CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of missions on the fringes of Spanish America has evolved over the past several decades beyond the institutional focus and self-study by members of the same religious orders that administered the missions. There are studies of discrete groups of mission that place them into the larger historical context, and consider a spectrum of issues such as economics, ethnohistory, cultural and religious change and persistence, indigenous accommodation and resistance, and demographics, among others. Most studies concentrate on the colonial period, but there are also monographs that document missions following independence.[1]

[1] See, for example, Susan Deeds, *Defiance and deference in Mexico's colonial north: Indians under Spanish rule in Nueva Vizcaya*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Erick Langer, *Expecting Pears from an Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions on the Chiriguano Frontier in the Heart of South America, 1830–1949*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); James Saeger, *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000); Guillermo Wilde, *Religión y poder en las misiones de guaraníes*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sb, 2009; Rafael Carbonnell de Massy, S.J., *Estrategias de desarrollo rural en los pueblos guaraníes (1609-1767)* (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch Editor, 1992); Barbara Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish rule in the Río de la Plata*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Cynthia Redding de Murrieta, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Cynthia Radding de Murrieta, *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); Julia Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Demographic Decline: the Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Robert H. Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the sedentary populations on the Jesuit Mission frontiers of Spanish South America, 1609-1803:*

This current study examines the first frontier of evangelization in sixteenth century Mexico along and beyond the Chichimeca frontier, the porous cultural boundary between the sedentary native populations of central Mexico and the groups of nomadic hunters and gatherers collectively known by the derogatory Náhuatl term Chichimeca. The initial thrusts of Spanish colonization beyond the frontier resulted in a prolonged conflict known as the Chichimeca war (1550-1600), as groups of non-sedentary natives resisted the invasion of their lands, and particularly the competition for food resources as Spanish livestock consumed food plants that were important sources in the Chichimecan diet. Livestock also displaced wild animals that the Chichimecas hunted, and the natives began to hunt cattle which became an additional point of conflict.

Missionaries played an important role in efforts to pacify the Chichimecas, but the methods and approach employed among the sedentary indigenous populations of central Mexico were not well suited for conditions beyond the frontier. Efforts to force the Chichimecas to adopt a sedentary lifestyle largely failed, as the natives resisted the imposition of a new way of life with social and cultural norms alien to their own. Groups of natives settled on what proved to be ephemeral missions, but soon returned to their traditional way of life. The competing interests of missionaries and settlers became a point of conflict that also influenced and in some cases modified the course of evangelization.

At the same time there was official ambivalence regarding the evangelization of the Chichimecas in light of shifting royal policy. The initial Spanish response was to wage a war of extermination, a policy Church officials initially supported. However, Church officials changed their position in the 1580s, and participated in a debate that resulted in a sea-change in royal policy with the abandonment of the war of extermination in favor of evangelization and integration. The Augustinian missionary Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., was a key proponent of the shift in royal policy, and his writings based on several decades of contact with different Chichimeca groups on and beyond the frontier were very influential.[2]

The Formation and Persistence of Mission Communities in a Comparative Context (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[2] For a collection of transcribed documents regarding the debate over the Chichimeca war see Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *El debate sobre la Guerra Chichimeca, 1531-1585* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000). Also see Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., *Guerra de Chichimecas (México 1575 Zirosto*

Guillermo de Santa María wrote two reports that were the first ethnohistoric descriptions of the Chichimecas. Moreover, he analyzed the causes of Chichimeca resistance, which he attributed to the Spanish enslavement of natives, including women and children, during the Mixtón war (1540-1542), and the ecological effects of the introduction of large numbers of Spanish livestock and particularly cattle and sheep. Spanish livestock displaced animals the Chichimecas hunted, and consumed plants they harvested. In response Chichimecas raided Spanish livestock which resulted in retaliation and an escalation of the conflict. He also defined the territories that the different groups occupied. Of the Pames he wrote in his short report:

> The nation of these [Chichimecas] closest to Mexico [City] are the pames, and they are mixed with otomies and tarascans [P'urépecha]. Their territory [*habitación*] begins at almost 20 degrees [of lattitude], in the second climate [*clima*], from Yuririapúndaro and Acámbaro, communities in Mechuacan, to Izmiquilpa and the *pesqueria* [?] of Miztitlán and the borders [confines] of Pánuco. They are the people who have done the least damage to the Spaniards. The reason should be the contact with those they are intertwined with and the doctrine [*doctrina*] that reaches them from Augustinian, Franciscan, and secular clergy [clérigos].[3]

In the longer report the Augustinian provided details regarding Pames resistance. He noted that the Pames killed and ate Spanish livestock. This was a reaction to the invasion of cattle and other livestock that undermined the Pames' subsistence base. They also chased off ranchers and cowboys tending Spanish livestock, and in 1571 killed a *mulato* named Juan Dominguez.[4]

Guillermo de Santa María described the other Chichimeca groups. He noted that the Guamares were the bravest and most bellicose, and inhabited western and northwestern Guanajuato including San Miguel el Grande and San Felipe to the border with Michoacán. The Copuzes were divided into three groups that the Augustinian defined as *parcialidades.*

1580) (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003) for the text of the two reports on the Chichimecas.

[3] Ibid., 197-198. In the long text Santa María provides additional detail regarding thee territory occupied by the Pames. In Michoacán the southern border of Pames territory was near Ucareo which was the site of an Augustinian *doctrina*. Communities established in Pames territory included Santiago de Querétaro and San Pedro Tolimán which were both subject to Xilotepeque. Others included Parrón, Pesinquia, and Xichú. Santa María also noted that a group he called the Samues spoke the same language. See Ibid., 114.

[4] Ibid., 114.

They took their name from the leader named Copuz Viejo, the second lead by Alonso Guando which had settled in the Mezquital Valley, and the third the Gucomares settled on San Bartolomé lead by don Francisco Bernabe. The Copuzes were allied to the Guaxabanes, which was a group that spoke Guachichil. The Guachichiles lived northwest of Michoacán including Ayo el Chico where Santa María established a *visita* of the *doctrina* at Huango, Arandas in Los Altos de Jalisco, Villa de los Lagos, Tunal Grande, and Mazapil. The last group Santa María enumerated were the Zacatecos who lived in the area surrounding Zacatecas, and had caused the Spaniards the most problems.[5]

Equally important was the interaction between missionaries and civil officials, and how the missionaries modified their programs in response to shifts in government policy over time, such as the implementation in the later eighteenth century of the so-called Bourbon Reforms during the administration of Charles III (1759-1788). Reform minded royal officials challenged the traditional role of the Catholic Church in Spanish dominions, and of the continuing reliance on missions as a frontier colonial institution. The mild anticlericalism of late eighteenth century royal reformers later gave way to the more radical liberal ideas of the nineteenth century that seriously challenged the role of the Catholic Church in society.[6] How did the shift in government philosophy effect change in the efforts to evangelize the Chichimecas? In the 1730s, the Crown set out to systematically colonize the northeastern frontier of Mexico including the Sierra Gorda region. Royal officials brought a no-nonsense approach designed to get the job done. What did this mean?

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[5] Ibid., 114-115, 198.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the eighteenth century reform impulse in late eighteenth century Spain see Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Richard Herr, Rural Change and *Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). For studies of liberalism in Latin America see Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of More, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Jan Bazant, *The Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Charles Berry, *The Reform in Oaxaca, 1856-76. A Microhistory of the Liberal Revolution* (Lincoln::University of Nebraska Press, 1981); Robert H. Jackson, *Regional Markets and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1539-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Robert H. Jackson, ed., *Liberals, The Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), among others.

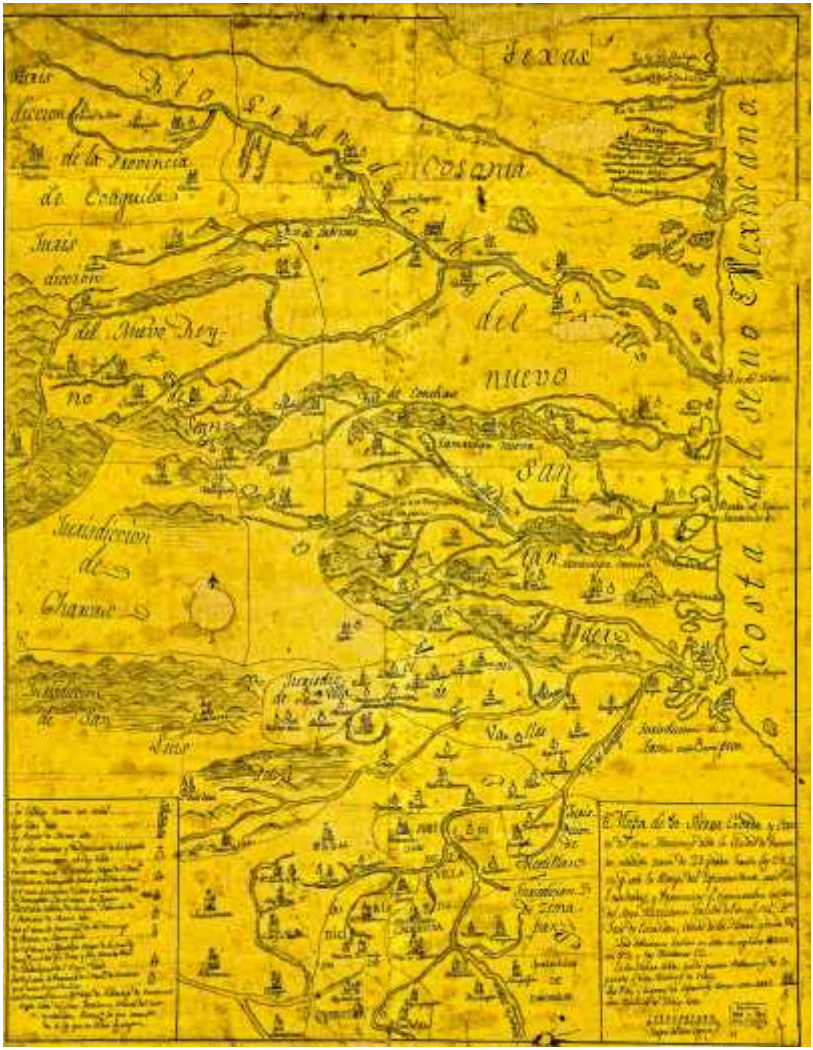
Force would be used to congregate the Chichimeca groups in the Sierra Gorda region, the Pames and Jonaces, and a new group of missionaries was brought in with a mandate to fully integrate the natives into colonial society. They were to get the job done after nearly two centuries of failure. These were the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando in Mexico City, and they developed a strategy in the Sierra Gorda that they later implemented in the California missions established beginning in 1769.

Missionaries from four orders attempted to evangelize the Chichimecas from the mid-sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century, with mixed results and considerable frustration for the missionaries as well as resistance by the native groups to the pressures to change their way of life. The attempt to accelerate the integration of the Pames and Jonaces into colonial society was successful to some extent in the short run. This study examines the methods used in the new missions and the demographic consequences of congregation.

The context is critical for understanding the development of mission communities and demographic patterns. Chapter 2 of this study sets the stage for the analysis of the Sierra Gorda missions. It discusses the first missions in sixteenth-century central Mexico in terms of their organization and urban plan. The missionaries who first evangelized along and beyond the Chichimeca frontier introduced methods and organization based on their experiences in the missions among the sedentary populations. In order to understand the first missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier, it is necessary to describe the first Mexican missions. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a summary of the efforts to evangelize beyond the Chichimeca frontier from the sixteenth century to the point of the arrival in the Sierra Gorda of the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando. It highlights the difficulties in attempting to change the way of life of the Jonaces, Pames, and other Chichimeca groups.

Chapters 4 and 5 present an analysis of the Sierra Gorda missions. Chapter 4 discusses three elements of the mission program. They are the construction of the missions and the mission urban plan, which is also important for understanding demographic patterns and the mobilization of native labor. The missionaries created compact communities, but in binging the native populations to live cheek to jowl on the missions they also facilitated the spread of contagion, which was an important demographic factor. The second is the methods of evangelization, and native responses to the introduction of a new religion. The third is the economics of the missions, and how the missionaries attempted to organize and administer the missions and control the native populations

brought to live on the missions. Chapter 5 analyzes demographic patterns on the Sierra Gorda missions. Chapter 6 offers the conclusions to this study.



Map 1: The Sierra Gorda in a c. 1743 map. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIZATION AND EVANGELIZATION IN CENTRAL MEXICO

This chapter outlines the expansion and organization of missions established in central Mexico. This is crucial for understanding later efforts to establish missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier. The missionary orders adapted the existing social-political structure in central Mexico as the basis for their own organizational structure. The missionaries who ventured beyond the Chichimeca frontier attempted to use this same structure to organize their missions, as well as evangelization methods. What worked for the sedentary populations did not work beyond the frontier.

Sixteenth Century Central Mexican Missions

Members of three orders arrived in central Mexico in the first decade following the collapse of the Culhua-Mexica tribute state to initiate the evangelization of the large native populations. In the first decades following the Spanish conquest of central Mexico relatively small numbers of Spaniards created a system of indirect colonial rule on the existing matrix of indigenous political structures. The new colonial order in central Mexico also had a basis in the construction of two corporate societies, the *República de Españoles* and the *República de Indios*. The Spanish imposed their rule on the existing native political structure of the *altépetl*, and granted native rulers autonomy as long as they complied with tribute and labor demands and remained loyal to the new colonial order. The *altépetl* itself was a jurisdiction that consisted of a main town known to the Spaniards as the *cabecera* and subject towns known as *sujetos*. The political leaders of the *altépetl* collected tribute and labor services from the subject communities, and in turn paid tribute to the dominant polity in the region, be it the Culhua-Mexica or later the Spaniards. The Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian missionaries who arrived in central Mexico after 1524 grafted their mission organization onto the existing social-political structure. The first generation of Spanish adventurers who subjugated

central Mexico divided the *altépetl* into *encomienda* grants of jurisdiction over tributaries that enabled them to accumulate wealth through tribute collection and labor demands. At the same time the Crown attempted to limit the political and economic power of the *encomienda* grant holders, and when possible escheated private *encomienda* grants to Crown jurisdiction.[1]

The Culhua-Mexica had dominated *altépetl* in central Mexico, making tribute demands in a loosely knitted political system that also lent itself to fragmentation and resistance as seen following the arrival of the first Spaniards in 1519. The Spanish eliminated the Culhua-Mexica, and adopted and modified the existing tribute and political system as the basis for their system of indirect rule. For example, the Culhua-Mexica had subjugated the region known today as Oaxaca, and established centers from which to control and direct tribute collection. One such site was Inguiteria located near the modern town of Coixtlahuaca in the Sierra Mixteca.[2] Culhua-Mexica tribute collectors based in Inguiteria collected tribute from eleven head towns in the tribute province.

Tribute reports from the mid-sixteenth century provide the earliest information on communities in central Mexico. The *suma de visitas*, a summary of tribute reports prepared around 1550, provides details regarding the political organization of communities and *altépetl*, and particularly

[1] On the origins of the *altépetl* in central Mexico as related to the Culhua-Mexicas see Federico Navarrete Linares, *Los orígenes de los pueblos indígenas del valle de México: Los altépetl y sus historias* (México, D.F.: UNAM, 2011). The classic studies of the construction of a colonial regime in central Mexico remain Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); and James Lockhart, *The Náhuas After the Conquest; A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

[2] Stephen Kowalewski, et al, "La presencia azteca en Oaxaca: la provincia de Coixtlahuaca," *Anales de Antropología* 44 (2010), 77-103. The 1581 *relación geográfica* of Guaxilotitlan (Huitzo) noted that the Culhua-Mexica tribute collectors had their seat in three towns that were Oaxaca (Oaxaca City), Guaxilotitlan, and Cuestlauaca (Coixtlahuaca-Inguiteria. The original in the report noted that: "…y tenia para recoger este tribute tres principales que los llamaban 'calpizques.' El uno estava en Guaxaca, e el otro en este pueblo, y otro en Cuestlauaca, que es en la provincial de la Misteca, a donde el calpizque deste pueblo enviaba el maiz y mantas, y lo demas llevaban a Mexico al propio Motecsuma." See Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geográfica y Estadística Tomo IV* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadenyra," 1905), 198.

their tribute obligations. Several communities in the Sierra Mixteca region of Oaxaca where the Dominicans later established missions were typical. The report on Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) noted that 16 other towns were subject to Yodzocahi, and the town with its different *barrios* had a population of some 12,007 above the age of three. The tribute obligation paid to the *encomendero* Gonzalo de las Cabras consisted of 782 gold pesos in gold dust, and planted wheat as a part of their obligation. Moreover, they provided four birds from local species and two from Europe (chickens?) daily, as well as a small jug of honey, wax, corn, cacao, corn tortillas, eggs, salt, chile, tomato, firewood, and *yerba* (herbs?). Additionally, ten natives had to provide labor services.[3]

Yucundáa (Teposcolula) had escheated to the Crown. The c. 1550 report noted that the town had six *barrios*, and a population of 9,387 people above the age of three. As a Crown jurisdiction the tribute obligation had been set at an annual money payment of 832 pesos.[4] Disinuu (Tlaxiaco) was held in *encomiend*a by Francisco Vázquez. It was an important polity that counted 31 subject communities identified by the term *estancia* as well as other towns with independent ruling lineages: Santa María with a church; Choquistepeque; Chilapa; Tepusutepeque; and Comaltepeque. The population of Disinuu and its *estancias* was reported as 1,851 men, 1,356 women, 433 boys between the age of 12 and 17, and 379 girls of the same age. The tribute payment totaled 45 gold pesos in gold dust; corn supplied every 40 days, and other items. The ruling lineage at Santa María had nine subject *estancias* and counted 380 tributaries, 507 boys between the age of 12 and 17, and 102 girls. The tributaries of Santa María paid 13 gold pesos in gold dust every 60 days. Choquistepeque had six subject *estancias* and a population of 455 male tributaries, 280 women, and 233 boys above the age of seven. Its tribute was 11 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Chilapa had five subject *estancias* and a population of 340 married men and 247 boys. The tribute obligation was 10 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Tepusutepeque had 22 subject *estancias*, and a population of 1,322 married men 507 boys. The tribute was 33 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Finally, Comaltepeque had six subject *estancias* and a population of 540 men, 280 women, 140 boys, and 130 girls. The tribute obligation was 20 gold pesos

[3] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España publicados de orden y con fondos del gobierno mexicano. Segunda serie geografía y estadística: Tomo I Suma de visitas de pueblos por orden alfabético* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), 131.
[4] Ibid., 148.

paid in gold dust every 60 days.[5] The importance of these jurisdictions explains why the Dominicans selected them as sites for missions.

