

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PHILOSOPHY IN THE
IBERIAN COLONIES OF AMERICA

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WALTER BERNARD REDMOND

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by

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PREFACE

ORIGIN OF THE PROJECT

In Spring of 1968 a research project concerning the scholastic philosophy in the Iberian Colonies of America was submitted to the Institute of Latin American Studies in the University of Texas by Dr. Ignacio Angelelli, of the Department of Philosophy of the same University. I should like to quote some relevant passages from the proposal by way of historical background.

In the last decade, leading philosophical historiography has become more and more interested in the "minor" figures and the "traditional" schools which flourished between 1500 and 1800. Historians of philosophy are interested not only in men like Descartes and Kant, but also in the less brilliant and more "conservative" authors. It is also interesting to note in this regard that the late Professor P. Wilpert (Cologne), editor of the new edition of Ueberweg, intended to divide the section on the *Neuzeit* into two volumes, one for the major figures and the other for the exponents of the various forms of scholasticism of the period 1500-1800.

One of these conservative philosophical movements is what has been called the *secunda scolastica*, which developed in Catholic countries and particularly in Spain and Portugal.

Naturally, this "traditional" thought in Europe after 1500 was bound to have an impact on the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies. Indeed, the amount of scholastic philosophy taught in the American Colonies between 1530 and 1800 is impressive. This fact has not yet been acknowledged by international historiography.

The systematic study of this historical phenomenon would certainly be an attractive research project for historians of philosophy and scholars interested in the cultural genesis of Latin America. This study, as far as I know, has not been undertaken in a systematic and exhaustive way, and still demands fundamental research.

Other scholars, such as Francisco Quecedo (QA 858, QDG 61) and Sánchez Astudillo (SA 44-5), have also emphasized the need for research on the extensive philosophical material from the colonial period in Latin America. The first phase of this research is obviously bibliographical. It was my privilege to be invited to contribute to this preliminary phase by attempting a general bibliography of the subject. This investigation was carried out during the academic year 1968-9 and sponsored by the Institute of Latin American Studies and the Department of Philosophy of the University of Texas. The aim of the present work is to offer to students of the history of ideas in Ibero-America and the history of scholasticism the results of this investigation. It is intended to be an introduction to Latin American

colonial philosophy, summarizing the research already done in the field and giving some idea of the rich primary source material available for study.

CONTENT

The first part of this bibliography is a catalogue of philosophical writings from colonial Latin America which, on the basis of the secondary literature, are presumed to be extant. It is followed by a short appendix listing some colonial authors whose philosophical works are lost, but which perhaps still exist. The second part of the bibliography contains the secondary literature: studies on the philosophy of colonial Latin America as well as subsequently published texts and translations of the works of the colonial authors. It also contains non-philosophical works to which reference is made in the first section. A brief digest of the content of each philosophical work follows the entry.

SCOPE

The colonial material belongs to two philosophical currents which are discernible in the period: "pure" scholasticism, an extension of the Iberian scholastic renaissance of the 16th century and lasting well into the 19th century, and "modern" scholasticism, which was influenced by the newer ideas from Europe and usually attempted to reconcile them to the traditional philosophy. This modern scholasticism, already present in the 17th century, becomes a strong force in the second half of the 18th century. Both the "pure" and the "modern" scholasticism tend to be supplemented after 1810 by non-scholastic philosophies. Hence works written after this date have generally not been registered in this bibliography, except for a few important works continuing the modern scholastic tendency.

Most of the primary documents are the traditional philosophy (and theology) *cursus* (classroom treatises on logic, physics, psychology, metaphysics, ethics, and the various theology courses) and *conclusiones* (or *theses*, *asserta*, etc.; lists of opinions defended in scholastic functions), but some other material has also been included (articles in periodicals, "study plans", etc.).

