

On Sunday, September 19, 1649, multitudes gathered along the roads between the Franciscan convent of Lima and the city's cathedral to witness the relocation of the holiest of relics, a sliver of Christ's Cross donated by the late pope Urban VIII (1568–1644) to the Peruvian Church. The event was timed to coincide with the launching of a new campaign to extirpate idolatries in the archbishopric of Lima. Seven of the most learned priests and missionaries in the capital had been charged by the recently appointed archbishop, Pedro de Villagómez (1585–1671), with spearheading this campaign. These seven now waited for the order to march into the hinterlands. They carried white pennants, each with a green cross, bearing the mottoes "Levate signum in gentibus" (Set ye up a standard among the nations) and "Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adversae" (Behold the Cross of the Lord, flee ye enemies) in scarlet letters.¹ As Villagómez explained in a pastoral letter addressed to all the clergy in his archdiocese, these *visitadores* were soldiers of Christ about to begin the second chapter of an ongoing epic struggle against the devil in Peru. Drawing on Paul's letters to the Ephesians (6:10–17), Villagómez asked both *visitadores* and parish priests to be knights of the Lord: "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."²

This crusading spirit was necessary, Villagómez thought, because the New World had long been under Satan's control. A trickster and master of deceit,

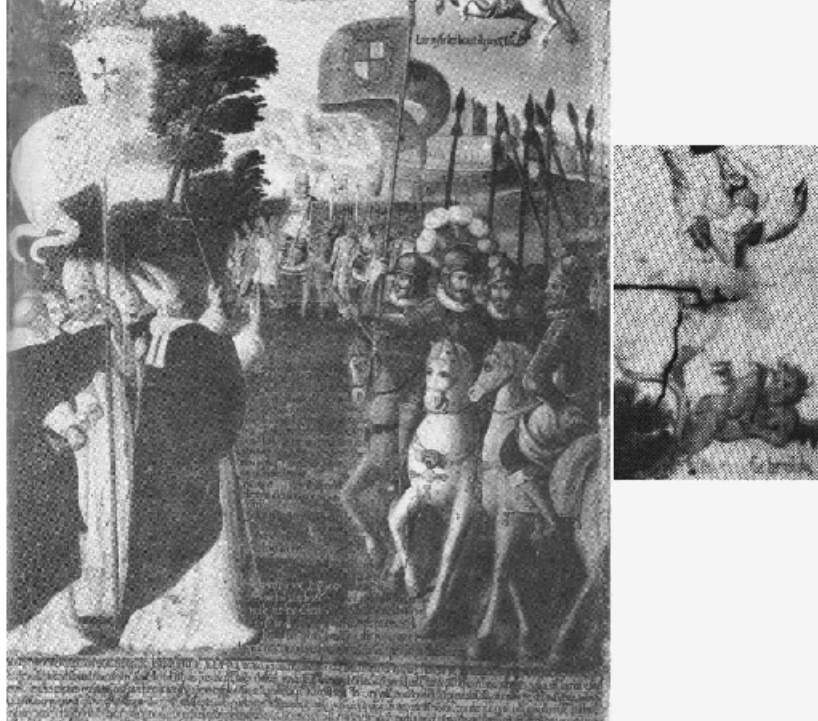


FIG. 1.1. Anonymous, Cuzco school of painting (seventeenth century), *The Conquest of Peru*. Colección Poli, Lima. Taken from José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2: 507. The conquest of Peru is presented here as a cosmic epic battle pitting God against the devil. In heaven, the struggle is overseen by the Virgin Mary and a crusading Santiago Matamoros (St. James the Moor-Killer), while the archangel Michael slays Satan. On earth, two legions of Spaniards (one lay, the other religious) advance to take on the Inca armies of Atahualpa.

the devil had for centuries enjoyed absolute mastery over the easily duped natives of Peru. This uncontested sovereignty, however, had been challenged with the arrival of the armies of Francisco Pizarro. The conquistadors had begun the process of liberating the natives from Satan's brutal, unrelenting, tyrannical rule, but the devil did not stand by idly; he fought back (fig. 1.1).

de Arriaga (1564–1622), a Jesuit whose 1621 work on idolatries Villagómez greatly admired, had already described the scale of this satanic, idolatrous worship. A member of one of three extirpating teams between 1616 and 1618, Arriaga reported that in less than eighteen months, his party alone had managed to elicit 5,694 confessions; to identify some 750 wizards; and to gather, smash, and burn in autos-da-fé 603 *huacas* (sacred objects worshipped by a community), 3,140 *canopas* (household deities), and at least 1,100 mummified ancestors, to say nothing of dozens of corpses of infant twins kept in jars and hundreds of other holy curiosities.³

In this epic struggle over sovereignty in Peru, *visitadores* were first and foremost exorcists. For example, Villagómez, who decried the use of torture and considered exile the harshest acceptable punishment, reserved for unrepentant wizards, ordered his spiritual knights to exorcise each repentant idolater on holy ground after preaching to and eliciting confessions from him or her. Thus Villagómez advised *visitadores* to gather the population in the local church and deliver the following incantation: “In the name of the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ his son, and the Holy Spirit I exorcise you filthy spirits. Withdraw [filthy spirits] from these servants of God, whom God our Lord [wishes to] free from your error and bewitchment.”⁴

Facing the daunting task of uprooting the devil from Peru, Villagómez turned to the Cross (see fig. 1.2). He therefore timed the departure of the seven knights to coincide with the transference of the relic of the Cross (given originally by Patriarch Nicephorus [758–829] to Pope Leo III [795–816]),⁵ because he thought that in Peru the Cross would work against idolatry in the same way that the Ark of the Israelites had destroyed the image of the Philistine god Dagon (1 Sam. 5: the Philistines rout the Israelites in battle, capture their holy Ark, and take it to the temple of Dagon). Peru was like the temple of Dagon, a space temporarily inhabited by both the devil and God.⁶ As explained by Blas Dacosta, the learned Franciscan to whom Villagómez had entrusted the sermon that would cap the day’s festivities, the Cross was designed by God to be “the fatal knife of all idolatries.”⁷ Drawing on the interpretation by Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534) of John 12:31–32 (“Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me”), Dacosta argued that the devil was a tyrannical prince and



FIG. 1.2. The Cross protects Franciscan friars from demons. From Diego Muñoz Camargo (1529–99), *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala*. Muñoz Camargo was a mestizo. According to Fernando Cervantes (1994), the indigenous peoples of central Mexico quickly embraced European ideas about the devil. Like Christ's twelve apostles, twelve Franciscan missionaries were dispatched to Mexico in 1523 to oust the devil. The Franciscan minister-general, Francisco de los Angeles, sent off the twelve as the vanguard of an army of knights, saying: "Go . . . and armed with the shield of faith and with the breastplate of justice, with the blade of the spirit of salvation, with the helmet and lance of perseverance, struggle with the ancient serpent which seeks and hastens to lord himself over, and gain the victory over, the souls redeemed with the most precious Blood of Christ" (Francisco Angelorum, "Orders Given to 'the Twelve' [1523]," in *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History*, ed. Mills and Taylor, 64).

destroying, mowing down, and dispersing” (ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas et dissipes) the forces of Satan in Peru by wielding the Cross; it was also about “building and planting” (et aedifices et plantes).⁹ Thus Villagómez asked his subordinates to be gardeners, “turning into smooth valleys the rugged landscape that was the wilderness in the hearts and customs of the Indians.”¹⁰ Priests and *visitadores* were destined to “cultivate this orchard that God planted in a sterile desert, dry and out of the way.” These farmers needed to be cautious, however, for just as God acted as “fertilizing rain,” Satan behaved as “[hail and gale], scorching, drying, and destroying the fruit of virtue growing in the hearts and souls of the Indians.”¹¹ In its original struggle against the devil in Peru, Villagómez explained, the Church had overextended itself, creating a vineyard whose vines’ shallow roots could not withstand the withering force of Satan’s freezing rain and gales. It was now time to create a sturdy plantation in Peru.¹² By manipulating a number of common early modern European tropes about the devil, which have not received sufficient attention from historians, Villagómez connected demonology in the New World to the idioms of epics, the crusades, and gardening.

