

THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITY IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

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In the face of the destruction of the Indian community and the general chaos of early colonial society, the missionary Orders, particularly the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits were in the front ranks of the struggle against the avarice and cruelty of the colonists. To be sure, there were a multitude of laws legislated by the king and the Council of the Indies on behalf of the Indian. But, these laws alone were ineffective against the inherently inhumane system of the *encomienda*. The missionaries saw clearly that they had to build alternative institutions to create a more humane society. They genuinely felt that the redirection of the society in the New World towards greater humanity could be achieved by Christian ideals. The idea of establishing universities was conceived not long after the conquest. Indeed, the missionaries, graduates of some of the outstanding universities in Europe, had seen the important role the university had played in shaping European society. It was therefore hoped that the universities would prepare a cadre of leaders for the new society and would play a vital role in its transformation. Moreover, the scholastic structure and tradition that these universities followed left an enduring mark on the character of Spanish colonial civilization.

ORIGINS

Like the European universities in the Middle Ages, the first Latin American universities grew out of ecclesiastical concerns. In 1538 Pope PAUL III granted the charter of foundation of the university of Santo Domingo, elevating the *studium* in the Dominican convent to the status of a university, the first university in the New World. The Dominicans, who had come to Española in 1510, had already established an active school for higher studies by 1518. The destruction of the university and its records as a result of the English expedition of FRANCIS DRAKE in 1586 has meant that our knowledge of the early history of the university is scant. The few available documents show that the university was governed by a rector who was generally the prior of the Dominican convent. It was "a community of masters and students with the privilege of a seal, a chest, and insignia, pre-eminences, liberties, exemptions and immunities that are customary, in order that scholars who study there, as well as those who come from elsewhere can, after a preliminary examination, be granted degrees, and the city of Santo Domingo... gain a great reputation. Its inhabitants as well as those from the neighbouring islands will be better instructed in the Christian faith and it will serve as an incentive... to continue the works of charity."¹

¹ See my article "The origins of the first university of the New World", in *ZMR* 3 (1973) 262—267; J. ORTEGA Y FRIER, *El Cuarto Centenario de la Uni-*

At the meeting of the provincial chapter of the Dominican order held in Cuzco, Peru, on May 6, 1548, a resolution was passed permitting the foundation of a university in Lima. Fray TOMÁS DE SAN MARTÍN and Fray JERÓNIMO DE ALIAGA were asked to go to Spain to petition the king and the Council of the Indies for permission to establish the university. Approval was forthcoming and the university of Lima was duly inaugurated in 1553 in the Dominican convent of the Rosary.² The rector of the university was the Dominican prior and all its masters were Dominicans. A very significant innovation was the chair of Quechua and the students were obligated to take a course in it.³ The orientation of the university during these first years was clearly towards preparing the clergy for apostolic work. The early history of the university was riddled with financial difficulties, and the problem of a better site was constantly raised. In a letter to the king in 1564, archbishop JERÓNIMO DE LOAYSA raised both issues. He reminded the king that the university community had got larger and more complex. Now students from mixed Spanish and Indian parents were attending the university. The funding was too meager to befit the role the university was playing in the life of the society.⁴

The period of exclusive Dominican control came to an end in 1571, not without controversy. The Dominicans and secular masters almost came to blows. Classes were held in the cathedral church until the site of the university was changed in 1574 to the former Augustinian convent of San Marcelo. The university relocated again in 1577 to San Juan de la Penitencia, a former school for children of mixed Indian and Spanish parents. The year 1571 was a significant one. Not only was the university removed from the convent to the Rosary but it also received its first constitution. It received its seal and coat of arms. On one half of the shield was represented Our Lady of the Rosary; on the other, was the sea with a star above and a lime below. The portrayal of the arms of the Dominican convent was very revealing. In the face of the still ensuing

versidad de Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1946; V. BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, *La Bula "In Apostolatus culmine" del Papa Paulo III*, Ciudad Trujillo, 1944; C. M. AJO Y SÁINZ Y ZÚÑIGA, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas*, vol. 2, Madrid, 1957.