The 1579 *relación geográfica* for the jurisdiction of Nexapa in what today is Oaxaca included details regarding the urban development of a community where Dominicans had established a mission. Nexapa was a jurisdiction with a population of Be'ena'a, Mixes, and Chontales located in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.[6] The Dominicans established a *doctrina* there in 1556. The report noted that: "…there is nothing more than a monastery, and there is no other town in the province that can suffer more, because they are poor, there is no hospital in the entire district if not one in this Villa [Nexapa] that his Excellent Lord don Martín Enriquez, viceroy and Captain General of this kingdom, ordered built."[7] The fact that Nexapa did not have a hospital was important enough to note in the 1579 report, and points to the practice of including hospitals in the urban plan of mission communities.

The new or existing communities modified under the Spanish-missionary urban plan incorporated different types of buildings. At the center of the community was the new sacred complex built under the direction of the missionaries in different stages. In many cases the first structures built were a primitive convent with residences for the missionaries and an "open chapel" that functioned as the church until the completion of a permanent church. "Open chapels" exist at several Dominican missions in Oaxaca including Yucundáa (Teposcolula) and Yodzocoo (Coixtlahuaca). At other sites such as Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) the Dominicans directed the construction of the new sacred complex on a temple platform, and had the pre-Hispanic temple demolished. This was the temple that figured in the Yodzocahi inquisition case in the 1540s.

The Dominicans directed the construction of other elements in the new sacred complexes. They included the cloister which served as the headquarters of the missionaries, their habitations, communal dining hall, and store rooms; and the permanent church generally built on a monumental scale. A large open space enclosed by walls known as the atrium fronted the sacred complex, and within the atrium there generally

[5] Ibid., 282.

[6] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geografía y Estadística Tomo Primero*, 30.

[7] Ibid., 43-44. The original quote reads: "…ya esta como en esta jurisdicción no hay más de un monestario in hay pueblo en la provincia que pueda sufrir más, porque son pobres, no hay hospital ninguno en todo este distrito si no es uno en esta Villa que mando hacer el muy Excelente Señor Don Martin Enríquez virrey y capitán general deste reino."

were small chapels known as *capillas posa* located at the four corners or four cardinal points. The missionaries used the *capillas* as stopping points to explain points of Catholic doctrine during the processions that were an important element in ritual life, particularly during Easter week.[8] The urban plan also contained structures for the native populations. Examples of these non-religious structures still exist at the site of Yucundáa (Teposcolula). One is the so-called *casa de la cacica.* The second was the hospital built to isolate sick natives. The practice in the sixteenth-century was to quarantine or isolate those infected with contagious diseases from the general population, and also those who had been exposed to the infected. The treatment of those infected was rudimentary, and death rates in the hospitals were high.

The Franciscan mission province of Tepeaca (Puebla) provides a second example of the organization of early sixteenth century missions. Tepeaca was an important and populous jurisdiction, and the Franciscans established five *doctrinas* in the province: San Francisco Tepeaca (1530); Asunción de Nuestra Señora Tecamachalco (1541); Santa María Magdalena Cachulac (modern Quecholac) (c. 1550); Señor Apóstol Tecali (1554); and San Juan Evangelista Acacingo (modern Acatzingo) (1558).[9] The *suma de visita* report for Tepeaca reported a population of 9,878 in the *cabecera* and *sujetos,* which included Acacingo. This suggests a population of about 49,000. This figure did not include the populations of Cachulac, Tecali, and Tecamachalco.[10] The 1580 *relación geográfica* report on Tepeaca reported a population of 8,000 native heads of household including Acacingo, or some 45,000 people. It was 7,000 heads of household in Tecamachalco and its *sujetos,* or some 35,000 people. Tecali counted 5,000 heads of household, or some 25,000 people.[11]

Several of the main towns in Tepeaca province were still held in *encomienda* in the early 1580s. Tepeaca itself had escheated to the Crown,

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[8] On the architectural elements of the sixteenth century mission complexes see Kubler, *La arquitectura mexicana;* Robert J. Mullen, *Dominican Architecture in Sixteenth-Century Oaxaca* (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1975); Roberto Meli, *Los conventos mexicanos del siglo XVI: Construcción, ingeniería estructural y conservación* (México, D.F.: Editorial Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2011).

[9] George Kubler, *La arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI.* (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), 553-554, 576, 577-578, 581.

[10] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Suma de visitas,* 206.

[11] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España publicados de orden y con fondos del gobierno mexicano. Segunda serie geografía y estadística: Tomo V: Relaciones Geográficas de la Diócesis de Tlaxcala* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadenyra," 1905), 19.

but Tecamachalco was jointly held in *encomienda* by Rodrigo de Bierro and Melchora de Aberucha. Tecali was held in *encomienda* by Jusepe de Ovduña. Cachulac was held in *encomienda* by Gonzalo Coronado and Nicolása de Villanueva. Spaniards had also begun to settle in several of the head towns. Sixty Spaniards reportedly lived in Tepeaca, and were involved in raising livestock in the region, and another 100 Spaniards reportedly lived in Tecamachalco. As noted above, the Franciscans established their *doctrinas* in the head towns, and designated subject towns as *visitas*. In the 1580s Tepeaca counted 73 *sujetos*, which included Acacingo. Tecamachalco had 29 subject communities, Cachulac had 34, and Tecali had 19.[12]

The Franciscans also introduced a new urban plan to the native communities in Tepeaca province, and relocated communities to new sites. For example, the Franciscans relocated Tepeaca to a new site in 1543. Similarly, they relocated Tecamachalco to a new location at about the same time, in 1541.[13] The Franciscans directed the construction of the new sacred complex; the church and convent, located at the center of Acacingo. Kubler reported that the construction of the church and convent San Juan Evangelista began around 1558.[14] Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M., reported that construction of the church and cloister had been concluded prior to his visit in the mid-1580s.[15] The Franciscan noted that: "The convent is completed, with its church, cloisters, dormitories and orchard. Two friars reside there."[16] The Franciscan reported that the construction of the new sacred complexes at the other missions in Tepeaca province had also been completed by the same period.

The arrival of the Spaniards led to processes of demographic change that included shifts in settlement patterns as well as population decline. Introduced disease such as smallpox and measles was an important cause of demographic decline, and the late sixteenth century *relaciones geográficas* reports referenced the lethal consequences of epidemic.[17] The

[12] Ibid.
[13] Kubler, *Arquitectura Mexicana*, 578, 581.
[14] Ibid., 553-554.
[15] Antonio De Ciudad Real, O.F.M., *Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España* 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Caero, 1875), 144.
[16] Ibid.
[17] The reports prepared around 1580 that are known today as the *relaciones geográficas* mentioned the effects of disease, and in some instances make estimates of population loss. One example is the report for Tepoztlán, which describes the newly introduced diseases. See René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones*

report for Tepeaca (Puebla) noted that "…today, of the people that were [here] when the Spanish entered [the country], out of ten nine [are missing]."[18] The report on Teitipac (Oaxaca) also estimated the degree of population decline:

> This town of Teticpaque used to be a town with many natives [*naturales*], and there was something like two thousand Indians [yndios], and now a thousand; the cause for there being fewer now are the diseases and pestilences they have had[.][19]
>
> Periodic epidemics killed thousands of natives. The report for Coatzacualco, also located in Oaxaca, provides additional details on the chronology and effects of contagions:
>
> What they have reports on about the reduction [in number] of these people was smallpox that broke out in the year one thousand, five hundred, and thirty four, and measles that broke out in the year one thousand, five hundred, and forty five. And it is clearly seen that they are becoming fewer [in number] every day [.][20]

Civil and religious officials instituted a policy known as *congregación* to shift and resettle population because of population decline. Some communities disappeared as a result of depopulation and/or population shifts to new settlements. Population decline, however, was not the only motive for *congregación*, and in some instances civil officials or the missionaries relocated existing towns from hilltops to valley locations where they were easier to manage when trying to organize labor drafts, collect tribute, or enforce attendance at catechism or mass. An example was Yucundáa (Teposcolula) located in the Sierra Mixteca of Oaxaca, which was the site of an early Dominican mission established around 1529 or 1530.[21] The Dominicans directed the construction of a primitive church and convent at

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geográficas del siglo XVI: México tomo primero (México, D.F.: UNAM, 1984), 190-191.

[18] Quoted in Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 20.

[19] In Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geografía y Estadística Tomo Primero* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), 110. The original quote reads: Este pueblo de Teticpaque solía ser pueblo de muchos naturales e avía en el cómo dos mil indios, e a presente ay mil; la causa de aver al presente menos son las enfermedades y pestilencias que an tenido... [.]"

[20] In René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Antequera. Tomo Primero* (México. D.F.: UNAM, 1984), 151.

[21] Ronald Spores, "Yucundáa: Su etnohistoria y consideraciones de relaciones arquitectónicas y patrones de urbanismo con españa," in Ronald Spores and Nelly M. Robles Garcia, eds., *Yucundáa: La ciudad mixteca y su transformación prehispánica-colonial*, 2 vols. (México, D.F.: INAH, 2014), 628.

the hilltop site of Yucundáa. Archaeological excavations at the site uncovered the remains of the primitive church and convent, as well as burials associated with epidemics in the first half of the sixteenth century. The primitive church built of stone taken from pre-Hispanic buildings measured 33 x 12 meters, and the convent 57 x 18 meters.[22]

The Dominicans later had the population of Yucundáa relocated to the valley, and established the new mission San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula at a new site around 1552.[23] The Dominicans directed the construction of a new complex that included an open chapel, church, and cloister, as well as a hospital for the native population. The ruling lineage had a complex know today as the *Casa de la Cacica* built a short distance from the new religious complex. It was an *aniñe* or residence of a Ñudzahui ruling couple. The complex was the residence of doña Catalina de Peralta, who took up residence there in the mid-1560s with her husband don Diego de Mendoza.[24]

The organization of evangelization and social-cultural change among the P'urépecha of Michoacán provides a third example of the approach taken among sedentary natives in central Mexico, and the Michoacán *doctrinas* also served as bases to move beyond the Chichimeca frontier. At the time of the Spanish conquest the P'urépecha state was independent of the Culhua-Mexica, and had its capital at Tzintzuntzán located on the shores of Lago Pátzcuaro, where the Franciscans established one of their first *doctrinas* as

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[22] Christina Gertrude Warinner, "Life and Death at Teposcolula Yucundáa: Mortuary, Archaeogenetic, and Isotopic Investigations of the Early Colonial Period in Mexico," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2010, 194-196. There may be as many as 2,000 burials in the great plaza most likely dating to the 1540s. On the Dominican complex see Elizabeth J. Galeana Cruz, "La iglesia vieja-casa religiosa dominica de Yucundáa y la casa de la cacica e iglesia y convento de San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula. Dos ejemplos de sincretismo arquitectónica en la primera mitad del siglo XVI: Mixtecos y dominicos," in Spores and. Robles García, *Yucundáa*, 335-348.

[23] On the early Dominican mission at Yucundáa and the resettlement of the community see Ronald Spores, et al, "Avances de investigación de los entierros humanos del sitio Pueblo Viejo de Teposcolula y su contexto arqueológico," *Estudios de Antropología Biológica* 13 (2007), 285-305; James B. Kiracofe, "Architectural Fusion and Indigenous Ideology in early colonial Teposcolula the Casa de la Cacica: A Building at the Edge of Oblivion," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* vol. 17, No. 66 (Spring, 1995), 45-84.

[24] Kevin Terraciano, "The Colonial Mixtec Community," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80:1 (February 2000), 1-42; James B. Kiracofe, "Architectural Fusion and Indigenous Ideology in early colonial Teposcolula the Casa de la Cacica: A Building at the Edge of Oblivion," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* vol. 17, No. 66 (spring, 1995), 45-84.

early as 1526. The Franciscans and secular priests attempted to evangelize the P'urépecha in the communities of the Sierra P'urépecha, whereas the Augustinians initially focused their attention on the porous Chichimeca frontier, but then assumed responsibility for several mountain communities.

The Franciscans and Augustinians organized the missions among the P'urépecha along the same lines as other missions in central Mexico with main communities designated as *cabeceras* and subject communities as *visitas* (see Table 1 and Table 2). They established the main mission center in the dominant polity in a district, and periodically visited other communities designated as *visitas*. As more missionary personnel became available they elevated some *visitas* to the status of independent *doctrinas.* They followed the urban plan and architectural elements found in other parts of central Mexico: the monumental church and convent, a walled atrium, and in larger communities barrio chapels. Other elements included a hospital located at a short distance from the convent complex and identified in P'urépecha communities by the term *huatápera,* and a structure or structures for the indigenous community government. At the same time the indigenous population experienced decline during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a consequence of disease and other factors (see Table 7). As the populations declined civil officials and the missionaries themselves resettled people on a smaller number of communities.

The *suma de visitas* discussed above also contained the earliest descriptions of the *doctrinas* established among the P'urépecha. The tribute reports provided information on population size. In the case of the Michoacán *doctrinas* the population category was the number of people, but this did not include very young children who still breast fed. The reports also noted the hierarchy of head and subject towns, and contained geographic descriptions of the jurisdictions. The P'urépecha provided labor services and tribute payments in crops, salt, textiles, and in some instances silver or gold. Several of the reports also mentioned the provision of food to the *calpisque*, or the agent of the holder of the *encomienda* grant and tribute collector.[25]

[25] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Suma de visitas.* Appended here are the texts of the reports for the Franciscan *doctrinas:*

Cinapequaro

Este pueblo son dos cabeceras, y esta tiene quatro barrios y todos son ciento y treinta y tres cassas y en ellas quinientas y sesenta y quatro personas de tres años para arriba Dan de tributo ciento y cinquenta pessos de tipuzque y mas quinientas hanegas de maiz y treinta cargas de sal y treinta cargas de axi.

Peribán

Este pueblo tíene otras tres estancias sugetas, y esta cabecera de Periuan por si tiene quatro barrios y son todas las casas noventa y siete y en ellas ay quinientas y ochenta y vna personas: da cada ochenta dias treynta y siete pesos y medio de tipuzque y ginco xicaras y cinco pares de cutaras, dos panes de sal y media hanega de axi, y vna sementera de maiz y hazen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas y tres almudes de sembradura, y da de comer al Calpisque dos meses en el año, y da dos yndios de servicio. Esta asentado en llano, tiene agua de pie de que ríegan, danse morales, algodon y frutas de Castilla.

Xaratango, otra cabecera sugeta tiene ochenta y quatro casas y en ellas ay quinientas y treinta y dos personas sin los niños de teta; dan de tributo cada ochenta dias treynta pesos de tipuzque y cinco xicaras y cinco pares de cutaras y dos panes de sal y media hanega de axi y hasen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas de sembradura y labran mill arboles de morales, y mas dan tres yndios de servicio hordinariamente, y dan de comer al Calpisque dos meses en el año; esta asentado en vna mesa de tierra llana, tiene buenas aguas y riegos.

Atapa, otra cabegera sugeta, tiene dos barrios y son setenta y vna casas y en ellas trezientas y ochenta personas sin los niños. Dan cada ochenta dias treynta pesos de oro común y dos panes de sal y cinoo pares de cotaras y cinco xicaras y media hanega de axi, y hazen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas de sembradura y dos meses en el año dan de comer al Calpisque, y dan quatro yndios ordinarios y labran mill morales; esta asentado en llano en vna mesa que se hazeen vn cerro, tiene buena agua y riegan con ella.