The 1649 episode in Lima summarizes in a nutshell the themes I seek to explore in this book, namely, that demons were thought to enjoy great geographical mobility and extraordinary power over people and Nature; that the devil was considered to rule over the natives as a tyrannical lord, for he had chosen the New World as his fiefdom; that colonization was perceived as an ongoing epic struggle against a stubbornly resistant Satan; and that the New World was imagined either as a false paradise or as a wilderness that needed to be transformed into a garden by Christian heroes. Although paradigmatically captured in the story of Villagómez’s staged campaign of spiritual knights who both wield crosses to slay the dragon of idolatry and use plows to root out weeds and plant orchards, these themes should not be assumed to be typical of Iberian colonization alone.

Iberians, we have often been told, saw themselves as crusading heroes engaged in an expansionist campaign of *reconquista*, first against the Moors and later against the Amerindians. So Villagómez’s image of knightly priests battling Satan fits in well with this stereotype of Iberian expansionism. There is no denying that the crusading and chivalric played a crucial role



DE ORBE NO
uo Petri Martyris ab
Angleria Mediolanen
sis Protonotarij
Cesaris sena
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Cum privilegio Imperiali.

Compluti apud Michaele & Equia Anno
M.D.XXX.

Suffragio et obsequio.

nization of the New World, Africa, and India.¹³ Conquistadors set sail into the unknown hoping to find treasure and allies so as to launch, yet again, a crusade to recapture Jerusalem. By the same token, conquistadors set sail hoping to establish their own fiefdoms through sheer chivalric prowess. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century conquest of the Canaries, Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde islands gave vassals and lands of their own to Iberian, Italian, and French fortune seekers with chivalric names like Lancelot and Gadifer (see fig. 1.3).¹⁴

Yet the ethos of the crusading and the chivalric has been used to separate the Iberian Catholic colonial expansion from the British Protestant one. William Prescott, for example, made popular among nineteenth-century U.S. audiences the image of Spanish conquistadors as both benighted medieval throwbacks and chivalric heroes, explaining why Spanish America had developed so differently from British America.¹⁵ This book seeks to

FIG. 1.3. (*opposite*) The twelve labors of Hercules. From Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo* (Alcalá de Henares, 1530). Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This image first appeared in *Herodoti libri nomen* (Cologne, 1526). The frontispiece allegedly represents all of Hercules' labors. This is the first explicit visual document that ties the European colonization of America to the discourse of the demonological and the epic. In the imagination of Miguel de Eguia, the editor of this posthumous edition of the chronicle written by Anghiera (1457–1526), the Spanish conquest of the New World promises to bring the conquistador-hero untold riches (here represented by the golden apples of the Hesperides). Yet to get this wealth (material as well as spiritual), the hero needs first to slay the multiheaded dragon of idolatry, defeat the giant Antaeus, and fool Atlas. I have identified the following scenes clockwise from the top left: Hercules, with his half brother Iphicles, plays with serpents in his cradle (not a labor); first labor, Nemean Lion; second labor, Lernean Hydra; eleventh labor, Hercules defeats Antaeus; eleventh labor, Hercules in the Hesperides; tenth labor, Cattle of Geryon; Hercules' self-immolation in a pyre (not a labor); twelfth labor, Cerberus; ninth labor, Hippolyte's Belt; third labor, Hind of Ceryneia; eleventh labor, Atlas and Hercules; eighth labor, man-eating horses of Diomedes; fourth labor, Erymanthean boar. The fifth (Augean Stables), sixth (Stymphalian Birds), and seventh (Cretan Bull) labors are not represented. Tellingly, three of the images on this frontispiece chronicle Hercules' pursuit of the golden apples of the Hesperides.

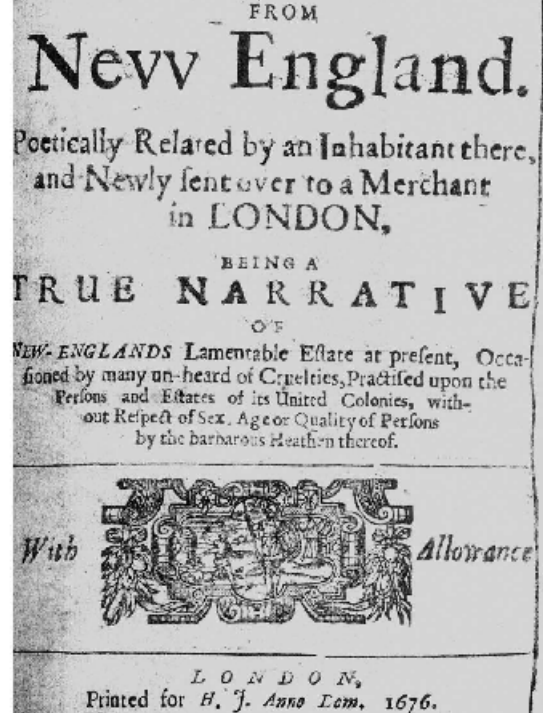


FIG. 1.4. David and Goliath. Frontispiece detail from Benjamin Tompson, *Sad and Deplorable Newes from New England*. Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Tompson's book is an epic poem on King Philip's War. Like Edward Johnson, Tompson presents the natives as Satan's minions, who, like demons in hell, dismember bodies. The settlers, on the other hand, appear as epic heroes like David, who slew the demonic Philistine giant Goliath. This illustration points to the importance of typology in the colonization of the New World.

discourses to explain and justify conquest and colonization: a biblically sanctioned interpretation of expansion, part of a long-standing Christian tradition of holy violence aimed at demonic enemies within and without.

Around the time Villagómez sent his spiritual knights to uproot Satan from the Peruvian Andes, for example, the Puritan divine Edward Johnson (1599–1672) published a remarkably similar epic of Christian heroes battling the devil in the New World (fig. 1.4). Johnson's history of the New England colonies (1654) opens with a call to arms to his Puritan comrades: "You are called the faithfull Souldiers of Christ . . . pulling downe the Kingdome of Antichrist . . . take up your Armes and march manfully on till all opposers of Christ Kingly power be abolished . . . be not daunted at your small number, for every common Souldier in Christ Campe shall be as David who slew the great Goliath."¹⁶ Johnson wanted his Puritan knights to be armed and prepared for battle with Satan, for "the people of Christ ought to behave themselves in war-like Discipline. . . . Store your selves with all sorts of weapons for war, furbish up your Swords, Rapiers and all other piercing weapons."¹⁷

This martial, epic tone surfaces throughout Johnson's narrative. Before departing for the New World, Johnson's Puritans first have to confront Satan in the shape of Papists and Antinomian sectarians.¹⁸ Once at sea, they engage in pitched battles with the devil. Soon after lifting anchor with her Puritan cargo destined for Massachusetts, the flagship *Arbella* is threatened by demon-induced storms. God, however, intervenes: "many of these people amazed finde such opposition in nature . . . [and grow sick and disenchantred] but he who is very sensible of his peoples infirmities, rebukes the winds and Seas for their sakes."¹⁹ Fearing the arrival of the millennium, when he will be chained in hell, and "seeing how these resolved Souldiers of Christ in New England with indefatigable paines laboured, not only the finall ruine of Antichrist, in both, but also the advance of Christs Kingdom," Satan "sets upon a new way to stop (if it were possible) this worke of Reformation" by stimulating among the colonists the emergence of such sectarians as Gortenists, Familists, Seekers, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Arians, and Formalists, whose "heads of Hydra" will fortunately be "cut off" by the "sharpe sword of the Word."²⁰

But Satan had more than Protestant dissenters to threaten the survival of the New Israelites in the American Canaan, for his true minions were the