² DOMINGO ANGULO, "La Universidad y Estudio General de la Ciudad de los Reyes en su primer período, 1551—1571", *Revista histórica* 9 (1935) 388—425; L. A. EGUIGUREN, *Alma mater: Orígenes de la Universidad de San Marcos 1551—1579*, Lima, 1939; A. DE LA CALANCHA, *Historia de la Universidad de San Marcos hasta el 15 de Julio de 1647*, Lima, 1921.

³ R. PORRAS BARRENECHEA, "Fray Domingo de Santo Tomas, fundador y descubridor del Quechua", *Comercio*, 12,14 (1951); DOMINGO DE SANTO TOMAS, *Gramática o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reinos del Peru*, ed. by R. Porras Barrenechea, Lima, 1951.

⁴ *La Iglesia de España en el Peru. Documentos*, Lima, 1944, sec. 1, vol. 2, doc. 330; A. M. CARREÑO, *La Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico*, Mexico, 1961; JOHN TATE LANNING, *Reales cédulas de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico*, Mexico, 1946.

confrontation, the secular masters remembered with affection the great part played by that convent and its friars in establishing and conserving the university during those difficult early years. As for the constitution, it stipulated that the rector's term of office would be a year. The deans of the faculties were to preside over the official acts of the university. St. Luke was designated as the patron saint of the university. This was later changed to St. Mark. Relations between the university and the Dominicans became better and the Dominican prior and lecturers of the convent were invited to the university. As Melendez said, the mother did not enter the house of the daughter as a stranger.

Although the university was secularised, the influence of the religious orders was not lessened. Indeed, it gradually became firmly entrenched in the structure of the university. In 1643 and 1653 the Dominicans endowed two chairs of the theology of St. THOMAS; in 1701 and 1724 the Franciscans endowed two chairs of DUNS SCOTUS; in 1713 the Augustinians, three chairs of St. AUGUSTINE; in 1725 the Jesuits endowed a chair of SUAREZ which was withdrawn when the Jesuits were expelled in 1767. Since theology was the queen of sciences at the university, it is easy to see how scholasticism pervaded the intellectual life of colonial Latin America.

It was JUAN DE ZUMÁRRAGA, a Franciscan, who initiated the idea of establishing a university in Mexico.⁵ In 1537 he informed the king that Mexico was in dire need of an institution of Higher Studies and reminded him that he had permitted the foundation of a university in Granada to facilitate the conversion of Moslems to Christianity. In many respects the educational climate in Mexico was more advanced than either Peru or Española. The Franciscans had already established an outstanding college for Indian students, the college of Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco.⁶ In addition, the Dominicans had organized a private *studium* in their convent in 1534.⁷ ZUMÁRRAGA was also instrumental in bringing JUAN PABLOS to set up the first printing press in 1536. Despite his imprecations to the king, it was not until June 3, 1553 that the university was opened. Courses began the day following the opening. Fray DIEGO DE LA PENA, who was prior of the Dominican convent, was made professor of Theology. The chair of Canon Law was entrusted to PEDRO MORONES and the

⁵ J. GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, *Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo de Mexico*, Mexico, 1875; A. M. CARREÑO, *Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga, primer obispo y arzobispo de Mexico*, Mexico, 1941; —, *Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga. Teologo y editor, humanista e inquisidor*, Mexico, 1950.

⁶ F. BORGIA STECK, *El primer colegio de America, Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco*, Mexico, 1944; F. OCARANZA, *El imperial colegio de Indios de la Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco*, Mexico, 1934; JUAN ESTARELLAS, "The college of Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco and the problem of Higher Education for Indians in sixteenth century Mexico", *History of Education Quarterly*, 2 (1962) 234—243.

⁷ JUAN JOSÉ DE LA CRUZ Y MOYA, *Historia de la Santa-y Apostólica provincia de Santiago de Predicadores en Mexico en la Nueva España*, 2 vols., Mexico, 1949; A. M. CARREÑO, *Fray Domingo de Betanzos, fundador en la Nueva España de la venerable orden dominicana*, Mexico, 1924.

chair of the Decrees to BARTOLOME DE MELGAREJO. In the faculty of Arts, JUAN GARCIA lectured on the logic of Domingo de Soto. A chair of Sacred Scripture was established on June 9 and offered to the Augustinian, ALONSO DE LA VERA CRUZ. Therefore, during the very first year of the university there were courses in all the faculties except Medicine.

