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**Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain:
Jesuit Mission Art at *Santa María de las Parras*, 1598-1767**

Abstract

This dissertation addresses key questions that are yet to be answered related to the involvement of local patrons in the decoration of northern New Spanish churches. The case study of the Jesuits' church of San Ignacio in Santa María de las Parras (located in present-day Coahuila, Mexico) reveals new evidence that prominent Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan Indian benefactors participated in the adornment of private devotional chapels in this religious space. In Parras, the Jesuits and secular landowners cultivated vineyards and participated in the lucrative business of viticulture that transformed this mission settlement by the mid-seventeenth century into a thriving winemaking center. As the Jesuits created their own "spiritual economy" in Parras on the northeastern frontier, they fostered alliances with Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan vineyard owners to serve both their religious and temporal interests (Chapter One). The surviving evidence of artworks and inventories reveals that these benefactors donated funds to decorate their own chapels in San Ignacio. This financial support helped the Jesuits purchase and import paintings by prominent artists working in Mexico City for display in their Parras church. While these patrons selected the iconographies of the artworks they funded, the Jesuits also arranged their chapels in a carefully ordered sequencing of images to promote devotions that were commensurate with Ignatian spirituality (Chapter Two).

To shed more light on the process in which the Jesuits coordinated the circulation of devotional images from Mexico City to Parras, this study will examine travel logs to document the mobility of the Jesuits and their frequent movement between metropolitan settings and the

northern frontier. By tracking the circulation of individuals as well as artworks, it is possible to uncover how the Society's process of fostering relationships with donors operated in Parras just as it did in larger cities such as Mexico City, Lima, Cuzco, and Rome (Chapter Three). Vineyard metaphors that resonated with special symbolic meaning at Parras also took on a new relevance when martyrdom became an omnipresent subject in the wake of Indian revolts. Evangelization on the frontiers of the Christian world became integral to the Jesuits' formation of their missionary identity in both New Spain and Europe. This study will present evidence of rare martyrdom drawings produced in Mexico and transported to Rome that played an active role in transforming the importance of the New Spanish frontier and catalyzed the creation of new artworks in Mexico City and Rome (Chapter Four). The evidence uncovered in this study has important implications for the field of colonial art history, as it reveals that art production in Parras was not an isolated missionary phenomenon but rather part of a dynamic network of artistic patronage and cultural exchange that moved in both directions between Europe and New Spain. This re-contextualizing of center-periphery paradigms further demonstrates that metropolitan and frontier relationships were not always opposed to each other, but rather interacted within a larger network of artistic dialogue.

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List of Abbreviations

Archival Resources Cited In This Study Are Identified With The Following Abbreviations:

- AGI:** Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain
- AGN:** Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico City, Mexico
- AGOFM:** Archivum Generale O.F.M, Rome, Italy
- AHCEH:** Archivo Histórico, Centro de Estudios Históricas, Condumex, Chimalistac, Mexico
- AHCSILP:** Archivo Histórico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola de Parras
Universidad Iberoamericana Laguna, Torreón, Mexico and Parras de la Fuente, Mexico
- AHN:** Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Spain
- AHP:** Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de México de la Compañía de Jesús, Mexico City, Mexico
- AMS:** Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, Saltillo, Mexico
- AN:** Archivo de Notarias, Mexico City, Mexico
- ARSI Rome:** Archivum Romanum Societatus Iesu, Rome, Italy
- BNFAF:** Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Archivo Franciscano, Mexico City
- BAV:** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Italy
- BLB:** Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California
- BLU:** Benson Library, University of Texas at Austin, Texas
- RAH:** Real Accademia de la Historia, Madrid, Spain

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*This dissertation is dedicated to
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The Joys of My Life*

Introduction

In 1681 a wealthy patron, Ignacio de Amaya, made a donation to build and decorate the chapel of San José in *San Ignacio de Loyola*, the Jesuits' church in the town of Santa María de las Parras in northeastern New Spain. As a wealthy landowner and relative of the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, de Amaya and his family members pledged their financial support to adorn two chapels in *San Ignacio*, which de Amaya claimed was “the most beautiful church in this land.”¹ While inevitable changes to the interiors of churches and the loss of the physical record make it difficult to assess this qualitative statement, de Amaya's observation reveals his pride in the adornment of the Jesuits' church in Parras.² Many key questions related to the involvement of patrons in the decoration of northern New Spanish churches are waiting to be answered, and Jesuit donation records from Parras provide a unique opportunity to shed light on this subject. The task of this study is to reveal how prominent Indian and Spanish donors participated in funding the adornment of private devotional spaces in *San Ignacio*. In their selection of specific iconographies for these chapels, these patrons actively participated in

¹ AGN, Jesuitas I-33, Expediente 77, 26 February 1681. Captain Ignacio de Amaya was the relative of José de Azlor, the second *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, and Ignacia Xaviera de Echeverz y Valdez, who together were the largest landholders in northern New Spain in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Amaya and Echeverz families were some of the principle Spanish donors to the Jesuits in Parras and instrumental participants in the decoration of the chapels of *San José* and *San Francisco Xavier* at *San Ignacio*. For these patrons' plans to be buried under these chapels, see Agustín Churruga Peláez et al, *El Sur de Coahuila en el siglo XVII* (Torreón: Editorial del Norte Mexicano, 1994), 167.

² A description of the interior decoration of *San Esteban de Tlaxcala* in Saltillo from 1768 provides one of the few surviving inventories of churches in this region, which lists five gilded *retablos* and four altars that were all decorated with paintings, sculptures, European fabrics and jewels, as well as silks from China. For this inventory, see Carlos Manuel Valdés Dávila and Idelfonso Dávila del Bosque, *Los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila* (Tlaxcala: Gobierno del Estado de Tlaxcala, 1999), 227-231.

creating an ordered program of devotional images in *San Ignacio*.³ The Jesuits organized these chapels that local donors supported financially to create a sequence of images in *San Ignacio* that encouraged movement throughout the church and participation in the Society's devotional exercises. Parras is a unique case study in that surviving documents reveal how economic initiatives were often intertwined with these patronage relationships, as the Jesuits and their benefactors cultivated vineyards in the lucrative business of viticulture. As Parras became an important winemaking center in northeastern New Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits used their own funds and those donated by local benefactors to import artworks from Mexico City to create this "episodic" artistic program in *San Ignacio*.⁴

While evidence related to art donations in northern New Spain is scarce, the surviving documents and artworks from *San Ignacio* can provide a clearer understanding of the patronage dynamics that operated in Parras, where members of the Society acted as evangelizers, art buyers, scholarly orators, and agricultural entrepreneurs. This examination will use as its conceptual models scholarship in the field of Spanish American art history as well as other Jesuit and Early Modern art history studies that examine art patronage and Jesuit methods of creating

³ This study will explore how the Jesuits' organization of chapels in *San Ignacio* guided the viewer through a sequence of devotional images that was not unlike participating in the *Spiritual Exercises* (1548). This perspective was inspired by Jeffrey Chipps Smith's discussion of the Jesuits' awareness of viewer reception in early modern Germany in *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 8.

⁴ Jaime Cuadriello uses this phrase in his examination of the active role Tlaxcaltecan patrons played in the creation of the decoration program of the Yehualtepec parish church in Tlaxcala in the 1780s, in *The Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala: Art and Life in Viceregal Mexico*, trans. Christopher J. Follett (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 117.

conceptual church programs worldwide to shed new light on the dynamics of artistic exchange and local patronage in northern New Spain.⁵

The Jesuits were present at the founding of Santa María de las Parras in 1598 in an area known as *La Laguna*, where lakes gathered in the fertile river valley at the headwaters of the Rio de las Nazas in present-day Coahuila, Mexico.⁶ Parras became the Society's easternmost mission in northern New Spain after the Franciscans abandoned their settlement in this location. This region was dominated by Franciscan missions in nearby towns such as Saltillo and at the settlements further east in Nuevo León and Texas.⁷ A 1754 map commissioned in Rome to present the Society's division of New Spain into a northern vice-province and a southern province, depicts Parras' location at these northeastern limits of the Society's mission territories (Figure 1-2).⁸ This new Jesuit organization of the viceroyalty included Parras in the southern province with Colleges and Residences closer to central Mexico. This positioning of *San Ignacio* articulates visually one of the main concepts that this study will demonstrate with

⁵ See, for example, Clara Bargellini, "Art at the Missions of Northern New Spain," in Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain*, ex. cat. (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009); Cuadriello, *Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala*; Tom Cummins and Joanne Rappaport, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Image of the Devout Indian: The Codification of a Colonial Idea," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Iлона Katzew (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 227-250; Carolyn Valone, "Architecture as a public voice for women in sixteenth-century Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 15.3 (2001): 301-327; Smith, *Sensuous Worship*; Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 58.3 (September 1976): 424-433.

⁶ Gerardo Decorme, S.J., *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, vol. 2 (México: Antigua librería Robredo de J. Porrúa, 1941), 20, 114, 124-136; Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J., *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Nueva España*, Ernest J. Burrus S.J. and Félix Zubillaga S.J., eds., Tomo II, Vol. XIII (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1958), Book IV.

⁷ The Jesuits acknowledged that the Franciscans established a mission in Parras identified as *el Valle de los Pirineos* in the late 1580's, which the friars abandoned before moving north to New Mexico with Juan de Oñate's expedition in the 1590s. See Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, Fondo Archivo Franciscano (cited hereafter as BNFAF), Legajos AF 16/326, f. 1-11, AF 11/171, f. 4r-5v, 14r, AF 17/344 f. 1-26v.

⁸ For the location of an original engraving from this plate, see the Jesuits' Curia Archive in Rome, the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (cited hereafter as ARSI Rome), Map Collection, 12th Drawer.

documentary evidence: that Parras transformed from a peripheral mission into a thriving wine production center in the Spanish colonial north. Here the Jesuits created their own “spiritual economy” that enabled the Society to move artworks and their own missionaries between urban centers and viceregal peripheries on both sides of the Atlantic.⁹ Within a localized context, the Jesuits fostered alliances with Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan vineyard owners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that served both their religious and temporal interests in Parras. These landowners became private benefactors of the Jesuits, donating valuable properties and money to fund the decoration of the ten chapels and the presbytery in *San Ignacio* with fifteen gilded *retablos*. These altarpieces were adorned with sculptures and paintings, many of which were imported from the workshops of prominent artists in Mexico City. The pious donations of these Spanish and Indian patrons brought them spiritual and economic benefits by enhancing their prestige in this colonial *pueblo* and providing prayers for their souls in perpetuity in the Jesuit church.

The history of art production at *San Ignacio* has received little scholarly attention despite the survival of a large corpus of artworks and contemporary inventories that reveal Tlaxcaltecan and Spanish vineyard owners made regular donations to decorate the Jesuits’ church. *San Ignacio* grew from a small mission church founded after 1598 into a Jesuit *Residencia* complex and seminary for the education of Indian boys in the mid-seventeenth century that continued to be an important spiritual and community center in Parras until 1767. The diverse group of patrons that collaborated with the Jesuits to embellish *San Ignacio* helped the order acquire more than eighty paintings and sculptures, as well as other ornaments imported from the capital of the

⁹ I use Kathryn Burns’ term from her study examining the relationship between the economic and spiritual interests of the poor Clare nuns in Cuzco that are strikingly similar to the Jesuits’ strategies of maintaining controlling interests in the religious and economic development of the Parras community. See Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

vicerealty, Europe, and Asia. These Lay donors from Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan Indian families contributed to the creation of a unified church decoration program to fill the chapels and main altar of *San Ignacio* with altarpieces and artworks whose iconographies were often selected as personal family devotions. Currently more than fifty of these paintings and sculptures survive and have received some scholarly attention in the form of a catalogue of works organized for a 1998 exhibition in Torreón and Parras.¹⁰ While the Jesuits' strategies of allying with local donors to fund art and architecture projects in urban settings have been documented, the role of these patronage relationships in supporting the Society's comprehensive church decoration campaigns in northern New Spain is virtually unknown.¹¹ It is possible that Parras' art historical prominence remains relatively unexplored precisely because of frontier paradigms that have impeded the study of mission art at this northeastern *pueblo*.¹² Given that little attention has been paid to examining the donation practices of local patrons, which were integral to the

¹⁰ These artworks are housed in Torreón at the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Iberoamericana Laguna as well as in *San Ignacio* in Parras. Monica Marti Cotarelo compiled what is to date the most comprehensive catalogue of the Parras artworks for a small exhibition in 1998 titled *Exposicion de Arte Sacro. Presencia de la Compania de Jesus en La Laguna, 1598-1998* held at the Museo Regional La Laguna in Torreón and the Casa Parrochial in Parras. Marti Cotarelo compiled a *Catalogo de Bienes Muebles: Misión de San Ignacio, Parras, Coahuila* in 1998, which remains unpublished. For the recent publication of three paintings from Parras, see Katherine Moore McAllen, "Saint Sebastian," "Our Lady of Joys," and "The Doubt of Saint Joseph" in Bargellini and Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of northern New Spain*, ex. cat. (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 258, 261, and 269.

¹¹ Lorenza Autrey Maza et al, *La Profesa. Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural* (México: Secretaria de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología, 1988); Gauvin A. Bailey has noted the role of patrons in funding the decoration of the façade of the Compañía in Arequipa in, *The Andean hybrid baroque: convergent cultures in the churches of colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Valarie Fraser, "Architecture and Ambition: the Case of the Jesuits in the Viceroyalty of Peru." *History Workshop Journal* 34 (Autumn 1992):16-32; Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, Edited by Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

¹² John Jay TePaske's study challenging traditional mission history models that view peripheral settlements as dependent outposts has inspired this study. For more on his examination of mining towns and their transformation from rural outposts to urban centers see, "Integral to Empire: the Vital Peripheries of colonial Spanish America," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Christine Daniels and Michael Kennedy, eds., (Routledge, 2002), 29-43. For the transforming nature of the viceregal periphery, see Susan Deeds, "Colonial Chihuahua: People and Frontiers in Flux," in *New Views of Borderlands History*, Robert Jackson, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 22.

spiritual and temporal life of the missions, the Parras case study sheds new light on the art historical aspect of the Jesuits' "spiritual economy." While these close ties between the economic and artistic interests of the Jesuits and their patrons was not an isolated phenomenon at Parras, this case study does present rare evidence because surviving documents revealing these relationships are scarce. Therefore, this information detailing how the Society's church construction and decoration campaigns at *San Ignacio* were made possible by the Jesuits' ties to local patrons and their financial successes in winemaking will have far reaching implications that these dynamics operated in various other settlements on the northern frontier.

In addition to examining how the lucrative economic operations at Parras were a key source of funding for the donations and commissions for artworks, it is crucial to depart from a localized examination of church building and decoration campaigns that were closely tied to the order's economic and political interests. In Chapter Three and Four of this dissertation, the scope of this study will shift to focus on the order's frequent travel between mission and metropolitan settings. This examination of the impressive mobility of the order as it moved between metropolitan and mission settings will shed more light on how the Jesuits and other religious moved artworks and books between northern New Spanish settlements, Mexico City, and Rome. This examination of the movement of the Jesuits stationed at Parras will trace the location of members of the order as they reported back to their headquarters in Rome and travelled throughout Spanish America and across the Atlantic to and from Europe.¹³ This frequent and coordinated circulation of missionaries, which was dictated from the Father General at the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, enabled missionaries in northern New Spain to become

¹³ Triennial logs organized by the Jesuits, known as the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves*, document the frequent movement of missionaries and procurators throughout the world. See ARSI Rome, Mex. 5, Mex. 6, and Mex. 7. Luisa Elena Alcalá discusses Jesuit procurators' travel between Europe and New Spain in impressive detail in, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain, 1670-1767," Ph.D. diss. (1998), 126-171.

important agents in the global circulation of religious art and humanist texts. While consideration is often given to the question of how European art and religious movements played a role in transforming painting and architecture in the New World, this study will contribute evidence revealing a case in which New Spanish images of Jesuit martyrs produced in northern New Spain were important to audiences in Europe. Martyrdom became an important subject for the Jesuits after Indian rebels executed missionaries on the northern fringes of the viceroyalty beginning in 1595. At Parras, vineyard metaphors that resonated with special symbolic meaning amid the thriving cultivation of vineyard, took on a new relevance when the Jesuits' "new vineyard" [northern New Spain] was watered with the blood of the Society's missionaries.¹⁴ At this time in the early seventeenth century, the Society began to commission and disseminate portraits of these Jesuits and textual accounts documenting their martyrdoms in northern New Spain to devout audiences in the viceregal capital and Europe. In the wake of the Protestant split from the Roman church, proselytizing on the frontiers of the Christian world became integral to the Jesuits' formation of their own missionary identity and promotion of orthodox Catholic spirituality in Europe. Visual and textual accounts describing missionary labors and martyrdoms in northern New Spain catalyzed the creation of new artworks in Rome and other cities across the Atlantic, as will be discussed further in Chapter Four.¹⁵ Rare drawings of Jesuit martyrs that were sent to Rome and survive today reveal that these images functioned to inspire devotion in

¹⁴ In his 1617 letter reflecting on the deaths of the Jesuits killed in the Tepehuan Revolt in 1616, Father General Claudio Aquaviva stated that God had procured beforehand for his "new vineyard," northern New Spain, to be irrigated with the blood of his Jesuit servants, "...Dios proveerá de nuevos y fervorosos operarios essa (sic.) su nueva viña regada con la sangre de esos sus siervos..." in ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 202r.

¹⁵ While historian Maureen Ahern states that Jesuit martyrdom narratives played a key role in the "social construction of the northern frontier," I will argue that images depicting these martyrs also should be considered as active agents in the Jesuits' visual and textual articulation of the importance of the northern fringes of the viceroyalty as a sacred space to multiple audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. See Maureen Ahern, "Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain in Andres Pérez de Ribas's *Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fe* (1645)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8.1 (1999), 21.

European audiences and imagine this distant New Spanish mission field where Jesuit missionaries sought to emulate the sacrifices of the Early Church's martyrs. This study will examine this negotiation of Christian past and present to consider how various audiences in northern New Spain, Mexico City, and Rome incorporated the "sacred geography" of the missionary frontier into their own spiritual lives.¹⁶ The structure and practices of the Society that facilitated this bi-directional movement of missionaries and artworks between Parras, central Mexico, and Europe will reveal that colonial peripheries were integral to the Jesuits' global evangelization agenda and the life of the Catholic Church worldwide.

The Tlaxcaltecs in Parras: Patrons and Allies

New information related to the dynamics of patronage at Parras provides an important contribution to the field of Latin American art history by complicating colonial paradigms that have privileged Spanish patronage over Indian donation practices.¹⁷ This dissertation reveals that powerful Tlaxcaltecan benefactors funded the construction of ornate gilded *retablos* filled with paintings and sculptures in their private chapels, which were located next to those of Spanish patrons.¹⁸ Both of these elite indigenous and Spanish donors contributed to the Jesuits' operation of sophisticated systems of cultural exchange that circulated Jesuit art and individuals

¹⁶ Carmen Fernández-Salvador uses this term "sacred geography" to discuss the process in which Christians in Quito imagined holy places in Rome and journeyed ekphrastically from one place to another in, "Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito," (PhD. Diss University of Chicago, 2005), 156. I will argue in Chapter Four that audiences in urban settings such as Mexico City and Rome would have imagined the New Spanish frontier when viewing and contemplating paintings of Jesuit martyrdoms hanging in Jesuit churches.

¹⁷ For more on indigenous patronage, see Elisa Vargaslugo, *Imágenes de los naturales en el arte de la Nueva España: siglos XVI al XVIII*, ex. cat. (México: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005); Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Image of the Devout Indian: The Codification of a Colonial Idea," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, Iona Katzew, ed. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011): 227-250. Alcalá (230-231) cites various seventeenth-century chronicles that reveal Spanish donors were often given more recognition for their patronage than Indian benefactors.

¹⁸ A reconstruction of these chapels will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

between Parras and the northern missions, Mexico City, and Rome.¹⁹ The preservation of these artworks also reveals that artists working in Mexico City executed many of the paintings in *San Ignacio*, as numerous canvases are signed by artists including Juan Sánchez Salmerón, Francisco Martínez, and José de Mota.

Tlaxcaltecan Indian families emigrated from Tlaxcala in central Mexico to various northern New Spanish towns including San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Durango, and Saltillo.²⁰ After moving to the Villa of Santiago de Saltillo in 1591, fifteen Tlaxcaltecan families came to Parras in 1598 after expressing their initial reluctance to live with the Jesuits rather than the Franciscans.²¹ These Tlaxcaltecan, who were predominantly *macehuales* (commoners) in Tlaxcala, were given noble titles and property by the Crown in Parras and Saltillo as a reward for their aid to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the conversion and resettlement of autochthonous tribes in northeastern New Spain.²² In their dual role as “Christians and Indians,”

¹⁹ The Jesuits provide an excellent test case to discuss these paths of communication, because of the order’s highly efficient organization and frequent communication between superiors in Rome and members abroad in a system that was not unlike a military unit. Ignatius often used military references in his writings, identifying Christ as “the true Commander” in his *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 49; In his 1611 *La Peinture Spirituelle*, Louis Richeôme encourages his readers to look at a painting of Ignatius in the Recreation Room of the novitiate of Sant’ Andrea all’ Quirinale in Rome, stating: “You see our leader and captain and the vocation of this Company [Society of Jesus] in which you will fight under the standard of the crucified Jesus.” For more on this treatise that will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, see Richeôme, *La Peinture Spirituelle* (Lyon 1611), f. 154.

²⁰ David Adams, *Las colonias tlaxcaltecas de Coahuila y Nuevo León en la Nueva España* (Saltillo: Archivo Municipal de Saltillo), 1991; Andrea Martínez Baracs, “Las colonizaciones tlaxcaltecas,” in *Historia Mexicana*, México, El Colegio de México V. XLIII, 2.170 (Octubre-Diciembre 1993): 195-250.

²¹ Martínez Serna (“Vineyards in the Desert,” 71-72) notes the Tlaxcaltecan had a historical relationship with the Franciscans since the Conquest of Tenochtitlán and cites a letter where the Tlaxcaltecan rejected the Viceroy’s initial request for them to move to Parras with the Jesuits. For more on this 1594 correspondence in which the Indians cite their royal privileges stating the Franciscans were the only order to administer to their colonies, see Carta del Virrey Luis de Velasco el Joven al Rey Felipe II” Mexico, April 6 1594, *Monumenta Mexicana V*, Doc. # 67, 220. For the Tlaxcaltecan’s ultimate agreement to move to Parras, see also Elisabeth Buzer, *Historia social de una comunidad tlaxcalteca: San Miguel de Aguayo (Bustamante, Nuevo León), 1686-1820* (Saltillo, Coahuila: Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2001), 12.

²² The majority of the Tlaxcaltecan families that came to Saltillo were from the Tizatlán *calpolli*, one of four subordinate groups that composed the Nahuatl ethnic-state, or *altepetl*, of Tlaxcala. See Valdés Dávila and Dávila del Bosque, *Los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila*, 8.

these allies to the Spanish never experienced conquest in central Mexico and saw themselves as conquerors in the northern provinces in the late sixteenth century.²³ As Cecilia Sheridan Prieto has noted, it is important for the Tlaxcaltecs to be understood as part of the group of colonizers that included non-indigenous Spanish conquistadors and the missionaries, because they were seen this way in the eyes of the local natives in northern New Spain.²⁴ The nature of the Tlaxcaltecs' relationship with the Spanish and local Indians in Parras will be examined in this study in relation to art patronage, as the Tlaxcaltecs intermarried with both local *Lagunero* Indians in Parras and prominent Spanish families and became wealthy landowners and devoted art benefactors.²⁵

The majority of land given to the Tlaxcaltecs in Parras was located next to the Jesuits' within a perimeter known as the *fundo legal*, a royal allotment of land measuring one square league.²⁶ Much of the Society's economic and political power, which helped enhance its spiritual influence in the community as well, derived from the order's ownership of land and its construction of the church complex of *San Ignacio* within this *fundo legal*. I have benefitted

²³ Jaime Cuadriello uses this phrase in *Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala*, 146. The Tlaxcaltecs helped in the conversion and colonization process by joining the Spanish on military and exploratory campaigns to settle and defend new lands in the north and by living as Christian exemplars in their communities. See Serna, Chapter Two, "Poblarlos y asentarlos en policía y orden de república," in "Vineyards in the Desert," 42-82; Sean McEnroe, *From Colony to Nationhood in Mexico: Laying the Foundations, 1560-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

²⁴ Cecilia Sheridan Prieto, "Indios Madrineros": Colonizadores Tlaxcaltecs En El Noreste Novohispano." *Estudios De Historia Novohispana* 24 (2001): 15-51.

²⁵ For more on baptism records that provide evidence of this process of intermarriage among Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan vineyard owners, see Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura*, 39; Churruca Peláez, *El Sur de Coahuila en el siglo XVII*, 108-110.

²⁶ The Crown regularly gave land in the form of a *fundo legal* to founding members of mission communities throughout New Spain, and their size varied from smaller partitions in central Mexico to larger allotments in the north. In the Tlaxcaltecan community of San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala near Saltillo, for example, the *fundo legal* measured three-square leagues. For more on these variations, see Michael C. Meyer, *Water in the Hispanic Southwest: A Social and Legal History, 1550-1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 80 and 121-123; Susan Deeds *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's colonial north: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 129 and 154-155.

greatly from the research of historians of José Gabriel Martínez Serna and Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, who in their recent studies have examined the unique economic history of Parras, in which Jesuit, lay Spanish, and Tlaxcaltecan landowners profited from the cultivation of their vineyards and possession of water sources.²⁷ As Martínez Serna notes in his study of the importance of the Jesuits' presence on the northeastern New Spanish frontier, the *fundo legal* in Parras was not determined by topographical features in the landscape. Rather, the founders of Parras imagined the *fundo legal* while standing in front of a cross erected at the doors of the Jesuit church and measured its square dimensions from this place one half league in each of the cardinal directions.²⁸ The initial formation of Parras therefore mirrored Pizarro's 1535 foundation of Lima and the creation of many other Spanish cities in that it "began as an imaginative act of vision."²⁹ The Parras *fundo legal* was also linked to the Jesuits from its conception, and the order occupied a prominent location at its center in Parras until their Expulsion in 1767. A 1746 map of Parras presents the order's church and house, here identified as a *Colegio*, located prominently on the main plaza of the *pueblo* in the center of the community

²⁷ See Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura en el pueblo de Santa María de las Parras* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004); *Viñedos y Vendimias en La Nueva Vizcaya* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003), 9-15.

²⁸ One square league measured approximately 4,400 acres or 1800 hectares. As Martínez Serna notes ("Vineyards in the Desert," 114), while the valuable property in many *fundos legales* were reduced in size in the eighteenth century by Spanish landowners or the Crown, this was not the case in Parras. The Jesuits strategic alliance with the Tlaxcaltecs helped the order maintain the original size of the Parras *fundo legal* even after the Audiencia of Guadalajara made efforts to reduce its size.

²⁹ Tom Cummins makes this observation in his study of city planning in: "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures Art & Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 159; Ángel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). On the subject of Latin American towns and cities being "the creation of the human mind," Rama (1-4) observed that the "geometric order" of urban plans embodied "the transference of an idealized social order into the physical reality of the newly founded [city]", a concept that the Jesuits were instrumental in articulating physically and intellectually in Parras from the doors of their own church.

(Figure 3).³⁰ The Jesuit Father Juan José Nava, then Rector of the Parras Residence, most likely created this map and sent it with his correspondence from Parras to the Father Provincial in Mexico City in 1747.³¹ In this cartographic image, Father Nava carefully represented the vineyards that the Society operated within this royal land partition adjacent to their church complex. It is not accidental that the vineyards located next to *San Ignacio*, which are identified with a textual inscription as the property of the Jesuits, are clearly linked to by a dark vertical line to a circular formation in the surrounding hills above Parras that represents an *arroyo* (creek or small river). This *arroyo* supplied water exclusively to the Jesuits for watering their vineyards in the *fundo legal*. The birds-eye schematic of Parras and its surrounding countryside in this 1746 map expresses both pictorially and textually the key elements in the Society's balance of sociopolitical power. The Jesuits' presence in the *fundo legal*, their relationship to Indian landowners, whose vineyards included those identified as "*viñas de los indios*," and their possession of important water sources in this desert oasis were crucial for the order to maintain its position of power in Parras.

In Parras, precious water sources became a subject of significant attention in the visual articulation of the town plan.³² Irrigation channels known as *acequias* that brought water from

³⁰ This map of Parras from 1746 that identifies *San Ignacio* as the "*Colegio*," is located in Mexico City at the *Archivo General de la Nación*. See AGN, Jesuitas 64, vol. I-33, Exp. 60.

³¹ Martínez Serna posits that this map of Parras was most likely completed by Father Juan José Nava to accompany his report sent to Father Provincial Escobar in 1746, in "Vineyards in the Desert," 202.

³² For more on the importance of water in the development of other colonial *pueblos* in northern New Spain, see Chantal Cramaussel, "Sistema de riego y espacio habitado. La lenta y azarosa génesis de un pueblo rural," in *Historia y arte en un pueblo rural: San Bartolomé, hoy Valle de Allende, Chihuahua*, ed. Clara Bargellini and Salvador Alvarez (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998): 17-90; see also Luis Aboites Aguilar, "La lucha por el control del agua en la villa de Aguascalientes durante los siglos XVII y XVIII," in *Los usos del agua en el centro y norte de México: historiografía, tecnología y conflictos*, eds. Manuel Miño Grijalva and Édgar Hurtado Hernández (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2005); Aboites Aguilar, *Fuentes para la historia de los usos del agua en México, 1710-1951* (Tlalpan: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social: Comisión Nacional del Agua, 2000).

Parras' principle reservoir, "*el agua grande*," to the Spanish family of the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, the Jesuits, and Tlaxcaltecan landowners in the *fundo legal* are represented with the irregular lines of a watercolor brushstroke meandering along the straight streets of the geometric grid. In the upper left corner, the mechanism that separated the water flowing from the *agua grande* delivered three fourths of this irrigated water supply to the *Marqués* and one fourth to the Indians in the *fundo legal*.³³ As Martínez Serna notes, the *acequia* that brought water to the Tlaxcaltecs from the main reservoir also crossed the *acequia* from the Jesuits' exclusive spring, and both groups paid careful attention to keeping the two sources separate.³⁴ As can be seen in this cartographic image, the mapping of water and the pictorial documentation of various groups' ownership of this resource dominated the urban landscape of Parras so much that it contested the geometric order of the Spanish urban plan. In the lower left corner of the town map, the flow of water cuts into the straight street thus disrupting the ideal square-angled corner of this space.³⁵ Just as water interrupted the "rationalizing symbolic language" of the urban grid in Parras, the equal power that Spanish and indigenous leaders possessed also deviated from the ideal social order that the principles of the geometric city plan sought to reproduce.³⁶

Many families came to live in the *fundo legal*, including Spaniards and the *comunidad de naturales* (Indian community), which included converted *Lagunero* Indians, Coahuila Indians, Tarascans and Tlaxcaltecan Indians from central Mexico. By the mid-seventeenth century, the

³³ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 39.

³⁴ Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 203 and AGN, Jesuitas 64, vol. I-33 Exp. 60.

³⁵ Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 100.

³⁶ Rama uses this phrase when discussing the general principles behind the urban grid design: "that the distribution of urban space would reproduce and confirm the desired social order," in *The Lettered City*, 5.

number of autochthonous Lagunero and Coahuiltecan Indians families had declined from epidemics and displacement, while the Tlaxcaltecan population increased steadily into the eighteenth century.³⁷ The Jesuits and the Tlaxcaltecs were given portions of land within the *fundo legal* after the founding of Parras, where they cultivated vineyards that became lucrative cash crops in the production of wine and brandy. Both groups therefore shared a mutual interest in preserving their ownership of lands within the *fundo legal*, which was protected by Royal *Cédula* as long as original ownership was maintained.³⁸ To ensure this continuity, the powerful and litigious Jesuits consistently supported the interests of the Tlaxcaltecs in court cases throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when Spanish landowners, such as the descendants of the Urdiñola family, attempted to appropriate land and water from the *fundo legal*. The royal privileges given to the Tlaxcaltecs at the founding of Parras, which included the ownership of land and water sources, as well as exemptions from taxes on wine production, enabled many Tlaxcaltecan *principales* (elite Indian leaders) to own vineyards that produced lucrative cash crops and become more affluent than some local Spanish landowners.³⁹ This delicate balance of power between the Spanish and Tlaxcaltecs that the Jesuits helped maintain by supporting Tlaxcaltecan leaders in their efforts to protect their noble privileges and land, also allowed the Society to continue its presence in Parras after the establishment of the secular parish church in 1641.⁴⁰ The Jesuits' role in maintaining these relationships between Spanish and

³⁷ Martínez Serna ("Vineyards in the Desert," 31) cites Joseph Dionisio Gutiérrez's "Origen del pueblo" document, noting by 1692, 87 of the 147 Indian families living in the *fundo legal* were Tlaxcaltecan, while only 8 Coahuiltecan families (identified as the "*chichimecos fundadores*") and 7 Tarascan families remained.

³⁸ Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 115. On the eighteenth-century phenomenon of *fundos legales* being reduced in size in northern New Spain, see Susan Deeds, *Defiance and Deference*, 128-29, 154, and 175.

³⁹ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 40-41.

⁴⁰ Martínez Serna ("Vineyards in the Desert," 90-91) recently has provided a detailed chronology of the events leading up to the Bishop of Durango, Diego de Evia y Valdés, secularizing the Jesuits' mission at Parras. This

Tlaxcaltecan landowners, which made the permanent settlement of Parras and the commerce of wine a success, declined after the order's expulsion in 1767. When the Jesuits were no longer present to defend the Tlaxcaltecs' ownership of coveted water sources and valuable lands in the *fundo legal*, these Tlaxcaltecan vineyard owners slowly lost their control of properties and their positions of leadership in the local *ayuntamiento* (municipal government) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴¹ In 1822, the Tlaxcaltecs were violently expelled from Parras, and local *Alcaldes Mayores* (Spanish civil authorities) appropriated their lands.⁴²

As Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins have stated recently, Angel Rama's "Lettered City" in Spanish America was a literate urban landscape where Spanish domination followed a varied course.⁴³ I propose that similar "discourses of power" continued between native and Spanish individuals within the walls of colonial churches such as *San Ignacio* in northern New Spain. As spiritual advisors, art patrons, legal advocates, and mediators, the Jesuits played a key role in maintaining a delicate balance of power between the Spanish and Indian communities in Parras. The aim of this study is not to engage in a historical or economic analysis of the process in which both the Jesuits and local lay vineyard owners participated in the commerce of wine and brandy, as Corona Páez and Martínez Serna have already done with impressive detail.⁴⁴ Instead,

secularization followed years of disputes over water rights between the Jesuits and the Urdiñolas, as Spanish landholders sought to acquire the Jesuits' coveted vineyards and water sources if their mission was secularized. As will be discussed further in Chapter One, the Jesuits transformed their mission into an Inchoate College in a strategic move to maintain their presence in Parras and retain ownership of their properties.

⁴¹ Churruca et al, *El Sur de Coahuila*, 116; see also Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 228.

⁴² Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 65-66.

⁴³ Tom Cummins and Joanne Rappaport, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 4-8.

⁴⁴ Sergio Antonio Corona Páez's recent studies have been the first to uncover data related to the legal production of winemaking in Parras that was crucial to the development of this lakes region west of Saltillo known as the *Comarca Lagunera*. See *La vitivinicultura* et al. Martínez Serna's dissertation ("Vineyards in the Desert," 2) also provides an outstanding in-depth examination of how the Jesuits played a commanding role in the economic and

what follows is an account of how the Jesuits coordinated a complex network of patronage relationships with both Tlaxcaltecan and Spanish patrons to fill the devotional spaces of *San Ignacio* with a programmatic organization of *retablos* and artworks given by specific donors. With their economic successes in winemaking and ownership of valuable lands, these Tlaxcaltecan maintained a sufficient group identity that enabled them to collectively participate as major patrons in the Jesuits' church decoration campaigns at *San Ignacio* as well as at the parish church in Parras. This evidence of Tlaxcaltecan patrons engaging in the decoration of churches in Parras enables us to understand the active nature of indigenous participation in art production on the mission frontier. The new data presented in this study will therefore help transform the field by uncovering the ingenious voice to better understanding the active participation of Indian artists and patrons in the construction and decoration of mission churches. This study provides a unique glimpse into how Tlaxcaltecan Indians' roles in the social and political formation of Parras was performed in their involvement as private patrons of the Jesuits at their church of *San Ignacio* and at the local parish church of *Santa María de las Parras*.

The second chapter of this study will reveal in greater detail the Tlaxcaltecan's practice of making donations for the creation of devotional images and gilded *retablos* to be displayed in the presbytery and chapels in the Jesuits' church. While the surviving evidence at this time suggests that these paintings and sculptures did not have an explicitly indigenous subject matter, the *retablos* funded by these Tlaxcaltecan patrons were displayed in prominent spaces in *San Ignacio* such as the two in the presbytery flanking the high altar (Figure 4).⁴⁵ In these donations

social dynamics in Parras that transformed this mission into "a prosperous winemaking hub that dominated the northern frontier."

⁴⁵ The gilded *retablos* flanking the *Retablo Mayor* on either side of the presbytery in *San Ignacio* were dedicated to devotions of the Good Death the Immaculate Conception and were donated by the Tlaxcaltecan Andrade and Cano Moctezuma families, respectively. The arrangement of these *retablos* funded by private Tlaxcaltecan patrons as well as Tlaxcaltecan confraternities will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

for *retablos* and artworks to be installed next to altarpieces funded by Spanish patrons, these indigenous patrons always identify themselves as Tlaxcaltecan Indians.⁴⁶ These religious images that were identified as donated through acts of devotion by pious Tlaxcaltecan benefactors, also came to function as symbols of power in Parras. This study will therefore provide a unique glimpse into the significant role that indigenous patronage played in shaping the political and artistic dynamics on the northeastern frontier. While the written record legitimized the noble status of Indians and confirmed their privileges in both viceroyalties, so too was the image an important public medium for these Indian patrons in Parras to demonstrate their position as they moved fluidly between Spanish and Indigenous worlds.⁴⁷ By revealing the importance of the indigenous voice in the religious, political, and visual culture of Parras, I argue that this case study demonstrates that “*tlaxcaltequidad*” thrived in northeastern New Spain just as it did in Tlaxcala in the Valley of Mexico. Parras therefore provides another important locus in Jaime Cuadriello’s map of “Continental Christianity,” which he charts from Canada to Peru.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ While these donations serve as two illustrative examples, see a 1729 donation to the Jesuits, in which Simón Fernández de Barraza identifies himself as “Don Simon Tlaxcalteco,” in AHN Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 2, 2v. Similarly, Pedro Nolasco Cano Motezuma signed a 1757 obligation for financial support to fund the celebrations at the altar of the Immaculate Conception in *San Ignacio* as “Pedro Nolasco Cano Moctezuma, Indio,” in AHN, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 4-5.

⁴⁷ This study has been inspired by Rappaport and Cummins’ observation that written documents and histories were “a source of legitimacy and authenticity, as well as a vehicle that significantly reconfigured the native memory,” in *Beyond the Lettered City*, 4.

⁴⁸ See Jaime Cuadriello’s use of this term “*tlaxcaltequidad*” in relation to his observation that “Tlaxcala was at the center of a continental Christianity of indigenous elites that spanned from North America to Peru,” in *Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala*, 257 and 269-270.

“La Frontera de Otras Gentiles:” Relocating the Colonial Frontier in Current Historiographies.⁴⁹

The transformation of Parras from a small mission setting into a prosperous winemaking hub, where the viticulture industry and expansive agricultural estates dominated the northeastern viceregal economy, provides an opportunity to address a subject that is at the forefront of contemporary debates in mission history and art history: how center-periphery paradigms have reinforced the concept of the colonial “frontier” as an isolated, singular place.⁵⁰ While the Epilogue of this study will provide a more detailed discussion of how the case study of Jesuit art production at Parras contributes to re-conceptualizing frontier paradigms in the historiography of mission art history, it is important to define how the frontier as a concept will be discussed. Just as encounters between distinct European and indigenous cultures were “unique to time and place,” as David Weber has affirmed, the definition and use of the term “frontier” has taken on multiple meanings throughout the colonial period and in current scholarship.⁵¹ As Clara Bargellini has noted, “the old frontier mission idea emerged out of a history of Spanish colonial

⁴⁹ Andrés Pérez de Ribas uses this phrase during his tenure as Father Provincial of New Spain. He wrote this 1638 letter to the Viceroy and the Archbishop of Durango in response to a 1637 Real Cédula seeking information about the orders’ ownership of *haciendas* and missionary work in northern New Spain. Speaking of the Jesuits martyred in the north, Pérez de Ribas states: “these priests worked on the frontier of other gentiles (in the sense of pagans), bringing Indians to the faith, like Daniel going among the lions and tigers.” See ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, number 5, f. 8v.

⁵⁰ See especially Herbert E. Bolton, S.J., “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies” *American Historical Review* 23.1 (1917): 42-61; George Kubler, “Indianism, *Mestizaje*, and *Indigenismo* as Classical, Medieval, and Modern Traditions in Latin America,” reprinted in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: the Collected Essays of George Kubler*, ed. Tom Reese (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 75-80; Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico* 5th Edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990 [originally 1940]), 59 and 131. A more detailed historiographical discussion of these studies that privilege art in viceregal centers over mission art is continued in the Epilogue.

⁵¹ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University, 1994), 12. See also Thomas Calvo, “El Norte de México: ‘la otra frontera:’ hispanización o americanización (siglos XVI-XVIII),” *INAH Historias* 45 (Enero-Abril 2000), 21-44.

expansion that was posited on the necessity to occupy and hold territory.”⁵² This concept was evoked in the seventeenth century by Sebastian de Covarrubias, who defined the frontier as “the line or limit and boundary that separates two kingdoms” in his 1611 dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española*.⁵³ For Spanish colonizers, missions and presidios functioned as crucial settlements on the “geopolitical frontier of the imagination” to impede contending empires from intrusion into Spanish domains. In the mid-eighteenth century, this northern frontier spanned from present-day Coahuila, Chihuahua, Sonora and the Baja peninsula in Mexico to the American Southwest states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.⁵⁴ In his memoir, the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo* articulates this concept when noting that missions, such as those in Texas that he helped established, reinforced the physical boundary between Spanish and French empires.⁵⁵

As Clara Bargellini has observed, the Jesuits’ own use of the term frontier as a distant place in their letters and correspondences to affirm their contribution to evangelization in the northern New Spanish regions has, paradoxically, contributed to ideas of the “the heroic

⁵² See Clara Bargellini, “At the Center on the Frontier: The Jesuit Tarahumara missions of New Spain,” in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. Thomas da Costa Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod (Ashgate, 2005), 125.

⁵³ Covarrubias defined la Frontera as “la raya y termino que parte dos reynos, por estar el uno frontero del otro frontero. Lo mismo que de enfrente. Frontera puede ser parte opuesta.” Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* [1611] (Madrid: Turner, 1979), 608.

⁵⁴ Weber uses this term in *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University, 1994), 12; For a discussion of the strategic positioning of missions and presidios along the real and imagined frontier regions in the Spanish colonial north, see Luis Arnal Simón, ed. *Arquitectura y urbanismo del septentrión novohispano: fundaciones del Noroeste en el Siglo XVIII* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Arquitectura, 1999).

⁵⁵ *Itinerary of the Expedition into the Province of Texas, New Kingdom of Philipinas, which by order of the Most Excellent Señor Marquis of Vaerlo, Viceroy, and Captain General of New Spain the very illustrious Señor Don Joseph de Azlor, Knight Commandant of the Kingdom of Aragon, Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, Governor and Captain General of said Provinces of Texas....Año 1722*. For this document that was translated from the original Spanish manuscript, see BLB, H.E. Bolton Papers, call num. Mss C-B 840 Pt. 1, Item 529.

isolation” of the missions in modern historiographies.⁵⁶ Beginning with colonization in the 1590’s, Jesuit and Franciscan authors used the term “frontier” in a way that was very different from Covarrubias’ definition as a border between two established European nations.⁵⁷ While they no doubt understood the importance of their presence to protect the boundaries of the Spanish viceroyalty, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries also immersed themselves within a cultural frontier in New Spain that encompassed a vast area the size of Western Europe.⁵⁸ These religious moved between European and native frontiers as they studied indigenous cultures and practiced linguistic training as they had done in central Mexico and Peru earlier in the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Yet European contact with indigenous societies on the northern New Spanish missions occurred within very different spiritual, social, and spatial contexts. Evangelization did not begin at the northern extremities of the viceroyalty as it did in central Mexico in large urban “centers” of religious and political importance as in Tlaxcala, Texcoco, and Tenochtitlán. As Bill Merrill has noted, the “physiographic diversity of [northern New Spain] was paralleled by and reflected in the cultural diversity of its Native residents.”⁶⁰ Jesuit reports and letters often

⁵⁶ Bargellini, in *Time and Place*, 124.

⁵⁷ The Jesuits often refer to the “frontier” in their correspondences. See, for example, the Father Provincial’s 1637 description of the northern missionary region as “*la frontera de otras gentiles*,” in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Rome (hereafter cited as ARSI), Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Number 5, f. 8v. In a 1649 Franciscan document titled *Descripcion de Nueva Vizcaya*, an anonymous Franciscan friar also uses the term “frontera” to locate the northern missions in Parras, Saltillo, Parral, and the Tarahumara. See *Archivum Generale O.F.M.*, Rome (cited hereafter as AGOFM), M29, Nueva Vizcaya, f. 145v; M62 Zacatecas, f. 321r.

⁵⁸ William Merrill, “Indigenous Societies, Missions, and the Colonial System in Northern New Spain,” in *Arts of the Missions*, 123.

⁵⁹ Cecilia Sheridan Prieto (“Indios Madrineros,” 15) also refers to this definition of the frontier as places of confrontation between Spanish and local Native cultures in her observation: “este termino [frontera] fue usado frecuentemente por los pobladores no nativos para referirse a territorios considerados de control indígena, o bien, a su calidad de colonizadores en zona frontera de guerra.”

⁶⁰ In his study of the cultural and linguistic diversity of indigenous groups that missionaries encountered on the northern frontier, William Merrill notes that missionaries and colonizers sought to maintain good relations with indigenous allies in order to defend the northern frontier, thereby providing many Indian groups with considerable autonomy over their cultural practices within the mission system. See “Indigenous Societies,” 122-153.

mention traversing these great distances across deserts, subtropical lowlands, mountains, and canyons and overcoming the challenges of communication and cultural barriers with nomadic populations who spoke more than one hundred distinct languages.⁶¹ While missionaries often underscored the difficulty of moving between distant settings and living in harsh physical environments, they also overcame their isolation and maintained frequent trade and communication networks throughout New Spain and Europe. Missionaries and their superiors were often ambivalent about the efficiency of their travel because the concept of the frontier was an important rhetorical tool. Jesuits seeking transfer to the New World expressed their desire to meet death on the distant frontier as the ideal culmination of their life emulating Christ's own sacrifice, while others noted their distant location in hopes of avoiding secularization of their missions or loss of their agricultural estates. The following chapter will continue this examination of the contradictions inherent in the Jesuits' missionary enterprise that served these spiritual and temporal ends.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One will shed light on the religious and economic foundations at Parras, where Jesuit missionaries worked to create a stable religious community and local landowners received incentives from the Crown to invest in agriculture to help settle this region in northeastern New Spain. This chapter will highlight that the Jesuits' spiritual and temporal enterprises were often intertwined in Parras as they were throughout the New Spanish viceroyalty and beyond. In Parras, the order's agricultural holdings helped the Jesuits form alliances with wealthy

⁶¹ While many colonial chroniclers rarely mention the countryside, Jesuit and Franciscan authors often describe these travels across remote distances overcoming various obstacles to their evangelization efforts. See, for example, the many Jesuit letters such as those in *Monumenta Mexicana*, Vol. VIII (1603-1605) in *Monumenta Historica*, vol. 139. Ed. Feliz Zubillaga, p. 39; Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe*; Padre Rivadeneyra, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino...* (Barcelona, 1601); Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Los Protomártires del Japon en la hagiografía novohispana," in *Pinceles*, 73-91.

landowners from both Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan families. These relationships played a key role in attracting patrons to participate in donating funds and labor to build the Jesuits' church, where the order hosted elaborate ceremonies throughout the liturgical year that often competed with the local parish church.

Chapter Two will examine the process in which the Jesuits decorated their church of *San Ignacio* in a carefully chosen program that filled their chapels with imported artworks. Patrons such as the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo* demonstrated their piety by donating large sums to construct chapels in the Jesuits' church that were filled with gilded altarpieces, devotional paintings, and polychrome sculptures. Tlaxcaltecan patrons also became important donors responsible for the ornamentation of multiple chapels and *retablos* in the nave and presbytery of *San Ignacio*. Combining their cosmopolitan networks of artistic transfer and thriving economic enterprises in Parras, the Jesuits commissioned paintings from prominent artists in Mexico City and imported them to *San Ignacio*. The order commissioned paintings from artists such as Juan Sanchez Salmerón, a prominent artist in Mexico City. This chapter will reconstruct the original organization of artworks in *San Ignacio* that survive today and examine how these artworks functioned as a coherent aesthetic program for the Jesuits multiple audiences. By examining surviving sermons from Parras and considering passages in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, it is possible to recreate original devotional scenarios in the Jesuits' church. Here, paintings and sculptures in the chapels of *San Ignacio* were not passive objects decorating these sacred spaces but important agents in the Jesuits' religious performances that were both heard and seen during masses and festivals.

Chapter Three will examine how the movement of Jesuits, who traveled regularly between Parras, Mexico City, and Europe, played an important role in the Society's importation of artworks to northern churches such as *San Ignacio* in Parras. As the documents identified as the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* reveal, the Jesuits maintained international travel networks with great efficiency as they became an integral part of the Jesuit missionary praxis.⁶² The frequent circulation of members of the order between both continents enabled the Jesuits to acquire artworks, prints, sculptures, and important texts including Roman Martyrologies and humanist treatises. Inventories reveal that these objects were transported to Parras for devotional and scholarly use at *San Ignacio*. This chapter will reveal that the order's strategies of creating alliances with local patrons to build and decorate their church in Parras was nearly identical the order's methods initiating similar projects in cities such as Rome, Mexico City, Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa due to this circulation of Jesuits worldwide. This evidence has important implications for the study of northern New Spanish art. It reveals that the alliances created by the order in Parras were not the product of an isolated missionary situation but rather part of a dynamic network of artistic and cultural exchange that operated worldwide. This evidence of the movement of missionaries demonstrates that metropolitan and frontier relationships must not be viewed as opposed to each other but rather as *interacting* within a larger network of artistic dialogue.

Chapter Four will examine the importance of Jesuit martyrdom imagery on the northern frontier and the transportation of portraits and textual accounts to the Society's headquarters in

⁶² The data in these triennial travel logs of the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves*, that document the frequent movement of missionaries and procurators throughout the world will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. See ARSI Rome, Mex. 5, Mex. 6, and Mex. 7.

Rome. The Jesuits promoted the New Spanish frontier as an important theater of martyrdom in their churches and residences in Rome, Mexico City, and on the northern missions. This discussion will explore how Jesuit leaders such as the Father General in Rome identified the northern New Spanish regions as the “new vineyard” of Christ in their requests for missionaries to send portraits of these martyrs to Europe via the viceregal capital. These letters from the Father General and textual descriptions of now lost Jesuit church decorations in Rome, reveal that the Society commissioned and displayed paintings of various New Spanish martyrs in their churches and houses in Rome in the seventeenth century. Evidence such as this reveals how the order began to allegorize this area of economic production in the north at a time when the Jesuits were developing their own institutional missionary identity.⁶³ The transmission of these martyrdom images from northern New Spain to Rome also contributes to a body of scholarship that challenges the notion that artworks moved solely in one direction from Spain to its dependant colonies.⁶⁴ With this bi-directional movement of artworks between northern New Spain and Europe, the colonial frontier transformed into a sacred site of spiritual focus for audiences in both Europe and colonial Mexico. These images will reaffirm the transforming identity of northern New Spain as a missionary locus of central importance that provided the

⁶³ Jennifer Selwyn examines the contribution of various Jesuits, such as José de Acosta and Father General Claudio Acquaviva, in codifying a “self-conscious, collective Jesuit missionary identity” in Rome, Naples, the Spanish American provinces and beyond, in *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils The Jesuits’ Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 4 and 117-118.

⁶⁴ For more on the dissemination of New Spanish images from New Spain to Europe, see Martínez del Río de Redo, Marita. “Los Biombos en el Ámbito Doméstico: Sus Programas Moralizadores y Didácticos.” In *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza la pintura emblemática de la Nueva España*. (México: Banamex-Accival, 1994): 133-149.

order with a cult of Mexican martyrs to be venerated in both the viceregal capital and abroad at the Society's headquarters in Rome.

Chapter One

The Jesuits on the Northern Frontier: Viticulture and Power at *Santa María de las Parras*

The main focus of this study is to examine how the Jesuits' relationships with local benefactors helped the order create networks of artistic transfer to circulate images between this northeastern settlement and Mexico City. To better understand these art patronage dynamics, it is important to first consider how the Jesuits' economic interests in lucrative agricultural enterprises, which would help fund this art production, played a key role in the Jesuits coming to Parras twenty-six years after arriving in New Spain.¹ Located in the easternmost region of Nueva Vizcaya, Santa María de las Parras was founded as both a Spanish *pueblo* and a Jesuit mission in 1598 in the fertile river basin surrounded by the Sierra Madre Oriental. Parras is today located in southern Coahuila, Mexico, in between Torreón to the west and Saltillo to the east (Figure. 5). While Parras was established during the Society's first decade of evangelization in the north between 1590 and 1600, yet it is interesting to note that it was not until the late 1580s that the Jesuits began moving toward the New Spanish frontier. The Parras case study therefore exemplifies one of the possible contradictions inherent in the Jesuits' New World mission enterprise.² Even though the Society had founded missions abroad in the East Indies,

¹ As this discussion will reveal, the Jesuits participated in profitable agricultural ventures on both American continents and received substantial revenues from their ownership of haciendas, ranches, and vineyards. See Nicholas Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1980); Herman Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in colonial Mexico: Santa Lucia, 1576-1767* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

² Various scholars, including Lorenza Autrey Maza and Rafael Rodríguez Castañeda, cite Jesuit correspondences asserting that missionary work was one of the order's primary goals in New Spain and that they possessed "un vivo interés por iniciar su misión evangelizadora," yet the order did not begin moving north for nearly twenty years after arriving in New Spain. See Autrey Maza et al, *La Profesa. Patrimonio artístico y cultural* (México: Secretaria de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología, 1988), 3, 14, and 17. Autrey Maza and Rodríguez Castañeda (*ibid*, 80) also cite

Japan, China, Brazil, and the Kongo by the time the first Jesuits left for Spanish America, evangelization on the viceregal frontiers was not the order's initial venture in New Spain or Peru.³ Before discussing the history of the founding of Parras, which has been examined in detail by many scholars, it is important to consider how the Jesuits' economic interests in winemaking and other agricultural enterprises may have played a role in the Society's expansion to missions such as Parras into northeastern New Spain. The Jesuits arrived in Mexico City in 1572 to participate in evangelization and education enterprises after the Father General Francis Borgia answered the petition of the Viceroy and other colonial officials and bishops, including Vasco de Quiroga in Michoacán, to send the first Jesuits from Rome to New Spain. Fifteen members of the Society entered Mexico City in 1572 through a passage between the twin volcanoes known as the "Paso de Cortés." In contrast to the conquistador's legendary arrival fifty years earlier, the Jesuits entered the viceregal capital discreetly in the night, with no public ceremony or formal reception, in a conscious gesture of "modesty and silence."⁴ While projecting this low profile on one hand, the order promptly engaged in considering the large donations offered by prominent patrons in the viceregal capital, as the Society focused on its

Jesuit letters in *Monumenta Mexicana*, ed. Félix Zubillaga (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatus Iesu, 1956), vol. 3: doc. 12 (18 abril 1588), 322; vol. 5, doc. 15, 41.

³ Sabine Hyland notes these locations where the Jesuits had already established their presence in *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004), 33. Cécile Fromont has noted the spelling of Kongo with a K serves to differentiate the historical kingdom from the nineteenth-century colonial construction of the Congo, in "Dance, Image, Myth, and Conversion in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1500-1800" *African Arts* (Winter 2011), 62.

⁴ Autrey Maza (*La Profesa*, 11) observes "Para no ser sentidos y evitar otro recibimiento mundano, desembarcaron de noche en la Ciudad de México y se hospedaron 'con recato y silencio.'"

urban foundations from 1573 to 1585.⁵ Before coming to New Spain, the Jesuits arrived in Peru in 1568, where they also concentrated on their ministry in larger cities rather than evangelization among indigenous groups in unsettled areas outside of metropolitan areas. As Sabine Hyland has noted, the Peruvian Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had to pressure the Jesuits to accept their first rural mission appointment at Huarochirí in 1570, and he was angered by the Society's refusal to continue there after just two years of evangelization work.⁶ After abandoning Huarochirí in 1572, the Jesuits did not found another mission outside of a Peruvian metropolis until 1576 when the Society successfully established the *doctrina* of Julí.⁷ Similarly in New Spain, the Jesuits spent nearly twenty years in Mexico City before expanding their presence forty leagues north of the viceregal capital in 1588 to the mission of San Luis de la Paz (present-day Guanajuato). This settlement identified by the order as a "Chichimeca Mission" became a successful precedent for the Jesuits to continue moving north.⁸ In 1590, the Father Provincial sent the missionaries

⁵ As Herman Konrad notes, Viceroy Don Martín Enríquez de Almansa and the secretary of the Mexico City *cabildo*, Don Francisco Michón Rodríguez, offered to be the benefactors of the Jesuits, but the Society chose the secular patron Don Alonso de Villaseca to fund their first projects including the construction of their *Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y Pablo* in 1573. The Jesuits subsequently established the *Colegio de San Gregorio* dedicated to educating Indian boys in 1576, their professed house of *La Profesa* in 1578, the *Colegio de San Martín* in Tepotzotlán for the study of indigenous languages in 1580, and the novitiate of *San Francisco Xavier* in Tepotzotlán in 1585. By 1575, the Jesuits were founding Colleges in major urban centers outside of Mexico City. See Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucia, 1576-1767* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 16; Juan Sanchez Baquero, *Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España, 1571-80*. (México: Editorial Patria, 1945), 48-50.

⁶ Sabine Hyland, *Jesuit and the Incas*, 38 and 46.

⁷ Hyland (*ibid*, 47-58) notes that the Jesuits founded one mission in 1572 at Santiago del Cercado, but it was located in a relatively urban setting on the outskirts of Lima. See also Antonio de Egaña, *Monumenta peruana*, (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1958), vol. 2: 335-37; Gauvin Bailey provides a more simplified timeline stating that the Julí mission was founded in 1578 as the first *doctrina* in Peru, in *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 41.

⁸ As José Gabriel Martínez Serna observes, the Spanish adopted the term "Chichimeca" from the Nahuas, who used this name to identify collectively the Indians living north of the Valley of Mexico. The Jesuits used this term to identify the Otomí and Huastecan Indian tribes in this region, and the mission name of San Luis de la Paz denoted the order's focus on creating peace with these bellicose native tribes. See his "Vineyards and Deserts: The Jesuits

Martín Pérez and Gonzalo de Tapia north to Sonora and to Sinaloa in 1591.⁹ From Sinaloa, the Jesuits moved into the Sierra of Nueva Vizcaya, where they founded the Topia and Tepehuanes missions in 1594 and 1596, respectively, before establishing the Parras mission in 1598 (Figure 6).

The reasons for the delay in the Jesuits' expansion of their evangelization mission to remote areas in New Spain and Peru are multifaceted and cannot be simplified by a single circumstance. The order's strategic focus on organizing its urban affairs, including establishing an "administrative and intellectual center" in the viceregal capitals and cities such as Cuzco and Puebla, must have caused a delay in the dissemination of missionaries to the viceregal frontiers.¹⁰ The failure of early viceregal frontier missions, such as at the Jesuit *doctrina* at Huarochirí and the Society's settlement in Florida that began in 1566 and was abandoned in 1572, may have caused the order to be hesitant about establishing its presence far from urban foundations.¹¹ The successful foundations of missions at Juli in Peru in 1576 and San Luis de la Paz in New Spain in 1588 may have provided some encouragement for the Jesuits to expand further north in New Spain.

and the Rise and Decline of an Indian Town in New Spain's Northeastern Borderlands" (PhD.: Southern Methodist University, 2009), 64-65; For Andrés Pérez de Ribas' discussion of the viceroy suggesting this name San Luis de la Paz in reference to establishing peace, see *History of the Triumphs History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith*, trans. Daniel T. Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard K. Danford. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 700-701.

⁹ See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 701; Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1940); W. Eugene Shiels, "Gonzalo de Tapia: un conquistador de dios, 1561-1594" in *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, vol. 19: *The Jesuit Missions of Northern New Spain*, Charles Polzer, et al, eds. (New York: Garland Press, 1991), 2.

¹⁰ Konrad uses this term in *Jesuit Hacienda*, 15.

¹¹ For more on the Jesuit mission in Florida, see Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 31-48.

A growing change in the Jesuits' attention to their missionary identity in the last decades of the sixteenth century must have also played a major role in catalyzing the order's expansion to the mission frontiers.¹² Jesuit theorists such as José de Acosta, who was a missionary and a leading theologian at the Jesuit College in Lima, contributed to transforming the Society's focus to expanding their missionary enterprises far from urban settings. Citing Plutarch and Gregory the Great in his 1576 *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Acosta drew from humanist sources to encourage his fellow Jesuits to immerse themselves in indigenous communities on the viceregal peripheries to achieve conversion. In his writing that played a key role in changing Jesuit mission policy, Acosta asked, "how do you expect to win a nation for Christ if you do not establish a base there, build a single spiritual fortress, or live there permanently?"¹³

The election of Claudio Aquaviva as Father General of the Society in Rome in 1581 was also an important event in the transformation of the Jesuits' missionary praxis.¹⁴ During his long tenure as leader of the order from 1581 until 1615, Father General Aquaviva encouraged the Society to renew its focus on missionary enterprises by expanding the number of educational

¹² Chapter Four will examine in greater detail how the martyrdom of missionaries on the northern frontier of New Spain became important to the formation of the Jesuits' missionary identity on both sides of the Atlantic.

¹³ Bailey cites Book 5, Chapter 18 of Acosta's treatise in *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 41. For more on Acosta's adoption of humanist concepts in relation to missionary strategies in his *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* as well as in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, which sought to understand indigenous cultures rather than viewing them as barbarous savages, see Claudio M. Burgaleta, *José de Acosta, S.J., 1540-1600: His Life and Thought* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999), 42-45.