FIG. 1.5. The Beast of the Apocalypse represented in the lakes of the central valley of Mexico. From Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo* (Naples, 1699–1700). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I. The image rather vividly captures Edward Johnson's claim that the American landscape itself was one of four allies of Satan in the New World (the others being the Amerindians, ocean storms, and Protestant dissenters). Gemelli Careri was an Italian traveler who visited Mexico in the 1690s on the last leg of a trip that also took him to Siam, China, and Japan. In Mexico, he was given this map representing the drainage system of the central valley at the time of the European arrival. The rivers in the valley drained into a collection of small and large lakes, one of which, the Lake of Mexico, often flooded Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital. Early seventeenth-century Flemish civil engineers drew the map while developing a system to open sluices through the surrounding mountains to dry the valley and thus end Mexico City's periodic floods. Later in the century, Creole Mexican scholars concluded that this hydrographic map of the valley demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that Satan himself had carved out the Mexican landscape: the rivers draining into the upper end of Lake "Calco" (Chalco) represented the horns of the beast; the elongated Lake Calco its neck; the round lake of Mexico, the beast's belly; the rivers "San Juan," "Escoputalco," and "Taneplanda," its legs and claws; and the rivers of "St. Gioan" and "Papalo," its wings. In confirmation of this view of Mexico's alliance with Satan as revealed in the basin's drainage system, Creole scholars offered Careri cabalistic readings of the names of the ten Aztec monarchs from "Acamapichtli" to "Quauhtimoc" (Cuauhtemoc), the combined numerical value of which added up to 666, the number of the Beast.

the Pequot, who, like the Tarratines, “feasted [on] their corps in a ravening manner.” War broke out between the settlers and the Pequot in 1636–37. The quarrel, Johnson thought, was “as antient as Adams time, propagated from that old enmity betweene the Seede of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent, who was the grand signor of this war.”²² Clearly, the Pequot were “not onley men, but Devils; for surely [Satan] was more then ordinary present with this Indian army.”²³ According to Johnson, the most threatening enemies among the Pequot were their shamans, who were capable of manipulating nature and producing “strange things, with the help of Satan.”²⁴

Satan, Johnson argued, had the Puritans completely surrounded on the American battlefield. To the one side (the right), he had aligned “the damnable Doctrines” of the Antinomians, “as so many dreadful engines set by Satan to intrap poore soules.” In front of the Puritan troops, Satan had positioned the “barbarous and bloody people called *Peaquods*.” In the rear, the ocean, the devil had demons setting off tempests so as to cut off any possible route of escape. Finally, to the other side of the settlers (the left), Satan had placed the “Desert and terrible Wildernesse” of America.²⁵ Along with storms at sea, Dissenters, and satanic attacks by the Amerindians, the very landscape itself was allied with the devil in the struggle to uproot the settlers (see fig. 1.5).²⁶

Why then would anyone “passe the pretious Ocean and hazard thy person in battell against thousands of Malignant Enemies there?”²⁷ Johnson answered that question by simply pointing to “wonder-working providence,” for in the epic battle against Satan, God was on the side of the settlers. To keep the Puritans from starving and drowning, God sends rain in time of drought and calms the storms unleashed by Satan at sea. In short, for every obstacle thrown by Satan in the Puritans’ way, God steps in to rescue the settlers from hardship. This providential logic is often carried to extremes. In Johnson’s scheme, famines and plagues wreaking havoc among the Amerindians appear as God’s means to clear the land for the Puritans to enjoy.²⁸

The epic element in Johnson’s history far outdoes that in Villagómez’s pastoral letters. Whereas Villagómez’s heroes are anonymous *visitadores* wielding the Cross as sword and swearing by Christ, Johnson’s heroes far surpass Hercules, Aeneas, and Ulysses. Unlike these classical heroes,

Olysses.²⁹ John Winthrop, “eleven times governor” of New England, appears in Johnson’s history as a knight armed with a sword leading the elect against Babylon.³⁰

Even the crusading spirit supposedly typical of Iberian colonization makes its appearance in Johnson’s narrative. In his account of the Pequot War, the Mohawks are transformed into a satanic enemy whom the Puritans must slay: the *Moor*-hawks.³¹ Readers might be tempted to argue that Johnson was an oddity, so disoriented and lost in a crusading world of his own as to find Moors in New England. But he was not alone. Take, for example, the case of the anonymous account of the history of King Philip’s War (1675–76) titled *News from New England* (1676). After sketching a satanic portrayal of the Amerindians, the author coolly adds the following entry to his tally of the dead in battle: “At Woodcock 10 miles from Secouch on the 16th May was a little Skirmage betwixt the *Moors* and Christians, wherein there was of the later three slain and two wounded and only two Indians kild.”³² These examples seem to give the lie to the historiographical tradition that, since Prescott, has sought to exaggerate the cultural differences between Anglo-Protestant and Catholic-Iberian discourses of colonial expansion in the New World. It is clear that the Puritans were also willing to launch a *reconquista* against the devil in America to recover the continent for God.

While typical of their age, the ideas of Villagómez and Johnson confront us with mental structures that jar our modern sensibilities, for theirs was a world in which demons roamed the earth unleashing tempests and possessing entire peoples.³³ By the mid seventeenth century, colonists of European descent were absolutely certain of the overwhelming presence of demons in the New World. Satan appeared to the settlers as a tyrannical lord, with castles and ramparts all over America, whose subjects were willing to go down fighting to the last man (see fig. 1.6).

After having lorded it over the continent for centuries, Satan was suddenly facing an unexpected onslaught by a determined vanguard of Christian knights. For the settlers, colonization was an ongoing epic battle. In the world of the Europeans, demons were real, everyday physical forces, not figments of the imagination or metaphors standing for the hardships of colonization, as we might condescendingly be prone to assume.³⁴ Plainly put, in the eyes of European settlers, colonization was an act of forcefully



FIG. 1.6. Luis de Riaños, *The Road to Hell* (ca. 1618–26). Church of Andahuailillas, Department of Cuzco, Peru. Taken from José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 2: 399. The mural is a copy of an engraving by Jeronimus Wierix (1553–1619) illustrating Psalm 106 (on the idolatrous corruption of the nation of Israel among the Canaanites). Notice that the road to hell leads to a fortified castle with a moat, drawbridge, and archers.

using charms such as crosses (Catholics/Anglicans) or Bibles (Puritans), one way that Europeans saw colonization was as an ongoing battle against the devil. This simple yet powerful insight has often been assumed, but rarely adequately explored, for historians have focused rather on elucidating the European legal discourses of territorial possession.

Historians have been only partially right to argue that the British were more “modern” than the Spaniards when justifying territorial possession. It is now common to maintain that the British deployed Lockean theories of property: land and objects belonged to those who had transformed them through labor. Since the British colonists did not find traces of “labor” in the New World, they considered the lands of the natives empty and ripe for the picking. Spaniards, on the other hand, were more “medieval.” They justified territorial possession by claiming that the pope had *dominium* and *imperium* over pagan territories. As the pope had transferred that sovereignty to the Spanish kings, the latter’s vassals felt entitled to the newfound lands.³⁵ This distinction not only blurs important chronological differences (Puritan colonization was launched some 150 years after the Spaniards first arrived in the New World), it also leaves out the more important biblical foundations of European colonial expansion. For Puritans and Catholics alike, colonization was an act foreordained by God, prefigured in the trials of the Israelites in Canaan. Just as the Israelites had fought against the stiff resistance of Satan’s minions, the Philistines, Puritans, and Spanish clerics felt entitled to take over America by force, battling their way into a continent infested by demons. Ultimately, the objective of both religious communities became to transform the “wilderness” into blossoming spiritual “plantations.”

This common demonological discourse is the subject of this book. But before plunging into it, a question needs to be answered: Why specifically compare the Puritans of New England, rather than some other group in British America, to the Spanish Catholics? Given that Jack Greene has demonstrated that New England’s politics, culture, and economy were not representative of the British American experience, it would appear to make more sense to study the ideologies of colonization in the middle and southern British American colonies.³⁶ In fact, as the work of Edward L. Bond suggests, the crusading discourse of colonization as an epic battle against the devil seems to have run as deeply in seventeenth-century Virginia as it did in

Simply put, Puritans left behind a far larger cache of primary sources than other English colonists. I have nevertheless not completely overlooked other British colonies, particularly Virginia.