The spirit of the university in these heroic days was well articulated in the dialogue of FRANCISCO CERVANTES DE SALAZAR, professor of Rhetoric. To the question, "can there be a place left for wisdom in this land of greed", he answered: "What is of value has won the day and has proved to be more powerful... Those who teach so far from their homeland as well as those who study in the midst of pleasures and opulence deserve greater privileges... With the light of wisdom they have dissipated the darkness which enveloped the New World, and in this way they are strengthening the Indians in the belief in and worship of God, which is transmitted with greater purity to posterity."⁸

The prologue to the constitution of 1775 gives valuable insights into the history of the university of Mexico in the colonial period.⁹ The author boasts that, since its opening in 1553, 29,800 students received a bachelor's degree and 172 the doctorate. The graduates of the university occupied important positions in both secular and ecclesiastical tribunals of Mexico and the islands of the Phillipines. Eighty four became archbishops and bishops, among whom were three Indians. Many of its lawyers held positions on the royal audiencia and even on the council of the Indies. In the faculty of Law, Dr. ANDRÉS LLANÓN Y VALDÉS, professor of Civil Law, defended a thesis of twenty four titles while still a collegian and could recite by heart any paragraph of the Institutes. In Theology, JUAN DE DÍOS LOZANO DE VALDERAS offered to lecture on any point of the Master of the Sentences for half an hour at his bachelor's degree examination. In 1771 Don GREGORIO ALFONSO VILLAGOMEZ LORENZANA and CLEMENTE ANTONIO PEÑALOSA FERNÁNDEZ DE VELASCO defended 150 articles of the first part of the *Summa theologiae* and 150 articles of the first part of the *Secunda* of St. THOMAS respectively. In philosophy, Dr. PEDRO DE BASCONCELOS, blind from birth, mastered Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Theology and was made a professor of Philosophy at the age of nineteen. The prologue also extolled the knowledge of Fray FRANCISCO DE NARANJO, a Dominican, who recited to the letter the long article 5, question 71 of *Prima Secundae* of St. THOMAS. It is clear then that scholasticism persisted until late in the eighteenth century. What is more, the prologue shows unmistakably the pervasive influence of Thomism in Latin America.

⁸ CERVANTES DE SALAZAR, *Mexico en 1554. Tres diálogos latinos*, ed. by GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, Mexico, 1875, pp. 19—37; GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, "Francisco Cervantes de Salazar", *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, new ed. by A. MILLARES CARLO, Mexico, 1954.

⁹ *Constituciones de la Real y Pontificia universidad de Mexico*, Mexico, 1775, prologue.

The chief executive officer of the university was the rector who was elected by eight counselors.¹⁰ Loyalty to the rector as head of the university was enjoined on all the members of the academic community, and masters had to take an oath of allegiance to him as well as the students when they registered. Generally, he had to provide all that he deemed necessary for the proper functioning of the university in accordance with its statutes. His area of competence included the settlement of lawsuits which involved masters and students inside or outside the university. However, criminal cases in which blood was shed were outside his jurisdiction. This exemption from external jurisdiction, except in criminal cases in which blood was shed, was one of the most prized privileges of the university. There were many minor duties of the rector. He had to investigate periodically the financial situation of the university, attend all the ordinary meetings of the academic community, convoke extraordinary meetings whenever necessary, attend all public and private acts of the university, even those which were not academic like funerals, festivals, observe teachers, keep one of the three keys of the treasury, visit the archives twice a year, and assign the subjects and titles of courses for the following year at the end of the academic year.

The chancellor was appointed by the king of Spain. His main duties were to confer degrees and to preside over the examinations of candidates for the licentiate, doctorate and master's degrees, and the processions attendant upon these degrees. Clearly, the chancellor was not as powerful as the rector.

