



Hipogrifo. Revista de literatura y cultura del Siglo de Oro
ISSN: 2328-1308
revistahipogrifo@gmail.com
Instituto de Estudios Auriseculares
España

The Creole Thinking in Telémaco en la isla de Calipso from Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre Solier ¹

Vinatea, Martina

The Creole Thinking in Telémaco en la isla de Calipso from Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre Solier ¹

Hipogrifo. Revista de literatura y cultura del Siglo de Oro, no. Esp.1, 2018

Instituto de Estudios Auriseculares, España

Available in: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=517558795010>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13035/H.2018.extra01.11>

The Creole Thinking in Telémaco en la isla de Calipso from Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre Solier ¹

El pensamiento criollo en Telémaco en la isla de Calipso de Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre Solier

Martina Vinatea

Universidad del Pacífico, Perú

vinatea_rm@up.edu.pe

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13035/H.2018.extra01.11>

Redalyc: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=517558795010>

id=517558795010

Received: 09 August 2017

Accepted: 18 September 2017

RESUMEN:

El propósito de este trabajo es presentar el contexto en el que se escribió el poco conocido texto de Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre y en él revisar las ideas de la élite criolla en la dedicatoria al conde de la Monclova del poema narrativo *Telémaco en la isla de Calipso* escrito por Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre y Solier, c. 1690. Los objetivos de esta revisión son mostrar cómo se traslucen estas ideas y si muestran alguna identificación de Bermúdez con la llamada «cuestión criolla».

PALABRAS CLAVE: Poesía épica, élite criolla, virreinato del Perú, filología.

ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this paper is to present the context in which the little known text of Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre was written and in it to review the ideas of the Creole elite in the dedication to the Count of Monclova of the narrative poem *Telémaco en la isla de Calipso* (*Telémaco*) written by Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre and Solier (c. 1690). This study aims to present how these ideas are exposed and if they show any kind of identification of Bermudez with the so called «creole affair».

KEYWORDS: Epic Poetry, Creole Elite, Viceroyalty of Peru, Philology.

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

During the second half of the seventeenth century the economic crisis and the lack of political firmness in the colonial context began to be perceived. This situation considerably intensified in the eighteenth century, with the changes of dynasty and in the government line. The changes in the government line were made in both, the metropolis and the viceroyalties, which is specially reflected in the economic measures that resulted in the accelerated colonies' financial impoverishment. This situation was less perceivable in Peru's viceroyalty as at that time commerce intensified, agriculture developed and the mining exploitation which made famous this viceroyalty continued. These factors favoured the birth and consolidation of an urban and rural bourgeoisie basically composed by creole people that had access to public charges ², in the economic institutions and organizations that the Spanish rapidly adopted in the American viceroyalties.

Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, third Monclova's count, Grandee of Spain, Commander of Zarza in the Alcántara's order, war advisor, and gentleman of the king's chamber was the XXIIIrd viceroy of Peru. Military man of career, he served in the wars of Flandes, France, Sicily, Catalonia and Portugal. In the Dunkirk's Dunes battle (1658) he lost his right arm, which he substituted with a silver one. He was named viceroy of Mexico in 1686 and two years later he was promoted to Peru's viceroyalty.

He arrived on August the 15th of 1688 to a ruined Lima after the earthquake occurred on October the 20th of 1687. Immediately he dedicated his efforts to its reconstruction: cathedral, government palace, Callao. He is relieved from his position as viceroy in 1696, but his successor, the Canillas' count, died before

arriving to Lima, so the Monclova's count continued as viceroy until September the 22nd of 1705, when he died.

He married Antonia Jimenez de Urrea and had six children with her: three men and three women. The last of his sons was born in Lima and is to whom Lorenzo de las Llamosas, contemporary poet to Bermudez, dedicated a loa within the comedy *También se vengán los dioses*. One of her daughters, Josepha, entered as a nun to Santa Catalina's convent in Lima, then she founded Santa Rosa's convent, in Lima as well, where she was prioress until the moment of her death.

In *Telémaco en la isla de Calipso* dedicatory introduction, the Monclova's count (viceroy) is represented through the image of the sun, which is usually used to symbolize the king all along the seventeenth century. Moreover, Rodríguez Garrido ensures that the Spanish monarchy image during the reigns of Felipe IV and Carlos II had remained subscribed to the solar emblem³; and their descendants are personified as 'stars, new lights'⁴ which give greater brilliance to their victories. It is highly probable that these representations serve as expressions of Creole thought. In other words, for the creoles the viceroy is the alter ego of the king. Therefore, it is represented in the same way. This comparison hides a claim to the reduction of the viceroy's power and specifically to the change of policy in the distribution of charges that until 1680 were under the viceroy's will⁵.