At first sight, positing resemblances between the Puritan and Spanish clergies makes little sense, for the literature on the Reformation has familiarized us only with the differences. The Puritans were followers of John Calvin (1509–64), whereas the Spaniards were staunch defenders of the pope, leaders of the Counter-Reformation. These two communities therefore developed very different views of God, salvation, Church organization, and conversion. As followers of Calvin, for example, the Puritans believed that God was an almighty sovereign whose plans for humanity were inscrutable. In their view of things, Catholics, who thought that it was up to them to work out their own salvation (by either practicing virtues or praying to God), were deluded. Catholics had a ridiculous view of God as a petty merchant whose will could be bought (by buying indulgences, for example) or bent at will (through confession and prayers). According to the Puritans, however, salvation was a preordained act of God, and nothing humans did could change the outcome. Catholics had deviated from the original message of God as revealed in the Old and New Testaments. Over the centuries, Catholics had added institutions and ceremonies never mentioned in the Bible. The Puritans in fact owed their name to their efforts to “purify” the Church of these inventions and live according to the religious, social, and political institutions found in the Bible. For the Puritans, Catholic “inventions” were not really products of the human imagination but demonic deceptions: Counter-Reformation Spain stood for the Antichrist.³⁶

These theological differences manifested themselves concretely in the ways these two religious communities approached colonization. Spanish Catholics, for example, had a more inclusive idea of Church membership, along with a more hierarchical understanding of how to communicate with God. Spaniards therefore approached conversion by demanding that indigenous peoples conform to certain rituals and external behaviors, but allowed great variations in practice. This attitude toward conversion allowed for the multiplication of micro-Catholicisms all across the empire. The Puritans, however, saw things differently. For them, conversion implied God’s election: the individual had to be touched by God’s grace after protracted

touched by the grace of God. When the Puritans arrived in the New World, they instituted such strict rules of conversion that not even the children of the Church elders were guaranteed membership. Although the Puritans did seek to convert Amerindians to hasten the arrival of the millennium, in practice native converts were few and far between.³⁹ In short, whereas by the seventeenth century, there were thousands, if not millions, of Amerindians in Spanish America practicing their own versions of Catholicism, only a handful of Amerindians in New England could bear witness to the grace of God.

It is clear that there were important differences separating the Puritans from the Spanish Americans. But there were also significant resemblances, and the scholarship on the Atlantic world has paid little attention to them, because it has imagined that world in largely national terms. In the pages that follow, I explore the discourse of demonology and spiritual gardening and argue that British American Puritans and Spanish American Catholics in fact saw the world of colonization in remarkably similar terms.

But before plunging into the substance of this book, let me provide some clarifications about my approach. Although Europeans had been confronting Satan for millennia and thought that demons hovered over the entire world, their battle with them in the New World was thought to be qualitatively different. It was not that the New World was afflicted with more demons than Eurasia. Europeans believed that there were millions of good angels and bad angels, organized as armies, all over the world. The problem was one of entrenchment. The devil and his minions had exercised uncontested sovereignty over the New World for 1,500 years, ever since Satan took a group of Scythians, his own elect, to colonize the empty land that was America right after or around the time the Gospel began to spread in Eurasia. Thus the devil had had time to build “fortifications” in the New World and set deep roots both in the landscape and among the people. The Europeans therefore battled an external enemy, not only the devil within, whom they knew well. Suffering, sin, temptation, and possession had long been considered manifestations of demonic power laying siege to the individual soul. To be sure, the battle to overcome satanic temptation and to avoid sin would continue in the New World, and Satan’s attacks on the individual soul, often manifested themselves as outright external physical aggression, especially when

to achieve sanctity or salvation in the Indies is partly the focus of this book, especially as both Puritans and Iberians sought to transform their souls and the colonies into spiritual gardens. Yet I am also concerned with the battles that pitted Europeans against powerful “external” enemies — both human and nonhuman — dedicated to destroying the polity: storms, earthquakes, epidemics, pirates, foreign enemies, heretics, witches, imperial bureaucrats, Amerindians, and African slaves.

It has been my priority throughout to reconstruct the logical structure, the grammar, of a discourse. Each of the myriad sources I discuss emerged in unique social and political contexts and was devised to persuade particular audiences and to address particular agendas. I have not sought to reconstruct these various contexts. Rather than historicizing each source, I have sought to reconstruct a worldview (of demonology as it pertains to colonization). At every turn, however, I have avoided anachronistic, condescending readings of the past. Like Brad S. Gregory, who has masterfully reconstructed the alien world of martyrdom among early modern Christian communities (Protestant, Anabaptist, and Catholic), marked by a willingness to kill and to be killed that offends our modern views of toleration and psychological “normality,” I seek to reconstruct a worldview that is equally violent, alien, and offensive to our modern sense of what is physically possible.⁴²

Another important element to keep in mind while reading this book is that the discourses of demonology and gardening were only two of many in the Atlantic bazaar of ideas.⁴³ I am aware that I deal mostly with the ideas of the learned (clergy and laity). We should not, however, dismiss the study of the discourse I have identified on account of its being both elite and one of many. By the end of this book, it will be clear, I hope, that demonology and gardening are discourses scholars need to treat seriously if we want to gain a deeper understanding of early modern European colonialism.

Third, I am aware that using categories such as “Iberians” and “Puritans” is a reductive stance toward these historical actors. There were to be sure many strands within the so-called orthodox Puritan tradition (to say nothing of the variations at the fringes of this Reformed movement), and that a similarly mind-boggling array of doctrinal positions can easily be discerned in the “Iberian” sources.⁴⁴ In the case of demonology, one could, for exam-

argued that the weapons with which to battle the devil were not physical but spiritual. Thus, according to Williams, toleration was the orthodox position to take. John Cotton, on the other hand, found biblical passages that allowed him to claim the opposite, namely, that heretics were both weeds to be cleared from the enclosed garden of the Church and agents of Satan to be fended off physically, not spiritually.⁴⁵ This controversy alone shows that there were important differences when it came to the thinking of the devil as an external enemy of the New England polity. It should be noticed, however, that Williams was so far outside the pale that he was excommunicated. When it came to the threat represented by Satan as enemy of the polity, there was indeed a “Puritan” orthodoxy. This is also true of all the other groups discussed in this book.

Fourth, I assume that the satanization of the American continent gained momentum in the seventeenth century. Most of the sources I use in this book originated in this period. Many explanations have been offered as to why Europeans grew more fearful of the devil in the seventeenth century. John Bossy, Fernando Cervantes, and Stuart Clark have argued that the Reformation altered the conception of sin. As morality came to be organized around the Ten Commandments, rather than around the cardinal virtues (the avoidance of social sins), the Deuteronomic sanction against false worship turned the triad “heresy, idolatry, and witchcraft” into a continuum of crimes against religion. Such focus heightened fears of the power of Satan. Cervantes and Clark have also argued that the rise of nominalism contributed to bolstering the image of a powerful deity ruling over a cosmos unrestrained by natural laws. Belief in the preternatural and the supernatural, therefore, gained ground. It should be noticed that the preternatural was not only the realm of the occult and marvels but also the domain of the devil.⁴⁶

Finally, I rely throughout on images as primary sources. Images are often used by historians simply as illustrations to enliven their narratives. My intention has been rather to present images as additional evidence to written sources. Many of the images therefore have long captions and should be read as extended footnotes. In some cases, images are the sole extant source available to elucidate an argument. It will become obvious that with a few exceptions most of the images discussed in this book are from the Iberian world. This imbalance would seem to point to a major difference between

lively scribal and oral cultures, particularly in the Chesapeake. More important, the mental re-creation of biblical imagery was central to Puritan piety, meditation, and prayer. Extant Puritan sermons are laced with striking visual imagery, remarkably similar to the images discussed in this book.⁴⁷