The administration of the university was facilitated by the organization of representative groups called cloisters. The cloister of counselors consisted of eight counselors and the rector and had as their main responsibility the election of the rector. The full academic cloister comprised the rector, the chancellor, the counselors, the curators of the treasury, and all who had a higher degree from the university.

There were three categories of professors. Proprietary professors were the academic elite and held their chairs for life. After twenty years service, they could retire with only a slight reduction in salary. The privilege of retirement created the category of the substitute professor whose tenure was not less than four years. Then there was the professor who held a temporary chair who held his position for a fixed term of four years. In the tradition of Spanish universities, the succession to all chairs was determined by an act known as opposition. This method of selecting the best candidate was, it was hoped, the most just and eliminated the possibility of bribery or partiality. An elaborate set of rules was drawn up for this purpose. When a chair was vacant, the rector

¹⁰ JULIO JIMENEZ RUEDA, *Las constituciones de la antigua universidad de Mexico*, Mexico, 1951, titles I—III; A. E. SALAZAR Y ZEVALLOS, *Constituciones y ordenanzas, antiguas, añadidas y modernas de la Real Universidad y Estudio General de San Marcos*, Lima, 1735, titles I-VI.

summoned the academic council to inform them of the vacancy. Within eight weeks, edicts were issued inviting applications for the position. The period for submitting applications lasted for three months. When the deadline was reached, the rector informed each candidate of the time of the assignation of the subject on which he was to give a trial lecture. A textbook used in that chair was opened in three different parts and the candidate chose one. The lecture lasted for an hour and a half. Each student of the faculty in question had a vote, which suggests that the students had a great deal of influence at the university. To have a vote, he had to be at least fourteen years old and to have taken a course in that faculty. Former students, students who possessed a degree, and masters were not allowed to vote. The strictest impartiality was observed. No one could recommend a candidate. If a candidate was caught offering a bribe, his candidacy was immediately nullified. Ordinarily, a candidate who did not participate in the opposition was ineligible for selection. However, if on the testimony of a physician he was ill and his ability was clearly known beforehand, he still remained a legitimate candidate. At the end of the lecture, candidates were allowed to say why they should be preferred to the others. But on no account was any candidate to insult another. The students of the faculty then selected the best candidate.

Professors were obliged to lecture for half an hour, dictating, and another half an hour explaining what they had dictated in Latin. Full professors had to hand in their lecture notes to be placed in the archives twenty days before the end of the academic year. They were not paid the final third of their annual salary until they did this. Irregularity was especially frowned upon, and punishment ranged from a reprimand from the rector to dismissal. In accordance with their dignity, full professors were allowed to have substitutes teach their classes but for no more than two months. If they had a legitimate excuse, the maximum period of absence could be extended. If a professor fell ill, he was expected to find a substitute so that his students would not be without a teacher. Full professors retired after twenty years service and received two thirds of their salary. They continued to enjoy all the privileges, honors, and exemptions of the university in their retirement. As for the other categories of professors, they had to undergo the process of opposition every four years. After three oppositions, a temporary professor did not have to participate in any more oppositions.

If the student enjoyed wide privileges, he was also bound by a disciplined academic life. He had to take an oath to obey the rector, and was expected to attend all university ceremonies. Allowed to select his own lodging, he was warned not to live in neighborhoods that were conducive to immorality. Urged to be modest in his dress, he could not wear bright-colored shirts, gold passementerie, embroidery, sideburns, and pompadours, but the long cloak, cassock, and bonnet. Above all, he could not carry arms into the classroom.