Charapa, otra cabegera sugeta, tiene quarenta y cinco casas y en ellas dozientas y ochenta personas; dan cada ochenta dias veynte y dos pesos de tipuzque y dos panes de sal y cinco pares de cotaras y cinco xicaras y media hanega de axi, y hazen vna sementera de maiz de hanega y media de sembradura, y curan ochocientos morales, y dan de comer dos meses en el año al Calpisque, y cinco yndios de servicio hordinarios. Esta asentado en vn cerro llano, tiene vna fuente, es tierra fria.

Tiene el dicho pueblo de Periuan con las dichas cabeceras sugetas doze leguas de largo, parte términos al leuante con Urmapa y Pumacoran y con Chilchota al poniente, y Tapilcatepeqne. Al norte ooh Teguandin y al sur con Tancitaro. Tiene de ancho quatro leguas, ay buenos montes y tierras para hazer yngenios de acucar, puédese sembrar trigo y hazer molinos; esta de Mechuacan veynte leguas y de México cinquenta y cinco.

Purengécuaro

Este pueblo tiene ciento y setenta y siete casas y seiscientos y quarenta y siete personas: da cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas que tienen tres brazas y media de largo: son de quatro piernas. Esta en la orilla de la laguna, beuen de posos.

Hazcuaro tiene treinta y siete casas y en ellas mili y nouenta personas en que ay quatrocientos casados: dan de tributo vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas cada

ochenta dias. Esta asentado en vna punta de tierra que entra en la laguna de Mechuacan,

Seramdanguacho tiene ochenta y tres cassas y en ellas dozientos y sesenta y vna personas y dan de tributo cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas. esta asentado cerca de la laguna di Mechuacan, tiene buena pesquería.

Guaminao, tiene treynta y nueue casas y en ellas ciento y cinquenta y cinco personas sin los niños: dan de tributo cada odienta dias vn marcó de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas; esta asentado entre Zinsonza y Tiripitio junto a vnos cerros de piedra, tienen buenos montes.

Cuzaro, tiene quarenta y dos casas y en ellas docientas y quatro personas sin los niños: dan de tributo cada ochenta dias vn marco de ¡data baxa y dos mantas torcidas; esta asentado a vista de la Laguna de Mechuacan cerca de Santa Fe en vn ancón de vnos cerros junto a vn monte; tienen agua de pie de que riegan sus sementeras.

Tarímbaro

Este pueblo tiene quatro cabeceras sugetas que se dizen Cetanguano, Acareno y Cuparataro y Chiriparao. Son todos los naturales destos pueblos, cabecera y sugetos, mili y quinientos y ochenta y nueve yndios. Dan cada año seiscientos pesos de oro común y hazen ciertas sementeras de trigo y maíz y benefícian ciertas suertes de viñas, y (dan) cada dia dos gallinas de Castilla y quarenta tamales y dos cargas de leña y cinco yndios de servicio y quatro cañutillos de sal y vna xicara de axi y veynte bagres secos. Esta en llano y por el pasa vn arroyo, es tierra templada, ay morales; confina con Matalcingo y Cuiseo y Tiripitio y Cinapecuaro e Yndaparapeo: tiene de box doze leguas; esta de Mechuacan legua y media y de México treynta y seis.

Eronguaricuaro

Este pueblo tiene ciento y ochenta y seis casas y en ellas ay setecientas y catorce personas, sin niños; dan de tributo cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas.

Huricho tiene ciento y quinze casas y en ellas quatrocientas y veinte y seis personas, sin los niños. Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias otro tanto tributo como Heronguaricnaro, Estos dos pueblos están asentados junto a la laguna de Mechuacan; tienen grangeria de pesquerías, ay morales y buenos montes, están nueve leguas de Mechuacan.

Huyramangaro tiene nouenta cassas y en ellas trezientas y quinze personas. Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas.

Pichatoro tiene ciento y veynte y vna cassas y en ellas ay quatrocientos y diez y seis personas, sin los de teta. Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas; están asentados estos dos pueblos entre montes. Es tierra fria.

Uruapan

Este pueblo tiene otras dos cabeceras sugetas, y la cabecera de Huruapa por si tiene siete barrios y son todas quatrocientas y treinta cassas y en ellas ay dos mill y ciento y ochenta y nueue personas sin los niños. Dan cada ochenta dias nouenta pesos de tipuzque, y doze yndios de seruício hordinariamente, y hazen vna sementera de trigo de cien brazas en quadra y otra de maiz de trezientas brazas; y dan cada año diez hanegas de axi y diez de frisóles y diez panes de sal; y los cinco meses en el año dan al «Calpisque» cada día para su comida dos gallinas y media hanega de maiz y dos cargas de leña y dos de yerua, y quando el Encomendero ó sus Hijos están en el dicho pueblo dan otro tanto. Esta asentado en vn ancón de vn valle que tiene de largo vna legua y de ancho otra; ay muchas fuentes de que riegan muchas tierras; puedense hazer molinos; danse arboles de España y morales. Es tierra en parte caliente y en partes frió (sic).

Xirosto, cabecera sugeta a este pueblo, tiene catorze barrios y son todas las casas quatrocientas y quarenta y tres y ay en ellas tres mill y sesenta y cinco personas. Dan otro tanto tributo y es tierra mas templada que Huruapa,

Xicalan, que es otra cabegera sugeta, tiene vn barrio y son todos quarenta y tres casas y en ellas ciento y treinta y vna personas. Dan cada ochenta días seys cargas peqneñas de cobre y diez mantas delgadas que tienen vna braza de largo y otra de ancho, y vnos manteles y quinze pañuzuelos. Esta asentado en vn cerro al pie del qual pasa vn río. Es tierra caliente; tienen de termino estos dichos pueblos nueue leguas y media de largo y de ancho siete, confinan con pueblos de Joan Infante (i) y Perivan y la Guacana; esta quinze leguas de Mechuacan y de México cinquenta.

Taximaroa

Este pueblo tiene tres cabeceras y la principal tiene tres barrios y todas las cassas son treynta y nueue y en ellas ay mill y ochenta y ocho personas. — Caerio tiene honre casas y en ellas tresientas y treinta y seis personas. — Xaratangao tiene vn barrio y son todas las casas diez y seis y en ellas ay trecientas y cinquenta y vna personas.-— Cuzcio tiene seis cassas y en ellas dozientas y cinquenta y dos persoñas. — Baxio tiene quatro barrios y son treinta y seis casas y en ellas ay quinientas y treinta y dos personas. Dan ochenta yndios de servicio en las minas, y hazen tres sementeras: la vna de ochocientas brazas en largo y quinientas en ancho. La segunda de seiscientas brazas en largo y quienientas en ancho, la tercera de quatrocientas brazas en largo y trecientas en ancho, de maiz; y cada vn año dozientas hanegas de frisóles y ochogientas ceretas de axi, y allende desto servicio para guarda de los ganados, y otras menudencias como se contienen en el libro de las tasaciones. Esta asentado en vnas lomas entre vnas sierras, tiene buenas aguas y montes, la mas parte es tierra fragosa, y en vna estancia deste pueblo se coge oro; ay en este pueblo vn yngenio de azucar y vn molino y vna huerta de morales; confina con Maroatio y Chachilpa y Cinapecuaro: tiene de boxo treinta y cinco leguas, ay hasta Mechuacan honze leguas y a México veinte e cinco.

Tarécuato

Este pueblo tíene dos barrios y son todas las cassas ciento y treinta y ocho y en ellas ay setecientas y quarenta y nueue personas: da diez y nuene yndios de servicio y hazen vna sementera de mais de siete hanegas y media de sembradura, y la mitad del año dan de comer al Calpisque cada dia dos gallinas de Castilla y los que no son de carne veynte hueuos, y yerua y otras menudencias. Esta asentado en vna hoya cercado de cerros, tiene regadío y montes, es algo frío, danse morales; confina con Xacona y Teguandin y vna estanca de Macamitla: esta veinte leguas de Mechuacan y de México mas de cinquenta.

Tancítaro

Este pueblo tiene tres barrios y son todos ciento y nouenta y quatro cassas y en ellas nouenta y nueue personas (sic). Dan cada setenta dias ciento y veinte pesos de oro común, y hazen vna sementera de mais de que se cogen cien hanegas, y dan cada año veynte cargas de algodon y diez yndios de servicio hordinarios en Mechuacan, Esta asentado en vn llano cercado de sierras y montes, tíene agua de pie, es tierra firia y el sugeto es caliente, tiene regadíos y tiene de termino en largo ocho leguas de largo y seis de ancho: confina con Humapa y Periban y Arimao y con tierra de la Guácana, esta de Mechuacam veinte y vna legnas y de México cinqnenta y seis.

Xiquilpa

Este pueblo tíene dos barrios y todos tienen ciento y sesenta y seis casas y en ellas setecientas y setenta y dos personas sin los niños. Dan cada quarenta dias quarenta mantas que cada vna tíene de largo dos brazas y tres palmos, y de ancho tres varas de medir y tiene cada manta quatro piernas. Esta asentado en llano cercado de cerros y los mas dellos pelados: es tierra callente. Tiene de largo cinco leguas y de ancho tres: confína con Xacona y Macamitía y Tarecuato: esta de Mechnacan veynte e cinco leguas y otras tantas de Colima y sesenta de México.

Zacapu

Este pueblo tiene nueue barrios y todos con la cabecera son trezientas y diez y seis cassas, y en ellas ay mill y quatrocientas y ochenta personas sin los de teta. Dan de tributo en vn año trezientos y veinte pessos de típuzque y mili y dozientas hanegas de maiz y treynta hanegas de axi y otras tantas de firisoles puesto en vna estancia de ganados, y mas ciento y veinte piezas de ropa para vestir yndios; y cada año veynte y quatro panes de sal y treinta y seis Xicaras, y mas dan cada dia veynte y tres yndios de servicio en la dicha estancia y pueblo, excepto vno o dos que le dan en Mechuacan y los tamemes que Vuiere menester el encomendero para ir o venir a México o a la de Mechuacan y cada dia quatro gallinas de Castilla, excepto los dias de pescado que le dan ochenta pescados medianos y vna Xicara de almejas y treinta hueuos; y cada dia dozientos tamales y seis cargas de yerua y quatro de leña y media hanega de mais. Esta asentado en vn llano, por la vna parte tiene vnos cerros pelados y pedregosos y montuosos, y por la otra vn llano grande que va a

In the 1580s the Franciscan Commisary General Alonso Ponce, O.F.M. conducted an inspection tour of the Franciscan *doctrinas* in Mexico and Central America. Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M. accompanied Ponce and wrote an account of the inspection tour titled "Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España. Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España siendo Comisario General de aquellas

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dar al valle de Gnamiquso; tiene vna gran fuente cerca del pueblo de la qual se haze vna laguna donde ay almejas y algún pescado; biuen los naturales de sementeras de maiz, dase trigo en tiempo de aguas; tiene de termino nueve leguas de largo por donde confina con Guamgo y por la otra con Pamacorran; tiene de ancho tres leguas y media por donde confina con Comamja y por la otra con Chilchota y Tacacalca y con vn pueblo que se dice Sansan (sic); ay en términos del dicho puéblo dos estancias de ganado, la vna del encomendero y la otra de Andrés de Vargas, de ovejas; esta honze leguas de Mechuacan de México casi cincuenta.

Acámbaro

Este pueblo tiene otras quatro cabeceras sugetas y esta principal tiene treze barrios y todos son ciento y ochenta y tres cassas y en ellas ay mill y quarenta y ocho personas de tres años para arriba: dan veynte y vn yndios de seruicio.

Yrameo ques la vna cabecera tiene tres barrios y todos tienen setenta y seis cassas y en ellas ay trezientas y sesenta personas de tres años para arriba: dan treze yndios de seruicio.

Amocotin que es el segundo sugeto, tiene dos barrios y son todas ciento y diez cassas y la gente que ay en ella son nouecientas y ochenta personas: dan treze yndios de seruicio.

Atacorin que es el tercero sugeto tiene quatro barrios y todas son ochenta y seis cassas y en ellas ay quatrogientas y nouenta y quatco personas: dan treze yndios de seruicio.

Emenguaro que es el quarto sugeto, tiene dos barrios y son todas ^inquenta y tres cassas y en ellas ay giento y nouenta personas: dan treze yndios de seruicio.

Mas dan todos juntos treynta y tres yndios pastores y veynte y seis yndios para los telares, mas hazen vna sementera de trigo de quinie hanegas de sembradura; más dan ocho medidas de yema; más dan veynte yndios para el seruicio de cassa; mas hazen vna sementera de maiz de quarenta y quatro suertes de tierra; más dan cada veynte dias veynte y quatro pares de cutaras y ocho pares de alpargates; más dan cada veynte dias veynte y quatro panes de sal. Esta asentado en vn llano junto a vn Rio grande. Es tierra templada, tiene regadíos; dase algodón; alcanzan dos Rios y vna laguna adonde toman pescado en abundancia y sal; alcanzan montes a tres leguas de la cabecera. Confina a la parte del sur con Cinapecuaro y al norte con Qneretaro: ay de vna parte a la otra diez leguas; al leuante confina con Marbetio y al poniente con Vrirapundaro y Cuyseo: de vna parte a otra ay nueue leguas; esta de México treynta y vna leguas y de Mechuacan diez.

partes". His account also contained short descriptions of the building complexes.[26] The series of reports elaborated at about the same time around 1580 and known as the *relaciones geográficas* also contain information about the Franciscan *doctrinas*. These descriptions are reproduced below.

The Franciscan Doctrinas

Santa María de Gracia Acámbaro

"El convento estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios, iglesia y huerta. Es de mediano capacidad, hecho de cal y canto y moraban en el siete religiosos".
"The convent is finished, with its cloister, dormitories, church and orchard. It is of middling capacity, built of masonry and seven missionaries lived there."

San Antonio de Padua Charapa (Charapan)

"Es pequeño, con iglesia, hecho de adobes, no estaba acabado y moraba en él un religioso".

"It is small, with a church, built of adobe, it was not finished and one missionary lived there."

Figure 1: San Antonio de Padua Charapan.

[26] Ciudad Real, *Relación breve y verdadera*.

San José Taximaroa

"El convento, que se intitula de San Joseph, estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios e iglesia, en la cual hay un bonito retablo en el altar mayor. Moraban en él dos religiosos. En la plaza del pueblo hay una fuente muy vistosa de buena agua, labrada de piedra con mucha curiosidad".

"The convent, which is titled San Joseph, was finished, with its cloister, dormitories and church, in which there is a beautiful altar screen in the main altar. Two missionaries lived there. In the plaza of the town there is a very attractive fountain with good water, made of stone [and is] very curious [unusual]."

La Asunción de Nuestra Señora Erongarícuaro

"El convento estaba acabado, con su iglesia, solo faltaba cubrir los corredores altos del claustro. Moraban allí dos frailes".

"The convent was finished, with its church; they only need to cover the corridors of the upper cloister. Two friars lived there."

San Juan Zitácuaro

"El convento e iglesia es todo pequeño, hecho de adobes casi todo, con una pequeña huerta, es el primero de los de la provincia de Michoacán, en el cual moraban dos religiosos".

"The convent and church are small, almost hall built of adobes, with a small orchard, and it is the first of those in the province of Michoacán, in which two missionaries lived."

San Francisco Xiquilpa (Jiquilpan)

"El convento estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorio e iglesia, todo pequeño y hecho de adobes, con una bonita huerta. Moraban en el dos frailes".

"The convent was finished, with its cloister, dormitories and church, all small and built of adobes, with a beautiful orchard. Two friars lived there." The *relación geográfica* noted that:

"En este dicho pueblo de Xiquilpan hay un monasterio de frailes de la Orden del Señor San Francisco, como en otro capítulo va declarado; hay en el dos religiosos: el uno es guardián. EL fundador del fue Fray Juan de San Miguel, el cual habrá cuarenta años, poco más o menos, que se fundó, lo

cual fue de parecer de todos los religiosos que en esta provincia de Michoacán había. En este dicho pueblo hay un hospital donde se curan los enfermos, el cual habrá treinta años que lo instituyó y fundó un religioso que se decía Fray Alonso de Pineda, de la Orden del Señor San Francisco. No tiene rentas ningunas: solamente sustentan a los pobres de limosnas que piden entre los naturales."[27]

"In said village of Xiquilpan there is a monastery of the friars of the Order of Sr. San Francisco, as in the other chapter it is reported, there are two missionaries there, one the guardian. The founder was Fray Juan de San Miguel, it was forty years [ago], more or less, that it was founded, which appeared appropriate to all of the missionaries that were in this province of Michoacán. In said village there is a hospital where the sick are cured, that was founded and instituted some thirty years [ago by] a missionary that was Fray Alonso de Pineda, of the Order of Sr. San Francisco. There are no rents: it [the hospital] is only supported poorly by alms that are solicited from the natives."

Guayangareo (Valladolid), San Buenaventura

"El convento de muy antiguo se estaba cayendo; habíanle derribado la iglesia e íbase haciendo de cal y canto, muy buena y fuerte, y para hacerla dio el rey 400 ducados de limosna, los cuales llevaron en dinero de España allí, cosa bien nueva y nunca vista. Moraban allí seis religiosos".

"The convent is very old and was falling: they had demolished the church and were building it or masonry, good and strong, and to build it the King gave 400 ducats in alms, which were taken there in coin from Spain, a good thing never seen before. Six missionaries lived there."