¹⁴ Jennifer Selwyn states succinctly what is widely accepted among scholars of Jesuit mission and institutional histories: The "global expansion of [the Jesuits'] missionary activity was deemed one of the great achievements of Aquaviva's generalate," a point that has been reiterated by various Early Modern sources and contemporary historians on both sides of the Atlantic. See Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004), 110. For comparable observations, see Saverio Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu appartenente al Regno di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1706-11), 177; Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J., *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Nueva España. vol. I, Libros 1-3 (Años 1566-1596)*, Ernest J. Burrus S.J. and Félix Zubillaga, S.J., eds. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1956); Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert, 61-63. For contemporary Jesuit discussions of Aquaviva's contribution to the order's global missionary agenda, see *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 2: 2-7 and 270-285.

institutions and missions in both Spanish viceroyalties and abroad.¹⁵ Acquaviva also supported increasing the number of Jesuits appointed to missionary work on the Christian frontiers worldwide, corresponding frequently with missionaries such as Matteo Ricci in China, who kept the Father General updated on his progress of immersing in the intellectual culture of Ming dynasty Nanchang in the 1590s.¹⁶ In New Spain, Acquaviva approved the requests of fifty new missionaries to depart Europe in 1588, sending them to Mexico City and reiterating his belief that the conversion of the Indians on the missions was to be the order's principle concern.¹⁷

Father General Acquaviva also expressed his specific interest in founding a Jesuit mission in the *Laguna* region in his letters from Rome to the Father Provincial in Mexico City one year before the founding of Parras in 1598.¹⁸ As Martínez Serna has revealed, Parras was the product of the Jesuits' highly efficient international network of communication even before it was physically established as one of the Society's missions, observing that "by the time the mission of Parras was founded in 1598, years of communication between Guadiana [Durango], Mexico City, Seville, Madrid, and Rome had set the stage for the full-fledged expansion of the

¹⁵ Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, 39.

¹⁶ For more on the multiple letters that Acquaviva and Ricci wrote to each other beginning in 1596, as Ricci reported to Acquaviva on his efforts to further the cause of the Catholic Church in China by teaching Ming dynasty princes and imperial bureaucrats humanist mnemonic techniques and the Gospel, see Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 4 and 17.

¹⁷ Autrey Maza, *La Profesa*, 22; See also *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 3: Artículo I: La provincia geográfica. Colegios y casas de la Compañía (Rome: IHSI), 41.

¹⁸ Martínez Serna ("Vineyards in the Desert," 62-63) discusses the Father General's awareness of the potential for founding a mission in Parras, which no doubt was based on economic as well as spiritual motivations. See the following letters: "Carta del General Acquaviva al Padre Martin Pelaez" Rome, 2 August 1597, in *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 6: doc. 63, 259-260; "Carta del Provincial Ildelfonso de Castro al General Acquaviva" in *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 7: doc. 125, 723-24. Martínez Serna also cites Acquaviva's interest in founding more missions in northern New Spain at the Fifth Provincial Congregation in Mexico City in 1599: "Congregación provincial mexicana quinta" Mexico City (November 2-9, 1599), in *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 6: doc. 220, 641-649; "Instrucción para que se atiende con mas calor al ministerio con los indios" (June 30, 1603) in *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 8: doc. 25, 187-190.

Jesuit frontier into the Laguna region.”¹⁹ Jesuit bureaucrats recognized that the economic potential of operating vineyards in Parras that would help create a sustained economy in the region and support other Jesuit colleges and houses nearby.²⁰ The order subsequently founded its mission in 1598 next to pre-existing *haciendas* owned by prominent Spanish landowners such as Lorenzo García and Francisco de Urdiñola, and the first *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo* would later acquire the Urdiñola’s estates through marriage (Figure 7).²¹

Jesuit Economic Foundations in New Spain: A Comparison Between Central Mexico and the North

The motives of expanding the Jesuits’ evangelization mission into new regions at the extremities of the empire required growing financial support from within the order. It is therefore likely no coincidence that the orders’ lucrative financial returns from the first ten years of operating agricultural estates near Mexico City coincided with the Jesuits’ decision to expand its mission networks further to the north and south of the viceregal capital.²² For example, at the

¹⁹ Martínez Serna, “Vineyards in the Desert,” 61. He cites a sampling of Father General Acquaviva’s correspondences with the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, who pleaded with the head of the Society to send trained missionaries to the northern missions. See “Carta del General Acquaviva al Gobernador Rodrigo del Rio y Loza” (May 9 1594), in *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. V, document number 78, 244; “Carta del General Acquaviva al Gobernador Rodrigo del Rio y Loza (13 March 1595)” in *ibid*, 363-64; “Carta del General Acquaviva al Padre Jeronimo Ramirez” in *ibid*, document number 119, 364-65; “Carta del General Acquaviva al Provincial Esteban Paez” in *ibid*, document number 120, 365-369.

²⁰ Martínez Serna (*ibid*, 60) observes that Jesuit expeditions first came to Parras to estimate the potential for conversion among the native population, the actual commitment by the order to found a mission at Parras came after the Jesuit curia in Rome and the provincial leadership in Mexico City felt confident that the Society had adequate missionaries and financial support to sustain its presence in the *Laguna*.

²¹ The foundation of both the Jesuit mission and the *pueblo* of Santa María de las Parras happened simultaneously in 1598, according to Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, 154-156. The Jesuits practiced similar strategies of founding their missions next to pre-existing agricultural operations in Argentina as well. For more on these economic initiatives in the Society’s founding of its *estancias* and *haciendas* in Córdoba and Salta, see Nicolas Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650-1767* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).

²² A *hacienda* as the Jesuits described it was any revenue-producing agricultural business and an *estancia* was defined as a ranch or rural property that was often a subunit of a larger estate, such as a *latifundio*, or system of larger estates. For this economic data, see Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, 46 and 419. See also James Denson Riley, *Hacendados Jesuitas en México: la administración de los bienes inmuebles del Colegio Máximo de San Pablo y San*

Jesuits' *haciendas* in the Valley of Mexico known as *Santa Lucia*, the order recorded annual revenues that increased dramatically from 1,500 pesos in 1577 to 5,349 pesos in 1584. It is within this religious and economic milieu, when the order was expanding both its missions and its possession of landholdings in New Spain at the end of the sixteenth century, that the Jesuits became involved in the foundation of the Parras mission in 1598, where *haciendas* and vineyards were already producing lucrative cash crops for Spanish *hacendados*.

This establishment of viticulture enterprises transformed the mission settlement of Parras into an important wine production center in northern New Spain. As the Jesuits' spiritual and material interests became intertwined in the commerce of wine and brandy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the order received a steady source of revenue on the northeastern frontier to help support the foundation of its inchoate colleges on the northeastern frontier at Parras and later at Monterrey.²³ The "spiritual capital" that the Jesuits possessed in the form of valuable land, water rights, and experience in legal maneuvers to protect the two, was equally lucrative as viticulture became the economic base of the community. The order created alliances with Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan landowners that balanced the power bases in Parras as both groups sought to have their fiscal privileges and tax exemptions protected.²⁴

Pedro (México City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1976). Francois Chevalier, *La Formación de los latifundios en México. Tierra y sociedad en los siglos XVI y XVII* (México: Problemas Agrícolas Industriales de México, 1956).

²³ Winemaking in Parras remains a thriving business today, as the Madero family who owns the Casa Madero label cultivates the vineyards formerly controlled by the Jesuits and the *hacienda* of San Lorenzo.

²⁴ In exchange for their participation in establishing a settlement at Parras that helped protect the northeastern frontier from Toboso Indian attacks in the seventeenth century and Apache raids in the eighteenth century, the Crown gave Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan winemakers certain exemptions from taxation on wine and brandy production. As Sergio Antonio Corona Páez has revealed in his research, the Bourbon Crown sought to impose a new tax on wine and brandy from Parras in 1729, but Spanish and Indian winemakers used legal action to petition for the Crown to honor their exemptions. In 1738, the Viceroy upheld these exemptions, and in 1758 when the Crown made another attempt to impose new taxes on winemakers in Parras, these exemptions were again upheld by the viceroy in 1762. See Corona Páez, *Viñedos y vendimias en la Nueva Vizcaya* (Torreón: Universidad

The economic development of commercial viticulture in Parras and the Jesuits' participation as central players in this lucrative enterprise of winemaking is important for mission historiographies because it demonstrates that the order invested in agricultural enterprises to support its members on the northeastern missions in ways identical to their practices in other rural areas in Peru and Argentina as well as near urban centers in Mexico City and Puebla.²⁵ In his *Constitutions*, Ignatius of Loyola sought to ensure that Jesuit colleges could support themselves and permitted them to create a steady source of income.²⁶ After the order's arrival to Mexico City in 1572, Jesuit superiors sought to acquire urban real estate donations in the viceregal capital but had reservations about purchasing or receiving agricultural properties in rural settings. In 1576, one of the Jesuits' earliest benefactors, Don Alonso de Villaseca, suggested that the order consider buying land in the countryside north of Mexico City near Lake Xaltocan.²⁷ After Villaseca donated 40,000 pesos to the Jesuits, the Father Provincial invested in the real estate venture to acquire the *estancias* that would become collectively known as the *Hacienda de Santa Lucía* for 17,000 pesos, a sum many Jesuit superiors felt was exorbitant for

Iberoamericana, 2003), 26-31. For more on Corona Páez's discovery of the following documents in the AGN pertaining to this case that include: AGN *General del Parte*, Vol. 21, Exp. 221, f. 157v, February 10 1738; AGN *Indios*, Vol. 54, Exp. 263, f. 236, October 1738, AGN *General de Parte*, Vol. 44, Exp. 71, f. 65, June 2 1762, see Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura en el pueblo de Santa María de las Parras* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004), 17; Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 104.

²⁵ See, for example, Nicholas P. Cushner's studies including *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650-1767* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); *Lords of the Land Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600-1767* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1980).

²⁶ In Spanish and Portuguese America, the Jesuits created revenues from their rental of urban properties and operation of haciendas, ranches, and vineyards. See Nicholas Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 5.

²⁷ Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda*, 23-24.

such a risky investment.²⁸ The success of Santa Lucía's *hacienda* production, bringing annual revenues that rapidly grew from 1,500 pesos in 1577 to 5,349 pesos in 1584, transformed the order's interest in owning rural properties.²⁹ These returns catalyzed the order's investment in more properties in central Mexico and must have been an important motivating factor in the Jesuits' expansion of their missions into territories with potential agricultural investment opportunities such as Parras.

By 1583, the Society accepted agricultural real estate donations with great frequency, acquiring a ranch in Pátzcuaro with 4,000 head of cattle and multiple *estancias* (ranches) in Colima with 700 horses, goats, sheep, and a cacao orchard.³⁰ Because of the varied sources of Jesuit record keeping, which are often vague in the surviving historical record and often lost completely in many other instances, it is difficult to assess the exact number of Jesuit landholdings at the time of the Expulsion.³¹ In his detailed economic study of the Jesuit

²⁸ Konrad (*ibid*, 18-21) notes that in 1572, Villaseca also donated five lots in the city center of the viceregal capital to the Jesuits to build their administrative center and *Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y Pablo* to be named after his patron saints, Peter and Paul. In 1576, he donated another 40,000 pesos for an endowment to fund the building of their college complex and church on this site in exchange for masses said in his honor and his heirs in perpetuity.

²⁹ Santa Lucía came to be a wise long-term investment as well, with revenues that grew to over 40,000 pesos in 1766. See *Ibid*, 41, 214.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 39. For a more comprehensive inventory of the Jesuits' ownership of agricultural estates beginning in the sixteenth century, see the "*Stato Temporale*" records collected in New Spain and sent to Rome. These records of the temporal investments of the Jesuits provide inventories of *haciendas* owned by the order that were often donated by secular benefactors, income generated from these estates, and contracts for purchases and sales identified as "compravendita." The financial data for central Mexico is much more detailed while information on the missions is relatively scarce, but these records do reveal that the Jesuits' acquisition and operation of their agricultural enterprises near Mexico City was identical to their practices at Parras on the northern frontier. See ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Numbers 4-8, 14-15, and 39.

³¹ Jesuit correspondences with Crown officials or the Bishops rarely mention specific data related to income or ownership of agricultural estates, as the order was often defending itself from the accusations of temporal excess. Internal Jesuit bookkeeping of income from the houses worldwide is much more comprehensive, but the survival of these records is incomplete. For example, the records from the *Fondo Gesuitico* and the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* in the main Jesuit Archive in Rome (ARSI) provide a wealth of data related to the income from winemaking in the Peruvian viceroyalty yet very few records survive from Parras in New Spain. See Kushner, *Lords of the Land*

agricultural income at colleges, residences, and a small selection of missions, James Riley estimated the Society owned between seventy-two and ninety *haciendas*, ranches, and sugar estates in New Spain by 1767.³² While studies such as these generally examine landholdings of the larger Jesuit colleges and professed houses, they provide less comprehensive data on the assets at the northern missions.³³ This can be explained by the unfortunate reality that records are many times lost or destroyed. Also, many missions did not engage in lucrative agricultural enterprises that would have given them financial autonomy from Crown support. Moreover, because the majority of the New Spanish Province's assets were acquired in cattle and sheep ranching and sugar and tobacco production, more detailed records are available for this income than for crops such as grapes and winemaking.

Winemaking in Santa María de las Parras

Spanish settlers and native Indian tribes were attracted to the water sources of the valley of Parras at the headwaters of the *Rio de las Nazas*, a river that has come to be known as “the Mexican Nile” in the twentieth century.³⁴ The floodwaters of the Nazas and the Aguanaval

for the Peruvian records in the ARSI. For financial data related to winemaking, see: ARSI, Mex. 6, *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* (1690-1723), folios 211r, 282r-286, and 334r-340v. Income reports from Parras are not currently present in the Fondo Gesuitico.

³² James D. Riley, “The Wealth of the Jesuits in Mexico, 1670-1767,” *The Americas* 33.2 (Oct 1976), 242, 260-266; Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, 302.

³³ Riley (“Wealth,” 250) lists only financial information for the Jesuit missions in California and the Philippines. See also H. Tovar Pinzon, “Elementos constitutivos de la empresa agraria jesuita en la segunda mitad de XVIII en México,” in *Haciendas, Latifundios, y Plantaciones en América Latina* (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975).

³⁴ Vito Alessio Robles, *Francisco Urdiñola y el norte de la Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1931), 43-44. The floodwaters from the Rio de las Nasas would terminate in shallow lakes gathered around Parras, providing important water sources for the indigenous tribes in the area, and after the Conquest, to Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan ranchers, farmers, and vintners. For a more thorough description of the region, see Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 219-220.

Rivers terminated in shallow lakes near Parras, giving the region its name of *Laguna Grande*.

The local indigenous tribe of Irritila Indians lived as hunter-gatherers in the *Laguna* region, fishing the abundant lakes and hunting waterfowl and deer living near its waters.³⁵ During the first Spanish explorations to the *Laguna* in 1578, this river basin became known as *el Valle de las Parras* with its wild grapevines that reminded the Spanish of Castilian vineyards they knew on the Iberian Peninsula.³⁶

The Spaniards Lorenzo García and Francisco de Urdiñola received the earliest Spanish land grants in 1578 to settle and operate *haciendas* in the Parras valley.³⁷ Drawn to the ideal climate and soil quality for growing grapevines in Parras, Garcia and Urdiñola began what scholars identify as some of the first vineyards in New Spain that would become commercial enterprises in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.³⁸ In 1597, Garcia initiated wine production at his *Hacienda de San Lorenzo*, which still produces wine today under the label *Hacienda Casa Madero*. While Vito Alessio Robles claims that the vineyards from Francisco de

³⁵ The Irritila Indians were also identified as the Lagunero Indian tribe, and their language was part of the Uto-Aztecan language stock and in the same family of Aztecoidan languages such as Zacateco and Guachichil. See Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 164.

³⁶ Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 34; Vito Alessio Robles notes a 1578 *merced*, or donation of land, by Martin Lopez de Ibarra, in which he identifies the region as “el valle de Pirineo, que es el de Parras,” in *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial* (Mexico: Editorial Cultura, 1938), 140.

³⁷ When Santa María de las Parras was founded in 1598, Urdiñola’s *Hacienda de Santa María* had an established population of 190 workers and Lorenzo Garcia’s *Hacienda San Lorenzo* employed 68 people. See Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura*, 32.

³⁸ Parras was only one of various early settlements in the sixteenth century to grow grapevines that included Nieves near Zacatecas and San Juan del Rio and Santa Barbara near Durango. See Corona Páez, 21-28. Various scholars contend that the first vineyards in the Americas were planted in New Spain and certain types of grapes, such as the “Criolla” or “Misión” variety, were then transferred to Peru in the first decades of the seventeenth century and then later to Argentina. See especially, Joseph Jobe, *El gran libro de vino* (Madrid: Blume, 1971); J. Harold Grossman, *Grossman’s guide to wines, beers, and spirits* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1977), 242. Nicholas Cushner mentions the Jesuits acquiring their first vineyards in Peru from already functioning estates in the 1630’s, but does not mention when the first vineyards were established in *Lords of the Land Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600-1767* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1980) 42-43.

Urdiñola's *hacienda* produced wine as early as 1594, other scholars disagree citing winemaking on the Urdiñola lands did not begin until after 1607, when specific lands were purchased and his daughter Isabel began to participate in the family viticulture business.³⁹ Coinciding with Parras' foundation in 1598, the Spanish Crown gave agricultural entrepreneurs such as Garcia and Urdiñola rare exemptions from the prohibition of wine production in the New World.⁴⁰ These and other Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan vintners also received privileges to legally produce wine and liquor without paying *alcabala* sales taxes on shipments distributed throughout New Spain.

As the *Capitan General* and Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Francisco de Urdiñola owned vast territories of agricultural land and cattle ranches totaling over 3,293,153 hectares. Isabel de Urdiñola y Lois inherited her father's vineyards and the control of water sources on his land in Parras after Francisco retired in 1612 to his *Hacienda de Santa Elena* near Zacatecas.⁴¹ In 1680, Urdiñola's granddaughter married the first *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, Agustín de Echeverz y Subiza, who moved from Madrid to Urdiñola's *Hacienda de los Patos* outside of Parras.⁴² The *Marqués* and his wife Francisca de Valdés de Alcega y Urdiñola and their descendants would prominent patrons of the Jesuit church in Parras throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

³⁹ Vito Alessio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola y el norte de Nueva España*, 154; Corona Páez, cites Alessio Robles in *La vitivinicultura*, 34; Gabriel Serna disagrees with Alessio Robles citing evidence of Urdinola purchasing the land for winemaking from Anton Martin Zapata in 1607 and the production growing substantially after Urdinola's death in 1618 when Isabel de Urdinola assumed control and transformed the family business. See, "Vineyards in the Desert," 149-150.

⁴⁰ Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *Viñedos y Vendimias en La Nueva Vizcaya* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003), 9-15.

⁴¹ Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura*, 46-47; Alessio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola*, 211-212.

⁴² Alessio Robles cites the title of Marqués given to the Echeverz y Subiza by Carlos II in 1682 in *Francisco de Urdiñola*, 211.

Until very recently, economic and social historians have not recognized the importance of Parras' winemaking industry. As Sergio Antonio Corona Páez has noted, historians such as Chevalier and West have overlooked the documentation that gave winemakers in Parras receiving unique exemptions from Spanish laws prohibiting wine production in New Spain. Because of this oversight, scholars have incorrectly assumed that winemaking in Parras constituted nothing more than an example of illegal liquor production.⁴³ Corona Páez has uncovered the *Real Cédulas* verifying this special authorization by the Crown allowing lay entrepreneurs and the Jesuits in Parras to participate in the wine and brandy business.⁴⁴

These privileges to legally produce wine gave secular landowners and the Jesuits certain incentives to settle these fertile lands and relocate indigenous populations for a sustainable workforce on the vineyards.⁴⁵ As Corona Páez has noted, these landowners received these exemptions precisely because Parras and its environs were located in *zonas fronterizas* on the fringes of northeastern New Spain in areas subject to hostile Indian attacks.⁴⁶ Therefore these privileges provided the community—both Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan—with economic incentives to establish their mission, businesses, and residence in Parras. This presence of a growing population of Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan families helped the Crown maintain another well-

⁴³ Francois Chevalier, *La formación de los latifundios en México* (México: Fondo de Cultura, 1985); Benjamin West, *The Mining Community of Northern New Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941).

⁴⁴ For a discussion and transcriptions of these royal decrees that include “Privilegio De Cosecheros Para Los Vecinos de Santa María de las Parras” and “Real Provisión que Confirмо Los Antiguos Privilegios de Los Tlaxcaltecas de Santa María de las Parras,” see Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 314-329; Corona Páez, *Viñedos y Vendimias*, 19 and 47-75.

⁴⁵ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 33.

⁴⁶ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 30.

established Christian community west of Saltillo in the northeastern provinces. Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan families put forth their own funds to explore and settle new Christian communities in the northern regions, thereby defending the security of the New Spanish frontier.⁴⁷

Landowners in Parras therefore based their fundamental right to receive privileges and exemptions from liquor taxes on their role as aids to the Crown in settling these “*tierras fronterizas*.”⁴⁸

The Jesuit Presence in Santa Maria de las Parras

As Clara Bargellini has noted, while past historiographical trends have viewed the missions as “pioneering frontier institutions,” many were actually “from their very foundation in a constant relationship with the colonists who lived nearby.”⁴⁹ It is well known that missionaries founded many missions *ex nihilo* in northern New Spain in locations not inhabited by Spanish colonizers. However, missionaries also founded their missions in towns where a Spanish presence already existed. This was certainly the case in Parras, where the Franciscans had even established a mission here in the 1580s named *el Valle de los Pirineos* before the Jesuits arrived in the *Laguna* region.⁵⁰ After the Franciscans abandoned their mission in the *Laguna*, the Jesuits

⁴⁷ Add fn here about Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo’s explorations into Texas, as well as the Tlaxcaltecan families who sent members of their own community to Texas to help with the assimilation and conversion of indigenous tribes.

⁴⁸ Corona Paez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 50.

⁴⁹ Bargellini questions the Boltonian paradigm of the mission as an isolated frontier enterprise in present-day Chihuahua in, “At the Center on the Frontier,” 121.

⁵⁰ As Pedro Martínez del Río notes, the Franciscan missionaries from the Cuencamé mission may have penetrated into the Laguna region around or after 1566. A letter from the well-known Franciscan Pedro de Espinareda describes the large population of Indians who lived in at a large Laguna. See Pablo Martínez del Río, *La comarca lagunera a fines del siglo XVI y principios del XVII según las fuentes escritas* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, 1954,23; Vio Alessio Robles, 1938, p. 63). The Jesuits even acknowledge that

took advantage of this absence of missionaries and sought to make their presence in Parras.⁵¹

The Jesuits even acknowledge that the Franciscans had begun evangelization in this region, although they do not mention dates. In the Jesuit *Carta Anua* (annual letter) of 1598, a member of the order recounts that when their missionaries discovered the lands of Parras, they entered to see that “*algunos ministros*” (some ministers of God, i.e. missionaries) existed and many were baptized, but it was left like this, “*sin doctrina ni aun acordarse de ellos.*”⁵² When Juan Agustín de Espinoza founded the Jesuit mission of *Santa Maria de las Parras* in 1598, the agricultural economic base in viticulture and cattle ranching had already been established. While the abundant water sources in Parras attracted many indigenous groups of diverse linguistic and geographic origin, the Society played a key role in converting its inhabitants and acquiring the cooperation of a large scale indigenous workforce for the vineyards. Between 1550 and 1650, the Indian population in Parras was one of the largest in Nueva Vizcaya, estimated at 30,000 to

Franciscan activity existed in the region, although they do not mention dates. In their *Carta Anua* of 1598, they mention that when the lands of Parras were discovered, the Jesuits entered to see that “*algunos ministros*” existed and many were baptized, but it was left like this, “*sin doctrina ni aun acordarse de ellos.*” See, *Monumenta Mexicana*, ed. Félix.Zubillaga, Vol. (Rome, 1956).

⁵¹ Martínez Serna (“Vineyards in the Desert,” 48) posits that the Franciscan mission in the Laguna area failed because of disease and lack of manpower and ultimately, because it was never a Franciscan priority. See also Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); For more on the Franciscan presence in the Laguna Region and surrounding regions, see Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial*, 139-141; Primo Feliciano Velásquez, *Historia de San Luis Potosí*, vol. 1 (México: Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí, 1984), 413-15; Corona Páez cites Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, “Los orígenes de la Provincia Franciscana de Zacatecas,” in *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia correspondiente de la Real de Madrid* in *La vitivinicultura*, 69, fn.10.

⁵² See, *Monumenta Mexicana*, vol. 6. As Pedro Martínez del Río notes, the Franciscan missionaries from the Cuencame mission may have penetrated into the Laguna region around or after 1566. A letter from the well-known Franciscan Pedro de Espinareda describes the large population of Indians who lived in at a large Laguna. See Pedro Martínez del Río, *La comarca lagunera a fines del siglo XVI y principios del XVII según las fuentes escritas* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, 1954), 23; Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial*. México D. F.: Editorial Cultura, 1938), 63.

42,000 indigenous inhabitants.⁵³ A report sent to Rome in 1637 by Andrés Pérez de Ribas, who was then Father Provincial of New Spain, stated that the Jesuits in the Parras, Topia, and San Andres region administered to a population of 10,000 indigenous converts.⁵⁴ While this Jesuit figure appears to be somewhat inflated compared to recent studies, multiple statements by members of the order assert that the Jesuits at Parras were evangelizing one of the larger indigenous groups in northeastern New Spain.⁵⁵

The Jesuits established their Parras mission at the center of many smaller settlements in an extensive and ambitious reduction campaign to convert these Indian groups congregating in the fertile valley of the *Rio de las Nazas*.⁵⁶ By 1603, Jesuit missionaries established a *visita* system, or web of connected settlements, that used Parras as the Jesuits' headquarters. Priests would regularly travel out, or visit, over thirteen smaller Christian settlements to say mass and to administer the sacraments.⁵⁷ At these *visita* locations, the Jesuits baptized converts, administered the sacraments, and gave sermons. The settlements were often located over 60 kilometers from

⁵³ During this same century, the population of Durango ranged between 10,000 and 20,000. The only population in Nueva Vizcaya larger than Parras was Cosihuiríachic with a population of 77,000 to 80,000 between 1550 and 1650. The population of Parras and other mission pueblos in Nueva Vizcaya drastically dropped after 1650, when waves of epidemics decimated the indigenous populations. For example, the indigenous population in Parras fell from 30,000 to 2,100 in 1650. See Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier*, 170-171.

⁵⁴ For more on Pérez de Ribas' 1637 letter, see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Number 5, f.4v. In 1631, the Jesuit triennial logs identify four Jesuits stationed at Parras. This information is written in the margins next to a listing of the four Jesuits stationed at the Durango (Guadiana) College: "In domo Guadianensi versantur duo sacerdotes, et duo Patres coadjutores, et unus sacerdos est Sup. or tam ipsius domus, quam duaru missionum proximarum, nempe Tepehuana et Parras." See ARSI, Mex. 4, f.354r-v.

⁵⁵ Reff, Daniel cites substantially lower numbers than Pérez de Ribas's estimation in *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 205; See also Martínez Serna's Population Table in "Vineyards in the Desert," 239.

⁵⁶ Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 220; Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura*, 38.

⁵⁷ A Jesuit *visita* can be defined as a secondary missionary settlement or town with no permanent resident priest.

Parras, with Mapimí being the most distant *visita* at 50 leagues, or approximately 241 kilometers, round trip (Figure 8).⁵⁸ Divided by the cardinal directions in relation to the Rio de las Nasas, each section was attended by two Jesuits from the Parras mission.⁵⁹ In his 1607 letter to the Father Provincial in Mexico City, Diego Díaz de Pangua wrote from *San Ignacio de Mapimí* that the trip from Parras to this *visita* was a difficult 10-12 day journey, which made up only part of his travels to other locations that covered over 60 leagues per month.⁶⁰ The Jesuits would later consolidate these *visita* settlements into one vast agricultural estate, or *latifundio*, in the eighteenth century.

With the successful administration of indigenous groups outside of Parras, the Jesuits then helped to reduce, or relocate, many of these converted Indians into the urban space of the Parras mission pueblo.⁶¹ Between 1637 and 1699, the Jesuits baptized another 2,245 natives in Parras.⁶² *Hacendados* and the Jesuits themselves then employed these indigenous workers on their vineyards and ranches. While the Society often referred to these tribes collectively as

⁵⁸ The *visitas* located near Parras included: San Felipe, San Lucas de la Paña, and San Sebastián. After leaving the environs of the pueblo, the Jesuits also administered to the *visitas* of the Laguna de San Pedro 64 kilometers away, which included San Nicolas, San Marcos de los Hornos, Santa Ana, San José, Santiago, and Santa Catalina, which extended twenty kilometers to the north of San Pedro. The Jesuits also traveled to the *visita* of San Lorenzo on the other side of the Rio de las Nasas twenty kilometers to the west of San Pedro. San Jerónimo was located 28 kilometers past San Pedro, and finally San Juan de Casta was located 8 kilometers past San Jerónimo. For more on this extensive system of *visita* locations, see Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 38, fn 64.

⁵⁹ Agustín Churruca Peláez, et al. Eds., *El sur de Coahuila en el siglo XVII: Documentos Inéditos* (Torreón, Mexico: Ayuntamiento Editorial del Norte Mexicano, 1996), 26.

⁶⁰ See AGN Jesuitas, II-18 (1607-1774), Legajo 1, letter 3 (12 May 1607), 4 (7 May 1607), and 6 (nd).

⁶¹ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar notes that the Jesuits had congregated Indians of various nationalities in Parras. Although they spoke different languages, including Iritila, Zacatecos, Pacho, and Guazahayo, they all understood Nahuatl (“la lengua mexicana”) and Iritila. See Mota y Escobar’s 1621 *Descripción geográfica de los reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, y Nuevo León* Ed. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940), 164.

⁶² Churruca Peláez et al, *El sur de Coahuila*, 48-52.

Indios Laguneros, parochial records attest to the ethnic heterogeneity of laborers who moved to Parras. Many Indian workers belonged to foreign tribes such as the Sinaloas, Tepehuanes, Tarascos, Otomies, Mixtecos and congregated in Parras with the local Irritila Indians.⁶³ These diverse indigenous groups that settled in Parras often intermarried and thus created a unique demographic heterogeneity at Parras that was unlike many other settlements in northern New Spain that counted only one or two separate ethnic groups among its inhabitants.

As Parras rose to prominence as a winemaking center in northern New Spain and provided wine and brandy to many mining towns and other settlements, the Jesuits also acquired valuable vineyards and *haciendas*. With this economic success, the Jesuits received the economic means to operate independently on the northeastern fringes of the viceroyalty. With the water sources that enabled winemaking and other agricultural enterprises to thrive in this fertile river basin, the Jesuit mission at Parras did not depend solely on royal support and was not replaced by a secular parish church, as was the case at other missions.⁶⁴ In 1641 the Bishop of Durango, Diego de Evia y Valdés, established a secular church in Parras, in part as an attempt to end the Society's presence in Parras by replacing their mission with a diocesan church.⁶⁵ Rather than abandon their spiritual and temporal interests, the Jesuits began the process of transforming *San Ignacio* into a *Colegio Inchoado*, or Inchoate College, and then later a *Residencia*, as a

⁶³ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 75, fn 60.

⁶⁴ The mission of Parral, for example, was secularized in 1650. For more on the secularization of Jesuit missions in Nueva Vizcaya in the mid-seventeenth century, see "Petición del Provincial Andrés de Rada sobre la situación de misiones secularizadas" in AGN, *Jesuitas* 64, vol. 33, exp. 73, f. 210-212; "Auto sobre la secularización de misiones en Nueva Vizcaya" Parral, 1650, in AGN, *Jesuitas* 64, vol. 33, exp. 71, f. 203-240; "Memorial sobre la secularización de misiones en Nueva Vizcaya" Parral, 1649, *Jesuitas* 64, vol. 33, exp. 78, f. 225-240. See also Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 90-91; Deeds, *Defiance and Deference*, 65-70.

⁶⁵ Martínez Serna ("Vineyards in the Desert," 90-91) recently has made a more detailed analysis of the various events that led to Bishop secularizing the Jesuits' mission at Parras, which included Jesuit disputes with the Urdiñola family over water rights and treatment of the Indians, in which Spanish landholders sought to acquire the Jesuits' coveted vineyards if their mission was secularized.

strategic move to retain ownership of its vineyards and valuable water sources.⁶⁶ As Martínez Serna has noted in his discussion that Parras later became an Inchoate Colleges, these institutions were “unique to the advance of the Jesuit missionary frontier in Spanish America,” because this transitional status allowed the Jesuits to take advantage of special financial privileges, such as owning properties for the upkeep of their inchoate college while not having to forfeit their royal mission stipends as formal Colleges did.⁶⁷ While the Jesuit house at Parras is often identified as a College in the 1640s, there is some discrepancy over whether *San Ignacio* was officially classified as a College after the middle of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ While Martínez Serna suggests that the Jesuits transformed their mission into a *Residencia* and then later a *Colegio Incoado*, documents produced in Rome by the Jesuits reveal that the reverse may actually be true. The Parras house is identified as a mission as late as 1679, and in 1681, it is officially recognized as a “Collegium Inchoatum.”⁶⁹ Even though the decree to secularize the mission was created in 1641, the Jesuits delayed the implementation of this decree in their litigious debates

⁶⁶ Martínez Serna (*ibid*, 7) states that the Parras mission became a *Residencia* first: “The mission of Parras was among the few in northern New Spain that subsequently became a residence (a special category within the Jesuit organization). The Society adapted its presence in Parras after the secularization of the mission in the middle of the seventeenth century by turning the mission into a residence with a small school for *naturales*, who by the middle of the seventeenth century were mostly Tlaxcaltecs. This transformation helped preserve the *fundo legal* after the mission was secularized.”

⁶⁷ While little is known about how these frontier colleges-in-transition functioned, Martínez Serna (“Vineyards in the Desert,” 113) points out that the Jesuits established similar *colegios incoados* on the frontiers of the southern viceroyalty at Arauco in Peru, at Honda in Nueva Granada in present-day Colombia, and at San Juan de la Frontera in Cuyo, present-day Argentina.

⁶⁸ Agustín Churruca Peláez provides a preliminary examination of whether *San Ignacio* was a *Residencia* or a *Colegio* in his chapter, “¿Hubo Colegio en Parras? ¿Cuándo?” in *El sur de Coahuila en el siglo XVII* (Torreón: Editorial del Norte Mexicano, 1994), 193-197.

⁶⁹ This data is recorded in the Jesuit *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* in ARSI Rome, Mex. 5, f. 251v and 293v, and 338v. These reports sent to Rome approximately every three years identify Parras as a mission as late as 1679. In 1681, it is recognized officially as the “*Collegium Inchoatum Parras*” and subsequently in 1684, Parras is recognized as a *Residencia*.

with Bishop Evia y Valdés.⁷⁰ Whether *San Ignacio* was officially a College or more likely a *Residencia* in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deserves further investigation.

The Jesuits' community in Parras, which was often only comprised of two to four priests, operated independent of royal control and produced a substantial income.⁷¹ To support their religious ministries and artistic operations at *San Ignacio*, the Jesuits created an endowment at *San Ignacio* funded by the revenue of their vineyards, agricultural estates and ranches, rental of buildings they owned, and income received from *capellanía* donations. In this process of privately managing their vineyards and ranches with great efficiency, the Jesuits were able to acquire artworks, embellishments to their church such as bells for their bell tower, and even purchase African slaves to work alongside Indian day laborers.⁷² Through donations, acquisitions, and royal *mercedes* that allowed the Jesuits to expand their landholdings, the Society consolidated their *haciendas* and vineyards in the mid-eighteenth century into a vast *latifundio*. The Jesuit *latifundio* at Parras was rivaled in acreage by the estates of the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, the largest landowner in northern New Spain (Figure 9).⁷³ With its

⁷⁰ As Martínez Serna has noted, ("Vineyards in the Desert," 90), these debates with the Bishop gave the Jesuits time to transform *San Ignacio* into a *Residencia*. For the original dialogue of this debate between the Jesuits and the Bishop of Durango that continued for more than ten years, see AGN Jesuitas 64, vol. 33, exp. 82, f. 250 (September 9, 1648); AGN Jesuitas 64, vol. 33, exp. 83, f.252 (July 12, 1649); AGN Jesuitas 64, vol. 33, exp. 79 (July 4, 1651).

⁷¹ For more on the Jesuits' income at Parras, which averaged about 10,000 pesos in silver per year, see ARSI Rome, Mex. 6, f. 211r.

⁷² Churruca Peláez, *El sur de Coahuila*, 84. AGN, *Jesuitas* 64, vol. 11-9, expediente 24, f.14r-v. Martínez Serna ("Vineyards in the Desert," 212) has published this document describing the 1753 *vendimia*, in which the Jesuits' income was substantial enough to pay for a new church bell tower, a new altarpiece in *San Ignacio*, and the purchase of African slaves. In his research, Martínez Serna has found (*ibid*, 169-170) that African slaves were present at the founding of Parras in 1598, and the parish priest of Parras also mentions bringing an African as his personal servant when he arrived in 1641. By midcentury 38 Africans had been baptized as slaves purchased by Spanish and Jesuit vineyard owners. Martínez Serna examines a 1681 letter, where the Jesuit Superior mentions the abundant grape harvest provided a surplus of income that would allow the Society to purchase four African slaves.

⁷³ Under the Society's rules, residences and *colegios* needed endowments for their operations, in contrast to missions, which were subsidized by the Spanish Crown. When the royal subsidy ended after the Parras mission was secularized, the Society adapted by establishing an endowment (*fundación* in Spanish) funded by the seminary's vineyards. As Martínez Serna notes ("Vineyards in the Desert," 120, and 194), although the size of the Jesuits'

endowment funded by these agricultural enterprises, wine production, and ownership of water rights, the Jesuits at the Parras *Residencia* subsidized other northern colleges including those in Durango and Monterrey. The Society also engaged in similar practices from their Residences and Novitiates in other parts of Spanish America, such as in Peru and Argentina.⁷⁴

The Tlaxcaltecs in Parras

Parras was also founded legally as a Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan pueblo where both ethnic groups shared power in the same local government and participated in the viticulture business. For example, the Tlaxcaltecan lord Francisco Cano served as the first *Alcalde Mayor* of the *Laguna* and *Ciénega de los Patos* region in 1568. Other indigenous elites such as Francisco de Andrade served on the local *cabildo* of Parras in the first decades after the Jesuits' founded the mission in 1598, while the Spaniard Antonio Martínez Zapata was chosen by the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya to preside as Parras' first *Justicia Mayor*.⁷⁵ Indigenous families from the Tlaxcaltecan Republic in the Valley of Mexico emigrated to northeastern New Spain at the

latifundio was immense, it never generated revenues equal to the order's vineyards; See also José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, *El colegio de Guadiana de los Jesuitas, 1596-1767* (Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango: Durango, 2001); Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 119-21.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Cushner has noted the Jesuit novitiate in Córdoba, Argentina, owned its own cattle ranches and farms that were some of the most productive operations in the entire Argentina province. Part of the income from these agricultural estates helped support the larger College in Córdoba, and for this reason, these estates have been attributed incorrectly to properties owned by the College. See Cushner, *Jesuit ranches and the agrarian development of colonial Argentina, 1650-1767* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 12-13; Carlos A. Page, *El Colegio Máximo de Córdoba, Argentina según las Cartas Anuas de la Compañía de Jesús, 1609-1767* (Córdoba: BR Copias, 2004). While the vineyards at Parras were owned within a *fundo legal*, in Peru the Society's vineyards were owned as *haciendas* and therefore were considered commercial enterprises and could be marketed to secular clients. As Martínez Serna has noted for the case of Parras ("Vineyards in the Desert," 154 and 191), wine was used to barter within the order for other items traded throughout New Spain and abroad in Europe, including books and luxury goods. I have found no evidence of the Jesuits trading wine for artworks they acquired for transport to *San Ignacio* in Parras, but this subject deserves more attention.

⁷⁵ A 1619 document mentions Francisco de Andrade as a member of the Parras *cabildo* and identifies Antonio Martínez Zapata as Parras' first *Justicia Mayor*, chosen by the current Governor of Nueva Vizcaya Diego de Velasco, who was cousin to Viceroy Luis de Velasco. See Archivo Histórico, Centro de Estudios Históricas, Condumex, Fondo MXXII, Parras 1619, f. 1v. See also Martínez del Rió, *La Comarca lagunera a fines del siglo XVI* (Mexico), 23; Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 35-36.

request of the Viceroy in 1591 to aid in the conversion and pacification of Indian tribes just as they had done as allies to the Spanish in the Valley of Mexico before and after the Conquest. Adjacent to the Saltillo city limits, the Tlaxcaltecs settled the separate *pueblo de indios* named *San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala*. These young families, who claimed direct descent from the Tlaxcaltecan lord Xicotencatl, received various elite privileges for relocating to this “*altepetl norteño*” where Indian wars and raids on Spanish cities were known to be commonplace.⁷⁶ In addition to receiving from the Viceroy noble titles and exemptions from tribute that other Indians were obliged to pay, these Tlaxcaltecan *caciques* were also given partial ownership of the town’s water resources in Saltillo.⁷⁷

As the current Governor of Nueva Vizcaya charged with ensuring that the newly settled Tlaxcaltecs at San Esteban receive their privileges, Francisco de Urdiñola was the first of many successive governors involved in winemaking in Parras. Given his investments, Urdiñola and other government leaders maintained a vested interest in ensuring the successful settlement of the Parras mission west of Saltillo. These officials along with the Jesuits often approached these Tlaxcaltecs to aid them in establishing new settlements such as Parras. By 1598, a group of Tlaxcaltecan families moved from San Esteban to Parras to help organize the mission pueblo and reduce the Indian tribes congregated near the lakes.⁷⁸ Unlike other towns, where

⁷⁶ See Carlos Manuel Valdez Dávila and Ildefonso Dávila del Bosque *Los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila* (Tlaxcala: Gobierno del Estado de Tlaxcala, 1999), 7-8.

⁷⁷ With these privileges and money paid to the Tlaxcaltecs by the Viceroy, these indigenous elites purchased land and water rights in and around Saltillo. For a transcription of the 1591 *Reales Cédulas* and *Mercedes* granting Tlaxcaltecs these privileges, lands, and partial ownership of water sources in Saltillo, see *los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila*, 43-50, 69 and 83.

⁷⁸ Alessio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola Urdiñola y el norte de Nueva España* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1931), 100-101. In addition to their help in settling Parras, the Tlaxcaltecs also helped re-found the settlement of Santa

Indians and Spanish elites lived in separate townships, as in nearby Saltillo, Tlaxcaltecan families coexisted in Parras with Spanish landowners. Because the local *cabildo* was governed internally by their local government rather than by Spanish magistrates, the lands assigned to Tlaxcaltecan communities in Parras and its surrounding environs of *El Alamo* (founded in 1731) were in effect exclaves of Nueva España.”⁷⁹

In exchange for their aid in moving to Parras to live as Christian exemplars, the Crown granted Tlaxcaltecan families land and ownership of precious water sources. Tlaxcaltecan, such as the Cano Moctezuma family, used these water rights and land grants to produce flourishing vineyards and acquired substantial wealth in winemaking and brandy production in Parras.⁸⁰ In this process of solidifying their position in the local community, the Jesuits also created alliances with these Tlaxcaltecan. In a settlement where Nahuatl became the *lingua franca* among these foreign indigenous elites, who owned thriving vineyards and a percentage of the precious water sources in Parras, the Jesuits became important allies.⁸¹ The order supported the Tlaxcaltecan in their legal disputes with Spanish *hacendados* and *vecinos*. As they acquired political and

Lucía near present-day Monterrey. See *Los Tlaxcaltecos en Coahuila*, 89.

⁷⁹ For example, elections of the Tlaxcaltecan *cabildo* had to be approved by the viceroy until 1786, and under judicial authority, claims by the Tlaxcaltecan in Parras fell under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Mexico while all others went to Guadalajara. See Gerhard, *The North Frontier*, 221; Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, 135.

⁸⁰ AHCSILP, Parras, Expediente 305. See also Corona Páez, *ibid*, 226 fn 57 for the Cano Moctezuma landholdings and water ownership that descended from Salvador Cano.

⁸¹ Sergio Antonio Corona Páez examines Tlaxcaltecan wills from Parras in the *Archivo Historico del Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola de Parras* (AHCSILP) to document the vineyards and real estate owned by many Tlaxcaltecan in Parras. These individuals, who always identify themselves as Tlaxcaltecan, often make donations to the Jesuits in their last testaments. See, for example, the wills of “Felipe Cano Moctezuma, yndio tlaxcalteco,” “Juan Rafael Hernández Martínez, natural del pueblo de Parras,” and “Juana Rita Ramos Ruiz, naturala de los Tlaxcaltecas,” in *La vitivinicultura*, 180-182 and fn. 57. For a selection of these last testament donation documents, see AHCSILP, Expedientes 305, 312, 344, and 320. For more Tlaxcaltecan donations to the Jesuits at *San Ignacio*, such as one signed in 1690 by “Don Simeón, Tlaxcalteco,” see AGN, *Tierras* 3405, Legajo 3, Number 1B.

financial influence in the local community, these Tlaxcaltecan landowners became generous benefactors of the Jesuit order and local secular clergy. To maintain their status as prominent members of the local community, the Cano Moctezuma family also became art patrons and frequent supporters of specific devotions and artworks, such as the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, at the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio* in Parras. Always identifying themselves as “*indios de los naturales tlaxcaltecos*” in their donations, this indigenous family supported the decoration of the Jesuit church and the missionaries living in Parras.⁸² Coinciding with Bishop Pedro Tamaron y Romeral’s visit to Parras in 1765, the Bishop produced many “*escrituras de reconocimiento*” acknowledging that the descendants of wealthy Tlaxcaltecan patrons were continuing to fund the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio* in the mid eighteenth century.⁸³ For example, in 1761 the bishop’s *visitador* confirmed that Pedro Nolasco Cano Moctezuma was the descendant of Salvador Cano Moctezuma, who donated 1,000 pesos of principal cash and the rent on his houses at his vineyard named *Concepción* to the Jesuits in Parras. This money from real estate income and the harvest of vines was to be donated annually to the Jesuits for the decoration and maintenance of the *Altar of the Immaculate Conception* in *San Ignacio*.⁸⁴ Salvador’s descendant, Pedro Nolasco Cano Moctezuma, was obliged to continue these donations in the 1760’s after his father passed away. Salvador’s brother, Felipe Cano Moctezuma, mentions in a 1733 document that the house and vineyard he inherited from his parents, which was located on valuable land adjacent to the *acequia* (irrigation channels) known

⁸² See, for example, donations in AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 4-5. Corona Páez also mentions donations from the Cano Moctezuma family in 1733 and 1750 in Corona Páez, *ibid*, 181, 186.

⁸³ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 35 and 43.

⁸⁴ AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, number 5, f. 1v.

as *la Madre*, came into his possession already charged with an annual *censo* (payment) to the Jesuits. Felipe Cano Moctezuma was required to continue paying this *censo* of 20 pesos per year in exchange for masses said in honor of his family in *San Ignacio* at the *Altar of the Immaculate Conception*.⁸⁵ A descendant of Felipe, Teresa Cano Moctezuma, donated 1,000 pesos in principal cash in 1750 to the Jesuits in Parras, which was paid from the profits of her vineyard.⁸⁶ Other indigenous elites, such as Mathias Bentura and Angela Matiana de la Rasa, who identified themselves as “indios naturales tlaxcaltecos,” donated 2,000 pesos in 1716 from the profits of their vineyard to establish a *capellanía*, or donation in a fixed amount that was paid annually to the Jesuits.⁸⁷

“Esto es cuanto a lo espiritual que cuanto a lo temporal:” Jesuit Economic Enterprises at Santa María de las Parras⁸⁸

While missionary work included the conversion and relocation of local *Laguna* Indian groups to Parras and the opening of a Jesuit Seminary for *Lagunero* boys in 1607, the local nomadic Indian communities that the Jesuits brought into their religious community would later become the labor force working in the Jesuit vineyards and those of their Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan neighbors.⁸⁹ Viewing their landholdings as a source of income to support their evangelization efforts, missionaries often conflated their religious and temporal interests and saw

⁸⁵ AHCSILP, Expedient 305. Corona Paez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 226, fns. 56-58.

⁸⁶ Corona Páez, *ibid*, 186.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*. See also AHCSILP, Parras, Expediente 304.

⁸⁸ One anonymous Jesuit made this comment, “Esto es cuanto a lo espiritual que cuanto a lo temporal,” when noting that the order acquired a large ranch in the Mapimí and Parras region to offset the difficult conditions of living and the potential threat of Indian attacks. See AGN, Jesuitas II-18 (1607-1774), letter number 6 (no date).

⁸⁹ Martínez Serna provides an outstanding overview of the structure of the labor system in Parras in “Vineyards in the Desert,” 157-167.

no conflict in allowing the two to benefit each other. In an undated letter, one Jesuit missionary unambiguously makes this connection stating that “[missionary life] is as much about the spiritual as it is about the temporal.”⁹⁰ In Parras, Jesuit interests centered on the cultivation of their spiritual and temporal vineyards, as missionaries identified themselves as “harvesters of souls” laboring in “the Lord’s vineyard.”⁹¹ While viticulture metaphors were omnipresent in Jesuit discourses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these biblical references resonated with particular relevance in Parras amid the thriving winemaking operations. When the subject of martyrdom and the production of imagery depicting slain Jesuits became important in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits later fused their allegorization of economic interests on the vineyards they operated with their allegories of the northern New Spanish frontier as the “new vineyard” of the Apostolic mission, a subject that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

From the pulpit, the Jesuits communicated to their listening congregations this conflation of spiritual and temporal interests, stating “We live in the land of beautiful vistas and flourishing vineyards. On Sundays, our teachings provide for the cultivation of the spiritual vine.”⁹² In a sermon from circa 1740 given in honor of a vineyard owner, one Jesuit mentioned his appreciation to this donor for his support, while adding “I planted you in the soil of Christianity

⁹⁰ AGN, Jesuitas II-18 (1607-1774), letter number 6 (no date).

⁹¹ This biblical metaphor of the northern missions as the Lord’s vineyard appears repeatedly in Pérez de Ribas’ 1645 *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith*, trans. Daniel Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard Danford (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), XI, 655. John O’Malley also notes that Jesuit discourses often used viticulture metaphors in *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1993), 297-299.

⁹² AGN, Archivo Historico de la Hacienda, Vol. 972, Exp. 1B. These sermons are not numbered, nor are they organized chronologically. I have created this numbering system beginning with the first sermon from Parras. This sermon is number 29 in this sequence.

and fed you with the sweet water of baptism.”⁹³ While the Jesuits’ participation in lucrative agricultural investments was not unique to Parras but was rather a repeated practice for this and other religious orders to establish their own “spiritual economy” throughout Spanish America, the case study of the Jesuits’ wine and agricultural holdings at the Parras mission on the northeastern frontier deserves further attention.⁹⁴ While Bishop Tamarón y Romeral’s claim that 3 million vines were grown in Parras by 1767 may have been exaggerated, the nature of the Jesuits’ participation in this winemaking business raises many questions about the relationship between economics and piety.⁹⁵ What was the relationship between the Jesuits’ temporal and spiritual interests when using their income and connections with secular landowners to produce art and architecture for their Parras church? When local patrons publicly supported the Jesuits by giving real estate and funds to decorate their churches in exchange for prayers and masses, did these donations always complement their business relationship with the order? The events surrounding patronage projects, court cases, and disputes over water and land ownership weave a complex story about the interaction between pious acts and economic maneuvers that were constructed to benefit each other but often had varying outcomes.

The Jesuit Church of *San Ignacio de Loyola* in Parras

⁹³ *Ibid*, AGN, AHH, Vol 972, Exp. 1B, sermon given on the Feast Day of the Descent of the Cross number 59 (c.1740-1753).

⁹⁴ Kathryn Burns uses this term in, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). The Jesuits mention acquiring many lucrative *haciendas* and *estancias* in New Spain and Peru in their “*stato temporales*,” or economic reports, which were sent to the Father General in Rome. For the report on landholdings and profits outside of Mexico City, for example, see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico, Busta 98, numbers 3-8; 10-16; 39. For more on the order’s participation in the lucrative winemaking industry in Peru, see Nicholas Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 19.

⁹⁵ Bishop Tamarón y Romeral counted 3 million vines in Parras on his visit in 1767 after the Expulsion. See Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya. 1765*, in Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*.

Little information is known about the history of architecture in Parras before 1650 beyond the fact that the founders of the Jesuit mission, Fathers Juan Agustín de Espinoza and Gerónimo Ramírez, built a freestanding church structure shortly after establishing the mission in 1598.⁹⁶ While it is not clear if this original church was simply a temporary structure or a permanent adobe and masonry building that received later additions, documents record that the church of *San Ignacio* existed by 1622 when the Tlaxcaltecan Indians in Parras founded the Chapel of the *Cofradia del Santo Entierro de Jesucristo* (Confraternity of the Interred Christ) on December 13, 1622.⁹⁷ This date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the Jesuits' permanent church. Although the exterior structure has been altered from its original form, including the colonial bell tower that was most likely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, the interior plan of the church has remained relatively intact (Figure 10-11).⁹⁸ Surviving inventories of *San Ignacio*'s interior reveal that by their Expulsion in 1767, the Jesuits had constructed a monumental church with a large single aisle nave that opened onto ten side chapels (see Fig. 4). These side chapels and the presbytery were adorned with a total of sixteen gilded altar *retablos*.⁹⁹ The church must have gone through multiple building periods and additions to achieve this level of decoration between 1667 and 1767, because various inventories at mid-seventeenth century are much less complete than this later organization of chapels filled with artworks. Father

⁹⁶ While few details are available about the dimensions and decoration of this original church building, Andres Perez de Ribas and the *Annua* of 1598 state that shortly after founding the mission, a church was constructed. This was most likely a temporary structure. See Perez de Ribas, Book XI, Chapter 1, Parras.

⁹⁷ See the transcription of a 1657 meeting between the Jesuit Rector of Durango and Bishop Lomelín that mentions this date in: Churruca Peláez, et al., *El Sur de Coahuila*, 40.

⁹⁸ All of the *retablos* except for the *retablo mayor* have been dismantled and are no longer located in the church; however the chapel spaces remain intact. Also, a modern wall has been built to enclose what was once the Chapel of *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos* and *Ecce Homo* to construct a space to house colonial documents and other colonial period religious objects that belonged within *San Ignacio*.

⁹⁹ AGN, Temporalidades, Vol. 64, f. 74r.

Gaspar de Contreras, who was Rector from 1650 until 1667, provides us with one of the only seventeenth-century inventories of *San Ignacio*'s decoration.¹⁰⁰ In his description of the interior of the church, Contreras mentions that he compiled this list of the Jesuits' treasures based on a 1649 inventory created by Padre Francisco de Egurrola. Egurrola gave it to Contreras sometime after the year he became Rector in 1650.¹⁰¹ This document lists only one *retablo* in the church, which may have been the *retablo mayor*, or main altar. This altarpiece is described as a *retablo jaspeado*, which translates as a speckled or veined altarpiece, suggesting it may have been painted to imitate marble as an illusionistic altarpiece. This *retablo* contained paintings of Jesuit saints most likely located in *trompe l'oeil* niches.¹⁰² This early inventory identifies only two chapels in the church: the *Capilla de la Cofradía de Santo Cristo* and the *Capilla de Lorenzo García*, where a painting of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* was displayed. This chapel of Lorenzo García, who was one of the first vineyard owners in Parras, does not exist in the Jesuits' church inventory in 1767, suggesting that this chapel may have been re-built, redecorated, or renamed sometime after 1650.¹⁰³ Between the time of this early inventory before 1649 and 1670, the Jesuits must have begun a substantial building campaign, as various donations for the decoration

¹⁰⁰ Contreras, a native of Celaya in New Spain, is identified as stationed in Parras in the Jesuits' *Catalogi Triennales* in 1650. See ARSI, Rome, Mex. 4, f. 450v; For Contreras's inventory of the Parras church, see Churruca Peláez, et al., *El Sur de Coahuila*, 158-166; see AGN footnotes, p. 181.

¹⁰¹ This document is titled: "Cathalogo de las alajas..." see Churruca Peláez, et al., *ibid*, 158.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 165. This *retablo*, which is not identified with a chapel, may have been the main *retablo mayor* of the church because the gold tabernacle that stored the eucharist was located at the foot of this illusionistic altarpiece and was flanked by four sculptures of the Apostles and three angles holding instruments of the passion. It is described as a "1 retablo jaspeado, extremos dorados de 2 cuerpos con su remate, con 6 lienzos de valliente pintura..." In the two levels (*cuerpos*) were the following six paintings: Christ Crucified, the Assumption of the Virgin, San Ignacio, San Francisco Xavier, San Francisco Borja, and San Luis Gonzaga. Because Ignatius and Francis Xavier were canonized in 1622, Saint Francis Borja was beatified in 1624 (canonized in 1670), and Luis Gonzaga was beatified in 1621 (canonized in 1726), it seems that this inventory must have been made toward the end of Contreras' rectorship.

¹⁰³ See Churruca Peláez, et al., *El Sur de Coahuila*, 165.

of new chapels begin to appear by the late 1670's.¹⁰⁴ In his donation from 1681, for example, Ignacio de Maya mentions the Jesuit church in Parras had two chapels that remained undedicated. De Maya outlined his donation to build and decorate the Chapel of Saint José, which was to be constructed as his family's burial site in *San Ignacio*.¹⁰⁵

Church Building in Parras: Coinciding Campaigns of the Diocese and the Jesuits

In 1641, the diocesan authorities began the process of establishing a secular parish church in Parras under the leadership of Father Matheo de Barraza.¹⁰⁶ In 1644, the Bishop of Durango, Francisco Diego de Quintanilla Hevia y Valdés, appointed diocesan priests to help the Jesuits and Franciscans maintain peaceful settlements in the region northeast of Durango between Mapimí and Parras to avoid the outbreak of indigenous revolts in Parras and the Tarahumara.¹⁰⁷ While the Jesuits protested this secularization of their mission, the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya granted the bishop's request for diocesan administrative power, ushering in a period of coexistence between the Jesuits and the secular church in Parras.¹⁰⁸ Concerned that their duties and influences would clash, Bishop Pedro de Barrientos Lomelín (successor to Quintanilla) and Padre Diego Ximenez, the Rector of the Jesuit College in Durango, convened in Durango to resolve the disputes of Jesuit property rights, the administration of sacraments and the duties of religious celebrations in both churches. In 1657, the jurisdictions of the diocese and the Jesuits

¹⁰⁴ For example, in 1679, the Antonia Estrada family made a donation to adorn the *Altar Mayor* suggesting that some part of the main *retablo* must have already been built by this time. See *La Vitivinicultura*, 46.

¹⁰⁵ AGN, Jesuitas I-33, Expediente 77, 26 February 1681.

¹⁰⁶ While the secular clergy had been present in Parras since 1637, their diocesan parish was not formally established until 1641 with Matheo de Barraza as the first parish priest, See Churruca Peláez, et al., *El Sur de Coahuila*, 31 and 188.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 188.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 32.

were clearly outlined giving the Jesuits rights to maintain their ownership of vineyards and real estate. Also, the original confraternities and festival celebrations that were established in the Jesuit church in Parras were allowed to remain at this location.¹⁰⁹ While baptism records and the Easter Sunday procession on the Day of the Resurrection were to be moved to the parish church, the Jesuits were allowed to keep the *Altar of the Confraternity of the Interred Christ* in their church, as well as hear confessions and bury anyone wishing to receive these sacraments in *San Ignacio* rather than the parish church.¹¹⁰

In the resolutions agreed upon by the Bishop of Durango and the Jesuit Rector of the Durango College, it was also agreed that the parish church could not impede the Jesuits from celebrating their own schedule of feast days and special masses, which were all paid for by the donations of wealthy landowners in Parras.¹¹¹ While the Society enjoyed a certain independence from the parish church under this agreement, the Jesuits in Parras maintained a certain freedom from their superiors at the College of Durango as well. Traditionally subservient to the mandates of the higher-ranking College of Durango, the Father General in Rome gave the *Residencia* of Parras a unique exemption from this hierarchy in 1653.¹¹² The importance of the winemaking operation at Parras may have been the reason for granting the three Jesuits at *San Ignacio* these

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 40.

¹¹⁰ While the original altar of the *Cofradia de Santo Cristo Inteirro* remained in the Jesuit church, another new altar to the same confraternity was constructed in the parish church, and on the day of the descent from the cross, this ceremony would take place in the Jesuit church, and the following procession would pass by the parish church. Similarly, although the procession on the Day of the Resurrection of Easter Sunday would originate at the parish church, it was required to pass by and “recognize the church of the Jesuits” (*reconocer la iglesia de la compañía*). See Churruca Peláez, et al., *ibid*, 40.

¹¹¹ These feasts included: the Forty Hours, the feast days of Jesuit saints, the Octave of Corpus Christi, the Jubilees of Saint Joseph and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in their respective chapels in the Jesuit church, and all other masses to be given in honor of patrons in exchange for their donations. *Ibid*, 40.

¹¹² “*Declaración y instrucción de como se ha de entender...*” in BN, Mex, Archivo Franciscano, 11/184. See full title in Churruca Peláez, et al., *ibid*, 39.

freedoms and exemptions from sending revenues to their superiors in Durango.¹¹³ Instead, these fathers were allowed to spend these profits from winemaking and real estate in ways they saw fit “to sustain the priests of this Mission of Parras and adorn their church.”¹¹⁴ This exception may have been a local phenomenon for the purposes of expediency to help maintain the presence of the Parras mission on the northeastern frontier. Alternatively, the Jesuits at Parras may have been given this privilege because the order was in the process of transforming the *Residencia* of Parras into a *Collegio* that educated Indian boys, which would give the order an advantage over the secular church by training the sons of the wealthy Tlaxcaltecs in the community. According to Ignatius of Loyola’s 1550 *Constitutions* that established the rules governing the Society, Jesuit Colleges were authorized to retain all profits earned from real estate or agricultural investments to provide their house with a steady income.¹¹⁵ In their triennial logs sent from New Spain to Rome, Parras is identified as a “Collegium Inchoatum” or developing college in 1681.¹¹⁶ While the reasons for giving these Jesuits the freedom to make purchases and spend money from their agricultural operations may remain unknown, it is certain that missionaries at Parras used their income and alliances with local patrons to participate in many art production campaigns until their expulsion in 1767.