DEGREES

No one was admitted to the degree examination unless he had completed all the required courses at the university.¹¹ In the faculty of arts, students who belonged to religious orders were allowed to attend courses in their own schools but they had to produce proof that they had fulfilled the requirements for the reception of a degree. Credit was also given for courses taken at recognized universities in Spain. To receive the degree of licentiate, the student had normally to take five courses after the initial degree. The examination for the licentiate was a complicated process and shows the love for ceremony that was typical of the colonial university. A text was chosen and the candidate had to prepare a defense of the conclusions he drew from the text. He then took his conclusions to the rector and asked for permission to publish them. On the day of the lecture, his sponsor, the professors, dressed in their formal academic gowns, and the beadles with maces on their shoulders went to the candidate's home to the accompaniment of music. Then they went to the rector's home to invite him to attend the lecture. When this was over, they accompanied the candidate and the rector back to their homes. The next stage was the private examination. Assignment of the points for the examination took place the day before the actual examination. On the morning of the examination, mass of the Holy Spirit was said and the books on which he would be examined were placed on the altar. The examination took place at night before five examiners and was called by students "the sad night". If the candidate was successful, he had to give the customary fees to the rector and professors and invite them to dinner. To receive the doctorate, he petitioned the rector who would convoke a meeting of the academic council to present the credentials of the candidate. For the commencement exercises, a stage was raised in the cathedral. The royal, metropolitan, and family coat of arms graced the stage. A table was placed on the stage bearing the doctoral insignia, a book of the gospels, and urns for the fees. Before the conferring of the degree, a parade was held in which musicians with kettledrums and flutes marched, followed by the beadles with their maces, the professors in caps and gowns, and the candidate between the senior faculty member and his sponsor. After the procession, he lectured until the rector asked him to stop. Escorted by his sponsor and beadles, he went to the rector and formally requested the degree. Kneeling, he placed his hands on the gospels and was invested with the degree of doctor. The doctoral insignia were then placed on the new doctor by the sponsor. He kissed him on the cheek: "Accept the kiss of peace, as a sign of brotherhood and friendship." He then placed a ring on his finger: "Accept this gold ring, signifying the union between you and wisdom, as if it were your beloved spouse." He gave him the book: "Accept the book of wisdom so that you can freely and publicly teach others." He girded a sword on him: "Accept this golden sword, as a symbol of being a soldier. Doctors must fight against the vices and errors of the soul

¹¹ SALAZAR Y ZEVALLOS, *op. cit.*, tit. XI.

no less than soldiers fight against enemies." Finally, the sponsor placed spurs on him: "Accept these golden spurs. For just as gilded knights charge savagely against the enemy, doctors must charge against ignorance."

CURRICULUM

All students were expected to take courses in the faculty of Arts before entering one of the higher faculties of Law, Medicine, or Theology.¹² There were three chairs of Arts: The *Summulae logicales*, Logic, and Philosophy. The student had to spend at least two years attending courses in the faculty of Arts and then take an examination to receive his bachelor of arts degree. At the examination he answered nine questions, three on the *Summulae* (one on the first book of the *Summulae*, one on the *Perihermeneias*, and one on the *Syllogismos*), three on logic (one on the *Predicabilia*, one on the *Predicamenta*, and one on the *Posterior Analytics*), and three on Philosophy (one on the *Metaphysics*, one on the *Predicamenta*, and one on the *Posterior Analytics*). Clearly the works of ARISTOTLE exercised a profound influence on the curriculum of the universities. Among the texts used were the *Recognitio summularum*, the *Dialectica resolutio*, and the *Physica Speculatio* of ALONSO DE LA VERA CRUZ and the *Commentaria in universam Aristotelis logicam* of the Jesuit, ANTONIO RUBIO.¹³ Both were masters at the university of Mexico and wrote these texts for their students. Indeed, in these works they sought to make the study of logic more interesting and simpler. Father RUBIO expressed this well: "It is necessary to be simple and plain, that is, not mixed with a variety of interpretations nor interrupted with digressions and questions; this not only makes the sense of Aristotle difficult to grasp but oppressive as well; secondly, it cuts the thread of the very argument discussed, rendering it less intelligible and almost interminable. Therefore, I will attempt a simple and plain exposition."¹⁴

In the faculty of law, students used the traditional texts in Canon and Civil Law — the *Decretum*, the *Decretales*, and the *corpus iuris civilis* consisting of the Digest, the Codex, the Institutes, and the Novellae. In addition to these texts there was the gloss. Since creative activity and teaching centered on the text, it was important that there should be some standard exposition accompanying the text as a gloss. Glosses thus served

¹² RUEDA, *op cit.*, tit. XIII.