San Francisco Pátzcuaro

"El convento no estaba acabado; tenia hecho un cuarto de cal y canto, alto y bajo, e íbase haciendo la iglesia. Moraban en el tres religiosos".

"The convent was not finished, it had a masonry building, upper and lower, and the church was being built. Three missionaries lived there."
San Francisco Pirihuan (Peribán)

"El convento estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios, iglesia y huerta. Es de cal y canto excepto un poco que es de adobes y cubierta de paja. Moraban allí dos frailes".

[27] René Acuña, Ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Michoacán.* (Mexico, D.F: UNAM, 1987), 416-417.

> "The convent was finished, with its cloister, dormitories, church and orchard. It is of masonry except for a small part which is of adobe, and covered with straw. Two friars lived there."

Figure 2: The Franciscan *doctrina* in Peribán.

The *relación geográfica* of Peribán reported that:

> "Hay en este dicho pueblo de Perivan un monasterio del Señor San Francisco: hay en el dos frailes (el uno dellos, guardián), los cuales tienen en doctrina a los naturales. El cual (monasterio) dicen que fundó, un fraile de la dicha orden que se dice Fray Juan de San Miguel, habrá cincuenta y cinco años. Hay en este dicho pueblo, un hospital, el cual habrá cuarenta años que lo fundó, el dicho Fray Juan de San Miguel. Es pobre, que no tiene rentas ningunas ni bienes; cúrense en el los pobres, y los sustentan de limosnas que piden."[28]

[28] Ibid., 434-435.

There is in said village of Perivan a monastery of Sr. San Francisco: there are two friars there (one of them is the guardian), who have the natives in a mission [*doctrina*]. A friar of said order called Fray Juan de San Miguel founded [the monastery] some forty five years [ago]. In the said village there is a hospital that the said Fray Juan de San Miguel founded some forty years [ago]. It is poor, it has no rents or goods, the poor are cured in it, and it is supported by alms that they solicit."

The same report identified the subject communities that included Angahuan. San Antonio Charapan was also a subject community although it was also an independent *doctrina*. Regarding Angahuan the report noted that:

> "Tiene otro sujeto que se dice Santiago; está poblado en un cerro alto, entre unos montes. Es tierra muy fría; hay en el membrillos. Tiene setenta indios."[29]
>
> "It has another subject [community] that is called Santiago; it is populated on a high hill, among mountains. The land is very cold, in it there are membrillos. It has seventy Indians."

Figure 3: The church and cloister in Angahuan

[29] Ibid., 431.

Santa Tomás Pichátaro

”Es un convento pequeño hecho de adobes y cubierto de paja. Tenía una bonita huerta y moraban en el dos frailes”.

“It is a small convent built of adobes and covered by Straw. It had a beautiful orchard and two friars lived there.”

San Jerónimo Purrenchécuaro

“El convento es pequeño, hecho de adobes, y aun no estaba acabado; tiene muy bonita vista a la laguna de Tzintzuntzán. Moraban en el dos frailes”.

“The convent is small, built of adobes, and it was still not finished; it has a very beautiful view of the lake of Tzintzuntzán. Two friars lived there.”

Santa Cruz Tancítaro

“El convento está acabado, con su iglesia, claustro, dormitorios y huerta; es todo de cal y canto y de mediana capacidad, en el que moraban dos frailes”.

“The convent is finished, with its church, cloister, dormitories and orchard, all is of masonry and of middling capacity, two friars lived there.”

Santa María de Jesús Tarécuato

“El convento es de los antiguos hecho de piedra y adobes. Está acabado con su iglesia, claustro, dormitorios y huerta. Moraban allí cuatro frailes”.
“The convent is of the oldest built of Stone and adobes. It is finished with its church, cloister, dormitories and orchard. Four friars lived there.”
The *relación geográfica* reported that:

“Hay en este dicho pueblo, un monasterio de frailes de la orden del Señor San Francisco; hay en el dos religiosos (el uno, guardián), los cuales tienen en doctrina a los naturales; habrá más de sesenta años que lo fundó un religioso que se decía Fray Bernardo, de la Orden del Señor San Francisco. Hay, en este dicho pueblo, un hospital, en que se curan los pobres, lo cual se fundó, por mandado de un religioso que se dijo Fray Juan de Pavía, habrá treinta y seis años; no tiene renta ninguna: susténtense, los pobres, que en él se curan, de limosnas.”

“There is in said village a monastery of the friars of the order of Sr. San Francisco, there are two missionaries (the one, guardian) who have the natives in a mission [*doctrina*]; it was founded more than sixty years ago

by a missionary named Fray Bernardo, of the Order of Sr. San Francisco. There is, in said village, a hospital, where the poor are cured, that a missionary named Fray Juan de Pavia ordered founded about thirty six years [ago]; it has no rents; it is supported by alms of the poor, who are cured there."

Figure 4: The church built at Tarécuato in the sixteenth century.

Figure 5: The atrial cross.

San Miguel Tarímbaro

"El convento está acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios y huerta; la iglesia se iba haciendo y tenían entonces una de prestado. Moraban en él dos frailes".

"The convent is finished, with its cloister, dormitories and orchard; the church was being built and they had a temporary one. Two friars lived there."

San Francisco Uruapan

"El convento estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios e iglesia; todo de cal y canto, con su enmaderamiento y terrados. Tiene una buena huerta y moraban en el cuatro frailes".

"The convent was finished, with its cloister, dormitories and church; all of masonry, with its ceiling of wood and flat roofs. It has a good orchard and four friars lived there."

Figure 6: A group of girls bringing out a statue for a procession to be staged in San Lorenzo, which was a *visita* of Uruapan.

Santa Ana Zacapu

"El convento estaba acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios y huerta; la iglesia se estaba haciendo. Residían en el tres frailes".

"The convent was finished, with its cloister, dormitories and orchard; the church was being built. Three friars lived there."

San Miguel Tzinapícuaro (Zinapécuaro)

"El convento es de cal y canto, fuerte y bien hecho, aunque pequeño, pero del todo acabado, con su claustro, dormitorios e iglesia, fundado en un cerrillo. Tiene en lo bajo una buena huerta junto a un arroyo y moraban en el dos religiosos".

"The convent is of masonry, strong and well built, although small, but it was finished, with its cloister, dormitories and church, founded on a small hill. Below [it] there is a good orchard next to a stream and two missionaries lived there."

San Francisco Cintzuntza (Tzintzuntzán)

"El convento es bueno y estaba acabado, hecho de cal y canto, con su claustro, dormitorio e iglesia, la cual tiene un retablo muy vistoso. Moreban en él dos religiosos".

"The convent is good, and was finished, built of masonry, with its cloister, dormitories and church, which has a very attractive altar. Two missionaries lived there."

Figure 7: The church, *capilla de indios*, and cloister at Tzintzuntzán.

The Augustinian *Doctrinas*

The Augustinians were the last of the three important missionary orders to arrive in Mexico, and first established *doctrinas* in communities not already occupied by the Franciscans and Dominicans or replaced secular clergy. The Augustinians assumed an important role in Huaxtepec Province in what today is Morelos. Moreover, they established missions in what today is Hidalgo in the Sierra Alta and Huasteca regions. The convent at Acolman, located in the northeastern section of the Valley of Mexico close to Teotihuacán, was a part of the Hidalgo complex, and linked these missions to Mexico City. *Doctrinas* in this region included Atotonilco el Grande, Metztitlán, and Huejutla.[30]

As the Spanish advanced to the north and northwest in Mexico they encountered native peoples who were non-sedentary hunters and gatherers or practiced a mixed economy based on hunting, gathering, and agriculture, and lived in small bands. In the early 1540s an uprising in Nueva Galicia called the Mixtón War set into motion a series of events that initiated a second conflict called the Chichimeca War that started around 1550 and lasted until the end of the century. The Augustinian

[30] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion.*

missionary Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., described the factors that caused hostilities between the Spaniards and native groups. They included large scale enslavement during the Mixtón War, the Spanish invasion of native subsistence territories, and particularly the introduction of Spanish livestock that displaced the animals that the Chichimecas traditionally hunted and consumed wild plant foods the natives harvested. The Sierra Gorda region was one of the earliest regions beyond the Chichimeca frontier the Spaniards first attempted to subjugate, and according to Santa María the Pames that inhabited the region were not as much of a problem as other groups.

As the conflict beyond the porous Chichimeca frontier began and escalated, the Augustinians established new *doctrinas* to complete the evangelization of the sedentary populations in contact with the Chichimecas that still had not been completely converted to Catholicism or that resisted the imposition of the new faith. They also attempted to contribute to the pacification campaign by establishing missions beyond the frontier. The Augustinians expanded into the Mezquital Valley on the frontier at Actopan and Ixmiquilpan in what today is Hidalgo State. They also established new missions along and beyond the frontier in what today are northern Michoacán and southern Guanajuato.

In 1537, Diego de Chávez y Alvarado, O.S.A. established a *doctrina* at Tiripetío, located south of Valladolid in Michoacán. The Augustinian was the nephew of Juan de Alvarado, who held the *encomieda* grant to Tiripetío, and the Augustinian established the mission at his uncle's request. In the following year, in 1538, the Augustinians established a second mission at Tacámbaro, a community located on an important route to the Pacific Coast *tierra caliente*.

In the 1550s, the Augustinians began establishing missions along the frontier. One of the first was San Pedro y San Pablo Yuririapúndaro (Yuriria, Guanajuato), located beyond the frontier northeast of Laguna Cuitzeo. The nature of the frontier and its pattern of economic development can be seen in the c. 1580 map prepared for the *relación geográfica* report of that year. The map shows the church and convent that have not physically changed over more than 400 years, and small *visita* chapels. The landscape, however, is shown as being dominated by cattle and mounted and armed Spaniards and environmental changes such as the destruction of food producing plants that contributed to the outbreak of the Chichimeca conflict.

A design element on the church façade highlighted the status of the community located beyond the volatile and dangerous Chichimeca frontier. It depicts two Chichimeca archers with their bows loaded and

drawn ready to fire. The territory surrounding Yuririapúndaro was the scene of active warfare as late as the 1580s, and there is one documented Chichimeca attack on the mission complex. The design element is one of several examples of the incorporation of war related iconography in Augustinian *doctrinas* established along the frontier. The enigmatic battle mural program in the church at Ixmiquilpan (Hidalgo) is another example.

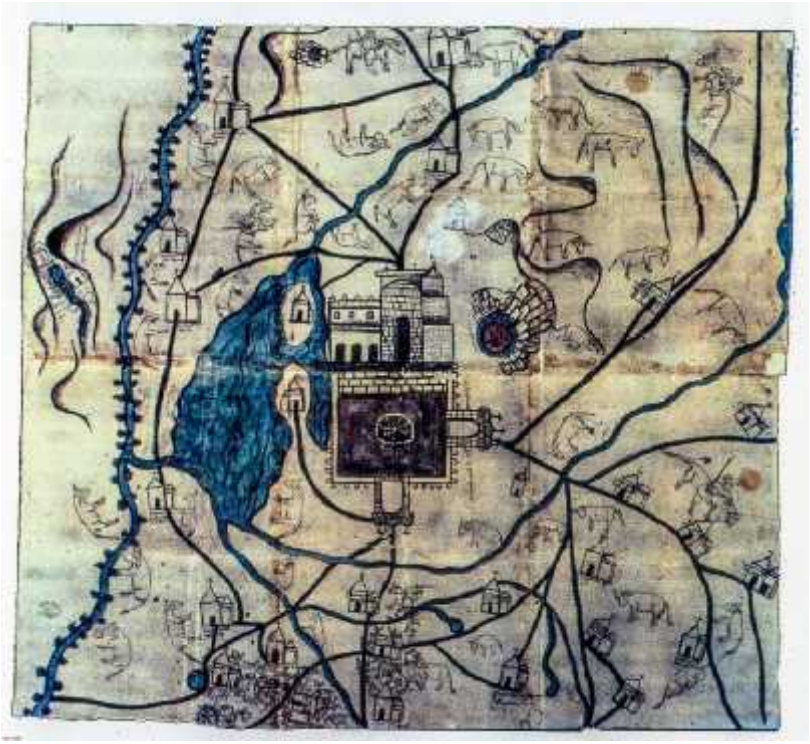

Figure 8: A 1580 map of Yuririapúndaro from the *relación geográfica*. The map shows the invasion of Spanish cattle that contributed to the outbreak of the Chichimeca War.

Figure 9: The church and convent of San Pablo Yuririapúndaro (Guanajuato).

In 1550s, the Augustinians established several other missions along the frontier in northern Michoacán. They were Santa María Magdalena Cuitzeo established on the edge of the lake of the same name and San Nicolás Tolentino Huango, located northwest of Laguna Cuitzeo on a particularly exposed section of the frontier. Augustinian chronicles documented several Chichimeca attacks on Huango, and Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A. died there in 1585 during an attack. The Augustinians completed the mission frontier with the establishment of Ucareo, Charo, and Jacona (see Table 2).

The Augustinians organized their missions on the Chichimeca frontier along the same lines as did the Franciscans and Dominicans in central Mexico. The missionaries stationed on the *doctrinas* periodically visited the *visitas*, the communities without resident missionaries.[31] Initially, the Augustinians directed the construction of small free-standing open chapels, and later replaced these with more substantial structures. The organization of Santa María Magdalena Cuitzeo typified the Augustinian missions along the Chichimeca frontier.

[31] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*.

The Augustinians used the *doctrina* at Cuitzeo to evangelize the native population living around Laguna Cuitzeo. The urban plan of Cuitzeo paralleled that of other central Mexican mission communities discussed above. The Augustinians directed the construction of a new sacred complex that consisted of the cloister and "open chapel," and later added the large monumental church. Other elements that still exist include the hospital chapel and *barrio* chapel. With limited numbers of missionary personnel, the Augustinians initially could only staff the *doctrina* at Cuitzeo. As more missionaries arrived from Spain they elevated two *visitas* to independent *doctrina* status. They were Copándaro (1566) and Chucándiro (c. 1576).

The missionaries stationed on Cuitzeo directed the construction of small chapels in the smaller communities designated as *visitas*. In 1579, the missionaries at Cuitzeo administered twelve *visitas*, and those at Copándaro four. As the native population declined the Augustinians reduced the number of *visitas*. In the mid-seventeenth century only four *visitas* remained. The first *visita* structures were small free-standing "open chapels." The chapel at Taraaméquaro, a *visita* of Copándaro, is a surviving example of this. The Augustinians had an "open chapel" built, and later in the seventeenth century a larger enclosed chapel. The chapel at Onxao (Huacao) may also have been initially built as an "open chapel," and then later was reconstructed as an enclosed chapel. It was also initially built by the Franciscans, and then became a *sujeto* of Cuitzeo.

Other surviving Augustinian *visita* chapels on the shores of Laguna Cuitzeo were built using the same architectural plan, and this most likely was unique to Cuitzeo. Within the town itself the hospital chapel and the *barrio* chapel of San Pedro are examples. The *visita* chapels at Jerúco and San Agustín del Pulque are identical, and that of Capamucireo is very similar. The architectural similarity suggests that the Augustinians may have erected the chapels as part of a major building campaign directed by one missionary-architect.

In 1943, a farmer tilling his field near the P'urépecha community of Parangaricutio noticed smoke coming out of the ground. He observed the birth of the volcano Paricutín that in the following months consumed the community in lava, including the former Augustinian *doctrina* San Juan. The volcanic eruption also resulted in the establishment of Nuevo Zirosto, although the original community named Santa Ana Zirosto with its Augustinian *doctrina* complex still exists.

Figure 10: The volcano Paricutín.

Figure 11: An historic photograph showing San Juan Parangaricutio and the volcano Paricutín.

The story of the 1943 volcanic eruption and the destruction of the church and convent at Parangaricutio reflected the history of the early evangelization of the region, and particularly of the history of the *doctrina*

at Zirosto. Santa Ana Zirosto was first administered by a secular priest. The Augustinians assumed responsibility for Zirosto in 1575 when the secular priest who had been in charge took the Franciscan habit. The Franciscans administered other former *visitas* of Zirosto. Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A. wrote his account of the Chichimecas in 1575 while stationed there. Parangaricutio was one of the more populated *visitas* of Zirosto. In the 1590s the Augustinians elevated other former *visitas* of Zirosto to the status of independent *doctrinas* including San Pedro Zacán and San Felipe de los Herreros, and did the same with Parangaricutio around 1605. It was at this point that construction began on the three nave church and two-story convent at Parangaricutio. All that remains of the Augustinian complex at Parangaricutio are ruins of the church covered in black lava.

Figure 12: Santa Ana Zirosto.

Figure 13: San Pedro Zacán.

Figure 14: San Felipe de los Herreros.