The file is limited to manuscript or printed works written in America by Americans or foreigners (even if published in Europe), works composed in Europe by men who have done significant philosophical work in America (e.g., Jesuit professors who were expelled from America and wrote in Europe), and all philosophical manuscripts, American or European, found in American libraries. Not included are works by Americans who were educated and composed abroad (e.g., Matias Aires), by foreigners who wrote their philosophical works before leaving for America (e.g., Dr. Francisco Hernández), and by foreigners who visited America for a short time and did not engage in important philosophical activity while there (e.g., Salvador José Mañer). American reprints of European philosophers have also been excluded.

"Philosophy" for the scholastics was a term which was both narrower and

wider than for us today. Their theology contained much of what may be considered philosophy today, and their philosophy could include our science and mathematics. Accordingly, "philosophical" theology treatises (the essence and attributes of God as one, God's knowledge, the natural virtues, human acts, conscience, etc.) have been included in the file. However, although the more "religious" theological treatises have been excluded (the Trinity, Incarnation, the supernatural and infused virtues, grace, sacraments, canon law, etc.), it should be remembered that these writings contain extensive philosophical passages (*e.g.*, relations in *de Trinitate*, person and nature in *de Incarnatione*, substance and accident in *de Eucharistia*, etc.). Even the sermons of the colonial authors may contain philosophical speculation. Also omitted are works on "practical" or "edifying" moral (*e.g.*, Juan de Alloza's *Alphabetum Morale* and Nuno Marques Pereira's *Peregrino da América*), doctrinal treatises (like those of Zumárraga, Bernardo Albuquerque, etc.), and works connected with the *Venida del Mesías* controversy (Lacunza, Bestard, Araujo . . .).

In regard to science, the traditional cosmological tracts are of course registered (*Physica, de Generatione et Corruptione*, etc.), and also some "philosophical" mathematics treatises (like Bartolache's *Lecciones Matemáticas*, on mathematical method), but not purely mathematical treatises or *conclusiones*. Nor does the bibliography contain works by naturalists (*e.g.*, José Sánchez Labrador), early "scientists" (*e.g.*, Mutis and disciples), linguists (like Antonio Arias' *De Lingua Originali*), etc.

Works on the theory of law and politics are included, but not strictly legal writings nor political treatises from the independence period. Writings on the organization of Indian communities (Vasco de Quiroga, Juan Manuel Peramás, etc.), and on the anthropological and legal controversy of the 16th century concerning the American Indians (Las Casas, Garcés, etc.), are also excluded. Finally, I have generally omitted those works of humanists, polygraphs, travelers, etc., which are not, strictly speaking, philosophical (Diego and Antonio León Pinelo, Reginaldo de Lizárraga, etc.).

These restrictions are also applicable to the secondary literature. It is sometimes hard to decide whether a particular work should be included, especially in the case of studies on the Indian controversy and on the intellectual background of the independence movement. Both subjects have an extensive bibliography in their own right. The secondary file is limited to works with explicit or substantial treatment of colonial philosophy; even basic works on bibliography, the histories of culture, education and the religious orders have been omitted, unless reference is made to them in primary file. Non-philosophical studies of individual colonial authors (*e.g.*, biographies) and reprints of their non-philosophical works are also excluded. Newspaper articles have not been entered.

NOTES

Authors are listed in alphabetical order according to their first surname, except in the case of religious names with *de*, when the religious name

appears first (*e.g.*, Matheus da Encarnação Pina is entered as “Encarnação Pina, Matheus da” and Juan de San Anastacio as “San Anastacio, Juan de”). The author’s century, order, and place of activity follow each name.

Conclusiones are listed under the presiding professor, not the defending students; the latter are named either in the title or after the library location.

Each manuscript, even individual volumes of one set and multiple copies, are numbered separately; a printed work receives only one number, regardless of how many volumes it contains or how often it was reedited (this information is noted).

The titles of colonial works are generally given as they appear in the secondary sources. Incidental material (dedications, verses, prayers, etc.) is omitted. Misspellings¹ and line divisions are not marked. The subject matter of the work is indicated in brackets if it is not clear from the title. A manuscript containing several treatises by different authors is listed under the name of the author of the first philosophical treatise; the other authors are found in alphabetical order in the file with a reference to the main entry.