¹³ For an intellectual biography of ALONSO DE LA VERA CRUZ, see my article "Scholastic in the wilderness: Alonso de la Vera Cruz", in *ZMR* 58 (1974) 273ff; ANTONIO RUBIO was a native of Rueda, Spain. He had entered the Jesuit college at Alcalá in 1569 and came to Mexico in 1576. The following year he began to lecture on philosophy. In 1594 permission was given to him to receive the licentiate and doctorate in Arts and Theology without having to pay the normal fee because he was indigent. He died on March 8, 1615. See C. FALCON DE GYVES, El P. Antonio Rubio, *Sus comentarios a los libros de Anima de Aristóteles*, Mexico, 1945; C. B. PLAZA Y JAEN, *Crónica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico*, ed. by N. RÁNGEL, Mexico, 1931, pp. 168, 251.

¹⁴ JOSE M. GALLEGOS Y ROCAFULL, *El Pensamiento mexicano en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Mexico, 1951, p. 306.

as commentaries to the text. Law was a very popular faculty. This should not be surprising because in many respects Spanish colonization was inspired by law. For it was the *letrados* or men of law who organized the empire. The *audiencia*, the major political and administrative body in the New World, was comprised almost entirely of *letrados*. The fact that two hundred thousand laws were passed between the discovery and 1680 is enough proof of the importance of law in the New World.¹⁵ The career of a master of Law is well demonstrated in the life of FELICIANO DE LA VEGA.¹⁶ Born in Lima in 1580, FELICIANO received his licentiate in Canon and Civil Law in 1599 and was one of the outstanding masters of the university of Lima. As professor of Law, he divided his lectures into treatises. The probability of each thesis was examined through arguments for and against it. Then it was decided whether it could be accepted as truth by faith or by physical, moral, or ontological certitude. Syllogisms drawn from the Bible, tradition, or the testimony of councils did not exclude argumentation based on natural reason. At the request of his students, he collected his notes and published them in two volumes under the title, *Relecciones canonicas sobre el segundo libro de las decretales*. FELICIANO was made bishop of Popayan in 1631 and in 1635 he endowed the chair of Moral Theology. This course lasted for four years. The Sentences of PETER LOMBARD formed the basic text and the syllabus was organized so that the students studied the sacraments during the first two years and censures and contracts in the final two. Significantly, there was a close relationship between Canon and Civil Law as in the medieval university.

The first chair of medicine was not established until 1582 in Mexico and the texts used were drawn from the Greco-Arabic tradition, that is, the works of HIPPOCRATES, GALEN, and AVICENNA.¹⁷ Although medicine made its way into the university curriculum rather late, there was significant medical activity. In 1527, PEDRO LÓPEZ was received as the first *protomédico* of Mexico.¹⁸ A *protomédico* was a naturalist who collected information on plants, trees, etc., studied the environment in which they grew and made reports to Spain. He was generally more interested in those plants and herbs which could be used for medicinal purposes. In addition, he acted as controller of the practice of medicine. He examined candidates for medical practice, tested drugs, and fixed fees for examinations and licences. He also possessed disciplinary powers

¹⁵ J. MALAGÓN BARCELÓ, "The role of the LETRADO, in the colonization of America", *Américas* 18 (1961—2) 1—172; RAFAEL ALTAMIRA, *Análisis de la Recopilación de las leyes de Indias de 1680*, Buenos Aires, 1941; JUAN MANZANO, *Historia de las Recopilaciones de Indias*, siglo XVI, Madrid, 1950.

¹⁶ L. A. EGUIGUREN, *Diccionario biográfico histórico*, Lima, 1940—51, vol. I, p. 437ff; J. T. MEDINA, *La Imprenta en Lima*, Santiago de Chile, 1904, vol. I, pp. 94, 297.

¹⁷ F. OCARANZA, *Historia de la medicina en Mexico*, Mexico, 1934; J. B. LASTRES, *Historia de la medicina peruana*, Lima, 1951.