Various factors may have provided the impetus for rebuilding and redeccorating the Jesuit church in Parras after 1650, as will be discussed below. The sharp growth in wine and brandy production that occurred in the 1660s, when new technologies for brandy distillation provided

¹¹³ In 1653, there were three Jesuits stationed at the Parras *Residencia* listed as: “Padre Bartolomeus de Cuellar, Padre Gaspar de Contreras, and Padre Joseph de Alarcón.” See ARSI, Mex. 4, after f. 450v.

¹¹⁴ Churruca Peláez, et al, *El Sur de Coahuila*, *ibid*, 39.

¹¹⁵ Cushner provides an excellent explanation of the jurisdictional powers of colleges in *Lords of the Land*, introduction (get page number).

¹¹⁶ ARSI Rome, Mex. 5, f. 293v. The 1681 entry is the first instance in which Parras begins to be identified as a inchoate College. Before, 1681 Parras is consistently called a Mission.

greater profitability per bottle than wine and led to a growth in the number of Spanish *haciendas* and vineyards in Parras, provided many vineyard owners with the ability to dispense generous amounts of money in the form of donations to the Jesuits.¹¹⁷ Also, the renewed need for water sources to cultivate vineyards and crops on *haciendas*, which were growing in number while water supplies stayed the same, may have given landowners a reason to support the Jesuits. During the founding of Parras in 1598, the Jesuits were given part ownership of the pueblo's *Agua Grande* lake, which they shared with the *ayuntamiento* of Parras and the first *Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo*, who married into the Urdiñola family. These groups controlling the water supply maintained a powerful position in the economic and political life of Parras, and the Jesuits maintained both spiritual and business relationships with these secular community members. Between the 1620s and 1767, patrons regularly donated water rights and vineyards adjacent to precious water sources to the Jesuits in exchange for masses and prayers, as well as for political support to protect their own properties and water.¹¹⁸ It is also possible that the increased activity of patronage at the Jesuits' church in the 1680s may have been the result of a competition between the Jesuits and the local parish church, since both building campaigns began within only a few years of each other in the late seventeenth century. Moreover, few patrons participated in donating to both the reconstruction of the parish church and *San Ignacio* in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹⁹ Because different groups of patrons donated

¹¹⁷ Martinez Serna mentions that winemaking in Parras went through two boom periods of marked increase in production and revenue in the seventeenth century, once in the 1630's, when winemaking when artisan winemaking transformed into a commercial enterprise, and again in the 1660's when new brandy distillation technologies became commonly used providing a greater profit for brandy per *pipa* than wine and helping to increase the preservation of vintages by adding brandy to wine to avoid spoilage. See "Vineyards in the Desert," 104, 121-123.

¹¹⁸ For a sampling of these donations, in which Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan landowners donated portions of their land and water rights to the Jesuits in exchange for masses and protection from other *hacendados* encroaching on their properties, see AGN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, numbers 1-9.

¹¹⁹ Churruca Peláez et al., *El sur de Coahuila*, 142.

funds to the separate projects, it is possible that the two rebuilding campaigns in Parras may have been functioning in some form of competition with one another.

The Parish Church of *Santa María de las Parras*

While donations for the decoration and interior reconstruction of the Jesuit church must have begun sometime between 1650 and 1679, the rebuilding of the parish church of *Santa María de las Parras* began on the twelfth of December, 1680, the feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe.¹²⁰ By this time, the parish priest responsible for the ambitious project, Padre Marcos de Sepúlveda, stated that the original church was too small, holding only one third of the citizens of Parras, which in 1642 numbered approximately 500 Indian families, 10 Spanish families, and 25 African slaves.¹²¹ The decoration of the interior was also inadequate with only one permanent chapel, forcing the priest to install portable altars in the church for the celebrations of Corpus Christi and feast day of Saint Peter.¹²² In his sermon given in both Náhuatl for the Tlaxcaltecs and in *castellano* for the Spanish members of the congregation on December 21, 1680, Padre Sepúlveda asked for all citizens of Parras to help donate funds or physically work for this reconstruction project.¹²³ Various patrons donated stone materials and large tree beams from the sierras for the roof beams of the church, and indigenous members of the local government organized processions and celebrations to commemorate the beginning of this building

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 145.

¹²¹ In 1680, Sepúlveda had been in charge of the Parras parish for four years. See *El Sur*, 197. For this demographic information, see Martínez Serna's population chart in "Vineyards in the Desert," 239. He cites Peter Gerhardt, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 223; Churruca Peláez et al., *El sur de Coahuila*, 187.

¹²² This altar was dedicated to the Souls in Purgatory, and the parish church had one other altar dedicated to Saint Nicholas. See Churruca Peláez, et al., *ibid*, 197.

¹²³ "...lo que si he dicho es que sera bien que para esta obra todos se ayuden y trabajen igualmente porque siempre me ha dad pesadumbre el ver que en todas las faenas del Pueblo y obras de comunidad.." See AHCSILP, Expediente 133; *El Sur*, 202.

campaign.¹²⁴ By February 1682, the construction of the *capilla mayor* in the parish church of Parras was completed with the help of the townspeople, and a sculpture of the *Virgin of the Assumption* was venerated as the main devotional object. The church *Santa María de las Parras* was constructed on an open plaza near the Jesuits' church as a clear indicator of the secular church's importance in the town (Figure 12). While the exterior adobe covering the facade has been rebuilt and repainted various times, the stone carving over the doorway survives from the colonial period (Figure 13). The dome over the *capilla mayor* may have predated the nineteenth century, although it is difficult to determine the exact date of its construction because the church and bell tower were rebuilt in the late nineteenth century.

From its inception, the campaign to rebuild the parish church in Parras sought the support of local Tlaxcaltecan patrons. Padre Sepúlveda's Nahuatl sermons petitioned the financial support of these indigenous nobles who were not part of the local ethnic community. Two Tlaxcaltecan patrons, who became heavily involved in the reconstruction of the parish church in the 1680's, also made significant donations to the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio*. Salvador Cano Moctezuma and Nicolás de Andrade supported the rebuilding and redecoration projects at both the Jesuit and parish churches in Parras at various stages of their construction.¹²⁵ In 1682, Padre Sepúlveda delivered a sermon in Nahuatl at the parish church, most likely to appeal to these and other elite Tlaxcaltecan patrons, asking for further support in the church's decoration campaign. Mentioning in his sermon that Nicolás de Andrade had already made his donations, Sepúlveda suggested that the church needed a large main altar and various sculptures and smaller retablos,

¹²⁴ Churruca Peláez, et al., *ibid* , 198-199.

¹²⁵ AHCSILP, Expediente 133, 217.

which would cost a total of 500 pesos.¹²⁶ Sepúlveda then started a general collection to raise money for a *retablo* to be brought from Mexico City to adorn the main altar of the parish church of *Santa María de las Parras*. The group of patrons who gave donations for the importation of this altar was exclusively Tlaxcaltecan. These donors, who included prominent Tlaxcaltecan members of the Parras town council from the Andrade and Cano Moctezuma family, became an important patronage group who identified themselves collectively by their Tlaxcaltecan lineage.¹²⁷ Elite Spanish donors and prominent *hacendados*, such as Agustín Echeverz y Subiza who was the *Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo*, did not contribute to this collection of funds. Instead these wealthy Spanish patrons participated in supporting the decoration of the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio*.¹²⁸ That different patrons were involved in the two building and decoration campaigns of these churches suggests there may have been a competition for funds between the Jesuits and the parish clergy. Moreover, Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan donors may have sought to secure their business dealings with the Jesuits by making public donations of piety to fund Jesuit church decoration projects. This question of church decoration and building campaigns coinciding and possibly being in a dialogue with each other merits further research on the relationship between the Jesuits and the secular clergy in Parras.

Religious Income: Water Sources, Vineyards, and Jesuit *Capellanías*

From the Jesuits' founding of the mission in 1598 until the expulsion in 1767, the order worked vigorously to acquire land, establish sources of income via winemaking and cattle

¹²⁶ Padre Sepúlveda mentioned that Andrade made a donation for 30 pesos among others in Churruca Peláez, et al., *El Sur de Coahuila*, 211-12.

¹²⁷ These elite Tlaxcaltecan donors included: Nicolas de Andrade and Salvador Cano. See AHCSILP, Expediente 133, *Limosnas*, 22-VII-1682; *ibid*, 217.

¹²⁸ Perhaps their funds had already been committed to the Jesuits in the form of *capellanías* and other cash donations to be used for the decoration of *San Ignacio*.

ranching, and also gain control of the most precious natural resource in Parras: water. The legal possession of water was the most important commodity in Parras given its high demand. Owners of this resource charged those without water access to their irrigated streams for a daily fee.¹²⁹ During the foundation of the pueblo, Jesuit missionaries were given part ownership of the *Agua Grande* lake and the springs that fed it, which came to be one of the main water sources in Parras (See Figure 3).¹³⁰ The high demand for irrigation on many vineyards in Parras made water a lucrative commodity and catalyzed various legal disputes between the order, indigenous families, and Spanish landowners in the community. In 1680, the successors of Francisco de Urdiñola won a court case granting Francisca de Valdés Alcega y Urdiñola and her husband Agustín de Echeverz y Subiza, the first *Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo*, a majority ownership of all water sources in Parras. During the founding of Parras in 1598, citizens of the Pueblo of Parras were given rights to collect a small portion of water from the springs and streams flowing out from the lake of *Agua Grande*. However, when the Audiencia of Guadalajara ruled in 1680 to give Urdiñola and the *Marques* absolute control of this lake minus the Jesuits' portion, all vineyard owners were dependant on either the *Marques* or the Society to receive water for irrigating their vineyards.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Normally, a person paid 1 peso for the access to irrigated water streams per day and 4 reales per night. See Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 186-187.

¹³⁰ This *Agua Grande* was a tributary lake that gathered at the termination of the Rio de las Nazas. *Ibid*, 187.

¹³¹ This court case was heard by the Audiencia of Guadalajara in 1680, which reversed a previous ruling in favor of the Pueblo of Parras. The *Marques* retained ownership of the entire lake, except for the Jesuits' part, and the Pueblo was allowed to buy 1/6th of a tributary stream. For more on landowners buying water from the *Marques* and the Jesuits all year long throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 48 and AHCSILP Torreón, expediente 325, 323, and 231.

In addition to controlling major water reservoirs in Parras, the Jesuits also owned and operated seven large vineyards and rented houses in the pueblo to investors at a fixed rate.¹³² Forming alliances with vineyard owners and their descendants, the Jesuits acquired much of this land from wealthy donors and also received income from their patrons' winemaking profits. Donors such as Antonio Martínez Zapata gave the vineyard known as *Buenavista* and its precious water sources to the Jesuits in the early 1700's.¹³³ Wealthy vineyard owners also established *capellanías*, or donations in the form of real estate or cash in fixed amounts that were paid annually to the Jesuits in Parras. In exchange for these endowments, masses were said in honor of these benefactors. Patrons such as Simon de Barraza donated 1,000 pesos from his grape harvests in 1728 to the Jesuits at *San Ignacio*, and also bound his descendants to make annual donations of the same amount in perpetuity.¹³⁴ Each *capellania* donation identified a patron, such as Barraza, who would donate a principle amount in the form of cash or real estate. A percentage of this principle, known as a *renta*, was paid annually to the individual priest or religious order, known as the *capellán*, that it supported.¹³⁵ These *capellania* donations that

¹³² For inventories of these possessions, see Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (cited hereafter as AGN, Mexico), Temporalidades, Vol. 64, 17r-18r and 46v-47r; AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 1-6; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (BN Madrid), Mss. 17618, 50r.

¹³³ Inventories of Jesuit landholdings made in 1767 provide documentation of the vineyards given to the Jesuits from benefactors such as Zapata, who donated lands before 1729. See Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (cited hereafter as AHN Madrid), Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 2., f.1r-3r.

¹³⁴ See AHN Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 1, 1r.

¹³⁵ The principle of a *capellania*, if paid in real estate, consisted of a house or a *hacienda* that was then leased to a rentor, which produced a consistent annual *renta* to be paid to the recipient of the *capellania*, or the *capellán*. In the case of a principle cash donation, a portion of the money was then transferred into an annual revenue or pension, which the *capellán* had the right to receive on the same date every year.

provided the Jesuits with consistent annual income were a religious obligation that could be enforced legally if patrons or their descendants did not continue to support.¹³⁶

In exchange for paying an annual *renta* from these endowments, donors received the spiritual security that their Jesuit *capellán* was celebrating masses and offering prayers in their names during specific feast days throughout the year. As will be shown in Chapter Two and as is expected, the periods of economic success in winemaking often preceded periods of strong patronage for the Jesuits when donors established an increased number of *capellanías*. For example, the initiation of brandy distillation in Parras in 1659 created an increase in liquor production in northern New Spain. By 1667, the demand for brandy caused the alcoholic beverage market to expand into more locations, especially mining towns.¹³⁷ Beginning in 1680 and well into the eighteenth century, winemakers were able to sell brandy for double the cost of wine with only half the volume. Net profits often reached 200% more than their cost of production.¹³⁸ One Parras winemaker's, Joaquin de Maya, reported at one of his many vineyards, he averaged 443 pesos of net income per year between 1753 and 1777. These profits were an average of 562% over his cost of production.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ If succeeding generations could not continue to make the annual *renta* donations to the *capellán* in charge, the vineyard or land that functioned to generate the income for these donations often had to be given in exchange for the payment owed to the Jesuits. See Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 183-84.

¹³⁷ Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 44.

¹³⁸ Wine sold for approximately 4 pesos per arroba and brandy sold for 8 pesos. One arroba= __??. See Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura*, 79, fn 98. Some vintners netted over 560% over their cost of production, while others enjoyed only 140%. See *Ibid*, 175-177.

¹³⁹ See AHCSILP, Expediente 237; Corona Paez, *ibid*,179; For more on the equipment used to distill brandy, known as *alambiques*, that were owned by the larger vineyard producers such as the Urdinolas, which came to be used in Parras around 1659, see Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert," 152.

In addition to receiving donations from successful winemakers, the Jesuits also enjoyed substantial profits from their operation of vineyards the Society owned. Viticulture enterprises were recorded in the Society's *Catalogus Rerum* logs that were sent to Rome triennially. The Jesuits' expense logs between 1708 and 1748 document that the order earned an average of 10,000 pesos in silver per year in Parras.¹⁴⁰ These winemaking profits at Parras were substantial for their location on the northern missions when compared to the per Jesuit ratio of pesos to individuals at colleges and novitiates in central Mexico such as San Pedro y Pablo and Tepotzotlán. Both houses averaged 110,000 pesos in revenue per year with over 30 to 40 Jesuits working in each house. San Pedro y Pablo's lucrative *haciendas* at Santa Lucía earned on average 18,918 pesos per year in ranching and another 18,058 in *pulque* production.¹⁴¹ While these larger Jesuit colleges and novitiates operated on a different scale of wealth, the Parras mission often outperformed many colleges and residences throughout New Spain. In 1737, for example, Parras' income exceeded those of larger Jesuit colleges such as Durango and Pázcuaro.¹⁴² Between 1726 and 1760, Parras also earned more than the Colleges of Veracruz, León, Celaya, and Chiapas, and the Seminaries of San Francisco Xavier in Queretaro and San Juan Bautista in Guadalajara.¹⁴³ While Parras certainly prospered for a northern mission, other

¹⁴⁰ For the year 1737: "Percipit annuatim ex redditibus demorum locatione, prediorum, et vinearum proventibus plus minersue 10,000 uncia argenti signati." ARSI Rome, Mex. 7, f. 119r.

¹⁴¹ Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, 213.

¹⁴² In 1737, the Durango College earned 9,000 pesos, Pázcuaro earned 4,000, while the Residencias of Parral received 2,200, and Chihuahua received 8,200. See ARSI, Mex. 7, f. 118r-119r.

¹⁴³ These comparisons are made with James Riley's Chart B titled "Average Year Income of the Mexican Province" listed by Colleges between 1726-1740 and 1754-1760 in "Wealth," 255. I need to make sure the average from Parras is indeed higher when we include the blue book data ARSI.

northern missions recorded incomes comparable to Parras. In the *Catalogus Rerum*, the Chihuahua Residencia, which was most likely Nuestra Señora de Loreto, reporting an average of 9,500 pesos between 1737 and 1744.¹⁴⁴ Riley reports that all California missions combined received an average of 56,000 pesos between 1726 and 1740 and 79,000 pesos per year between 1754 and 1760.¹⁴⁵ At the time of the Expulsion in 1767, the value of the Jesuits' vineyards, barrels of wine and brandy, and wine making facilities in Parras totaled over 84,000 pesos.¹⁴⁶ While the value of larger agricultural systems in the Valley of Mexico such as Santa Lucia were substantially higher, worth 1,172,010 pesos, the Parras mission was appraised approximately the same as larger colleges in the north such as Chihuahua, whose agricultural holdings were assessed by royal officials at 110,261.40 pesos.¹⁴⁷ The value of rural landholdings at northern missions such as Parras and Chihuahua were often greater than the assets of Colleges in Celaya, Durango, and Oaxaca.¹⁴⁸ This data reveals that within the broader context of income generated by all Jesuit houses throughout New Spain, the agricultural revenues from Parras provided the order with substantial income given that only four priests were operating such successful viticulture enterprises at this northeastern residence. The following chapter will explore in greater detail how the Jesuits used their income and donations from wealthy lay patrons to

¹⁴⁴ ARSI Rome, Mex. 7, f. 265r.

¹⁴⁵ Riley, "Wealth," 250, 255.

¹⁴⁶ For Parras' value, see AGN Mexico, *Temporalidades*, Vol., 64, f.30r. To compare Parras' worth to other larger colleges at the time of the Expulsion in 1767, the total value of the Celaya College was 96,265 while the Guadalajara College was valued at 168,207 pesos. For these censos, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, Legajo 248, numero 10, 2r.

¹⁴⁷ Konrad, *Jesuit Hacienda*, 213 and for the estimation of the Chihuahua college, see AGN, *Temporalidades*, Expediente 50, f. 89.

¹⁴⁸ See Chart G titled "Value of Rural Holdings of the Mexican Jesuits" in Riley, "Wealth," 264.

construct chapels in their Parras church and fund the transfer of artworks from the viceregal capital to adorn these spaces.

Chapter 2 The Jesuits and their Patrons at *San Ignacio de Loyola, Parras*

In churches where private patrons were making large monetary commitments, I believe it is a mistake to always treat the patron as a passive receiver of Jesuit instructions.
-Carolyn Valone on patronage in Renaissance Rome¹

The desire for donors of important secular standing to publicly present themselves as patrons of the Jesuits or of the Church within their community was a practice that existed in Santa María de las Parras just as it did in many cities throughout Spanish America and Europe including Mexico City, Lima, Rome, Ferrara, Bologna, Madrid, and Messina.² Yet this dynamic of public financial support for the Jesuits that was understood as a symbol of power operated under unique circumstances on the northern fringes of the viceroyalty where Spanish and Indian *fronterizos* maintained mutually beneficial relationships with the Society to sustain successful vineyards and ranching operations. As the Jesuits fostered ties with wealthy patrons in Parras, these donors from Tlaxcaltecan and Spanish families consistently provided a flow of funds and donations to the order between 1630 and 1767. The contributions of these secular patrons and the income from the Jesuits' agricultural enterprises provided the order with the financial means to commission and import paintings by prominent artists from Mexico City for installation in the gilded *retablos* at Parras that survive today. Many of these donations were given to construct

¹ Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, Edited by Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 172.

² For more on the relationship between patronage and political power in Italy and Spain in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Olwen Hufton, "Altruism and reciprocity: the early Jesuits and their female patrons," *Renaissance Studies* 15.3 (2001): 328-353; On this subject, see also Valone, "Architecture as a public voice for women in sixteenth-century Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 15.3 (2001): 301-327; Francis Haskell. *Patrons and painters: a study in the relations between Italian art and society in the age of the Baroque* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), 65-69.

and decorate chapels and to celebrate masses on the feast days of the saints these patrons supported at *San Ignacio*. This chapter examines the question of how the financial support of local benefactors played a role in helping the Jesuits decorate *San Ignacio* with a specific decoration program in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Equally important in this investigation is the evidence that Tlaxcaltecan patrons funded the construction and decoration of *retablos* next to chapels patronized by Spanish donors. These donations made by Tlaxcaltecan and Europeans often continued for multiple generations in a family. This patronage at Parras functioned as a source of legitimacy for both groups who sought to be identified publically as supporters of the Jesuits for spiritual and temporal reasons. These paintings also provide important evidence related to the question of original viewership in *San Ignacio* as the details of these compositions are described in sermons and other textual references. Within this setting, Jesuit orators referred to these devotional images in their homilies encouraging audiences to actively engage with these images that acquired multiple meanings for different viewers. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these diverse audiences in Parras would have included the Jesuits, elite members of Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan families, local Indians and African slaves who worked in the Parras vineyards, as well as visiting missionaries and secular clergy.

Because many of these works identified in colonial church inventories survive today, the Parras case study provides a unique opportunity to reconstruct in detail the arrangement of chapels, artworks, and altarpieces decorating the religious spaces in *San Ignacio*. The preservation of these artworks also reveals that artists working in Mexico City executed many of the paintings in *San Ignacio*, as numerous canvases that survive from this church are signed by artists such as Juan Sánchez Salmerón, Francisco Martínez, and José de Mota. In the field of mission art history, many questions are yet to be answered to reveal how patronage played a role

in the importation of these paintings to Jesuit churches in northern New Spain. While it is known that private patrons provided their financial support to found and help sustain operating missions in northern New Spain, the evidence connecting artworks with these donors at the northern missions is much more scarce. Scholars have highlighted the fact that benefactors from central New Spain made donations from afar to help found Jesuit missions on the northern frontier, as Barbara Meyer de Stinglhamber has noted for the case of the *Baja California* missions.³ For example, one donor from Querétaro, Juan de Caballero y Ocio, gave 45,000 pesos to support the Jesuits' foundation of the missions of *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*, *Conchó* and *San Francisco Javier*, *Viggé Biandó* beginning in 1697. Custavo Curiel has examined a localized case study in Parral, where local landowners and *hacendados* financially supported the Jesuit missions in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴

A small number of mission art historians have discovered texts that visually connect patrons' identities with the devotion they supported, as seen in the eighteenth-century painting depicting *San Francisco Javier Baptizing* from the Jesuit church of *San Lorenzo* in present-day Belisario Domínguez, Chihuahua, Mexico (Figure 14).⁵ At the bottom center of this canvas, an

³ Citing Juan Jacobo Baegert and Zephyrin Engelhardt's studies, de Stinglhamber notes that private patrons also made donations to the Jesuits to found the missions of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé in 1705 and San Luis Gonzaga Chiriyáqui in 1737. See de Stinglhamber, *Iglesias de la Antigua California. Fachadas y Retablos del Siglo XVIII* (México: INAH, 2008), 34 and 39-40. See Baegert, *Observations in Lower California* (Berkeley, 1952), 109; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco: J.H. Barry, 1929), 136, 102.

⁴ Gustavo Curiel, *Los bienes del mayorazgo de los Cortés del Rey en 1729: la casa de San José del Parral y las haciendas del Río Conchos, Chihuahua* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas UNAM, 1993). Clara Bargellini mentions Curiel's study as evidence of local patrons' participation in supporting the northern New Spanish missions in "At the Center: Jesuit Tarahumara Missions of New Spain," in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. Thomas da Costa Kaufman (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 113-114.

⁵ Clara Bargellini has begun preliminary research on this canvas which she dates to the first half of the eighteenth century based on a reference from Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral's 1759 visit to this mission, in which he identifies a painting of *San Francisco Javier* hanging in the nave of the Jesuit church in *San Lorenzo*. See her "Rescate del olvido," (paper presented at Diagnóstico en defensa del patrimonio: XIII Coloquio del Seminario de Estudio y Conservación del Patrimonio Artístico, Morelia, Mexico, September 2005).

inscription identifies this artwork as a donation from a specific patron, stating “*A Devoción Del Capi(tán) Don Francisco...de la Campa...*”⁶ While images such as this provide strong visual evidence that the commissioning of artworks executed by artists in Mexico City were tied to the donations of wealthy benefactors of the Jesuits in northern New Spain, the majority of paintings and sculptures paid for by private patrons of the order can only be identified through contemporary documents.⁷ Clara Bargellini notes one such textual source describing images of the Spanish saints *Santa Justa* and *Santa Rufina* displayed in the Jesuit mission church of *Santiago* in Papasquiario in the Tepehuan region west of Parras in present-day Durango, Mexico.⁸ Bargellini posits that members of a Spanish confraternity may have funded the production of these devotional images, noting that this practice of local patrons donating art deserves further attention.⁹

The Jesuits and their Patrons in Parras: A Reconstruction of the Interior Decoration Program at *San Ignacio*

While these examples of single artworks reveal that specific artworks and iconographies had ties to benefactors’ own personal devotions, studies of multiple patrons funding the installation of artworks and *retablos* within one Jesuit church in a coherent scheme does not

⁶ While this canvas has been damaged over time leaving the name of the patron illegible, Bargellini (*ibid.*, 14-16) posits that this patron may have been Francisco Javier Campa, who was most likely a captain of the northern provinces before 1750.

⁷ Elisa Vargaslugo has discussed a rare example of donors’ likenesses being displayed at the secular church of *San Sebastián* in Concordia, Sinaloa, where sculptures depicting the Marqués de Pánuco and his son flank the outside entrance of the church sacristy, in “El arte barroco en el territorio de Sinaloa,” in *Regionalización en el arte: teoría y praxis. Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1992), p. 69. I am grateful to Clara Bargellini for reference to this citation.

⁸ For more on these paintings from Papasquiario, see Clara Bargellini, “Art at the Missions of Northern New Spain,” in Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain*, ex. cat. (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 81.

⁹ Bargellini makes this observation in “At the Center on the Frontier,” 114; See also *ibid.*, 81.

exist.¹⁰ Given that original inventories are often lost or unknown and Jesuit churches were dismantled and redecorated many times after the Expulsion in 1767, it is difficult to fully examine original church decoration programs in northern New Spain.¹¹ With the survival of many devotional artworks at Parras, which are identified in inventories, financial reports of donations, and Jesuit correspondences discussing various shipments of paintings, the case study of *San Ignacio* provides a unique opportunity to reconstruct the organization of artworks in the Jesuits' church (Figures 4 and 15).¹² The church plan presented in this study provides a view of the arrangement of artworks at *San Ignacio* as it would have looked in 1767 after more than a century of commissions to decorate this church. This reconstruction also identifies the Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan patrons who paid for the devotional images and altarpieces in each chapel and the presbytery of the church. This unique opportunity to integrate textual and visual evidence at Parras makes it possible to uncover a clearer understanding of the comprehensive decoration program in *San Ignacio* that suited both the Jesuits' devotional interests and those of Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan patrons.

As Carolyn Valone notes, "It is often assumed that the Jesuits strictly controlled the iconography of the decorative programs in their churches."¹³ However, as many case studies

¹⁰ While it is not within a Jesuit context, Clara Bargellini has found evidence of private patrons funding the production of various devotional images and *retablos* in Saltillo, Coahuila, at the *Parroquia* (parish church) and Cathedral in, *La catedral de Saltillo y sus imagines* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2005), 28, 37-39.

¹¹ Clara Bargellini notes a similar phenomenon in central Mexico in which the majority of original Jesuit interior decorations no longer exist, with the exception of the church of San Francisco Xavier in Tepotzotlán. See "Jesuit Devotions and *retablos* in New Spain," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and Arts*, ed. Gauvin Alexander Bailey et al., (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), 681.

¹² 1767 inventories list specific art objects located in each chapel of *San Ignacio* in AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 64, f. 74v.

¹³ Carolyn Valone, "Women and the Early Jesuits," 172. Valone makes this observation in response to older studies that have presented the opposite argument. Cf. Harold Hibbard's position that "the Jesuits controlled the ornamental and iconographic program [of the Gesu in the 1580s] although the chapels were painted with funds from private

have shown for the history of Jesuit church decoration in both New Spain and Europe, private benefactors who gave funds to build chapels and altarpieces often controlled the subject matter of the artworks they patronized.¹⁴ As this chapter will reveal by examining the many donations for each chapel in *San Ignacio*, the situation in Parras also reflects the patrons' control over the commissioned artworks. The financial offerings made to commission artworks and altarpieces were almost always dedicated to donors' patron saints or personal devotions important to these benefactors and their families. For example, José de Azlor, the second *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, and his wife, Ignacia Xaviera de Echeverz y Valdez, and their family, made frequent donations specifying their funds to decorate the chapels of their patron saints *San José* and *San Francisco Xavier* in Parras.¹⁵ Wealthy members of Tlaxcaltecan Indian families in Parras, including the Andrade and the Cano Moctezuma family, also donated funds to construct and decorate chapels and altarpieces in *San Ignacio* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Members of these Tlaxcaltecan families and their descendants paid for both altarpieces flanking

patrons..." See his essay, "*Ut pictorae sermones*: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù," in *Baroque Art. The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York, Fordham University Press, 1972), 34.

¹⁴ In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, one of the Jesuits' main patrons of the new *Casa Profesa* in Mexico City, the *Marquesa de las Torres de Rada*, commissioned a painting of the *Virgin Dolorosa* by the Italian artist Bartolomeo Mancini, which she later donated to the Society for display in *La Profesa*. See Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain 1670-1767" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998), 146. This donation and various others that were made by private patrons to the Jesuits in urban settings throughout Spanish America and Europe will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. See, for example, the 1598 donations to redecorate the Jesuit church of San Vitale in Rome, where Isabella della Rovere patronized artworks dedicated to her own personal devotions of female Christian piety, in Valone, "Women and the Early Jesuits," 175-178. Female patrons of the Gesù also made commissions in the 1580s for artworks including the first great Marian cycle in the Jesuits' mother church to create a public dialogue about Catholic reform and the role of women in the family. See Valone, "Architecture as a Public Voice," 327.

¹⁵ In many documents, José de Azlor and his wife Ignacia identify themselves as the patrons of the Chapels of San José and San Francisco Xavier and discuss the special relationship they had to these particular saints. See especially Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (cited hereafter as BNMa), Signatura Mss 17618, f. 50r; The Amaya-Echeverz family donations began in the 1680s for the decoration of the Chapel of *San José*. See AGN, Jesuitas 1-33, Expediente 77; For Ignacia Xaviera de Echeverz y Valdez's lavish donations to these two devotions in the Jesuits' church as executed in her will upon her death in 1749, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 6, f. 2r.

the High Altar in the presbytery of the church, a subject discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

While the Jesuits honored these obligations imposed by their patrons, the order also created a coherent church decoration program at *San Ignacio*. Upon closer examination of the plan reconstructing the interior layout of the Jesuits' church in Parras, I propose the possibility of an ordered reading sequence in the spatial organization of chapels in *San Ignacio*. An examination of the chapels paired across the aisle from each other indicates a thematic linking of their devotions in terms of their subject matter (see Figs. 4 and 5). For example, upon entering the church a viewer would have seen the first chapels on the right and left were dedicated to the Joys and Sorrows of Mary. In the right chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Joys, the devout could recite the Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary. Viewers would encounter devotional paintings encouraging contemplations on the physical and celestial joys of Mary as both Mother and Virgin, a subject discussed later in this chapter in a more detailed examination of this chapel.¹⁶ On the left of the entrance door, the chapel dedicated to *Our Lady of Sorrows* directly across the aisle, encouraged meditations on the Sorrowful Mysteries of Mary related to her witnessing the Crucifixion of Christ. Here a supplicant could say a second set of rosaries that include prayers recalling scenes from the Passion of Christ. This spatial pairing of chapels across the nave continued in a sequential progression toward the High Altar, with the second set of private devotional spaces dedicated to Jesus. The left chapel illustrates Jesus' suffering in the Passion in the *Capilla de Ecce Homo* (Chapel of *Ecce Homo*, or the scourged Christ) and His death and crucifixion in the *Capilla de Calvario* (Chapel of Christ at Calvary). The third pair of chapels links the Virgin and Christ together as spiritual inhabitants of the heavens in the *Capilla de*

¹⁶ I am thankful to Mary C. Moorman for her suggestions on this subject. See also her "Indulgences: A Revised Construal," (PhD dissertation, Southern Methodist University, 2012).

Nuestra Señora de la Luz (Our Lady of Light) located across from the *Capilla de la Santissima Trinidad* (Chapel of the Holy Trinity). The naming of this cult that the Jesuits promoted zealously after Mary as the “Mother of Light, meaning Christ” was an obvious connection between the Virgin and Jesus.¹⁷ While the Society was responsible for bringing the first image of the Virgin of Light to New Spain, Jesuit devotions also placed a particular emphasis on the Trinity. Saint Ignatius spends much of the Second Week of his *Spiritual Exercises* devoted to the “Three Divine Persons,” instructing his participants often to contemplate mental representations of the Trinity.¹⁸ The location of the Trinity chapel in sequential order after the chapels of *Our Lady of Sorrows* and *Christ at Calvary* underscores the interrelatedness of these spaces on the Epistle side of the church to Christ’s seat on the royal throne in heaven. His representation in the chapel of the Holy Trinity would have marked the culmination of His triumph over suffering on earth as represented in the devotional artworks in the previous chapels. The final pairs of chapels venerated *San Francisco Javier*, martyrs of the Society and the Early Christian Church, and *San José*.¹⁹ These devotions were central to the Jesuits and their missionary identity that focused on the order’s continuation of Christ’s call to the Apostles to

¹⁷ Pamela J. Huckins notes, the devotion to the Virgin of Light was an important devotion among the Jesuits as well as the Franciscans in “Our Lady of Light,” in Bargellini and Komanecky, *Arts of the Missions*, 260.

¹⁸ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 41-44. Harold Hibbard also notes that the Trinity had special meaning for Saint Ignatius in “‘*Ut pictorae sermons*:’ The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù,” in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University, 1972), 45-46.

¹⁹ These chapels included the *Capilla de San Juan Nepomuceno*, *San Francisco Xavier*, and *San José*. It should be noted that the chapel of *San José* occupied the space of two chapels as the largest private devotional chapel in *San Ignacio*. Therefore, this final pairing of chapels is actually a combination of three chapels instead of four. The specific artworks located in these chapels will be discussed in greater detail below in this chapter.

preach His name throughout the world, living as missionary pilgrims and spiritual fathers of Christian converts.²⁰

The close interrelationship of these chapels, across the nave as well as sequentially down the side of this main aisle, suggests that the Jesuits must have planned for these private devotional spaces to continue in a progression toward the main altar. This ordering of devotional images would encourage viewers to move through the church while contemplating these iconographies. This process was not unlike going through the *Spiritual Exercises* where Ignatius's sequence of devotions instructs participants to "see in the imagination" images such as the Trinity or the Holy Family and contemplate different stages in the Life of Christ.²¹ While this thematic pairing of chapels at Parras deserves further attention, the Jesuits had set this precedent beginning in 1585 at the Gesù in Rome. At the Jesuits' mother church, Harold Hibbard argued that the original decoration program "was organized spatially by opposed chapels" across the main aisle (Figure 16).²² In this arrangement, for example, the chapels of the Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, were located across the nave from the chapel dedicated to Saint Andrew and the Early Christian martyrs. At the Jesuits' novitiate church in Tepotzotlán, one of the few Jesuit churches in central Mexico where the original mid eighteenth-century decoration scheme survives, the Society also appears to have created a coherent thematic organization of *retablos*, even if they were not arranged in a deliberate sequencing of chapels as

²⁰ For more on the importance of Jesuit veneration to Saint Joseph that can be seen in the many artworks dedicated to his cult in *retablos* in central New Spain as well as in Jesuit churches on the northern frontier, see Clara Bargellini, "St. Joseph, Loreto, and the Jesuit Mission in New Spain," in *Joseph of Nazareth through the Centuries* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph University Press, 2011), 281-297.

²¹ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 21 and 27.

²² Hibbard first made this argument in *Ut pictorae sermones*, 35-36. He also notes that this arrangement of a coherent iconographic program was not unique in late sixteenth-century Rome, as the Oratorians' church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (the "Chiesa Nuova") was also organized by a continuous sequencing of chapels along either side of the nave even though it was not arranged by paired chapels across the aisle as in the Gesù.

in other Jesuit churches (Figure 17).²³ At Tepotzotlán, the Jesuits strategically placed the *retablo* of *San José* next to the entrance to the Virgin's House of Loreto located deeper inside the church complex, revealing that the pairing of devotional spaces was not restricted to altarpieces lining the nave of the church.²⁴ While the variation of church decoration plans attests to the Society's adaptability in various architectural settings, there is no doubt that the Jesuits were aware of the spatial organization of their chapels and church interiors worldwide.²⁵ This study does not intend to submit that the Jesuits at Parras were using the specific decoration schemes of the Gesù from the 1580s or Tepotzotlán from the 1730s as their only model. However, the case of *San Ignacio* does provide strong evidence that the Jesuits created a decoration program that was conceptually planned and intimately linked to Ignatian spirituality.²⁶ As the following section will demonstrate, this "Jesuit image theory" that promoted spiritual meditation through the interaction of text and image, was also present in sermons at Parras in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁷

²³ Maquivar, *Retablos de Tepotzotlán*, 21.

²⁴ Bargellini notes that the replica of the House of Loreto was also strategically located next to the Chapel of Saint Joseph in the Jesuits' College of San Gregorio in Mexico City. For more on her study of the relationship between the Virgin of Loreto and Saint Joseph in Jesuit churches in central New Spain and the northern missions, see her essay "Joseph, Loreto, and the Jesuit Mission," 292. For a comparable discussion, see also Alcalá, "Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 185.

²⁵ Jeffrey Chipps Smith's observation that "There can never be one 'correct' way of moving through a church or of reading its art, but the Jesuits did guide their congregations through carefully conceived and logically placed programs," has inspired this study. See *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 8.

²⁶ Kristof van Assche's observation that: Ignatius "created in the Spiritual Exercises an image-language, strictly coded in order to lead the associative powers of the image in desired, controlled directions..." further affirms this relationship between text and image. See his essay in "Louis Richeome, Ignatius, and Philostrates in the Novice's Garden: Or, the Signification of Everyday Environment," in *The Jesuits and the emblem tradition: selected papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August, 1996*, John Manning and Marc van Vaeck, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, c1999), 4.

²⁷ Jeffrey Smith (*Sensuous Worship*, 40-51) uses this phrase in discussing illustrated devotional treatises by Jesuit authors such as Jerome Nadal (*Evangelicae historiae imagines*, Antwerp, 1593), Antoine Sucquet (*Via vitae*

Jesuit Sermons at *San Ignacio*: A Dialogue between Text and Image

Sermons given by Jesuit orators played a key role in informing viewers' interactions with images in *San Ignacio*. As Carmen Fernández-Salvador demonstrates in her study of sermons in colonial Quito, "seeing and hearing were performed in the sacred space of the church, as two concurrent, complementary, and almost indivisible actions."²⁸ Building on Fernández-Salvador's observation that the Jesuits' sacred rhetoric encouraged "the spectator to take an active role" in viewing devotional artworks so that "the act of 'seeing' was transformed into an intellectual operation," this study will similarly reveal that Jesuit orators engaged repeatedly with the artworks before them at Parras. A sermon from 1737 dedicated to the *Virgin of Joys* provides one such example of this process in which images became active agents in the interaction between words and pictures at *San Ignacio*. An anonymous Jesuit preacher used the repeated vineyard metaphor to address a painting of the Virgin in his sermon, which was most likely *Our Lady of Joys (Nuestra Señora de los Gozos)* located in the first chapel to the right of the church entrance: "Look, Mary, with those merciful eyes at this your vineyard, for this is the vineyard that looks at the Virgin as the Mother of Mercy."²⁹ Preachers at *San Ignacio* often made similar comments such as "Look at the Virgin in this sacred image" and "the paintings show this," thus adding a visual dimension to their sermons that helped teach symbolic Christian concepts and elaborate on the exemplary lives of the saints.³⁰ Jesuit orators also constructed vivid ekphrastic

aeternae, Antwerp, 1630), and Louis Richeome (*La Peinture Spirituelle*, Lyon, 1611 and *Le pelerin de Lorete*, Bordeaux, 1604).

²⁸ Carmen Fernández-Salvador, "Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito" (PhD Dissertation: University of Chicago, 2005), 36.

²⁹ AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1A, Sermon number 41: "Nuestra Señora de los Gozos," f. 1r.

³⁰ AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1A, Sermon number 54. Another sermon given on the feast day of Saint Francis Xavier describes the paintings in the chapel of Saint Francis Xavier, including phrases

homilies linking images and sacred buildings abroad to paintings and spaces in their Parras church as a strategy to inspire devotion.³¹ In a sermon dedicated to the Virgin of the Light written between 1737 and 1759, one Jesuit preacher articulated a verbal description of an image of the Virgin surrounded by a resplendent semi circle of light that mirrors the composition of the 1711 painting of the *Our Lady of Joys* by José de Mota in *San Ignacio* (Figure 34).³² He describes a painting of the Virgin surrounded by an arc of shining light and multi-colored clouds, with lilies falling from the heavens and surrounding Mary with garlands of flowers that symbolized the Virgin's purity, humility, and charity. While this Jesuit orator says that God painted this ingenious canvas in the heavens as a sign of Mary's mercy, it was no coincidence that this ekphrastic picture was nearly identical to the large painting located in the chapel of *Our Lady of Joys*. Perhaps the verbally constructed painting in this sermon functioned to encourage the congregation to meditate on the qualities of the Virgin in heaven *vis-à-vis* the painting hanging before them in *San Ignacio*.

While this analysis only begins to uncover the complex relationship between images and sacred rhetoric at *San Ignacio*, this evidence of sermons and reconstruction of the decoration program at *San Ignacio* clearly indicates that the Jesuits were actively inspiring “uniform patterns of looking” in the “collective imagination” of their congregations in Parras on the

such as “the paintings show this” to describe an image of Saint John (Nepomuk?) holding a child making a reference to silence, which was most likely related to the secrecy of confession. See AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1A, Sermon number 23. For transcriptions of these sermons, see Appendix A.

³¹ Various sermons encourage the congregation to take a mental tour of the temple of the militant church in the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple Solomon in Jerusalem, linking the different altars including and spaces of the Palace of King Solomon to the plan of the church in Parras. See AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1B, Sermon numbers 5 and 10.

³² AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1A, Sermon number 36: “*De la santísima señora de la luz. Parras.*”

northern Spanish American frontier, as they did in colonial Quito.³³ These strategies operated simultaneously in multiple Jesuit houses in the northern and southern Spanish American viceroyalties because of the nature of Jesuit spirituality that used pictures and mental images as the starting point for religious devotion.³⁴ Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* were the order's most important meditation manuals that stressed the role of images for inspiring devotion. While Loyola encouraged participants of the Exercises to construct mental images of religious subjects via mnemonic techniques of "seeing the place," Nadal used actual images identified by lettered captions and texts to encourage "seeing" and "reading" as a simultaneous devotional practice.³⁵ The Jesuits owned copies of Nadal's *Evangelicae* gospel engravings that accompanied his *Adnotationes et Meditationes* in their houses and colleges in Mexico City, where the order commissioned artists to create paintings and *retablos* for their churches in the viceregal capital and further afield, as far north as the mission in Parras. The library at the Jesuit residence of *San Ignacio* in Parras also held a copy of Nadal's devotional treatise, and paintings based on Nadal's depiction of multiple scenes in the same narrative were displayed in the church of *San Ignacio*.³⁶ The *Dream of Saint Joseph* signed by Juan Sánchez Salmerón presents a Nadalian inspired composition of various scenes organized in separate pictorial spaces in one canvas that are textually narrated by captions in the bottom quadrant of the canvas (Figure 18-19). Clearly, the Jesuits in Parras

³³ Fernández-Salvador uses these terms in, "Images and Memory," 38.

³⁴ This discussion was inspired by Jeffrey Smith's analysis of Jesuit image theory in relation to printed devotional treatises that incorporated both text and image in *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); For a detailed analysis on this subject in reference to Nadal's illustrated treatises, see also Walter S. Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the northern devotional print, 1550-1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009), 4-5, 122-125.

³⁵ Fernández-Salvador (*ibid.*, 39-40) observes that Nadal's engravings stressed the "inextricability of place and images as the basis for intellectual consideration" in which "the reader must consult words and pictures at the same time.

³⁶ Add AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 64, f. 63r.

presented Nadal's devotional strategy of encouraging the viewer to contemplate words and images at the same to their audiences both in artworks as well as in sermons that drew attention to these artworks displayed before their congregations.

What follows is an examination in greater detail of the *retablos* in the ten chapels and presbytery of *San Ignacio* and an analysis of how patrons' donations informed the subject matter the Jesuits selected for these devotional spaces. Many financial ledgers and inventories survive identifying the location of artworks and name of benefactors who helped fund their production. As the economic interests of prominent Spanish and Tlaxcaltecan patrons became intimately linked to the Jesuits art and architectural projects, the Society's ties to these benefactors were amicable and at times adversarial. Regardless of the status of their relationship to the Jesuits, however, these donors always maintained their financial support in decorating *San Ignacio*, with their acts of pious devotion publicly incorporated into the Society's program of religious devotion and meditation.³⁷

The Main Altar *Retablo*: A Pantheon of Jesuit Saints

While documents from *circa* 1680 describe the main altar of *San Ignacio* as decorated with paintings of Jesuit saints, this *retablo* must have been rebuilt sometime in the eighteenth century and replaced with a fully sculptural gilded *retablo* that survives today. The sculptures placed in the niches of this monumental altarpiece are organized in three *cuerpos* (horizontal levels) and five *calles* (vertical rows) (Figure 20). Below the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* sculpture situated at the top of the *retablo*, sculptures of Jesuit saints were assembled in the middle row of the *retablo* with San Francisco Xavier and San Luis Gonzaga to the left, San

³⁷ This examination of the Jesuits' ties to prominent patrons in Parras was inspired by Valone's research on the order's relationship with female patrons in Rome. See especially, "Piety and Patronage."

Ignacio in a larger niche in the center of the altarpiece, and San Estanislao Kostka and San Francisco de Borja to the right of the founder of the Society.³⁸ On the lowest row, a sculpture of the Virgin of Sorrows is flanked by a Jesuit martyr, perhaps San Pablo Miki, the Crucifixion, an unknown Jesuit (perhaps Peter Canisius or Robert Bellarmino), and Saint John the Baptist.

This main altarpiece that contained a pantheon of Jesuit saints within its niches, presents a hagiographic subject that was central to the religious order. While almost all Jesuit church decoration programs throughout New Spain contained *retablos* of *San Ignacio* or *San Francisco Javier* by the eighteenth century, the presence of many Jesuit saints combined within the main altar or throughout the church was not a common iconography on the northern New Spanish missions.³⁹ The Society's northern churches usually contained a *retablo* dedicated to Ignatius or Francis Xavier, and often both of the two primary Jesuit saints, while churches with *retablos* dedicated to a pantheon of Jesuit saints were concentrated more often in central Mexico, especially in the viceregal capital. At La Profesa in Mexico City, for example, the *retablos* of Ignatius and Francis Xavier as well as Saint Francis Borja were constructed in celebration of their canonizations in 1622 and 1672, respectively, and would later be accompanied by more *retablos* of Jesuit saints.⁴⁰ The newly constructed *retablo* of the beatified Juan Francis Regis was

³⁸ This arrangement of images corresponds to the church inventory of artworks and *retablos* made at the time of the expulsion. See AGN, Temporalidades, Vol. 64, f.74r.

³⁹ While Bargellini notes that “practically all Jesuit churches in New Spain had *retablos* dedicated to Saint Ignatius,” as at the novitiate in Tepotzotlán and La Profesa in Mexico City, Jesuit saints were often dispersed in separate *retablos* rather than combined in the main altar. See her essay, “Painting for Export in Mexico City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, ed. Sarah Schroth, (London: Paul Holberton, 2010), 682-83.

⁴⁰ Rogelio Ruíz Gomar's cites Andrés Pérez de Ribas's descriptions of the *retablos* in the Professed House from his *Coronica y Historia Religiosa* (Vol. 1, Book 5, Chapter III, 241), including his comment that a patron from Mexico City donated 14,000 pesos for the construction of the main altar. For more on this and other seventeenth-century descriptions of *retablos* at *La Profesa*, see “El retablo de La Profesa y su efímera transfiguración en 1672,” in *Los Discursos sobre el arte. XV Coloquio internacional de historia del arte* (México: UNAM, 1995), 91-106; See also Bargellini, “Jesuit Devotions,” 682.

also described in 1722 adjacent to these altarpieces even before he was canonized in 1737. At Tepetzotlán, the main altar of the novitiate church was dedicated to San Francisco Javier, flanked by the *retablo* of San Francisco Borja on the Epistle, or right side, of the transept. To the left of the main altar, the Society constructed the *retablo* of San Juan Nepomuceno, a thirteenth-century martyr canonized in 1722 and promoted by the Jesuits as an exemplar of the secrecy of confession.⁴¹ This evidence reconstructing the original decoration of the interiors of *La Profesa* and *San Ignacio*, reveals that Jesuit devotions in central Mexico and the northern missions both functioned to promote the collective identity of the order in disparate locations. Perhaps because the Parras *Residencia* and Monterrey college were some of the few Jesuit houses located near many Franciscan missions and residences extending from Saltillo to Texas, it was important for the order to present a group of Jesuit saints in the *retablo mayor* to affirm the identity of a its presence in northeastern New Spain.

Local patrons were involved in supporting the reconstruction of the main altar and its decoration with Jesuit saints in Parras. The Estradas, a prominent Spanish family in the Parras community of winemakers, donated funds for the decoration of the main altar in *San Ignacio* as early as 1679.⁴² Antonio de Estrada founded a capellanía for the Jesuits in 1693 donating 2,000 pesos from the income of his vineyard and properties.⁴³ Isabel de Estrada, Antonio's daughter, would continue this patronage for the Jesuits in 1738 by providing the order with a *censo* (annual pension) of 1,000 pesos. These funds that most likely paid for the production of these sculptures

⁴¹ For a complete reconstruction of altars at the Jesuits' novitiate church of *San Francisco Javier*, whose original decoration program has remained *in situ*, see María del Consuelo Maquivar, *Los Retablos de Tepetzotlan*. (Mexico: INAH, 1976), 25.

⁴² AHCSILP, Expediente 133; Corona Páez also cites documents related to the Estrada family's donations to the Jesuits for the production of artworks and decorations to the church in *La Vitivinicultura*, 185-186 and 229-230.

⁴³ Antonio's donation stipulated that the funds were to be given to the Jesuits in perpetuity, which were continued to be paid by his son, Francisco. See AHCSILP, Expediente 313; see also Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura*, 185.

and the gilded *retablo*, also paid for the celebration of the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin annually in *San Ignacio*.⁴⁴

The present *retablo* must have been constructed between the last quarter of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century in conjunction with the Estrada family donations. The stylistic attributes of this fully sculptural *retablo* decorated with columns encrusted with grapes and vegetal motifs became popular in the eighteenth century, which corresponds to this period of the Estrada's patronage. This inclusion of grapevines made a clear visual reference both to winemaking that was so important to the patrons and the local community as well as to the sacrament of the Eucharist performed at the main altar during mass. The sculptures decorating the niches in this *retablo* must have been added as these saints were beatified or canonized, as at La Profesa. While the exact location of the production of this *retablo* is unknown, it was most likely not produced far from Parras. Recent scholarship has shown that the regional production of gilded altarpieces in northern New Spain became possible in the late eighteenth century. Inventories reveal that missionaries had in their possession materials to gild altars, such as books of gold leaf, gesso, bole, and verdigris, and carpentry workshops with specialized carving and gilding tools have also been documented at missions in the Tarahumara and Sonora.⁴⁵ It is therefore very possible that this and the other sixteen altars in Parras were constructed on location or nearby in Saltillo.

⁴⁴ AHCSILP, Expediente 313. See also Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La Vitivinicultura Vitivinicultura en el pueblo de Santa María de las Parras* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004), 230.

⁴⁵ Bargellini, "Art at the Missions of Northern New Spain," 80, 84-85.

Tlaxcaltecan Patrons in the Presbytery of *San Ignacio*: *The Immaculate Conception* and *Good Death Retablos*

Textual sources and inventories reveal that prominent Tlaxcaltecan families paid for the decoration of two large *retablos* flanking the main altar in the presbytery of the Jesuit church in Parras: the altar of *The Immaculate Conception* and *The Good Death*.⁴⁶ The Cano Moctezuma family, who claimed direct descent from the Emperor Moctezuma, frequently patronized the decoration of the *Altar of the Immaculate Conception* to the Epistle, or right, side of the presbytery (see Fig. 15).⁴⁷ Benefactors such as Pedro Nolasco Cano Moctezuma continued the donation practices of his grandfather Salvador Cano Motezuma by giving frequently to the Jesuits during the years 1757 and 1761.⁴⁸ In his 1761 donation of a house and its vineyard to the “College of the Jesuits” in Parras, Pedro explicitly states that the income from this property was given to provide sixty pesos per month for the annual maintenance and decoration of the *Altar of the Immaculate Conception* in *San Ignacio*.⁴⁹ Although the altar no longer survives, textual accounts describe it as: “a large *retablo* three *cuerpos* (rows) [in height], gilded with fine gold and containing six canvases of fine painting, four small ones, and in the middle a niche with a sculpture of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.”⁵⁰ One painting from this *retablo* ensemble has survived depicting the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin* by Agustín del

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, these *retablos* from the presbytery do not survive today, but they are described in detail in AGN, *Temporalidades*, Expediente 64, f. 74v-75r.

⁴⁷ For more on the Cano Moctezuma’s documented lineage that originated from the marriage of Moctezuma’s daughter, Doña Isabel, to the Spaniard Luis Cano de Cazerres, see Real Academia de la Historia (cited hereafter as RAH), Madrid, Colección Salazar y Castro, Signatura D-25, f. 1r.

⁴⁸ For Pedro Nolasco’s various donations to the Jesuits for the decoration of the Altar of the Immaculate Conception this Virgin, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, Legajo 250, num. 4-5.

⁴⁹ AGN, Tierras 3406, Legajo 3, Number 37, July 29, 1761.

⁵⁰ AGN, *Temporalidades* 64, f. 74r.

Pino (Figure 21).⁵¹ This painting, which was signed by the artist in 1711, would have been surrounded by a Marian cycle most likely depicting the *Life of the Virgin* flanking the centrally located sculpture of *The Immaculate Conception*.

The Andrade family and other prominent Tlaxcaltecs donated funds to construct and decorate the *Altar de la Buena Muerte (Altar of the Good Death)* on the gospel side of the presbytery as well as the *Capilla de Ecce Homo* in the second chapel to the right along the nave of *San Ignacio* (See Fig 15). One Tlaxcaltecan landowner, Cayetano Mauleon, sold his vineyard named San Francisco Xavier in 1757 and donated the proceeds to the *Congregación de Buena Muerte* in the Jesuits' church.⁵² This *congregación*, or confraternity, was supported by wealthy Tlaxcaltecs who maintained their own solidarity as a devout group of worshippers supporting the Jesuits in *San Ignacio*. Prominent Tlaxcaltecan members continued to support this confraternity of the Good Death throughout the eighteenth century. Upon her death in 1763, for example, Antonia Nicolasa de Andrade gave in her will a bequest of one fifth of the value of her vineyard to the Jesuits and the Confraternity of the Good Death. Antonia made this donation in exchange for celebrations in her honor, such as a series of masses given on the seven Sundays of Lent in her name at the *Altar de la Buena Muerte*.⁵³ Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Andrade family made frequent donations to decorate the *Altar of the Good Death* in the presbytery. While no paintings survive from this altarpiece, a 1767 description provides some insight into its original decoration as a “a large *retablo* of fine gold, three *cuerpos* [in

⁵¹ Monica Marti Cotarelo identifies this painting in “Catalogo de Bienes Muebles: Mision de San Ignacio, Parras, Coahuila.” Unpublished paper, 1998, 30; see also Museo Regional de la Laguna, Torreon, y Casa Parroquial, Parras. *Exposicion de Arte Sacro: Presencia de la Compania de Jesus en la Laguna, 1598-1998* (Torreon: Universidad Iberoamericana Laguna, 1998).

⁵² AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No. 34, f. 1r.

⁵³ AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3406, Legajo 3, No. 26.

height] and decorated with six fine paintings. In the center, there are three sculptures of *The Crucifixion* [with Christ] flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist.”⁵⁴

As mentioned previously, the Cano Moctezuma and Andrade family were active patrons in both the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio* and the parish church of *Santa María de las Parras* during its reconstruction campaign in the 1680’s. While the total amount of funds given by the Cano Moctezuma and Andrade family for the building and decoration of the *Altars of the Immaculate Conception* and *Good Death* in *San Ignacio* is not known, a preliminary investigation suggests that by the eighteenth century, the funds donated to the Jesuits’ church by these Tlaxcaltecan families greatly outnumbered those given to the parish church.⁵⁵ That Tlaxcaltecan families would provide greater funding to the Jesuits’ church may be explained by the fact that families such as the Andrades had supported the Jesuit presence in Parras since the time of the mission’s founding in 1598. In a document from 1619, in which local authorities and the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya confirmed the Jesuits’ possession of the Parras mission by the founding missionaries Juan Agustín de Espinosa and Baltasar Rodríguez, the Tlaxcaltecan leader Francisco de Andrade is among the witnesses acknowledging the Jesuits religious jurisdiction over Parras.⁵⁶

The Tlaxcaltecan and the Jesuits had a mutually beneficial relationship that was integral to the Jesuits thriving in their creation of a successful “spiritual economy” in Parras. As José Gabriel Martínez Serna has revealed, Tlaxcaltecan lords donated portions of their vineyards and

⁵⁴ AGN, Temporalidades 64, f. 74r.

⁵⁵ Further research is necessary to make an accurate comparison of donations by these families, since donations from the 1680’s are better documented for the parish church and contributions from this family are more numerous in the mid-eighteenth century at *San Ignacio*.

⁵⁶ For more on this founding document, see Archivo Histórico, Centro de Estudios históricos, Condumex (Chimalistac, Mexico City), Fondo MXXII, Parras 1619, f. 1r.

water rights to the Jesuits in return for the Society's protection of Indian lands that were constantly threatened by Spanish landowners, such as the Urdiñola family and the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*. The Jesuits consistently supported the Tlaxcaltecs in their requests for legal help when water became the other valuable resource in dispute, and the Tlaxcaltecs almost always reciprocated.⁵⁷ In 1618, for example, the Jesuits backed the Tlaxcaltecs who brought a case against Isabel de Urdiñola for damming Indian water tributaries and redirecting them to her vineyards. Urdiñola lost this case, which was one of many that the Jesuits helped the Tlaxcaltecs and local Indians win.⁵⁸ In return for their support, these individual Tlaxcaltecan landowners gave much of their financial support to the Jesuits at *San Ignacio*. Moreover, nine of the ten Tlaxcaltecan confraternities established in Parras by the eighteenth century, which became powerful religious sodalities that owned valuable vineyards and other lucrative real estate properties, gave their allegiance to the Jesuits.⁵⁹ The vast majority of donations from these elite indigenous religious groups, therefore, funneled into the Jesuits' church rather than the parish church, which only had one Tlaxcaltecan confraternity. Recognizing this Tlaxcaltecan support since the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits gave these Tlaxcaltecan families and indigenous confraternities two of the most prominent spaces in the presbytery on either side of the main altar to build their lavishly decorated *retablos*.

⁵⁷ Jose Gabriel Martínez Serna notes, for example, Tlaxcaltecan *principales* (individuals that owned private lands within the *fundo legal* of Parras) formally donated lands from their *Santa Caterina* vineyard and water from their percentage ownership in the *Hoja Grande* lake to provide a buffer of property owned by the Jesuits between their lands and those of the Isabel de Urdiñola, in "Vineyards in the Desert: The Jesuits and the Rise and Decline of an Indian Town in New Spain's Northeastern Borderlands" (PhD.: Southern Methodist University, 2009), 105.

⁵⁸ Martínez Serna notes that although Urdiñola lost, she was only required to give up 1/3 of her water stolen. In the next case, she had to return only 1/6th, so the Tlaxcaltecs began to donate lands directly to the Jesuits. As a more litigious organization than private Tlaxcaltecan *principales*, this transfer of ownership helped protect both the Jesuits and elite Indian interests. See, "Vineyards in the Desert," 128-131.

⁵⁹ Martínez Serna (*ibid*, 116-119) also notes that the *Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento* (Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament) was founded in Parras on December 13, 1622. See also Churrua, *El sur de Coahuila*, 220-222.

The subject matter of the *Retablos of the Good Death* and *The Immaculate Conception*, situated in these important locations flanking the main altar, were chosen carefully by elite Tlaxcaltecan patrons to stand next to *retablos* and chapels donated by Spanish benefactors. While these patrons always identify themselves as “Indios Tlaxcaltecos” in donation records, the iconography of the artworks described in the inventories and devotions they supported do not appear to have any reference to their elite Indian identity.⁶⁰ Whereas artworks commissioned by Tlaxcaltecan patrons in central Mexican churches often contained images related specifically to Indian devotions, the subject matter of *retablos* and chapels chosen by Tlaxcaltecan patrons at northern missions such as Parras, and larger towns such as Saltillo, present a significant departure from this tradition of identifying with specifically Indian devotions. As Jaime Cuadriello has noted in his study, the Tlaxcaltecan patron don Ignacio donated funds for the decoration of the church of San Simón Yehualtepec (today in the state of Puebla) between 1789 and 1791 with paintings representing specifically Tlaxcaltecan iconographies.⁶¹ Inventories provide evidence to reconstruct the original arrangement of artworks in this church, where paintings such as *The Apparition of the Virgin of Ocotlán to Juan Diego* flanked the main altar in the presbytery and *The Teaching of Santo Tomas Quetzalcoatl in Tlaxcala* was located next to the pulpit inside the church of San Simón. In his commission for these artworks, don Ignacio states that his donations were made “for the greater honor and glory of God and exaltation of our holy catholic faith.”⁶² These motivations for participating as a patron to reinforce his image as a

⁶⁰ In his 1753 “Escritura de Venta” and donation of a portion of his vineyard to the Jesuits in Parras, Ignacio Hernandez is among many Tlaxcaltecan benefactors who signs his name, “Indio Tlaxcalteco de este Pueblo de Parras.” See AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3406, Legajo 3, No. 28.

⁶¹ These paintings are mentioned in a 1791 inventory of the church and are reconstructed in Jaime Cuadriello’s schematic of the original church decoration in, *The Glories of the Republic of Tlaxcala: Art and Life in Viceregal Mexico*, trans. Christopher J. Follett (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 116-117.