The *Huatápera*

In his description of the Franciscan *doctrinas* in central Mexico Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M. noted that:

> In all of the towns [*pueblos*] of Michoacán and Jalisco, only when they are not too small, the Indians have a hospital in which they cure the sick of the town [*pueblo*], and they have many [male] Indians and [female] Indians to care for them and to give them to eat.[32]

The *huatápera* was the hospital for the indigenous population, but it also played other roles in the community. One was that it served as a gathering place for the community. The *huatápera* contained a chapel and rooms that functioned as the hospital. Moreover, it was enclosed by walls. The complex was usually located close to the main convent complex. Architecturally many *huatápera* chapels were similar or identical in style. Some *huatápera* chapels contain wooden ceilings painted with religious images. The painted wooden ceilings is unique to Michoacán and particularly the Sierra P'urépecha.

In the early modern period infectious crowd diseases such as smallpox and measles were a serious problem, and claimed the lives of many and particularly the young (see Table 4). Medical doctors had not identified microscopic bacteria and viruses as the cause of disease. One common response to epidemic outbreaks was to isolate the ill and those who had been exposed to contagion from the general population in quarantine. This was the function of the *huatápera*, and the hospital complex was designed with this in mind. The *huatáperas* in the Sierra P'urépecha communities of San Lorenzo and San Pedro Zacán are still intact, and contain the basic architectural elements. It is surrounded by a wall and one enters through a portal with a wooden door. The covered exterior wall and portal of the complex in San Lorenzo serves today as a gathering place and a space from which vendors can hawk their goods. The chapel was the central element of the complex. Those quarantined in the hospital could not attend mass or receive sacraments with the general population, but instead made use of the hospital chapel. Several *huatápera* chapels have painted wooden ceilings including those at Zacán and San Lorenzo.

[32] Ciudad Real, *Relación breve y verdadera, chapter* LXX.

Figure 15: The portal of the *huatápera* in San Lorenzo.

Figure 16: The *huatápera* chapel in San Lorenzo.

Figure 17: The *huatápera* chapel in San Pedro Zacán.

Figure 18: The Zacán *huatápera* complex.

Figure 19: The painted ceiling in the Zacán *huatápera* chapel.

Figure 20: The painted ceiling in the San Lorenzo *huatápera* chapel.

A document written about 1570 reported on the status of the Michoacán *doctrinas* staffed by the Franciscans, Augustinians, and secular clergy paid for by the holders of *encomienda* grants or the Crown (see Tables 1-3). This report serves as a convenient point of departure for a discussion of the existing convent and *huatápera* structures. In 1570, the Franciscans staffed *doctrinas* at Tzintzuntzán and Erongaricuaro located on the shores of Lago Pátzcuaro. At the first named site the hospital chapel was an "open chapel," and the portal and hospital complex still survive. The hospital at Erongaicuaro has disappeared.

The Franciscan *doctrinas* in eastern Michoacán included Zinapecuro located south of the Augustinian missions on the Chichimeca frontier, Tarímbaro is located south of Laguna Cuitzeo and north of modern Morelia, Acámbaro which is in southeastern Guanajuato but jurisdictionally formed a part of the Franciscan province of Michoacán, and San José Taximaroa, which was a mixed community of P'urépecha and Matlazingos. The only hospital that exists is at Acámbaro, but it is unique because of the façade design element that has been interpreted to represent the stars and constellations. Architecturally it is quite different from the structures and particularly the chapels to the west in the Sierra P'urépecha.

The Franciscan *doctrinas* in the Sierra P'urépecha included Uruapan, Charapan that in 1570 was still a *visita* of the secular priests assigned to Zirosto, Tancitaro, Peribán, Tarécuato, Pichátaro, and Zacapu. The *huatápera* at Uruapan is one of the largest hospital complexes. The atrial wall of the *huatápera* complex at Charapan has disappeared, and the adjoining wing has been converted into a private school. A hospital chapel still exists in Peribán, but the façade was converted to gothic style. Angahuan and San Lorenzo were both *visitas,* although large churches and cloisters were later constructed. The hospital complexes in these two communities are among the finest that are still extant.

In 1570, the Augustinians staffed the two *doctrinas* south of modern Morelia at Tiripetío and Tacámbaro that both dated to the late 1530s. They also had the chain of missions along and beyond the Chichimeca frontier. Santa Ana Zirosto was an important *doctrina* in the Sierra P'urépecha staffed by a secular clergyman. In 1575, the *clerigo* decided to become a Franciscan, and the decision was made to divide the jurisdiction between the Franciscans and Augustinians because of the shortage of secular clergy. The Augustinians took Zirosto and several of its *visitas* that included Parangaricutiro, Zacán, and San Felipe de los Herreros. As more missionary personnel became available the Augustinians elevated these three to the status of independent *doctrinas* with resident missionaries.

Figure 21: The hospital and chapel in Acámbaro.

Figure 22: The *huatápera* in Charapan.

Figure 23: The *huatápera* chapel in Angahuan.

Hospital chapels exist at several of the Augustinian missions along the Chichimeca frontier including Yuririapúndaro, Cuitzeo, Charo, and Huango. Architecturally the chapels are different in style from those in the Sierra P'urépecha. Moreover, the case of the *doctrina* and hospital chapel at Huango (modern Villa Morelos) is quite unusual. When constructed in the second half of the sixteenth century the hospital chapel was located behind the church and cloister. However, by the late nineteenth century the church had deteriorated, and the parish priests decided to reconstruct it in gothic style. The orientation of the reconstructed church was also reversed so that the new gothic façade was added to what had been the rear of the church, and what remained of the original church façade and the bell tower were now at the rear of the church. The entrance to the hospital chapel and reconstructed church are now next to each other. In the Sierra a *huatápera* complex only exists at Zacán. The church and cloister at Zirosto fell into ruin, but were recently restored. The Augustinian church and convent at Parangaricutiro disappeared under the lava of the volcano Paricutín in the 1940s, and only the church and cloister remain at San Felipe de los Herreros. There is also a hospital chapel in Tacámbaro.

Figure 24: The hospital chapel at San Nicolás Tolentino Huango.

Figure 25: The *huatápera* chapel in Santa Fe de la Laguna. Vasco de Quiroga, the first Bishop of Michoacán, organized this community and the community of Santa Fe west of Mexico City to implement ideas taken from *Utopia* written by Thomas Moore.

Secular clergy also administed *doctrinas* in Michoacán (see Table 3), and *huatápera* complexes still exist at a number of them. Two examples stand out. One is in Santa Clara del Cobre, which was the site of copper mining prior to and following the Spanish conquest and is located south of Lago Pátzcuaro. The hospital complex was associated with the sixteenth century church of Santa Clara. The second is in Santa Fe de la Laguna, and is located behind the existing parish church. One feature of the chapel is the inscription on the doors that date their creation to 1830 during the administration of the Governador Andrés Vattista and Director José Segundo Auhano.

Table 1: Franciscan *Doctrinas* in Michoacán c. 1570

Doctrina	Subject Communities	*Visitas*
Tzintzuntzán		Don Bartolome
		San Pablo
		Sta María Magdalena
		Yaguaro
		Zanabo
		Cerandangacho
		San Mateo
		San Lorenzo
		Hiuatzco
Erongaricuaro		Huricho
		Xaraquaro
		Pichátaro
		San Andrés
		San Jeronimo
		Xarapen
		Opopeo
Uruapan		San Lorenzo
		Santa Catarina
		Taciron
		Xicalán
		Corroi
		Churapan
Tancítaro		Urunduco
		Hapo
		Santiago
		San Gregorio
		Apacingan
		Tendechutiro
		Acauato

		Picho
		Querendaro
		Paraquaro
Tarímbaro		Santiago Irapeo
		Cuperataro
		Acaxeno
		Condacherao
Acámbaro		Hamocutin
		Puricheo
		Iramoco
		Curuneo
		Xerquaro
		Tacámbaro
		Purumu
	Apaceo	
Zinapecuaro		Araro
		Tzintzimeo
		La Laguna
		Tzirio
		Querendaro
		Hixiagio
		Hixago
		San Pedro
		Hireueo
Taximaroa		
Jiquilpan		Ocumicho
		Ocumicho
		Tzaquicho
Peribán		San Francisco
		San Rafael
		San Miguel
		Atapan
		Charpan
		Corinduco
		Hapo
Taréquato		Santiago

Source: Luis Garcia Pimentel, *Relacion de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Micoacan, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F.: La Casa del Editor, 1904), 33-49.

Table 2: Augustinian *Doctrinas* in Michoacán c. 1570

Doctrina	Subject Communities	*Visitas*
Santa María Magdalena Cuitzeo		Jerúco
		San Miguel
		Cazo
		San Pedro
		Arucutín
		Mayari
		Tayao
		Santa Mónica
		Quaracurio
		Auyameo
		Onxao
		San Migueo
	Sr. Santiago Copándaro	Huriparao
		Guanaxao
		Jungapeo
		San Juan
		Taraaméquaro
	Huandacareo	Capamucutiro
		Santiago Carapo
		Olleros
		Xuchamicho
Yuririapúndaro		Tarécato
		Chumbo
		Quialoxo
		Sorano
		Emonguaro
		Santa María
		Axichinao
		Los Chichimecas
Tacámbaro		Xanohualen
		Yurirepacutio
		Tirerachao
		Tarepeudan
		Pacanco
		Irapeo
		Xanamoro
		Pucundaro
		Intziquareo
		Chereo
		Puquiytsimao

		Caraseo
		Hacaten
		Cahuasangatzieu
		Eturo
		Itureo
		Harando
		Cucuropo
Tiripetío		Guajumbo
		Santa Catarina
		Coringuaro
		Topatoro
		Oporo
		Aquicec
		Cangeo
	Necotlán (Undameo)	Necotlantongo
		San Josepe
		La Magdalena
Matalcingo/Charo		San Nicolás
		San Miguel
		Checheo
		Patamoro
		Querétaro
		Urereo
		Irapeo
		Los Tres Reyes
Jacona		Tangacecuaro
		Santiago
		Istapa
Ucareo		Ciriciquaro
		San Antonio
		San Lucas
		Tzurunduato
Huango		Acámbaro

Source: Luis Garcia Pimentel, *Relacion de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Micoacan, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F.: La Casa del Editor, 1904), 33-49.

Table 3: *Doctrinas* in Michoacán administered by the secular clergy c. 1570

Doctrina	Number of *visitas*
Xarapan	1
Ario	2
Chucandiro#	4
Thsiquimitio	0
Huaniqueo	5
Comaya	9
Sirvina	4
Narajan	5
Iztapa	4
Zirosto#	16
Charapan##	0
Indaparapeo	7
Toricato	22
Xabo y Teremendo	7
Arimao	2
Tlapalcatepeque	3
Xilotlan	10
Capula	11
Chocandiro Tinquindio	9
Iztlan	5
Chilchata	10
Tazazalca	8
Taymeo	5
Maravatio	4
Tuzantla	7
Cuzamala	6
Axcuchitlan	0
Coyuca	0
Sirandaco	5
Cuseo	7
Huacama	3
Cinagua	2
Puruindaro	6
Pungarabato	0
Total	190

#Later transferred to the Augustinians.
##A *visita* of Zirosto. It was later transferred to the Franciscans.
Source: Luis Garcia Pimentel, *Relacion de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Micoacan, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, D.F.: La Casa del Editor, 1904), 33-49.

Table 4: The Population of selected *Doctrinas* in Michoacán

	Population in:		
Doctrina	1568	1595	1646
Acámbaro	7,897	3,480	5,140
Camanja	3,102	1,391	361
Capula	2,280		167
Chilchota	1,914		597
Cuitzeo	5,735	2,086	1,302
Cuseo	2,162		1,405
Huango	1,960		150
Huancama	1,043	344	112
Huaniqueo	1,330		190
Indaparapeo	944	525	240
Jacona	15,329		906
Jaso-Teremendo	1,281		313
Jiquilpan	1,129		1,119
Maravatio	3,142		544
Necotlan (Undameo)	604		298
Peribán	3,944	2,482	
Sevina	6,050	6,110	3,188
Taymeo	1,205		648
Tancítaro	2,129	2,014	1,549
Taréquato	1,690	994	910
Tarímbaro	3,934	1,082	471
Tepalcatepec	930		673
Tiripetío	3,509		340
Tlazazalca	1,950		541
Turicato	2,247		536
Tzintzuntzán-Sta Clara	35,759		5,296
Ucareo	3,775		430
Uruapan	4,752	3,184	1,495
Yuririapúndaro	4,488		945
Zacapu	2,820	1,871	476
Zimagua	776		284
Zinapecuaro	2,105		188
Zirosto	6,489	4,428	

Source: Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Ensayos sobre la historia de la población: México y California*, 3 volumes, first Spanish edition (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), III: 75-85.

CHAPTER THREE

MISSIONS BEYOND THE CHICHIMECA FRONTIER

With the onset of the conflict known as the Chichimeca War (1550-1600), missionaries expanded their evangelization campaign beyond the porous frontier between sedentary and non-sedentary peoples in an effort to convert and control the Chichimecas. They used the central Mexican social-political model for their missions beyond the frontier, which proved to be an approach that did not work well among non-sedentary peoples. Missionaries from four orders, the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits established missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. This section briefly outlines the history of the efforts to evangelize beyond the Chichimeca frontier from around 1550 to when the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando arrived in the Sierra Gorda in 1740. It first discusses the Augustinian missions.

Augustinian Missions on and beyond the Chichimeca Frontier

In the 1550s, the Augustinians established a chain of missions along the frontier. One of the first was San Pedro y San Pablo Yuririapúndaro, which was located beyond the frontier northeast of Laguna Cuitzeo and administered *visitas* inhabited by sedentary and also non-sedentary natives. The nature of the frontier and its pattern of economic development can be seen in the c. 1580 map prepared for the *relación geográfica* report of that year that illustrates a frontier space very different from the well-ordered urban plan in sedentary central Mexico (see Figure 8). The report also noted that the district counted a native population that spoke two languages: P'urépecha and the local Chichimeca language living in the *cabecera* and 27 subject communities.[1] The Spanish strategy in dealing

[1] René Acuña, Ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Michoacán* (Mexico, D.F: UNAM, 1987), 69.

with the non-sedentary Chichimecas was to encourage or direct the settlement of sedentary natives beyond the frontier.

A design element on the church façade highlighted the status of the community located beyond the volatile and dangerous Chichimeca frontier. It depicts two Chichimeca archers with their bows loaded ready to fire (see Figure 26). The territory surrounding Yuririapúndaro was the scene of active warfare as late as the 1580s, and there is one documented Chichimeca attack on the mission complex. The design element is one of several examples of the incorporation of war related iconography in Augustinian *doctrinas* established along the frontier. The enigmatic battle mural program in the church at Ixmiquilpan (Hidalgo) is another example.

Figure 26: Design element on the façade of the church at Yuririapúndaro depicting a Chichimeca archer.

The Augustinians established missions along the Chichimeca frontier in three areas. They were what today are known as the Sierra Alta in the modern state of Hidalgo, the Mezquital Valley also in Hidalgo, and in northern Michoacán and southern Guanajuato.[2] The *doctrina* established at

[2] On early Augustinian missions in Mexico see Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 45.

Metztitlán around 1539 played an important role in the first attempt to evangelize the groups collectively known as the Chichimecas living beyond the frontier. The Augustinians staffed the mission at Metztitlán with four or five missionaries who also visited numerous *visitas* across a large territory that extended as far north as what today is southern San Luis Potosi. At the end of the sixteenth century the Augustinians stationed there administered 120 *visitas.*[3] As more missionary personnel became available the Augustinians elevated selected *visitas* to the status of independent missions with resident missionaries including Chichicaxtla (Hidalgo), Chapulhuacán (Hidalgo), and Xilitlán (San Luis Potosi). These three establishments were important in the first efforts to evangelize the Chichimecas in the Sierra Gorda region.

Figure 27: The Augustinian *doctrina* Los Reyes Meztitlán (Hidalgo).

A report written around 1571 described the *doctrina* at Chichicaxtla. Francisco de Mérida and Isabel de Barrios held Chichicaxtla and its jurisdiction in *encomienda*. As many as three Augustinians staffed the mission, although at the time of the drafting of the report there were only two. They administered another eleven communities as *visitas.* The Augustinians assigned missionaries to frontier missions based on their language skills. One of the missionaries stationed at Chichicaxtla reportedly spoke Náhuatl, and the other the local Chichimeca language. This detail in the report also indicates that the mission district contained a

[3] Ibid., Table 5, 43.

mixed population of Náhuas and Chichimecas, and was an example of the existence of small colonies of sedentary natives living beyond the Chichimeca frontier. The report also noted that the Chichimecas had begun to comply with the Catholic sacraments, and in particular confession.[4]

Figure 28: The Augustinian *doctrina* at Xilitlán (San Luis Potosi).