The word “Pub.” after the title and before the date identifies a printed work; all others not so qualified are understood to be manuscripts.

The indication of the location of a manuscript or copy of a printed work is followed by a reference to the source where this information was obtained. Printed works are generally entered in the file, even though no mention of extant copies has been seen. The existence of about 75 works is somewhat doubtful, either because the sources alluding to them are out of date or, in the case of some works which were in the National Library in Lima, because they may have perished in the recent fire (works listed as extant in Lima, Peru, and not followed by a source reference have been seen personally by the author). The signatures of some manuscripts are not current (the NI references to the BNM; *cf.* GRP 363).

A cross-reference to a recent publication, translation, or commentary of a particular colonial work is given immediately after the entry of the work in the primary file. These recent publications (or reprints) and translations are listed in the secondary file under the name of the editor or translator, since the author can be located in the primary section. References to general studies on a colonial author follow the listing of his works.

The digests are intended in most cases to be but the briefest indication of the content of a work. If the work is wider in scope than colonial philosophy, the digest summarizes only the portion having to do with this area.

Anonymous manuscripts are classified in the following order: country, library (state, university, convent, seminary, private), subject matter of the first treatise in the manuscript (logic, physics, psychology, metaphysics, ethics, rhetoric and poetics, theology, other), and date. If known, the date, possible author, religious order, place written, and the name of the copyist is given. Many anonymous tracts are contained in multiple manuscripts which are listed under the name of the first identified author.

Reference to the *conclusiones* mentioned in Caracciolo Parra, 1934 (re-

¹ In spite of their shortcomings, the manuscripts are often faithful transcriptions of the professors’ classroom lectures.

peated in FRP, pp. 70 ff.) and in several of John Tate Lanning's works have not been listed. I have been unable to identify seven sets of *conclusiones* in MV.

STATISTICS

Some obvious conclusions can be drawn from a cursory examination of this bibliography, which, even if not complete, surely indicates some general tendencies.

There are many times more primary source works than secondary studies. The vast majority of these primary works have not been read in centuries. There is, in addition, a large number of philosophical manuscripts which have never been described in the literature. Francisco Quecedo (QA 856, QSF 191) and García Bacca (Angelelli, 1965, p. 428, footnote 7) speak of the existence of many works awaiting study. Often "philosophical" theology works are omitted in the literature consulted in this bibliography (*e.g.*, the 100 anonymous manuscripts on theology mentioned in GRP 240, footnote 47). The disproportion between the wealth of primary source material and the scarceness of bibliographical and monographical investigations indicates that the colonial period of Latin America is perhaps the least studied area in the history of western philosophy.

17% of the studies on one particular epoch or aspect of colonial philosophy concern the 16th century; 8% concern the 17th century and 75% the 18th century. 90% of the works on the 18th century study the modernized scholastic philosophy. These data point out two facts: first, the 17th century is also the "forgotten century" in the philosophical historiography of Latin America; second, there is much more interest among scholars in uncovering "modern" influence than in examining the scholastic movement itself. This is somewhat paradoxical, since the fact that an author quotes Descartes is naturally no guarantee that his thought will surpass or even attain the profundity of those who are unacquainted with the new philosophy. Three stages can be distinguished roughly in the study of Latin American colonial scholasticism: some writers in the 19th century (this attitude continues in some to the present day) denounced scholasticism as "decadent", "obscurantist", etc., but their knowledge of scholasticism was often woefully deficient. More recently, serious scholars have emphasized that the Latin-American colonies enjoyed an intense intellectual activity and were not particularly close-minded or immune to modern ideas. This stage is represented by the many important works on the penetration of modern philosophy into Latin America. And now there are signs of an awakening of interest in and appreciation for the "pure" scholastic current. One of the more important signs in this regard is I. Angelelli's proposal (1965, p. 429) of a systematic program of research leading to the eventual formation of an Ibero-American *Corpus Philosophorum*.