THE CREOLE IDEAS

According to Bernard Lavalle, in the earliest times after the conquest of the New World, periphrastic constructions were used to refer to the children of Spaniards born in America: 'sons of the kingdom', 'sons of the earth', 'sons and grandchildren of the conquerors', 'sons of the *encomenderos*'⁶; they were also called 'meritorious'⁷ in allusion to the merits gained by their ancestors in the conquest of the New World⁸. The word 'creole' began to be used in the viceroyalty of Peru around 1567. In Spain the word 'Indian' was used both to refer to those who were born in America and to those who had made their fortunes in America, but had returned to Spain.

The American creoles suffered a great disappointment with the new laws given in 1542, whose objective was to limit the power and wealth of the conquerors and their descendants. Beginning in the seventeenth century, their claims focused on the theme of «preference»; in other words, the right of precedence which the meritorious descendants of the conquistadors should have to receive charges, *mercedes*, and prerogatives over the peninsular people who arrived as part of the entourage of the viceroys. Although the laws favoured the creoles, in practice, the preference was not fulfilled and this situation deepened the feeling of disappointment.

According to Mazzotti, illustrated creoles rejected the mistreatment of peninsular discourse and action through an affirmation of their American being and created a project to promote a kind of 'Creole nation'⁹ that develops 'a discourse of ethnic vindication, homeland exaltation (in the regional and urban sense that the term had then) and support the biological, intellectual and religious superiorities of the meritorious creoles that served as a counterweight to the hegemony of the peninsular groups in the administrative and economic matters'¹⁰. That is, the terms '*criollo*' and '*criollismo*' should be analysed as 'strategies' or 'agencies' consciously elaborated by corporate groups in order to obtain certain political objectives.

Those agents that were socially determined by their common interests, faced each other in a space of conflict and competition. Thus, although the '*criollos*' belonged to the 'republic of Spaniards'¹¹, they were American, according to the opinion of the jurist Juan de Solorzano y Pereyra, establishing clear distinctions with Indians, blacks, mulattos and half-blood people that inhabited Peru (*Disputatio de Indiarum Iure*, 1628; *Politica Indiana*, 1648)¹².

CREOLE THINKING IN RELATION TO THE POWER OF THE CROWN AND THE VICEROY

In the literary work of the Peruvian creoles since the seventeenth century a political thought develops, whose objective is to give account of how this group perceived the authority of the viceroy, how depleted it was and the danger that this situation meant for the preservation of the established order in the Spanish viceroys¹³.

In modern Spain, the viceroy is a legal institution of the administration of the Spanish empire. The viceroys represented the monarch as their *alter ego*; they used to hold attributes of royal power and received the same treatment that the king would have received; however, 'the authority of the viceroys was absolute only in theory, in practice it was limited in many aspects: they had to follow royal instructions, observe immunities, respect powerful families, control ministers themselves who were always ready to pass to the opposition and ask for help from the distant king'¹⁴.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the viceroys had a high level of autonomy, among its attributions was to appoint the public officials of the place governed. Although they had to give priority to the meritorious or children of the land, the viceroys used to distribute them among their relatives, which, as already mentioned, caused the creoles' complains. To this must be added that it was common practice to sell public offices: in the beginning, trades with less rank in colonial government were sold; for example, the scribes —by the end of the seventeenth century— until the public positions considered strategic for the continuity of the Empire¹⁵ were reached.

At the end of the reign of Philip III, the Pious, the market of tradable public offices had reached its limit; however, the need to increase revenues in this area was pressing. For that reason and in spite of the disagreement of the Council of the Indies, they began to offer public offices that were very close to the high spheres of power¹⁶. Thus, instead of delivering the public offices by merit, the viceroys began to sell them to the highest bidder. As buyers were not always the right people, cases of corruption and abuse multiplied. It should be pointed out that only part of the proceeds of the sale of charges came to the royal treasury. For this reason, since the second half of the seventeenth century, the kings took charge of the designation —and sale of public offices— of high-level officials without consulting the viceroys, more for economic needs than for the desire to cut off the power of their representatives¹⁷.

For all this, the authority of the viceroy was diminished. The Duke of Palata, predecessor of the Count of Monclova, in his *Relation* asserts that limiting the power of the viceroy weakened his authority and put the colonial order at risk, since the vassals could not receive favours from those who directly governed them, but from a figure that was 3000 leagues away¹⁸. In the same way, the Count of Monclova directed several letters to demand the restitution of the right to the appointment of public offices, since it affected the image of authority of the viceroy and, consequently, that of the king¹⁹.

Rodriguez Garrido affirms that the election of the image of the sun referred to the viceroy and the one of stars to symbolize its children is not for free, instead it obeys to a political position that probably represents the political proposal of the Creole elite. Thus, 'on the subject of the distribution of public offices, one of the most important covenants of colonial political history between the viceroy and the local power groups is surely woven'²⁰.