In the late sixteenth century two missionaries staffed Chapulhuacán, and the mission district reportedly consisted of 21 communities.[5] A report on Xilitlán prepared around 1571 noted that the prior stationed there spoke Otomí, and also visited Chapulhuacán. This indicates that Chapulhuacán was also an example of a community of sedentary Otomí speakers living in Chichimeca territory.[6] Xilitlán was the third of the three *doctrinas* established beyond the Chichimeca frontier, and it served as the base of operations for the first evangelization campaign among the Chichimecas living in the Sierra Gorda. It was another example of a colony of sedentary natives living in Chichimeca territory, and in this case there were Náhuatl

[4] Luis García Pimentel, editor, *Relación de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Oaxaca y otros lugares en el siglo XVI. (*México, D.F.: Private Publication, 1904), 128-130.
[5] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, Table 5, 43.
[6] García Pimentel, *Relación de los obispados,* 132.

and Otomí speakers settled on the *cabecera* and eight *visitas*. Xilitlán itself had a mixed population of Náhuatl and Otomí speakers. Two Augustinians staffed the mission: one spoke Náhuatl and the other Otomí. Tilaco, the site of one of the five Franciscan missions established in the 1740s, was a community of Otomí speakers. At the time of the report some 1,518 natives in the mission district already confessed. The report, however, did not indicate that the Augustinians attempted to evangelize Chichimecas, and instead they focused their attention on the colonies of sedentary natives.[7]

In the 1560s, the Augustinians established a mission at Xalpa (modern Jalpan de Serra, Querétaro). Xalpa was also a community of sedentary Náhuatl speaking natives living in Chichimeca territory. The c. 1550 report on Xalpa from the *suma de visitas* provides the earliest details on the community. One Francisco Barrón held Xalpa in *encomienda*, and the tribute obligation consisted of clothing, honey, and birds. It reportedly had a population of 212 sedentary natives (heads of household?) in addition to an unremunerated number of Chichimecas. The report also noted the potential for establishing cattle ranches and some wheat production, although it also characterized the district as having broken terrain.[8]

An uprising in 1568-1569 ended the first Augustinian mission at Xalpa, and the rebels also attacked Xilitlán and Chapulhuacán. Luis de Carvajal received a commission to suppress the uprising, and reestablished the Augustinian mission and built a small fort at Xalpa. The Augustinians had their mission inside of the fort, which reportedly was built of stone.[9] The remains of the fort now form a part of a local museum dedicated to the history of the Sierra Gorda region, and the structure has been used for different purposes during its long history including as a prison.

The Augustinians continued to administer the mission at Xalpa until the early 1740s, although there may have been periods in which the mission did not have resident missionaries. The names of some Augustinians stationed there exist in Augustinian records. The last was Lucas Cabeza de Vaca, O.S.A. The report prepared on conditions in the Sierra Gorda in the early 1740s by José de Escandón enumerated the population of Xalpa and of the *visitas* administered by the Augustinians, and the ethnic group of the natives. Xalpa, for example, reportedly had a population of 122 Náhuas (see Appendix 1A). The report documents a shift in the focus of the Augustinian missionaries. In the mid and late

[7] Ibid., 130-132.
[8] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de la Nueva España. Segunda series geografía y estadística, tomo I suma de visitas por orden alfabético*, 299-300.
[9] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 175-176.

sixteenth century the missionaries targeted he populations of the colonies of sedentary natives living in Chichimeca territory. The Augustinians later attempted to congregate and convert the Pames, the most important Chichimeca group in the eastern Sierra Gorda. However, as Lucas Cabeza de Vaca, O.S.A. wrote in a report on the mission at Xalpa in the early 1740s, the Pames resisted evangelization. Moreover, they preferred to live in small communities in the mountains, and refused to settle on larger mission communities. Only 15 Pames families lived at Xalpa, out of a native population that Cabeza de Vaca estimated to number around 6,000.[10]

The inability to congregate the Pames became a point of criticism that José de Escandón noted in his 1743 report. The mission at Pacula typified the failure to convince the natives to resettle at a single site, and the failure of the central Mexican model as applied beyond the frontier. The report enumerated a population of 1,234 living at the mission and three other sites, including one former mission. The report also noted that the natives should be made to relocate to larger mission communities.[11] De Escandón later recommended the removal of the Augustinians from their missions in the Sierra Gorda, and their replacement by Franciscans who were to be given a mandate to congregate the Pames.

The Augustinians also approached the Chichimeca frontier from what today are northern Michoacán and southern Guanajuato. As hostilities escalated beyond the Chichimeca frontier, the Augustinians established a chain of *doctrinas* along and just beyond the frontier and used these missions as bases of operations for new missions beyond the frontier. Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., stationed at the *doctrina* at Huango, visited Chichimeca bands along the Lerma River as far west as what today is Ayo el Chico (Jalisco), where the missionary also established a *visita* of Huango. In 1550, he congregated Guamares at Pénjamo along with sedentary P'urépecha colonists from further south. It was a common strategy to settle sedentary natives along with Chichimecas.[12]

In 1553, the Franciscans established a mission at Villa de San Felipe in the territory of the Guamares, located in what now is northern Guanajuato close to the border with San Luis Potosi. However, they abandoned the mission following the murder of Bernardino de Cosín, O.F.M. The

[10] Jackson, "The Chichimeca Frontier and the Evangelization of the Sierra Gorda," 61-63.
[11] Lino Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda: Un típico enclave misional en el centro de Mexico (siglos XVII-XVIII)* (Querétaro: Provincia Franciscana de Santiago, 2011), 183.
[12] Ibid., 52-53.

Augustinians re-established the mission in 1566 or 1568, and in 1571 three missionaries resided there including Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A. The Augustinians abandoned the mission in 1575 following a raid by hostile Chichimecas.[13] A report written in 1571 provided some details on the organization of the evangelization campaign among the Guamares. The prior served as the preacher and confessor for the local Spanish population, which totaled some thirty heads of household (*vecinos*). A small number of P'urépecha lived at San Felipe and worked as laborers for the Spaniards. They reportedly lived in a separate barracks.[14]

The other two Augustinians dedicated their attention to the attempt to convert the Guamares. Guillermo de Santa María already had more than 20 years of experience as a missionary along and beyond the frontier in Michoacán. The procedure used in teaching Church doctrine was awkward, and also points to the inherent difficulty of trying to translate culturally embedded religious concepts into terms understandable in different cultures. Santa María spoke P'urépecha, and there reportedly were Guamares who spoke the same language. The Augustinian translated the doctrine into P'urépecha, explained the concepts to the Guamares translators, who in turn attempted to translate the doctrinal points to the Guamares living on the mission.[15] The Augustinian had no way to verify what the Guamares translators actually told the other neophytes, or what the Guamares actually understood.

The Villa de San Felipe was an important way station on the supply route to northern mining centers, and caravans and large numbers of people passed through the community.[16] This activity attracted hostile Chichimecas who raided the community, and forced the Augustinians to abandon the mission there. The continuing violence of the Chichimeca War materially limited the evangelization campaign beyond the frontier.

Dominican Missions beyond the Chichimeca Frontier

The Dominicans arrived in Mexico two years following the Franciscans. They established *doctrinas* in communities surrounding Mexico City such as Tepetlaoxtoc, Azcapotzalco, Tacubaya, Coyoacán, and Mixcoac, and in

[13] Ibid., 53-54.
[14] Relación de la Villa y Monasterio de San Felipe (1571), in García Pimentel, *Relación de los obispado*, 122-124.
[15] Ibid., 123.
[16] Ibid., 122.

Morelos, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Tabasco. [17] Their main mission frontiers were in Oaxaca and Chiapas-Tabasco where they enjoyed a monopoly on evangelization. The Dominicans did establish a group of missions in the larger Sierra Gorda region, and later in 1774 they assumed responsibility for the missions in Baja California. However, with the exception of these two groups of missions, the Dominicans did not actively participate in the northern missions, and it was the Franciscans and Jesuits who were involved in the evangelization of this region.

In the late seventeenth century the Dominicans staffed a mission at Zimapán (Hidalgo), and this may have been the first of their missions in the Sierra Gorda region. A 1579 report described Zimapán, which is located north of Ixmiquilpan in the mountains that border the Valle de Mezquital. In about 1575, the Spanish established a mining camp that exploited silver that also reportedly had a high lead content. There were three native communities surrounding the mining camp populated by Chichimecas with a total population of about 400 that had been gradually congregated there. The report identified the natives by the generic term Chichimeca, but they may have been Jonaces. Later in the eighteenth century a mission populated by Jonaces existed close to Zimapán. Each of the three communities reportedly had its own church.[18] The report did not specify that the Dominicans staffed the mission at Zimapán, but they were there at the end of the seventeenth century and dedicated the mission to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (see Appendix 1B).

At the end of the seventeenth century the Dominicans administered a group of seven missions in the Sierra Gorda region, including Zimapán. Felipe Galindo, O.P. promoted the establishment of new missions, and in 1688 the Crown approved his plan and provided *sinodos* (subsidies) for six missionaries. By 1689 the Dominicans had begun to establish missions at Zimapán, Nuestra Señora del Rosario (La Nopalera), San Buenaventura Maconi, San José del Llano (later Vizarrón), Santo Domingo Soriano San Miguel de Palmillas, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Ahuacatlán, and Santa Rosa de las Minas de Xichú.[19] One document shows that Dominicans had

[17] On the Dominican *doctrinas* see Mullen, *Dominican Architecture*; Robert H. Jackson, "Dominican Missions in Mexico: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century," *Boletin Journal of the California Missions Studies Association* 31:1 (2015), 114-129.

[18] Acuña, ed, *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI: Mexico Tomo Primero*, 97-103.

[19] Gerardo Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo de Xichú: Resistencia y rebelión en la Sierra Gorda durante el siglo XVIII* (Mexico, D.F.: Dirección General de Culturas Populares, 2007), 83.

already replaced the Franciscans at San José del Llano by 1688, and were at La Nopalera as early as 1686. The document noted that a *jacal* functioned as a chapel at La Nopalera. The same document also reported the visit of the Archbishop of Mexico Francisco de Agiar y Sejas, who confirmed many Jonaces in an act of public theater.[20] The Dominicans targeted their evangelization campaign on the Jonaces. Although they had a convent in Querétaro City, Galindo also established a *doctrina* in San Juan del Río (Querétaro) that served as their base of operations for their missions and prepared missionaries for the Sierra Gorda missions.[21]

The missions were located east of Querétaro City in three zones. Santo Domingo de Guzmán Soriano (modern Colón, Querétaro) was located in a watered valley in a hilly region a short distance from the city. Soriano was also close to the Franciscan convent San Pedro Tolimán. Galindo was at Soriano by 1691, if not earlier, and it served as the headquarters for the Dominican missions.[22] It still operated in 1743, and had a mixed population of 32 Spaniards, 160 Otomí, and 171 Chichimecas (Jonaces?) (See Appendix 1C). Six Otomí families descended from a group settled at Soriano to assist the missionaries, and other families later came to settle there.[23] The Dominicans administered three missions in the semi-arid region of eastern Querétaro. This is the area located between Cadereyta and the Sierra Gorda massif. There were other ephemeral Dominican missions or *visitas* in the semi-arid region. In his study of the Sierra Gorda in the eighteenth century, Gerardo Lara Cisneros published a map of the missions in the region in which the author also identified Ranas, Peña Miller, and Pinal de Amoles as Dominican missions.[24] The three missions were San José del Llano which had been and later was the site of a short-lived Franciscan mission San José de Vizarrón (1739-1748), San Miguel Palmillas (modern San Miguel de Palmas, Querétaro, located on the Xichú River), and La Nopalera. San Buenaventura Maconi and Ahuacatlán were

[20] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda,* 54-55. A 1688 document recorded the presence of the first Dominicans in the Sierra Gorda: Alejandro Mathias de Urrutia, Cadereyta, September 4, 1688, Testimonio sobre la presencia franciscana en Cadereyta desde 1640 y su apostolado en la región de la Sierra Gorda. In Gómez Canedo, 163-164.

[21] Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo de Xichú,* 83.

[22] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda,* 55.

[23] Ibid., 179.

[24] Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo de Xichú,* 64. A 1739 document mentioned the Dominican mission at Ranas that no longer existed at the time. Pedro Navarrete, O.F.M., to Juan Bermejo, O.F.M., San Francisco de Mexico, August 12, 1739, in Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda,* 174.

in the Sierra Gorda massif. Xichú was located in what today is Guanajuato close to its border with Querétaro on the Xichú River. The Dominicans reportedly staffed Santa Rosa until 1728 or 1729, at which time the owners of the *haciendas de minas* Diego Navarijo and María Valdés assumed responsibility for the evangelization of the jonaces.[25]

Figure 29: The Dominican mission Santo Domingo de Guzmán Soriano (Colón, Querétaro).

The effort to evangelize the Jonaces proved to be difficult. Resistance by rebel Jonaces in 1703 led to the destruction and abandonment of San José del Llano. The Dominicans abandoned the mission, and requested that Spaniards from Cadereyta be settled at the site of the former mission and that a fortified house be built for defense.[26] The Dominicans continued to staff La Nopalera until 1713, but by the late 1730s they had abandoned the mission and it was a private hacienda owned by one Joachín de Villapando from Toluca, who also had connections to Gerónimo de Labra

[25] Ibid, 195.
[26] Ibid, 87-93.

who held the title of *protector de indios* of the Sierra Gorda.[27] In 1713, a group of soldiers participating in a campaign against hostile Jonaces demolished the mission, because they believed the natives living there collaborated with rebels. The action taken by soldiers without orders from their commander ended an active mission program, and the mission residents fled the mission site.[28]

Figure 30: The ruins of the Dominican church at La Nopalera (La Nopalera, Querétaro).

According to the report prepared by José de Escandón in 1743, the Dominicans still administered three missions in the Sierra Gorda. They were Soriano, Ahuacatlán, and San Miguelito (San Miguel de Palmas); all with Jonaces (see Appendix 1C). The largest population was at San Miguelito. The Dominicans did not participate in the expansion of the Sierra Gorda mission frontier organized by José de Escandón. A diary of a

[27] Ibid, 174.

[28] José Antonio Perez, O.F.M., provincial of the Province of the Santo Evangelio, reported on the demise of La Nopalera mission in a letter written in Mexico City on July 29, 1739. In Ibid., 169.

military inspection of the Sierra Gorda from the late 1780s reported on conditions in the region, and described the missions, which by that time had been significantly reduced in number. The Dominicans reportedly staffed only one mission, San Miguel de las Palmas. It had a population of 53 families and some 200 people.[29] The others presumably had been secularized as the Crown de-emphasized the mission program in favor of more fully integrating natives into colonial society.[30]

Figure 31: The church at San Miguel de Palmas (Querétaro).

Franciscan Missions on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier

The Franciscans also established missions on and beyond the Chichimeca frontier in the sixteenth century. Their approach to the frontier came from

[29] Lino Gómez Canedo, "La Sierra Gorda a fines del siglo XVIII: Diario de un viaje de inspección a sus milicias," *Historia Mexicana* vol. 21, No. 1 (Jul.-Sep., 1976), 148.

[30] For the late eighteenth century debate on the continued reliance of missions on the frontier see Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 59-62.

two directions, and missionaries from two Franciscan provinces established *doctrinas*. Franciscans from the Province of the Santo Evangelio responsible for central Mexico established several missions on the frontier in the Mezquital Valley in what today are the modern states of Hidalgo and México. The Franciscans had already established several *doctrinas* in the southern part of the Valley, including at Tula in 1529. Their missions on the frontier included Xilotepec also founded in 1529, and Hueychiapa (Huichapan) established in 1531 or 1532. They later elevated several *visitas* to the status of independent *doctrinas*. They included Tepexi del Rio in 1552, Alfaxayuca in 1569, and Tepetitlán in 1571.[31] The doctrina at Tecozautla, located north of Hueychiapa at the edge of the Sierra Gorda massif, was a seventeenth century establishment.[32] In the 1550s, missionaries from the Santo Evangelio visited places such as Tancoyol, and by the end of the century established short-lived missions at Tonatico, Xalpa, and Jiliapan.[33]

Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M., described the building complexes at the frontier *doctrinas* in the mid-1580s, and in one case noted modifications to one complex to take into account the Chichimeca threat. Ciudad Real accompanied Fr. Alonso Ponce, O.F.M. on a general inspection of the Franciscan establishments in Mexico and Central America, and described most of the Franciscan establishments. Of Xilotepec Ciudad Real noted that:

> The convent is completed with its cloister, church, dormitories and orchard. Next to the convent there is a large and sumptuous ramada [open chapel] where the Indians are gathered and they preach to them and say mass. Four friars usually reside there.[34]

The church and cloister still exist, but the open chapel has largely disappeared. However, it was depicted in the sixteenth century Codex Xilotepec. Open chapels were an architectural element common to sixteenth century Mexican convents, and played an important role in the evangelization strategy of the missionaries. Ciudad Real also described the complex at Hueychiapa (Huichapan). He wrote that: “The convent is

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[31] Ciudad Real, O*Relación breve y verdadera*, I: 451. Ciudad Real noted of the convent at Alfajayucan that it had a single nave church with a vaulted roof that had been built in this style because of the heat in the Mezquital Valley, and the threat of attacks from Chichimecas.
[32] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 25.
[33] Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo de Xichú*, 65-66.
[34] Ciudad Real, O.F.M., *Relación breve y verdadera*,, I: 462-463.

completed with its church, cloister, dormitories and orchard. The structure of the convent is [of] good [quality] and four friars lived there."[35]

Franciscan missionaries from the Province of San Pedro y San Pablo (Michoacán) also approached and established missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier. Around 1540, they established a *doctrina* at Acámbaro in what today is Guanajuato, located just beyond the frontier.[36] Acámbaro was typical of the mixed ethnic communities formed along the frontier. It had a native population of P'urépecha, Mazahua, Otomí, and Chichimecas, who supported themselves primarily through agriculture. The P'urépecha reportedly were the most numerous. A 1580 report on Acámbaro Province, however, highlighted that the community was located in a war zone, and the important role played by sedentary native allies in the Chichimeca conflict. It noted that:

> …the Otomies and Chichimecas don't serve for any other thing than to be on the frontier with the enemy, and thus if they win any booty of textiles [*mantas*] or prisoners in their encounters, they go with all of it to said Lord."[37]

The *suma de visitas* written around 1550 provides details regarding the early political organization of Acámbaro. One Herman Pérez de Bocanegra held the jurisdiction in *encomienda*. Acámbaro itself had 13 *barrios*, and a total of 1,048 people above the age of three living in 183 households. There were four other *cabeceras* (head towns) subject to Acámbaro. They were Yrameo with a population of 360 people above the age of three, and it provided 13 native laborers as a part of its tribute obligation. Amocotin had a population of 980 over the age of three, and provided 13 laborers. Atacorin had a population of 494 over the age of three, and provided 13 laborers. The last was Emenguaro that had a population of 190 over the age of three. The tribute obligation included 33 native workers to tend livestock, 26 for textile production, and 20 native servants to tend the *encomendero's* house. Other tribute obligations included wheat and corn production, the provision of hay, 28 cakes of salt, eight pairs of hemp sandals, and 24 pairs of leather sandals. The report also noted that crops grown included cotton in addition to the cereals already mentioned.[38]

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[35] Ibid., I: 461-462.
[36] Acuña, *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Michoacán,* 68.
[37] Ibid., 63.
[38] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de la Nueva España. Segunda series geografía y estadística, tomo I suma de visitas por orden alfabético,* 32-33.