¹⁸ SALAZAR Y ZEVALLOS, *op. cit.*, tit. VI; JOHN TATE LANNING, *Academic Culture in the Spanish colonies*, Oxford, 1940, p. 102.

and punished those who had violated the law. This office eventually became a tribunal of justice. In 1646 in Lima it was stipulated that the professor of Medicine had to be president of the tribunal of the *proto-médico*. The most distinguished professor of Medicine at the university of Mexico was without doubt AGUSTIN FARFAN, an Augustinian, who published his *Tratado breve de medicina* in 1597.¹⁹ While the study of medicine was relatively dwarfed by the faculties of Law and Theology, there was still enough activity to justify its inclusion as a major faculty at the university.

Theology consisted mainly of the study of the Bible, the theological questions systematized in the Sentences of PETER LOMBARD, and the works of THOMAS AQUINAS.²⁰ The prerequisite for entry into the faculty of theology was the bachelor of arts degree or two and a half years of study of Logic. On the one hand, Logic gave the student the exegetical tools for biblical study; on the other hand, it prepared him for the more argumentative and speculative aspects of theology. A very important feature of the study of theology was its practical character. At the university of Mexico, ALONSO DE LA VERA CRUZ selected as the topic for his course the rights of the Indians. In Lima the course on Moral Theology was open to the public and held twice a week. In 1627 PEDRO DE OÑATE discussed the legal and economic aspects of contracts and their moral implications which he later published as *De contractibus*. Another Jesuit, DIEGO DE AVENDAÑO, lectured on the rights of the Indians. His *Thesaurus indicus* later became a classic.²¹

As for Thomistic studies, JUAN PEREZ DE MENACHO, a Jesuit and professor of theology at the university of Lima in 1620, typified its importance.²² In his *commentarii in Summa theologica sancti Thomae*, he began with a discussion on virtue. Virtue, he argued, was a quality of being, like action and passion. It was not simply a quality of the mind because the intellect of itself could not act. The will was a vital faculty because virtue came from the collaboration between the mind and the will towards the good, which he defined as the object of desire. The supreme good was to identify oneself with God. Every virtue derived its form in God. The theological virtues, namely, faith, hope, and charity, could be given only by God. Charity depended upon the divine will who dispensed it by his grace. Divine grace did not depend upon

¹⁹ He came to Mexico with his three daughters who later joined the monastery of Our Lady Queen of Mexico. He joined the Augustinians in 1568 and, after obtaining a papal dispensation to practice medicine, treated his patients without charging a fee. He died in 1604. See GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA, *Bibliografía mexicana*, p. 236.

²⁰ RUEDA, *op. cit.*, tit. VI; O. ROBLES, "El movimiento neoescolástico en Mexico", *Filosofía y Letras* 23 (1946) 108; —, *Filósofos mexicanos del siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1950.

²¹ PEDRO DE LETURIA, "Misioneros extranjeros en Indias segun Diego de Avendaño", *Revista de la Exposición Misional Española*, 99 (1929) 385—388.

²² F. BARREDA Y LAOS, *Vida intelectual del virreinato del Peru*, Lima, 1937, p. 147.

the worthiness of man. It was uniquely the effect of the divine will. There was no difference between free will and predestined will, judged against the consciousness of God's foreknowledge and omniscience. As for the intellectual virtues, they created a state of intelligible hope of a supreme wisdom, that is, blessedness in the delight of God. He advised his students to strive for mystical ecstasy as the means of satisfying the human ideal. God was an entity who possessed an accumulation of positive human attributes. He was a good man projected indefinitely, dominated by the necessity to reason. On the question of evil, he predicated that it was not a privation but a real entity. He therefore conceived of two principles. But, in order to avoid the charge of dualism, he made God the formal cause of evil inasmuch as God is the first cause of everything. Reason was not a free potency and could not sin. However, the reason was influenced by the will which was the cause of sin because it yielded to the passions and sensible appetites.