⁶² *Ibid*, 117.

devout Tlaxcaltecan Catholic were similar to those of Tlaxcaltecan donors in Parras, whose donations in exchange for masses and other liturgical celebrations in their honor were public displays of their religious devotion. Just as their *retablos* and chapels were juxtaposed to those decorated by Spanish patrons, Tlaxcaltecan donors must have sought to present their own personal and collective piety in the same way that political and economic dynamics functioned in Parras: on a level equal to the Spanish.

The *retablos* and lavish decoration of chapels paid for by Tlaxcaltecan patrons in northern locations such as Parras and Saltillo, however, contained very different iconographies and subject matters. Just as in Parras, where these Indian patrons supported the production of images such as *The Immaculate Conception*, *The Crucifix*, and *Ecce Homo*, Tlaxcaltecan patrons in the church of *San Esteban de Tlaxcala* in nearby Saltillo chose similar iconographies for the naming of their chapels.⁶³ In addition to chapels dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and *Ecce Homo*, the altars of San Antonio and Santa Anna were all decorated with images and paintings of saints but none contained iconographies with explicitly Tlaxcaltecan themes.⁶⁴ This divergence may be explained by the fact that Tlaxcaltecan landowners in Parras and Saltillo lived in a cultural milieu on the northern frontier in which assimilation with Spanish landowners and political leaders were essential. In Parras, this was especially the case where Tlaxcaltecs shared with the Spanish adjacent lands in the same community, places of religious devotion in *San Ignacio*, and seats in the local *cabildo* government. Tlaxcaltecs even intermarried with Spanish elites in this multi-cultural community, and the simultaneity of their involvement in donations for the production of artworks alongside Spanish benefactors may explain this affinity

⁶³ For the complete inventory of chapels, artworks, fine altar fabrics, and liturgical pieces, see the 1768 inventory of the church of *San Esteban de Tlaxcala del Saltillo* in Carlos Manuel Valdez Dávila and Ildefonso Dávila del Bosque. *Los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila* (Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Coahuila, 1999), 219-252.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 227-231.

for devotions without explicitly Tlaxcaltecan themes. Moreover, the difference between language and image in relation to time at Parras deserves further attention in a continuing study. That Nahuatl remained to be spoken in seventeenth and eighteenth-century sermons in Parras may be evidence of Tlaxcaltecan exhibiting their pride in their ethnic identity. Yet, if this were the case, the absence of Tlaxcaltecan iconographies in surviving paintings donated by these indigenous patrons is puzzling. Perhaps these visual references to “*tlaxcaltequidad*” were not included in the paintings in *San Ignacio*, because they may have been considered a signification of the past that would create an unwanted tension between native and Spanish benefactors who already experienced disputes on many legal matters. It is difficult to make these assessments without examining a larger corpus of original paintings paid for by Tlaxcaltecan patrons in Parras. Unfortunately only one canvas associated with the Tlaxcaltecan *retablos* in *San Ignacio*, Agustín del Pino’s 1711 *Annunciation*, is known today, and there are no such paintings that survive from the parish church. (see Fig. 21).⁶⁵

The Chapel of San Francisco Xavier

The first chapel to the left of the *Retablo Mayor* and presbytery was the *Chapel of San Francisco Javier* (See Fig. 15). This chapel was constructed and decorated with funds donated by the largest landowner in northern New Spain, the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*. Agustín de Echeverz, who became the first *Marqués* in 1682, donated income from the Echeverz family vineyard to build the chapels of *San Francisco Javier* and *San José* in the Jesuits’ church.⁶⁶ The Echeverz’s patronage relationship with the Jesuits did not end in the first *Marqués*’s lifetime, as

⁶⁵ The fire that destroyed the Tlaxcaltecan and civil archive in Parras during the Mexican Revolution further complicates efforts to reconstruct the original iconography and details of the paintings that originally adorned the Tlaxcaltecan altarpieces in *San Ignacio*, Parras. See Martínez Serna (“Vineyards in the Desert, 151 fn. 326”) notes that some documents may survive in private collections, such as the Madero family archive, and it would be useful to investigate if paintings survive as well.

⁶⁶ For more on the *Marqués*’ donations, see AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f.74v.

the Jesuits frequently established multi-generational relationships with their patrons. For example, Juan Antonio Diaz y Vega, an Echeverz family member who inherited some vineyards of the *Marqués* and his wife, donated 9,000 pesos to the Jesuits in 1759 in exchange for masses and annual *novenarios*, stating that his heirs must continue to donate certain funds to endow the Jesuits' church.⁶⁷ Diaz y Vega also stipulated these celebrations must be held in the chapels of Francis Xavier and Saint Joseph, religious spaces constructed and filled with artworks by his relatives.⁶⁸

A painting of *The Ecstasy of San Francisco Xavier* from the first quarter of the eighteenth century is included in the inventory of this chapel from 1767 (Figure 22). This inventory, which identifies the *Marqués* as the patron, describes the principal *retablo* in this chapel as constructed with “two *cueros* [or horizontal rows], all gilded with fine gold, and decorated with various paintings from the *Life of Saint Francis Xavier*, and in the middle in a niche is located a sculpture of the saint.”⁶⁹ The painting of *The Ecstasy of San Francisco Xavier* by an anonymous artist is the only surviving canvas from this *retablo*. This image depicts Saint Francis opening his cassock to expose his emblazoned heart, a well-known iconographical reference to what has become known as the ecstasy of Saint Francis Xavier, became an inspiration for missionaries worldwide.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ For more Díaz y Vega's donation, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, number 11.1. *Novenarios* consisted of devotions and sermons over a period of nine days culminating on a saint's feast day.

⁶⁸ For Echeverz and Amaya-Echeverez family patronage in these two Jesuit chapels, see AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, 19r.

⁶⁹ AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 64, f.74r

⁷⁰ For an example of this iconography, see the seventeenth-century gilded and polychrome sculpture of *Saint Francis Xavier in Ecstasy* from *La Profesa* in Mexico City in Bargellini and Komanecky, *Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain*, 239.

Contentious Relationships: The Jesuits and the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*

Details surrounding the Marquez's patronage in this chapel and the chapel of San José shed light on the complex relationship that some secular patrons had with the Jesuits as their spiritual and temporal affairs became intertwined. While the first and second *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo* were some of the Jesuits' wealthiest and most generous patrons at *San Ignacio*, they were not "passive patrons to be manipulated by the Jesuits."⁷¹ The *Marquéses* and their families consistently donated funds for the decoration of *San Ignacio* "as an expression of the dynastic commitment" of the Urdiñola-Echeverz family, and at same time, had many business dealings with the order related to local vineyard production and the ownership of water sources.⁷² As can be expected, this relationship between the Marqués and the Jesuits was not always cordial. As the co-owners of Parras' *Agua Grande* lake and its tributaries, the *Marqués* often disagreed with the Jesuits over water rights.⁷³ In 1612, upon inheriting her family's *haciendas*, vineyards, and water rights, Isabel de Urdiñola y Lois began damming up all water flowing from the *Agua Grande* thereby keeping others from gaining free access to its tributaries.⁷⁴ This effort forced all landowners to instead purchase their water from the Urdiñola's or the Jesuits. In 1641 the Jesuits, on behalf of the Indians of Parras, formally

⁷¹ Carolyn Valone uses this phrase in her study of the active role donors played in their relations with the Jesuits as they funded the production of artworks in the Gesù in Rome in the last decades of the sixteenth century in "Architecture as a Public Voice," 327.

⁷² Olwen Hufton makes this observation in relation to patrons of the Jesuits in Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century in "Altruism and reciprocity," 329.

⁷³ For more on the water and land ownership being given to the Jesuits during the founding of the mission of Parras, see "Donación de agua y tierras hechas al Sagrado Colegio de la Compañía de Jesus en Parras, con su fundación hecha por el Capitán Antonio Martin Zapata" (1598) in AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No.1.

⁷⁴ Francisco de Urdiñola's daughter, Isabel de Urdiñola y Lois was born in 1586. Upon her marriage to her second husband Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar in 1640, Isabel moved from Rio Grande, Zacatecas, to the Parras area. Isabel died in circa 1611. Guillermo Garmendia Leal. *Origen de los Fundadores de Texas, Nuevo Mexico, Coahuila y Nuevo León*, vol. 1 (Saltillo: San Nicholas de los Garza, 1995), 38, 55. See Vito Alessio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola y el norte de Nueva Espana* (Mexico: 1931).

protested to the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara that Urdiñola be forced to disassemble the water reservoir known as “El Rosario” and give the Indians of Parras partial access to the water flowing from the *Agua Grande*.⁷⁵ The *Audiencia* ruled in favor of the Jesuits and the Indians, ordering her to take down the water collection tanks and allow others access to the tributaries.

In 1680, the descendants of Isabel and Francisco de Urdiñola, Francisca de Valdés Alcega y Urdiñola and her husband Agustín de Echeverz y Subiza, the first *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, began another campaign to re-take control of the rivers and water sources flowing from the *Agua Grande*. With their political influence, Francisca de Urdiñola and the *Marqués* were able to see the verdict of the *Audiencia* overturned in their favor, granting them full control of the *Agua Grande* and its tributaries.⁷⁶ With only a small percentage of water ownership granted to the town during its foundation in 1598, the Pueblo was forced to subsist on a small amount of water or purchase more from the *Marqués* or the Jesuits.⁷⁷

While the Jesuits sought to defend the Indians’ rights to water in the 1640s, they also entered into litigation against Indian farmers to protect their part ownership of the lucrative water supply business in Parras. For example, in 1690, Padre Juan Diaz de la Fuente appeared before the tribunal of the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara to testify against a group of Indian “*naturales*” who were using *acequias* (canals) to gain access to water flowing from springs owned by the Jesuits.⁷⁸ Padre de la Fuente’s testimony claimed that the Jesuits maintained possession of this “ojo de agua” (spring) since the foundation of the Pueblo and the Society’s ownership of this

⁷⁵ Corona Páez documents this litigation in *La Vitivinicultura*, 187.

⁷⁶ Urdiñola and the *Marqués* sold the Pueblo of Parras one sixth of the water flowing into the tributary river. See David B. Adams, *Las colonias tlaxcaltecas de Coahuila y Nuevo León en la Nueva España : un aspecto de la colonización del norte de México* (Saltillo, Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 1991).

⁷⁷ Corona Páez observes that because of this water monopoly, the Pueblo of Parras suffered from a shortage of water from 1680 to 1736. See *La Vitivinicultura*, 188.

⁷⁸ AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No. 5.

water was as legitimate as many Spaniards' and noble Indians' possession of land and water. Included in this case are the testimonies of many wealthy Spanish landowners in Parras supporting the Jesuits' argument. These Spanish witnesses, including Pedro de Iturmendis y Mendoza, Antonio de Estrada, and Simon de Echeverz, were also generous patrons of the Jesuit's church.⁷⁹ In 1691, the Audiencia of Guadalajara ruled in favor of the Jesuits, sending their edict to Antonio de Estrada to order the closing of the *acequias* opened by the Indians that flowed from Jesuit water sources.⁸⁰ Despite their rhetoric of being simple landowners who wanted only the rightful possession of their land and water, the Jesuits seemed to be taking advantage of their monopoly of water sources and were becoming very unpopular with other local vineyard owners such as the Marquez.

Disputes such as these that were entangled in this thriving "water market" in Parras often created further rifts between the *Marqués* and the Jesuits. After, and perhaps in response to, the Jesuits' litigation against the *Marqués* and the Indians of the pueblo, José de Azlor, the second *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo*, and his wife, Ignacia Xaviera de Echeverz y Valdez, entered into a lawsuit against the Jesuits in the early eighteenth century regarding water rights.⁸¹ Claiming that the Jesuits were not sharing their surplus of water with the local Indians, the *Marqués* and his wife appealed to Jesuit superiors in Mexico City in 1726 to help make a compromise with themselves and the Jesuits in Parras. As residents of Mexico City as well as *hacendados* in Nueva Vizcaya, the *Marqués* and his wife appealed directly to the Father Provincial, with whom they had an established relationship in the viceregal capital. This

⁷⁹ AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No. 6.

⁸⁰ AGN Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No. 6, f. 1r-v.

⁸¹ BNMa, Signatura Mss 17618, f. 50r.

familiarity with Jesuit leaders in Mexico City demonstrates how Spanish elites such as the *Marqués* and his family moved between social and political circles in central Mexico and the northern frontier.⁸² In their correspondence with the Father General asking him to intervene and redistribute to the Indians the excess water held by the Jesuits, the *Marqués* and his wife identify the relationship they share with the Jesuits in their veneration of San Francisco Xavier.⁸³ They explicitly remind the Father Provincial of their localized connection to this devotion in their generous patronage of the Chapel of *San Francisco Xavier* in the Jesuits' church of *San Ignacio*. While this reference to their devotion of this Jesuit saint may have functioned to create a common thread in reaching a compromise with the Jesuits in Parras, it also highlights how the Jesuits and their patrons' economic and spiritual interests often publically appeared to complement each other but in reality caused bitter disputes.

While the *Marquez's* family had established a tradition of donating funds to decorate both the Chapels of San Francisco Xavier and San José in the Jesuits' church since the 1680's, their patronage did not diminish after these disputes over water rights caused litigation with the order in the 1720's.⁸⁴ Spiritual and intellectual capital seemed to have trumped economic initiatives in the relationship between the Jesuits and the *Marquez*, as the *Echeverz* family continued to make lavish donations to the Jesuits throughout the eighteenth century. For example, when she passed away in 1749, Doña Antonia de Maya y *Echeverz* donated a *censo* of

⁸² The *Marqués* identify themselves as residents of Mexico City in the above document from the BNMa, as well as in AGN, Tierras, Vol. 3405, Legajo 3, No. 8, f. 1r.

⁸³ "Pasaron los dichos señores *Marqués* a expresar al Reverendísimo Padre Provincial el gran dolor que les causaba verse precisados a litigar con la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús tan venerada y querida siempre de sus señorías por muchos títulos, a mas de el del parentesco con el glorioso San Francisco Xavier..." See BNMa, Signatura Mss 17618, f. 50v.

⁸⁴ The patron of the Chapel of San Francisco Xavier in the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio* is identified as the *Marqués* de San Miguel de Aguayo in AGN, Temporalidades, Expediente 64, f. 74r. For a 1681 donation to the Jesuits for the decoration of the Chapel of San José made by the *Amaya-Echeverz* family, see AGN, Jesuitas 1-33, Expediente 77.

3,000 pesos to the Jesuits, of which 150 pesos were paid to the order every year for the decoration of *San Ignacio*.⁸⁵ With these donations that continued to be contributed before and after their legal altercations and disputes, the family of the *Marqués* consistently maintained their public image as generous benefactors of the Jesuit church in Parras. As owners of the symbolic technology of religious images in *San Ignacio* and hosts of important devotions and festivals, the Jesuits' religious power often outweighed patrons' economic power as it was clearly in the best interest of the *Marqués*—for pious as well as economic reasons—to present himself as a supportive member of the Jesuits' congregation.

The Chapel of San José

The first chapel located to the right of the presbytery and main altar was dedicated to San José and was the largest and most elaborately decorated chapel in the Jesuit church of *San Ignacio* (see Fig. 15). Members of the Echeverz-Maya family, who were relatives of the *Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo* through Isabel de Urdiñola, were the principal patrons of this chapel. A substantial donation was given to the Jesuits by Captain Ignacio de Maya, a wealthy Spanish vineyard owner and descendant of the first Marquess, for the construction of the Chapel of San José in c.1680-1681.⁸⁶ The patronage by the Echeverz-Maya family would continue in this chapel throughout the eighteenth century. After Ignacio's daughter, Doña Antonia de Maya, passed away in 1708, for example, she stipulated in her will that the Jesuits receive a *censo* donation of 3,000 pesos, the principal of which would pay 150 pesos per year for the celebration

⁸⁵ AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 6, f. 2r.

⁸⁶ In a letter to the Father Provincial in Mexico City, the missionary Tomas de la Jana wrote from Parras about Ignacio's donation to receive approval from the Father Provincial. See AGN, Jesuitas I-33, Expediente 77.

of the “Santo Patriarca Señor San Joseph” on his feast day in the college church in Parras.⁸⁷ Don Joseph Mariano, a relative of the Maya-Echeverz family, also donated a *censo* of 3,000 pesos to decorate the altar of San José in *San Ignacio*. This donation also provided annual stipends for special masses on the feast day of Mariano’s patron saint’s.⁸⁸

The chapel of San José was decorated with a series of five paintings depicting scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* and the *Life of Christ* by Juan Sánchez Salmerón (Figures 18, 23-25 and 31). Salmerón established his workshop in Mexico City sometime before 1661 and painted in the viceregal capital for the remainder of his life.⁸⁹ Frequently employed by the Jesuits, Salmerón worked at the order’s professed house and church at *La Profesa* in Mexico City and at their novitiate in Tepotzotlán in 1681, where his patrons described his talents as equal to contemporary painters Juan Correa and Baltasar de Echave y Rioja.⁹⁰ It is during this time in the 1680’s that Salmerón most likely completed this series of paintings for transport to the Parras mission. After her husband patronized the building of this chapel in 1680, Doña Clara de Echeverz y Maya, the wife of Ignacio de Maya, made a large donation in 1684 to decorate the

⁸⁷ AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num. 6, f.1r. This annual stipend included 25 pesos per year for the dinner during this fiesta, 18 pesos for the 9 misas of the *novenario* that preceded his feast day, and 10 pesos which could be spent in the Saint’s chapel.

⁸⁸ See AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 64, f. 20r.

⁸⁹ In 1661, he received Ignacio Vásquez as an apprentice. Guillermo Tovar de Teresa cites a document in the Archivo de Notarias (cited hereafter as AN), Escribano José Veedor (685), vol. 4592, fecha 1661/9/8, f. s/n., in *Repertorio de Artistas en México*, Vol. 3 (México: Bancomer, 1997) 256.

⁹⁰ For Juan Montero’s 1681 commission for the *retablo mayor* at Tepotzotlán, which describes these master artists, see Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, “La iglesia de San Francisco Javier en Tepotzotlán: eco de la vida artística de la Ciudad de México en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” in *Tepotzotlán: la vida y la obra en la Nueva España* (México, Bancomer, 1988), 70.

chapel of the Holy Patriarch San Joseph.⁹¹ The Salmerón paintings could have been transported to the Parras mission in connection with these commissions to adorn this Chapel of San José.

Each image presents a variation on traditional Marian iconographies by focusing on the role of Saint Joseph as a devoted advocate and patriarch of the Holy Family. In the painting of the *Annunciation and Dream of San Jose* (see Fig. 18), the dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above the Virgin, who kneels in a gesture of piety aware that she will become the Mother of Christ.⁹² The angel Gabriel is commonly present in this scene to bring the news of the conception to Mary, but here he also appears in a separate scene with Joseph. The corollary scenes to the left and right refer to Joseph's reaction to the Virgin's conception and his restoration of faith in Mary as recounted in the Gospel of Matthew.⁹³ After discovering Mary's pregnancy prior to their marriage, Joseph was compelled to confront his betrothed. Appearing at left with his flowering staff and pilgrim's hat, the words leaving Joseph's mouth follow the Gospel passage recounting his desire to act mercifully. Instead of exposing her apparent infidelity publicly, Joseph "was inclined to separate from Mary privately" (*voluit occulte dimittere eam*).⁹⁴ To the right in a separate scene, the Angel Gabriel appears to Joseph in a dream to reassure him not to abandon his wife stating "that which is conceived in her, is of the Holy Spirit." (*quod in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est*).⁹⁵ The cartouche inscription at the bottom of the painting reiterates Gabriel's instruction to Joseph in Spanish to embrace his role as "paraclete," or advocate and helper, of the

⁹¹ Over 2,000 pesos were donated by the Echeverz y Amaya family at this time. See Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Ramo *Tierras*, Vol. 3406, Legajo 3, No. 27C, fs. 2r-5v.

⁹² For more on this painting, see Bargellini and Komanecky, *Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain*, 269.

⁹³ See Matthew 1:18-25.

⁹⁴ See Matthew 1:19.

⁹⁵ See Matthew 1:20.

Virgin and Christ Child.⁹⁶ Joseph then arises from his sleep to do as the Angel bid him, acting as the protector of Mary and Jesus in the subsequent scenes of the *Nativity*, *Circumcision*, *Presentation in the Temple*, and *Flight to Egypt*.

Salmerón's arrangement of these compositions with distinct scenes separated by architectural spaces and outdoor settings, bears a close resemblance to the Gospel scenes in Geronimo de Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, which were engraved by Hieronymous Wierex and published in conjunction with Nadal's *Adnotationes et Meditationes* in Antwerp in 1594 (see Fig. 19).⁹⁷ Salmerón must have seen a copy of these prints from Nadal's *Evangelica* and been inspired by them when painting this series for Parras. Nadal's works would have been readily available to Salmerón at any of the libraries of the Jesuit houses where he worked in the viceregal capital and in Tepotzotlán.⁹⁸

San José is incorporated into the iconography of the *Life of Christ* scenes with signifiers that are expressed both textually and visually. In the *Nativity*, an inscription at the bottom of the composition, painted within a three-dimensional box reads: "Sad for not finding an inn, Joseph comes to the entrance and hears a choir of Angels singing Glory on Earth." (Fig. 23).⁹⁹ This text complements the image of Joseph in the background as he tries to help the Virgin find shelter before her birth. In the foreground, he is an active participant in the adoration of the Christ Child

⁹⁶ As the inscription states, the angel instructed Joseph that his role as a "paráclito" would be to comfort the Virgin and help care for the Christ Child. Jesus uses the Greek word *paraclete* to refer to the Holy Spirit in the Gospel of St. John (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7), which has been translated as "advocate," "helper," or "comforter."

⁹⁷ See especially the scene of the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, and *Circumcision* in the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* in Jeronimo Nadal, *Imágenes de la Historia Evangelica*, ed. Alfonso Rodríguez C. de Caballos (Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir, 1975), Plates 1, 2, and 5.

⁹⁸ The Jesuit houses of Tepotzotlán, La Profesa, and San Pedro y Pablo would have all held in their library holdings a copy of Nadal's work. Although their titles are not listed, inventories from the Jesuit church of San Ignacio in Parras from 1767 reveal the order possessed 6 books by Padre Nadal in their library, which must have included these prints in the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. See AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 64, f. 40v.

⁹⁹ This inscription states: "*Triste por no allar posada / viene Joseph al portal / y oie al coro Angelical / Gloria en la tierra cantada.*"

and witness to the praises of the angels. These texts appear in each painting to draw attention to Saint Joseph in scenes that do not traditionally focus on him.¹⁰⁰ In the last painting in this series, *The Presentation in the Temple*, Joseph stands next to the Christ Child holding a basket with a pair of doves symbolizing the sacrifice of the future Crucifixion (Fig. 24). The inscription in the lower tableaux communicates Joseph's awareness and sympathy for Jesus' destiny even at the time of his infancy: "Joseph hears with compassion that which will be the ruin of Jesus."¹⁰¹

The unique subject matter of this series devoted to Joseph functioned to engage various audiences in Parras in different ways. This focus on Joseph as the father of the Holy Family would have been important to many wealthy landowners and donors to the Jesuits in Parras whose patron saint was San José.¹⁰² As donation records show, Saint Joseph was an important patron saint for the *Marqués* and the Maya-Echeverz family in Parras, who would have a special interest in the visual and textual references to Joseph's participation in each scene. Also, other literate viewers visiting the chapel could read the Spanish inscriptions and focus their attention on Joseph's role as fatherly protector of the Virgin and Child. This family-oriented theme depicting Joseph as a caring member of the Holy Family complimented Jesuit missionaries' own teachings identifying Joseph as an ideal father. In their sermons given at *San Ignacio* in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jesuit priests specifically referred to Joseph as an exemplary "*pater familias*" (father of the household) and caring husband, who all fathers in a

¹⁰⁰ This inscription the *Circumcision* states: "Jesus por mostrar su amor / su sangre aprisa derrama / yesus el hombre clama / q[ue] es de el hombre Salvador."

¹⁰¹The full inscription reads: "Oie Joseph compassion / que sera Jesus ruina / y oie alegre ser vecina / al mundo de redempcion [sic]" which is loosely translated as "Joseph hears with compasión that which will be the ruin of Jesús and hears the joy [of being] a member of the world of redemption." The iconography of the pair of doves in scenes of the infancy of Christ are popular in colonial paintings in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See especially, Roberto M. Alarcón Cedillo and Maria del Rosario Garcia de Toxqui, *Pintura Novohispana, Museo Virreinal*, Tomo 1 (Tepotzotlán, Asociación de Amigos del Museo Nacional del Virreinato, 1992), 81.

¹⁰² These patrons were from the Amaya and Echeverz families and were relatives of the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo. See AGN, Jesuitas I-33, Expediente 77-78.

Christian family should emulate.¹⁰³ Images of Joseph must have functioned similarly as important didactic tools for the Jesuits at *San Ignacio* in Parras to visually articulate a Catholic father's proper role in his nuclear family and to reinforce concepts of monogamy from the pulpit.

Just as the iconography of these paintings had interesting variations on traditional themes that would have been important for lay patrons, these images would have communicated concepts important to specifically Jesuit viewers. The contemplations in the first three days of Week Two in *The Spiritual Exercises*, for example, are replete with instructions to meditate on images of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Holy Family, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Flight to Egypt among other subjects.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, the paintings by Salmerón in the chapel of San José depict all of these iconographies. While this subject deserves further research, it is likely that Jesuit and lay audiences would seek out the Salmerón series in the chapel of San José specifically to engage with these devotional images during the Spiritual Exercises, when Jesuits and their lay followers were urged to contemplate the “mental representation of the place.”¹⁰⁵ The painting of the *Circumcision of Christ*, for example, depicts the Christogram over the head of the priest in the upper section of the canvas. This abbreviation for the name of Christ was a subject popular with the Jesuits given Ignatius' vision of Christ at La Storta that inspired him to name the newly founded order the Society of Jesus (Figure 25). As many scholars have shown, the Society had a particular interest in images devoted to the naming of Christ, which happened at the time of The Circumcision when the Virgin named her

¹⁰³ See AGN, Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, Vol. 972, Expediente 1A, Sermon number 29. For a transcription of this sermon, see Appendix A.

¹⁰⁴ See Week Two, Days 1-3 in Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 41-47.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 and 41. Ignatius uses this phrase in the First Exercises of Week One and Week Two.

son according to the instruction of the angel Gabriel.¹⁰⁶ The Jesuits commissioned paintings of this subject in their churches throughout the world. The main altar of the Gesù in Rome, for example, was dedicated to this devotion of the Circumcision in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁷ In Juan Sánchez Salmerón's painting, this relationship between Christ's Circumcision and his name is presented visually with the apparition of a large monogram of Christ "IHS" and an inscription below that says in Latin "Et non en eius Jesus." A Jesuit missionary would have been familiar with this well-known iconography of the Circumcision, as well as scenes from the rest of the series including the *Nativity of Christ*. The *Adoration of the Christ Child* was another important image directly referenced in Jesuit devotional manuals such as the *Spiritual Exercises*. In his text, Ignatius of Loyola incites the participant of the Exercises to imagine a scene of the *Nativity* and picture himself or herself inside the manger, actually present after the birth of Christ.¹⁰⁸ Salmerón's paintings therefore may have functioned as visual aids for Jesuit viewers in Parras performing the *Exercises*. Lay worshippers also were encouraged to practice the *Spiritual Exercises*, and these images may have provided a universal set of liturgical references that functioned as a visual inspiration for viewers' meditations practiced alone or during the mass as sermons were delivered.

¹⁰⁶ The archangel Gabriel's instruction on Christ's naming is described in the Gospel of Matthew 1:18-25.

¹⁰⁷ See Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 43 and 45. In Week Two, the Second and Fifth Contemplations inform the participant: "This is a mental representation of the place... This will consist in seeing the persons, namely our Lady, St. Joseph, the maid, and the Child Jesus after His birth. I will make myself a poor little unworthy slave, and as though present, look upon them, contemplate them, and serve them in their needs with all possible homage and reverence... The Fifth Contemplation: This will consist in applying the five senses to the matter of the first and second contemplations... This is to hear what they are saying... This is to smell the infinite fragrance, and taste the infinite sweetness of the divinity."

San José and the Jesuits in New Spain

While a localized devotion to San José was important for patrons in Parras and the Jesuits living at *San Ignacio*, the Society's devotion to Joseph was universal throughout New Spain. In central Mexico in the sixteenth century, San José was named patron of New Spain in 1555 and in 1732, patron of Mexico City.¹⁰⁹ Relics of the vestments of San José were sent from Pope Gregory XIII to Mexico City in 1575 and entrusted to the Society's care at their novitiate in Tepotzotlán. Between 1690 and 1738, the *Relicario de San José* was constructed next to the sacred *Capilla de Loreto* to house the relics.¹¹⁰ The eighteenth-century retablo in this chapel presents Joseph embracing Jesus as the ideal father of the Sacred Family and protector of the Church (Figure 26). José Ibarra and Francisco Martínez also created paintings for this chapel, depicting *The Return from the Flight to Egypt* and the *Death of San José*. The *Coronation of San José* by Ibarra, also from the eighteenth century and located in the *Relicario*, represents San José in a position of great importance crowned by the Virgin and Jesus (Figure 27). This devotion to Saint Joseph in Tepotzotlán may have been the original source for his promotion on the northern missions. If so, the dissemination of paintings to Parras while Salmerón was working in Tepotzotlán between 1680 and 1700 could have played a key role in this spread of Joseph's cult to northern New Spain. Devotions to Joseph and his representation as an ideal father in images spread to many other Jesuit missions on the northern frontier in the eighteenth century. Documents from inventories in the years leading up to and after the expulsion in 1767 reveal that in practically all Jesuit mission churches in northern New Spain, there existed a chapel or *retablo*

¹⁰⁹ Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹¹⁰ For more on the Jesuits' choice to situate the *Relicario de San José* next to the *Capilla de Loreto* in both *San Francisco Xavier* in Tepotzotlán and at the Indian College church of *San Gregorio* in Mexico City, see Clara Bargellini, "Saint Joseph, Loreto," 288; Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 182.

dedicated to San José.¹¹¹ At the church of *San Ignacio Loyola* in Arispe, Sonora, José is presented in the *retablo mayor* from c.1750 as the “santo patriarca” of the Holy Family, offering the Christ Child to God (Figure 28).¹¹² Its important position in the middle of this *retablo* surrounded by images of San Ignacio and other Jesuit saints reaffirms the importance of his cult for the Jesuit order.

As the protector of the Sacred Family, the image of Joseph also became an important figure in scenes of the *Flight to Egypt*. In the Gospel of Matthew, the angel of the Lord comes again in a dream to instruct Joseph to lead his family to Egypt in order to escape Herod’s plan to kill the Christ Child.¹¹³ In the scenes of *The Flight to Egypt*, Joseph is often depicted as a pilgrim using his elongated flowering staff as a walking stick. Juan Rodríguez Juárez’s painting commissioned by the Jesuits in first decades of the eighteenth century at their novitiate in Tepotztlán represents Joseph in this way as the pilgrim and protective *pater familias* (Figure 29).¹¹⁴ Other images, such as Cristobal Villalpando’s *Flight to Egypt* from the late seventeenth century, depict this iconography of Joseph wearing a large pilgrim’s hat (Figure 30). The painting in Salmerón’s series from Parras also represents Joseph dressed as a pilgrim, wearing a wide brimmed hat and holding an elongated flowering staff as a walking stick (Figure 31). Joseph’s attributes of a traveler depicted in this scene, as well as in the *Annunciation* painting in this series from Parras, re-affirm his identity as a father traversing dangerous and unknown

¹¹¹ In my research, I have found records identifying chapels of San José existing in nearly all Jesuit churches in northern New Spain inventoried at the time of the Expulsion, such as the mission of Sisoguichi in the Tarahumara. See AGN, Temporalidades, Vol. 196, f. 92r. Clara Bargellini notes the omnipresence of devotions to San José at the missions in “Art at the Missions of Northern New Spain,” ex. cat., 81; For more on the rise of the cult of San José, see Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of Saint Joseph*, 39-43.

¹¹² For more on this *retablo*, see Clara Bargellini, “Art at the Missions of Northern New Spain,” 66.

¹¹³ See Matthew 2:11-13.

¹¹⁴ This painting was one in a series of works depicting the *Life of the Virgin* that Rodríguez Juárez painted in the lunettes of the Jesuits’ cloister at Tepotztlán. See Clara Bargellini, “St. Joseph, Loreto, and the Jesuit Mission,” 292.

territories to care for the Holy Family. This representation of San José as a pilgrim would have had a powerful relevance for missionaries living abroad, far from their homes or larger cities. The image of Saint Joseph as a traveler would have also corresponded well with other Jesuit missionary saints, such as Saint Francis Xavier, who lived and died abroad to fulfill his Christian obligation.¹¹⁵

Chapel of San Juan Nepomuceno: Early Christian and Jesuit Martyrs

In addition to the San José series by Juan Sánchez Salmerón, the Jesuits imported other paintings from the viceregal capital to adorn the chapels of *San Ignacio* in Parras. In some instances, the order seems to have done this with the financial support of Tlaxcaltecan patrons. While further research is necessary to understand fully the details of the commission for these paintings and the relationship between the Jesuits and their patrons in this process of choosing these artworks for this chapel, records reveal that the Tlaxcaltecan family of Eusebio Víctor de Arámburu and his son Luis Joaquín made various donations to the Jesuits beginning in the 1740s for the decoration of the chapel of San Juan Nepomuceno. These financial gifts would have provided the Jesuits with funds to commission and import the paintings of *San Juan Nepomuceno* and *San Sebastián* to Parras (Figures 32-33).¹¹⁶ These two paintings by Mexico

¹¹⁵ Many mission churches were named after this saint. For example, the mission church of San Francisco Xavier, which was founded in 1699 by the Jesuit Francisco María Piccolo, had a *retablo* that was brought from Mexico City to Baja California in the mid-eighteenth century. The *retablo* in this church presents a painting of Saint Joseph next to San Francisco Javier, the exemplar of missionary life, who died abroad in China. See Barbara Meyer de Stinglhamber, *Iglesias de la Antigua California. Fachadas y Retablos del Siglo XVIII*. (México: INAH, 2008).

¹¹⁶ For Eusebio Víctor de Arámburu's donation to this chapel in 1759, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, legajo 250, num11.2. For another donation in 1761 by Eusebio Víctor, in which he states he in continuing the patronage begun by his father, Luis Joaquín de Arámburu, whose will Eusebio Víctor was entrusted to execute, see AGN, Tierras 3406, Legajo 3, No 39. While these patrons do not specifically mention that their donations were made to commission paintings, they do follow a similar pattern that can be traced in other chapels, such as in San José, where donors mention their funds were for the production of artworks. Given that multiple generations of family members were also donating specifically to the chapel of San Juan Nepomuceno, it is likely that the production of artworks were intended to be connected to these donations.

City artist Francisco Martínez originally adorned a *retablo* in the chapel of *San Juan Nepomuceno* next to the chapel of *San Francisco Xavier* on the epistle side of the church (See Fig. 15). Francisco Martínez's *San Sebastián* was completed in Mexico City and was most likely brought to Parras with his companion piece signed in 1742 representing *San Juan Nepomuceno* holding a crucifix and a palm of martyrdom.¹¹⁷ Church inventories from 1767 confirm that a large painting depicting *San Juan Nepomuceno* was the centerpiece of a *retablo* dedicated to themes of martyrdom in this chapel, which must have been this work signed by Martínez.¹¹⁸ This large image of the Bohemian martyr, whose cult the Jesuits promoted with great zeal and devotion and helped make his 1729 canonization a success, is depicted hearing a royal confession one side and being thrown over the Charles Bridge in Prague to his death for refusing to reveal the secrets of the Bohemian Queen's confession.¹¹⁹ Born in Mexico City, Martínez worked as a painter and a *retablo* maker and gilder in the viceregal capital. The artist also served as a notary in the Holy Office of the Inquisition.¹²⁰ During an active career from 1718 until his death in 1758, Martínez completed devotional paintings for *retablos*, smaller works on copper, and *escudos de monjas* (nun's badges) for religious patrons such as the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Conceptionist nuns.¹²¹ As a gilder in the viceregal capital, Martínez also

¹¹⁷ For more on this oil on canvas painting see, Bargellini and Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions*, ex. cat., 258. Martínez demonstrated his knowledge of representations of this saint in European Baroque painting, which was well-known in New Spain by the eighteenth century, by depicting Sebastian's semi-nude male form set within a landscape scene.

¹¹⁸ Archivo General de la Nación, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f. 73r. The painting of Saint John of Nepomuk survives today and is signed in the lower right corner "Francus Martinez Sancti Officii Notarius fecit Anno MDCCXLII."

¹¹⁹ For more on the Jesuits' role in promoting devotions to San Juan Nepomuceno in Europe and New Spain, see Pavel Stepánek, "San Juan Nepomuceno en el arte español y novohispano," *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* 3.6 (1990): 11-54.

¹²⁰ For more on the *oeuvre* of Martínez, see Luisa Elena Alcalá, "La obra del pintor novohispano Francisco Martínez," *Anales del Museo de América* 7 (1999): 175-187. Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en México*, 3 vols. (México: Bancomer, 1997), Tomo III, 358.

participated in the construction of many *retablos*, working with master *entalladores* (*retablo* makers) such as Jerónimo Balbas and Felipe de Ureña.¹²² While Martínez lived in the viceregal capital and worked for various religious patrons, his paintings were transported to Puebla, Zacatecas, as well as to the northern missions including Parras and Bacadéhuachi, Sonora.¹²³ As Clara Bargellini has noted, the fact that artists such as Francisco Martínez, Juan Correa, and Jose de Páez signed their names with the inscription *fecit en Mexico*, suggests they were aware their works were being produced for export to the northern missions and colleges.¹²⁴

The focus on San Sebastián as an exemplary Christian martyr who died for his faith in third-century Rome would have been appropriate for the original location of this painting in the Chapel of *San Juan Nepomuceno* at *San Ignacio*. After Indian rebellions such as the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt, indigenous converts often deserted their missions and rejected Spanish rule on the northern frontier. Hoping to keep Indians at Parras from joining in the revolts, Jesuit missionaries encouraged their congregations in their sermons to emulate model Christian converts such as San Sebastián.¹²⁵ Devotional images such as Martínez's *San Sebastián*

¹²¹ For Martínez's work for multiple religious orders, see Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, *Repertorio de Artistas en México*, 3 vols. (México: Bancomer, 1997), Tomo II, 306.

¹²² His works included gilding *retablos* in the *Capilla de Zuleta* at the Convent of San Francisco (1727), the *Retablo of the Kings* in the Mexico City Cathedral (1736-37), and the *Main Altar* of the Cathedral in the viceregal capital (1743-44). See Tovar de Teresa, *ibid.*

¹²³ For contracts documenting commissions for Martínez's works in Mexico City, see AN, Escribano Francisco Dionisio Rodríguez (576), vol. 3970, 1748/9/24, f.773; Escribano Felipe Muñoz de Castro (391), Vol. 2582, fecha 1727/05/21, fs.110v-112r.

¹²⁴ Clara Bargellini, "Painting for Export in Mexico City," 285.

¹²⁵ Andrés Pérez de Ribas mentions the Jesuits' concern for losing the allegiance of Parras Indians, known as the *Laguneros*, in his 1645 *History of the Triumphs of our Holy Faith*, trans. Daniel Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard Danford (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1999), 688. For Jesuit references to Early Christian martyrs in their sermons between 1737 and 1757, see AGN, *Archivo Histórico de Hacienda*, vol. 972, Exp. 1B.

therefore would have functioned as one of many didactic rhetorical tools for the Jesuits to promote loyalty to the Christian community at Parras.

The image of *San Sebastián* was also venerated as an advocate for relief from disease and epidemics. In central Mexico, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta mentions that his Xochimilco parish venerated representations of *San Sebastián* as a protector from plagues in 1576.¹²⁶ Andrés Pérez de Ribas recounts in his history of the northern Jesuit missions that the Parras Indians were plagued by epidemics of *cocoliztli*, or smallpox. To replace traditional pagan rituals of appeasing the spirits, Jesuit missionaries at Parras brought the sick into churches to pray before holy images.¹²⁷ *San Sebastián*'s image would have provided an important devotional focus as an intercessor for the diseased during these times of epidemic.

Spanish Patrons in the Chapel of *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos*

The Chapel of *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos* (Our Lady of Joys) to the right of the main entrance of *San Ignacio* also contained a painting depicting this Virgin that was imported from Mexico City (See Fig. 15).¹²⁸ Inventories confirm that this chapel was decorated by means of funds donated from the family of Diego de la Rada, a prominent Spanish vineyard owner and member of Parras' local government. One inventory, for example, describes the artworks adorning this chapel, which included a large painting in the main altar of *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos* (Fig. 34).¹²⁹ This large work survives today and is signed by José de Mota from 1711.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Clara Bargellini, "Saint Sebastian," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 265. In sixteenth-century Guatemala, Saint Sebastian was also identified as the protector of the city of Santiago (Antigua) against earthquakes. See Haroldo Rodas, "Saint Sebastian," in *ibid*, p. 275.

¹²⁷ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia*, p. 677.

¹²⁸ For more on this painting, see Bargellini and Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions*, ex. cat., 261.

¹²⁹ See AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f. 74v. This oil on canvas painting, which measures 200 x 170 cm, (79 x 67 inches) survives today in the Jesuit House of *San Ignacio* in Parras.

While little is known about Mota's life, multiple signed paintings documenting his work between 1710 and 1728 exist in museums and private collections in Mexico City, Tepetzotlán, and Guadalajara.¹³¹ The artist was most likely working in Mexico City in 1710 when he signed a large *Crucifixion* painting, that later became part of the *Museo de Arte Religioso*.¹³² The provenance of this piece suggests that Mota was working in the viceregal capital the year preceding his completion of the *Nuestra Señora de los Gozos* painting from Parras.

While other religious orders also commissioned images of *Our Lady of Joys* in Mexico City, the iconography of Mota's painting imported to Parras by the Jesuits presents a unique composition.¹³³ The roses and lilies surrounding Mary and the Christ Child present a symbolic celebration of Mary as both Mother of Christ and Virgin. Stems of white lilies falling from the heavens, which symbolize Mary's virginity and purity, surround Mary and the infant Jesus. These lilies appear on the left with the phrase "gozos del cielo" (joys from heaven) to identify the celestial miracle of the Virgin's Conception by the Holy Ghost. On the right, the inscription over each lily, "gozos de la tierra" (joys from the earth), alludes to Mary's delight of becoming a mother and raising her son Jesus. Below the Mother and Child, a garland of pink roses and white lilies surrounds the phrase "MATER fecunda gaudiorum" (Fertile Mother of Joys). This

¹³⁰ For more on this piece in an unpublished catalogue of the paintings and sculptures housed in the Jesuit archives of *San Ignacio* in Parras and the *Archivo Histórico* at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Torreón, see Monica Marti Cotarelo, *Catalogo de Bienes Muebles: Mision de San Ignacio, Parras, Coahuila* (unpublished paper, 1998).

¹³¹ Mota's *Allegory of the New World* from 1721 is located in the private collection of Felipe Siegel in Mexico City and was published in *El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680-1750*, Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Arte, 1999, 64. Two other known works by Mota are located in private collections in Guadalajara, while an image of *Saint John of God in Contemplation* from 1728 is preserved in the *Hospitalaria de San Juan de Dios* in Zapopan, Jalisco.

¹³² The *Museo de Arte Religioso* contained artworks taken from various churches in the viceregal capital. The collection, which included Mota's *Crucifixion*, was moved to the *Museo Nacional del Virreinato* in 1970. See Alarcón Cedillo and Garcia de Toxqui, *Pintura Novohispana*, 103, 135.

¹³³ In 1723, for example, the Religious Brothers of San Hipólito commissioned an altar and devotional image depicting the *Virgen de los Gozos* for their church of *Espíritu Santo* in Mexico City. For the *escritura de donación* related to this commission, see AN, Escribano Felipe Muñoz de Castro (391), vol. 2578, 1723/08/17, f. 271r-276r.

inscription, combined with garlands of roses and the single rose stem held in Mary's left hand, present both textual and pictorial references to the Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary. The recitation of prayers in the rosary, which is often described as the weaving of a wreath of roses in honor of the Virgin, focuses on the physical motherhood of Mary. While the Sorrowful mysteries relate to Mary witnessing the Passion of Christ, the prayers of the Joyful Mysteries recall five scenes in the Virgin's life as Mother of the infant Jesus including: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Presentation of Christ, and the Finding of Jesus in the Temple.

The combination of roses and lilies throughout the composition invited the viewer to reflect on Mary as both Virgin and Mother, a subject of importance among many Church theologians including Saint Augustine. In his writings on *the Excellence of Marriage* and *Holy Virginity*, Augustine praises virginity as being fertile, in that a celibate person consecrated to God is capable of generating spiritual offspring.¹³⁴ Comparing Mary's role as both Virgin and Mother to the vocation of the Church, Augustine writes "the whole Church itself is a virgin espoused unto one Husband Christ," bearing the members of the faithful as Mary bore the head of the church, Jesus.¹³⁵ While this image functioned as a special devotion for the de la Rada family during private masses in this chapel, the dual reference in iconographies of this painting honoring Mary as both Mother and Virgin could also encourage the participation of viewers to pray the Rosary, reflect on the Christian virtue of virginity, and emulate Mary as an ideal mother.

¹³⁴ Saint Augustine, *Le ritrattazioni: testo latino dell'edizione maurina confrontato con il Corpus christianorum*, trans. Ubaldo Pizzani, vol. 2 (Roma, Città nuova, 1994), 23.

¹³⁵ Philip Schaff, et al., eds., *A Select library of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church*, v. 3, *Saint Augustin: On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises* (Grand Rapids, Mich., W.B. Eerdmans Press), 1977.

Importing Artworks from Mexico City to Parras

The presence of these surviving paintings by artists such as Salmerón, Mota, and Martínez, who worked in the viceregal capital, provides evidence that the Jesuits' had extended their network of importing devotional art from master artists in Mexico City to their church at Parras. While the competitive nature of painting production in Mexico City has been cited to explain artists' motivations for sending their works to cities outside of the viceregal capital, I argue that it is equally likely that the Jesuits also provided a thriving market for these artists with their demand for artworks at the missions, *residencias*, and colleges in northern New Spain.¹³⁶ The survival of paintings in Parras by artists working in the Viceregal capital discussed in this chapter, as well as at other missions such as *Santa María de las Cuevas* in Chihuahua and *Santiago Papasquiaro* in Durango, demonstrates that many artworks were transported successfully to the north.¹³⁷ After commissioning artworks in Mexico City, the Jesuits in Parras could then transport these paintings to *San Ignacio*. While the contracts for these specific paintings are yet to be discovered, Jesuit correspondences confirm that members of the order were actively transporting paintings from Mexico City to Parras. For example in 1694, the Jesuits describe importing a painting of *Christ Our Savior* to Parras.¹³⁸ Another 1744 letter written by Padre Miguel Castillo from Parras affirms that he had received a painting of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, which was shipped to him among other goods from the viceregal capital and

¹³⁶ Rogelio Ruíz Gomar observes: "given the strong competition in Mexico City, both Torres and [Francisco] Martínez must have had to look for commissions outside that area, principally in northern Mexico," in "Unique Expressions: Painting in New Spain," in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life*, ed. Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruíz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini (Austin: University of Texas, 2004), 71. This process mirrored the situation in Lima and Mexico City, where the market for paintings by Zurbarán moved the demand for his works ever farther from Seville.

¹³⁷ For more on missionaries' requests for artworks from Mexico City, see Luisa Elena Alcalá, "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 126-172. For more on Jesuit commissions from artists working in Mexico City, see Clara Bargellini, "Jesuit Devotions and *Retablos* in New Spain," 689.

¹³⁸ AGN, Archivo Historico de la Hacienda, Legajo 1999, Expediente 5.

arrived on 29 December 1743.¹³⁹ The plan of *San Ignacio* as it appeared in 1767 describes a *retablo* with a painting depicting this Virgin in the chapel of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, and it is likely that this was the same devotional image mentioned by Padre Castillo.¹⁴⁰ The importation of this canvas in 1743 was executed one year after two sisters named Juana Basilia and María de la Encarnación, who are identified as the nieces of the deceased bachelor Pedro Adriano, made a donation to decorate the chapel of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz* in the Jesuits' church.¹⁴¹ While this relationship between patronage donations and the importation of artworks from Mexico City to Parras will continue to be a subject of important consideration, this evidence reveals that secular patrons were actively participating in the Jesuits' carefully conceived decoration programs at *San Ignacio*.

The frequent travel of missionaries between various cities and their missions and residences in northern New Spain was a crucial aspect enabling the Jesuits to circulate these artworks. Bringing artworks, devotional manuscripts, and architectural treatises to and from the northern settlements of the viceroyalty, these Jesuits were constantly on the move establishing and maintaining strong relationships with generous donors who funded these cosmopolitan art purchases. The following chapter will examine how the frequent movement and change of stations ordered by the Father General in Rome and the Father Provincial in Mexico City enabled

¹³⁹ For this letter dated April 12, 1744, see Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de México de la Compañía de Jesús, Mexico City (cited hereafter as AHP), Signatura 876.

¹⁴⁰ A 1767 inventory of the Jesuits' residences also identifies a painting of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz* located in the dormitory of the Jesuit Rector, which was likely a different canvas. See AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f. 35r.

¹⁴¹ While the value of this donation made on July 16, 1742 is not mentioned, this document does state that the Society received this gift in perpetuity, suggesting that the cash endowment or real estate given would generate income for years to come: "La aceptaron a perpetuidad sin derecho a enajenarla, permutarla, donarla, venderla ni traspasarla. El fruto se destinará a misas en honor a la Virgen, adorno, y alhajas para el altar." See AGN, Tierras 3405, Legajo 3, Number 18.

these members of the order to circulate regularly between northern New Spain, Mexico City, and Europe.

Chapter Three

Cosmopolitan Jesuits in Parras and Beyond: Global Patronage Relationships and Artistic Exchange between New Spain and Europe

As local donations from secular patrons helped fund the Jesuits' decoration campaigns at *San Ignacio*, it is important to consider how the order's importation of paintings from Mexico City to Parras was facilitated by the Society's practice of circulating missionaries worldwide. Jesuits stationed at Parras changed residences often, moving between the north and locations including Mexico City, Puebla, Tepotzotlán, as well as cities in Europe.¹ The transfer of these Jesuits allowed the order to treat the colonial frontier as a permeable region, where missionaries moved fluidly between their rural residences and more densely populated cities carrying with them artworks and devotional items.² This chapter will examine two key points: first, the importance of tracking the movement of individuals as well as art objects throughout Spanish America and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to reveal how these cosmopolitan connections linked the Jesuits and their patrons on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition to transporting images while circulating throughout the viceroyalty and beyond, the regular travel of the Jesuits allowed these religious to create alliances with wealthy patrons worldwide. Second, this chapter will provide a brief examination of the Society's church building projects and decoration campaigns in other urban locations in Spanish America and Europe to highlight how the Jesuits' strategies to commission and disseminate artworks to Parras

¹ Triennial logs kept by the Jesuits reveal the frequent movement of missionaries, as in the case of Martin de Viñuelas, who lived at San Gregorio in Mexico City in 1614, moved to San Ildefonso in 1620, then to Parras in 1626. In 1638, he moved from Parras to Durango, the back to Mexico City in 1648 to live at the *Casa Profesa*. See ARSI, Mex. 6, f. 250v.

² Examining the fluid movement between center and periphery was inspired by Dot Teur's essay, "Old Bones and Beautiful Words: the Spiritual Contestation between Shaman and Jesuit," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 77-97.

fit into a much larger system of art and architectural planning that depended on patronage support.

Jesuit Travel Accounts in Northern New Spain

While the documentary evidence in this chapter will demonstrate that the Jesuits circulated throughout the viceroyalty of New Spain with impressive mobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not the intention of this study to argue that Jesuit travelers did not overcome formidable challenges and dangers in their frequent voyages from the viceregal capital to the northern missions. Indeed, members of the order often stressed the difficulty of traveling great distances and described the northern missions as “remote” lands on the Christian “frontier.”³ The remoteness and difficulty of living on the missionary frontier was both a physical reality that the Jesuits overcame and a rhetorical device that was important for the construction of the Jesuits’ missionary identity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in both Europe and the Americas. The letters written by Jesuit missionaries and the travel logs documenting their systematic circulation between metropolitan settings and the northern fringes of the viceroyalty will reveal that the paradigms defining our contemporary understandings of the material and conceptual frontiers in Spanish America are much more complex than we have acknowledged. As Chantal Cramaussel has noted in her studies of the *camino real*, the trek from Mexico City to Santa Fe was formidable, covering a distance of 2,500 kilometers that took six months to complete in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴ Another *camino real* extended up the Pacific Coast, bringing missionaries and settlers to the northwestern

³ For example, in his letter from Rome to Mexico City in 1619, the Father General describes the missions of Sinaloa as located “en las [tierras] mas remota.” See ARSI, Rome, Mex. 2, f. 211v.

⁴ Chantal Cramaussel’s impressive research on the development of roads connecting colonial cities, missions, and presidios has shed light on the nature of travel in colonial Mexico. See Cramaussel, “De la Nueva Galicia al Nuevo México por el camino real de tierra adentro,” in *El Septentrión novohispano: ecohistoria, sociedades, y imagines de la frontera* (Madrid, 2000).

regions of New Spain. Missionaries travelling to Parras would have likely traversed the 700-kilometer section of the *camino real* that connected Mexico City with Zacatecas via Jilotepec, Querétaro, and Ciénega Grande. Traveling in the company of Spanish mule trains led by *arrieros* (muleteers), whose caravans provided protection from indigenous raids, the Jesuits often diverged from the main *camino real* after passing Zacatecas and continued on smaller roads to their missions near Durango in the Tepehuan region and further afield to Sinaloa (Figure 35).⁵ Other missionaries remained on the main *camino real* in the direction of New Mexico and enjoyed the security of fortified *presidios* stationed along the road as they traversed north to their missions in Parral and Chihuahua. Jesuits departing for northeastern New Spain often diverged from the *camino real* north of Cuencamé to continue to Mapimí, Parras, and Saltillo.

Jesuits writing their *Carta Annu*a between 1603 and 1605 describe the difficulty of traveling these distances between mission settlements and central Mexico, experiencing great cultural differences among the indigenous tribes they encountered who spoke a multiplicity of different languages and lived widely dispersed.⁶ In one correspondence with Jesuit superiors in Rome and Mexico City, Father Diego Díaz de Pangua highlighted the hardships of traversing these terrains in northern New Spain, which he described as a strenuous part of his life living as a missionary frequently on the move. In his 1607 letter to the Father Provincial in Mexico City, Father Pangua describes his regular trips between Parras and the mission of *San Ignacio de*

⁵ For more on Cramaussel's map of the *camino real* from Zacatecas to El Paso, see *Ibid*, 44. Detailed information is yet to be uncovered about the relationship between the Jesuits and *arrieros* in Parras. For more on the necessity of mule trains to transport individuals and their supplies between urban settings and viceregal frontiers, see José Miguel Romero Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes, y arrieros en Colima de la Nueva España (1523-1600)* (Colima: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 2008). See also Chantal Cramaussel, who notes with the development of mule trains as an organized system of transport in the mid-seventeenth century, the journey between Mexico City and Santa Fe on the *camino real* was reduced to four and a half months, in "De la Nueva Galicia al Nuevo México."

⁶ While these accounts functioned to solicit the Father General in Rome to send more missionaries to northern New Spain as well as to garner financial support from the Crown, they also give insight into the challenges Jesuit missionaries faced in the north. For this letter written between 1603 and 1605, see *Monumenta Mexicana* Vol. VIII, Ed. Felix Zubillaga, in *Monumenta Historica*, Vol. 139 (Rome, IHSI), 39.

Mapimí. After travelling over two weeks and more than 50 leagues to Mapimí, Pangua notes that he arrived “skinny, tired, and hungry,” and he was often confronted with the reality of food shortages at his *visita* settlements.⁷ In their 1646 annual letters sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Mexico City and then Rome, two missionaries stationed at Parras also describe the inhospitable living conditions at the mission amid plagues and the extreme heat and cold of the desert north. These anonymous missionaries who described their evangelization work as fraught with “fatigue and punishment that is without reward” and came “without the relief of other priests to help them,” functioned to justify their efforts that were “all done in the theater of Apostolic missionary work.”⁸ Jesuit superiors in Mexico City compiled many of their fellow missionaries’ accounts from their northern stations and sent reports to the Spanish Crown describing the challenges of missionary work for those who lived on “*la frontera*.”⁹ In his letter to the Viceroy and Archbishop of Durango in 1638, Father Provincial Andrés Pérez de Ribas discussed the harsh living conditions at many northern missions based on his own experience as a missionary for 16 years in Sinaloa in northwestern New Spain. Describing this evangelization work, he recounts that 11 Jesuits had already been martyred by this time, and others often worked alone “many times building churches with their own hands and also houses where they live among Indians—hungry, thirsty, and in intolerable heat. These are the fruits that the Jesuits have in these lands.”¹⁰

⁷ Jesuit *visitas* functioned just as those established by other religious orders consisting of a secondary mission settlement or town with no permanent resident priest, where missionaries from larger missions such as Parras traveled to administer sacraments and instruct indigenous converts. For Díaz de Pangua’s letter, see AGN, Jesuitas, Vol. II-18, Legajo 1, Letters 4-6 to Father Provincial Alfonso de Castro, 7 May 1607.

⁸ ARSI, Rome, Mex. 15, *Littuaria Annuia* 1646-1647, f. 260v.

⁹ For Pérez de Ribas’ letter to the Viceroy, see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Number 5, f. 8v.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, f.8v.

It is important to understand Pérez de Ribas' perspective in writing to the Viceroy as a defense against the Crown's accusations that Jesuit *haciendas* and landholdings had grown inappropriately profitable. As I will argue in this chapter, the Jesuits' rhetoric was a complex creation of dramatic narratives that was not without contradictions and ambivalences.¹¹ While missionaries and superiors of the order never minimized the hardships and remoteness of evangelizing on the New Spanish frontier, these adversities very seldom kept the Jesuits from flourishing in inhospitable environs. These descriptions of the difficult conditions that missionaries endured living long distances from other settlements often functioned to provide a favorable view of the progress of mission development in official accounts. The data from the following official Jesuit ledgers will demonstrate that despite these challenges, members of the Society travelled with great frequency, regularly traversing the long distances that connected the northern missions with larger urban settings.

**Traversing the Apostolic Frontier:
Jesuit Mobility and the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves***

The *Archivum Romanum Societatus Iesu* in Rome contains a collection of documents pinpointing the location of every Jesuit priest, novice, and lay brother throughout the world from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. These documents known as the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* provide important evidence to uncover the systematic circulation of Jesuit members throughout the viceroyalty and beyond to Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These *Catalogi Triennales* were collected annually in Mexico City and sent every three years to Rome to record the geographical station and biographical information of every Jesuit living in New Spain and abroad. These catalogues reveal that missionaries stationed at Parras changed residences every three to five years, moving between this northern Jesuit house

¹¹ I am thankful to Charles Talbot for inspiring me to consider this point.

and larger cities such as Mexico City, Zacatecas, and Puebla.¹² For example, the Oaxacan born Francisco de Arista joined the Society at 19 years of age. He lived in the viceregal capital between 1583 and 1592, when he studied theology and philosophy before embarking on his missionary travels. In 1595, he was living at the Zacatecas mission, and in 1600, he moved to the Jesuit *Residencia* in Durango. Arista was then transferred to Parras in 1604. He returned the Zacatecas *Residencia* in 1607, and was identified as the Father Superior of the Durango *Residencia* in 1618. His final station was at the Guatemala missions in beginning in 1629, where he died in 1649.¹³ Padre Martín de Viñuelas lived a similar life of extensive travel. The Puebla born Jesuit joined the order at the age of 17 and moved to the Jesuit College of *San Gregorio* in Mexico City in 1614. In 1620, Viñuelas was transferred to San Ildefonso in the viceregal capital and then moved north to Parras in 1626. In 1638, he left Parras to live in Durango and returned to Mexico City in 1648 to live at the Casa Profesa.¹⁴ Many Spanish missionaries, such as the Andalusian Jesuits Luís Jiménez de Ahumada and Jerónimo de Santiago, both from Jerez de la Frontera, mention that among the other indigenous languages they knew, they were learning to speak and hear confessions in the Zacatecan language at the Parras mission.¹⁵

The practice of missionaries travelling often between various stations and immersing in linguistic training was not an isolated phenomenon in New Spain but rather was repeated in locations worldwide on the Jesuit missions. Among the many Christian frontiers that missionaries traversed, the movement of the *mestizo* Jesuit Blas Valera throughout Peru in the

¹² For the listing of Jesuit missionaries stationed at Parras from the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* between 1600 and 1767, see Appendix B.

¹³ ARSI, Mex. 4, f. 53v, 84r, 167r, 179r, and f.427; ARSI, Mex. 2, f.201r; ARSI, Mex. 17, f.82r.

¹⁴ See ARSI, Mex. 6, f. 250v.

¹⁵ ARSI, Mex. 4, f. 160r. In my preliminary examination of sermons from Parras, I have not uncovered any written in Zacatecan, but future research will continue to search for Jesuit sermons in indigenous languages given at *San Ignacio*.

last quarter of the sixteenth century reveals one instance in which the Society circulated missionaries with great mobility throughout the southern Spanish viceroyalty. In 1570, Valera travelled from Lima to help found the *doctrina* at Huarochirí, and in 1573 he moved to the mission of *Santiago del Cercado* outside of Lima.¹⁶ Sometime before 1576, Valera was reassigned by his superiors to the Jesuit house in Cuzco, where he preached in Quechua and acted as the spiritual advisor to many Inca nobles and members of the indigenous *Nombre de Jesús* confraternity in the former Inca capital. His Jesuit superiors then transferred Valera to the *doctrina* of Juli in 1577 to begin evangelization work on the shores of Lake Titicaca. By 1579 he had moved to Potosí, and in 1582 Valera returned to Lima to help with the translation of the Catholic catechism into Quechua for the Third Council of Lima.¹⁷

The Jesuits also circulated frequently throughout their mission provinces in China, as the records documenting Matteo Ricci's chronology of travels reveals. In May 1577, Ricci departed Italy for Portugal to study Portuguese and by September 1578 he had reached Goa, where he taught Latin and Greek. By June 1582, Ricci was in Malacca, and in August 1582 he departed for Macao, China. In 1583, he had settled in Zhaoqing, from where he departed in 1589 for Shaozhou. In 1595, he moved to Nanjing, where he composed his *Treatise on Mnemonic Arts* in 1596. In 1598, he travelled to Peking for the first time as the Jesuit Superior of the China mission. He returned to Nanjing in 1599 and travelled back and forth to Peking between 1602 and 1607, where he published a world map, translated the first six books of Euclid's *Elements of*

¹⁶ Sabine Highland tracks Blas Valera's movement in *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003), 38-61.