BRIEF NEWS ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The baptismal seat of the author, dated on January the 14th of 1662, indicates that Pedro Jose Bermudez de la Torre y Solier was born a month and two days before the baptism; therefore, the probable date of birth would be December 12, 1661²¹. His father, Diego Bermudez de la Torre, was Lima's perpetual alderman and Mayor; professor at San Marcos University and its rector for a year; Mayor Court Sheriff for purchase

and Knight of Santiago. His mother, Maria de Solier de Cordoba y Ulloa was a poet whose pieces of writing are listed in the list of women writers from Manuel Serrano y Sanz²².

Apparently, Bermudez studied in San Martín's school and in San Marcos University where he got doctorate in canonical and civil law²³. He received from his father the mayor bailiwick of Lima's Real Audience. He was also Rector of San Marcos University for six years, in two non-consecutive periods; he was also Dean of Laws and Canons of the same university. His performance in the Palatine Academy of the Marques Castell-dos-Rius was very meritorious: he participated in almost all the contests, ceremonies and gatherings of the time.

His literary production reached nineteen printed²⁴ works and two manuscripts²⁵. References to nine of his works mentioned by his contemporaries²⁶ have also come to us. Bermudez died in Lima in 1746.

Nowadays, a manuscript and two printed versions of the *Telémaco en la isla de Calipso* from Pedro Jose Bermudez de la Torre y Solier are known.

The manuscript is located in the city of Lima, National Library of Peru, researchers' room, numbered 1685. The transcription of the incipit is as follows:

«TELÉMACO / EN LA ISLA DE CALIPSO. (pequeña viñeta)/ Epopeya amorosa,/ Escrita y dividida en quatro Cantos por el Doctor Don Pedro Joseph Bermúdezde / la Torre y Solier, / Alguacil Mayor de la Real Audiencia de Lima. / Dedicada alExmo. Señor Conde de la Monclova, / Virrey del Perú / Y después de esta EpopeyaAmorosa se pone / Una oración académica, que intituló el Autor / Obsequio dela Memoria». En la misma página, después de una viñeta impresa y pegada, seindica: En Lima. Año de 1728

This is a well preserved codex in folio elaborated in parchment of careful preparation. A single piece serves as a cover and spine where «El Telémaco / de / Bermúdez» appears written. The volume conserves the leather strap ends that closed it. It consists of ten booklets, without considering the preliminary sheets.

The front page's back is blank. The preliminaries go from sheet IV to the VIII turn, those that appear without foliar. In addition, the previous page IV contains a printed and pasted nobiliary shield that occupies the complete page. Under the engraving the following inscription appears: D. Jacob Franc. Taboad [deliniavit], F. Michael Adame. Ordinis praedicatorum. Sculpsit. Lima. The back of it appears blank. The prologue is between sheets V and VI turn. Four compositions dedicated to the poet go from sheet VII to VIII. Two sheets remain in white. In sheet XI and the return (still without numeration) begins the text with the argument of the Canto I. The sheet XII, not foliated and with the blank back presents / displays an engraving cut from another book. From sheet 1, asterisks have been drawn in increasing numbers, at the bottom of the previous page. On the thirteenth page, the numbering goes from 1 to 100.

The manuscript presents two letter types which belong to the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth: one is small and firm and appears in the folios corresponding to the epic poem; the other, similar but more angular, appears in the preliminaries and in the text of the 'Academic Discourse'²⁷ which closes the text.

The writing is careful, only presents ten amendments, through erasures, throughout the text.

In spite of the news that there exist about other manuscripts of this work, it has not been possible to determine whether this is the original manuscript of the work or a later copy²⁸. I agree with Riva-Agüero, as the poem's dedicatory introduction would have no sense 23 years after the death of the Count of Monclova.

The first printed version that is known appears in the second part of the thesis presented by Jose Navarro Pascual, at the *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, to achieve bachelor's degree in Humanities, Language and Literature Section, in 1971, and occupies the pages 137 to 426. The text is complete and presents a modernized orthography (use of v / b, use of spelling *v* for u and use of form *u* by *or* as a disjunctive conjunction and accentuation). Also, some modifications guided by the meaning of the poem are introduced

in Canto I. The manuscript writing is consigned in footnote. Only the Canto I is annotated in detail²⁹. It limits to the original with great fidelity, although I have found some errata³⁰.

The second printed version was under the responsibility of Cesar Debarbieri and was published by the *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, in 1998. It is a version that strictly adheres to the original, but inexplicably does not present any annotation.

