizes Peru's loyalty to the *Monarquía* and its adherence to status quo while simultaneously recommending reforms in light of political circumstances.

These reforms are specified in Peralta's other works and include reinstalling the *encomiendas* and providing more *oficios*—the sustenance of the elites. The clearest call for change is yet again found in Peralta's annals of the government of Viceroy Armendáriz. The memorandum boldly states that the elite members of the Viceroyalty need the monarch's support:

Su nobleza se ve en lastimosa decadencia, cuyas causas son: la primera la falta de las encomiendas [...] La tercera, y a mi parecer la más eficaz, es la falta de la provisión de los oficios que daban los Virreyes, cuyas conveniencias no solo eran las de su manutención, del mejor tratamiento de los Indios, y consiguientemente de su conservación y aumento y de la población de esta ciudad, sino, lo que era aun superior, la de la mayor autoridad de los Virreyes y del mayor servicio de Su Majestad. (*Memorias* 58-59)

While in this memorandum Peralta makes his suggested reforms explicit, in *Lima fundada* he merely implies them in a three-octave *petitio*. Peralta shows how these *peruleros* have given their lives and work in service, reiterating the rhetoric of collective identification and shared values:

Tu imperio a un tiempo en estos floreciente,
de ilustres e cosecha numerosa,
nuevo dará tributo reverente
a la Ibera Corona poderosa:
La América otra España así es luciente,
la España así otra América es famosa:
¡Oh como si el favor de allá lo armara,
otro orbe con este orbe conquistara! (7.184)

Peralta indicates the essential unity of the *Nación*, Old World and New, when he identifies America as “otra España así es luciente” and Spain as “otra América es famosa” (7.184.5-6). He extends ethno-civic Spanish identity between hemispheres to forge a shared identity, which requires that Crown support the Viceroyalty.

If the *peruleros* are part of the pan-Spanish *monarquía*, and if they are to maintain the Crown, then the Crown must likewise maintain them:

Y los que a Lima pueblan y engrandecen
del justo premio fueren mantenidos;
su imperio durará, que nunca crecen
laureles de Olimpo no asistidos:
y serían ideas no oportunas,
la fábrica querer sin las columnas.

¡Oh, como de tan ínclita nobleza
 preveo decadentes los fulgores,
 si el Cielo adonde exhala la riqueza
 no la llueve benéfico favores!
 Ver restituida espero su grandeza;
 pues mucho en sus más firmes esplendores
 al trono de dos mundos le faltara,
 si tan preciosa basa se arruinara. (7.185.3-186)

Peralta suggests that if these *perulero*'s interests and estates are cared for, a "justo premio" that they have earned by their service, then the entire Viceroyalty will prosper—and with it the Spains (7.185.4). If they are neglected, Peralta ends with the implied threat of the ruin of the *imperio* and with it the ruin of the *Monarquía*. To avoid this dire result, the Crown must support the viceregal nobility because they are essential for the prosperity of the Viceroyalty and even more so for the prosperity of the *Monarquía*.

Pedro de Peralta's epic poem, *Lima fundada*, expands the sense of a pan-Spanish voluntary identity beyond the boundaries of blood and geography by adding a civic and religious means of expressing voluntary identity. The poem unites the group definitions of blood and custom; it allows for integration into the *Nación* either by birth or by the decision to serve as if one were a member of that group. Its identity as Spanish through blood, service, and Catholic virtue allow Peralta to plead for specific changes to protect the elite in the Viceroyalty. *Lima fundada* establishes Peru's vital contributions to the *Nación* and the *Monarquía* so as to advocate that the Crown must act to protect the most valuable member of the pan-Spanish group, the Peruvian viceroyalty.

NOTES

¹ The epic stanzas consist of eight hendecasyllabic lines each.

² This idea resonates with medieval theory that regional cultures could be incorporated within the imperial state, and Creole resistance to the inferior status of Americas in relation to the peninsula could be grounded to the idea that kingdoms are equals within the unified whole (Bauer 147).

³ Ruth Hill defines the word ‘perulero’ to mean “a Spaniard, European or American, who resides or once resided in Peru” (*Hierarchy* 9).

⁴ For example, Irving Leonard posits that Peralta is a monarchist, Jerry Williams argues that he is a conflicted Creole, and Ricardo Falla Barreda believes him to be a protonationalist.

⁵ The epic narrative comprises 649 octaves; the *encomia*’s extraordinary length fills out the remaining 518 stanzas of the 1,167 octave total for the poem. The octave count is problematic because the original 1732 edition includes many errors in numbering. Not only are octaves mislabeled, but also the octave numbers either repeat or are omitted in several cantos. The figures here are based on a physical count of octaves in the 1732 edition. The total of octaves does not include the “Argumento,” an octave that summarizes the plot at the beginning of each canto.