¹⁷ Hyland, *ibid.*, 63.

Geometry, and saw the arrival of the Plantin polyglot bible to the emperor's court before his death in Peking in 1610.¹⁸

Now let us return to New Spain and the discussion of art production at the extremities of the viceroyalty. These travel logs are relevant to the study of mission art history because this circumambulation of Jesuits between center and periphery worldwide helps shed light on the frequency in which the order was able to move artworks throughout the Mexican province and beyond. In this process of moving between Europe, Mexico City and the northern missions, the Jesuits also organized the shipment of many devotional images to their houses in northern New Spain, such as the paintings from Parras discussed in Chapter Two.¹⁹ Travelling Jesuits also carried religious and artistic treatises that came to be housed in Jesuit libraries.²⁰ Paintings such as the Salmerón series at Parras would have been commissioned by a Jesuit representative, such as Juan de Espinoza, who was stationed in Tepetzotlán at the same time Salmerón worked for the order at the Novitiate. After living in Tepetzotlán between 1708 and 1714, Espinoza was transferred to the Parras mission where he resided until 1720.²¹ Padre Joseph Fernandez may have also coordinated the importation of artworks to Parras in 1720, when he was relocated there after living in Mexico City at the College of *San Pedro y Pablo* since 1714.²² While these

¹⁸ This travel chronology is documented is provided by Jonathan Spence in *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), xiii-xiv.

¹⁹ Clara Bargellini has examined the Jesuits' and the Franciscans' practice of transporting artworks from Mexico City to the north in her recent essay, "Painting for Export in Mexico City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, ed. Sarah Schroth, (London: Paul Holberton, 2010), 284-304.

²⁰ For more on missionaries' requests for artworks in Mexico, see Alcalá, "Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 126-172. For more on Jesuit commissions from artists working in Mexico City, see Clara Bargellini, "Jesuit Devotions and *Retablos* in New Spain," In John O'Malley et al, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures*, I: 689.

²¹ ARSI, Mex. 6, *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* 1690-1723, f. 250v.

individuals constitute only a sampling of missionaries who travelled with great regularity between Parras and other locations in New Spain and abroad, a complete list of Jesuits stationed at Parras is documented in the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* in Appendix B. This data that tracks the sojourns of the Jesuits throughout central New Spain, central America, and Europe before and after their tenure in the north reveals how the northern missions and residences were connected as integral stations in the larger network of Jesuit operations.

Jesuit Procurators and International Systems of Artistic Exchange

As Clara Bargellini has noted, the Jesuits established cultural links between center and periphery by creating a “web of artistic relations” that connected missions with larger cities in the Viceroyalty as well as in Europe.²³ European missionaries transferred to northern New Spain brought with them their knowledge of painting as well as Early Christian and Renaissance church building in Italy. Bargellini has uncovered evidence that Italian missionaries such as the Sicilian Jesuit Francisco María Piccolo helped bring the Portuguese architect Simón de los Santos from Parral to Piccolo’s mission at *Nombre de Jesus* in Carichi (present-day Chihuahua) from 1686 until 1698. At Carichi under the direction of Padre Piccolo, de los Santos built the basilican-planned church of *Nombre de Jesus* with three naves reminiscent of Early Christian basilicas in Rome and the old Casa Profesa church in Mexico City.²⁴

²² ARSI, Mex. 6, *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* 1690-1723, f. 307r. While I have not yet found documentation of the Jesuits commissioning these works by Salmerón and transporting them to Parras, I have discovered similar explicit statements that specific artworks were requested from the viceregal capital and subsequently received in Parras. See, for example, Padre Miguel Castillo’s 1744 letter from Parras stating he had received a painting of *Nuestra Señora de la Luz* from the viceregal capital in 1743, in Archivo Histórico de la Provincia, Mexico City, Signatura 876 (April 12, 1744).

²³ Clara Bargellini, “At the Center on the Frontier: The Jesuit Tarahumara Missions of New Spain,” in *Time and Place: the Geohistory of Art* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 116.

²⁴ Clara Bargellini, “Arquitectura Jesuita en la Tarahumara: ¿centro o periferia?” in *Ordenes religiosas entre América y Asia. Ideas para una historia misionera de los espacios coloniales* (México: Colegio de México, 2008), 4-5.

International webs of exchange also were made possible with the help of Jesuit procurators, who traveled frequently between Europe, New Spain, and Peru. As Luisa Alcalá has revealed, the international movement of Jesuit procurators was instrumental for the order's importation of European artworks to the New World and dissemination of devotions between both continents.²⁵ Procurators were selected as representatives of their province and travelled to Rome every three years to meet at the Society's Congregation of Procurators.²⁶ Their journey began upon arriving in Spain after the trans-Atlantic voyage, travelling from Seville, and later Cadiz in the eighteenth century, to Madrid while continuing to Barcelona on the way to Italy. Leaving the Iberian Peninsula either by boat for Genoa or carriage for Milan, procurators often visited the sanctuary of Loreto in Ancona before arriving in Rome.²⁷ When visiting Rome, Madrid, and Seville, procurators born in New Spain mention their amazement of European art and architecture when visiting important religious centers for the first time. Creoles, such as Procurator Juan Antonio de Oviedo, marveled at the beauty of Roman architecture on his trip to Italy describing the ancient ruins and contemporary gardens of the Eternal City from the perspective of a Spaniard born in New Spain.²⁸

While traveling to these and other European cities, procurators were charged with the tasks of acquiring devotional art and obtaining permission from the Crown to bring recruited

²⁵ Luisa Elena Alcalá provides an excellent investigation of Jesuit procurators' artistic and intellectual contributions while shipping artworks from Europe to New Spain in her chapter, "Shopping in Europe: The Role of Jesuit Procurators," in "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain, 1670-1767," Ph.D. diss. (1998), 126-171.

²⁶ For a thorough discussion of the role of Jesuit procurators in the Americas that includes a useful appendix outlining the official duties of this position, see Felix Zubillaga, S.J. "El procurador de las Indias Occidentales de la Compañía de Jesus (1574)" *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu* 22 (Jan-June 1953): 367-417. For more on the Congregation of Procurators, who traveled frequently between Spanish America and Rome just as members of the Society's General Congregations that included provincial superiors and provincial delegates did, see John Padberg, Martin O'Keefe, and John McCarthy, *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First 30 Jesuit General Congregations* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), xi.

²⁷ Alcalá (128) tracks the procurators' path of travels en route to Rome that is mentioned here.

²⁸ For Oviedo's comments on his 1717 trip, see Alcalá, 137.

missionaries back to New Spain. Procurators purchased these artworks requested by their fellow Jesuits as well as secular patrons and shipped them to New Spain in crates marked for the specific recipients of these religious items. Alcalá has uncovered the documents identifying the contents of these Jesuit crates, whose cargo included large quantities of devotional paintings, prints, reliquaries, and art treatises, which they shipped back to the Americas.²⁹ Jesuit missionaries and superiors in New Spain sent *memorias*, or formal requests, to these procurators in Europe asking them to purchase artworks to them. In one 1582 document that is today housed in the Jesuit archive in Rome, Padre Tovar wrote a *memoria* from Mexico City to Procurator Alonso Sánchez stating that he was sending 80 pesos to Europe for the procurator to send him “images” from Europe.³⁰ In his 1625 letter to New Spain, an unknown Procurator writes from Rome that he has purchased “all that was requested” for the missions and recommends to his superiors in Mexico City that they carefully oversee what was being sent to the missions. The Father General in Rome reiterates this concern to the Father Provincial in Mexico City warning him about sending and receiving only orthodox items of devotion to the missions.³¹ While this 1625 document does not specifically identify artworks being acquired for transport from Europe to the missions, this Procurator’s correspondence provides strong evidence that a system of transport existed between these locations, and it is reasonable to conclude that devotional images would have been among the requested items.

As Alcalá has noted in her thorough investigation of shipment inventories that arrived in New Spain, procurators frequently purchased or commissioned Italian paintings and sculptures

²⁹ Alcalá, “Jesuits and the Visual Arts,” 138-139; AGN, *Jesuitas*, IV-54 caja 2, exp. 47, f. 91v-92r.

³⁰ ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 720 II, Busta 5, #C, f. 35v.

³¹ See ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 346v and 381 r.

for fellow Jesuits and secular patrons.³² Identifying the high quality of Italian artworks in their letters, procurators often purchased dozens of paintings and as many as five thousand prints on a single visit to Rome.³³ With this specific interest and appreciation for Italian works of art, procurators often selected these paintings as gifts for their most important patrons, friends, and esteemed members of the order.³⁴ While the Jesuits were concerned with purchasing European works for their own interests, these Italian images also came to be “classified in the collective colonial memory” as objects with important “symbolic value” among elite audiences in New Spain.³⁵ Descriptions of contemporary Jesuit churches in the viceregal capital identified paintings and sculptures as specifically Italian works and compared New Spanish images to them to validate the high quality of colonial art.³⁶

Luisa Alcalá also provides important evidence of the bi-directional circulation of images across the Atlantic in her discovery that Jesuit procurators were one of the groups instrumental in bringing New World devotions and images to Europe. Jesuit procurators promoting the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, such as Francisco de Florencia, carried copies of prints and paintings depicting the Virgin with them to Europe in the 1670s to help disseminate awareness for her cult

³² Alcalá, 149.

³³ Alcalá mentions Procurator Zeballos purchasing this large number of prints by the artist Joseph Antonio Franceschetti on his 1759 trip to Rome. In 1766, Procurator Juan Joseph de Villavicencio acquired thirty-six paintings on copper by the artist Maximo Migliori. For more on this, See Alcalá, 149.

³⁴ For example, Procurator Juan Ignacio de Uribe mentions in a letter to New Spain that he selected six of the best engravings in his shipment, two paintings he commissioned in Rome, and a sculpture from Sicily for his friend and head of the Franciscan order in 1729, Fernando Alonso Gonzalez, who would help the Jesuits with the arrival of their shipment in Veracruz. See Alcalá, 146-47 and 349.

³⁵ Alcalá uses this phrase, 152.

³⁶ As Alcalá has noted (152), sculptures such as the *Virgin Dolorosa* in the main *retablo* of the Jesuit *Hacienda* of *Santa Lucia* was identified explicitly as Neapolitan. See Clara Bargellini, *El Retablo de la Virgen de los Dolores* (México: Centro Cultural de Arte Contemporáneo, 1993). Also, Alcalá notes (152) the 1722 *Gazeta de Mexico* that identifies the Italian paintings installed in the new *Retablo* of Saint Francis Regis in the Jesuit church of *La Profesa*. See *Gacetas de México. Castorena y Ursúa (enero-junio 1722) – Sahagún de Arevalo (1728-1742)*, Ed. Francisco González de Cossío (México: SEP, 1949), Vol. 1, f. 15.

and obtain special liturgical offices.³⁷ The international travel and constant movement of the Jesuits made it possible for the order to participate in this bi-directional transport of artworks between Europe and New Spain.

Jesuit Procurators in Northern New Spain: From Parras to Rome

Many of these Jesuit procurators who traveled to Europe were stationed at the mission of Parras before and after their tenure abroad.³⁸ The Valencian Jesuit identified as Rochas de Molina, for example, was stationed in Parras between 1659 and 1660 before traveling to Europe as Procurator in 1681.³⁹ Other procurators such as Tomás Domínguez were stationed in Parras between 1607 and 1614 before becoming Procurator and living in Europe between 1630 and 1635.⁴⁰ The Spanish Jesuit Padre Juan de Vallejo lived at the Parras mission in 1667 before leaving for Europe between 1668 and 1669 to serve as Procurator.⁴¹ Official Jesuit records reveal that after Francisco de Florencia's trip to Europe as procurator between 1668 and 1675, he was stationed at Parras in 1696.⁴² While it is well documented that he died in Mexico City in 1695, it is puzzling that Florencia's Jesuit superiors may have had plans for him to travel to

³⁷ As Alcalá has noted, procurators promoting the cult of Guadalupe in Europe included Francisco de Florencia and Juan Francisco López, who obtained a *fiesta de guardar* for Guadalupe from Pope Benedict XIV in 1754. For more on her findings, see Alcalá, 156-157. See also Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de Prodigios: la ventura como destino," in *El origen del reino de la Nueva España* (1999), 191.

³⁸ The Valencian Jesuit Rochus de Molina, for example, was stationed in Parras between 1659 and 1660 before traveling to Europe as Procurator in 1681. ARSI, Mex. 5, 298r. Other procurators included Tomas Domínguez (Parras 1607-14 and Europe 1630-1635), ARSI, Mex. 4, f.179v; Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Contaduría* 245A, 20 April 1635, and Francisco de Florencia (Europe 1668-1675 and to be sent to Parras in 1695 before his death), ARSI, Mex. 6, f.110.

³⁹ For Molina's presence in Parras in 1659-60, where he is identified in Latin as "Rochus de Molina," see ARSI, Mex. 5, f. 18r. For his name listed again as a "Procurador Extra Provinciam" in 1681, see Mex. 5, f. 298.

⁴⁰ ARSI, Mex. 4, f.179v; Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Contaduría* 245A, 20 April 1635.

⁴¹ For Vallejo's presence in Parras in 1667, see ARSI, Mex.5, f. 126r, and for his listing as a Procurator, see *ibid*, f. 151r.

⁴² For Florencia's listing as a Procurator in Europe, see Mex. 5, f. 194r.

Parras, where he is listed in the 1696 *Catalogi*.⁴³ Upon closer examination, however, it appears that this may not be the same person. In the 1696 ledger locating Florencia in Parras, he is recognized with exactly the same name and birthplace as the entries identifying him as a procurator in Europe: “P. Franciscus de Florencia—Florida.” But the 1696 entry states Florencia had been in the order only forty years. Also, he is listed as a priest who has only taken his “vota simplice,” or his first of four vows. As Jason Dyck has shown in his recent studies, when Florencia died in 1695, he had taken his fourth vow and was a professed priest. He had also been in the order over 50 years.⁴⁴ This discrepancy, and the possibility that two Francisco de Florencia’s may have been alive at the same time, merits further investigation.

While visiting Rome, Madrid, and Seville, traveling procurators also acquired illustrated architectural treatises with information related to building projects in Europe. Jesuit shipment records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries document the transmission of these texts to New Spain, such as a 1744 Spanish translation of Jacopo Vignola’s *Reglas de los cinco órdenes de arquitectura* and volumes by the Jesuit Milliet Dechaes that most likely included his most famous work *Cursus Seu Mundus Mathematicus* published in Rome in 1674. In her examination of these documents that she has uncovered, Alcalá notes that we “cannot overestimate the importance of the arrival of European architectural and mathematical treatises for the development of colonial architecture.”⁴⁵ Nine years before his planned departure to Parras and northern New Spain, Padre Francisco de Florencia visited Rome as Procurator and shipped copies of *Grandezas de Roma* and *La fábrica del Escorial* to provide artists, architects,

⁴³ See ARSI Rome, Mex. 6, f. 110r, 252v, and 210r.

⁴⁴ See Jason Dyck, “La parte censurada de la *Historia de la provincia de Francisco de Florencia*,” *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* (enero-junio 2011): 141-188; “The Sacred Historian’s Craft: Francisco de Florencia and Creole Identity in Seventeenth-Century New Spain,” PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012.

⁴⁵ Alcalá, “Jesuits and the Visual Arts,” 138. See Bérchez Gómez, *Arquitectura mexicana de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Grupo Azabache, S.A., 1992), 123.

and literate society in Mexico City views of church facades in Rome and the architecture of the Escorial outside Madrid.⁴⁶ Although Florencia died before his transfer to Parras, other procurators with similar acquisitions must have carried architectural manuals such as these to the northern frontier to provide masons and architects with the data to build monumental churches. It is likely that the Jesuits could have acquired similar sources, whose images and technical information may have inspired their building projects at many northern churches including the Jesuit College in Parral in the 1680s and possibly even *San Ignacio de Loyola* between 1680 and 1767.⁴⁷ The efficient nature of the Jesuits' frequent travel and mobility facilitated this ability to import texts as well as artworks from Mexico City and beyond to the northern viceregal frontier.

Jesuit Libraries in New Spain

In addition to sending illustrated architectural manuals from Europe, procurators also mention shipping devotional treatises and humanist texts to their fellow Jesuits in New Spain.⁴⁸ Libraries at every Jesuit College, seminary, and professed house held extensive collections of books that included tomes on classical philosophical discourses. For example, the inventory of the library at the *Casa Profesa* in Mexico City taken between 1768 and 1774 consists of over 136 pages with a total of 8,626 volumes valued at over 22,732 pesos.⁴⁹ The Jesuits focused their dissemination of books and manuscripts to their missions and houses in northern New Spain as well, where they established impressive library holdings just as they did in the viceregal capital.

⁴⁶ Alcalá (139, fn. 41-42) mentions Florencia's shipment of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderon's *Grandezas y maravillas de la incluya y Sancta Ciudad de Roma* (Madrid, 1673) in 1675. He sent numerous copies of Juan de Herrera's sixteenth century *La fabrica del Escorial* with engravings by Pedro Perret in 1668.

⁴⁷ See also the inventory of books in the library of the Tlaxcaltecan church of San Esteban in Saltillo. While the holdings here do not contain as many humanist sources and as expected there are no Jesuit devotional treatises, a comparison between these libraries deserves further attention. See, Agustín Churruca Peláez, et al, eds *El Sur de Coahuila en el Siglo XVII* (Torreón, México: Ayuntamiento Editorial del Norte Mexicano, 1996).

⁴⁸ Alcalá, "Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 138-139; AGN, *Jesuitas*, IV-54 caja 2, exp. 47, f. 91v-92r.

⁴⁹ For more on the inventory of the Jesuit library at the Casa Profesa, see AHN, Madrid, Clero-Jesuitas, Libro 368, f. 1-220v; Clero-Jesuitas, Legajo 248, Numero 18.

By 1767, an inventory of possessions at the library in Parras reveals that the Jesuits held over 750 titles of works including philosophical treatises by authors including Aristotle, Seneca, Virgil, Cicero, and Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁰ Classical texts by authors such as Aristotle and the works of Thomas Aquinas would have been integral sources for the Jesuits' teaching curriculum that was modeled on Aristotelian philosophy and Thomistic theology. At *San Ignacio* in Parras, the Jesuits also acquired many publications produced by or for members of the order in Europe, such as Ignatius of Loyola's *Constitutions*, six unidentified works by Jeronimo Nadal, a Roman Martyrology, and a Roman *Octavario*.⁵¹ This library, whose books were valued at 636 pesos in 1767, also held various reference books such as a copy of Nebrija's *Diccionario*, other dictionaries in French, Italian, Portuguese, and Greek, as well as Nahuatl dictionaries and a copy of Alonso de Molina's (?) *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*.⁵² Among these philosophical and theological texts, compendia of lives of the saints, and compilations of sermons published by their fellow Jesuits, missionaries also acquired a collection of books for recreational, non-religious reading that including Cervantes's *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.⁵³ The extensive holdings in the library at *San Ignacio* in Parras were comparable in size to the library of the larger Jesuit College of *Nuestra Señora de Loreto* in Chihuahua, which held a slightly bigger collection with approximately 1,440 tomes.⁵⁴ The presence of these texts in the collections of Jesuit residences and colleges in the north testifies to the Society's initiatives to circulate an

⁵⁰ These works included Aristotle's "*Comentarios*," texts by Seneca, Virgil, Thomas Aquinas, and 21 "*Epistolas*" by Cicero. See AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f. 36r-41v.

⁵¹ See inventories in AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f.39v-40v.

⁵² *Ibid*, f. 38v.

⁵³ For Cervantes and other publications, see *Ibid*, 40r.

⁵⁴ Clara Bargellini has uncovered this data for the Chihuahua College in "At the Center on the Frontier," in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, 126.

extensive corpus of literature throughout New Spain while moving frequently between the viceroyalty and Europe.

Procurators and their Secular Patrons in New Spain

On trips between New Spain and Europe for official business, Jesuit procurators also acquired devotional items for secular clients, who were often the order's most generous patrons. By transporting artworks and other luxury items, these Jesuits were able to form alliances with powerful patrons in the viceregal capital just as they did in Parras.⁵⁵ This "secular commerce" that procurators engaged in, created certain controversies as these untaxed artworks and goods were not for the exclusive use of the Jesuits.⁵⁶ To solidify their strong relationships with important patrons in Mexico City, procurators selected some of the best European artworks they acquired for transport to New Spain. For example, in 1673 Francisco de Florencia sent two large crates of paintings on copper to Captain Juan de Chavarría Valera in New Spain, who later donated generous sums of money and his ownership of an *hacienda* to the Jesuit church and College of *San Gregorio* in Mexico City.⁵⁷

Lay patrons also enjoyed the benefits of procurators' selective acquisitions of Italian artworks, which were often commissioned for these wealthy individuals in the viceregal capital. In the viceregal capital, the Marquesa de las Torres de Rada received a painting of the *Virgin Dolorosa* by Bartolomeo Mancini, which procurator Juan Antonio de Oviedo commissioned for her in 1717. This devotional painting was shipped from Rome to New Spain at the same time

⁵⁵ As Alcalá ("Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 130-132) has noted, by the 1740's the Father Generals were forced to officially prohibit Jesuit procurators from purchasing merchandise for secular third parties in New Spain given the King's suspicion that procurators were carrying items for seculars among their goods bound for the missions, which would be untaxed and cause the Crown to lose valuable revenue. These rules were ineffective, however, as procurators continued to import items for these patrons.

⁵⁶ Alcalá uses this term in "Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 130.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 146-47.

that Torres de Rada was funding the construction of the new *Casa Profesa* in Mexico City.⁵⁸ Procurator Juan Ignacio de Uribe commissioned three other paintings by Mancini in 1729 that were destined for non-Jesuit patrons in New Spain, including Buenaventura Medina Picazo, who was one of the order's most generous benefactors. These alliances that procurators helped solidify with secular patrons in the viceregal capital functioned to support building and art decoration campaigns just as they did at the northern Jesuit houses and elsewhere. Luisa Alcalá observes that the Jesuits' transport of European artworks to important patrons in New Spain is another example of how the order "catered to the upper levels of colonial society."⁵⁹ While they were catering to an elite group of colonial society, the Jesuits were doing much more than accommodating the interests of wealthy buyers. The Jesuits purposely sought out wealthy donors to engage their support because, just as these relationships were crucial in Parras, they were also an integral part of the Society's sophisticated strategies to finance church building and art production campaigns in Mexico City.

Jesuit Patronage Systems Worldwide

It is important to underscore that the Jesuits' practice of establishing relationships with patrons to serve their spiritual, economic, and artistic interests operated not only in Mexico City and at the northern New Spanish missions but on a global scale. Highlighting the Jesuits' practice of forming these alliances on an international level is a key element to understanding

⁵⁸ As Alcalá notes ("Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 146), Oviedo was also the Marquésa's confessor, and in her will she donated much of her wealth to the Jesuits, as well as all of her jewels that were used to decorate chalices and other liturgical objects. Torres de Rada later donated this painting by Mancini to the order at the Casa Profesa, where it survives today in the Pinacoteca. For more on the Marquésa de la las Torres de Rada's donations for the rebuilding of the church of *La Profesa* in 1618 and the many wealthy secular patrons who donated funds for the building of the first church after 1597, who included the Viceroy, the Count of Monterrey, and Juan Luis de Rivera and his wife Juana Gutiérrez, see Lorenza Autrey Maza, *La Profesa. Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural* (México: Secretaria de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología, 1988) 36 and 62. See also AGN, Temporalidades, T-197; *Monumenta Mexicana* Vol. IV, Document 109, *Carta Anua de la Provincia de México de 1597*, 362; *Monumenta Mexicana*, Vol. VIII, Doc. 13, *Carta Anua de la Procvincia de México de 1599*, 142.

⁵⁹ Alcalá, "Jesuits and the Visual Arts," 147.

that the missionaries' strategies of receiving private patrons' support to produce and import artworks in Parras fit into a much larger and very organized system of Jesuit art production. In sixteenth-century Rome, for example, wealthy benefactors donated their land and money to fulfill Ignatius's vision of establishing a Roman college, a novitiate house, and a mother church. As Carolyn Valone has shown, wealthy female patrons were some of the earliest supporters of the newly founded Jesuit order.⁶⁰ The Marchesa Vittoria della Tolfa, for example, donated funds and her own property for the Jesuits built their original *Collegio Romano* in 1560, which predated the more well known patronage campaign at the *Collegio* by Pope Gregory XIII. Two *fondatrice* matrons also donated land and money whose sum far exceeded those given by the King of Spain and Gregory XIII for the first permanent Jesuit novitiate complex at *Sant'Andrea al Quirinale*, whose church plan looked very different than the later church rebuilt by Bernini (Figure 36).⁶¹ The early Jesuits also fostered similar relationships with female patrons when seeking out benefactors for the decoration the Society's mother church in Rome, the Gesù. Matrons from the Cesi family funded the construction of two important chapels flanking the main altar of the Gesù shortly after its consecration in 1584, at a time when male patrons were less inclined to donate to the new order.⁶² As Valone has demonstrated, these patrons and the female benefactors of the novitiate church on the Quirinal Hill, consciously chose the subject

⁶⁰ For this donation of 17,000 scudi, see Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, Edited by Ann Matter and John Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 157-65.

⁶¹ In 1566 Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna, a longtime patron of the Jesuits in Naples, donated part of her house and garden on the Quirinal as well as a source of continuous income in the form of an endowment of 6,000 scudi to the order. In 1598, Isabella della Rovere Sanseverino endowed the Jesuits' novitiate complex attached to San Vitale with the large donation of 90,000 scudi. See *ibid*, 170.

⁶² Three Cesi benefactors paid for the Chapel of Santa Maria della Strada in 1584 to the left of the apse, and in 1599 Olimpia Orsini Cesi commissioned the facing chapel to the right of the apse dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi. See Valone, "Architecture as a public voice for women in sixteenth-century Rome," *Renaissance Studies*, 312-314.

matter of the artworks decorating these Jesuit chapels, revealing the “equilibrium between what the patrons wished to say for the Jesuits and [what] they said for [these] women.”⁶³

The Jesuits practiced similar strategies of allying with wealthy patrons to build their colleges and churches in prominent locations in Peru and New Spain. Despite arriving in Brazil in 1562 and Peru in 1568, at a time that was relatively late in relation to the first foundations of city planning in the southern viceroyalties, the Jesuits sought to establish their religious complexes on or near the main plazas of Peruvian towns. In cities such as Cuzco, Quito, and Arequipa, the Jesuits’ relationships with local patrons made it possible for the order to realize its “geographical ambitions” of establishing a Jesuit presence at the heart of the city center as major participants in the ecclesiastical and secular power base.⁶⁴ Benefactors donated their homes and made personal contributions and bequests to the Jesuits, thus helping the order achieve these building objectives. For example, donations from secular patrons and the Crown in the 1570’s helped the Jesuits purchase the sites of the *Amarucancha* in Cuzco directly on the *plaza mayor* to build their main church (Figure 37). The order also received secular donations of property adjacent to this sight to expand the construction of their church, *la Compañía*.⁶⁵ The Society then moved to the southern Andes to follow similar, and often controversial, practices of seeking out property donations in strategic locations in the center of Spanish towns. In 1577 in Arequipa, for example, the Jesuits received donations in the form of money and property from local

⁶³ *Ibid*, 316.

⁶⁴ Valerie Fraser, “Architecture and Ambition,” 16-21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 25 and 27. In Cuzco, the Jesuits allied themselves with wealthy female patrons such as the widow Teresa Orgóñez, a relative of Viceroy Toledo, to purchase the *Amarucancha*, giving her and her late husband the title of founders of the Jesuit church in Cuzco. The Society also received funds from the *Audiencia* of Lima by order of the King of Spain to cover the expenses of purchasing this valuable property.

Spanish benefactors to found their new church and college adjoining the main square of the city (Figure 38).⁶⁶

The Jesuits' approach to establishing permanent foundations in New Spain was also closely tied to the order's relationship with local benefactors between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Wealthy private patrons donated property and large monetary gifts to help the Jesuits establish their Professed House known as the *Casa Profesa* near the main plaza in Mexico City in the late sixteenth century (Figure 39).⁶⁷ The founding patron of *La Profesa*, Juan Luis de la Rivera, and his wife Juana Gutiérrez gave the first large sums to construct the original church that was consecrated on the same day as the beatification of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1610.⁶⁸ The founder of the Jesuits' novitiate complex at Tepotzotlán made a similarly large donation upon his death in 1606 to fund the establishment of the order's novitiate church and residence outside of Mexico City. Pedro Ruiz de Ahumada stated in his will that "...for a long time I have wanted to found a College or House for the Jesuits out of devotion that I have for the order and its founder Father Ignatius of Loyola."⁶⁹ Support in the form of donations from prominent patrons in Mexico City continued for the Jesuits throughout the following century as well. When the need to rebuild the Jesuits Professed House arose in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits' Father Provincial again sought the financial support of various patrons, including Doña Gertrudis de la Peña, the *Marquesa de las Torres de Rada*, who pledged

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 26. This donation came from Diego Hernandez in his will from November 1577, which included eleven shops and 20,000 pesos as well as a timeline to found the Jesuit church and college within a year of his death, to further pressure civil authorities to approve the Jesuits' plan to build adjacent to the main plaza.

⁶⁷ For this plan of the city as it looked at the end of the sixteenth century, see Autrey Maza, *La Profesa*, 129.

⁶⁸ See Autrey Maza, *La Profesa*, 24, 36-37. Rivera made his first donations to the Jesuits for the construction of *La Profesa* in 1597 and his wife followed with a large donation of 20,000 pesos. Various viceroys such as the Count of Monterrey and Luis de Velasco II, the *Marqués de Salinas*, also helped the Jesuits construct their early churches by providing the order with extra laborers. The church was finally consecrated on the day of Ignatius's beatification on 31 July 1610.

⁶⁹ María del Consuelo Maquívar, *Los Retablos de Tepotzotlan* (Mexico: INAH, 1976), 17.

the largest donation to complete the project in 1714.⁷⁰ The reconstructed temple designed by Pedro de Arrieta cost more than 100,000 pesos, and the *Marquesa* reportedly gave 25,000 pesos per year to the Jesuits over a period of four years to see the structure completed. After her original payment was completed, the *Marquesa* gave an additional 20,000 pesos and some of her personal jewels to decorate the Jesuits' church while other wealthy patrons, such as Juan Antonio Tresviñas, gave 40,000 pesos to embellish the adjacent professed house.⁷¹

These cases from Italy, Peru, and New Spain constitute only a sampling of the Jesuits' practice of fostering relationships with donors to fund building projects and church decoration campaigns that operated simultaneously in many locations where the Society established its presence. This evidence has important implications for the study of northern New Spanish art. It reveals that the Jesuits' strategies to seek the support of wealthy donors to fund their art and architecture programs at locations such as Parras were nearly identical to the practices of the order in larger urban settings such as Mexico City, Cuzco, and Rome. The alliances created by the order in colonial Parras were therefore not the product of an isolated missionary situation but rather part of a dynamic network of artistic and cultural exchange that operated worldwide. The following chapter will continue this discussion highlighting how the international movement of Jesuit missionaries enabled the order to circulate religious images and portraits of their own martyrs between New Spain and Europe. This bi-directional movement of these images between Northern New Spain, Mexico City, and Rome would have had a fundamental impact on the formation of the Jesuits' missionary identity and orthodox Catholic spirituality on both sides of the Atlantic.

⁷⁰ Autrey Maza, *La Profesa*, 61.

⁷¹ As Autrey Maza has noted, (*ibid*, 62), In exchange for these contributions, the *Marquesa's* coat of arms was displayed on the refinished facade of *La Profesa* and her sepulcher was placed in a prominent place beneath the nave of the church.

Chapter Four

“Ad Futuram dei Memoriam:” Martyrdom Imagery and Bidirectional Currents of Spiritual Culture between New Spain and Europe

With the death of missionaries in northern New Spain between 1594 and 1695, the Jesuits’ religious and temporal enterprises at Parras became intertwined with the broader spiritual landscape of martyrdom in the north. Vineyard metaphors that were repeated often in contemporary Church discourses resonated with special symbolic meaning for the Jesuits at Parras, who often described their evangelization work as “sowing the teachings of heaven” to “cultivate the vineyard of souls.”¹ These references took on a new relevance when martyrdom became an omnipresent subject at the missions, and Jesuit correspondences across the Atlantic emphasized the providential nature of martyrdom in New Spain to parallel the sacrifices of Christ and his Apostles. Reflecting on the violent Tepehuan Revolt of 1616, where Indian attackers executed eight Jesuit missionaries and one Franciscan, Father General Claudio Aquaviva evoked Saint Paul’s Gospel metaphor of martyrs’ blood watering the seeds of Christendom in his correspondences from Rome to Mexico City.² In one 1617 letter, Aquaviva

¹ In their annual letters from Parras the Jesuits often incorporated these viticulture metaphors, as in the 1604 *Annua* where baptized Indians were described as the fruits of the Society’s “abundant harvests.” For more on this letter that stated “all [the] Jesuits work in the vineyard of God converting the infidels and instructing the converts” [“Indefessi in vinea domini operarius infidelius convertendis, instruendis converses vacant”], see ARSI Rome, Mex. 8, f. 264; For descriptions of Indian conversions as an “abundant harvest” and other vineyard metaphors in Parras, see also the 1646-47 *Annua* in ARSI, Mex. 15, f. 260v; 1596 *Annua* in Mex. 8, f. 255v. For this subject within Jesuit and religious dialogues, see Daniel T. Reff, “Critical Introduction: the *Historia* and Jesuit discourse,” in Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *History of the triumphs of our holy faith amongst the most barbarous and fierce peoples of the New World*, trans. Daniel T. Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard K. Danford (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 33; John O’Malley, *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality and Reform* (Hampshire, Great Britain: Aldershot, 1993), 297-299.

² Saint Paul’s use of these metaphors in reference to martyrdom would have been well-known in seventeenth-century Europe and Spanish America. Many contemporary writers, such as Andrés Pérez de Ribas, incorporated this reference to establish a parallel between Early Christian and Jesuit martyrdoms, in which the Jesuits “fertilized the fields of the Church” with their blood in northern New Spain. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, Book 2, Chapter 8, 128. Pérez de Ribas also uses vineyard metaphors and draws parallels with Saint Paul’s evangelization mission when describing the death of the founder of the Parras mission, Juan Agustin de Espinosa: “God cut down this handsome shoot from the Parras mission to graft him to Christ, His vine, which is symbolic of those who were chosen” in *ibid*, Book 11, Chapter 24, 693.

stated that God had procured beforehand for his “new vineyard,” northern New Spain, to be irrigated with the blood of his Jesuit servants.³ Although Indian rebellions never reached Parras, the community was aware of the Tepehuan Revolt, and the Jesuits preached from the pulpit to Indian congregations not to participate in indigenous uprisings.⁴ One Jesuit martyred in this uprising, Hernando de Tovar, was stationed in Parras before heading west to the Tepehuan region located approximately 200 kilometers west of Parras in the present-day state of Durango (Figure 40).⁵ As information about the massacres of the Tepehuan Revolt reached the Jesuits stationed in Parras, Pérez de Ribas wrote in his 1645 *Historia* that Tovar appeared in a vision to reassure his friend and former missionary companion Francisco de Arista, then the Jesuit Superior at Parras, of his soul’s presence in heaven.⁶ Whether or not it is true that Tovar’s likeness appeared to Arista in a mysterious dream, Pérez de Ribas’ dramatic description provides evidence that accounts such as these had become part of a larger discourse on martyrdom among Jesuits and their superiors stationed at the missions as well as urban settings.

This chapter will examine how images of Catholic martyrs became integral to the Jesuits’ collective promotion of their mission labors, a practice that operated simultaneously in northern New Spain, Mexico City, as well as in Rome and transformed the prominence of the northern New Spanish frontier on both sides of the Atlantic. While various outstanding studies have

³ “...Dios proveerá de nuevos y fervorosos operarios essa (sic.) su nueva viña regada con la sangre de esos sus siervos...” See ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 202r.

⁴ Pérez de Ribas refers to the Jesuits’ strategy of using sermons to encourage local *Lagunero* Indians not to join the Tepehuan rebels to the west of Parras in *History of the Triumphs*, Book 11, Chapter 22, 689. This is also mentioned in Jesuit accounts of the Revolt and its aftermath that were sent to the Father Provincial in Mexico City and then to Rome. See ARSI, Rome, Mex. 17, f. 98r-106v.

⁵ Gerardo Decorme, S.J., *Mártires Jesuitas de la Provincia de México* (Guadalajara: Editorial Acevez, 1957), 51.

⁶ As the Father Provincial in Mexico City, Pérez de Ribas had access to fifty years of Jesuit *Littuaria Annuas* (annual letters) when composing his *Historia*. In reference to this dream, Pérez de Ribas cites a letter written by Francisco de Arista in *History of the Triumphs*, Book 8, Chapter 19, 532.

examined the written accounts of martyrdoms and their history of events within New Spain, the dissemination of Jesuit martyrdom portraits beginning in 1617 deserves further attention to more fully understand how images as well as texts functioned to inspire devotion for various audiences in both Europe and New Spain. These portraits operated simultaneously as integral agents in the order's devotional practices within localized contexts and incorporated Jesuits from the New Spanish "theater" in the formation of a global Jesuit missionary identity that was represented visually on both continents from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries.⁷

This chapter has been inspired by a number of recent publications examining how Jesuit devotions to martyrdom subjects and the order's formation of its missionary identity inspired the collective imaginations of various audiences in Spanish America and Europe. Historian Maureen Ahern has established a theoretical connection between text and image in her study of Andres Pérez de Ribas' discourse on martyrologies that she argues formed a meta-narrative in his 1645 *History of the Triumphs of the Jesuits in New Spain*.⁸ Ahern argues while his volume did not contain illustrations as did many Franciscan histories, Pérez de Ribas' kaleidoscopic visual narrative "shared a common cultural space" with contemporary artworks such as the

⁷ The Father General uses this term "Theater of Apostolic work [*teatro de trabajo apostolico*]" in his discussion of New Spain in ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 193v, 210r, and 253v. While the bibliography on martyrdom in New Spain is expansive, see these bibliographic sources and early studies: *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, eds, Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Domínguez, Vol.3 (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), p. 2537; László Polgár, *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1981-1990), 245; W. Eugene Shiels, *Gonzalo de Tapia: un conquistador de dios* (1932); Peter M. Dunne, *The Tepehuan Revolt* (1936); Jerome Jacobson, *The Chronicle of Perez de Ribas* (1938); Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía en la Asistencia de España*, Vol. 6, 493 and 877; For the lives of Jesuit martyrs in New Spain, see Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario Bio-bibliográfico*, Vol. 13 (México: Editorial Jus, 1961-1977), 129-164; *Ibid*, Volume 10, 614-635; *Ibid*, Volume 11, 156; Eusibio F. Kino, *Vida del P. Francisco Xavier Saeta, S.I. Sangre misionero en Sonora*, prologo y notas de E.J. Burrus (México: Editorial Jus, 1961), 165-167; Ernst J. Burrus, *Correspondencia del Padre Kino con los Padres Generales de la Casa del Gesu, 1682-1707* (Mexico, 1961), 41.

⁸ Maureen Ahern, "Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain in Andres Pérez de Ribas's *Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe* (1645)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8.1 (1999), 21.

colonial *retablo* “in the spatial organization of its chapters” that were filled with descriptions of regional martyrs and “adorned with a wealth of detail and minutiae.”⁹ Building on Ahern’s textual study, I will argue that images depicting Jesuit martyrs that circulated throughout the viceroyalty and to Europe should be considered key agents in the Jesuits’ “social construction of the northern frontier,” which they articulated visually as well as textually to multiple audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. These drawings and paintings of Jesuit martyrs helped audiences on both continents contextualize and imagine this mission field in the north where Jesuit missionaries, in their emulation of the Early Church’s martyrs, negotiated Christian past and present.¹⁰ This chapter will examine the contemporary reception of Jesuit martyrdom images in Parras and other northern missions in New Spain. I will then depart from a localized context to examine the dissemination of martyrdom images to audiences in Mexico City and Rome to consider how various audiences incorporated the “sacred geography” of the northern missionary frontier into their own spiritual lives.¹¹ Carmen Fernández-Salvador uses this term “sacred geography” to discuss the process in which Christians in Quito imagined holy places in Rome and journeyed ekphrastically from one place to another. In this chapter, I will demonstrate that audiences in Mexico City and Europe also imagined the New Spanish frontier when viewing and contemplating paintings of Jesuit martyrdoms

By examining these images within a trans-Atlantic perspective, it is possible to understand how representations of martyrs such as these on so-called peripheries of the Early

⁹ Ahern argues (*ibid*, 21) that these texts created a “verbal retablo” that shared a common cultural space with the Baroque elements of church decoration in the highly theatrical culture of seventeenth and eighteenth-century New Spain.

¹⁰ Ahern (*ibid*, 8) uses this phrase when observing that Ribas’ textual descriptions “functioned as powerful validators of the key role that martyrdom played... in the social construction of the northern frontier.”

¹¹ See Carmen Fernández-Salvador, “Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito,” (PhD. Diss University of Chicago, 2005), 156.

Modern world played an important role in formulating a “collective Jesuit missionary identity” that was expressed not only textually but also visually in both New Spain and Catholic Europe.¹² Among the various historians producing outstanding studies on this subject, Jennifer Selwyn has examined Early Modern Naples as “an internal [European] frontier that shaped the Jesuits’ missionary praxis” in relation to their evangelization abroad in the Americas and Asia.¹³ Selwyn notes the historiographical lacuna in current scholarship on Jesuit mission history in Europe that has not paid sufficient attention to how missionary activity came to form a central pillar in the Jesuits’ institutional identity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴ While she notes that it is beyond the scope of her book to discuss the importance of Jesuit patronage and their art and architectural production, this chapter may provide some solution to this problem by building on historical studies such as these to consider how martyrdom images played a role in the formation of collective Jesuit identities and iconographies in both New Spain and Europe.¹⁵ While missionary treatises such as Pérez de Ribas’s *Historia* and Jose de Acosta’s 1577 *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* functioned to endorse Jesuit evangelization enterprises worldwide, martyrdom images also circulated globally and were displayed in Rome to promote the order’s mission enterprise as universal in scope.¹⁶ Images and texts related to martyrdom therefore were important outside of New Spain because they connected lay Catholics and Jesuits with distant

¹² Maria Cristina Oswald uses this term in her essay “Goa and Jesuit Cult and Iconography before 1622,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 74.147 (2005), 164-168. Her essay has been especially insightful in examining the process in which the Jesuits in Goa “played an essential role in the universalization of San Francisco Javier’s cult” and produced images of the Jesuit martyrs from India that “captured the imagination of the Society” worldwide.

¹³ Jennifer Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004), 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁶ José de Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Ed. Luciano Pereña Vicente (Madrid: CSIC, 1987).

sites of religious importance and played an influential role in and the formation of a universal Christian community.

The Mexican Cult of Martyrs and The Early Christian Legacy

As the northern frontier became a site of sacred martyrdom, it became a crucial geographical territory that allowed the Jesuits to link their work in New Spain to the Early Christian frontiers of the Apostolic past. This understanding of the Society's evangelization efforts as a continuation of Early Christian mission that was embraced by Jesuit authors and members of the order in Mexico City became omnipresent in Jesuit discourses worldwide.¹⁷ In the 1640 *Imago Primi Saeculi*, for example, Jesuit authors compare the evangelization efforts of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier to those of Saints Peter and Paul as the most important pillars of the Early Christian church in Rome.¹⁸ Missionaries, who were reporting from the field to their superiors in their annual letters, or *Littuaria Annuas* (sic), and the Father General who was writing from Rome to his provinces in the *Epistolae Generalium*, also identified the Jesuits as the historical heirs of Christ's Apostles in their own place and time. One Father General frequently identified his missionaries' work in New Spain as "santos sacrificios" (holy sacrifices), while Jesuits writing from missions such as Parras describe overcoming the "fatigue and punishment" of life in the north that was "all done in the theater of missionary Apostolic work."¹⁹

¹⁷ Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs* (1645), Book 2, Chapter X, p. 130. The Society associated their missionary work with the apostolic experience in other Jesuit treatises, such as Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Imago Primi Saeculi*. John O'Malley also discusses the Jesuits' connection between their ministries and the Early Christian mission in *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 371-372.

¹⁸ Osswald, "Goa and the Jesuit Cult," 160.

¹⁹ This term "santos sacrificios" is repeated by various Father Generals throughout the seventeenth century in their letters from Rome to the provinces that are collectively known as the *Epistolae Generalium*. See ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 193v, f. 210r, and f. 253v. For the *Littuaria Annuas* from Parras dated 1646-1647, see ARSI Rome, Mex. 15, f. 261r. (I need to add Pérez de Ribas' comparison of the martyrdoms of Father Pascual and Martinez on the NS

Beginning with the death of Gonzalo de Tapia in 1594, who was the first Jesuit to be martyred in northern New Spain, Jesuit superiors fixated on collecting the relics of their martyrs, producing and displaying portraits of their likenesses, and generating textual accounts documenting the events of their deaths. In the Viceregal capital, Jesuit superiors ordered the transfer of the sacred remains of martyred Jesuits to Mexico City and buried them beneath the altars of the church of the *Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y Pablo*. In his 1654 *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, Andrés Pérez de Ribas noted that the bones of eleven of the Jesuits' New Spanish martyrs were displayed within a *retablo* in the church of *San Pedro y Pablo*. The remains of these New Spanish martyrs were housed next to the relics of saints, a piece of the Shroud of Turin, and remnant of the True Cross brought from Europe.²⁰ Pérez de Ribas also provided descriptions of the *retablos* in the church of *La Profesa* in the viceregal capital, which Rogelio Ruiz Gomar has compared to later accounts of the church's decoration for the festivals celebrating the canonization of Saint Francis Borgia in 1672.²¹ Ruiz Gomar has revealed through his examination of contemporary descriptions that the Jesuits presented three sculptures of their own martyrs in the decoration program of the

frontier with martyrs from the Iberian peninsula, which he calls "an Early Christian frontier" Ahern also discusses Pérez de Ribas' connection between the Mexican mission frontier and the imperial Roman frontier in "Visual and Verbal Sites," 19).

²⁰ Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, vol. 1 (México: Imprenta del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1986), 262-263. Ahern notes this citation stating that Pérez de Ribas "describes the sumptuous main church of the Society of Jesus in Mexico where the *retablo mayor* and ten others at side altars and chapels contained the bodies of eleven martyrs" in "Visual and Verbal Sites," 28. This may not be the case that the relics were distributed throughout the church. In his description of the *retablos* in *San Pedro y Pablo*, Pérez de Ribas (*ibid*, 262) specifies that one *retablo* was more exquisitely decorated than the other ten in the presbytery and nave, and this altar served as a *relicario*, housing the relics of many saints and fragments of the Shroud of Turin and the True Cross brought from Europe. In between the columns of this three tiered *retablo*, he identifies twelve large ebony frames decorated with glass that held the bones of these eleven martyrs, suggesting that the remains were displayed collectively in this one altarpiece.

²¹ Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "El retablo de la Profesa y su efímera transfiguración en 1672," in *Los discursos sobre el arte. XV Coloquio internacional de historia del arte* (México: UNAM-IIE, 1995), 91-106. For more on the original decoration of the *retablos* at *La Profesa*, see Aguilar Álvarez, "Los retablos de la Profesa," (master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F., 1998).

retablo mayor (High Altar) at *La Profesa* that included sculptures of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Francis Borgia, Peter, and founders of other religious orders (Figure 41). On the top row of this altarpiece, the Jesuit martyrs Pablo Miki, Diego Kisai, and Juan de Gotoo, who died in Japan in 1597 and were beatified in 1627, appear with one of these missionaries holding a cross in reference to his martyrdom.²² The Jesuits incorporated their own martyrs into other *retablos* of their churches in the Valley of Mexico, as seen in the mid-eighteenth century *retablo mayor* at the novitiate church of *San Francisco Javier* in Tepotzotlán (Figure 42). Two sculptural busts of the Jesuits martyred in Japan are framed in medallions flanking the central sculpture of *San Francisco Xavier*, and an image depicting the third Jesuit martyr sits directly below the patron saint of the church, who opens his cassock to reveal his heart enflamed with his missionary spirit. Maquivar suggests this triangular formation of Jesuit martyrs surrounding the patron saint of the novitiate church was a symbolic configuration honoring the slain heroes of the order next to the Society's great exemplar of the ideal missionary life.²³ Before writing his *Corónica y Historia Religiosa*, Andrés Pérez de Ribas published the first account of martyrdoms in New Spain in his 1645 *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fé*. This solemn and lengthy treatise provided detailed accounts of the deaths of Jesuits killed in New Spain and consistently connected these missionaries' localized sacrifices to those of Christ and the Apostils of the Early Christian mission. Pérez de Ribas presents the first Jesuit who was slain, Gonzalo de Tapia, as the prototype of an exemplary martyr. He recounts an instance when Hernando de Tovar, a younger Jesuit novice who would later become a martyr

²² Ruiz Gomar ("Retablo de la Profesa," 99) notes that by the time their likenesses were included in the *retablo mayor* at *La Profesa*, these Japanese martyrs had been beatified, although they are identified overzealously in this 1672 description of the *retablo* as "santos jesuitas martirizados en el Japón."

²³ María del Consuelo Maquívar makes this observation, "La triangulación menor aparece en sentido descendente al unir los 3 medallones de los mártires jesuitas, junto a los cuales se encuentra simbólicamente, al centro, la imagen del patrón de la iglesia," in *Los retablos de Tepotzotlán* (México: INAH, 1976), 27.

himself, was inspired to die as a missionary after viewing the skull of Tapia when his remains were being transported from Culiacán to Mexico City.²⁴ Pérez de Ribas also made explicit comparisons between martyrs in northern New Spain and Early Christian saints who died on the frontiers of the Roman Empire, as in his account of Gonzalo de Tapia's dead arm making a sign of the cross similar to Saint Paul's severed head miraculously speaking.²⁵ Within this spiritual milieu of venerating Jesuit martyrs and understanding their own evangelization efforts as a continuation of the Apostolic mission, the northern frontier became linked spatially as well as temporally to the Early Christian past and distant sites of martyrdom in Europe and the Holy Lands.

Jesuit Martyr Portraits: The Earliest Works

While the transfer of the sacred remains of a missionary from the north to Mexico City “made the power of the [martyr] available to a new audience” and “led to new cults,” as Maureen Ahern has noted, I propose that the commissioning of portraits of Jesuit martyrs was equally important in providing a new visibility to the order's Mexican cult in both New Spain and Europe.²⁶ The Jesuits corpus of martyrdom images often does not receive as much attention as those of other orders such as the Franciscans.²⁷ In light of this fact, I will present new evidence

²⁴ Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, Book 8, Chapter 19, 531.

²⁵ Pérez de Ribas, *ibid*, Book 2, Chapter 10, 55 and Book 2, Chapter 8. Comparing his own writing to Paul's letters in the New Testament, Pérez de Ribas also draws parallels between the Apostles' work and his own among the other Jesuits in New Spain. This focus on the providential nature of evangelization uses literary devices that exemplify José Antonio Maravall's notion of theatricality in *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

²⁶ Ahern makes this observation in “Visual and Verbal Sites,” 16.

²⁷ The Franciscans also venerated the martyrs of their order with images and texts commemorating the deaths of Franciscan missionaries in New Spain and Japan. For example, Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero has studied the devotion to the Franciscan martyr Felipe de Jesús in New Spain and the reproduction of images depicting his death in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Textual accounts of his martyrdom were also numerous, and many of these treatises, such as Baltasar de Medina's *Vida, martirio y beatificación de san Felipe de Jesús* (1682), were based largely on Fray Marcelo de Rivadeneyra's *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino* published in

of surviving artworks and examine textual accounts describing the location of known images and descriptions of lost paintings to demonstrate that the Jesuits produced some of the earliest martyrdom images in New Spain.²⁸ While a larger number of martyrdom paintings from Franciscan colleges survive today, it is important to remember that fewer Jesuit martyrdom paintings survive today due to the order's expulsion in 1767, when paintings depicting Jesuit iconographies were often lost.²⁹

Some of the earliest images of Jesuit martyrs were commissioned within a year of eight Jesuit missionaries' deaths in the Tepehuan Indian Revolt between November 16 and 19, 1616. These European and criollo missionaries became victims of the widespread killing of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries and Spanish settlers in the Tepehuan region north of the city of Durango (see Fig. 40).³⁰ After the revolt that took place in the surrounding environs of the missions of Santa Caterina, Papasquiario, Zape, and Tenerapa, Spanish and Jesuit leaders brought the remains of these eight Jesuit martyrs to the Jesuit College in Durango where they were transferred to Mexico City and became part of the cult of Jesuit martyrs.

Barcelona in 1601. For more on this see, Estrada de Gerlero, "Los protomártires del Japón en la hagiografía novohispana," in *Los pinceles de la Historia. De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750-1860* (México: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2000), 73-91.

²⁸ Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero states that the Jesuits did not produce a corpus of martyrdom images as numerous as the Franciscans, which seems to detract from the Jesuits' active production of a substantial number of colonial martyrdom images. See Estrada de Gerlero, "Los protomártires del Japón," 78.

²⁹ Antonio Rubial García and María Teresa Suárez Molina make this argument in their examination of the Franciscans' prolific production of images of New Spanish martyrs in "Mártires y predicadores: la conquista de las fronteras y su representación plástica," in *Los pinceles de la Historia. De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750-1860* (México: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2000), 52. It is important to note that the Jesuits also began producing images of their New Spanish martyrs earlier by 1618, whereas many Franciscan paintings commemorating the efforts of their martyrs were produced beginning in the mid-seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century after the establishment of the Propaganda Fide colleges.

³⁰ The Tepehuan Revolt also took the life of one Franciscan missionary, Pedro Gutierrez. See Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas*, 46.

When news of the martyrdoms from the Tepehuan Revolt reached Rome, the Father General instructed Jesuits in New Spain to send testimonies and portraits of these eight Jesuits to Europe.³¹ By 1617, the Jesuit Father Provincial of New Spain sent the requested documentation accompanied by portraits of these martyrs.³² Eight hand-drawn images, which now survive in the Jesuit Curia Archive in Rome, were created at this time to accompany these documents from New Spain to Europe (Figure 43). Each of the four large folios depicts two bust-length portraits per page of the missionaries situated alone in the foreground without any references to landscape scenes in the background. These monochromatic drawings executed in charcoal and pencil were finished with a colored wash in flesh tones over the facial areas. Finally, dramatic red painted highlights were added to depict the wounds of each Jesuit portrayed bleeding from the spears, axes, arrows, and other instruments of their martyrdom. Hernando de Santarén, a Spaniard who reportedly spoke eleven languages, baptized more than 24,000 Indians, and erected fifty chapels in the north, is depicted wounded by two arrows, stabbed by a *macana*, and also bleeding from a large laceration in his head (Figure 44).³³ Other Jesuits, such as Bernardo de Cisneros and Diego de Orozco, were killed while seeking refuge with other lay Christians in their mission church at Santiago Papasquiario.³⁴ Father Orozco, a Spanish Jesuit who was shot by arrows and finally killed by an axe to the chest is depicted bleeding from these weapons as he gazes upwards

³¹ For testimonies sent from the north to Rome, see ARSI Rome, Mex. 17, f. 133v-189r.

³² Father Provincial Nicolas Arnaya mentions the shipment of these documents in his 1617 letter, see ARSI, Mex. 17, f. 86r-125v. For the drawings, see ARSI Map Collection, 12th Drawer, Number 418 from the ARSI “Bibliography of Maps.”

³³ Santarén was attacked in Tenerapa after attending a local festival at the mission of San Ignacio El Zape. See Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas*, 52-53.

³⁴ Decorme, *ibid*, 46. According to Pérez de Ribas, the rebellious Tepehuans offered peace to the missionaries and Spaniards seeking refuge in the church. When they exited carrying the monstrance in a solemn procession, the Indians kneeled pretending to worship it and followed the procession to the cemetery nearby, attacking the after disarming the Spaniards and carrying guns and leaving the two missionaries for the most brutal torture and death. See *History of the Triumphs*, Book 10, Chapter 19, 602.

towards heaven (Figure 45). Father Cisneros, also a Castilian Spaniard, was stabbed by a lance through the chest and killed by a blow to the head by a *macana*.³⁵ He is depicted wearing his surplice and robes to deliver the Eucharist or perform baptisms and bleeds at his head and through his chest (see Fig. 46).

While these portraits served the dual function of documenting individual Jesuit identities and emphasizing the bloody nature of each missionary's death, not all of the drawings were executed in the same style. The folio depicting Father Valle and Father Tovar illustrate these contrasts, where the two separate images sharing the same folio have noticeably different vantage points and levels of execution (Figure 47). The artist of Father Tovar represented the martyr almost two dimensionally in strict profile with very little modeling and shading of his face, while Father Valle's likeness seems to have been executed by an artist more familiar with rendering three-dimensional forms by modeling the contours of his cheek and neck area. Given variances such as these, it is possible that these eight drawings may have been produced by various artists, who could have been Jesuits stationed at the northern missions or in Durango working from memory to depict their fellow missionaries.³⁶

Martyrdom Images on the Missions of Northern New Spain

Martyrdom was an important and ever present reality for missionaries living near the sites of past martyrdoms in northern New Spain. While the drawings of the Tepehuan martyrs are the only remaining evidence of artworks that were once reproduced and displayed in Rome and Mexico City, various images of Jesuit martyrs produced for the missions in northern New

³⁵ *Ibid*, 603.

³⁶ Jesuit accounts describe that the recovery of the bodies of the eight Tepehuan martyrs did not happen at the same time. Various artists may have drawn their likenesses at different times when the martyr's remains were retrieved. Other bodies were mutilated or decapitated and the artist(s) may have relied on memory or previous sketches of these missionaries when completing these portraits.

Spain have survived and remain *in situ*. At Parras, the Jesuits displayed images depicting the martyrs of the Early Christian and Medieval Church, as well as those of their own order, for devout audiences to contemplate in multiple spaces of their church at San Ignacio. Between 1650 and 1740, the Jesuits constructed a chapel in San Ignacio dedicated to the martyr San Juan Nepomuceno (Saint John of Nepomuk) situated in the second *capilla* to the left of the main altar. In an inventory from 1767, the six paintings adorning the *retablo* of this chapel included a large image of *San Juan Nepomuceno*, which was most likely the 1742 canvas signed by Francisco Martínez (See Figure 15). A smaller painting depicting *The Martyrdom of San Sebastian*, which is also signed by Martínez, most likely occupied a space in this *retablo* next to the larger painting of San Juan Nepomuceno.³⁷ The painting depicting the *Martyrdom of Pablo Miki* from the eighteenth century by Domingo Manrique may have also been included in this *retablo* dedicated to martyrs in the chapel of *San Juan Nepomuceno* (Figure 48).³⁸ A small number of sermons from Parras beginning in the 1730s reveal that the Jesuits discussed the sacrifices of Early Christian and Jesuit martyrs from the pulpit at San Ignacio.³⁹ While we know from the first two chapters of this study that Jesuit orators often referred to paintings hanging in *San Ignacio* in their sermons to engage their audiences with the artworks surrounding them, it is likely that the

³⁷ As noted in Chapter Two, Saint John of Nepomuk's successful canonization in 1729 was made possible by the Jesuits' promotion of his cult in both Europe and New Spain as an exemplar of confessional secrecy.

³⁸ See AGN, *Temporalidades* 64, f. 74v.

³⁹ These sermons are not numbered by folio. This numbering system is my own and corresponds to the order in which each sermon is bundled together in this folder in AGN, Mexico, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Vol. 972, Expediente 1B. See Sermon number 3 (signed DPVM and dated 1737) discussing the torments of Early Christian martyrs such as San Esteban and San Cipriano of Antioch, Sermon number 14 (dated 1757 titled *De la comunión*) referring to martyrs being strengthened by their last communion before death, and Sermon number 24 (the last in the bundle signed DPVM and dated 1756) identifying Early Christian and Jesuit martyrs.

Jesuits also incorporated descriptions of martyrdom paintings such as these to comment on the sacrifices of spiritual exemplars and connect the Early Christian past to their present at Parras.⁴⁰

In the *retablo mayor* at San Ignacio, the Jesuits may have included a sculpture depicting San Pablo Miki in their decoration program presenting Jesuit saints and beatified members of the order. In the lower level of the gilded *retablo*, the figure to the left of Christ, who is depicted bleeding on the left side of his head, has previously remained unidentified (Figure 10 and 49). Pablo Miki is often represented as a bearded Jesuit wearing priestly vestments and holding a crucifix similar to this sculpture in the *retablo mayor* at *San Ignacio*. While all of the sculptures in this *retablo* have been restored in the twentieth century, making it difficult to know without further physical examination if these are the original images identified in the 1767 inventory of this altarpiece, it is possible to posit with some certainty that the Society included a sculpture of this Japanese martyr in their main *retablo* at *San Ignacio*.

Representations of the Jesuit martyrs from Japan also became part of the Jesuits' localized devotions at other missions in northern New Spain. At the mission of San José in Temeychi, in the present-day state of Chihuahua, the Jesuits displayed a seventeenth-century painting of the three Jesuit martyrs Pablo Miki, Diego Kisai, and Juan de Gotoo, who died in Japan in 1598 (Figure 50).⁴¹ Jesuit missionaries also commissioned a painting of the Tepehuan martyr Hernando de Santarén from Miguel Cabrera for their mission of Santiago Papasquiaro in

⁴⁰ In an undated sermon from Parras on the feast of the Virgin of Light, a Jesuit identifies the different flowers in a painting of the Virgin that signified her various iconographies, including lilies referring to her purity and roses in reference to her joys as the mother of Christ. This description matches the details of the painting of the Virgin of Joys that survives today. For more on this image that is also identified in an inventory of San Ignacio, see Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain 1600-1820*, ex. cat. (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 261. For more on this inventory, see See AGN, *Temporalidades*, vol. 64, f. 74v. This oil on canvas painting, which measures 200 x 170 cm, (79 x 67 in.) survives today in the Jesuit House of San Ignacio in Parras.