THE POEM'S STRUCTURE

Telémaco en la isla de Calipso is a narrative poem of great extension composed by 540 stanzas in ottava rima. Bermudez de la Torre y Solier takes the main motive of Fenelon Francois de Salignac de la Mothe's work: *Las aventuras de Telémaco, el hijo de Ulises*³¹. This novel is a work of doctrinal character where the argument is subordinated to a purpose: religious tolerance³². It was written as a guide for the royal disciple, the Duke of Anjou. These *Adventures* simulate to be a continuation of the «Telemaquia», first songs of *The Odyssey*. In Homer's work, Telemachus is instigated by the goddess Minerva (who introduces himself as Mentor, loyal friend of Ulysses) to go and search for news of his father. Thus, the son of the hero arrives at Pylos where Nestor tells him what he knows about the return of the Achaeans, but could not tell him anything about his father because he does not know what happened to him. He advises him to go to Sparta and ask for information to Menelaus, as he was one of the heroes who most delayed to return. It is Menelaus who assures him that Ulysses is alive. These first cantos of *The Odyssey* have as function to elevate the son of the hero and to create an atmosphere of nostalgia «nostos» that will allow to introduce the rest of songs. Fenelon takes the Telemaquia like a starting point of new adventures of the son of the hero. The main plot consists of the adventures and misadventures of the young hero; among them, there is a love triangle between Telemachus, Calypso and the nymph Eucaris. Bermudez de la Torre takes and develops only this motive. He does not stop at the detailed adventures that Fenelon narrates in his work. However, it maintains the narrative and descriptive character that is present in the novel.

The poem of Bermudez is developed mainly in the Island of Ogigia, place where Calypso, daughter of Atlante, lives. The story can be summarized as follows: the young Telemachus arrives at the island of Ogigia, accompanied by Mentor and his entourage, who have been shipwrecked due to a storm unleashed by Eolo at the request of Venus who has been adverse to Ulysses. Through Mentor's mediation, Calypso receives the shipwrecked people and falls in love with the young man. A parallel arises between the love story of Calypso and Ulysses that moves to the love that Calypso feels for Telemachus. Telemachus and his entourage lean towards the love of Calypso's nymphs, and in that way the love between Eucaris and Telemachus began. This generates a love triangle: Calypso - Telemachus - Eucaris. Calypso was jealous and Mentor recommends Telemachus to return to Ithaca. Several years passed, and Eucaris, who has been waiting for Telemachus, wants to know about him, goes to the fortune-teller Phyllida and found out that Telemachus has rescued Antiope, the daughter of Idomeneus, and married her. Eucaris, full of deep disappointment and sadness, dies.

The dedicatory introduction

The first seven stanzas compose an introduction: the first has a clear autobiographical character which gives news about the author, the second addresses the muse of poetry who impulses the author to write; the third sings to the patron to whom the work is dedicated, the Count of Monclova, and from the fourth to the seventh stanza, a praise to the count whom he admires as a soldier and as a political authority is developed. The eighth stanza constitutes a transition between the presentation and the poem itself. The ninth stanza marks the beginning of the poem with a reference to Neptune, a god adverse to Ulysses and his descendants.

Fenelon is admired by Bermudez for being the preceptor of Felipe V; and, for being a well-known, admired French author at the time, as attested by Bermudez's prologue³³. Fenelon's novel was published incomplete in 1699 and travelled throughout Europe. In 1717, the complete work was published. The first Spanish edition dates from 1854. This means that the work —complete or incomplete— arrived to Peru in its original language. Been the preceptor of Philip V and the greatest representative of French Baroque might have been sufficient reasons for the novel to arouse the interest of Bermudez. However, the decision to choose Fenelon's novel can also be based on thematic reasons: the mythological theme, so dear to the Baroque, is present in *Las aventuras de Telémaco el hijo de Ulises*.

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Yo que en la flor ³⁴ de mis primeros años canté de Amor las dulces tiranías ³⁵ y en celebrar sus agradables daños pasé las horas sin lograr los días, ahora en numerosos desengaños | 5 |
| (sin llanto son las consonancias mías) del mismo amor haré correr veloces las lágrimas por ecos de mis voces. Tú, que con tierna luz amaneciste, oh Musa, como aurora de mi oriente, | 10 |
| y grata a mis obsequios, me infundiste tu divino furor, tu afecto ardiente: si dignos son de tu concepto triste números roncacos de una voz doliente, Mi ardor renueva a que en sonora rima | 15 |
| cante el dolor, la consonancia gima. Y vos, oh excelso conde, cuyas prendas tanto ya en lo esforzado y lo ingenioso se compiten, que en víctimas y ofrendas postrado Apolo os ve, Marte envidioso: | 20 |
| mientras Amor de sus doradas vendas teje a Himeneo velo respetuoso, oíd cómo vuelve él mismo en mis canciones, cítara el arco, y cuerdas los arpones. En tanto que la América dichosa | 25 |
| digno os admira de mejor Homero | |