I am concerned both with changes over time and with the persistence of the discourse of demonology and colonization. The devil as an external enemy changed strategies over time. In the case of the Spanish American sources I study, Amerindians were originally seen as Satan's most powerful allies in the New World, but once the colonial regime was established in places like Mexico and Peru, the main demonic enemy became somebody else. In the case of the Spiritual Franciscans in Mexico, the twelve "apostles" arrived loaded with three centuries of accumulated Joachimite apocalyptic predictions in a ruined Tenochtitlán. The friars thought that the preaching of the Gospel to hitherto unknown peoples whom the devil held in bondage was the long-anticipated sign of the beginning of the millennium. To them, the Aztecs were Satan's elect. Satan had long been known for his parodies of God. Over the course of the Middle Ages, it was increasingly believed that the Antichrist was an exact inverted replica of Christ: a false prophet, performer of miracles, bound to have his own Annunciation and Resurrection. In Mexico, the Franciscans found no Antichrist but Satan's ultimate mockery of God, namely, a society whose history and institutions seemed to be an inverted mirror image of those of the Israelites. According to the Franciscans, Satan had picked the Aztecs to recapitulate each and every one of the episodes of the history of the Israelites: exodus to a Promised Land, settlement amid Canaanites, David- and Solomon-like monarchies, the building of a temple, and prophecies of doom and imminent destruction. Lucifer's mockery of the Eucharist and the miracle of transubstantiation, on the other hand, took place every week on the steps of the temple of Huitzilopochtli, where the bodies and hearts of sacrificed warriors were served to the masses to enjoy as morsels. Not surprisingly, the Franciscans regarded Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) as a providential figure, a "General of Christ" who had waged the first battle in the epic struggle to hasten the millennium. Franciscans saw colonization as a spiritual holy war and built their massive mission compounds in central Mexico with large crenellated walls as symbolic battlements against the devil (the Augustinians, preaching to the Otomies in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo,

also built with the layout of the New Jerusalem in mind (see fig. 1.7). This very millenarian narrative allowed these Franciscans to embrace the natives as God's new elect. In creating his inverted mirror image of the Church of Israel, Satan had chosen the Aztecs for their single-minded devotion and piety. Seeking to outshine the priestly legislation of Moses' Leviticus, Satan selected a people whose willingness to abide by disciplinary rules of penance and sacrifice far outdid those of the average Christian. These were precisely the virtues that the early Franciscans needed to create a New Jerusalem in the Indies: if properly catechized, the natives could easily become large communities of saints. Thus the Franciscan Toribio de Benavente, aka Motolinía (1482?–1569), maintained in his *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España* (ca. 1550) that the natives were so pious, so Spartan in their needs, so detached from the pursuit of wealth, so meek, humble, and willing to endure suffering and sacrifice that they did not have “any hindrance that would keep them from reaching heaven, unlike the many obstacles we Spaniards have and that keep us down.”⁴⁸ Curiously, once the friars embraced the natives as the ideal pliable clay with which to build the Church of the millennium, and once the friars began to vie with the settlers for control of the bodies (not the souls) of the natives, the Franciscans became more prone to see the wiles of Satan in the New World manifested in the actions of the very descendants of the “General of Christ,” the lay settlers. Fray Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), a Franciscan and first archbishop of Mexico, denounced *encomenderos* as “repulsive and disgusting” non-Christians, who gave out an “evil smell” that contrasted dramatically with the “heavenly smell of these poor Indians.”⁴⁹ The Franciscans were not alone. Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566) tirelessly argued that conquistadors were demons and the colonial regime was hell. By the end of the sixteenth century, as the Spanish Crown sought to strengthen the secular Church (clergy not belonging to religious orders) and curtail the hegemony the religious orders had over spiritual ministrations to the Amerindians, the Franciscans most likely found Satan incarnated in the ecclesiastical establishment.⁵⁰

In the following chapters, it will become clear that the main satanic enemy of both the Iberians and the English in the New World was a moving target, constantly shifting according to the party involved and the circumstances. The Mexican Creoles, I argue, passionately embraced the cult of

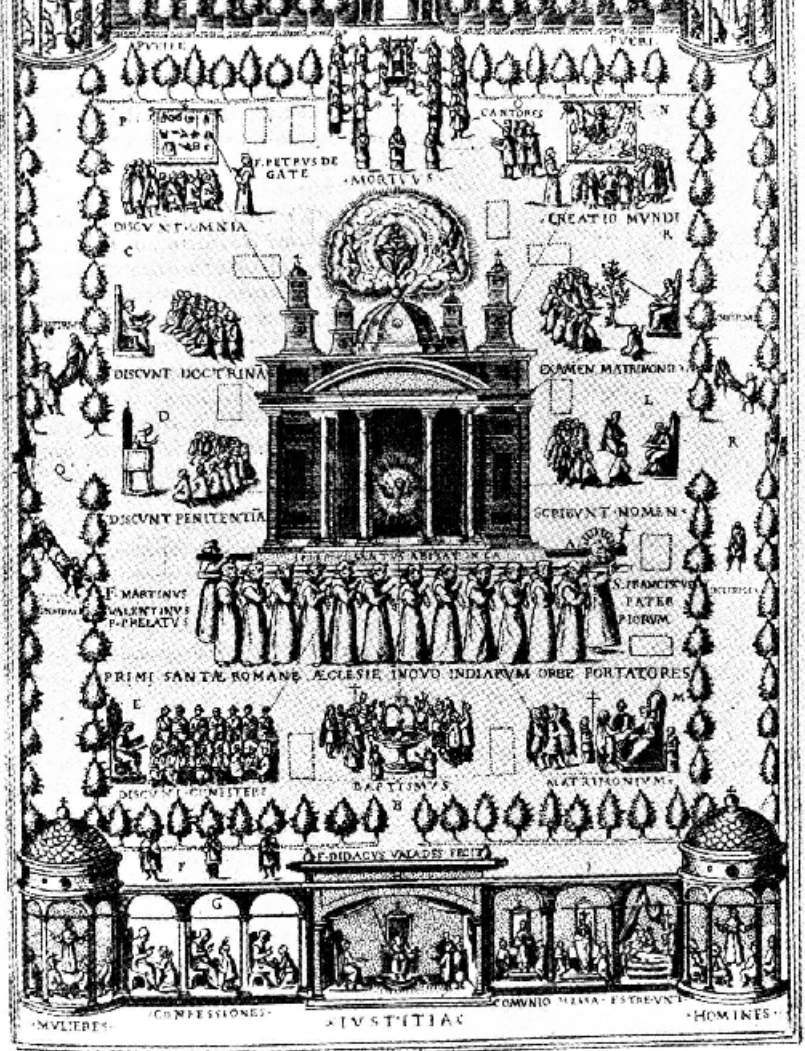


FIG. 1.7. "Emblem of things the friars do in the Indies [*tipus eorum que frates faciunt in Novo Indiarum Orbe*]" from Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica christiana* (1579). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I. Led by Martin Valencia and St. Francis himself, twelve Franciscans carry the Holy (continued)

Creoles were even more fascinated by Revelation 12:13–17, for these passages described the battles of the Dragon against the Woman of the Apocalypse and her descendants on earth. According to the Creole clergy, in Revelation, St. John had anticipated the sufferings of the heirs of the conquistadors in America at the hands of satanic peninsular upstarts. Spanish American Creoles liked to imagine the peninsular newcomers (including *conversos*, merchants, and centralizing Crown officers) as Satan’s allies.