The urban development of Acámbaro took into account the different ethnic groups settled there. One example was the foundation of two hospitals, one for the P'urépecha and the second for the Otomí. Fr. Juan de San Miguel, O.F.M. reportedly founded the two hospitals in 1550.[39] The natives most likely lived in separate *barrios*, and the hospitals would have been located in the two neighborhoods. A hospital complex and chapel still exists on one side of the Franciscan *doctrina*, but it is not clear which community it served.

The Franciscan mission in Acámbaro was as a base of operations for the establishment of new *doctrinas* beyond the frontier, which was also one aspect of the Chichimeca pacification campaign. Viceroy Martin Enriquez ordered the settlement of Celaya beyond the frontier, and around 1570 the Franciscans established a *doctrina* there. Similarly, about 1574 the Franciscans elevated the *visita* of Apatzeo, located between Celaya and Querétaro, to the status of an independent mission. Two Franciscans staffed the new mission.[40] Antonio de Ciudad Real described the Franciscan mission in Acámbaro in 1586. He wrote that "The convent was completed with its cloister, dormitories, church and orchard. It is of middling quality built of masonry, and seven missionaries lived there."[41] The number of missionaries stationed on the mission showed its importance in the evangelization campaign along the frontier.

The Franciscans from the Province of San Pedro y San Pablo also established one *doctrina* in the Sierra Gorda, and most likely it was the first Franciscan establishment in the region. This was San Pedro Tolimán (not be be confused with the later mission named Tolimán established near Zimapán) located in a watered valley not very far from the Dominican mission at Soriano discussed above. It already existed in the 1580s at the time of the inspection tour by Alonso Ponce; O.F.M. Ponce had the Guardian at Pátzcuaro report on Tolimán. The convent itself was "small and built of adobe," but a church had already been built. Two Franciscans staffed the mission.[42] A much larger complex exists at the site today. The Franciscans also established a *doctrina* in the northern Sierra Gorda at San Juan Bautista Xichú de Indios that probably also dated to at least 1580, although Franciscans first attempted to establish a *doctrina* there in 1540.[43] Ciudad Real described Xichú de Indios in the following terms:

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[39] Ibid., 68.
[40] Ibid., 55, 59, 67.
[41] Ciudad Real, *Relación breve y verdadera*, chapter LXX.
[42] Ibid., I: 492.
[43] Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo de Xichú*, 139-142.

> Xichú is a small town of Otomí Indians placed among the war-like Chichimecas (*Chichimecas de Guerra*), in which there normally are four Spanish soldiers in garrison (*de presidio*)…the church of the convent, which is also of adobe walls covered with straw…The convent was not finished, and is nothing more than a small adobe structure (*casita*), its designation is San Juan Bautista and two missionaries (*religiosos*) resided there, and live in great danger like the residents of the town.[44]

Figure 32: The Franciscan *doctrina* San Pedro Tolimán (Tolimán, Querétaro).

The Franciscan *doctrinas* established along the Chichimeca frontier had a basis in the organization and methods employed in the first stages of the evangelization among the sedentary native populations of central Mexico. The approach taken among the sedentary natives was not particularly successful among the nomadic populations living beyond the Chichimeca frontier. Groups that did not practice agriculture had a different gender division of labor and social values based on male skills as hunters and warriors. They did not respond well to missionary social engineering that envisioned radical changes in their way of life, and

[44] Ciudad Real, *Relación breve y verdadera*, I: 223. Ciudad Real also noted that the Otomí defended the community with bows and arrows, and put their women in the church for safety during the many Chichimeca attacks.

incorporation into the Spanish Colonial system that also frequently included labor demands made by Spaniards.

Figure 33: The Franciscan *doctrina* San Juan Bautista Xichú de Indios.

As the Spanish advanced northward, there were a number of causes for conflict with the nomadic hunters and gatherers. One was the competition for food resources with the growing number of livestock the Spanish introduced into their territory. The 1580 report on Acámbaro touched upon this. It noted that the seeds from the mesquite constituted an important

food source for the natives.[45] However, Spanish cattle also consumed the mesquite bean. Spanish livestock also drove off animals that the nomadic groups hunted. When Chichimecas killed Spanish livestock as an alternative to the animals they had hunted, the Spanish retaliated and this contributed to an escalating cycle of violence.

Missions established beyond the frontier often proved to be ephemeral. The Franciscans congregated groups of Chichimecas, but they frequently remained for only a short time and then returned to their traditional way of life. The Spaniards classified this as an act of rebellion. The Franciscan missions established in the Custodio de Rio Verde in what today is the southern part of San Luis Potosi in the first decades of the seventeenth century are an example. Santa María del Río occupied several sites. In 1622, the Guachichiles living on the mission "rebelled" because of labor demands made by Spaniards. Six years later, in 1628, the Guachichiles fled to the mountains.[46] Similarly, in 1629 Guachichiles fled from the mission at Valle de Maiz, but the Spanish returned them to the mission by force.[47] The Franciscans also administered missions that attempted to evangelize Pames in the jurisdiction of Santiago de los Valles (San Luis Potosi) in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[48]

The same occurred with many missions the Franciscans established in the Sierra Gorda region. In 1640, the Franciscans established San Pedro y San Pablo mission at Cadereyta.[49] This *doctrina* proved to be stable, but others did not. For example, in 1682 and 1683 Pero Gerónimo de Labra, who held the position of *protector de indios*, promoted a plan to establish a group of missions in the Sierra Gorda, particularly in the semi-arid region. Two Franciscans from the Province of the Santo Evangelio named Francisco de Aguirre, O.F.M. and Nicolás de Ochoa, O.F.M., established San Buenaventura Maconi, San Nicolás Tolentino Ranas, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Deconi, San Juan de Tetlá, San Francisco Tolimán, La Nopalera, Santiago del Palmar (modern Santa María del Palmar, Querétaro-the Dominicans later staffed this mission), and San José del Llano. Labra had churches of *jacal* built at the sites of all of the new

[45] Acuña, *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Michoacán,* 60.
[46] Felipe Duran Sandoval, "El papel de los franciscanos en la fundación de la alcaldía mayor de San Luis Potosi," in Arturo Vergara Hernández, ed., *Arte y sociedad en la Nueva España* (Pachuca: UAEH, 2014), 104-105.
[47] Ibid., 105.
[48] Patrcia Gallardo Arias, *Los pames coloniales: un grupo de fronteras* (San Luis Potosi: El Colegio de San Luis, 2011), 77-99.
[49] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 164.

missions.[50] However, as already discussed above, the Dominicans assumed responsibility for several of the new missions, and others such as Ranas and Deconi lasted only a short period of time because of resistance by the Jonaces that undermined this missionary initiative.

Figure 34: The Franciscan *doctrina* San Pedro y San Pablo de Cadereyta. The church dates to the 1720s.

In 1713-1715, one Gabriel Guerrero de Ardilla led a military campaign against the Jonaces who continued to resist Spanish authority, and scored a notable victory in February of 1715. In 1718, the Augustinian Felipe Medrano, O.S.A. was brought in to congregate 281 Jonaces at a new mission at Maconi that was given the designation of Santa Teresa de Valero de Maconi. Different sources give conflicting versions of what happened to the new mission at Maconi. A 1739 report by the Commissary General of the Province of the Santo Evangelio noted that the mission lasted only eight months. He attributed the demise of the the mission to the labor demands ("extortion") of Joachín de Villapando, the Spaniard who held the concession to the mines at Maconi and later owned the hacienda established at the site of the suppressed Dominican mission La Nopalera.[51]

[50] Ibid., 50.
[51] Ibid., 175.

Another document reported that a Franciscan named Pedro de la Fuente; O.F.M. was at the mission from at least 1721 until his death in 1726. However, following his death the Jonaces abandoned the mission and fled back to the mountains.[52] It is likely that the first group of missionaries abandoned Maconi after eight months, but then De la Fuente arrived and attempted to revive the mission. The Jonaces remained at the mission most likely because of the person of the missionary, but returned to their way of life following his death.

Franciscan Mission Reorganization: The Apostolic Colleges

In the late seventeenth century the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome promoted the reinvigoration of overseas missions through the foundation of apostolic colleges. The idea was to train missionaries, and the colleges were also to administer missions. The first apostolic college established in Spanish America was Santa Cruz de Querétaro, founded in the early 1680s.[53] The missionaries from Santa Cruz de Querétaro staffed missions on the north Mexican frontier, primarily in Coahuila and Texas. However, they were not involved in the Sierra Gorda missions.

Franciscans from two apostolic colleges established during the first decades of the eighteenth century were involved in the Sierra Gorda mission frontier. The first were Franciscans affiliated with the apostolic college at Pachuca (Hidalgo), founded by the Province of San Diego de México in 1727. These were the so-called "barefoot" ("*descalzos*") Franciscans who established the province in 1599. The apostolic college remained a dependency of the province until 1772.[54] Following his inspection tour in 1743, José de Escandón removed the Augustinians from Pacula, and assigned the mission to Pachuca. In his report De Escandón noted of the Jonaces living in the Pacula mission district that:

> The Mecos Indians [of Pacula] are found dispersed living in the hills and forests [wilderness], almost with the same barbarity, that they had in the gentility [before the arrival of the Christians].[55]

[52] Ibid., 58-59.
[53] Ibid., 68.
[54] Ibid., 77.
[55] Ibid., 184.

Figure 35: The Franciscan church at Pachuca (Hidalgo). In 1727, the Province of San Diego established an apostolic college there.

José de Escandón wanted the Jonaces congregated in a single mission community and properly catechized, and criticized the Augustinians for not having done more.[56] For the Spanish the way of life of the Jonaces was contrary to the ideal that linked "civilization" to urban life. The Jonaces could not be civilized until they lived in proper towns. The Augustinians had failed to accomplish this, so now he handed the job over to the Franciscans.

The Pachuca Franciscans also established several new missions in their assigned district, which was around Zimapán. The first was established at a site known as Las Adjuntas on July 20, 1741, but the mission lasted only three months. The Franciscans relocated the mission to Tolimán, a short distance from Zimapán. When José de Escandón visited the new mission he noted that it had a population of 24 families and 67 people. In 1743, the Franciscans founded the mission San José de Fuenclara at Xiliapa, which had been a *visita* of Pacula. The population of Xiliapa was 372 when José

[56] Ibid., 183.

de Escandón visited the community. They also founded Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe also known as Cerro Prieto.[57]

The Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando (Mexico City) also played an important role in the Sierra Gorda. San Fernando initially (1731) was a hospice located in Mexico City, but later attained the status of an independent apostolic college in 1733.[58] Missionaries from San Fernando first staffed missions in the Sierra Gorda, were in Baja California (1768-1773), and later in California (1769-1834). The Sierra Gorda missions were the first experience in the field for several Franciscans who later were involved in the California missions including Junípero Serra, O.F.M., Francisco Palou, O.F.M., and Fermín Francisco Lasuen, O.F.M. The Sierra Gorda missions also became a testing ground for social and economic policies and methods later implemented on the Baja California and California missions.

Figure 36: San Fernando church (Mexico City) which was a part of the complex of the apostolic college of San Fernando founded in 1733.

[57] Ibid., 91.
[58] Ibid., 68.

José Ortés de Velasco, O.F.M., founded the first mission administered by San Fernando in the Sierra Gorda. It was San José de Vizarrón, established in 1740 at the site of the earlier Dominican mission San José del Llano. The Franciscans settled Jonaces on the mission, and in 1743 José de Escandón reported a population there of 67 (see Appendix 1D). Between 1740 and 1743, the Franciscans reportedly congregated 225 Jonaces on the mission, but many died and others fled. Between 1740 and 1746, the Franciscans baptized 94 *párvulos* (children under age nine). Deaths totaled 30 young children and 11 adults.[59] The new mission lasted only eight years, and the Franciscans closed it following the flight of the Jonaces. A small garrison of soldiers was still at the site, as were settlers from Cadereyta settled there in 1705. One can speculate that there were frictions between the natives and the soldiers and settlers. In 1742, a group of 53 Jonaces fled to the mission at Tolimán, which perhaps also suggests nonconformity with the methods of the Franciscans from San Fernando.[60] Soldiers hunted down the fugitive Jonaces, and consigned them to work in *obrajes* (textile mills) in Santiago de Querétaro.

José de Escandón was also critical of the Augustinians stationed at Xalpa, and petitioned to have them replaced by Franciscans from San Fernando. His intention was very clear. He wanted the Pames congregated at Xalpa and a group of new missions he established to accelerate the conversion of the natives and their integration into colonial society. The Augustinians had staffed Xalpa as well as Pacula for more than a century, and had made little progress in conversion or the development of stable mission communities. He expected that the Franciscans would be able to use different methods to achieve their conversion and change in their way of life.

In April of 1744, ten Franciscan missionaries left Mexico City to staff the five missions that José de Escandón assigned to them. The Franciscans took possession of the former Augustinian mission at Xalpa on April 20, established the mission San Miguel de Fonclara at Concá on April 26 which had been a *visita* of the Augustinian mission at Xalpa, the mission at Landa on April 30, the mission at Tilaco on May 2, and finally Tancoyol on May 3.[61] The Franciscans initially congregated 402 families and a total of 1,445 Pames at Xalpa, 144 families and 449 people at Concá, 193 families and 564 at Agua de Landa, 218 families and 574

[59] Ibid., 204, 209.
[60] Ibid., 92.
[61] José Artes de Velasco, O.F.M., Razón de las Misiones que el Colegio de San Fernando tiene en Sierra Gorda, alias Sierra Madre, y el estado que al presente tienen, in Ibid., 220.

people at Tancoyol, and 184 families and 749 people at Tilaco.[62] The Franciscans continued to congregate Pames on the missions, and by early 1746 the total number resettled reached 7,406 people.[63] The following chapters examine the Franciscan missions in more detail.

The Jesuits in the Sierra Gorda

The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was the last missionary order to arrive in Mexico, but assumed an important role in missions on the northern frontier in Nueva Vizcaya (Durango, Chihuahua), Sinaloa, and Sonora. They also administered several missions in the Sierra Gorda region. The Jesuits established several missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier at the end of the sixteenth century that included San Luis de la Paz (Guanajuato) founded in 1590.[64] When José de Escandón visited the Sierra Gorda in 1743, the Jesuits still administered San Luis de la Paz, which had a population of 245 Jonaces in 66 families. The Jonaces reportedly were well instructed in Christian doctrine, and knew basic prayers.[65]

The earliest references to the mission at San Luis de la Paz show that the missionaries used methods similar to those employed later by the Franciscans in the Sierra Gorda. This included providing food rations to enhance economic dependence and so that the natives would not have to leave the mission to collect food.[66] The baptismal registers from the end of the sixteenth century recorded the names of different Chichimeca groups. They included the Guaxabanes, Guachichiles, Copuces, Jonaces, and Pames in addition to Otomí. Additionally, two generic terms appeared in the record. They were Serranos, or natives from the mountains, and Chichimeca. The first baptism of a Chichimeca reportedly took place in 1594.[67]

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[62] José Artes de Velasco, O.F.M., Querétaro, June 26, 1744, in Ibid., 203-206.

[63] José Artes de Velasco, O.F.M., Razón de las Misiones que el Colegio de San Fernando tiene en Sierra Gorda, alias Sierra Madre, y el estado que al presente tienen, in Ibid., 220.