The dedicatory section

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| mostrar de tanta sangre generosa ser émulo igualmente que heredero: y en feliz descendencia numerosa uno y otro clarísimo lucero | 30 |
| nuevas luces enciende a vuestras glorias logrando enumerar vuestras victorias. Escuchad, no las armas y furores de Marte ardientes en su horror sangriento: si no de Amor los trágicos rigores | 35 |
| que expongo en dulce llanto, en triste acento: haréis, si con magnánimos favores me influís la confianza en vuestro aliento, que mude el fuego que mi pecho inflama mi ruda lira en trompa de la Fama. | 40 |
| Esa senda de estrellas salpicada, centellas de aquel brazo diamantino, cuya púrpura hizo desatada émulo vano a algún humor divino: es la que guía con su luz sagrada | 45 |
| el asilo que busca mi destino; pues diestra que se admira sin ejemplo, si del valor fue víctima, hoy es templo. Repartido el laurel de las victorias una vez al bastón, otra a la espada, | 50 |
| la alta inmortalidad de vuestras glorias dejó a vuestra prudencia vinculada: así también del orbe a las memorias en dos partes se adora eternizada; pues si la Europa os vio ser su fortuna, | 55 |
| la América os aclama su columna. Dígalo aquel clarín de la volante diosa, que, transfundiéndole su aliento, ni perdona el espacio más distante, ni al veloz tiempo cede el movimiento: | 60 |
| del Pindo también se oiga el elegante ritmo a compás del lírico instrumento; o, a tanto asombro respondiendo, sea eco la admiración, oído la idea. | |

The dedicatory section (Cont)

The dedicatory introduction begins with a confession of the authorial voice, a memory of his early works: the adolescence of his literary production. The poet sang ‘sweet tyrannies’³⁶ of love; an oxymoron reinforced with another: ‘pleasant damages’³⁷ with those who celebrated these sweet tyrannies. That feeling caused the impression that hours do not pass by and that the days did not end; however, that love was changed into disillusionment and to express it the crying runs, as an echo of his voice.

Then he addresses the inspiring muse, the poetic voice, who infused his furor, his creative enthusiasm, and asks her to accept his numbers³⁸, or harsh, hoarse verses that are the only ones a suffering voice like his can offer. With these verses his pain will be extinguished; his passions, transformed into sonorous rhymes, will serve to sing his pain and the consonances will groan.

After the first two verses oriented to the authorial voice and the speech receiver, he addresses his patron: the Count of Monclova, viceroy of Peru, whose garments³⁹ or qualities compete in the effort and the ingenious in such a way that when Apollo saw him, he gives up and Mars envies him, because he is good in the arts and in war. Love also weaves a respectful veil to Himeneus; which means that, the viceroy is also happy in his marriage. The Count of Monclova is excellent in everything, therefore, he is able to transform the songs of the authorial voice; convert weapons into musical instruments.

In the fourth stanza, the poet refers to the viceroy as ‘best Homer’⁴⁰, probably as a reference to the works he commissioned during his rule⁴¹. He then mentions the ‘generous blood’⁴² of the viceroy in reference to his

ancestors and descendants, especially his six children, and among them, the last, Francisco Javier Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, born in Lima and in whose honour a contemporary of Bermudez, Lorenzo de las Llamosas, wrote the play entitled *También se vengan los dioses*. In the dedicatory introduction of the mentioned work, Llamosas refers to the newborn like 'star'⁴³, son of the sun, motif that is repeated in this stanza. The sons of the viceroy are very bright stars that ignite the glories, especially military, of the viceroy and list their victories. Rodríguez Garrido affirms that the choice of the image of the sun referred to the viceroy and the new star to symbolize his son is not gratuitous⁴⁴, but rather obeys a political position that probably represents the proposal of the Creole elite who supported the power of the viceroy which was to be truly an alter ego of the king⁴⁵.

In the fifth stanza, the viceroy is asked to listen to what he is not usually used to listen as a military man: the weapons and fury of Mars, but the tragic rigors of love that the poet will sing with sweet crying and a sad accent. The Count of Monclova is a true patron, as he encourages the poets until they can hear the trumpet of Fame⁴⁶.

The sixth stanza is directed to the praise of courage in the battle of the Count of Monclova symbolized in the prosthesis made in silver of the right arm of the viceroy, who lost that part of his body in the battle of the Dunes of Dunkirk (1658). The poet calls the arm «diamantino»⁴⁷, a path of stars splashed reminiscent of blood, divine humour, shed and temple of courage. With that arm admired, the Count of Monclova guides his subjects and is where they seek their fate.

The seventh stanza states the victorious, laureate occupations of the viceroy: the government (the sceptre) and war (the sword). He assures us that because of the transcendence of the two, his memory has been eternalized in the memory of the entire Hispanic world, as Europe has been fortunate to see him fight and Ame-rica acclaims him as his protection.