Peninsulars, in turn, demonized the Creoles, presenting them as corrupt, degenerate Amerindians. More important, peninsulars identified the battles against Satan in the New World as part of a much larger geopolitical

FIG. 1.7 (continued from previous page)

Roman Church into the New World for the first time (“*primi sanctae romane ecclesie [sic] in novo indiarum orbe portatores*”). The Lord has foreordained their task in Genesis 28:14–15: “And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south . . . And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest” (*dilatarebis ad orientem, occidentem, septentrionem, ac meridiem et ero custos tuus et tuorum*). The Church the twelve Franciscans carry is inhabited by the Holy Spirit (“*spiritus sanctus abitat in ea*”), corresponding to the millennial, third spiritual age of Joachim de Fiore. The Church in the *Novo Indiarum Orbe* is a walled garden, a New Jerusalem: its walls rest on twelve stone foundations bearing the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb (Rev. 21:14) (the twelve small rectangles scattered on the ground seem to be both the tombs of the original Franciscan apostles and the stone foundations of the new millennial Church). The Holy Spirit that descends from the throne of God fertilizes a path of trees where the infirm (*infirmi*) are taken to be healed. The trees in the Franciscan compound thus seem to correspond to the Trees of Life of the New Jerusalem whose leaves are “used as medicine to heal the nations” (Rev. 22:2). In this New Jerusalem, the friars mete out justice, bury the dead, perform the sacraments (confession, communion, last rights, baptism, matrimony, penance, and the Eucharist), and teach the Indians music and to read and write. The Gospel is also taught through the use of images. Notice, however, that besides books and images, the friars use Nature, in the form of a tree, to instruct their charges in doctrine (*examen matrimonii*). On the millennial architecture in the mission compounds built by Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans in sixteenth-century Mexico, see Jaime Lara (2004) and Samuel Edgerton (2001).

fate of the Gospel in the four continents (each standing for a type of soil) and has Christ dressed as a farmer and the devil as a weed. Seeking to prevent the seed planted by Christ from ever flourishing with the help of theatrical characters clad like demons/Furies representing hurricanes (Cierzo [North Wind]), a swarm of locusts (Ira [Fury]), and fog (Niebla), the devil (Cizaña) stumbles upon characters that stand for each of the continents and their main religions. One of four continents where Christ the farmer plants seeds is “America” (with thorny soil, where seedlings are choked by weeds), who appears wearing a feather dress, riding an alligator, and accompanied by the lackadaisical “Idolatri.” The other three are “Asia” (rocky soil, where some plants grow without deep roots), who appears dressed as a Jew, riding an elephant, and under the supervision of “Judaism”; “Africa” (a footpath, where seeds are easily picked up by birds), who appears dressed as a Moor, riding a lion, and overseen by “Paganism”; and “Europe” (good soil, where seed multiplies hundredfold), who appears dressed like a Roman, riding a bull, and led by “Gentilism.” As the play unfolds, the devil successfully manages to kill the harvest everywhere, except in Europe. Tellingly, the devil assigns a continent to each Fury: “Cierzo” uproots the plants of Asia, “Ira” picks up the seeds of Africa, and “Niebla” seeks to kill off the harvest in Europe, sowing *neguilla* (869), the corncockle, *Agrostemma githago*, a noxious weed that grows along with wheat, in the lands where Protestantism is born. The devil himself, Cizaña, is in charge of America and has beautiful-looking fields appear; on closer inspection, however, the fields of flowers turn out to be weeds. Two things are clear from Calderón’s reading of Matthew 13. First, the struggle between God and Satan is for control of the entire earth. Second, America is the continent that most fully belongs to the devil, despite its misleading paradisiacal looks. Clearly, the play exemplifies the early modern Spanish demonological global imagination. The satanic epic in the New World reveals these global sensibilities particularly in the characters of the pirates and the Moors.⁵¹

Lope de Vega’s *La Dragontea* (1598), an epic poem by another giant of the Spanish Golden Age, is representative of how the Spanish intelligentsia managed to cast the battles against Satan in the New World as episodes in a global struggle in which both Muslim pirates in the Mediterranean and English privateers in the Caribbean played their parts. As Milton would later

same way that Muslim Barbary corsairs with names like “Chater, Fuchel, Mamifali, and Morato” are doing in the Mediterranean (1.23). Eventually, the satanic hero dies, after having been unable to capture Nombre de Dios (God’s Name), the strategic port in Panama where silver from Peru was accumulated to be sent back to Spain. Having presided over the death of the Antichrist himself, Philip III turns out to be a harbinger of the millennium, free now to crush the Muslim corsairs (10.689–91, 695, 719–32).⁵² The 1711 epic poem *Vida de Santa Rosa de Lima* (Life of St. Rose of Lima) by Luis Antonio de Oviedo y Herrera (1636–1717) is also representative of how Satan was thought to operate globally, mobilizing not only earthquakes and Amerindians but also Protestant pirates. In this, the Peruvian Santa Rosa of Lima (1586–1617) is presented as a godly heroine, who, to save Lima from destruction, fights great preternatural battles against earthquakes induced by Lucifer, calls by Yupanqui (Lucifer’s Inca ally in the poem) for the Amerindians of Peru to rebel and for the Araucanians to join in Dutch attacks, and Protestant pirates’ raids.⁵³ Demons fly all over the world lining up English, Dutch, and Amerindian allies to expel the Iberians.⁵⁴

Clearly, the Amerindians were not the only allies of the devil in the New World. In fact, the first great battle pitting the Inquisition against the devil in Peru, for example, did not involve the natives but prominent Spanish religious figures in Quito, Lima, Cusco, and Potosí. In 1572, the newly created Inquisition of Lima arrested a group of friars led by the prestigious Dominican theologian Francisco de la Cruz for having communicated with demons through séances that masqueraded as meetings to exorcise the maiden María Pizarro. A trial-investigation that lasted six years forced the provincial of the Dominicans to flee, caused the death in prison of the Dominican Pedro Toro, and led in 1578 to the burning at the stake of de la Cruz in an auto-da-fé that also included others parading in penitential garb. The drama began when a group of learned Jesuits, Theatines, and Dominicans, who eventually spread all over the viceroyalty, sought to expel the demons possessing María. The clergy, however, came across evidence that María was also visited by good spirits of saints and archangels. The archangel Gabriel liked to chat with de la Cruz in particular, for the latter was a magus who cast horoscopes and dabbled with talismans. Soon the archangel handed down to the Dominican amulets to exorcise demons and

Al Príncipe nuestro Señor.

Et conculcabis leonem & draconem. Psal. 90.



En València por Pedro Patricio Mev. 1598

FIG. 1.8. "Tandem aquila vincit" (The Eagle Wins at Last) from Lope de Vega, *La Dragontea* (1598). Lope de Vega casts Francis Drake as the Beast of the Apocalypse, which is finally slain by the archangel Michael/Philip II. God protects the Habsburg, enabling him to "trample down lions and poisonous snakes . . . to crush fierce lions and serpents under your feet [*conculcabis leonem et draconem*]" (Vulg. Ps. 90). Engaged in a global battle against the forces of God, Lucifer finds allies not only among the Indians but also among Protestant and Moorish pirates.

of the sacrament of confession and inoffensiveness of idolatry among the Amerindians; the restitution of the feudal rights that Charles V had taken away from the conquistadors and their heirs in the mid sixteenth century; the impending collapse of the corrupt Church of Rome; and the restoration in the New World of the ancient Israelite Church. De la Cruz himself would become the new David, head of both the state and the Church, pope and emperor at the same time. The Inquisition insisted that the priests who communicated with the archangel Gabriel through María had failed to “discern” that the spirits dwelling in the young woman were all demons intent on engineering a coup in Peru against the new viceroy, Francisco de Toledo (r. 1569–81). The devil was determined to uproot the authority of Spain and the Catholic Church in the Indies, working this time through a group of influential priests led by the lascivious, self-aggrandizing de la Cruz, who turned out to be a satyr, tirelessly having sex with both pious women and men and impregnating hapless victims like María. The devil set no limits as to whom he recruited as allies to undermine the Catholic regime in the Indies.⁵⁵