⁴¹ See Bargellini and Komanecky, *Arts of the Missions*, 286.

the Tepehuan region in present-day Durango. This painting from circa 1749, which still hangs in the sacristy of the church in Papasquiario, would have been an inspiring representation of a model Jesuit missionary who died near this mission (Figure 51). Indeed, Cabrera represented Santarén in an idealized way, which is very different from the drawing sent to Rome in the early seventeenth century (See Fig. 44). Moreover, while Santarén is depicted pierced by arrows as he is shown in the original hand drawn portraits, Cabrera does not present such a macabre scene with the Jesuit bleeding from his wounds. Rather, the missionary appears much younger and seems unaffected by the arrows piercing his body as if in ecstasy, looking toward a celestial light. Isabel del Río Delmotte recently asserted that Cabrera did not use as his model the likeness of Santarén from the drawings sent to Rome nearly one hundred and thirty years before he executed his painting.⁴² While this observation is confirmed by the stylistic differences between the two works, both images of Cabrera's painting and the drawing in Rome represent the missionary pierced with arrows. No existing textual account of Santarén's martyrdom mentions this method of execution. Therefore it is important to consider that Cabrera could have consulted copies of these drawings, or paintings based on these originals in Mexico City in the eighteenth century, and possibly drew from this detail when composing his own composition.⁴³ While Cabrera's sources for representing Santarén wounded by arrows may never be known, it is clear that this painting commissioned for the northern mission church in Papasquiario functioned to memorialize an important local event. Images such as these representing New Spanish

⁴² See Isabel Del Río Delmotte's discussion of this painting, which is one of Cabrera's earliest known works, in "Hernando de Santarén," in Bargellini and Komanecky, *Arts of the Missions*, 248. See also Delmotte's "Santos mártires jesuitas en el arte novohispano," (master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F., 2009).

⁴³ Pérez de Ribas, for example, recounts that Padre Santarén was killed by repeated blows to the head but does not mention him being wounded by arrows in *History of the Triumphs*, Book 10, Chapter 21, p. 606-07. These paintings could have been made from the original drawings or copies of the drawings that may have been produced before their shipment to Rome from Mexico City.

martyrs who joined the international cult of Jesuit saints and martyrs, played an important role in transforming the missionary frontier into a prominent and sacred place of martyrdom for audiences in the north, and as we will see, further afield in the viceregal capital and Europe.

New Spanish Martyrs and the Jesuit Cult in Mexico City

In Mexico City, which was a central hub for the Jesuits as the original embarkation point for missionary work and headquarters for communication with Europe, superiors in the viceregal capital recognized the central importance of the northern missions as a theater of martyrdom.⁴⁴ In the Jesuits' *La Profesa* residence, portraits of New Spanish martyrs were displayed among other images of Jesuit martyrs abroad for fellow priests and devout lay followers to view. While these paintings no longer exist, textual descriptions of the Society's professed house and church identify these specific images, including a copy of the portrait of Tepehuan martyr Padre Hernando de Tovar, which was most likely based on representations of the original drawings sent to Rome from Mexico City around 1616.⁴⁵ This painting hung next to four maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America at the foot of the staircase located in the middle of the main hallway of the professed house. This portrait of Tovar was accompanied by nine others depicting Jesuit martyrs "who died for the faith at the hands of barbarians" on the northern missions, four portraits of Japanese martyrs, and a *milagro* of San Francisco Javier depicting an event where divine intervention saved the life of this missionary.⁴⁶ In the intersecting hallway running north

⁴⁴ For example, Jesuit superiors requested the heads of Fathers Julián Pascual and Manuel Martínez be carried to Mexico City. Other Jesuits such as Hernando de Tovar were inspired to become missionaries after viewing the remains of New Spain's first Jesuit martyr, Gonzalo de Tapia. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* (1645), Book 4, Chapter 11, 266 and Book 8, Chapter 14, 531.

⁴⁵ "En el Transito Primero en medio luego que se sube la escalera que corre de oriente a Poniente un lienzo de poco más de media vara, copia del Padre Tovar [Hernando de Tovar] muerto por los Indios de Culiacán." See AGN, *Temporalidades*, Vol. 147, f. 78v-79r.

⁴⁶ "Nuevos lienzos de vara, con copias, de medios cuerpos de diversos Padres muertos por la fe a manos de bárbaros...y cuatro de alto sin marcos de los Santos Japonés, milagro de San Francisco Xavier." *Ibid*, 79v-80r.

to south, this inventory identifies twenty-three paintings of Jesuit martyrs hung on one wall while the facing wall was covered with twenty-six paintings of portraits of the Society's martyrs from around the world.⁴⁷ This textual tour of *La Profesa* continues with a description of rooms opening onto these hallways that displayed large artworks such as the monumental allegorical painting of *The Jesuits Worshipping the Name of Jesus* by an anonymous artist that dates from the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 52). Jesuit residents and visitors of the Professed House would have viewed paintings such as this depicting saints and founders of the order flanking martyrs and missionaries, who all venerated the symbol of the Society of Jesus. These textual descriptions allow us to reconstruct and imagine contemporary Jesuits walking through these halls and contemplating portraits of New Spanish martyrs and allegorical works such as this and a now-lost painting of *Saint Ignatius Showing the Name of Jesus to the Four Parts of the World*.⁴⁸ This organization of artworks within these adjoining spaces at La Profesa reveal that the paintings of New Spanish martyrs became integral agents in the Jesuits' formulation of their global missionary identity. Moreover, with these New Spanish subjects joining the international cult of Jesuit martyrs, the northern mission theater became incorporated into the spiritual life of viewers in the viceregal capital.

Mapping the frontier: Jesuit Control of Missionary Space

Martyrdom images also intersected with the Jesuit's sense of place and defense of space on the northern New Spanish missions to affirm the importance of their presence on the northern mission territories. Padre Eusebio Kino depicted Francisco Xavier Saeta's martyrdom in his

⁴⁷ "En el tránsito de el lado del Oriente, que corre de Sur a norte hay 23 lienzos de 2 varas que son otros tantos retratos de Mártires de la Compañía...el tránsito de el medio que corre de Norte a Sur, hay 26 lienzos de varios tamaños desde una vara hasta poco más de dos, de Retratos de Mártires de la Compañía y otros varones de ella." *Ibid*, f. 83v-84r.

⁴⁸ For this citation, see AGN Mexico, Temporalidades, Vol. 147, exp. 1, f. 81v; See also *Arts of the Missions*, 294.

1696 biography of the missionary. Kino's drawing is set within a cartographic sketch of Jesuit missions that stretched from eastern California to the Pimería region (Fig. 53).⁴⁹ Kino's mapping of Saeta's ministry superimposed with a portrait of the martyr's execution was not a coincidence and must have functioned to highlight the geographical importance of the northwestern frontier as a territory dominated by Jesuit missions.⁵⁰ Kino's representation of Father Saeta's martyrdom was one of many maps created by this missionary who studied cartography at the University of Ingolstadt and Freiburg in Bavaria before coming to New Spain in 1681. In his 1696 biography, Kino's map titled *Teatro de los Trabajos Apostólicos de la Compañía de Jesús en la América Septentrional*, presented a comprehensive representation of Jesuit settlements throughout New Spain (Figure 54).⁵¹ These maps became part of a larger Jesuit discourse that used cartography as a medium to visually present the order's control of missionary spaces in the late seventeenth century.⁵² Although the Franciscans had established their presence before the Society's arrival, the two orders were often engaged in territorial disputes. These rivalries are difficult to

⁴⁹ The Pimeria Alta is located between present-day southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico. Padre Saeta, originally from Sicily and a companion of Padre Kino, was killed during the 1695 Tubutama Rebellion. For a brief discussion of this biography and map, see Herbert Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta* (New York: AMS Press, 1976); *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 290-91.

⁵⁰ I am thankful to Coco Alcalá for suggesting I consider this connection. For more on cartography as a medium for Jesuit rhetoric on the primacy of their global missionary expansion in Europe, America, Asia, India, and Africa, see J.B. Harley, "The Map as Mission: Jesuit Cartography as an Art of Persuasion," in *Jesuit Art in North American Collections*, ed. Jane ten Brink Goldsmith, et al. (Milwaukee, WI: Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, 1991), 28.

⁵¹ For more on Kino's cartographic *oeuvre* that included his 1696 *Teatro de los Trabajos Apostólicos de la Compañía de Jesús en la América Septentrional*, see Ernst Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1965), 14.

⁵² For more on Kino and other Jesuits' interest in mapping their missionary territories, see Ernest J Burrus, "Influencia de antiguos jesuitas mexicanos en la geografía y cartografía universal." In *La Compañía de Jesús en México. Cuatro Siglos de labor cultural, 1572-1972*. (Mexico 1972): 1-26; David Buisseret. "Jesuit Cartography in Central and South America," in *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Geographers, Educators, and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549-1767*, ed. Joseph A. Gagliano. and Charles E. Ronan. (Rome Institutum Historicum, 1997): 113-162.

document, as they are often not included in published works by the orders but rather are found arbitrarily in inter-Jesuit correspondences. These letters and personal communications provide hints about the existence of rivalries and religious friction among the Jesuits and Franciscans on the northern frontier. Charles Polzer has noted in his study of correspondences between superiors of the respective orders in Arispe, Sonora in the 1650's, that Jesuit missionaries vehemently claimed domain over their mission territories when the Franciscans sought to expand their ministries into this area.⁵³ These concerns are also echoed in a Jesuit letter written by Padre José de Alarcón 1601 to the President of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia stating that the Society's members were better suited for missionary work because the Franciscans were unable to convert Indians as they had done successfully at their missions.⁵⁴ This Jesuit preoccupation with keeping their missionary spaces separate from the Franciscans and evaluating their own evangelization work vis-à-vis their mendicant competitors also existed in the Parras region, because *San Ignacio* was one of the Society's easternmost residences located close to many Franciscan dominated areas such as Saltillo. Evidence of this rivalry between the orders can be gleaned from the Parras documents, as the Jesuits criticized the Franciscans' failed efforts to convert the *Lagunero* Indians and maintain a working mission before the Society arrived in

⁵³ Charles Polzer, S.J., ed., "The Franciscan *Entrada* into Sonora 1645-1652: A Jesuit Chronicle," in *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks: Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico*, 254. Note here differs from bibliography, which references the journal *Arizona and the West*, though with apparently the same pg #s.

⁵⁴ In this letter Father Alarcón states unambiguously: "the [Franciscan] fathers were never able to convert the Indians because of the difficult work that entailed an *entrada* to a foreign culture among *naturales*. So much time later in their pagan absence of doctrine, those fathers who would assist them better are the Jesuits, who have been established in this city for more than fourteen years." See ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1444, Busta 75, numbers 8-10. Gauvin Alexander Bailey cites various secondary sources to refer to another letter from 1715, the location of which is not cited, describing what Bailey calls "Franciscan and Jesuit efforts in the peripheral lands of northern New Spain," in which the Bishop of Durango states that the Jesuit missions were better run than those of the Franciscans and the people on the Jesuit missions were better educated, in *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 40, fn. 130.

1598.⁵⁵ Martínez Serna also notes that the Jesuits openly declined invitations from the Viceroy and the Crown to send their missionaries to areas such as New Mexico, Nuevo León, and the Sierra of Nueva Galicia where the Franciscans had already established their operations to avoid evangelization in the same territories. While no images representing this contestation of missionary space exist from Parras, Kino's cartographic sketch in the background of his portrait of Father Saeta's martyrdom provides important evidence that the Jesuits did articulate this possession of missionary boundaries visually as well as textually.

From New Spain to Rome: Textual Sources of Mexican Martyrdom Accounts

At the same time that the New Spanish martyrs' sacred remains were being transferred to Mexico City, images and texts documenting the deaths of these Mexican missionaries were being transported to Europe. When news arrived in Rome as early as 1594 recounting the events of Father Gonzalo de Tapia's death in New Spain, martyrdom was already an important subject in many European discourses. Textual accounts and portraits of martyrs functioned as important tools to "re-form Catholic identity" after the Protestant split from the Roman Church.⁵⁶ Secular and religious audiences were poised to recognize images of martyrdoms abroad as a legitimization of the Catholic faith that was being challenged in England and other regions of Protestant Europe.⁵⁷ Within Jesuit circles, Father General Mutio Vitelleschi describes read aloud the accounts of Jesuit martyrdoms from the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt that were sent from New

⁵⁵ José Gabriel Martínez Serna, "Vineyards in the Desert: The Jesuits and the Rise and Decline of an Indian Town in New Spain's Northwest Borderlands," (PhD Diss., Southern Methodist University, 2009), 58.

⁵⁶ Jeffrey Chipps Smith uses this phrase in reference to the efforts of the Jesuits and the Roman church to rebuild Catholic culture through reform, education, and a return to orthodoxy in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, in *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 7.

⁵⁷ Beginning with the martyrdom of Father Gonzalo de Tapia in Sinaloa in 1594, Jesuits such as Father Martin Pelaez sent accounts of Tapia's martyrdom to their superiors in Mexico City, who sent these testimonies to Rome. See ARSI Rome, Mex. 16, Folio 137-150.

Spain to Rome for all to hear in the Jesuit Curia house.⁵⁸ The Sicilian Jesuit Francisco Xavier de Saeta, who was martyred in 1695 in Caborca (present-day Sonora, Mexico), mentions hearing accounts of evangelization and martyrdom read aloud in the refectory of his Jesuit house in Palermo, which catalyzed his multiple requests to Rome for permission to depart for missionary work in Mexico.⁵⁹ Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, in his handwritten compendium of lives of Jesuit martyrs and missionaries, also recounts his practice of reading aloud to fellow Jesuits the accounts of martyrs in the refectory during mealtimes, when all members of the house sat in silence and reflected on these readings.⁶⁰ While images of this routine that was repeated in all religious houses were not widely disseminated, Louis Richeôme depicted a scene of the Jesuits dining in the refectory of *Sant' Andrea al Quirinale* in Rome in his 1611 devotional treatise *Le Peinture Spirituelle* (Figure 55). This engraving that served as the frontispiece to Book Two describing in great detail the paintings hanging in the Refectory, which he called “marvels of sight and hearing,” depicts a Jesuit reading from an elevated pulpit-like space to the novices at *Sant' Andrea*.⁶¹ A discussion of the martyrdom accounts from New Spain, which could have circulated to the order’s novitiate from the main Jesuit house at the *Gesù*, may have been read

⁵⁸ For Father General Vitelleschi’s April 1618 letter describing reading the accounts of the Tepehuan martyrs in the Refectory at the Jesuits’ Roman headquarters, which were received with universal consolation,” see ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 204r.

⁵⁹ For more than eight years, Father Saeta requested permission for conscription to New Spain in his letters to the Father General in Rome, finally being granted a position to evangelize on the northern missions in 1682, where he was eventually martyred in 1695. For these *Indepetae* letters, see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 748, number 422 (10 December 1682); Fondo Gesuitico 749, nos. 114 (19 September 1687), 324 (5 January 1691), 355 (9 September 1691), 365 (19 September 1691), and 431. These letters have been translated to English in Ernest Burrus, *Kino’s Biography of Francisco Xavier Saeta, S.J.*, Trans. Charles Polzer (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 331-337.

⁶⁰ See Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Signatura 20139. Nieremberg’s *Glorias del Segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús dibujadas en las vidas y elogios de algunos de sus varones ilustres en virtud, letras, y zelo de las almas, que han florecido desde el año 1640* was completed by Padre Joseph Cassani, S.J. This handwritten text is dated Madrid, 1734. See especially Volume II and VIII, f. 130, for accounts of the martyrdoms of Gonzalo y Tapia and Tomas Basilio from the Province of Mexico.

⁶¹ Louis Richeôme uses this phrase in his *Sommere des Livres* in the beginning pages of *Le Peinture Spirituelle* (Lyon, 1611).

aloud in this refectory as well. In the following Book Three, Richeôme instructs the reader how to contemplate what they have heard at mealtimes in the next space of the novitiate, the Recreation Room: “Everyday after the meal you have some appropriate recreation [here], speaking of what you have heard while eating, or [discussing] the stories that are couched in the paint of the paintings spread about the walls [in this room].”⁶² As will be discussed later in this chapter, the Recreation Room at *Sant’Andrea* was filled with more than one hundred paintings of Jesuit martyrs. A portrait of Gonzalo de Tapia, who Richeôme describes was martyred in “Mexico” in 1594, was hanging amid these other images of exemplary Jesuits, whose deaths would have been particularly inspiring to novices walking through this space.⁶³ The reception of these images and accounts that were disseminated from Mexico to Europe and venerated at the Jesuits’ main churches functioned to enhance the status of the northern New Spanish frontier as a sacred site of martyrdom for these audiences in Rome.

In addition to the narratives that were circulated orally in Jesuit refectories, the Jesuits generated a substantial amount of written documentation detailing these events of New Spanish martyrdoms that were also sent to Rome, ranging from official testimonies and correspondences to personal devotional treatises on the subject. In 1616, for example, at the request of the Father General and the Bishop of Durango, Jesuit superiors in Mexico City collected the testimonies of Jesuit companions as well as missionaries from other orders and Indian witnesses to authenticate

⁶² *Ibid*, Book Three, “Le Troisieme Livre de la Peinture Spirituelle. La Sale de Recreation” f.153.

⁶³ *Ibid*, f. 134; Note that this page is preceded by folio 233 and followed by folio 235, suggesting that Richeôme or the printer likely mis-numbered this page that should have been folio 234. Gonzalo de Tapia’s portrait is identified as “Gonzaluus de Papia” by Richeôme and is numbered 88 of 102 individual canvases depicting Jesuit martyrs worldwide. These paintings are organized chronologically by year of death, placing Tapia’s canvas after two French martyrs who died in 1592, next to the martyr “Jean Corneille” (John Cornelius) who died in England in the same year as Tapia in 1594, and before the English martyrs “Robert Southuel” (Robert Southwell) and “Henry Valpel,” (Henry Walpole) who died in 1595.

the events of the Tepehuan martyrs.⁶⁴ Apart from the official accounts sent to Jesuit superiors, small, unpublished texts circulated for everyday devotion and contemplation throughout Rome for Jesuit and lay readers to read about Catholic martyrs abroad. For example, Giuseppe de Monteis's 1630 *Martyrologium Societatis Gesu Beatis Martyribus* was one such handwritten compendium of Jesuit martyrs in Latin that did not contain illustrations or portraits but rather a brief list of each martyr arranged chronologically. Father Gonzalo de Tapia in "Mexico," for example, is listed as the 55th martyr to die for the Society, and the Tepehuan martyrs make up the 130th through the 137th martyrs.⁶⁵ Jesuits of all ranks could have read texts such as these from New Spain. Readings describing the deaths of the northern New Spanish martyrs were also presented orally and became an important edifying influence on the personal spiritual life of the Jesuits in Rome. Martyrdom would have resonated with the personal piety of each Jesuit, even those whose requests to be sent abroad for missionary vocations were not granted, because the taking of vows for all religious was known as the "white martyrdom" when a Jesuit entered the order forsaking his legal standing, personal rights, and worldly possessions.⁶⁶ Actual martyrdom was therefore the physical culmination of the Jesuit mission, not something extraneous to it, as all had experienced "becoming dead to the world" upon entering the religious life of the Society.

⁶⁴ These documents that were prepared on the northern missions and sent to the Father Provincial in Mexico City for dissemination of copies to Durango and the originals to Rome, were generated as canonization inquiries begun by Father General Mutio Vitelleschi in 1619, see Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas* (1957), 54. None of the New Spanish martyrs were beatified or canonized, because of a lack of information documenting all the criteria necessary for the process. For more on the official accounts prepared for the Father General and see ARSI Rome, Mex. 17, f. 133c-189r. For similar documentation of the martyrdoms of Father Godinez and Basilio, see Mex. 17, f. 257r.

⁶⁵ See Giuseppe de Monteis, S.J., *Martyrologium Societatis Gesu Beatis Martyribus* (1630) in Biblioteca Nazionale Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1259, f. 33 and 65.

⁶⁶ As Selwyn has noted, many times Jesuits were not granted permission to leave for foreign missionary work because of chronic illnesses or questionable behavior. See *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, see notes. For more on white martyrdoms, add Footnote here New Advent, religious Life, Tertullian.

The Jesuit *Indepetae* Letters to Rome: A Desire to Emulate the Past

For many Jesuits who had the good fortune to be sent abroad for missionary duties, including those who would later become martyrs themselves, their thoughts were fixated on following the example of Christ and his Apostles even before they departed from mainland Europe. The stock letters of the Jesuit *Indepetae*, or requests to the Father General in Rome for deployment to missions in the Americas, India, Africa, and Asia, provide important insight into the spirituality and religious life of Early Modern Europeans seeking transport to distant missionary fields and fully embracing the destiny of emulating Christ's ultimate sacrifice via death by martyrdom. In many of these correspondences, missionaries themselves sought to emulate their fellow Jesuit martyrs and understood their appointment to work on the New Spanish frontier within the paradigm of the Early Christian apostolic mission. Writing to the Father General in Rome from Zaragoza, Spain in 1599, Father Geronimo de Moranta requested permission to depart for missionary work in New Spain. Expressing his desire to imitate other Jesuits in this area and their "actos de martirio," de Moranta stated, "I entered the order to be like Christ and give my blood for the salvation of the Indians."⁶⁷ In these correspondences asking for deployment to the American and Asian missions, Jesuits such as Moranta and his fellow missionary, Hernando de Santaren, who both died in the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt in New Spain, connect their future missionary work abroad with the apostolic past and the universal mission of the church.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ For Geronimo de Moranta's letter, see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 758, Epistolae Indipetae Vol. 28, number 227.

⁶⁸ For Father Santaren's 1587 letter to Father General Aquaviva, where he asks to go to Japan or wherever else in the world the Father General wishes to send him "to die for God if He wills it," see ARSI Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 758, Epistolae Indipetae Vol. 28, number 71.

Martyrdom in the Spiritual Life of Rome

With the rediscovery of ancient catacombs of Christian martyrs and Early Church building histories in the late sixteenth century, audiences in Rome and in Jesuit circles were keenly aware of connecting their contemporary Catholic piety to the traditions of the Early Christian past.⁶⁹ One prominent Roman patron, Isabella della Rovere, sold her jewels to establish an endowment for the Jesuits at *San Vitale* in 1598, consciously modeling her patronage on the example set by the Early Christian patron of the church, Vestina, whose sale of her jewels provided the funds to build the *San Vitale* in the late fourth century.⁷⁰ The Jesuits also sought to link their sixteenth-century evangelization mission to the Apostolic past. Martyrdom was inextricably linked to the newly founded orders' mission to convert the pagan and support papal truth against heresy. As one Jesuit voice stated in the *Imago Primi Saeculi*, "We are called Jesuits in vain if we do not follow Jesus."⁷¹ This desire to emulate Christ and the Apostles' sacrifice in their own place and time was a preoccupation of the order in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. As Thomas Buser observed: "contemporary martyrs were always seen in (the) historical perspective" of the Christian past as the "true reflection of martyrs of the Early Church" and imitators of Christ.⁷² This connection with the Early Christian past became even more important when Protestant publications, such as Foxe's 1563 compendium of English Protestant martyrs fueled the debate over the legitimacy of Catholic martyrs. Publications such

⁶⁹ This included the rediscovery of the catacombs of Santa Priscilla in 1578.

⁷⁰ Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. E. Ann Matther and John W. Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 171-172.

⁷¹ Howard Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermons: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù" in *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolph Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University, 1972), 30.

⁷² Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 58.3 (September 1976), 432.

as Cardinal William Allen's illustrated compendium of English Catholic martyrs from 1582 stated that its martyrs were "equal to that of the ancient martyrs."⁷³

At every turn in Rome's visual culture, audiences encountered martyrdom images. As Gauvin Bailey has suggested, "the Jesuits commissioned more martyrdom cycles, whether in frescoes or books, than anyone else at the time" in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁷⁴ In their religious spaces, images of martyrdom were important to the Jesuits' self-conscious global missionary identity and militant objective to combat the heresy of Protestantism or Paganism. In the years surrounding the consecration of the *Gesù* in 1584, private patrons donated funds to help the Jesuits realize their planned religious spaces, which included chapels venerating Early Christian martyrs and Apostles. Textual descriptions of the church from the 1580's describe the decorations and altarpieces of the *Gesù* "organized spatially by opposed chapels" across the nave with the first two flanking the entrance of the church dedicated to the martyrs and the Apostles. To the right of the front door of the church, the Altarpiece of St. Andrews's martyrdom was accompanied by paintings in the lunettes of the chapel depicting the martyrdoms of Early Christian saints Stephen, Lawrence, Catherine, Agnes, as well as representations of martyred bishops and in the vaulted ceiling fresco of *Mary as Queen of Martyrs* (Figure 56).⁷⁵ The first chapel paired across the main aisle to the left of the entrance door was dedicated to the two most important Roman martyrs, the Apostles Saint Peter and Paul.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 429.

⁷⁴ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 45. See also Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle et du XVIIIe siècle; étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente, Italie-France-Espagne-Flandres*. 2d. ed. (Paris: A. Colin, 1951), 109-112; Luigi Lotti and Pier Luigi Lotti, *La Comunità Cattolica Inglese di Roma: la sua chiesa e il suo collegio*, (Rome: Alma Roma, 1978), 125-128; Thomas M. Lucas, ed., *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*, (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1990), 186-191; Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context," *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 53-70.

⁷⁵ Hibbard, "Ut Pictora sermons," 35.

Thus, the first images Roman audiences encountered upon entering the Jesuits' mother church encouraged a meditation on the "primacy of the Church and its victory over heresy and paganism through active and dangerous missionary work in the world."⁷⁶

In their seminaries in Rome that were recently founded in the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits also created didactic decoration programs of contemporary and Early Christian martyrs. These paintings functioned to inspire young Jesuits in training and devout lay viewers to contemplate the sacrifices of these martyrs. In the Jesuits' English college of *St Thomas of Canturbury*, the order commissioned Niccolò Circignani, "Il Pomarancio," to paint a cycle of martyrs executed in England. These now lost frescoes from 1582 that are known today through engraved reproductions by Giovanni Battista Cavallieri, commemorated past Medieval and contemporary executions of Jesuit missionaries such as Edmund Campion, who was leader of the Jesuit Mission to England and martyred the year before the commission (Figure 57).⁷⁷ A secular patron, George Gilbert, who had fled England in 1581 during this Elizabethan persecution of Catholics and came to reside in the English College in Rome, paid for Circignani's frescoes in *St Thomas*. These frescoes, which were commissioned by the Jesuits and funded by a friend and witness of these recent English martyrs' tortures, provided a triumphal response to the Protestant persecution of Catholics and the questioning of the veracity of Church history.⁷⁸ Moreover, with the publications of English engravings depicting Protestant martyrs that were considered heretical in Catholic Rome, these frescoes were part of a "conscious aesthetic program employed

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Cavallieri published these engravings of the English martyrs from Circignani's fresco cycle in *Ecclesiae anglicanae tropaea* (Rome, 1584). For more on this series, see *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strateg*, 186-187.

⁷⁸ According to the Jesuits' annual letters from their English college, Gilbert knew all the basilicas of the martyrs in Rome well and because of his desire to emulate not only the contemporary martyrs in England but also the Early Christian martyrs.

during a propaganda battle with Protestants over the legitimacy of martyrs.”⁷⁹ In 1582, the Jesuits also commissioned Circignani to paint a cycle of thirty martyrdom scenes of Early Christian saints in the order’s Hungarian college of *Santo Stefano Rotondo* that survive today (Figure 58). In the same year that he completed the series in Santo Stefano, Circignani also began a fresco cycle depicting the torture and martyrdom of the Early Christian Saint Apollinarius in the seventh-century church of *Sant’Apollinare* in Rome, which the Jesuits restored after it became the Society’s German College in 1574. These paintings are also lost, but their compositions are also known from Cavallieri’s 1586 engraved reproductions of the fifteen paintings that adorned the nave and choir of the church, which included *The Burial of Saint Apollinarius* (Figure 59).⁸⁰ It is no coincidence that the Jesuits arranged for these martyrdom cycles to be painted in these national seminaries given to the order by the current Pope Gregory XIII to combat Protestant heresy in these respective countries.⁸¹ For novices in training and professed Jesuits seeking missionary work abroad, the images of these martyrs were presented before these viewers as a paradigm of the ideal Christian in the past and present and reminders that their own ministry may culminate in the ultimate sacrifice. Indeed, the title page of the engraved reproductions of the now-lost frescoes at *Saint Thomas of Canterbury* in Rome affirms

⁷⁹ These publications included the English Protestant John Foxe’s 1563 *Acts and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Days, a compendium of Protestant martyrs executed during the reign of Queen Mary*. See Buser, “Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art,” 429.

⁸⁰ Giovanni Battista Cavallieri published these engravings in *Beati Apollinaris Martyris Primi Ravennatum Epi Res Gestae* (Rome, 1586). For more on these engravings, see *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy*, 188; Hibbard, “Ut Pictora sermons,” 30-31.

⁸¹ Buser, “Jeromen Nadal and Early Jesuit Art,” 427.

unambiguously this connection that the images of these martyrdoms of their fellow Jesuits were presented to “inflare the students to similar missionary zeal.”⁸²

The Reception of Mexican Martyrs in Counter-Reformation Rome: Richeôme’s description of *Sant’ Andrea all’ Quirinale*

The eight drawings of the slain Jesuits from the Tepehuan Revolt arrived in Rome after 1616 amid this Counter Reformation spiritual milieu, where contemporary martyrs were presented as exemplars of the Apostles and Christ and symbols of Catholic orthodoxy. In his 1618 letter to New Spain, Father General Vitelleschi mentions that these drawings were the sources for paintings depicting the Tepehuan martyrs that were being made to accompany other portraits of Jesuit martyrs.⁸³ While it is not known where the Jesuits permanently displayed these paintings, it is possible that these paintings could have remained in the Jesuit Curia house where the Father General and other superiors of the order resided. I would suggest that because the images of the Tepehuan martyrs were described as accompanying other images of Jesuit martyrs, their display could have been in a number of Jesuit religious spaces in *seicento* Rome whose decoration programs were commensurate with subjects of holy sacrifice and martyrdom.

While they were not likely included in the fresco cycles of the national seminaries, whose subject matter was tied to a coherent theme of English martyrs and those of the Early Church, it is possible that the portraits of the Mexican martyrs were displayed in the Jesuits’ own seminary in Rome, the novitiate of *Sant’ Andrea all’ Quirinale* and nearby *San Vitale*. The novitiate church was decorated with portraits of Jesuit martyrs who died on the missions abroad in Asia, India, Brazil, and possibly New Spain. In his “textual tour” of the paintings in the churches of *Sant’*

⁸² For this publication of these images, see Giovanni Battista Cavallieri, *Ecclesia angelicanae tropaea* (Rome, 1584). Manuscript in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1948. The inscription reads: “...in illo suorum cum priscae tum huius aetatis martyrum certamina exprimi curarunt...”

⁸³ ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, f. 202r.

Andrea and *San Vitale*, many of which are now lost, the French Jesuit Louis Richeôme provides a highly detailed ekphrastic description of paintings as he guides the reader through the novitiate's churches and gardens that covered most of the Quirinal Hill in the mid-sixteenth century (Figure 60).⁸⁴ In his chapters that guide the reader through the sanctuary and rooms of the novitiate, Richeôme describes each painting hanging on the walls at great length and with careful attention to every minutia of detail in the composition.⁸⁵ When reading these descriptions of the artworks in this church complex, it is almost not necessary to see these canvases in person to visualize their exact compositions. Apart from his obvious use of Ignatian and Nadal's philosophies that merged pictures and mental images as a strategy for religious devotion, Richeôme alludes to another explanation for his attention to meticulous detail when he suggests his treatise should be available to readers outside of Rome. He may have been referring to Jesuit missionaries or novices in training abroad, when he states: "If your brothers who are outside of Rome, living spread out on other parts of the universe and other Christians who are also brothers want to see the paintings in this house, open the doors of your devotions and let them freely take part as brothers."⁸⁶

Just as he did in his textual tour in Book One describing the paintings in the church of *Sant'Andrea* and in Book Two, the artworks of the Refectory that accompanied his elaboration on the spiritual dimension of eating, Richeôme continues in Book Three to walk around the

⁸⁴ Richeôme, *Le peinture spirituelle*. Drawing from the format of Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and other Jesuits treatises, Richeôme keyed images to alphabetically arranged letters labeling his images and textual descriptions in various engravings, such as the frontispiece to Book Six depicting the Gardens of the novitiate surrounding *Sant'Andrea* and *San Vitale* and the frontispiece to Book Seven depicting the Instruments of Martyrdom. See Richeôme, f. 472 and 672.

⁸⁵ Add footnote here giving an example.

⁸⁶ Richeôme, *Ibid*, f. 7.

Recreation Room describing each work of art.⁸⁷ He begins by asking the reader to look at a large painting of *Ignatius's Vision on the Road from La Storta* located above a small altar, which he describes in detail and then continues by identifying each of the one hundred and two paintings of Jesuit martyrs from locations worldwide.⁸⁸ These portraits included two large canvases depicting Jesuit missionaries killed at sea on their way to Brazil, the five martyrs slain in Salsette, India, who included Rudolfo Aquaviva, the nephew of the Jesuit Father General Claudio Aquaviva, the Nagasaki martyrs in Japan, and the execution of Abraham George in Ethiopia.⁸⁹ Next to these portraits, Richeôme identifies a painting of Gonzalo de Tapia, who he describes was executed in Mexico.⁹⁰ Above these paintings ran a broad painted cornice, which he called a “celestial zone,” that also depicted other martyrs of the order, “each with his angel bearing a palm and a crown, in honor of his victory.”⁹¹ As Gauvin Bailey observes, these martyrdom paintings “brought the lands of the Jesuit missions and the biblical and Ptolomaic past into the living quarters of the young novices.”⁹²

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, f.153.

⁸⁸ Richeôme, *ibid*, states in various parts of his ekphrastic descriptions, “I want you to contemplate the details of the painting,” as in folios 6-7 and 14-15.

⁸⁹ Father General Aquaviva requested for an arm of his nephew to be sent to the Curia in Rome in 1600 and the other arm was sent to the Jesuit College in Naples, the city where the Aquaviva family originated, 1583.

⁹⁰ Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, original manuscript consulted in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C., Section II, f.234 (this folio is actually mis-numbered as f. 134).

⁹¹ Émile Mâle describes this painted frieze citing Richeôme's text in, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth century* (New York: Pantheon, 1949), 175 (Original title: *L' Art Religieux du XIIe au XVIIIe Siècle*). Francis Haskell, “The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes,” in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, eds. (New York: Fordham University, 1972), 55.

⁹² The Jesuits decorated multiple Roman church interiors with martyrdom cycles at *Santo Stefano Rotondo*, *Sant' Appolinare*, and the College Romano between 1565 and 1608. Images of Jesuit martyrs were also displayed next to saints of the early Church at the novitiate of *Sant' Andrea* between 1570-1610. See Gauvin Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2003), 38-58; 107-108; For more on these Jesuit martyrdom images in Rome, see Osswald, “Goa and the Jesuit Cult,” 168-170; Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Fundaciones Jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2002), 74.

Themes of martyrdom continued to be at the forefront of the decoration program at the nearby church of *San Vitale*. Paintings of Jesuit martyrs, including a portrait of Rodolfo Aquaviva, were also displayed in the sacristy of this fifth-century Early Christian church that was also part of the novitate's complex.⁹³ This church, located on the far side of the Jesuit gardens from *Sant'Andrea*, was also renovated by the Jesuits when Pope Clement VIII assigned it to care of the Society in 1595. During these renovations, Society commissioned the now lost facade frescoes depicting instruments of torture and martyrdom, which can be seen in Richeôme's image of the Jesuit gardens in *le Peinture Spirituelle* (see Fig. 60). Father General Aquaviva was personally involved in selecting the fresco cycle depicting Early Christian saints and the martyrdom of *San Vitale* begun by Giovanni Fiammeri in 1596 and completed by Agostino Ciampelli in the apse (Figure 61).⁹⁴ Here, Richeôme describes both textually and visually how the Jesuits engaged with their novices as well as lay congregations in the nave of this church, where members of the order addressed various foreign communities in Rome in their native languages.⁹⁵ Richeôme depicts the Jesuits in *San Vitale* giving sermons, hearing confessions, and providing food for the poor, while their audiences were able to contemplate these artworks depicting themes of martyrdom (Figure 62).⁹⁶ These textual descriptions of the now lost paintings in the Recreation Room that included one of the Jesuit martyrs from New Spain would have helped seize the imagination of Jesuit novices in training on the Quirinale Hill

⁹³ Osswald, "Goa and the Jesuit Cult," 168, fn 96-97; Nicola Angelini, *Historia della Vita e del martirio dei beati Rodolfo Aquaviva...della Compagnia di Gesu* (Roma: Tipografia A. Befani, 1839), 134.

⁹⁴ See Valone, "Women and the Early Jesuits," 172-173.

⁹⁵ Richeôme, f. 784; Lucas, ed., *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy*, 188-189.

⁹⁶ As Valone has revealed ("Women and the Early Jesuits," 175-180), the Jesuits did not control the iconography of the entire decoration program at *San Vitale*. Private patrons such as Isabella della Rovere made large donations to fill four altarpieces along the nave with paintings she selected in her endowment from 1598 depicting the glorification of Virginity and other subjects of female piety relevant for married women.

and help them understand their important role in the order's evangelization mission worldwide. In this way, the Jesuit missionary frontier of New Spain became important not only for members of the order in Mexico City and throughout the viceroyalty, but also in Rome where the sacrifices of Jesuits abroad were viewed within a new devotional context.

Jesuit Martyrs at the *Gesù*: The 1622 Canonization Ceremonies

The only image of Jesuit martyrs known to have been on permanent display in the *Gesù* was the painting depicting the five Martyrs from Salsette, India, by Giuseppe Cesari. It is possible, however, that ephemeral artworks representing images of New Spanish missionaries were part of the collective iconography of the Jesuit cult when the order's first saints were canonized in 1622.⁹⁷ When the festivals commenced in Rome in March of 1622 to celebrate the canonization of Saint Ignatius and San Francisco Xavier, textual descriptions of the decorations and artworks installed in the *Gesù* and Saint Peter's reveal the importance of martyrdom images depicting Jesuits on the missionary frontiers in a Roman setting. One description of the decorations created for the mass celebrating the canonization of Ignatius, Francis Xavier, and San Isidro in Saint Peter's on March 12th, 1622, describes the church adorned with a "theater" of ephemeral pedestals and pilasters lit by candles that sparkled on gold and silver holders placed throughout the church. The sides of each chapel along the nave were decorated with richly brocaded banners and paintings depicting the miracles of the Society's first two saints. For the festivals and masses performed to commemorate Ignatius and Francis Xavier's newly canonized status at the *Gesù* three days later, the order organized a more specific

⁹⁷ Textual descriptions in a 1638 inventory identify this painting of *The five Martyrs from Salsette* inside the *Gesù* (collaterale all'altare—but which altar? That of the martyrs?). See Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma. Descritto..* (Roma), 105. (check red book to see if it's still there today...)

celebration within a Jesuit setting.⁹⁸ Paintings of the “Martyrs of the Society” were hung alternating with images of Jesus in a frieze that ran above the edge of the main altar and below the cornice in the *Gesù*.⁹⁹ The Jesuits also displayed a sculpture of a Jesuit martyr from the Japanese mission in a niche on the facade of the *Gesù* next to sculptures of *Saint Ignatius holding the Constitutions* and *Saint Francis Xavier in Ecstasy*. This sculpture of a Japanese martyr, who was probably Pablo Miki or Juan Suan de Goto, was displayed prominently amid a pantheon of venerated Jesuits adorning the exterior of the order’s mother church during the canonization ceremonies of the two first Jesuit saints.¹⁰⁰ This presentation of Jesuit martyrs from around the globe at the *Gesù* in 1622 further affirmed the importance of missionary frontiers in the creation of the Jesuits’ own iconography and identity as an order dedicated to missionary evangelization worldwide.

Martyrologies and the Movement of “Sacred Geographies” from New Spain to Europe

The images of New Spanish martyrs displayed in religious spaces throughout Rome provided a new visibility to the cult of martyrs from abroad venerated in Europe. Representations of New Spanish martyrs were also incorporated into illustrated martyrologies published throughout Catholic Europe. Matthias Tanner’s compendium *Societas Jesu Usque Ad Sanguinis*, which was published in Prague in 1675, provides one example of a Jesuit treatise on martyrdom that re-presented pictorial accounts of Mexican martyrs and New Spanish mission settings and incorporated them into a larger group of martyrs for dissemination to audiences beyond Rome

⁹⁸ This was held on on March 15th, 1622. See Real Accademia de la Historia (RAH), Madrid, Jesuitas 76, Signatura 9-3685/62, Numero de Ficha M2693, f. 2r.

⁹⁹ “En el friso de que corresponde al remate del Altar mayor, debajo de la cornija que ciñe toda la iglesia, se pusieron muchos cuadros de los Mártires de la Compañía y Iesuses (sic) alternativamente un Iesus, y luego un Mártir que hicieron una apacible vista. See *ibid*, f. 2r-v.

¹⁰⁰ For more on this description see *Ibid*.

(Figure 63).¹⁰¹ Although Tanner's martyrology does not follow a Nadal's pairing of images with alphabetic letters and textual descriptions as in the *Evangelicae Historia Imagines*, he included annotations below the engravings to elaborate on the details of each image. Tanner also transposed architectural forms from Japan into his New Spanish mission landscapes that provided the setting for the scenes of these Mexican martyrs. For example, the hillside landscape and architecture in the background of the Martyrdom of Cornelius Beudin (known as Father Godínez) from the 1650 Tarahumara Revolt resembles a scene from a Japanese print landscape rather than one from eighteenth century New Spain (Figure 64).¹⁰² As Tom Cummins observes, the versatility of prints were such that "an image illustrating one area of the world could easily be used to illustrate a different place."¹⁰³ Clearly, Tanner was concerned more with representing the Jesuit martyrs in this "other" New Spanish frontier in some distant land than capturing accurate details of church architecture in New Spain.

In her discussion of the mental relocation of holy places from Rome to colonial Quito in the minds of the devout, Carmen Fernandez-Salvador observes "sacred geographies were not permanently fixed to one place but could be transported easily to distant territories."¹⁰⁴ Building on Fernandez-Salvador's concept, I propose this kind of meditative reconstruction of sacred sites must have taken place among audiences in Europe as well. When viewing Mexican martyrdom

¹⁰¹ Mathias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vital profusiones militans* (Prague, 1675) in ARSI Rome, Biblioteca Storica Societatus Iesu, 14.0; Gerardo Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas*, 42-45. Another example of an illustrated martyrology would be William Allen's compendium of Catholic martyrs in England 1582, presented dramatic scenes of martyrdom keyed with letters to texts below their images. Building on the concept of prayer and meditation being closely linked to visual images, which was codified by Ignatius of Loyola's ekphrastic "composition of place" in the mind in the Spiritual Exercises and Geronimo Nadal's didactic *Adnotationes et Meditationes*.

¹⁰² I need to add a page number in Tanner here.

¹⁰³ Tom Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World," in *Contested Visions*, ed. Ilona Katzew (LA County Museum, 2012), 214.

¹⁰⁴ Fernandez-Salvador, 156.

portraits in treatises such as Tanner's, or in paintings at the above-mentioned churches in Rome, audiences could have imagined the northern mission frontier of New Spain and incorporated these "sacred geographies" into their own spiritual lives. Tanner's compendium and others like it circulated from Rome to other Colleges throughout Europe and abroad to foreign missions. In time, Jesuit missionaries in locations such as Parras acquired Roman Martyrologies similar, if not identical, to those of Tanner.¹⁰⁵ The transmission of New Spanish martyrdom portraits to Rome and the circulation of treatises venerating their cult of martyrs highlights the bi-directional movement of artworks and texts between New Spain and Europe that functioned to inspire devotion within a localized context and solidify the formation of the Jesuits' missionary identity on a global scale.

Conclusions

As workers in the "new vineyard" of northern New Spain, the Jesuits' veneration of martyrs became important elements in the Society's "spiritual economy" on the viceregal frontier, where religious and temporal interests were often ideologically linked.¹⁰⁶ The case study of the Parras mission reveals the process in which missionaries' frequent travel and investment in lucrative economic enterprises enabled the Society to establish active systems of transporting artworks to and from the northern borderlands. The dissemination of Jesuit martyrdom images to Rome provides more evidence that cultural production flowed not solely in one direction from Europe to the American viceroyalties but also from the New World to

¹⁰⁵ For Gonzalo de Tapia's biography see Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis* (Prague, 1675), 467-469. Jesuit inventories at Parras in 1767 list treatises a "Martirologio Romano" among other Jesuit texts. See AGN, Temporalidades 64, f. 40v.

¹⁰⁶ Kathryn Burns uses this term in *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). The Father General describes the northern New Spanish mission territory with this vineyard metaphor in his letter to Mexico City: "su nueva viña regada con la sangre de esos sus siervos." See ARSI Rome, Mex. 2, 202r.

Europe. By shedding light on the process in which localized subjects of martyrdom in northern New Spain became important within Jesuit spiritual circles in Mexico City and Rome, this subject also complicates center-periphery paradigms.¹⁰⁷ While missionaries on the frontiers relied on their superiors in central Mexico and Europe for support and supplies, religious centers also depended on their peripheries, where in this case study, martyrs' sacrifices boosted the life of the Jesuits and the universal Church worldwide. This re-contextualizing of center-periphery paradigms demonstrates that metropolitan and frontier relationships were not always opposed to each other, but rather interacted within a larger network of artistic dialogue.

¹⁰⁷ Recent scholarship has demonstrated that traditional models of a viceregal center sustaining peripheral outposts, does not always describe colonial realities. See, John Jay TePaske's study of mining towns' transformation from peripheral outposts to urban centers in, "Integral to Empire: the Vital Peripheries of colonial Spanish America," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Christine Daniels and Michael Kennedy, eds., (Routledge, 2002), 29-43. For the transforming nature of the viceregal periphery, see Susan Deeds, "Colonial Chihuahua: People and Frontiers in Flux," in *New Views of Borderlands History*, Robert Jackson, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 22.

Epilogue

The relationship of art to the “spiritual economy” of Parras highlights how patronage played an important role in helping the Jesuits import artworks and other religious objects from Mexico City and abroad to *San Ignacio*. This study also provides a new focus on how this movement of artworks was made possible by the Jesuits’ continuous movement of missionaries between global centers and peripheries. The strategies exercised by the Jesuits in their circulation of artworks between Parras and other locations in northern New Spain, Mexico City, and Rome provide new evidence to confirm the need for re-thinking frontier paradigms, a subject that is at the forefront of current scholarly debates in mission art history. The mobility of missionaries and their movement of artworks intersect with these discussions that seek to complicate notions of isolation on the colonial frontier.¹ This revisionist focus has arisen to challenge the paradigms set forth by early mission scholars, who were often also clergy themselves, and subscribed to triumphalist views of European evangelization as a utopian enterprise in the “spiritual conquest” of northern New Spain.² While scholars such as Bolton, Burrus, and Ricard made important contributions in their foundational research of colonial sources, they also perpetuated the concept of the northern missions as desert outposts where art and architecture signified the successful imposition of “civilized” Christian life in the barbarian wilderness.³ While these views of the frontier as a geographical barrier separating remote

¹ This subject has increasingly become important for scholars in the field of mission history and art history, culminating most recently in the exhibition curated by Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, eds., *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600-1820*, (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso 2009).

² Robert Ricard uses this term in *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

³ See, for example, Herbert E. Bolton, S.J., “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies” *American Historical Review* 23.1 (1917): 42-61; Jerome Jacobsen, S.J., *Educational Foundations of the*

regions of artistic and cultural production from urban centers pervade much of the historiography of colonial mission history, Thomas da Costa Kaufmann argues that these concepts have been part of the art historical canon much longer. The use of geography to define regions by their centers and peripheries of art production has been a staple of art historical discourse with its historiographical roots established in Antiquity and the Renaissance.⁴ Biographers such as Vasari privileged “art centers” as places of high cultural production while often dismissing artworks from more regional settings.⁵ In the historiography of Spanish and Portuguese viceregal studies, geography has also played a similar role in defining the status of colonial art by the trans-Atlantic nature of European rule in the Americas. Discussed as a provincial extension of Peninsular works, the unique elements of colonial Latin American art and architecture were once relegated to the status of the peripheral, non-European “other.”⁶ Many scholars have since moved away from viewing colonial art through “the prism of dependency in

Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938); Ernst J. Burrus, ed. *Kino's Biography of Francisco J. Saeta SI*. trans. and epilogue Charles Polzer (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1971).

⁴ Thomas de Costa Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 27-28. Kaufmann cites another important study of center-periphery paradigms in Italian Renaissance art: Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo, “Centro e periferia,” in *Storia dell' arte italiana, Parte prima: Materiali problemi*, vol.1: *Questioni e metodi* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1979), 283-352.

⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori*, Carlo L. Ragghianti, ed. (Milan:Rizzoli, 1942-49).

⁶ For an early monograph that reinforces center-periphery paradigms, see Diego Angulo Iniguez's *La historia del arte hispano-americano* 3 vols. (Barcelona: Salvat, 1945). When discussing the disparity between European and indigenous art traditions in Spanish America, for example, Angulo Iniguez observes (I: 42): “como en el arte bizantino y en el bárbaro, como sucede en el arquitectura de la India.”

relation to Spain” by challenging essentialist paradigms and valuing the creative potential of colonial Latin American art.⁷

George Kubler recognized the need to address these enduring geographical problems and introduced the term “artistic geography” in the 1940s to re-conceptualize the spatial relationship between European and New World art.⁸ His study of architecture on the northern limits of the New Spanish viceroyalty shed light on the unique historical situation of art production in New Mexico.⁹ Rather than defining Latin American art history by modern political boundaries, Kubler’s artistic geography proposed to develop comparative examinations of colonial art that linked borderland regions of North and South America.¹⁰ Yet while his studies provided new ideas for examining paths of artistic transfer in Spanish America, Kubler’s analyses ultimately marginalized art production on the colonial periphery. By privileging the “fast times” of artistic change in viceregal centers over the “sites of rustic or provincial art” in peripheral settings,

⁷ Tom Cummins notes that viewing colonial art through this “hierarchical lens” constitutes a “second Conquest of Latin America.” See his essay, “Imitación e invención en el barroco peruano,” in *El Barroco Peruano*, Ramón Mújica Pinilla et al, tomo 2 (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2003), 27-28.

⁸ George Kubler, *Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); “Santos: The Religious Folk Art of New Mexico,” reprinted in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: the Collected Essays of George Kubler*, ed. Tom Reese (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 61.

⁹ Kubler’s concerns with the location and environment of artistic production when accounting for the unique characteristics of colonial art is likely indebted to his training as a student of Henri Focillon. In his earliest study, for example, Kubler suggests that the technical reasons for building single-aisled plans were based on the suitability of local adobe materials, which did not allow for complex structural extensions. See Kubler, *Religious Architecture of New Mexico* 5th Edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990 [originally 1940]), 59.

¹⁰ Kaufmann (*Toward a Geography*, 231-2) states that Kubler’s “new atlas” has been generally ignored by current scholars, who instead situate their studies within the modern political geographies of Latin America. However, many historians have produced recent comparative studies on colonial “borderlands.” See, for example, Cynthia Radding’s study of the “linkages between the material life of the missions...in contrasting natural environments,” in her recent essay, “From the Counting House to the Field and Loom: Ecologies, Cultures, and Economies in the Missions of Sonora (Mexico) and Chiquitania (Bolivia)” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81.1 (2001): 45-87. See also the comparative analysis of the mission “as a continent-wide institution,” in Robert Jackson and Eric Langer, eds., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), xi; Robert Jackson, *New Views of Borderland History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

Kubler perpetuated this association of the frontier with cultural isolation. As Clara Bargellini has observed in a separate study, scholarly concepts that present the missions as remote and inaccessible outposts function to “distance and conceal rather than illuminate the art at the margins.”¹¹ This study of the Jesuits’ process of acquiring artworks such as the series by Juan Sánchez Salmerón and Francisco Martínez and importing them from the viceregal capital to Parras on the northeastern frontier provides further evidence that Kubler’s assertion that art in “provincial areas loses its acquaintance” with artistic models and takes on a “disintegration of forms” does not accurately describe the dynamics of art production on the northern New Spanish missions.¹²

While some recent studies continue to give mission art a peripheral status due to the geographical positioning of the colonial “frontier,” other contemporary scholars have sought to reposition colonial centers and peripheries vis-à-vis the frontier.¹³ Cynthia Radding, David Weber, and Clara Bargellini are among a growing number of scholars making important theoretical contributions to our understanding of the colonial frontier not as a single place but as

¹¹ Kubler compares the “fast times” of artistic change in larger cities to the slower, “technical conservatism that usually characterizes frontier society of the peripheral areas,” in: *Religious Architecture of New Mexico*, 131. Bargellini makes this observation in “At the Center on the Frontier,” in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. Thomas da Costa Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 115, 119. For more on Kubler’s discussions of artistic geography vis-à-vis center and periphery paradigms, see his *Shape of Time*, 112-113; “Metropolitan Schools in Latin American Archaeology and Colonial Art,” in *Latin American Art and the Baroque Period in Europe. Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Millard Meiss et al., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

¹² Kubler, “Indianism, *Mestizaje*, and *Indigenismo* as Classical, Medieval, and Modern Traditions in Latin America,” reprinted in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: the Collected Essays of George Kubler*, 75-80.

¹³ Using Torquemada’s phrase for his final chapter, “Religious Architecture in Those Most Remote Provinces,” Samuel Edgerton characterizes Franciscan missions in New Mexico as “desert outposts.” See Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 292.

multiple permeable borders. As Cynthia Radding has noted, the term frontier inherently becomes problematic because “geopolitical boundaries belie a fixed notion of regionality.”¹⁴ The frontier as a monolithic boundary line does not adequately describe the place frequently traversed by missionaries born in diverse European and Mexican cities, bringing art objects, architects, and elements of cosmopolitan culture to and from their mission settings. As Clara Bargellini has found in her research, many missions on the viceregal periphery, including those in the Tarahumara region of Chihuahua, were not isolated outposts but rather important centers of art production in northern New Spain.¹⁵

This dissertation seeks to contribute the evidence it has uncovered to strengthen the argument of these revisionist studies dedicated to challenging teleological discourses and “church self-histories.”¹⁶ The somewhat problematic term “frontier” has come to be defined in this study as one of many places of art production at the extremities of the Spanish Empire whose permeable borders and physical dimensions were not fixed but still historically changing over time. The economic history of Parras provides a unique case study embodying this

¹⁴ Cynthia Radding, *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 8.

¹⁵ As Bargellini has found in her research, architects commissioned by Jesuit patrons introduced new building techniques such as domed churches and basilican planned churches, which subsequently transformed the development of architectural styles in northern New Spain. See Bargellini, “At the Center on the Frontier,” 115 and *Misiones para Chihuahua*, (México: MBM Impresora, 2004).

¹⁶ Robert Jackson uses this term “Church self-histories” in *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000). See especially the recent work of Clara Bargellini cited in this essay including, “Artistic Geography of New Spain: Patronage, Art, and Historiography at the Northern Jesuit Missions,” in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, Thomas da Costa Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod, eds. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Cynthia Radding in *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), xvi; Peter Hulme, “Postcolonial Theory and Early America,” in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 39.

theoretical concept of the changing nature of the colonial frontier, in that this peripheral mission rose and fell as a central wine making hub in northeastern New Spain with abundant water supplies that brought power and influence to many landowners and the Jesuits at *San Ignacio*.

The Mission as a Concept in Time

The art production at Parras that was made possible by the mobility of the Jesuits and their success of their economic enterprises also reveals that spatial and temporal relationships between metropolitan and mission institutions operated at almost every turn in Parras. Many scholars have focused on the importance of place in their discussions of New Spanish frontiers, but I argue that the temporal nature of the mission enterprise must not be overlooked. Missions embodied a transformative process, as their status and function were frequently changing throughout the colonial period. The importance of time in the life of the Parras Residence is visually articulated in the 1754 map showing the reorganization of the Jesuits' Province in New Spain in the eighteenth century (See Figure 1). The Jesuits established an imaginary line running northeast and southwest, as shown on this map, to organize the northern missions into a Vice-Province while the Colleges and *Residencias* closer to central Mexico remained in the Province. The inclusion of Parras in the Province reveals that in the eyes of the Jesuits, Parras was no longer located on the conceptual missionary frontier in the eighteenth century but instead came to occupy a position with the Colleges and Residences including Durango, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas. The transformative nature of Parras therefore fits into a larger discussion addressed by colonial historians examining the changing nature of colonial peripheries. As John Jay Te Paske noted, many small frontier settlements that were “integral to empire” transformed into

thriving economic and religious centers, as in the case of towns such as Zacatecas and Durango in New Spain and Potosí in the Peruvian viceroyalty.¹⁷ Parras' rise to prominence from a small mission in northeastern New Spain embodies this dynamic nature of the frontier in which colonial centers and peripheries were frequently changing.¹⁸

The history of the Parras mission underwent further change after 1767 when the economic production of the pueblo declined in the aftermath of the Jesuit Expulsion. As Martínez Serna has noted, the presence of the Jesuits was crucial in the socioeconomic structure of Parras as the Society was involved in real estate transactions, water rights, the organization of labor, and ecclesiastical and political jurisdictions, all of which changed dramatically as “the mediating role” of the Society disappeared.¹⁹ The constraints of the Bourbon reforms in the late eighteenth century also played a role in the economic decline of Parras' commerce in wine and agriculture, but the Jesuits' departure further enhanced these changes in the northeastern New Spanish economy. Moreover, with the Expulsion of the Jesuits, the Tlaxcaltecs no longer had a litigious organization to protect their ownership of land and water sources in Parras from

¹⁷ Various scholars have identified these transformations from Periphery to Center, including Chantal Cramaussel's discussion of Durango's conversion to an important religious and economic center after being named the seat of the *Caja Real* in “De la Nueva Galicia al Nuevo México por el camino real de tierra adentro,” in *El Septentrión novohispano: ecohistoria, sociedades, y imagines de la frontera* (Madrid, 2000). John Jay TePaske also provides an excellent discussion of the transformation of colonial frontiers in: “Integral to Empire: the Vital Peripheries of colonial Spanish America,” in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, Christine Daniels and Michael Kennedy, eds. (Routledge, 2002), 29-43.

¹⁸ By problematizing monolithic center-periphery paradigms as “hierarchical, fixed categories of spatial organization,” as Carmen Fernandez-Salvador has affirmed, it is possible to understand that art produced for the colonial frontiers plays a critical role in complicating traditional associations of mission art with artistic isolation.¹⁸ See Carmen Fernandez-Salvador's discussion of center-periphery paradigms in colonial Quito in “Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005), 28.

¹⁹ José Gabriel Martínez Serna, “Vineyards in the Desert: The Jesuits and the Rise and Decline of an Indian Town in New Spain's Northeastern Borderlands,” (PhD Dissertation, Southern Methodist University, 2009).

Spanish landowners as the Jesuits had done for more than one hundred fifty years. Within the next half century, the Tlaxcaltecs experienced a decline in economic and political power in Parras and never again regained their prominent position in this colonial community before Independence. This decline in the political, economic, and religious position of the Parras community further exemplifies John Jay Te Paske's argument that towns and missions in northern New Spain were always in a state of change.

The Mission As a Historical Construct: Temporal Ties between Center and Periphery

While it has been an important contribution to the historiography of mission history for scholars to examine the unique "cultural space" of colonial frontiers, the field of mission art history often becomes confined to examining art and architecture solely in the northern provinces.²⁰ Current publications and exhibitions such as *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain* have redirected past scholarly trends of severing mission artworks from the origins of their production in viceregal, European, and Asian metropolises. In a recent essay, Clara Bargellini has shed light on the ties between art production in Mexico City and the missions, as the demand for devotional images in the north often generated new types of artworks and resourceful transportation solutions.²¹ The Jesuits' practices of decorating their church at *San*

²⁰ Historiographically, we see this phenomenon of art in central Mexico separated conceptually from the viceregal periphery, thus understanding frontier communities as isolated "outposts." For more on these studies that have relegated mission art and architecture to the last chapter of monographs, see Samuel Edgerton's *Theatres of Conversion*.

²¹ Clara Bargellini makes this point in her examination of illusionistic paintings of altarpieces and related discussion of Mexico City's role as a colonial center linked to the viceregal peripheries in that thousands of artworks were sent from the capital to the northern missions. See "Painting for Export in Mexico City in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, Sarah Schroth, ed. (London: Paul Holberton, 2010): 284-304.

Ignacio provide another case study to reaffirm Bargellini's thesis that the movement of artworks provided a spatial link between center and periphery in New Spain and across the Atlantic. When this concept is considered in relation to the missionaries' approach to evangelization and their descriptions of martyrdom and conversion in northern New Spain, I propose that the missions were also linked temporally to cities in central Mexico and beyond.²²

In his discussion of native artists adopting European pictorial forms to communicate new concepts, Tom Cummins observed that "as a concept, the 'New World' is more a matter of time than place..."²³ This distinction is crucial to understanding the dynamics of mission history and art history because mission frontiers were not only spatially—but also temporally—linked to urban centers. Contemporary missionaries and conquistadors understood the Spanish *entradas* into unsettled lands in the north as a continuation in time of the colonization campaigns in the Valley of Mexico, a phenomena that will be discussed in greater detail below. The concept of time also played a role in defining the life of a mission in New Spain in that it was rarely a monolithic institution. Many colonial towns such as Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Durango, Santa Fe, and Parras first existed as missions. The use of the term "mission" by colonial and modern sources to identify the religious institutions established in central Mexico and those further to the north and south, belies this temporal nature of evangelization that was constantly expanding into

²² The relationship of center and periphery that was temporal as well as spatial is exemplified in the Spanish *entradas* into the north, which were seen by contemporary missionaries and conquistadors as a continuation of colonization campaigns in central Mexico.

²³ Tom Cummins observes, "...as a concept, the 'New World' is more a matter of time than place; it is a time in which two ancient world cultures collided through the aggressive act of invasion, to begin a process of continuing dialectical permutations..." See his essay "The Madonna and the Horse: Becoming Colonial in New Spain and Peru," *Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America* (7), Emily Umberger and Tom Cummins, eds. (Tucson: Arizona State University, 1995), 56.

disparate geographical territories. Robert Ricard used the term “mission” to describe the Christian structures established in central Mexico in the 1520s that were integral to the “foundation and organization of the Mexican church” after the Conquest.²⁴ By the close of the sixteenth century, as the missions in central Mexico became parish churches, mendicant missionaries pushed north to recreate the conversion process in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya.²⁵

The temporal nature of the mission was important to many Franciscan and Jesuit evangelizers, who viewed their work in northern New Spain as the logical outgrowth of their missionary enterprise that began in central New Spain in 1521. As Ramon Gutierrez observes, as Indian parishes became increasingly secularized in central Mexico in the latter quarter of the sixteenth century, the Franciscans “could either terminate their active ministry and retreat to conventual life or push into new missionary fields. Friars who went to New Mexico chose the latter option, inflamed by millennial dreams and aglow with the spirit of apostolic renewal.”²⁶ This statement encapsulates the Crown and the Church’s heroic mission rhetoric that the evangelization enterprise in central Mexico was successful thus requiring further expansion toward the northern and southern extremities of the viceroyalty. While this concept perpetuates the model of religious and secular “control emanating from a colonial center,” which in turn

²⁴ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 4-5.