Finally it may be noted that over half of those works limited to a study of a particular geographical area are devoted to the philosophy of New Spain and the River Plate. Several other areas have not received the attention their cultural importance in the colonial period would seem to merit.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ANEC. Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito, Ecuador.
B. Born.
BB. BIBLIOTECA HISPANO-AMERICANA-SEPTENTRIONAL, by José Mariano Beristáin de Souza.
BHA. BIBLIOTECA HISPANO-AMERICANA (1493-1810), by José Toribio Medina.
BNCL. Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá, Colombia.
BNLima. Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, Peru.
BNMX. Biblioteca Nacional de México.
C, cc. Century(-ies), chapter(s), *circa*.
CBG. CATÁLOGO DE LIBROS QUE EXISTEN EN LA BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA DEL ESTADO, Guadalajara, Mexico.
CO. Congregation of the Oratory, Oratorian, *filipense*.
D. Died.
F, ff. Leaf(-ves), "and the following".
FRP. NACIMIENTO Y DESARROLLO DE LA FILOSOFÍA EN EL RÍO DE LA PLATA (ENTRE 1536 Y 1810), by Guillermo Furlong.
GBC. ANTOLOGÍA DEL PENSAMIENTO FILOSÓFICO EN COLOMBIA (DE 1647 A 1761), by J. D. García Bacca.
GBV. ANTOLOGÍA DEL PENSAMIENTO FILOSÓFICO VENEZOLANO, by J. D. García Bacca.
GRP. EL PENSAMIENTO MEXICANO EN LOS SIGLOS XVI Y XVII, by J. M. Gallegos Rocafull.
HE. EN TORNO A LA FILOSOFÍA EN CHILE, 1594-1810, by W. Hanish Espíndola.
IBJ. INVENTARIO DE LA "BIBLIOTECA DE LOS JESUITAS", Cuzco, Peru.
Ms, mss. Manuscript(s).
MV. FUENTES PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA FILOSOFÍA EN EL PERÚ, by Manuel Mejía Valera.
NI. LA INTRODUCCIÓN DE LA FILOSOFÍA MODERNA EN MÉXICO, by Bernabé Navarro.
OCarm. Order of (Calced) Carmelites.
OCD. Order of Discalced Carmelites.
OdeM. Order of Mercedarians.
OFM. Order of Friars Minor, Franciscan.

- OM. Franciscan.
 OP. Order of Preachers, Dominican.
 OSA. Order of St. Augustine, Augustinian.
 OSB. Order of St. Benedict, Benedictan.
 Pub. Published (any colonial work not so qualified is understood to be a manuscript).
 QA. "Manuscritos filosófico-teológicos de la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Antioquia en Medellín" (Colombia), by Francisco Quecedo.
 QDG. "Introducción al manuscrito 'De Gratia' escrito por el P. Jerónimo Escobar, S.J. (1662)", by Francisco Quecedo.
 QMC. "Manuscritos filosóficos en la época colonial de Chile", by Ismael Quiles.
 QSF. "Manuscritos teológico-filosóficos coloniales santafereños", by Francisco Quecedo.
 RS. EL LATÍN EN COLOMBIA, by J. M. Rivas Sacconi.
 SA. TEXTOS DE CATEDRÁTICOS JESUITAS EN QUITO COLONIAL; ESTUDIO Y BIBLIOGRAFÍA, by Miguel Sánchez Astudillo.
 SJ. Society of Jesus, Jesuit.
 SP. Secular (diocesan) priest.
 VTA. APUNTACIONES HISTÓRICAS SOBRE LA FILOSOFÍA EN MÉXICO, by E. Valverde Téllez.
 VTB. BIBLIOGRAFÍA FILOSÓFICA MEXICANA, by E. Valverde Téllez.
 VTC. CRÍTICA FILOSÓFICA, by Valverde Téllez.
 VU. BIBLIOTECA PERUANA, by R. Vargas Ugarte.