The eighth and last stanza of the dedicatory introduction to the viceroy asks the goddess Fame, prefigured by the image of the clarinet, whose musical breath reaches everywhere, to communicate the glories of the viceroy and thus to repeat it as echo the admiration to the viceroy and listen to the idea, understood as both 'eternal and immutable exemplar of everything in the divine mind', and 'convictions, beliefs, opinions'⁴⁸. We can conclude that Bermudez de la Torre Solier is a creole who is part of the enlightened elite who had access to public office. That elite establishes a sort of pact with the viceroy, because the royal house to avoid economic ruin makes mistaken decisions, such as the sale of public offices, which cut off the power of the viceroys that should be real and truly *alter ego* of the kings. Bermudez de la Torre finds in the Count of Monclova a patron. As patron and viceroy, Bermudez praises him in the dedicatory introduction: he celebrates his warlike and political skills, praises his descendants who share with the Count of Monclova their status as stars, children of the sun and finally asks the Goddess Fame, to extend the glories of the Count of Monclova, Viceroy of Peru, to the Hispanic world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bermúdez de la Torre y Pedro José Solier, *Telémaco en la isla de Calipso*, ed. César Debarbieri, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988.
- Ciamitaro, Fernando, «Virrey, gobierno virreinal y absolutismo: el caso de la Nueva España y el reino de Sicilia», *Estudios históricos, Historia moderna*, 30, 2008, pp. 235-271.
- Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre, «Criollismo, redes clientelares y la Compañía de Jesús: la familia Garavito-Illescas en el Perú virreinal (siglo XVII)», *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 2008. Available online: [https://www.digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/24237/1/Nuevo_Mundo_2008.pdf\[07/12/2017\]](https://www.digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/24237/1/Nuevo_Mundo_2008.pdf[07/12/2017]), DOI: 10.4000/ nuevomundo.19812.
- De la Riva-Agüero Osma, José, *La historia en el Perú*, Lima, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 1965.
- Fénelon, Francois de Salignac de la Mothe, *Las aventuras de Telémaco, el hijo de Ulises*, Madrid, Aguilar, 1944.

- Hanke, Lewis, Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria. Perú (tomo VI), Madrid, Atlas, 1979.
- Homero, La Odisea, ed. José Luis Calvo, Madrid, Cátedra, 2002.
- Homero, La Odisea, ed. Carlos García Gual, Madrid, Alianza, 2004.
- Homero, La Odisea, ed. Pedro Henríquez Ureña y Helena Huber (traducción de Luis Segalá Estalella). Buenos Aires, Losada, 2004.
- Lavallé, Bernard, Las promesas ambiguas, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú e Instituto Riva-Agüero, 1993.
- Lohmann Villena, Guillermo, El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato, Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1945.
- Mazzotti, José Antonio, Lima fundida. Épica y nación criolla en el Perú, Madrid, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2016.
- Medina, José Toribio, La imprenta en Lima (4 vols.), Santiago de Chile, Impreso y grabado en la casa del autor, 1904.
- Mendiburu, Manuel, Diccionario histórico-biográfico, Lima, Bolognesi, 1885.
- Moreno Báez, Enrique y Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, «Guzmán de Alfarache: la narración como ejemplo» in Historia y crítica de literatura española (vol. 3, tomo 1), coord. Bruce Wardropper y Francisco Rico, Madrid, Crítica, 1983, pp. 480-485.
- Muro, Fernando, «El “Beneficio” de oficios públicos con jurisdicción en Indias. Notas sobre sus orígenes», Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 35, 1978, pp. 1-67.
- Navarro Pascual, José, «Un poema narrativo de la colonia: Telémaco en la isla de Calipso», Humanidades, 4, 1970-1971, pp. 213-239.
- Navarro Pascual, José, Bermúdez de la Torre, escritor virreinal, Piura, Universidad de Piura, 1973.
- Noejovich, Héctor, Carmen Salazar-Soler, Margarita Suárez, Luis Glave y Miriam Salas, Economía del período colonial temprano, ed. Carlos Contreras, Lima, IEP y BCR, 2009.
- Parry, John Horace, The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburg, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953.
- Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Melchor; De la Monclova (conde) y Romero González de Villalobos, Bernardo, Funeral pompa y solemnidad en las exequias a la muerte de la catholica y serenissima reina madre D. Mariana de Austria, nuestra señora, Lima, J. de Contreras, 1697.
- Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Melchor; De la Monclova (conde) y Buendía, Joseph, *Parentación real al soberano nombre e immortal memoria del Católico Rey de las Españas y Emperador de las Indias el serenísimo señor don Carlos II: Fúnebre solemnidad y sumptuoso mausoleo que en sus reales exequias en la Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima consagró a sus piadosos manes, el Excmo. Don Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, conde de la Monclova, comendador de la Zarza en el Orden, y Caballería de Alcántara, del Consejo de Guerra de su Majestad, y Junta de Guerra de Indias, virrey, gobernador, y capitán general de estos Reinos, y Provincias del Perú, Tierra firwe [sic], y Chile*, Lima, José Contreras, 1701.
- Real Academia Española, Diccionario de Autoridades, Madrid, D. Joachin Ibarra – Impresor de Cámara de S.M., 1770.
- Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua española, Madrid, 2014, 23ª. ed.
- Rodríguez Garrido, José Antonio, «Lorenzo de las Llamosas y el pensamiento criollo en el Perú a fines del siglo XVII», in La formación de la cultura virreina: El siglo XVII (vol. 2), ed. Karl Kohut y Sonia Rose, Madrid, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2004, pp. 455-472.
- Sánchez, Luis Alberto, Escritores representativos de América, Madrid, Gredos, 1957.
- Schäfer, Ernesto, El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. Su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria (vol. 1), Nendeln, Krauss Reprint, 1975.
- Serrano y Sanz, Manuel, Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas, desde el año 1401 al 1833, Madrid, Atlas, 1975.
- Vargas Ugarte, Rubén, Historia del Perú. Virreinato (siglo XVIII), Lima, Imprenta Gil, 1956.