²⁵ Ricard uses this term, *ibid*, 61.

²⁶ Ramon Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 4; Ricard, *ibid*, 2-5.

masks the reality of a much more varied and uneven process of conversion, it also reveals how concepts of time linked mission dynamics on the colonial frontier with those in central Mexico.²⁷

In his 1579 *Retórica Cristiana*, Diego Valadés understood the transformative nature of the mission enterprise that linked the northern missions temporally as well as spatially to the first monastic foundations in central Mexico and religious communities in the Holy Land. While he is well known for his integral role in Franciscan evangelization in the Valley of Mexico, as articulated visually and textually in his *Retórica Cristiana*, Diego Valadés also travelled north as a missionary. In his description of evangelization at the *Nombre de Jesus* mission in Durango, Valadés drew close parallels between himself and the explorers Moses sent with Caleb and Joshua to find the Land of Canaan described in the Old Testament Book of Numbers.²⁸ Valadés observes that God similarly sent him and his fellow missionaries as “his explorers” to the northern missions to endure harsh climates and convert hostile Indian tribes “for the glory of God.”²⁹

²⁷ See the introduction to *Negotiated Empires*, 2. This is also Tom’s concept so remember to cite.

²⁸ Valadés cites the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Book of Numbers in his *Retórica Cristiana*, trans. Tarsicio Herrera Zapién (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003), [f. 202 manuscript], 455. These passages from the book of numbers state: “And there the Lord spoke to Moses, saying. Send men to view the land of Chanaan, which I will give to the children of Israel. Moses did what the Lord had commanded, sending from the desert of Pharan, principal men. And they that went to spy out the land returned after forty days, having gone round all the country, and came to Moses and Aaron and to all the assembly. And speaking to them and to all the multitude, they showed them the fruits of the land. And they related and said: We came into the land to which you sent us, which in very deed flows with milk and honey. If the Lord be favourable, he will bring us into it, and give us a land flowing with milk and honey. Be not rebellious against the Lord: and fear not the people of this land, for we are able to eat them up as bread. All aid has gone from them: the Lord is with us, fear not.” *New Advent Bible*, Book of Numbers, Chapter 13: 1-3; 26-29 and Numbers, Chapter 14: 8-9.

²⁹ Valadés recalls: “En el numero de esos exploradores yo tambien me encuentre, por la gracia de Dios, y no puedo decir otra cosa de esa region, sine que a mi me parece ser la mas grane entre todas las regions que el Sol contempla.” See Diego Valadés, *Retórica*, trans. Herrera Zapién, 455.

Missionaries often identified their position in northern New Spain on “the frontier of civilization” vis-à-vis central Mexico, which they understood as ordered, Christian spaces in settled areas.³⁰ Jesuit and Franciscan letters and treatises are replete with visual and textual references to this missionary concept that the New Spanish center was both separated yet closely linked to the northern frontier.³¹ In the fourth part of his *Retórica Cristiana*, Diego Valadés created a counterpart to his Christianized Indian converts in central Mexico in the “barbarous and violent” *Chichimecas*, a generalized term for unconverted Indians in the north, when he recounted his travels as a twenty-five year old missionary in Zacatecas and Durango.³² Valadés’s engraving from Part Four of his treatise depicting a Franciscan missionary addressing two groups of indigenous followers in the hills of northern New Spain, creates a visual dichotomy of civilized Christian Indians separated from unconverted Chichimec Indians. Letters keyed to the scenes identify this priest, which may be a portrait of Valadés himself as a young missionary, addressing the group of nude Indians holding their weapons on the left side of this image, with the assembly of the faithful, clothed Indians on the right, showing proper veneration to the Franciscan’s liturgical objects (Figure 64).³³ This image provides some insight into

³⁰ See, for example, a Jesuit letter from 1637 that states: “Los padres que quedan principalmente entre naciones nuevas en la fe, y en la frontera de otras gentiles, son sin numero los peligros en que andan...” in ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Number 5, Folio 8v.

³¹ I am thankful to Tom Cummins for suggesting I consider this idea.

³² Esteban Palomera, SJ., *Fray Diego de Valadés, Evangelizador Humanista de la Nueva España* (Mexico: UIA, 1988), 100. Drawing literally from text and image in Valadés’s *Retórica*, Geronimo de Mendieta also understood the Chichimecs as the antithesis of the successfully converted Indians in the viceregal capital with their nomadic lifestyle and lack of understanding of “*policia humana*.” See Jeronimo Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, ed. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta (México: Antigua Libreria, 1870), 132.

³³ See his Cuarta Parte, folio 224, in Valadés, *Retórica*, trans. Herrera Zapién, 500-501.

Valadés's understanding of colonial centers always being linked to their peripheries in the missionary enterprise.

This concept that distance was cultural as much as it was geographical operated in all missionary theaters worldwide, including Europe, where missions located far from metropolitan seats of the Church were also considered wild and uncivilized in need of missionaries to instill Christian *policia*.³⁴ Jennifer Selwyn's insightful study of the Jesuit missions in the Kingdom of Naples examines the order's evangelization efforts that were posited on the rhetoric that the spiritual landscape of the Campania south of Rome was an isolated, earthly paradise plagued by moral and religious decay.³⁵ In this instance Old World and New World peripheries also were linked spatially and temporally, as missionaries drew parallels between their evangelization efforts on the Naples missions and their missions abroad in the Americas.

Time was also an important factor operating in the historical memory of conquest as the Spanish understood their *entradas* into northern New Spain as a continuation of colonization campaigns in the Valley of Mexico as well as Europe.³⁶ Missionaries and colonizers experienced this connection between central Mexico and the northern missions through the staging of theatrical conquest performances. In New Mexico in the 1590's, for example, missionary theatre was choreographed to reenact the Conquest narratives from Tenochtitlán as

³⁴ I use this term to refer to classically inspired notion of an organized Christian community functioning around the foundation of a church as discussed, among other authors, by Ángel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

³⁵ Jennifer Selwyn cites the Neapolitan philosopher Benedetto Croce's use of the term "Paradiso Abitato Da Diavoli" to explore how the Jesuits disseminated this paradoxical myth of Naples to a broader European audience (and linked their evangelization efforts on the Naples missions with their missions abroad in the Americas) in *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 3, 22-25.

³⁶ Ricard uses this term in *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 64

the Spanish remembered them taking place eighty years earlier. In 1598, when Juan de Oñate and his settlers reached the banks of the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, he staged a carefully choreographed *entrada* that mirrored the legendary arrival of the Spanish into the Valley of Mexico. Oñate and his troops marched under the banner of Our Lady of Remedies, which was identical to the one carried by Cortez in 1519. They also travelled with a female Indian guide, Dona Iñes, who functioned as a “second Malinche” to translate and provide cultural introductions to the resident Indians.³⁷ Later, twelve Franciscan friars arrived to reenact the symbolic entrance of the “the Twelve” Franciscan Apostles into the Aztec capital. These performances that functioned as rhetorical tools to teach indigenous tribes about the ritual of submission to the Catholic faith were repeated when the Spanish entered El Paso and Santo Domingo Pueblo in 1598. During the masses performed in the first chapels constructed in the new Christian towns such as El Paso, Oñate knelt to kiss the feet of twelve Franciscan missionaries to reenact the meeting of the twelve Franciscans who greeted Cortez. By the time the “Third Act in the New Mexico Conquest Drama” was performed in Santo Domingo Pueblo in July 1598, the local Indian leaders knelt to kiss the hands of Oñate and Martinez, signaling to the Spanish the effectiveness of these ceremonies of submission.³⁸ Drawing parallels between the Re-Conquest narratives in Spain and the religious drama in New Mexico, Oñate also staged performances set in medieval Spain of the Spanish defeating the Moors and their submission and acceptance of Christianity in New Mexican pueblos such as San Juan de los Caballeros (Onke).³⁹ These relationships between different sites of evangelization in New Spain affirm that for

³⁷ *Ibid*, 48-49.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 49.

³⁹ Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 59.

colonizers and missionaries, the mission was a concept in time that, like the colonial paradigm of centers and peripheries, was never monolithic but often historically changing.

Appendix A

Selected Jesuit Sermons from *San Ignacio, Parras* 1612-1767

Loctions: AGN Archivo Histórico de Hacienda Vol. 972
Expediente 1A & Expediente 1B

Section I. AGN Archivo Histórico de Hacienda Vol. 972, Expediente 1A

Sermón 24
San Miguel

”Si convertidos de su perfidia los herejes saduceos, convencidos de la razón con la clarísima antorcha de la fe al negar obstinados la existencia de los ángeles que aún en la lobreguez del gentilismo, alcanzaron a ver Aristóteles y Platón.

Sermón 25
Santa Catarina Parras

Sermón 26
Sr. San Joseph.

“Veamos si hay ojos bastantes para ver tanta ceguedad de que el mundo adolesce. Una piscina de paralíticos, hay también sin ojos”, alusión a los llamados de la iglesia para que los católicos se guíen por el camino del bien; ojos para ver cual es el camino adecuado, “hombre ciego que tanto tiempo vives sin ver a dios”. “llega a la piscina de la confesión y el arrepentimiento”.

Sermón 27
Sermón de la fiesta de la exaltación de la cruz Casa Profesa en México, 1728.

Sermón 28
San Francisco Xavier

Sermón 29
De la Viña c.1737

Fabricación de una mística viña para que en ella pasen mejor vida, “el terreno en que vivimos nos ofrece a la vista piadosas y fructuosas viñas; e cultivo de la espiritual viña será oportunamente para nuestra enseñanza estos domingos, comenzando esta tarde con el celoso y vigilante padre de familias. La viña es fruto de honor y honestidad.

“Pues a trabajar a esta viña nos llaman, y sean los primeros los que en el ser de padres, se le asemeja a este celoso padre de familias; pide la viña –dice el pictaviense-, para plantarse una tierra no muy gruesa, porque siéndolo, se pierde con la abundancia y así necesita de campo más tierno, y que hizo, se plantó al alma viña espiritual como la llama San Antonio de Papua, en la flaca tierra de la carne en cuyo terreno se asegura mientras más se oculta por la humildad para que entiendan los P.P. (Pather Phamilias), que si quieren lograr las plantas de los hijos, los han de erradicar en el terreno de la humildad y nomás; lo más es cercarlos con el mando del 5º temor

de dios, tapando los puntillos que abren los ladroncillos de malas compañías”, tres dedos “es lo que se arraiga la planta para que crezca y para que crezcan sin vicio los hijos, se han de radicar en estas tres cosas: en amor, respeto y veneración a sus padres. Es preciso para que prenda la planta el riego, y es necesario que las aguas de la enseñanza y buenos ejemplos de los padres, fecunde la tierna planta de los hijos”. “Si quieren los P.P. gozar tempranos frutos en los hijos a los siete años, cultivenlos en los 6 primeros años de su puericia y como poda el viñatero, corta lo superfluo, es verdad que queden los tronquitos al parecer feos; más los felicito... pues corten los Pather Phamilias (sic.) en los hijos lo superfluo de los vicios, los vástagos de malas inclinaciones para que no los deformen cuando granen, sino que más hermosos y bien criados den seguro fruto”.

“Apartando la tierra de la vida para que apartar las malas yerbas que le impiden el florecer para que el Pather les aparte de las malas compañías y los vicios; unas veces aparta el labrador la tierra de la vid y algunas veces se la arrima que llaman dar polvo y el Pather debe juntar al hijo el conocimiento de que es nada, de que es polvo, y otras ha de apartar la tierra para que le bañe el sol”.

Sermón 30

Parras 1759 Stabant iaxta Crucem Jesu

“En el mismo sagrado madero de la cruz en que se ejecutaba la ínfima sentencia del más inocente hijo, se padecen los mayores dolores de la más doliente madre, razón porque los mayores dolores de María consisten en padecer en compañía de Jesús contempla el espíritu altísimo Padre Salmerón los dolores que María señora, padece al pie de la cruz en su doliente hijo y dice “volved st virgen solu eraciorctur inse ipsa sed etle in filio suo chare era ciaretur, quiso tener cristo presente a su madre para que viéndola padecer y morir, padeciese a un mismo tiempo, padeciese acompañados con los dolores de la madre de manera que estaba la dolorosísima madre junto a la cruz con el alma que era su alma Jesús, porque según la profecía de Simeón, la espada penetrante traspasaba a un tiempo la compañía de estos divinos amantes”. “De modo que cristo en la cruz padecía los dolores del cuerpo y María en la misma cruz los compadeecía en el alma”.

“Como dijo el devoto P. Salmerón... y era tanto la circunstancia de padecer en compañía de quien como María se compadece, que en Cristo padece un solo en sus penas, padeciendo los de la compañía de su madre”.

Sermón 31

Pláticas de sábado, Chiapa

Sermón 32

Flavias egrediebaur reloco voluptatis ad irrigandum paradisi am noman

Sermón 33

Lob Maait digon... Jesús

Sermón 34

La dominaris potestad maris

Sermón 35
María de quanutus e Jesús

Sermón 36
De la santísima señora de la Luz. Parras

“El arco celeste que herido de las resplandecientes luces del sol gira en lúcido semicírculo las nubes llevándose de la admiración los aplausos por la vanidad y hermosura de sus colores. El iris que en la república de luminosos meteoros, solo debe el imperio y la corona, pues hace a todos tan conocidas ventajas, tan formado del supremo autor de la naturaleza, la que le muestra bella ilusión de los ojos lisonjero engaño de la vista, agradable de las atenciones y tono de los discursos, vistoso enigma de apariencias. Varios epítetos le dieron los filósofos, unos le llamaron nophéo del sol, otros húmedo artificio de los rayos solares, porque unos opacos, otros transparentes y densos; forma aquella vistosa confusión de varios colores y estos epítetos dio al cristal ingeniosa filosofía, ninguno como el del autor de la naturaleza diciendo que pondría su arco en las nubes; sorpresa y señal de la confederación en los hombres (palabras inentendibles escritas en latín), iris celeste, arco de luces, sonido de los rayos resplandecientes del sol”. “benditas sean las manos del sabio que con tendidos pinceles te delineó; después de bien dispuesto y preparado el cándido lienzo de María, desde su concepción en gracia menor honor nuestro, el mayor, las líneas rectas, introduciendo los mejores coloridos al de la Caridad, se tocó al temple de los esplendores del sol que poniendo en trabe de rocío de María, nubes que dijo San Buenaventura, aparecen adornándolo varios y vistosos colores”.

“El 1er color del arcoiris es el azul celeste, símbolo tan propio de la madre santísima María, como este lúcido espejo del cielo”. “El 2º color del iris es el color aqua, en que se simboliza humildad y las copiosas aguas de María sepultadas en el centro de su profunda humildad”.

“El 3er color del arco iris es el rojo o igneo, que simboliza la caridad ignis chantas que es el espíritu divino, todo amor, abrazador fuego... que no se ven en la santa madre, sino rayos del divino espíritu y sol que le adorna y que fervoroso al fuego de caridad de la señora, san Ildefonso, espíritu santo.

“Esta imagen de la madre santísima de la luz que pinta dios en las nubes en señal de aquella gran misericordia”

Sermón 37

Liber generaois Jesu cristo. Concepción, retablo Santiago de la Cruz
(This is not discussing Parras)

Sermón 38

Dedicación de capilla de mi santísima Dolorosa. Santiago. 1752

Sermón 39

Materias Dolores, Santiago

Sermón 40

Asunción, Parras 1737

María Optimo parte elegit.

(La temática es la misma que la del No 41).

Sermón 41

María Optimam parte ellegit Lucy pto. (Viñas)

“Ya que tanta gloria celebramos de nuestra patrona de las Parras, introduzcamos a la bodega de sus preciosos vinos y gloriosos, suaves néctares, la misma señora que hablando con sus celestes cortesanos, les dice en sus epítomes como su esposa le enseñó el disfrute de esas delicias; *introduvit me rex incollaria sua en su gloria*, dice Cornelio, pues si en esta bodega figura de la gloria, enviaron todos los justos y santos como sola María se gloria de gloria tanta”.

“Y pues en este templo te veneran y alegres cantan en él los de este pueblo, las glorias como dijo el real profeta et intemplo rios omnes dicante gloria ridusgance sus fiestas sólo a cantar dignamente tus glorias y así dice Arias Mostano explicando... le hacían los del otro pueblo que en ciertas fiestas concurrían a sus templos como ahora al de Parras, y después de varias canciones, entonábase en voz alta estas palabras: cabed cabed, gloria, gloria”. “Esta gloria se entona a ti gloriosísima señora en este tu templo dedicado a tu ascunción gloriosa a los cielos”.

“Amantísima madre, goza en buena hora alegre las merecidas de gloria con que vienes elevada, sobre todos los coros de los ángeles, sobre todos los tronos de los bienaventurados y desde estos cielos, mira señora con esos misericordiosos ojos, por estas tus parras, por esta tu viña viscta vincista dia al intento mírala señora como madre de misericordia para que de ti y tu amado hijo no se seque aparte y estéril por la culpa, no lleve frutos de penitencia; riégala señora con las fecundas aguas de tus auxilios y socorros, defiéndela de las plagas de tantos enemigos para que floreciendo en virtudes y buenas obras de colmados y sabrosos frutos de gracias con la que te acompañe en el templo de la gloria”.

Sermón 50

Itabat iaxta crucem Jesé Mater. Parras 1736

“Eres estatua viva o eres estatua muerta, si eres estatua viva como vives atravesada el alma, y si muerta por estar sin vida, como sientes como viva; eres acaso aquel simulacro venerado que desmintiendo los sacrificios de las profanas deidades, consagras verdadero holocausto en el reverente altar de tu encendido pecho.”

Sermón 51

Liber Gr. María Liber Gr raoil Jesucristi.
Guadalupe y Parras. 1739

Sermón 52

Visitación. Parras 1758.

Sermón 53

Estantes irosolimes probática piscina S.

Sermón 54

En pobre (ilegible) y una pobre patria o morada.

Se menciona en este sermón a María como patrona de los pobres

“Siendo así llena de gracia y para nosotros más que llena. La liberalidad de la mujer, fuerte símbolo muy propio de María, dijo que abrió la mano al pobre y que no se e contentando con esto, abrió las palmas de su mano para doradas manos a los pobres... María santísima extiende las palmas de su patrocinio no solo para favorecer a los pobres con las manos llenas, sino para mostrar que en esas palmas abiertas para los pobres, le salían a estos la corona de su patrocinio, por eso se mira la poderosísima reina en esta sagrada imagen digna con las manos puestas al pecho o cerradas, en ademán de quien ruega por sus pobres a su eterno padre”.

Sermón 55

Exargens Merca abis in Montana.

Sermón 56

Descendimiento

Sermón 57

Baiulans sebi cruce erivit.

Sermón 58

Cam accepisset Jesus.

Sermón 59

Populemeus quid feu tibi (sin fecha)

La ceremonia realizada en Parras, sobre el descendimiento de Cristo

“Al descendimiento noresit por curiosidad que por compasión, ha concurrido esta tarde en este templo, el pueblo de Parras, en alegoría de estas para desahogo de su triste sentimiento e inaudito destrozo con el amable dueño de la viña, se queja de indecible dolor la misma iglesia, con su ingratísima viña, de esta manera populi meus vinea mia eluta. Viña mia elegida yo soy si no me niegas ingrato tu más fino criador que abrazado de amor de tu alma, te entresaqué de las sombras del oído de la ignorancia. Te planté en tierras del cristianismo y e origen ante saludables aguas del bautismo.

Te di cristianos para que te educaran en la católica religión; te crié con una obra racional adornada de entendimiento y sus potencias con un cuerpo saludable y tan cabal”.

Sermón 60

Et dijisteis ecce homo

Sermón 61

Homo quidam fecit cena magno. Sacramento, Parras. 1754.

Section II. AGN Archivo Histórico de Hacienda Vol. 972, Expediente 1B

Sermón 1
Confitur Tibi Domine Celic terre

Sermón 2
DPVM San Cayetano Parras Caerite V Regni dei A Justitigeias Lue
La vida de San Cayetano

“... O volteando de camino los ciclos, o labrando a las viñas, o en las plantas el fruto, o en las espigas el grano o en la flor la fragancia...”

Sermón 3
DPVM Sermón del Santo ladrón, Amendico Hodie meuzeris in Paradiso.
Parras, 1737

“...sr. Exclama admirado San Cipriano, que más premio distea San Esteban, que más al casto Juan... la inocencia y penitencia de tantos escogidos, los largos tormentos de los mártires...”

Sermón 4
DPVM Ánimas. Beati Misericondes. Parra 1738

“...a la devota memoria de las almas que padecen en la penosa cárcel del purgatorio... la misericordia y piedad de los caritativos pueblos y cristianos con razones de sus cofrades...”

Sermón 5
DPVM Sermón de Pedro, Parras, 1758

“...San Juan vio en sus celestiales revelaciones una sombra de la militante iglesia... suntuoso templo o edificio... la altura de su eminencia que sirve de repisa a su magnitud... sus entradas y doce puertas... vistosa emulación de capiteles...”
Es referente a la iglesia instituida por San Pedro.

“...he discurrido que se sacrificó cabeza abajo [San Pedro], para ser perfecta sombra de Cristo; atiendan que cuando sale el sol, lo alto de los cuerpos ilumina, se ven abajo los ramos de los árboles [ilegible], se ven las pinturas en su sombra...”

Sermón 10
DPVM María de quanatus e Jesús
Referente a la construcción del Palacio del Rey Salomón.

“...Dividían el templo de Salomón en tres estaciones o altares como son los tres del pavimento de esta iglesia, dedicados todos a María. El 1er altar o estación es afuera del templo; otro medio del atrio interior en el que entrábase los sacerdotes; el tercer altar era el sancta sanctorum, al que no entraba sino el sumo sacerdote una vez al año... y bendita sea vuestra piedad porque hoy se dedica este templo no de nuevo edificado como deseaba y si reparado por mi poca posibilidad y puesto. Purísima y amantísima madre que tal vez colocada en este templo de Santiago como testigo... viéndote en él venerada con júbilo de los habitantes de este valle que te tributan estos

anuales cultos; vuelve señora esos tus purísimos misericordiosos ojos, a todos que como templos vivos de dios, te colocan en sus corazones, muy en particular a los que como columnas y diputados te ofrecen nueva alhaja para tu templo; llena de bendiciones a los benefactores y vecinos que han contribuido para su erección, comunica tus bienes a todos los hijos de estos 3 pueblos que han cooperado con el sudor de su rostro...”

Sermón 14

DPVM De la comunión. Parras 1757

Significado de la Eucaristía

“...engendra y da la vida en cristo el bautismo, pero esa vida la sustenta y la mantiene la eucaristía, fortalece la fe para las batallas, la confirmación, pero esa fortaleza la hace invencible la eucaristía y por eso los mártires antes de ir al martirio se fortalecían con este pan de fuertes...”

Sermón 23

DPVM Que Buena Muerte la de San Pablo

Disposiciones para alimentar el alma y un crecimiento spiritual

Sermón 24

DPVM Año Nuevo Parras, 1756

“...No nos debería causar tanto espanto como el pecado que como una espada de dos filos, divide y aparta nuestra alma de dios... la que desesperada de su centro, queda como una viña destrozada por una granizada, conculcada de animales que solían... de vendimia, queda como una casa en un terremoto que no deja piedra sobre piedra... a todos los mártires y les hizo derramar su sangre... salvador que la derramó desde el día de hoy; por este hombre fue apedreado Esteban; sacrificado Pedro, descabezado Pablo; desollado Bartolomé; asado Lorenzo; atormentados los [ilegible]; este hombre sagrado haya San Pablo su alma que separada la cabeza del cuerpo... San Ignacio Mártir en su alma jesuita... por el que se consigue su salud Bendita mi madre la Compañía de Jesús.

Appendix B

Jesuits Stationed at Parras from the ARSI Catalogi Triennales et Breves

ARSI, Mex. 4 1580-1653

1604

Jesuitas en la misión de Parras (f. 160r)

P. Franciscus de Arista
P. Ludovicus (Luis) Ximenez de Ahumada
P. Hieronimus de Santiago
P. Franciscus de Lorca
P. Hieronimo de Rosales
Joannes Ruiz de Feria

Nomen: **P. Franciscus de Arista**

Patria: Guaxaquensis

Atal (age): 42 annos

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis (time spent in the order): 23 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Philos. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria (ministry work): ministri, Sup.ris missionus, concio., e confessetiamindory
(Creates the curriculum, serves as Superior of mission, preacher, and confessor)

Gradue in Litt.: [blank]

An Professett (Level of Professed Vows): Prof. 4r Votory (has professed the 4th vow)

Stations Before and After Parras:

1592—F53v, number 124 listed as a *hermano estudiante aprobado* in Mexico City (joined the order in 1583).

1595—F 84 (in Catalogo de los Padres ay Hermanos en la Provincia de Nueva Espana) at Misión de Zacatecas—sabe muy bien la lengua mexicana y se ha ejercitado en confesar y predicar en alla tres anos.”

1600—at the Residencia de Guadianense (Durango) preaching, confessing, and ministering to the Indians

1604—at Parras F 167 # 46 (in Catalogo de los que en esta provincia de Nueva Espana saben la lengua y se exercitan en alla”): lists him as speaking buena lengua mexicana y zacatecas y la exercisa en el Rio de las Nazas.

1607—f 179 moved to Zacatecas Residencia

1618—Father Superior at the Residencia de Guadiana (Durango) (in Mex 2. Epist. Gener., Folio 201r and Mex 17 (f.82r)

1629—in Guatemala

1649—f 427 died

Nomen: **P. Ludovicus (Luis) Ximenez de Ahumada**

Patria: Xerez (Jerez)

Atal (age): 40 an.

Vires (health): firma
Tempos Societatis: 8 an.
Tempos Studiorum: Philos. 3, Theol. 4
Ministeria: ministri, Rectorus seminary, mag. novitatory, concio et confes. et bindory
(curriculum, rector of seminary, maestro of novitiates, preaches, confesses)
Gradue: Bachalaurus in Plia (Philosophia) et in Theologia
An Professett: vota simp. (vota simplicita)
Notes: 1595—at Puebla college and novitiate (f. 76 v)
1600—at Puebla college and novitiate (f. 115)
1604—f167 #47—lengua mexicana para confesar y ahora aprende la zacateca en
el Rio de las Nazas (en Parras)
1619—Rector and Maestro de los novicios en Tepotzotlán (See Mex. 2, f. 219r)

Nomen: **P. Hieronimus de Santiago**

Patria: Xerez
Atal (age): 39
Vireb (health): firma
Tempos Societatis: 22 an.
Tempos Studiorum: Phil. 3, Theol. 4
Ministeria: concionaturis, e confes. indory popul. (preaching and confessing)
Gradue: [blank]
An Professett: Prof. 4r Votory
Notes: 1592—in Mexico City listed as a *sacerdote de voto simple* at 26 (joined
1582) (f. 51, # 73).
1595—f 84 (Catalogo de los Padres ay Hermanos en la Provincia de
Nueva Espana) P. Hieronimus is listed at the misión de Zacatecas 1595, speaking
Tarascan and confessing and preaching for 4 years.
1604—Parras (f. 167, #48) la lengua tarasca y ahora aprende la zacateca en el Rio
de los Nazos.

Nomen: **P. Franciscus de Lorca**

Patria: Ocana
Atal (age): 33
Vireb (health): infirma
Tempos Societatis: 13 an. (joined 1591)
Tempos Studiorum: Philos. 3, Theol. 4
Ministeria: confes.indory (confessing)
Gradue: [blank]
An Professett: vota simp.
Notes: 1595—listed at Puebla college and novitiate (f. 75v, #120)
1600—listed at Collegium Mexicanus (f. 112)

Nomen: **P. Hieronimo de Rosales**

Patria: Madrid, dioces. De Toledo
Atal (age): 38 an.
Vireb (health): infirma.

Tempos Societatis: 15 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Philos. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: concio. Et confes. et indory (preaching and confessing)

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simp.

Notes: 1592—listed as an *hermano estudiante aprobado* at 26 years old (joined June 1589) (f. 55, #156)

1595—listed at Collegium Mexicanum of S Gregorio, DF (f. 72v, #61)

1600—listed at Collegium Mexicanus (f. 111)

1604—sabe lengua mexicana para confesar y ahora aprende la zacateca en el Rio de las Nazas (f. 167, #49)

1607—at the Zacateca Residencia (f. 179)

Nomen: **Joannes (Juan) Ruiz de Feria**

Patria: Zacatecas Mexico

Atal (age): 29 an.

Vireb (health): firma.

Tempos Societatis: 12 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Philos. 3, casuum 2, Theol. 3

Ministeria: concionat. Et confess. (preaching and confesing)

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simp.

Notes: 1592—DF, listed as a novice at 17 years (joined Aug. 1591/2) (f. 57, #201)

1595—listed at Collegium Mexicanum S Gregorio, DF (f. 72v, #57)

1600—listed at Collegium Mexicanus (f. 112)

1604—Parras, sabe algo de la lengua mexicana y ahora aprende la zacateca en el Rio de los Nazos (f. 167, #50)

Jesuits In Other Locations

Seminarium S. Ildefonso (f. 152)

P. Gaspar de Carvajal (¿)-Puebla

P. Joannes de Ledesma—Mexico DF

P. Gabriel de Alarcón--¿

Fr. Joannes de Carrascal—Mexicana

F. Alexius de la Paz—Ocana

F. Martines de Leon—Guadalajara

F. Franciscus de Monforte—passaron

F. Franciscus Calderon—Toledo

F. Petrus Gomez--¿ G/hispalenses

Collegium Tepotzotlán (f. 155v)

P. Nicolas de Arnaya—Segovia

P. Petrus Vidal—Aragon

P. Didacus de Torres—Vellesoleti (¿)

F. Martin de Rojas—Asturias

F. Nicolas Gallardo—Vallesoleti (¿ Valladolid?)

F. Petrus Nieto (¿)—Asturias
F. Petrus Sanchez—Pontevedra, Galicia

Collegium Guadalajara (f. 156)

P. Petrus de Morales—Valdepenas, Toleti.
P. JOannes Perez—Mexici
P. JOannes Gallegos—Mexici
P. Petrus Ramirez Benita—Canamares, Toleti.
F. Martinus de la F/Puente—Burgensis
F. Joannes de Urrutia—Navarra
F. Joannes Rodríguez—Rosales, Galicia
F. Michael Turrado—Tepotzotlán
F. Martinus Juarez—Ventoselo, Bracbarensis
F. Gabriel de Ontoria—Asturias
F. Dominico Nicolaus—Italy
F. Ferdinando Scudero—Carmona

Residencia Zacatecana (f. 159)

P. Ludovicus de Covarrubias—Constantinae di hispalenses
P. Franciscus de Contreras—Puebla
F. Joseph de los Reyes—Puebla
F. Benitus Martín—Retamosa in Platentia
F. Cristophoro Martín—Guadalaraja diac. Toleti.
F. Antonius Montero—Iborensis (¿)

1607

Jesuitas en la misión de Parras (f. 179v) *=appears in 1604

P. Ludovicus (Luis) de Ahumada*
P. Didacus de Pangua
P. Thomas Domínguez
Joannes Ruiz de Feria*
P. Didacus Lavios

Nomen: **P. Ludovicus (Luis) de Ahumada***

Patria: Jerez

Atal (age): 41

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 12 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Ps. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: Sup.or mag.r novit. concio, el confess et bindory

Gradue: Bachalaurus in Psia (Philosophia) et in Theologia

An Professett: Profesor 4.r anno.

Notes: (see 1604)

Nomen: **P. Didacus de Pangua**

Patria: S. Martin in nova Philpa (Phillipines ȷ)

Atal (age): 34

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 17 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Psia 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: lect. Phil., concio, el confes, et indory (teacher of Philosophy et al)

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simp. (vota simplicita)

Notes: 1600—at Collegium Mexicanus (f. 111)

1619-20—at Tarahumara missions (see Mex 2, f. 232r)

Nomen: **P. Thomas Dominguez**

Patria: Villa de los Lagos (Guadalajara)

Atal (age): 31 an.

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 16 an. (joined June 1590)

Tempos Studiorum: Psia. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: concio.es, confes., et indory

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simpos (vota simplicita)

Notes: 1595—listed at the Collegium Mexicanum San Gregorio, DF (f. 73, #69)

1600—at Collegium Mexicanus (f. 111v)

1620-21—in Merida de Yucatan. Opened up a school for niños. (F. 233r and 237v)

Nomen: **Joannes Ruiz de Feria***

Patria: Mexico

Atal (age): 33

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 16

Tempos Studiorum: Psia. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: concio. et confes. et bindory

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simp.

Notes: (see 1604 notes)

Nomen: **P. Didacus Lavios**

Patria: Altrisco

Atal (age): 33

Vireb (health): firme

Tempos Societatis: 16 an.

Tempos Studiorum: Psia. 3, Theol. 4

Ministeria: concio. et confes. etindory (preaching and confesión)

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: vota simp

Jesuits In Other Locations

Seminarium S. Ildefonso

- P. Ferdinandus de Mexia—Villanueva de los infantés dioc. Tolet. (In 1614 Mexia is in Guatemala f. 201, #257)
P. Ludovicus de Molina—Conca (f. 199, #219 1614 he's in the Collegio Guadalajara)
F. Didacus de Aleber (i)—Oaxaca
F. Thomas Capata—Puebla, MX
F. Bernardus Cisneros
F. Didaco de Guzman—Madrid (lit. Matriti)
F. Alfonso Perez (i)—navalcarnero
F. Gaspar de Napara—Yucatan (f. 204v, #316. In 1614, Napara is in the Topia misión)
F. Petrus Mexia—
F. Hieronimo Lopez—Gilpalensis (i)
F. Petrus Meto—Asturias
F. Petrus Gomez—Gilpalensis (i)

1614

Jesuitas en la Misión de Parras (F. 205) **=appears in 1607

- P. Thomas Domínguez**
P. Joannes Ruiz de Feria**
P. Petrus de Cardenas
P. Thomas Zapata
P. Petrus de Egurrola

Nomen: **P. Thomas Domínguez****

Patria: Villa de los Lagos (Guadalajara)

Atal (age): 38 an.

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 24 an.

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: rhaetorica legit. sup.or missio-operar. Ind. (teaches rhetoric)

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: professo 4. (professed the 4th vow on) 20 Feb 1611

Notes: In Francisco Zambrano's *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús* (Vol. 6, 351), Domínguez worked with Indians in Mex. City, misión at Durango, superior at the seminary of S. Jerónimo in Puebla, 1611 Mérida Yucatán, 1616-17 superior at Parras and La Laguna. See also Dunne, *Northern Mexico*, 138.

Nomen: **P. Joannes Ruiz de Feria****

Patria: Mexicum

Atal (age): 38

Vireb (health): firmae

Tempos Societatis: 22

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: Indor. Operaruis 11 an.

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: Prof.. 4 14 Dec. 1608

Notes: (see previous notes)

1620—moves to Domus Professa (Mexico City) (f. 239, #19)

Nomen: **P. Petrus de Cardenas**

Patria: Veracruz in Nova hisp.a

Atal (age): 33

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 15 (or 19)

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: operarius Ind. h. an-

Gradue: [blank]

An Professett: [blank]

Notes: 1600—at Puebla College and Novitiate (f. 116 v)

1604— at Collegium Mexicanum S Gregorio, DF (f. 149 v)

1620—moves to the Residencia of Veracruz and becomes Father Superior (took 4th vow in 1615) (f.253v, #283)

Nomen: **P. Thomas Zapata**

Patria: Angelo polis (Puebla) Puebla Collage is listed as “Angelo politanum”

Atal (age): 36

Vireb (health): firma

Tempos Societatis: 17

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: operar. Indor. 4 an.

Gradue: blank

An Professett: blank

Notes: 1604—at Collegium Mexicanum S Gregorio, DF (as a frater—has taken his vota simplicia) f. 151

1620—He will be in Parras

Nomen: **P. Petrus de Egurrola**

Patria: Mexicum

Atal (age): 29

Vireb (health): mediocres

Tempos Societatis: 14

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: sup.or seminary s.te Hieronymi. Legit rhet.o. ind. (Superior of the Seminary of San Jeronimo and teaches rhetoric!!)

Gradue: blank

An Professett: blank

Notes: 1604—at Collegium Mexicanum S Gregorio, DF (still as a frater—has taken vota simplicia) (f. 151)

1620—moves to Collegium Angelopolitanum (f. 247, #159)

1620

Jesuitas en Parras (f 254v-255) ***=appears in 1614

P. Alphonsus Gomez—Mexican

P. Thomas Zapata—Puebla***

P. Petrus de la Serna--

P. Gundizalus de Arellano—Calaguritanus

P. Antonius del Castillo—Guadalajara

Nomen: **P. Alphonsus Gomez**

Patria: Mexicanus

Atal (age): 44

Vireb (health): mediocres

Tempos Societatis: 23

Tempos Studiorum: studiado plevit

Ministeria: Sup.or miss. de las Parras, confes., **operati. ind.**

Gradue:

An Professett: Professus 4 votors 16 Mag. 1613

Notes:

Nomen: **P. Thomas Zapata*****

Patria: Puebla

Atal (age): 42

Vireb (health): valide

Tempos Societatis: 20

Tempos Studiorum: studiato plevit (plenit)

Ministeria: **operarius indor.**

Gradue:

An Professett: Professus 4 votors

Notes: (see 1614 notes)

1626—moves to the Collegium Oaxacanum to become “Rector de minister. indorus.” (f. 276v #204)

Nomen: **P. Petrus de la Serna**

Patria: Tebuaca mensis (*i*) in nova hispana

Atal (age): 32

Vireb (health): mediocrus

Tempos Societatis: 14

Tempos Studiorum: studia absolvit

Ministeria: lect., gram., **operarius ind.**

Gradue: blank

An Professett: blank

Notes: (see 1626 notes below)

Nomen: **P. Gundizalus de Arellano**

Patria: Calaguritanus (Calaborra)

Atal (age): 32

Vireb (health): valide
Tempos Societatis: 15
Tempos Studiorum: studia complevit
Ministeria: **operarius indor.s**
Gradue: blank
An Professett: blank
Notes: 1626—moves to Collegium Zacatecanum (conciona, confess.,
profess.) 1626 (f. 282, #301)

Nomen: **P. Antonius del Castillo**
Patria: Guadalajara
Atal (age): 28
Vireb (health): firme
Tempos Societatis: 10
Tempos Studiorum: studia complevit (conplevit)
Ministeria: lector, gram., **operarius indorum (Indian day labor)**
Gradue: Bacalaurus in sdia (i)
An Professett: blank
Notes: 1614—at Residencia de Zacatecas (f. 201v)
1626—moves to College of S. Ildefonso in Puebla (f.275, #185)

1626

Jesuitas en la Misión de Parras (f. 282v) + = name appears in 1620

P. Petrus de la Serna+
P. Michael Bernon
P. Martinus del Egurrola
P. Martinus de Viñuelas

Nomen: **P. Petrus de la Serna+**
Patria: Tehuacan en Nova Hispana (archdiocese of Puebla)
Atal (age): 38
Vireb (health): valide
Tempos Societatis: 20
Tempos Studiorum: studio plevit
Ministeria: operarius indor. Sup.or mission.
Gradue: blank
An Professett: professed 4th vow July 1622
Notes: 1614—at Seminary S. Ildefonso, Mexico City
1638—in S. L. Potosí as head preacher
1648—Puebla Collegium Spiritus Sancti
1650—Rector of College of S. Ildefonso in Puebla
1653—at Collegium Spiritus Sancti, Puebla)

Nomen: **P. Michael Bernon**
Patria: Calacena
Atal (age): 33

Vireb (health): valide
Tempos Societatis: 16
Tempos Studiorum: studio absoluit
Ministeria: operar. indorus
Gradue: blank
An Professett: blank
Notes: no extra info.

Nomen: P. Martinus del Egurrola

Patria: Mexicanus
Atal (age): 30
Vireb (health): firma
Tempos Societatis: 19
Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit
Ministeria: operar. Indor.
Gradue: blank
An Professett: blank
Notes: 1614—at Collegium Mexicanum S. Gregorio, Mexico City
1620—at Collegio in Sinaloa
1638—after 16 years on missionary front moves to Casa Profesa, Mexico City

Nomen: P. Martinus de Viñuelas

Patria: Puebla
Atal (age): 31
Vireb (health): firma
Tempos Societatis: 14
Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit
Ministeria: blank
Gradue: blank
An Professett: blank
Notes: 1614—at Collegium Mexicanum S. Gregorio, Mexico City
1620—at seminary S. Ildefonso, DF teaching grammar
1638 at Residencia Guadiana in fuis Missionibus (Durango)
1648 at Domus Profesa, Mexico City
f 286—supplement to 1626 chart:
“Milliones vero sunt in quinque locis, silicer (*i*) in Prov.a
Cinaloyensi, in St.a Andrea, Topia, Tepehuanes (Pazquaro), et Parras.” (f. 286v) and f.
291—Parras (Parrensi)

1632

No listing of Parras—only *Residentia Guadianae cum missionibus* (Durango) and
Collegium Sinaloa cum missionibus (f. 309r-310v)

1638

No listing of Parras in charts—only *Residencia Guadiana in fuis Missionibus* (f. 331v)

(f. 354r)—mention of Parras listing 4 sacerdotes with one of them being the superior
(but doesn't give their names). This is dated in pencil 1631.

(f. 354v)—“In domo Guadianensi versantur duo sacerdotes, et duo Patres coadjutores, et unus sacerdos est Sup. or tam ipsius domus, quam duarum missionum proximarum, nempe Tepehuana et Parras.”

1648

Jesuitas en Parras (Parrensis) (f. 394v)

P. Ildephonsus de Medina

P. Barnabus de Rivera

Nomen: **P. Ildephonsus de Medina**

Patria: Puebla

Atal (age): 36

Vireb (health): Bone.

Tempos Societatis: 21

Tempos Studiorum: implevit studia

Ministeria: fuit in missionib. Superior. Confesor. Et concion.

Gradue: blank

An Professett: taken 4th vow 1645

Notes:

Nomen: **P. Barnabus de Rivera**

Patria: Mexicanus

Atal (age): 30

Vireb (health): Bone.

Tempos Societatis: 16/8

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: ejob(ꝛ) in missionibus

Gradue: blank

An Professett: vota. simplicia

Notes: 1638—at Collegium Mexicanum, DF (f. 320)

The 1648 list is signed by Petrus de Velasco (Father Provincial and once *procurador*)

1650

Jesuitas en Parrensis (f. 450v)

P. Gaspar de Contreras

P. Ludovicus Gomez

Nomen: **P. Gaspar de Contreras**

Patria: Salajensis en Nova Hispania

Atal (age): 51

Vireb (health): valide

Tempos Societatis: 33

Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit

Ministeria: est in missionibus, e superior
Gradue: blank
An Professett: 4th vow 1639
Notes: 1638—at Residencia de Guadiana (f. 332)
1648—at Collegium Queretaro f. 391v

Nomen: **P. Ludovicus Gomez**
Patria: Puebla
Atal (age): 47
Vireb (health): mediocres
Tempos Societatis: 29
Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit
Ministeria: Philosoph. Fuit. R.or. (Rector) est in Missionibus
Gradue: blank
An Professett: 4th vow 1641
Notes: 1638—at Collegium C1648—at retanense (f. 330)
1648—at Collegium Sancti Ludovisi de Potosí (f. 392)

1653

Jesuitas en Parrensis **=appears in 1650

P. Bartolomeus de Cuellar
P. Gaspar de Contreras**
P. Joseph de Alarcón
Nomen: **P. Bartolomeus de Cuellar**
Patria: Puebla
Atal (age): 30
Vireb (health): firme
Tempos Societatis: 14
Tempos Studiorum: absoluit studia
Ministeria: Docuit gram. est in miss. e ubi R.or (Rector)
Gradue: blank
An Professett: sacerdes vota simplicita
Notes: 1648—at Collegium Mexicanum, DF (f 381)
1650—at Collegium Seminarium S. Ildefonso, DF (docuit grammaticam est
minster.)(He is also listed as vota simplicia—so he is becoming ordained) f. 439

Nomen: **P. Gaspar de Contreras****
Patria: Salayensis
Atal (age): 53
Vireb (health): valide
Tempos Societatis: 36
Tempos Studiorum: studia absoluit
Ministeria: est in misión ibi Sup. (Superior) et albi R.or
Gradue: blank
An Professett: 4th vow 1635
Notes: (see 1650 notes)

Nomen: **P. Joseph de Alarcón**

Patria: Mexicanus

Atal (age): 27

Vireb (health): Bone

Tempos Societatis: 12

Tempos Studiorum: absolut studia

Ministeria: docuit. Gram.est in Miss.

Gradue: Baccal. In Phil.

An Professett: sacerdo. Vot. simpl.

Notes: 1648—at Collegium Mexicanum, DF (as a frater) f 381

1650—at Collegium Mexicanum, DF (as a pater now) f 436 v

Mex. 5 Catalogi Triennales et Breves 1659-1687

1659-60

Jesuitas en Parras (f.18r)

P. Rochuor/Rocus (Roche?) de Molina

1681--Procurator

Nomen: **P. Rochuor (Roche?) de Molina**

Patria: Valentinus (Valencia?)

Atal (age): 37

Vireb (health): firme

Tempos Societatis: 19

Tempos Studiorum: absolut studia

Ministeria: Docuit gram. nunc. e in Miss.

Gradue: blank

An Professett: vota simpl.

Notes

Procuradores

P. Ferdinandus Davila—Hispalensis—Procur. Provinciae.

Fr. Philippus del Castillo—Aragon—Procurat. Provincia.

1662-63

Jesuitas en Parras (f. 61v)

P. Gaspar de Contreras

Nomen: **P. Gaspar de Contreras**

Patria: Salajensis en Nova Hispania

Atal (age): 63

Vireb (health): Robuste

Tempos Societatis: 49

Tempos Studiorum: studia absolut

Ministeria: fuit in in mis.bus R.or iterum in Miss.

Gradue: blank

An Professett: 4th vow taken in 1639

Notes: 1638—at Residencia de Guadiana f. 332
1648—at Collegium Queretaro f. 391v
1650 and 1653—at Parras
1659-60—at Collegium Zacatecanum (where he's listed first as Rector)

Catalogo de todas la misiones de la Provincia de Nueva España de la Compañía de Jesús Año de 1662 (f. 104)

*Nota que los que tienen la señal de + son superiores de las Misiones.

Misión de Sinaloa—16 padres

Misión de Sonora—17

Misiones de las tres Sierras—12

Misión de Tepehuanes—4

Misión de Tarahumara—5

1662 Santa Maria de las Cuevas—only about 200 Indian souls under the supervision of P.

Vigilio Maes (also ministered to Satevo, S. Lorenzo as well as Cuevas)

- This document is signed by Hernando Cabero (Caberar?)

1667

Jesuitas en Parras (f. 126) *=appears in 1662-3

P. Gaspar de Contreras*

P. Petrus de Villanueva

P. Petrus Martinez

F. Franciscus de Herrera

P. Ferdinandus de Vario Nuevo (?)

P. Joannes Vallejo (Procurator in 1668-69)

P. Agustino de Guzman

Procuradores (f. 110r)

P. Petrus Ramos*—Gerez in Hispania—Procurator Provin.

1668-69

Missio Tarahumarensis et Parras (f. 166v)

P. Barnabus de Soto—Chiquautlila oppidus nova hispania (fuit in miss. operarius indorum Rector Parras)

P. Barnabus Gutiérrez—Villa Carrillum (¿) inbetica (¿)

P. Barnabas de Lascano—Zacatecas

P. Vigilius Maez—Belge

P. Hieronimus de Figueroa—Mexicus

P. Gabriel del Villar—Mexicus

P. Joannes Sarmiento—Tapixalapa, Nuova Hispana

P. Antonius Diaz—Tepotzotlan (operarius indorum)

F. Gaspar de los Reyes—Oaxaca

F. Joseph Dalgado—Puebla

Procuradores

(f. 151r)

P. Joannes de Vallejo—Abula in Hispania—procurator provinciae (in Parras in 1667)

F. Didacus de Alarcón—Mexicus—provincis procuratoris

(f 167 at back Extra Provinciam)

P. Emmanuel de Villabona—Carthagenavovis Regni (Columbia)—

Proc.or nunc Indiarum

Fr. Joannes de Alvia—Pamplona—Proc.is Indiarus—*coad. temp.*

1671

1668 Francisco de Florencia procurador in Madrid and Rome (1671-published *Menologio* and 1675 returned to New Spain)(1696: in Parras)

Missio Tarahumarensis et Parras (f. 209v-210r) **=**appears in 1668**

P. Didacus Ximenez

P. Hieronimus de Figueroa** (also may be Dominicus)

P. Gabriel del Villar**

P. Petrus de Escalante

P. Joannes Sarmiento**

P. Martinus del Prado

P. Joannes Bolton / Boltor

P. Barnabus de Soto**

P. Franciscus de Bañuelos

P. Dominicus de Treto

Procuradores

(f 194 at begenning)

P. Bartolomeus de Cuellar—Puebla—Provinciae Procurator

P. Didacus de Alarcón—Mexicus—Provinciae Procurator

(f 210 Extra Provinciam)

P. Emmanuel de Villabona—Carthagenavovis Regni (Columbia)—Procurator

*P. Franciscus de Florencia—Florida—Procurator Gen

(later in 1696—in Parras as Superior!)

Fr. Joannes de Alvia—Pamplona—Procuratoris Indiarus Matriti—*coad. temp.*

1675/79

Missio Tarahumarensis et Parras (f. 251v-252) ***=**appears in 1671**

P. Gabriel del Villar***

P. Martinus del Prado***

P. Petrus de Escalante***

P. Joannes Sarmiento***

P. Franciscus de Valdes

P. Antonius Menendez

P. Josephus Landa (Fanda)

P. Emmanuel Gamboa

P. Barnabus de Soto*** (missionarius Superior de las Parras)

Procuradores

(at beg. F 236)

P. Bartolomeus de Cuellar—Puebla—Prov. Procurator

F. Josephus de Guevara—Puebla—Socius Procuratoris

(f 252 v &r Extra Provinciam)

P. Emmanuel de Villabona—Carthagera novis Regni (Columbia)—Procurator

*P. Franciscus de Florencia—Florida—Procurator Gen. Provintiae (1696—in Parras)

P. Joannes de Monroy—Queretaro—fuit in missionibus, **Procurator Gen. Provintis.**

Fr. Joannes de Alvia—Pamplona—Procuratoris Indiarum Matriti—*coad. temp.*

1681

Collegium Inchoatum de Parras (f. 293v)

P. Thomas de le Xara (or Gara)—Valentia—modo superior

P. Joannes del Rincón—Gordes (Lordes?) in Hispania—*coadiutor sptis.*

Formatus ab annos 1681

Procuradores (Extra Provinciam)

(f. 298)

P. Rochus de Molina—Valencia—fuit in missionibus, fuit ministeribus R.r

Procurador

1659-60—in Parras! (f.279r)

P. Barnabus Franciscus Gutierrez—Docunt Gram., fuit in missionib.9, R.r et visitador,

Procurator Provincial et nunc Rom. mitten.=”never sent to Rome” (See 1684 for details)

P. Francisco de Lorada—Monfort de Lemos in Galicia—fuit confessorius, procurator, & nunc provincia (see also 1690)

1684

signed by Ludovicus del Canto

Residentia Parrensis (f. 338v) *=appears in 1681

P. Josephus Sanchez—Vallisoletus, Nova Hisp.—superior of misión

P. Joannes Rincón*Gades in Hispania—modo operarius—*coadiutor sptis.*

Formatus ab annos 1681

Procuradores Extra Provinciam (f. 342v)

Nomen: **P. Barnabus Franciscus Gutierrez**

Patria: Villa-carrillo in Hispania

Atal (age): 43

Vireb (health): Robuste

Tempos Societatis: 26

Tempos Studiorum: absolut studia

Ministeria: Docuit Gram. fuit in Missionibus Rector—Visitador **Procurador** Prov.E.

nunc Romae est Matriti (=”never sent to Rome”)

Gradue: blank

An Professett: professus ab. Anno 1674 2 Feb.
Notes:

At the end of each list in almost every year, all Jesuits are rated by the following criteria:

Ingenium
Iudicium
Prudentia
Experientia
Profectus in litteris
Complexio
Talentum

(typical answers: mediocre—bonum—optimum)

Sanchez: optimum, optimum, sufficiens, Nonpauca, optimus, sanguinea, Administeria

Rincón: mediocre, bonum, sufficiens, aliqua, mediocres, sanguinea, Administeria

P. Ludovicus del Cantos signed this evaluation chart (He is the Father Provincial who was on missions 16 years)

1687-89

Provincial: Barnabus de Soto

Procurador: P. Franciscus de Lojjada—Jerez de la frontera in Hispania—
coadiutor spitis. Formatus ab annos 1687 (f. 375, # 4)

Residentia de Parras (f. 393) **=at Parras 1684

P. Joseph Sanchez de S.ta Marina—Vallisoletum in Nova Hispania—Superior at misión

P. Joannes Rincón**—Gades—is a *coadiutor spiritualis*

Mex. 6 Catalogi Triennales et Breves 1690-1723

1690/91

Residentia de Parras (f. 15v) *=at Parras 1687

P. Joannes Diaz de la Puente—Caracas en America—35—Superior—vota simplic.

P. Joannes del Rincon*—Gades (Cadiz?)—42—fuit in missionibus modo minalea curat

Procuradores

(beginning f 1)

Fr. Marcus de Sotomayor—Gautemala—Fuit Societ.s Provinc. Et Procuratoris Romam
mism. Do nostra Curavit modo e socius Provincialis.

P. Franciscus de Lorada—Monforte de Lemosin in Galicia—fuit confessionario et Proc.
Modo Proc.or Gen.li Provincius

Fr. Franciscus de Ovando—Malaga en Batca—Fuit et modo e Societatus Procurat.
Gen.lis Provintae (Inter Agentes f. 19)

P. Joannes de Estrada—Guatemala—Socius Prov. R.or modo Proc.or Romam millus

P. Josephus Tarda—Marquizanes en Catalonia—Proc.or Romam millus.

Fr. Franciscus de Leon—Pharus en Lusitania—Procur.dor Roma mill.

1693/95

Residentia de Parras (f 62v) **=appears in 1690

P. Joannes Diaz de la Puente*—Caracas en America—35—Superior—professus 1691

P. Joannes del Rincon*—Gades (Cadiz?)—42—fuit in missionibus

Procuradores (f. 46)

P. Dominicus Michael—Bancino (?)—en mission. fuit Sup. Est Procurat. Prov.

Fr. Franciscus de Ovando—Malaga en Belica—Procurat. Prov.

1696/98

Residentia de S.ta Maria de Parras (f 110 r) **=appears in 1693

P. Franciscus de Florencia—Florida—40—in Soc. 12 (?) years—est Superior—v.simplic.

1690—at Collegium Maximum Mexcianum SS. AA. Petri et Pauli (Mexico City)

1693-95—in Collegia de S. Spiritus in Puebla

P. Joannes del Rincon**—Gades (Cadiz?)—49—fuit in mission. Curat Zanalia (?)—
coad spirit.

Procuradores (f. 94r)

P. Dominicus Michael—Bancino (?)—en mission. fuit Sup. Est Proc.or Provintiae

149r: “Razon de el Estado de los Colegios en la Visita que hizo el Padre Provincial Juan de Palacios a la cual salio a 4 de Junio de 1696 y se acabo a 13 Junio 1697 aviendo la comenzado por el Collegio Valladolid”

Patzquaro—15,000+

151r Tepotzotlán—76,616

151v Casa Profesa—24,000+

1698—513 members of the Society are in the Mexican Province (f 154)

*2 members listed at the Collegio inchoato de Parras.