⁶ When I use the term ‘Peru,’ I refer to the Viceroyalty of Peru, a geographical and political designation that came long after Pizarro’s conquest, but long before our modern conceptualization of Peru as a nation.

⁷ The first *encomium* is significantly shorter than the two that follow later in the epic. Found in Canto 4, it comprises 39 octaves.

⁸ My thanks to Curtis White, a former US Navy navigator, for his assistance in determining that Peralta’s placement of Cape Sail and Cape Horn are accurate for his day, with the precise degrees and minutes detailed in the footnotes. See: www.loc.gov/rr/geomap/luso/westhem.html.

⁹ I retain Peralta’s footnote numbers within the stanzas that I cite in this article. Peralta heavily annotates his own text with both footnotes (indicated by bracketed numbers in the Odriozola edition), and side notes (indicated by asterisks, but also placed as footnotes by Odriozola.) For further information on Peralta’s paratext, see Gutiérrez, “Pedro de Peralta as Philosopher-Conqueror: A *Maestre de campo* in the Republic of Letters.” *Dieciocho* 32.2 (Fall 2009): 317-22.

¹⁰ Peralta’s text shows evidence of either Menander’s dictum that lauding the Viceroyalty or of his continuing dialog with the Creole praise rhetoric of his day. Menander suggests that the land be praised as either pleasurable, useful, or both: “either (1) mountainous or (2) level, (3) dry and waterless or (4) rich and well-watered, (5) fertile and abundant or (6) barren and fertile [. . .]” (32).

¹¹ For further information on this topic, see Garner. Peralta links the planet Mercury with quicksilver and mining output in 4.79.

¹² Many sources document piracy and privateering in Spanish waters off of the Americas: for example, see William Dampier and Percy Adams’s *A New Voyage*

Round the World, Alexander Exquemelin's *The Buccaneers of America*, and Raveneau de Lussan's *A Journal of a Voyage Made Into the South Sea*[...]. Among secondary sources, consult E. F. Benson's *Sir Francis Drake*, John Jameson's *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period*, Harry Kelsey's *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate*, Robert Kerr's *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* [. . .], and Rodolfo Segovia Salas, Elena Mogollón, and Becky Mayer's *Las fortificaciones de Cartagena de Indias: estrategias e historia*.

¹³ Peralta's intense concern with pirates reflects the importance of maritime control—or the lack thereof. Though active piracy was diminished by 1732 when *Lima fundada* was published, the pirate attacks were still quite recent (Rediker 8). The historical section of *Lima fundada* is replete with pirate attacks: Peralta describes 16 recorded major attacks, some whose descriptions run several octaves, in addition to two descriptions of general defenses established to fend off potential by corsairs. He wrote *Lima inexpugnable* to justify investment in protective sea walls for Lima.

¹⁴ For ease of reference, when I quote a footnote or side note, the citation will include “n.” and the note's number or the asterisks used to mark side marginal notes, which have been moved by Odriozola to the footnote space. For notes on the flaws in this edition, see Williams and Slade.

¹⁵ The *encomienda* was a landholding that was assigned to a Spaniard in exchange for evangelizing the indigenous people who lived on the land.

¹⁶ In Virgil's *Aeneid*, for example, Aeneas experiences a prophetic vision of his future bloodline from his father during a visit to the Elysian Fields (6.853-1222).

¹⁷ Pizarro's two sons died young; only his daughter survived to adulthood to marry. The actions of the *peruleros* fill the vacuum left by the conquistador's failure to found a famous lineage; Peralta grafts the bureaucratic genealogy onto the conquistador's foundation of Lima.

¹⁸ For further information on the nature of identities in the Viceroyalty, see Tamar Herzog and Ruth Hill.

¹⁹ Peralta had no intention of providing an inclusive significance to the contemporary, ordinary Incas. He does not include all indigenous culture as an equal to Spanish culture. Instead, he exalts the Inca royal lines, but keeps this lineage in the past—and he ignores the plebian *indios* in his present day. These contemporary common *indios* did not inherit the Inca nobility; they belonged only to the *república de indios*.

²⁰ The acceptance of Christianity is a marker of the *Nación*. Since the time of Nebrija and before, Spanish elites had recognized the unifying function of language and religion.

²¹ See Ruth Hill for an analysis of Solórzano's use of these terms. Recall that *casta* means a group assignment based on religion, language, color and hair; *raza* is a potential defect in, for example, blood or occupation; and *estado*, order/estate, is, for example, the distinction between noble, plebian, etc. (*Hierarchy* 219).