NOTES

1.

This work is part of project FFI2014-52007-P, *Authority and Power in the Theatre of the Golden Age. Strategies, genres, images in the first globalization*, Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, Government of Spain. Directorate General of Scientific and Technical Research. National Programme for Fostering Excellence in Scientific and Technical Research. This project has benefited from the collaboration of the Santander Bank in GRISO research.

2.

See Contreras, Carlos (editor), 2009; Vargas Ugarte, 1954, pp. 447-450; De la Riva-Agüero, 1910, p. 284; Navarro, 1973, pp. 9-11.

3.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 465.

4.

«luceros, nuevas luces».

5.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 466.

6.

«hijos del reino», «hijos de la tierra», «hijos y nietos de los conquistadores», «hijos de los encomenderos».

7.

«beneméritos».

8.

Lavallé, 1993, p. 17. See also Mazzotti, 2016.

9.

Mazzotti, 2016, p. 40.

10.

Mazzotti, 2016, p. 37: «un discurso de reivindicación étnica, de exaltación de la patria (en el sentido regional y urbanístico que el término tenía entonces) y de sustentación de las superioridades biológicas, intelectuales y religiosas de los criollos beneméritos que sirvió de contrapeso a la hegemonía de los grupos peninsulares en lo administrativo y en lo económico».

11.

«república de españoles

12.

Coello de la Rosa, 2008.

13.

Rodríguez, 2004.

14.

Ciamitaro, 2008, p. 238: «la autoridad de los virreyes fue absoluta solamente en teoría, en la práctica estuvo limitada en muchos aspectos: debían seguir instrucciones reales, observar las inmunidades, respetar a las familias poderosas, controlar a los propios ministros siempre dispuestos a pasar a la oposición y pedir ayuda al lejano rey».

15.

Schäfer, 1975; Parry, 1953.

16.

Muro, 1978, p. 3.

17.

Ciamitaro, 2008, p. 247. Muro, 1978, p. 21, exemplifies the public offices that were sold by the King: 'order that the graduate Juan de Padilla receives the first vacant as hearer, fiscal or mayor of the crime in Lima's Audience in exchange of 14,000 silver ducats...' («manda que se dé al licenciado Juan de Padilla el primer cargo vacante de oidor, fiscal o alcalde del crimen en la Audiencia de Lima a cambio de 14,000 ducados de plata...»).

18.

Quoted by Rodríguez, 2004, p. 467, who quotes Hanke, 1979, p. 124.

19.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 467.

20.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 468: «en torno al tema de la distribución de los cargos y oficios se teje seguramente uno de los pactos más importantes de la historia política colonial entre el virrey y los grupos locales de poder».

21.

Parroquia de los Huérfanos, Libro 1º de bautismos, fº 58v. Data published by Lohmann, 1945, p. 344. Also quoted by Navarro, 1973, p. 32.

22.

Serrano y Sanz, 1975, p. 671.

23.

Medina, 1904, p. 29. Data is repeated by Riva Agüero, 1965; Sánchez, 1957; Lohmann, 1945 y Navarro, 1973. None of them bring in documented evidence.

24.

The printed works of Bermúdez that are conserved are the following: *Exequias de la reina doña Mariana* (1697), *Oración informativa panegírica para la elección del Rector* (1699), *Cartel de certamen para recibir al Virrey Castell dos Rius* (included in the book of Peralta y Barnuevo *Lima triunfante*) (1707), *Loa in a comedy of the Conde de la Granja* (1709), *Versos in the minutes of the Viceroy Castell dos Rius' Academy* (1709 – 1710), *Elogio de la pastoral del virrey Ladrón de Guevara* (1710), *Destreza indiana* (firmed by Francisco Santos de Paz, but attributed to Bermúdez by his contemporaries) (1712), *El sol en el zodiaco, for the reception of the Viceroy Príncipe de Santo Buono* (1717), *Censura del poema sacro, from conde de la Granja* (1718), *Obsequio de la memoria, en Aplauso de la marquesa de Villafuerte* (1718), *Epístola oficiosa... aprobación... la curación del cáncer...* (1723), *Cartel del certamen para el recibimiento del Virrey Marqués de Castelfuerte* (1724), *Poemas sueltos, en Funerales del duque de Parma* (1725), *Romance heroico por la muerte que el Príncipe de Asturias dio a un toro* (1728), *El apóstol del Perú, auto sacramental* (1734), *Triunfos del santo Oficio peruano* (1737), *Relación de Auto de Fe* (1738), *Elogio panegírico en el recibimiento del Arzobispo de Lima* (1743), *Hércules aclamado de Minerva*, poster for the reception of the Viceroy Mando de Velasco.