1708

Residentia de Parras (f. 178v) ***=appears in 1696

P. Franciscus Ortiz—Betica—32—fuit operar. Est Superior—vot. Simpl.

1693-95 and 1696-98—no information on Ortiz

1714—38 y.o.--“fuit opera. Et. Sup. Est in Monte Regio”

P. Joannes del Rincon***—Gades (Cadiz?)—62—fuit in mission. et Operar.—
coad spirit. formado anno 1691

Procuradores (f. 161)

Fr. Joannes de Iturberoaga—Cantabria—60 yo—fuit Mag. Procurator Tepotzotlan et modo Procur. Provintie—coad. tempor. formatus 1699

Fr. Joannes de la Camara—Rioja—27-Domestica curavit modo est Sociu Procuratoris—
coadiutor temporalis no formatus

Written description of **Residencia de Parras** (f. 211) Signed by Joannes de Estrada (from Guatemala, Father Provincial 1708)

1714

Residentia de Sta. Maria de las Parras (f. 250v)

- P. Joannes de Espinoza—G/Huichiapa in Nova. Hisp.—57—Est Superior
1696—at Residencia de S. Ludovici de la Paz (Zacatecas)
1708—at Collegium et Domus Probationis de Tepotzotlán
- P. Marcellinus de Bazaldua/ Vasaldu?—Pazquaro—27—Gram. Docet.—vot.simpl.
1696—not listed
1708—listed as a Frater at Collegium de S. Ildefonso, Puebla
- P. Baltazar de la Peña—Taxcuz in Nova Hisp.a (Taxco) —28—fuit in miss. Gra. Docuit
1696—under heading “Inpredictis Locis vel alibi degentes” specifically noted as
“est in missionibus”
1708—at Residencia Parral
- F. Felix de Hormachea (Ormachea)—Aspeiria—57—Curavit ruralia. Est ludi gister (?)
1696—at Guadalajara College
1708—at Collegium Zacatecanum

Procuradores (f. 234r)

- P. Joannes de San Martin—Carabaca in Hisp.—21—Gram. Docuit. Fuit in Miss. Procur.
Provincie nunc—prof. 1704
- F. Josephus Gonzales—Opidum Sta. Michaelis in Nova Hisp.—53—Est Socius Procur.
Provincis.—coad. temp. (f. 255r)
- P. Antonius Figueroa—Parral—28—Procur. Ad Roma—professus 1700

Discussion of Residencia de SM delas Parras and how much money it is allotted—1,500 pesos (f. 286r). Signed Ildefonsus de Arribillaga, Father Provincial Mexico
[For comparison, Tepotzotlan was allotted 30,000]

1720

Residentia de Sta. Maria de las Parras (f. 307) *=appears in 1714

- P. Franciscus Ortiz—Singilia in Prov.a Betica—92?—Rector
1708—He was in Parras
- P. Joannes de Espinosa*—Guichiapa—62—Vice Rector et Operar. [Indorum]
- P. Marselinus Vasaldu/Bazaldua?*—Pasquary (Pascuaro)—32—Gram. Doc.fuit in
Misionibus
- P. Balthasar de la Peña*—Mexicus—53—Gram. Doc fuit in missionibus et operar.
- P. Joseph Fernandez—Habana—32—Docuit et doc. El Gram.
1708—not listed
1714—at Collegium Maximum Mexcianum SS. AA. Petri et Pauli (Mexico City)
- P. Michael de Zuluaga—Cantabria—39—fuit et est operar. [indorum]
1708—as a Frater at Collegium de S. Ildefonso, Puebla
1714—at Collegium Vallisoletanum

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Figure 1



Figure 2

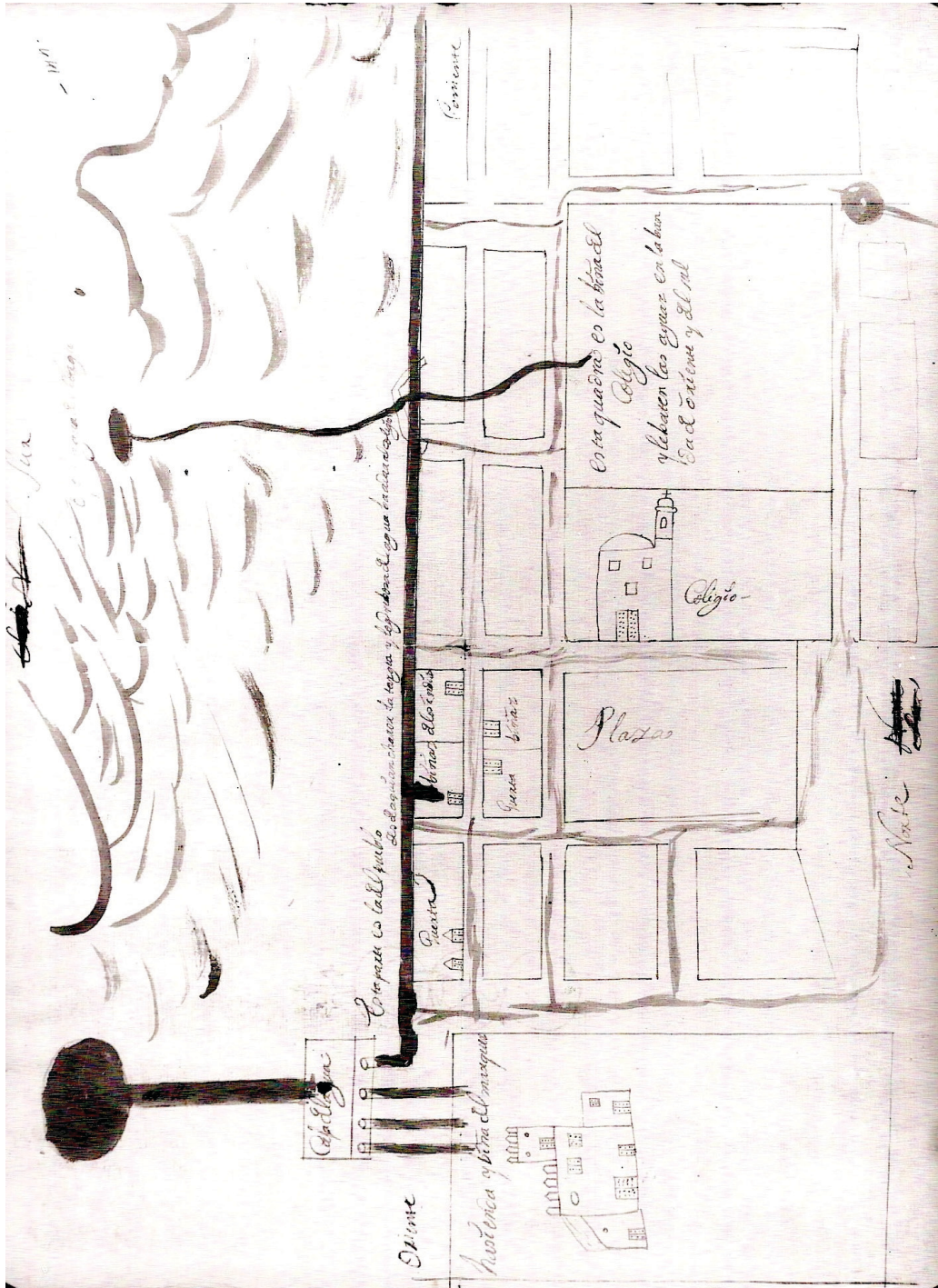
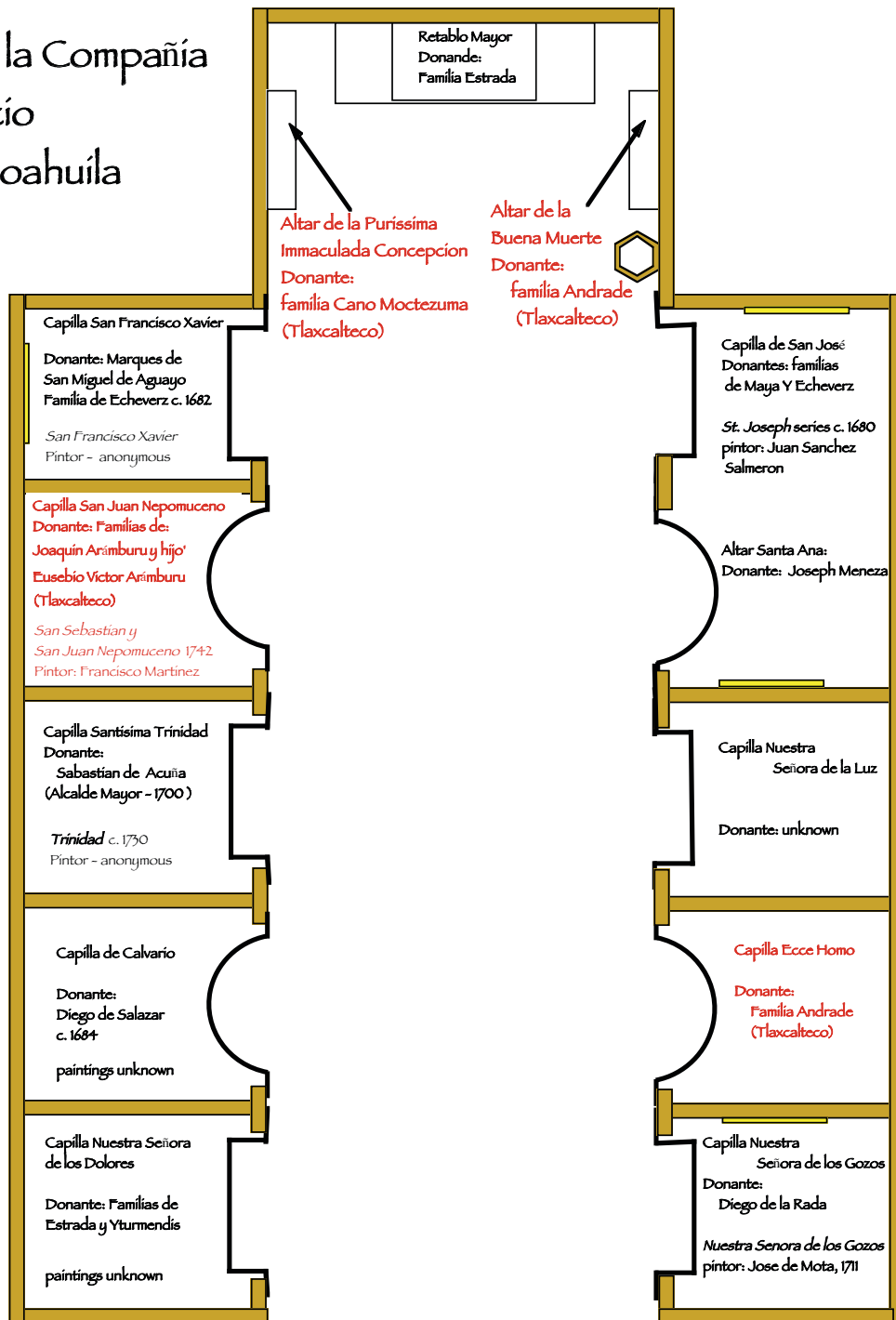


Figure 3

Iglesia de la Compañía
San Ignacio
Parras, Coahuila



Katherine Moore McAllen
Department of Art History

Black = Spanish Patrons

Figure 4

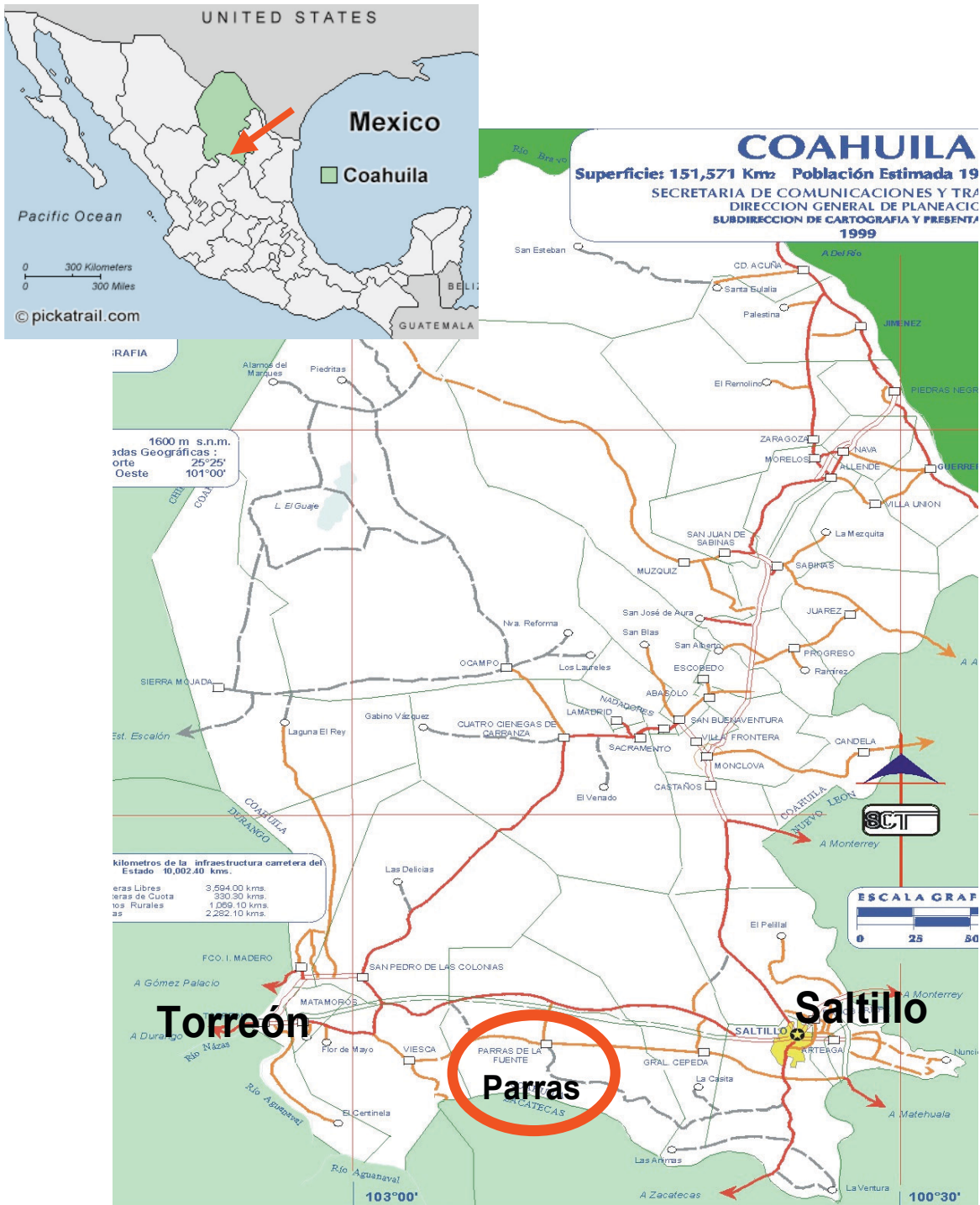


Figure 5

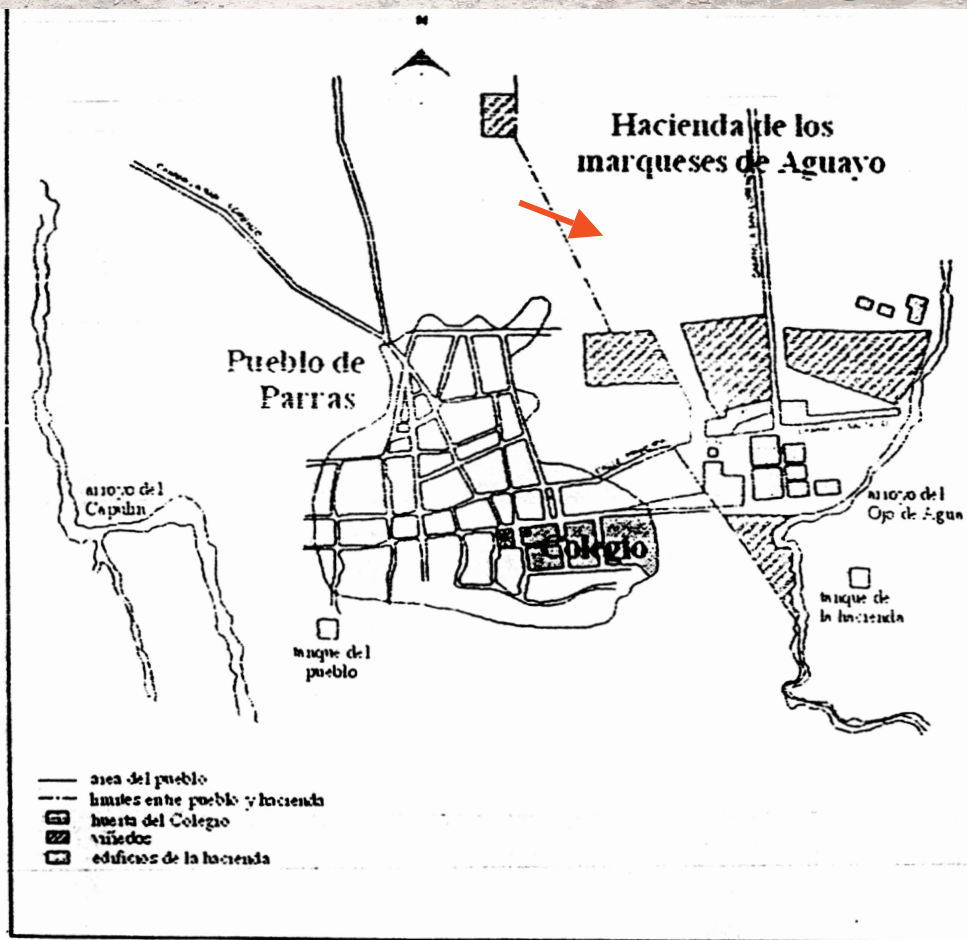


Figure 7
239

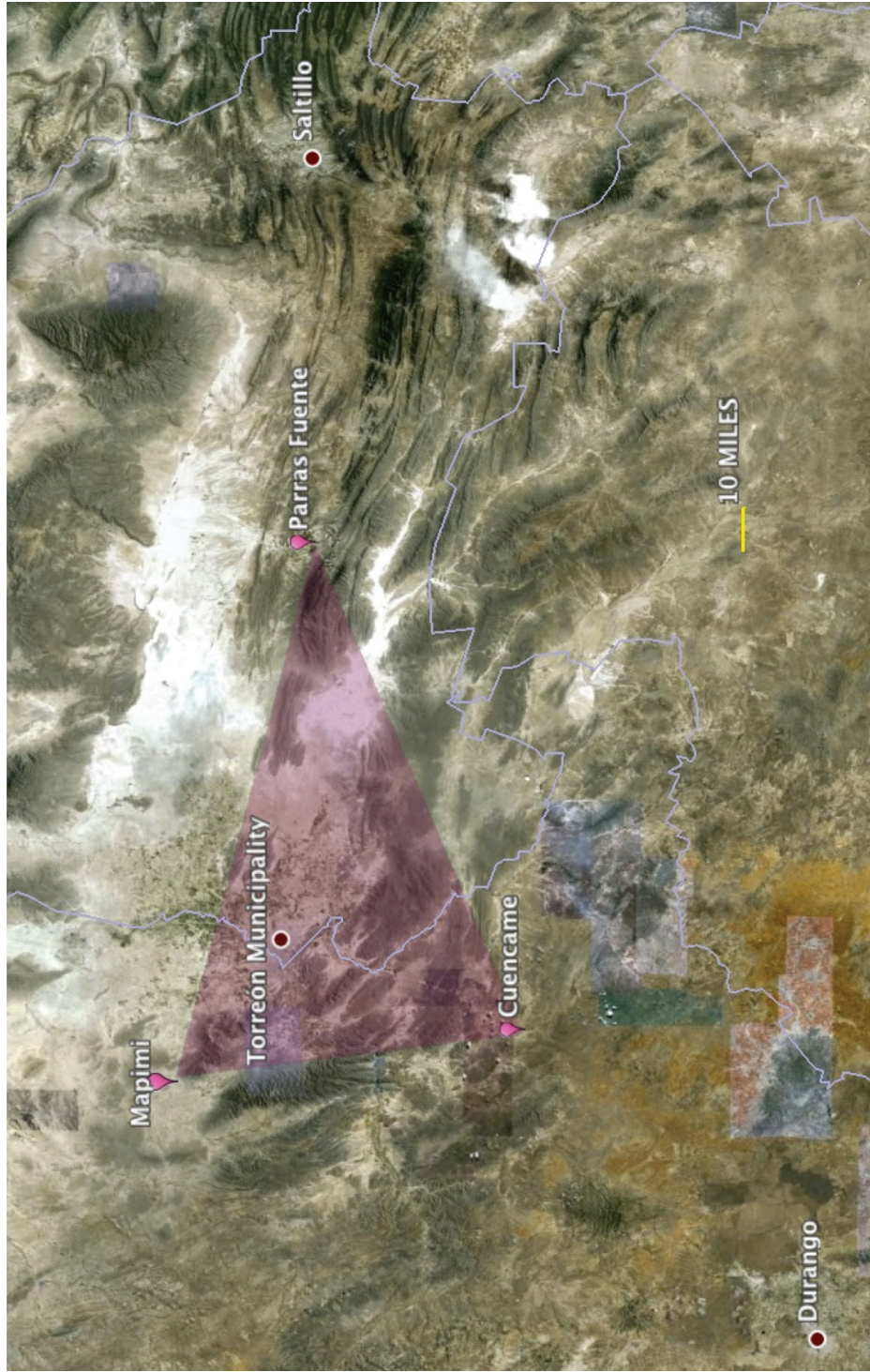


Figure 8

Latifundios de Coahuila
en los siglos XVII y XVIII.



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

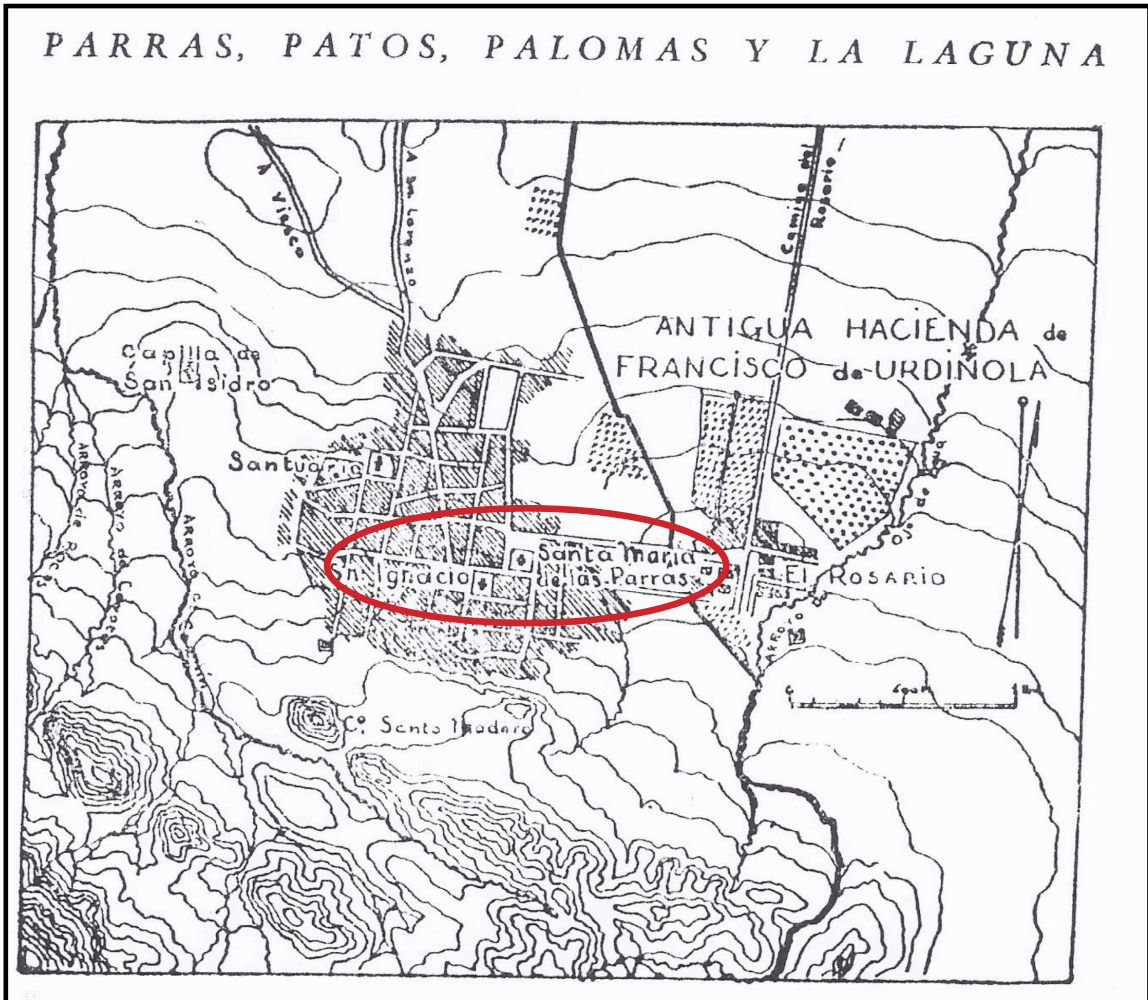


Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

Iglesia de la Compañía
San Ignacio
Parras, Coahuila

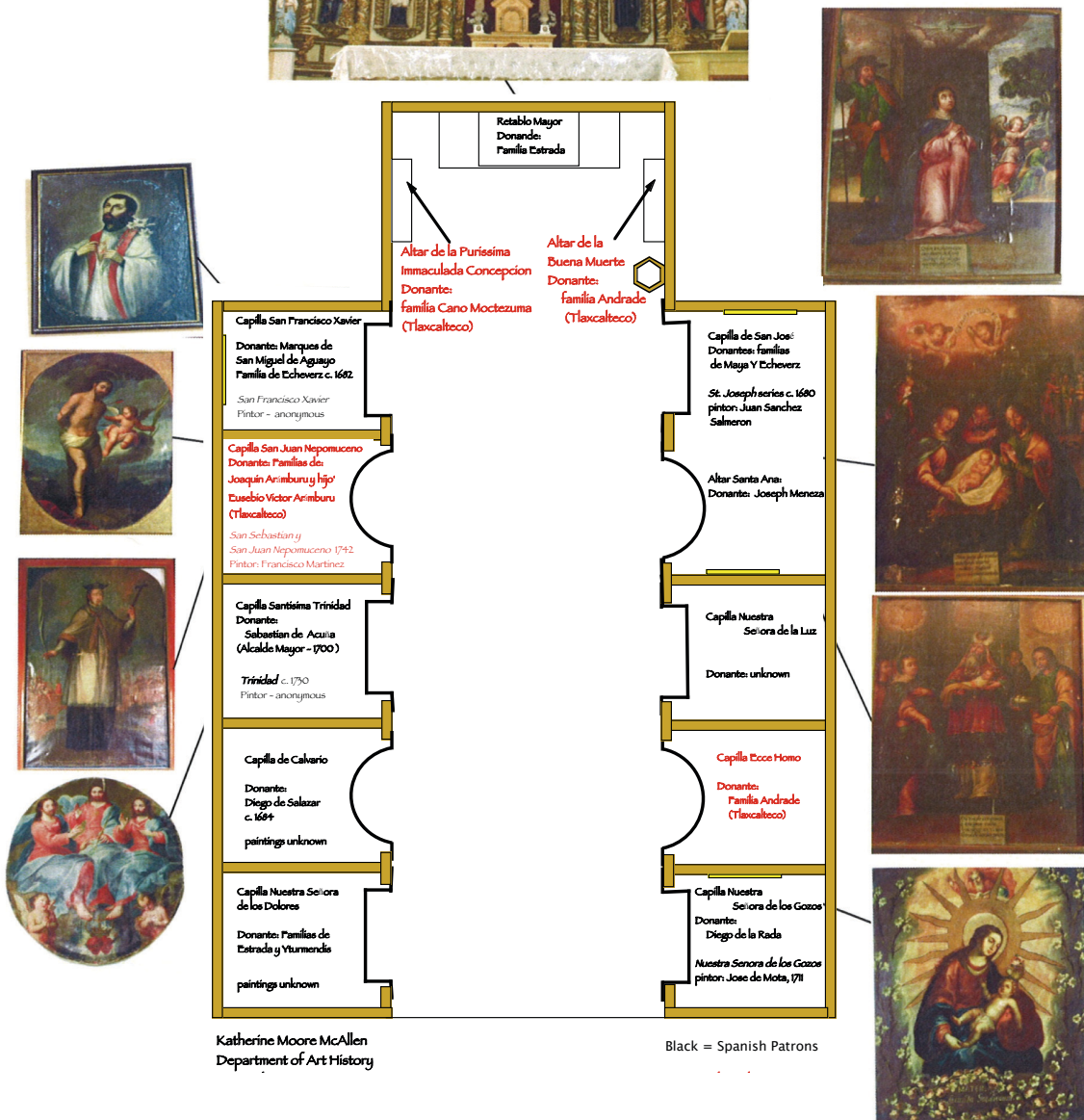


Figure 15

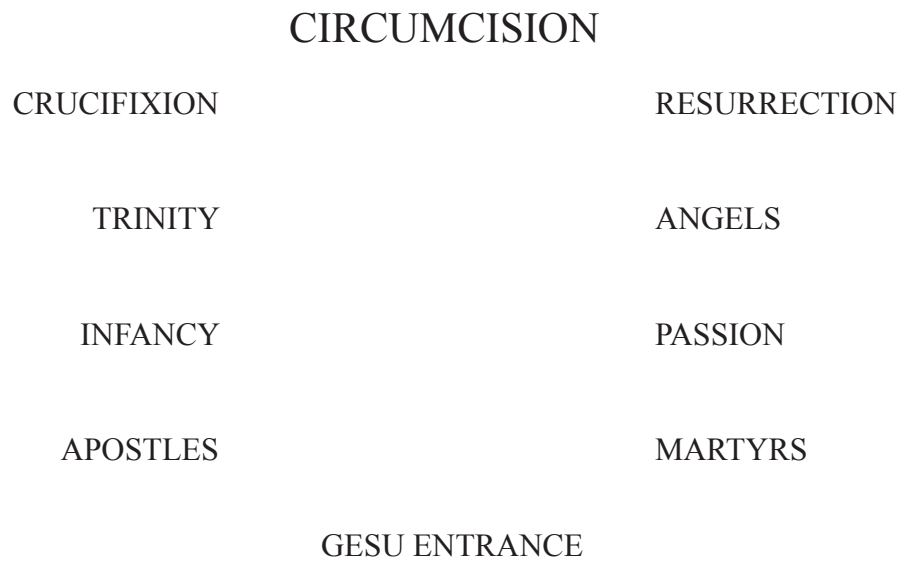


Figure 16

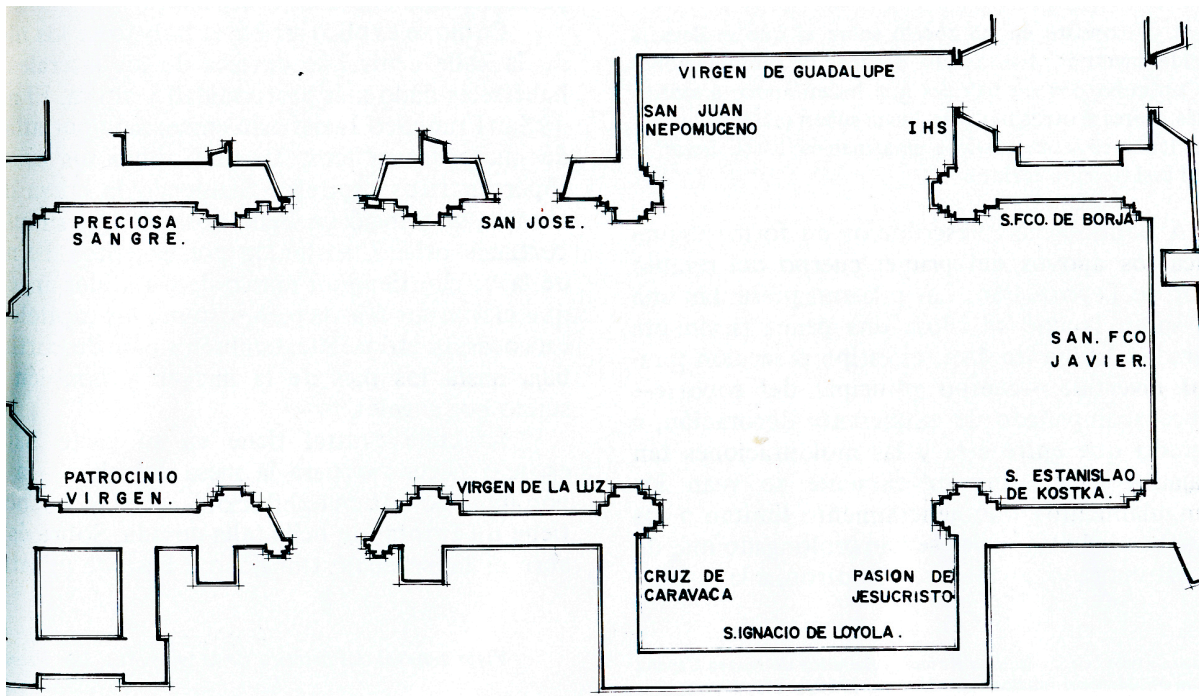


Figure 17



Juan Sánchez Salmerón

Figure 18

IN DIE VISITATIONIS.

Luc. i.

2
cxlix



A. Nazareth, vbi representatur Annuntiatio, post quam Virgo Mater statuit Elisabetham inuisere.
 B. Iter habet Maria festinanter cum Ioseph ad montana Iudææ.
 C. Domus Zachariæ in tribu Iuda in montibus.
 D. Ad quam cum peruenisset Maria festinauit ad Elisabeth.
 E. Sedula illi Anus occurrit, sed eam tamen

prior salutatur Maria.
 F. Audita Matris Dei salutatione, ecce exultat in vtero Elisabeth Filius, & repletur Spiritu sancto Mater, & predicat Mariæ diuina encomia.
 G. Zacharias & Ioseph laudant Deum.
 H. Nascitur Ioannes.
 I. Post eius ortum, redit Nazareth Maria Virgo Mater cum Ioseph.

Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25

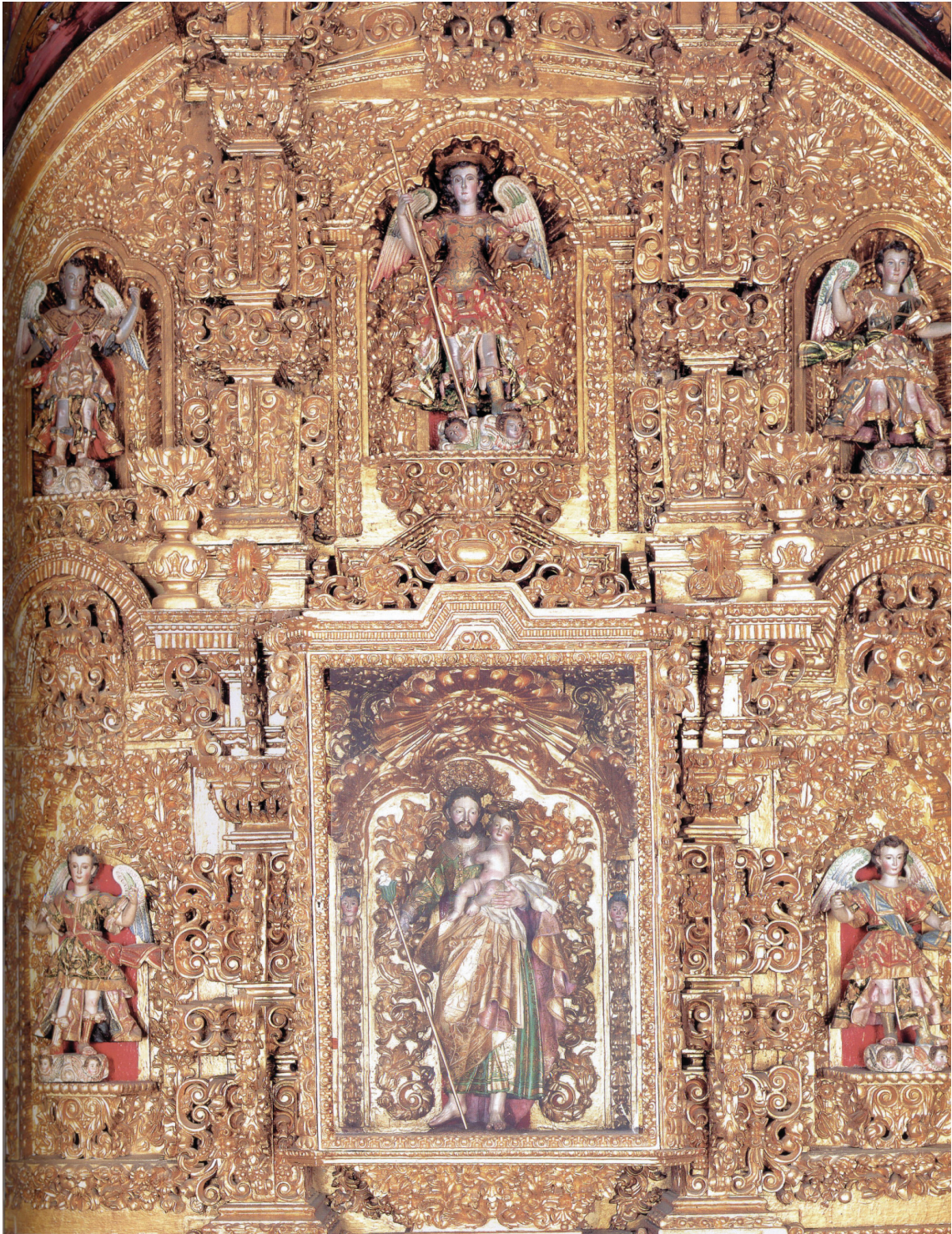


Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



*Fran. Martinus Sancti Off.
Notarius fecit. Mayo M. D. C. LXXI*

Figure 33



Figure 34

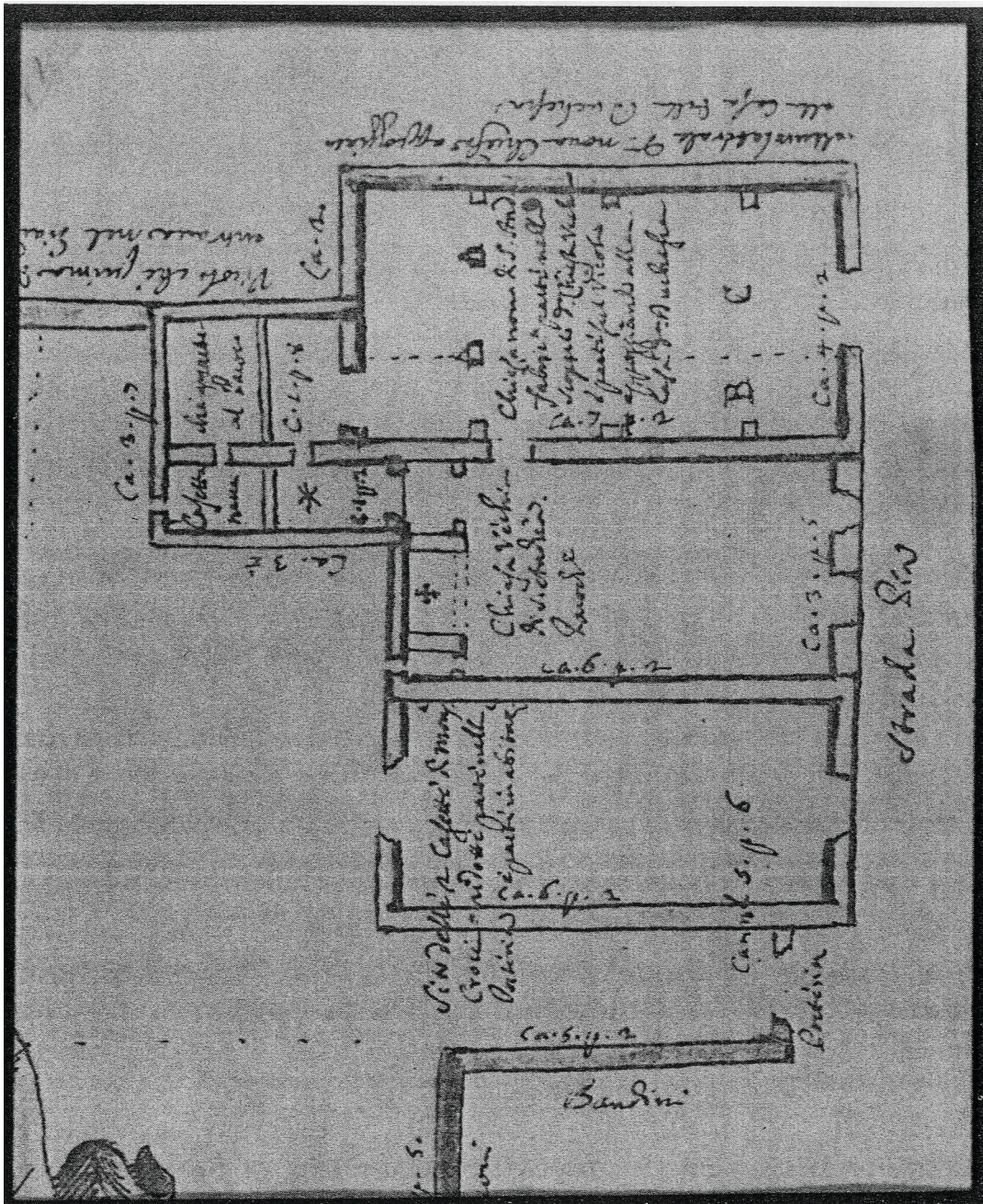


Figure 36



Figure 37



LUGARES DE INTERES:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Plaza de Armas | 6.] |
| 2. Catedral | 7.] |
| 3. Monasterio de Santa Catalina | 8.] |
| 4. Iglesia "La Compañía" | 9.] |
| 5. Casa Moral | 10.] |

Figure 38

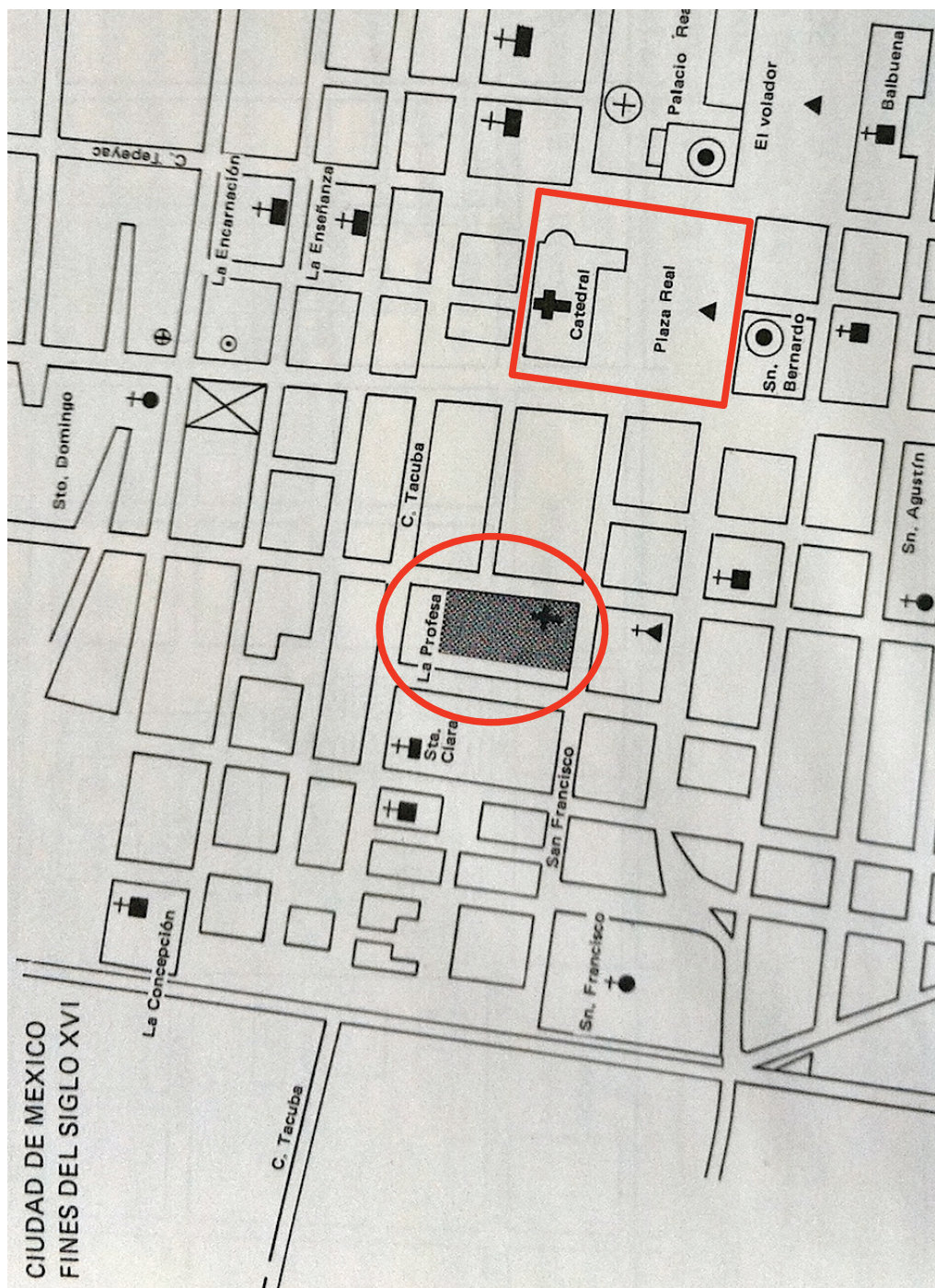
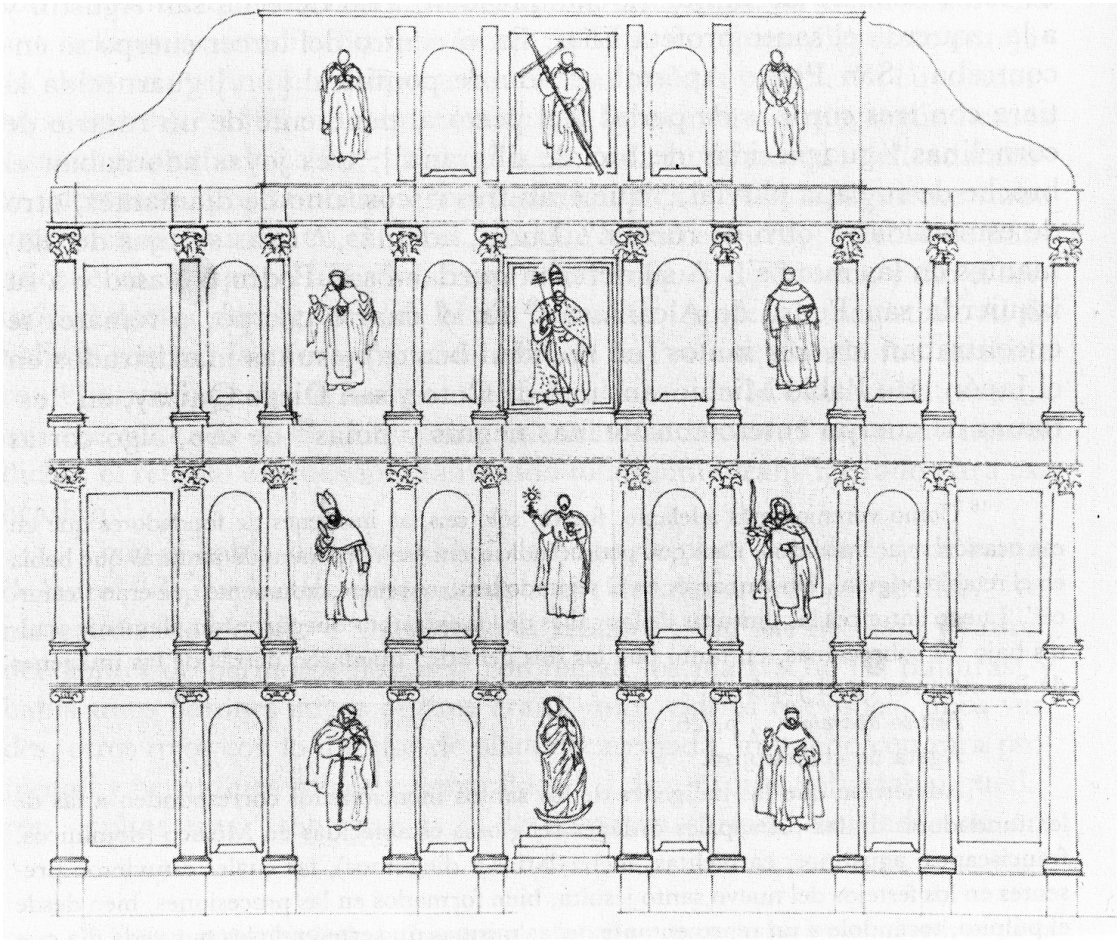


Figure 39

MARTIRES JESUITAS DE LA PROVINCIA DE MEXICO



Figure 40



4. Reconstrucción del retablo con la decoración sobrepuesta en 1672. Dibujo del autor.

Figure 41

RETABLO MAYOR DE
SAN FRANCISCO JAVIER

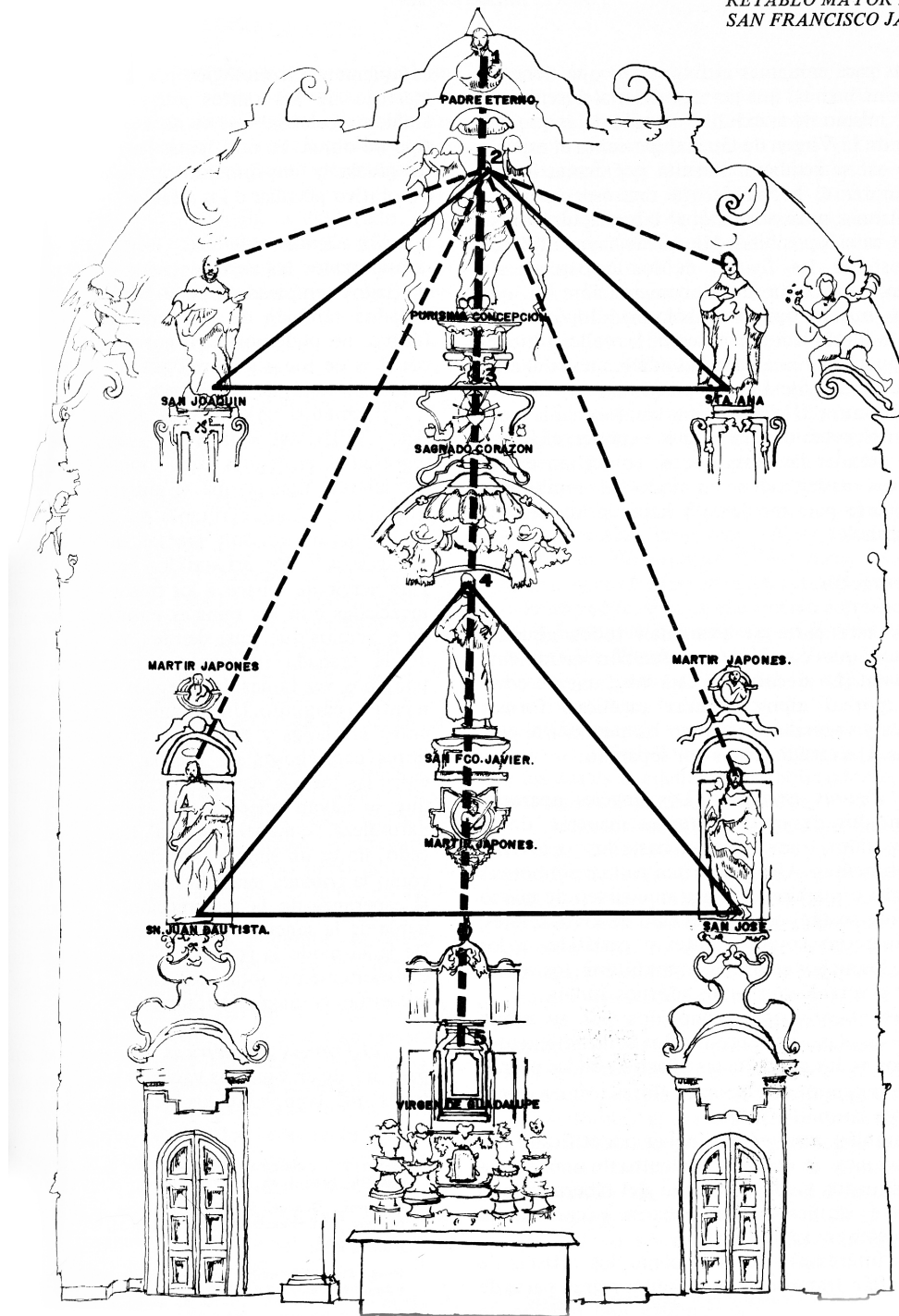


Figure 42

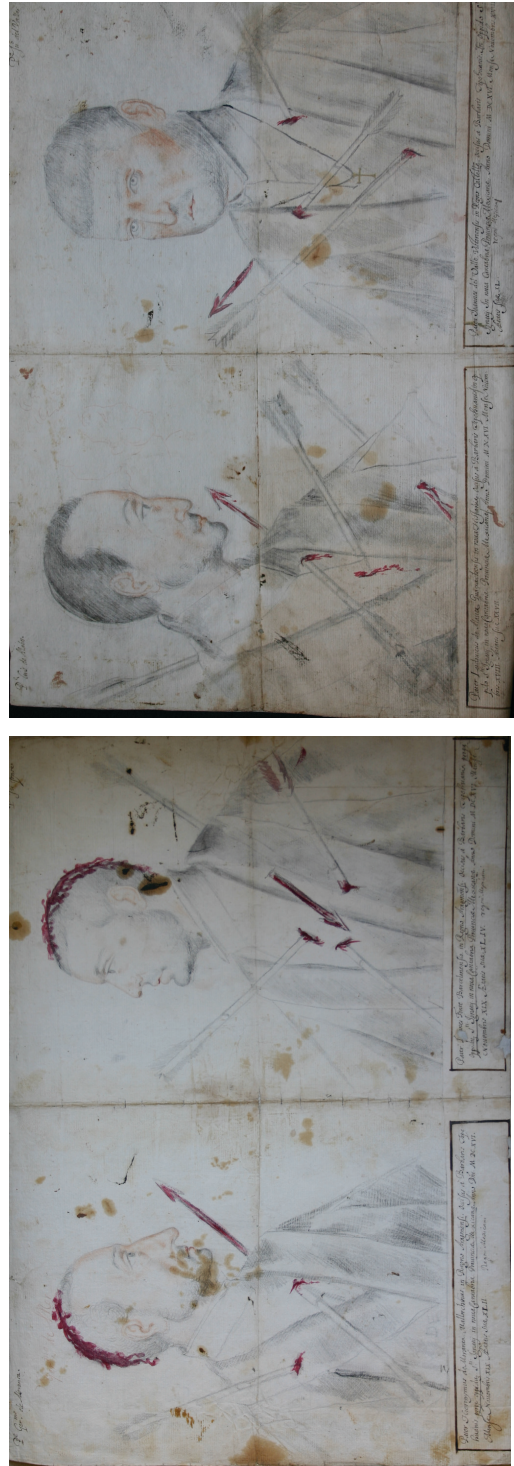
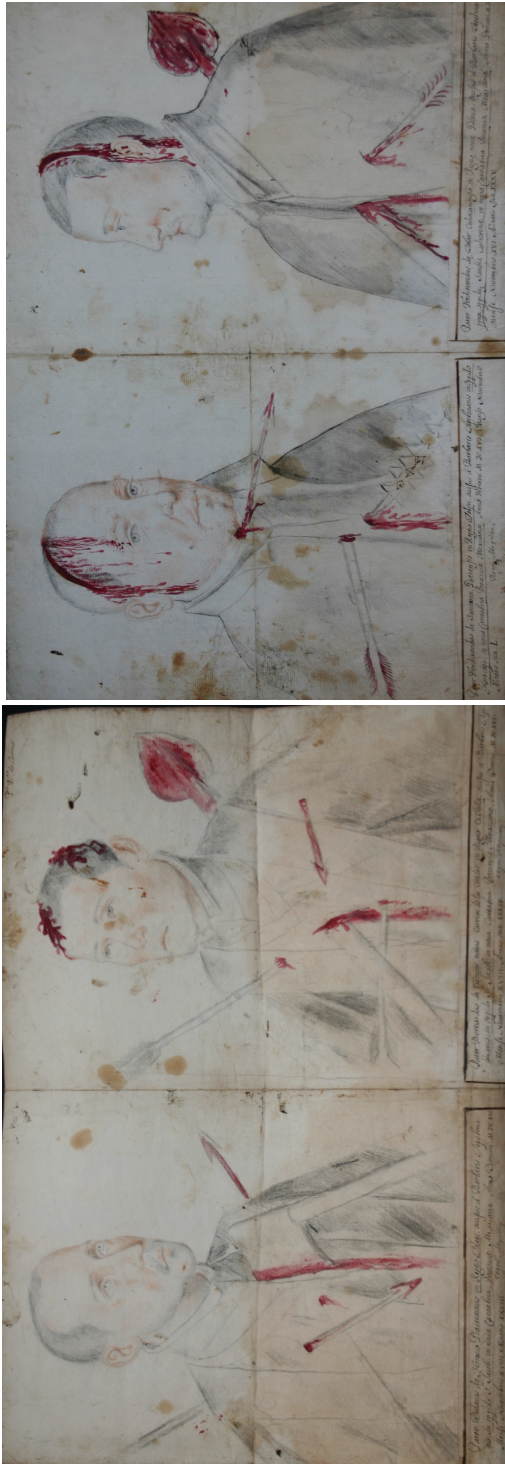


Figure 43



Figure 44



Pater Didacus de Florio Placentinus in Regno Tolu, occisus a Barbaris Tepochua
nis. In oppido S. Jacobi. in nova Cantabria. Provincie Mexicanae. Anno Domini. M. DC. XVII.
Mense Novembrii XVIII. Etatis XXVIII. Regni Mexicanae.

Figure 45



Pater Bernardus de Caneris natus Carrion de la Concha, in Regno Castellae, occisus à Barbaris & ere
pucatus in oppido S. Jacobi in nova Cantabria Provinciae Mexicanae, Anno Domini M. DC. LXV.
Mense Augusti XVIII. Aetatis suae XXXIV. aegri Hispani.

Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48



Figure 49



o en Tene-
Cabrera Pintat

Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 54

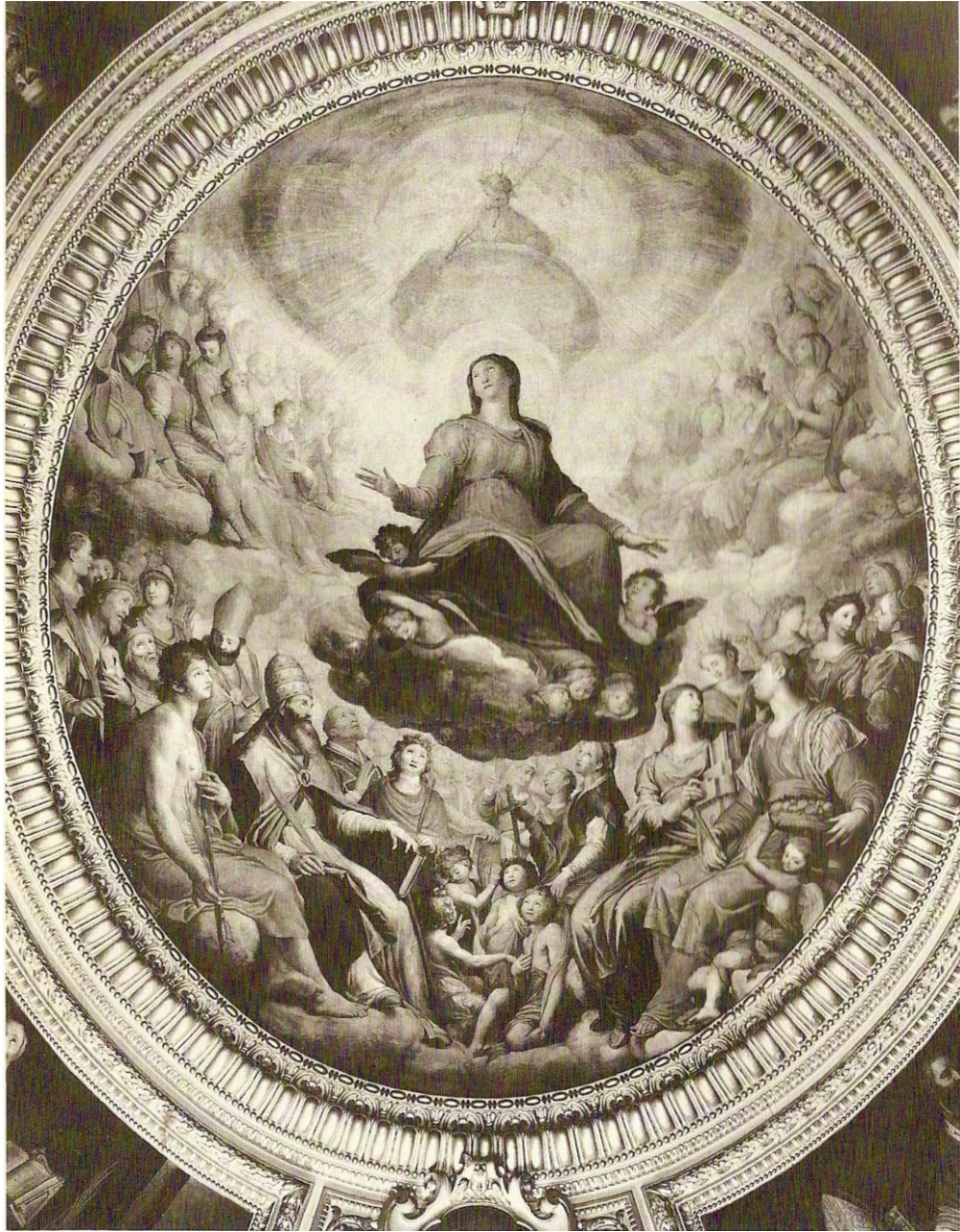


Figure 55

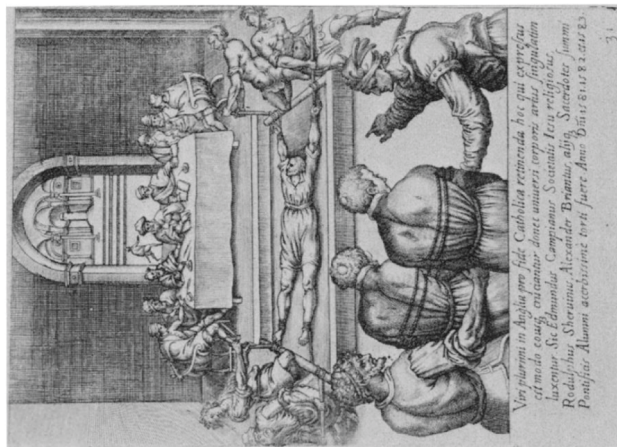


Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58

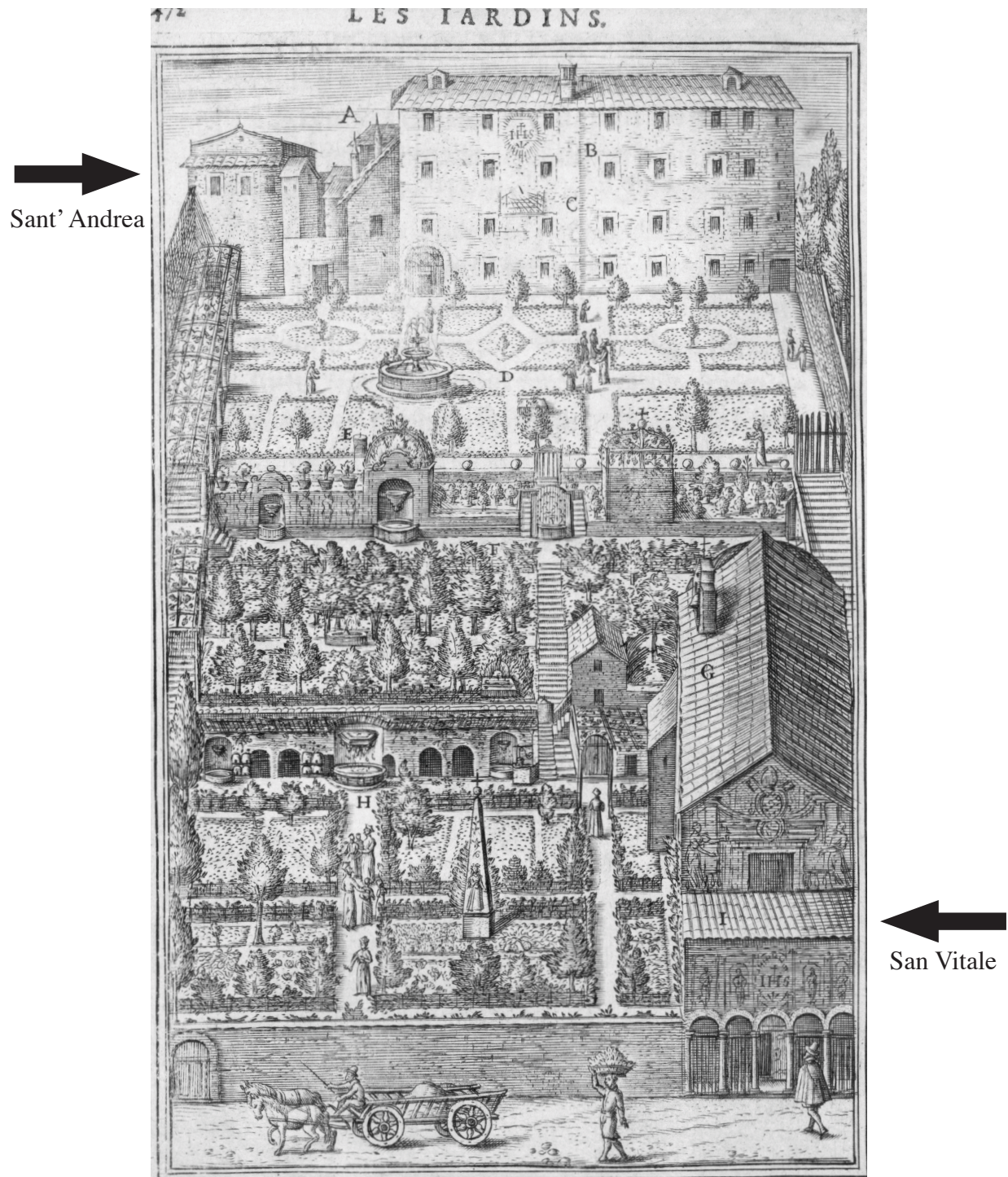


Figure 59



Figure 60



Figure 61

SOCIETAS
JESU
USQUE
AD SANGUINIS
ET VITÆ PROFUSIONEM
MILITANS,
 IN EUROPA, AFRICA, ASIA,
 ET AMERICA,
CONTRA
 GENTILES, MAHOMETANOS,
 JUDÆOS, HÆRETICOS,
 IMPIOS,
PRO
DEO, FIDE,
DECLESTIA,
PIETATE.
SIVE
VITÆ ET MORS
FORUM,
QUI
Ex Societate Jesu in causa FIDEI, & Vir-
 tutis propugnatae, violentâ morte toto Orbe
 sublati sunt.
AUCTORE
R. PATRE MATHIA TANNER SOCIETATE JESU,
SS. THEOLOGIAE DOCTORE.
 PRAGÆ, Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandæ, in Collegio Societatis
 JESU ad S. Clementem, per Joannem Nicolaum Hampel, Fagörem.
 Anno M. D. C. LXXV.



Figure 62

SOCIETAS AMERICANA.



P. Cornelius Beudin Belga Soc: IESV crudeliter ab Idololatriis Indis raptus, et pro Christo strangulatus, apud Tarau-
marenses in America A. 1650. 4. Junij.
C. S. d. M. X. f.

orpionibus, quam cum feminis habitaculorum consortio ut in perpetuum maxime se divelleret, Societatem can-
post Rhetoricam auditam, ex ambire precibus instituit: cui pro candida-
si munere, ad promerendum in cam

ac lato animo proficisci iussus à Ma-
quadam, virtute istuc usque ad sancti-
famam illustri, quippe qui certam illi-
tyrij gloriam adipisceretur.

In Indiam post varia tempestuosos
pericula. quibus aliquot navigia flu-

Figure 63



Figure 64