²² This is reminiscent of Glaura's husband Cariolán, in the *Araucana* (28.52). After

having been rescued by Ercilla, Cariolán reveals a plot to ambush the Spanish. The changes to detail are crucial: there is no competitive indigenous male, and the Inca princess comes to Pizarro in the absence of any prior *quid pro quo*: any benefit comes after her betrayal and is thus not guaranteed to her. In a sense, Peralta's female figure is even more passive and surrendering than the feminized Araucanian.

²³ While Pizarro was not born noble, his actions and service to the *Monarquía* have elevated his status. In the New World, lower-class Spaniards used their service to promote upward social mobility. From the start of *Lima fundada* Pizarro is considered as “[. . .] el invicto héroe valeroso, / Hércules español, Marte extremeño, / El Dionisio (11) cristiano, el hazañoso [. . .] El gran Pizarro, el ínclito, el glorioso [. . .]” (1.16.1-3, 5).

²⁴ For example, Mazzotti condemns Pizarro's marriage to Inés as merely a symbolic reconciliation of races, citing as his evidence another octave where Peralta disdains the offspring of such a union as “centauros racionales” (“Solo” 68). But the description of *mestizos* as centaurs only applies to one specific set of rebel *mestizos*: “De índica hispana mezcla osada gente, / de naciones centauros racionales / de opuesta unión conciento vehementemente, / animados de espíritus parciales [. . .]” (6.33.1-4). Peralta explicitly labels the “centauros” as “Tanto harán los rebeldes adalides / Que el combate presenten obstinados” (6.34.1-2). In the footnote to this octave he further specifies, “[e]n el año de 1661 se amotinaron en Chuquiabo algunos *mestizos*: los cuales fueron deshechos y castigados por el gobernador Herquíñigo.” The centaur label does not apply to *mestizos* as a whole, and would be contrary to Peralta's perception of many *mestizos* as part of the *república de españoles*.

²⁵ In “Poética de la Nación,” Mazzotti notes that Peralta legitimizes the children by having Pizarro marry the Inca princess, thus founding a fictional governing line which unifies *encomendero* power with Inca aristocracy (59-75). Historically, two of Pizarro's three children died without heir; the surviving child was female.

²⁶ Aeneas' *aspis*—itself an implement of war—has images of future battles inscribed on it, including Actium, the defining battle of the Roman Empire (Virgil 8.912-15). For a succinct summary of imitation, its poetics and its terminology, see Nicolopolus, *Poetics* 43-64. Nicolopolus explains that Thomas Greene's term, ‘heuristic imitation,’ fits “those instances where anachronism and cultural distance are a key factor” (57). For the origination of Greene's concept, see *Light*, pp. 40-43. The poet is not merely competing with his predecessor, but also exploits the differences between his contemporary world and that of the predecessor.

²⁷ Breaking with the epic tradition of pagan religious motifs, Peralta omits any hint of sorcery or ghosts and the tenor of horror that other authors typically invoke to set the scene for their prophecies. In classical epic, Aeneas journeys through Hell to hear his prophesy (Book 6), passing by Charon, Cerberus and lost souls. Later epics imitate and improve on this trope. For example, in Alonso de Ercilla's *Araucana* (completed in 1589), Fitón's cave is filled with horrific ingredients for black magic, and the hero is led there by a shaman/sorcerer figure (2.23.31-87).

One of Ariosto's prophecies takes place in a demon-forged hall (33.4ff). Peralta does mention the names of gods in his text, but only when he explicitly defines them as false or as merely illustrations. For example, "Las tres Parcas fingieron unos ser hijas de Júpiter y Temis, y otros de la noche [...] En lo demás es común la fábula de ser las que hilaban, tejían, y cortaban las vidas de los hombres" (294; 8.59.4; *n.* 45). Peralta deliberately signals his use of the Fates in his poem as a fictitious literary device with the phrase "fingieron unos."

²⁸ As Menander notes, "Courage is assessed in peace and war. In peace, we see it in relation to accidents of fate—earthquakes, famines, plagues, droughts, and so on" (69). Lima suffers earthquakes (5.49 and 7.55-68), plague (6.142), and drought (6.143).

²⁹ The international enemies of Spanish interests included settlers from other nations attempting to establish colonies in the Spanish territories. Historically the English and French fought for colonies in the Americas, and the Portuguese tried to extend their territories south from Brazil. The Dutch were more of a threat to Peru because of their proximity and because they were not Catholic.

³⁰ Peralta was very likely familiar with Bacon's dictum on the need for sea power: control of the seas was critical for the health of a monarchy ("Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates" 72).

³¹ J. Williams, *Pedro Peralta and the Discourse of Loyalty* (21-28) discusses the challenges posed by piracy, illegal commerce, and international intrigues. Hill traces the illegal trade routes in her chapter, "En route and in the Loop: Trade, Metals, and Elites, circa 1700-1750," *Hierarchy* 107-40.

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