25.

Bermúdez, Telémaco en la Isla de Calipso (1728), 1988 y *El autor con principios dogmáticos* (1737)

26.

La imagen del Siglo de Oro, Duelo de la justicia y la piedad, Delicias de Apolo, Afectos geniales, La Atenas peruana, La historia de Semíramis, El triunfo de la elocuencia, La verdad servida, Los sabios con estrella (panegyric of the Three Wise Men).

27.

«Oración Académica».

28.

About this, Sánchez, 1957, p. 253, based on the careful binding of the manuscript, believes that if it is not the original it could be a copy belonging to the poet's library. Riva Agüero, 1964 is more cautious: he thinks that it is a later copy, and, for this, he abides to the data of the poem which include, among others, the name of the patron to whom the work is dedicated: don Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega, third Count of Monclova, viceroy of Peru who died in 1705.

29.

It is a pity that the author of the thesis did not continue with the annotations in the following songs, since the quality, pertinence and meticulousness of the annotations of the first song presaged a critical edition of great invoice.

30.

For example, in the second song where it says: 'If worthy they are with your sad concept' («si dignos son con tu concepto triste»), it should say: 'If worthy they are of your sad concept' («si digno son de tu concepto triste»). In the seventh song, where it says: 'America cries out to your column' («la América os clama su columna»), it should say: 'America cries out its column' («la América os aclama su columna»). In the fifty-eighth song it says 'To the modesty the effect is withdrawn' («al recato el efecto se retira»), it should say: 'to the modesty the affection is retires' («al recato el afecto se retira»).

31.

Fénelon (1661-1715) François de Salignac de La Mothe, known as Fenelon was born in Fenelon's castle (Perigord) on august the 6th of 1651. After studying in Saint – Sulpice's seminar, he was ordered priest in 1675. Three years later, the archbishop of Paris proposes him the direction of the «Nuevos Católicos» college, an institution dedicated to convert Huguenot people. Fenelon professes modern pedagogical ideas for his time, which is shown in *Tratado de la Educación de las Jóvenes*, written in 1689. After some missions, Luis XIV grants him his confidence y chooses him as preceptor of his grandchild, the duke of Anjou, for the one he composes *Fábulas* (1690), *Los diálogos de los muertos* (1712), and *Las aventuras de Telémaco* (1699) work that was published without his consent. In the novel, Mentor's advice to Telemachus were interpreted as critics to the government of Luis XIV and demanded Fenelon to delete 23 maxims. The definitive edition of *Las aventuras de Telémaco* appears in 1717, after the death of his author, who dies on January the 7th of 1715, in Cambrai.

32.

This is affirmed by Moreno Báez y Blanco, 1983, pp. 480-485.

33.

Actually, Fenelon is considered as the greatest author of the French baroque. See Moreno, et. al, 1983, p. 13.

34.

Flor de la edad it is called youth or adolescence. This was said by the beauty and lustre that shows the one that is in her (Autoridades).

35.

Tiranía. Government to the will of the Lord without justice or rule (Autoridades).

36.

«dulces tiranías».

37.

agradables daños».

38.

Numbers: 'set of words subject to measure and cadence' (Números: conjunto de palabras sujetas a medida y cadencia [DLE]).

39.

Garments: each of the physical or moral perfections or qualities possessed by a person (Prendas: cada una de las perfecciones o cualidades físicas o morales que posee una persona [DLE]).

40.

«mejor Homero».

41.

Portocarrero, De la Monclova, Romero, 1697. Portocarrero, De la Monclova y Buendía, 1701.

42.

«generosa sangre»

43.

«lucero»

44.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 467, who quotes Hanke, 1979, p. 124.

45.

Rodríguez, 2004, p. 468.

46.

Fame is always represented with a female figure, Eagle wings and always plays a trumpet. Usually appears with a trumpet in each hand, because fame can be positive or negative, and based on truth or lies.

47.

Diamantino: 'belonging or related to diamond; hard, persistent, unbreakable' (perteneciente o relative al diamante; duro, persistente, inquebrantable [DLE]).

48.

(DLE); «ejemplar eterno e inmutable que de cada cosa existe en la mente divina» y «convicciones, creencias opiniones».