The works of JUAN DIAZ DE ARCE, professor of theology in Mexico, afford us a good look at the study of the Bible.²³ His *Questionarium expositivum pro clariori intelligentia sacrorum librorum*, published in 1647, consisted of three books in which he discussed the authority of the bible was written, and its principal versions. Employing the traditional methods of exegesis, he presented a multiplicity of opinions of these questions and then refuted those which did not meet his approval. He published a fourth book on the bible which continued the themes and method of his previous work. The scholastic spirit was especially prevalent in his sermons. In his exposition of psalm 132, he explained that he intended to follow the same method of St. CYRIL: "Whenever we wish to comprehend any passage in scripture, three things must be carefully considered — the time when it was written, the person who said it, and what was said and why it was written."²⁴ He divided his exposition into the proposition of several arguments, the treatment of the style of the exegetes, his own exposition, the resolution of the questions that arise and finally the interpretation of the several spiritual senses of the passage.

In treating the spiritual senses of scripture, he distinguished between the allegorical, moral, mystical and analogical senses. This is interesting because it reveals the orientation of the study of sacred scripture at the university. For him, the literal sense was important, but the literal sense was relative to the spiritual senses. Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were to serve as an introduction to the study of scripture. Scholarship and virtue, the ideals of the Christian Mexican academician, were to be derived from the participation in the fruits of the spiritual senses of scripture, obtained through scholarship.

Dr. DE ARCE contributed to the deep-rooted Marian devotion in Mexico.²⁵ Indeed, the constitutions of the Universities of Mexico and Peru

²³ GALLEGOS Y ROCAFULL, *op. cit.*, p. 255; PLAZA Y JAEN, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

²⁴ *Expositiva relectio super Psalmum 132*, Mexico, 1632, folio Ai-Aii.

²⁵ *Sermon predicado en la Iglesia metropolitana de la ciudad de Mexico*, Mexico, 1626, dedicatio.

enjoined on the masters and students a rigid and inflexible acceptance of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. He saw Christ as the sovereign architect who built a spiritual tower (Mary) to shine on this world with the light of grace. In order to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, he alluded to ARISTOTLE's conclusion that specific reason was more substantial than generic reason. The concept of Peter, he continued, was more substantial than the concept of animal. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was substantial although it could not be reasoned towards a general concept. Theology did not negate science. It elevated it and made it sublime by teaching it truths that were not in its nature to reach.

His erudition must have been quite vast for he quoted from VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS, SAN ILDEFONSO, St. ANSELM, St. THOMAS, St. BERNARD, St. DIONYSIUS, GREGORY the Great, PETER DAMIEN, St. AUGUSTINE, St. AMBROSE, St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, St. CYRIL, and RUPERT OF DEUTZ. On the feast of the Nativity of Mary in 1631, he prefaced his sermon with an anecdote concerning St. BONAVENTURE. He related how St. BONAVENTURE was once unable to move his congregation. Upon consulting his living book, that is, the crucifix, he was told "to preach of my mother and all will be well." Citing OVID, VIRGIL, and PETRONIUS, he elaborated on the themes of duty, lineage, and destiny. His hortatory conclusion was magnificent. Mary was the dawn from whom light was born. Like the dawn she rose and sprinkled the dew and life-giving manna on mankind. She alone possessed the true lineage of virtues.

The intellectual life of the colonial universities of Latin America was thus moulded by the scholastic nature of their educational philosophy. Structured and oriented as in the Middle Ages, the colonial universities became the bastions of a conception of the world more appropriate to the later Middle Ages than necessarily to their own time and place. The hope that they would become the means to transform the inequality and injustice of the society was not really achieved. To be sure, masters like ALONSO DE LA VERA CRUZ tried to focus intellectual activity on the social and economic reality of the New World. One must not forget, too, the significance of the chair of Quechua at the university of Lima. Still, the colonial universities were essentially conservative institutions. This tradition meant that they became defenders of the established institutions of the society, not its critics. The university was *Sapientia* protecting the Church (*Pietas*) and State (*Fortitudo*). This conservatism allowed the institutionalization in the seventeenth century of the distasteful practice known as the *Limpieza de sangre*, whereby students had to present a certificate testifying they were of pure Spanish blood. The great influence that the Church exercised on the university explains its central role in that society. This look at the colonial universities allows us therefore to see the texture of Spanish colonial civilization. It was clearly animated by the values of the European Middle Ages.