By the time the Puritans arrived in New England, the colonists of Spanish America had already drastically changed their perceptions of who were the preferred minions of the devil in the New World. It is very revealing that the Holy Office of the Inquisition was set up in America in 1571 by Philip II not to persecute Satan’s followers among the Amerindians but to stem the demonic plots of *conversos* (falsely converted Jews), *alumbrados* (those whose emphasis on silent prayers and direct communication with God suspiciously resembled Lutheran notions of grace), and witches, blasphemers, and sexual offenders within the “Hispanic” urban communities. Although inquisitors in the Indies did find their share of *conversos* and *alumbrados* to prosecute and punish, they acted on the assumption that the devil privileged the sins of promiscuity, blasphemy, and petty witchcraft over all others in the New World.⁵⁶ It is worth mentioning, however, that in the Spanish empire, by and large, witches were not seen as devil worshippers akin to learned necromancers like de la Cruz, that is to say, as members of a threatening heretical sect, but rather as traditional practitioners of amorous and harming spells. In the minds of the inquisitors, bigamy, sodomy, blasphemy, and non-learned witchcraft were more prevalent in the New World due to the contaminating influences of Native Americans and Africans.⁵⁷ The devil operated in the New World by

of determining whether the spirits that visited the expanding communities of mystics among hermits, friars, nuns, and *beatas* (beguines) in the Indies were godly or satanic, for example, was linked to the threat of *mestizaje*.⁵⁸ Besides the traditional emphasis on probing the theological soundness of women's visions, always inherently suspect, inquisitors in the Indies were moved to evaluate not only the racial and social status of the alleged mystics themselves but that of their followers and confessors as well. Those who experienced the typical pretematural manifestations of mystics (i.e., visions, dreams, stigmata, levitation, torturing by demons, and bilocation) and whose origins or relations were closest to the poor, *castas*, Amerindians, and blacks became immediately suspected of being agents of the devil, not God.⁵⁹ Blacks and mulattoes in particular were considered potential allies of the devil. On May 2, 1612, for example, on the grounds that they had long been planning an uprising, 35 blacks and mulattoes were hanged in Mexico City, and their bodies were either quartered or decapitated. The planned uprising was deemed part of a larger strategy by Satan to wreak havoc. Reportedly groups of urban blacks and mulattoes seeking to create an "African monarchy" would poison and kill all male Spaniards and keep Spanish women and Amerindians as slaves. According to one account, the plot had been concocted by an old black slave, Sebastian, and his disciples: a band of "witches" and "sorcerers," masters of the "black arts."⁶⁰

It is clear that the process of colonization in Spanish America unfolded amid evidence of ongoing demonic threats carried out by all sorts of enemies, including frontier Amerindians, pirates, heretics, false mystics, and African slaves. And the multipronged attack by the devil caused the colonists to develop a siege mentality. Evidence of this siege mentality also surfaces in the Protestant versions of the satanic epic, particularly in Puritan ones.

English Protestants first found the devil in America among the Spaniards, not the Amerindians. Later, however, the satanic epic, as originally conceived by the Spaniards, was embraced by the Protestants. The satanic epic was a literary tradition that first evolved in Portuguese and Spanish America. It lionized Iberian colonization as a battle that pitted Catholic heroes against Satan's minions, the Amerindians, and against Leviathan in the sea. Although the trope of the satanic epic was quickly adopted all over Europe, Protestants (especially the Dutch) first organized their epic narra-

quistador battling Satan. Ruthless, plundering, lowly hidalgos like Francis Drake appeared in numerous satanic epics as heroes bleeding the Spanish Antichrist white.⁶²

But by the time of the arrival of the Puritans in the New World, the English had begun to see Amerindians, not the Spanish, as the main ally of the Devil in the New World. This shift coincided with the 1622 slaughter of settlers in Virginia and the Pequot War (1637), which dramatically changed English perceptions of the Amerindians; thereafter the natives became Satan's minions. Scholars like Joyce Chaplin and Karen Ordahl Kupperman have shown that Elizabethan sources originally tended to be respectful and even admiring of Native American societies, but later English views of the Amerindians in North America soured.⁶³ As Alfred A. Cave has persuasively demonstrated, demonology played a significant role in turning a petty squabble in the Connecticut River valley among the Dutch, English, Mohegan, Narragansett, and Pequot over access to pelts, wampum, and regional hegemony into a Manichean battle pitting the godly Puritans against Satan's minions, the Pequot. The view of the Pequot as demonic moved the Puritans to collect scalps and hands of enemy warriors as trophies and to regard burning Indian children and women alive as heroic.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the Puritan satanic epic came to resemble those first introduced by the Iberians. Spaniards, to be sure, did not lose their status as satanic agents. The narrative of the Spanish conquest as a demonic butchery was paradoxically kept firmly in mind as Puritans struggled to justify in writing their own barbarous acts against their newfound demonic enemies. As Jill Lepore has shown, Puritan narratives of King Philip's War (1675–76) were aimed at justifying unusual acts of cruelty by demonizing the Wampanoag and other Algonquian groups, all the while seeking to clear the Puritans of charges of Spanish-like demonic savagery.⁶⁵

Approaching Puritan studies from the perspective of "siege" contributes to the larger historiography on Puritan views of the devil as an external enemy who threatened the polity. Richard Godbeer's and, more recently, Mary Beth Norton's studies of the Salem witchcraft outbreak have shown that the crisis can be explained only if we are willing to enlarge our vision of whom the Puritans considered their satanic enemies to be. Godbeer has argued that the Puritan laity brought witches to trial often but without much

mentality that began to develop in Essex County in the wake of King Philip's War. For two decades, Puritans experienced all sorts of setbacks, including epidemics, loss of political autonomy vis-à-vis the English Crown, Quaker encroachment, failed campaigns against the French, and constant frontier warfare with the natives. Puritan magistrates, for the first time, were willing to see Satan as an enemy not only working within the soul but also harassing the community from without. Thus the clergy during the Salem crisis found themselves willing to punish as demonic anybody deemed to be an outsider (spinsters with connections to Quakers and to the Amerindian frontier).⁶⁶ Norton has more recently made a similar argument. According to Norton, Salem's witches were deemed by Puritans to be allies of the Amerindians or the French and thus Satan's minions in the larger struggle for control of the northeastern frontier.⁶⁷

This Puritan siege mentality was part and parcel of who the Puritans were. It was precisely this siege mentality that rendered the Puritans so uncompromising in their negotiations with the Pequot, leading to the war of 1637, which happened in the context of the Antinomian controversy (in which Anne Hutchinson and her followers were seen as demonic agents) and in the wake of attempts at court, led by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to take the colony's charter away. The Puritans read these three events as part of a demonic plot to oust them from America.⁶⁸ The Puritan version of the satanic epic demonstrates that from the very beginning, Puritans saw themselves threatened by a Satan bent on attacking the polity through the agency of Spaniards, storms, the wilderness, Amerindians, heretics, witches, and royal bureaucrats.

The study of the structure and evolving nature of the satanic epic shows that despite national (Spanish-English) and confessional (Catholic-Protestant) differences, variances in the genre were only superficial. One important goal of this book is to demonstrate the common religious world informing all European colonial discourses, particularly Spanish and English ones. Like John Bossy, I do not see the Reformation as a radical break with the medieval past.⁶⁹ Despite the undeniable impact of the Reformation and the new dynastic early modern states in creating emerging national differences, early modern Europeans enjoyed a long history of shared cultural values, harkening back millennia.

confrontation between good and evil. Countless texts in the Old and New Testaments cast religious life in militaristic terms. Recent scholarship on the crusades, for example, has shown that they were not an aberrant variety of religious violence. Tradition has misleadingly reduced the crusades to five campaigns against Islam that took place between 1095 and 1229, aimed at recapturing Jerusalem, but we now know that the crusades were a peculiar form of religious piety, second only to monasticism, and that their violence was regarded as penitence and charity. War as pilgrimage was considered to be a form of sacrifice and atonement aimed at sympathetically re-creating Christ's suffering. Religious warriors who died in battle were regarded as martyrs, and their bodies became relics. All crusading warriors, not only those who belonged to the military-religious orders, took vows (by taking the Cross) and enjoyed the spiritual and temporal immunities of the clergy. More often than not, their enemies were pagans, heretics, and other Christians, not Muslims in the Holy Land. It was crusading Germanic military orders who in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries spearheaded the colonization and settlement of the Baltic region, battling pagan Slavs, allies of the devil. This peculiar form of organized religious violence slowly went out of style as the transnational power of the papacy dwindled, although plenty of "crusades" continued to be launched in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁰

Yet the biblical interpretations of conversion, salvation, and the history of the elect as epic spiritual and military confrontations between good and evil did not go away. From at least the fifteenth century on, holy wars ceased to be experienced as forms of monastic penitence, a way to earn clerical immunities. The new religious wars became wars pitting Israelites against Canaanites. The Hussites, the French, and the Spaniards, among many others, justified violence against external enemies in providential, eschatological terms, launching wars of national election to hasten the arrival of the millennium. As they did so, they imaginatively transformed their local landscapes into Holy Lands, sacred spaces, New Jerusalems.⁷¹ This book contributes to the literature on medieval and early modern religious violence by demonstrating, through concrete examples, how the discourses of eschatology, providential-national election, and holy landscapes worked together to justify expansion and colonization. The devil, I

example, the case of the demonization of the Spaniards in the Protestant epic. As I have already mentioned, this inversion was in fact an idea first introduced by the Spaniards themselves. Take also the case of millenarian discourses of national election underpinning such discourses as the “City on the Hill” and the “Errand into the Wilderness.” Creole patriots in Spanish America, for example, interpreted the miracle of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the same epic, providential, and apocalyptic terms that Elizabethans had used decades before to articulate a notion of national election, or that Puritans would use to voice their hope of creating the first Church of visible saints modeled solely on biblical examples. I also argue that given these similarities of the satanic epic, it would perhaps make sense to study John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667) with an eye to resemblances to the Iberian genre.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans were obsessed with demons, and they thought that the devil had made the New World his fiefdom. Chapter 2, “The Satanic Epic,” shows that among both English Protestants (Anglicans and Puritans) and Iberian Catholics, colonization was understood to be an ongoing epic struggle to dislodge Satan from the continent. Both northern Protestant and southern Catholic settlers felt threatened and surrounded by the devil, who allegedly attacked their polities by unleashing storms, earthquakes, and epidemics, and by loosing heretics, tyrannical royal bureaucrats, foreign enemies, and Amerindians on them. I argue that we need to turn to the rich tradition of the New World Iberian “satanic epic” to make sense of the Puritan siege mentality that historians are now using to explain such events as the Pequot War, King Philip’s War, and the Salem witchcraft crisis of 1692. This chapter demonstrates that a wider pan-American perspective can upset the most cherished national narratives of the United States, for I maintain that the Puritan colonization of New England was as much an epic, crusading act of *reconquista* (against the devil) as was the Spanish conquest. My emphasis on the pan-Atlantic history of the satanic epic also sheds light on possible and unacknowledged influences on Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667). Finally, and so as not to exaggerate the centrality of Spanish America to any narrative of the Atlantic, I locate that most typical of colonial Mexican cultural phenomena, the exegesis of the miracle of Our Lady of Guadalupe, itself part of the narrative of the satanic epic, within Elizabethan apocalyptic traditions.

understood, and vice versa. I build on the expanding historiography on early modern demonology in both Europe and the New World to explore the building blocks of this shared discourse: the geographical mobility of demons; the geopolitical battles pitting God against Satan for full or partial control of the planet; the understanding of Amerindian ritual cannibalism as part of a larger theology of hell (i.e., dismemberment of bodies); the despotic, enslaving, feudal, and tyrannical rule of Satan; the collective demonic corruption of Amerindians as a manifestation of collective effeminate degeneration; colonization as an act of liberation; the mockery and inversion of Christian religious institutions introduced by Satan in the New World; the Amerindians as Satan's elect; and the use of "typological" readings of the Bible to structure narratives of colonization.

Chapter 3 also builds bridges linking the historiographies of colonial British and Spanish America to shed new light on old subjects. I use the well-developed historiography of Puritan typology (the understanding of colonization as a fulfillment of events prefigured in the Bible) to understand Iberian typological readings of colonization.⁷² The Iberian clergy, for example, assumed that Satan had used typology to organize the history of the continent. Franciscans in particular maintained that Satan had sought to mimic the narrative of the Pentateuch in the New World. Thus, according to this view, if the Israelites were the chosen people of God, the Aztecs were Lucifer's elect. Franciscans like Juan de Torquemada transformed the history of the Aztecs into an inverted version of the history of the Israelites in the Old Testament. According to this Franciscan narrative, the Aztecs had experienced an exodus and had their own ark, tabernacle, and Moses. Upon arrival in their promised land, the Aztecs also experienced an age of subordination to "Canaanites," followed by an age of monarchies (the Aztecs had Davids and Solomons of their own, who built a temple) and an age of prophets. Finally, like the Israelites, the Aztecs saw their temple leveled and their capital destroyed by foreign powers. Even today, this is still the way historians narrate the history of the Aztecs: migration, settlement, subordination, monarchy and empire, and foreordained doom and collapse.

Chapter 4, "Demonology and Nature," explores how the discourse of demonology and colonization encouraged both demonological and providential perceptions of the landscape and nature. Again, I argue that to

nature, therefore, should inform any interpretation of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (first performed in 1611, printed in 1623) as a colonial text. Finally, I argue that demonological views of nature and colonization encouraged a particular perception of the American landscape among Europeans: the New World often came to be seen as a false paradise that to be saved needed to be destroyed by Christian heroes. This epic and domineering attitude toward Nature informed early modern European forms of knowledge-gathering more generally.

Chapter 5, "Colonization as Spiritual Gardening," shows how the trope of gardening allowed both Puritan and Spanish clerics to imaginatively transform America from satanic continent to holy land. Both groups tapped into an age-old tradition of interpreting sanctification as an amorous liaison with God in a sealed garden. The Song of Songs informed the way both Puritans and Spaniards understood the growth of both the individual soul and the corporate Church. Both groups understood God to be a gardener and the soul and the Church to be a garden. The struggle of individuals and communities was to keep weeds out of the soul and the Church. Puritans and Spaniards were obsessed with keeping their gardens "hedged," safe from satanic attacks. Satan could attack the soul through sinful temptation or outright possession. But Satan was also an enemy who could strike from outside, battering and destroying the Church itself. Satan laid siege to both Spanish and Puritan colonies by unleashing tempests, earthquakes, epidemics, encroaching Crown bureaucrats, heretics, foreign enemies, and Amerindians. This chapter discusses how saints in Spanish America and New England strove to be flowers in the garden of the new Church. Both Catholics and Calvinists in the New World thought themselves ideally positioned to produce more and better flowers and gardens than their European brethren. Both groups sought to establish a New Jerusalem in the Indies by multiplying blossoming gardens: individual souls of outstanding piety and well-tended collective spiritual vineyards. Colonial saints in Spanish America took the names of flowers (St. Rose of Lima and St. Mariana, the Lily of Quito, to cite just two examples). Relics and the bodies of saints were thought to give off flowery smells. Spanish American colonial churches were designed as vineyards. Working within the tradition of biblical typology, the colonial Church itself was thought to be the antitype of the Garden of

a shared medieval culture conferred uniformity onto most early modern European colonial experiences.

Chapter 6, “Toward a ‘Pan-American’ Atlantic,” is historiographical. It seeks to explain why the literatures of the British and Spanish Atlantics have gone their separate ways. It puts the blame squarely on an ideological and scholarly tradition that has sought to present the United States and Latin America as two ontologically different spaces. The narrative of “Western” civilization has contributed to highlighting the differences rather than the resemblances. The political stakes in this exercise are huge. *Puritan Conquistadors* should be read as a reply to Samuel Huntington’s influential *Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity* (2004). A professor of political science at Harvard, Huntington is best known for his controversial *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996), in which he argues that the civilizational chasm that had long separated the Christian West from the Muslim East became so deep in the wake of the Cold War that conflict was inevitable. Huntington’s blatant essentialism contributed to heightening the Western rhetoric of war, particularly in the wake of September 11, and his prophecies became self-fulfilling. Writing as a self-confessed patriot, Huntington has found a new enemy in *Who Are We?*: Hispanics belong culturally and linguistically to a radically different civilization, one that threatens America’s unity and identity and undermines the Anglo-Protestant values and institutions upon which the United States has prospered. Views such as Huntington’s are fueling the current political debate over Mexican illegal immigration. Hispanics in our midst are increasingly being portrayed as a threat to the integrity of the nation, a peril second only to “Arab terrorists.” By showing the common roots of Spanish and British American discourses of colonization, I seek to cut Huntington’s much vaunted culture of Anglo-Protestant exceptionalism down to size.