[64] Gerardo Lara Cisneros, "La domesticación del cristianismo en la Sierra Gorda, Nueva España, siglo XVIII," in Robert H. Jackson, *Evangelization and Culture Conflict in Colonial Mexico* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2014), 180.

[65] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 195-196.

[66] Lastra and Terrazas, "Interpretación," 172.

[67] Ibid., 173.

Figure 37: The Jesuit church at San Luis de la Paz (Guanajuato).

Figure 38: Ovens located at the Jesuit mining hacienda of Santa Brigida. Santa Brigida is located just south of San Luis de la Paz, and helped fund missionary activities.

The mission formed part of a more complex community and district. The central town itself was inhabited by natives, Jonaces and other groups, organized into distinct *barrios* that each had a small chapel. In the rural areas surrounding the town there were private properties classified as *labores* (smaller farms), *ranchos* (larger properties), and *haciendas.* The majority of natives were Otomies settled at the site when the Jesuits established the mission towards the end of the Chichimeca war.[68] There were also Náhuas and P'urépechas. The rural population was predominately non-indigenous, and was classified as Spaniards and *castas*, or as defined in the Spanish Colonial social matrix as people of mixed ancestry.[69] By the eighteenth century the region surrounding San Luis de la Paz had evolved from being an isolated mission outpost beyond the Chichimeca frontier to a more fully developed sedentary rural society. However, evangelization of the natives classified as Chichimecas had not been completed.

[68] Cecilia Rabell, "Matrimonio y raza en una parroquia rural: San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato, 1715-1810," *Historia Mexicana* 41:1 (1992), 5.
[69] Ibid., 5-6.

CHAPTER FOUR

CREATING UTOPIA

The previous chapter outlined the expansion of missions in the Sierra Gorda and the Jesuit Paraguay province. This chapter examines the organization of the Franciscan mission program in the Sierra Gorda, what I call the creation of utopia. It examines three topics. The first is the creation of a mission urban plan from whole cloth and construction techniques. The second topic is the evangelization of the native populations, the methods employed and measures the missionaries used to document what they believed to be acceptance of the new faith by the natives. The discussion of evangelization first begins with an analysis of evidence of the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs in central Mexico, which is germane to the Sierra Gorda. The final section discusses aspects of economics, and particularly agriculture and ranching.

The Construction of the Sierra Gorda Missions

The Franciscans provided few details regarding the urban plan and development of the building complexes of the Sierra Gorda missions they administered. The Augustinians had directed the construction of a church at Xalpa that José de Escandón described as a *jacal* (built of wattle and daub), but also left sections of the convent later incorporated into the Franciscan complex. The Augustinians had also begun construction of a church and convent at Tilaco, although the act of possession also noted that structures of *jacal* had been built to serve as a temporary church and residence for the Franciscans.[1]

The reports on the Sierra Gorda missions provide information on the construction of new churches at the five missions. The churches had been completed or were nearing completion as of 1758. The construction of the church at Concá lasted from 1754 to 1758, and it measured 37 x 8 *varas* or 31 x 6.7 meters. Three of the churches reportedly had vaulted roofs, and the

[1] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 195; Joaquín, Meade y Sainz y Tapaga, *La Huasteca Queretana.* (Mexico, D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, 1951), 405.

Figure 39: Santiago Xalpa (Jalpan de Serra, Querétaro).

Figure 40: San Miguel de Fuenclara (Concá, Querétaro).

Figure 41: Agua de Landa (Landa de Matamoros, Querétaro).

Figure 42: Tancoyol (Tancoyol, Querétaro).

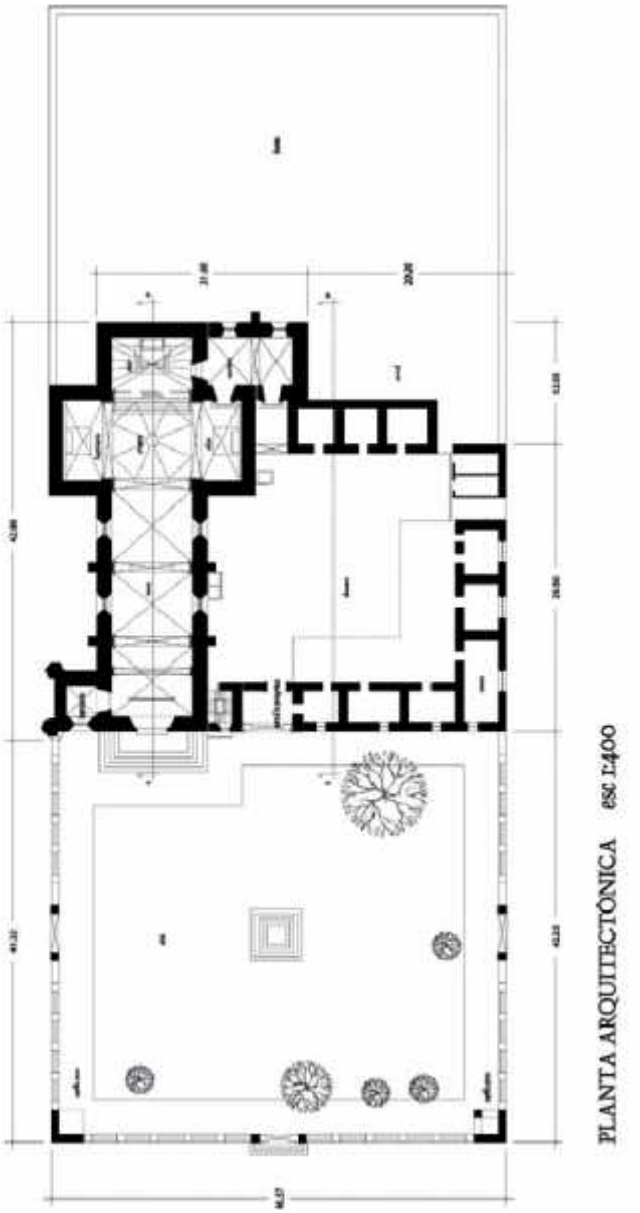

Figure 43: An architectural diagram of Tancoyol.

Figure 44: N.S.P. San Francisco del Valle de Tilaco (Tilaco, Querétaro).

1761 report noted that vaulted roofs were being added to the other two. They are known for the elaborate baroque iconography on the facades made of plaster with different food plants.[2]

The five missions incorporated architectural elements also found in sixteenth century central Mexican *doctrinas.* The complexes at Tancoyol and Tilaco conserve the most elements. They include walled atriums, atrial crosses aligned on the axis of the main church entrance, open chapels, cloisters, and *capillas posa* at Tancoyol and Tilaco used in processions. *capillas posa* may have been built at the other three missions, but no longer exist. Architectural diagrams prepared in connection with the application to place the five missions on the UNESCO World Heritage Site list document the details and configuration of the fully developed mission complexes as they exist today, with the architectural elements mentioned above.

[2] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda,* 223-235, 245.

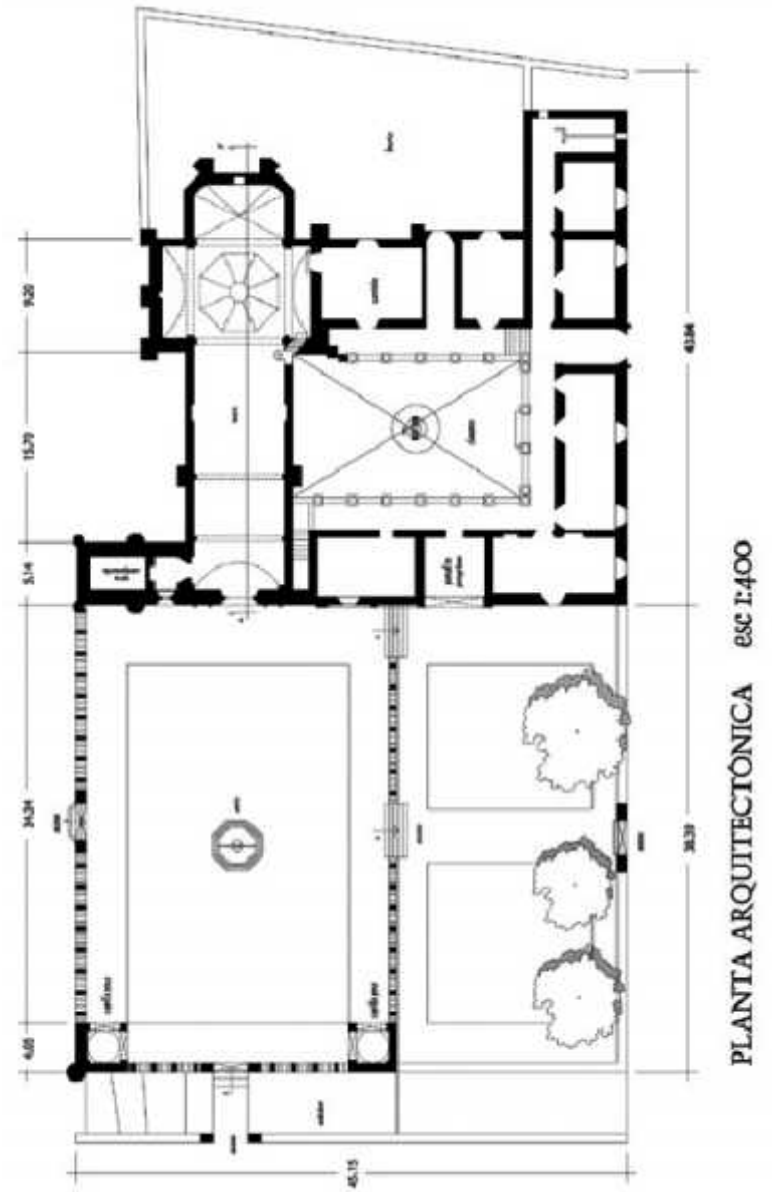

Figure 45: An architectural diagram of Tilaco.

The extant reports, however, do not provide information regarding housing for the Pames congregated on the missions. It is likely that they continued to live in traditional forms of housing clustered around the mission complexes. The same group of Franciscans later staffed the Baja California missions following the Jesuit expulsion in 1767-1768, and later established missions in California. During their short tenure in Baja California (1768-1773) the Franciscans directed the construction of churches and other structures, as at San Francisco de Borja mission (established 1762). A detailed 1773 inventory described the buildings at the mission, but did not mentioned neophyte housing.[3] The Franciscans opened the California mission frontier in 1769, and administered this group of missions for more than 60 years. A Crown requirement for more detailed reporting on the progress of the missions resulted in a more complete record of the development of the mission building complexes that evolved in stages, but included the construction of European-style housing for the neophytes.[4] A 1791 drawing of San Carlos mission (established 1770) shows the complex of adobe structures with thatch or burned tile roofs, and neophyte housing that consisted primarily of some small adobe houses as well s traditional conical thatch houses. European-style adobe housing later replaced traditional housing for the entire neophyte population.[5]

Figure 46: A 1791 drawing of San Carlos mission (Carmel, California).

[3] Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., trans. And ed., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuen,* 2 volumes (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), I: 14-33.

[4] For an analysis of the evolution of the California mission building complexes see Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 137-168. There are 16 references in the documentary record of the first construction of neophyte housing. Eleven were from ten years of more following the establishment of a mission.

[5] Robert H. Jackson, "Los agustinos, la frontera chichimeca, y la evangelización de la Sierra Gorda 1550-1770: plan urbano, arquitectura y resistencia indígena," *Toltecáyotl* 1 (2012), 56-57.

In the 1850s, the Catholic Bishop of California petitioned to the United States government for the return of the mission sites to Church control. As a part of the patenting process, the Church had plat maps prepared in 1854 that showed the surviving mission buildings at that time. The maps for Santa Barbará mission (established 1786) and San Miguel mission (established 1797) documented two forms and configurations of neophyte housing. In the first instance there were rows of buildings that each contained five small apartments for neophyte families, similar to the housing at Los Santos Mártires and the other Paraguay mission. The arrangement at San Miguel mission, on the other hand, there were three long building wings that contained apartments, in a "U" shaped configuration.[6]

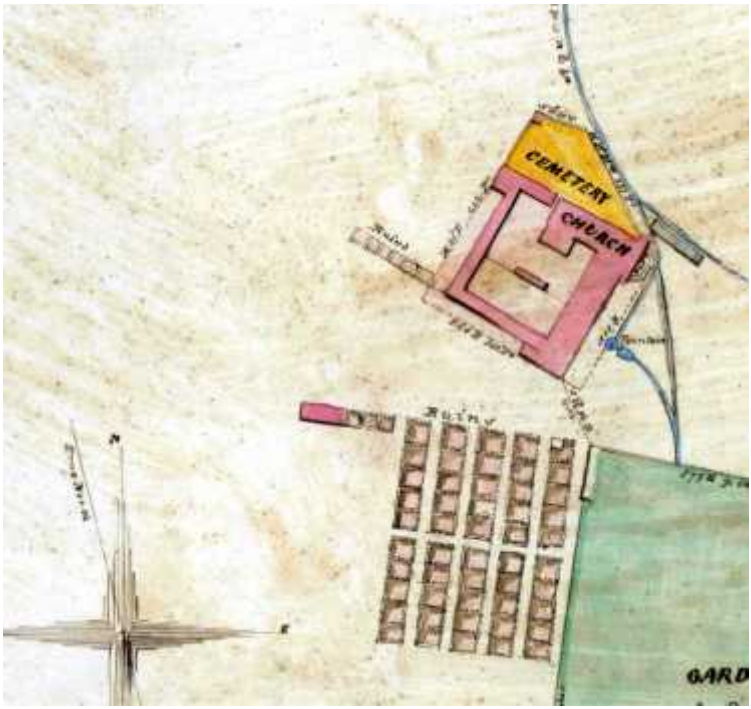

Figure 47: Detail of an 1854 plat map showing the Santa Barbará mission complex (Santa Barbara, California).

[6] Ibid., 57; David McLaughlin and Rubén G. Mendoza, *The California Missions Sourcebook* (Scottsdale: Pentacle Press, 2012), 40.

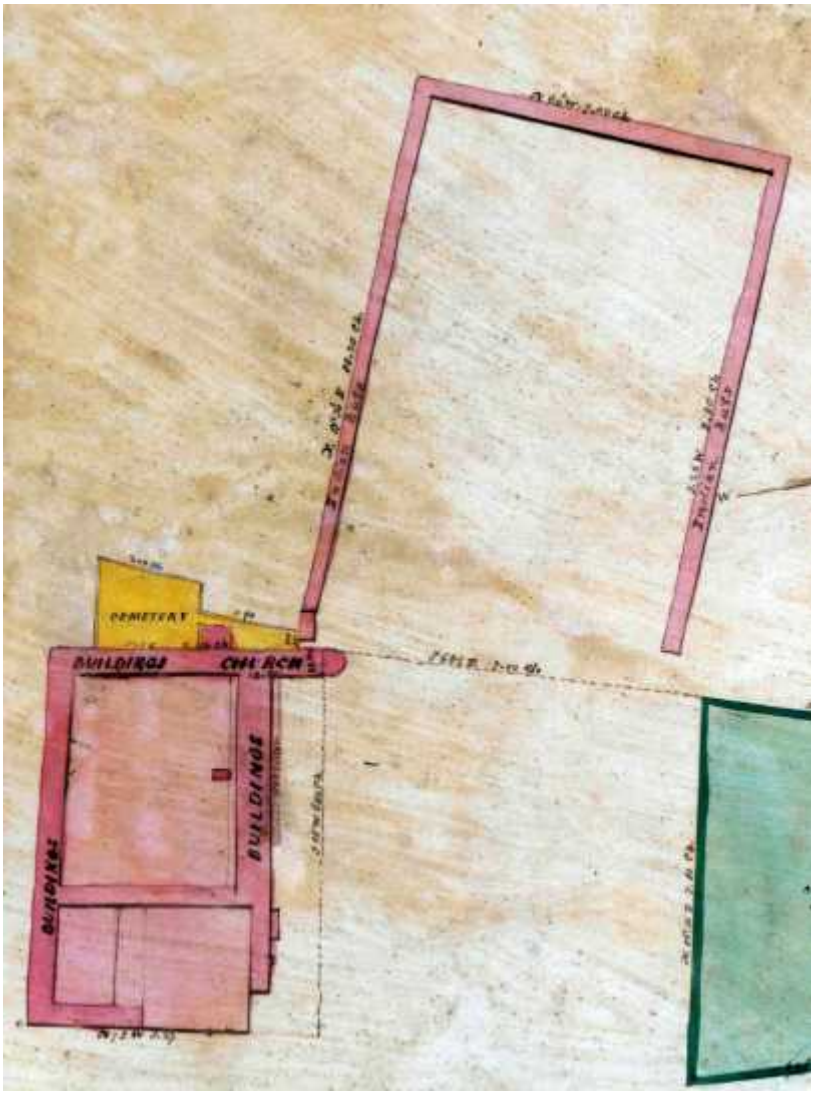

Figure 48: Detail of an 1854 plat map showing the San Miguel mission complex (San Miguel, California).

The history of the development of the building complex at la Purísima Concepción mission (Lompoc, California, established in 1787) was typical. The mission occupied two sites, and the Franciscans abandoned the first site in 1812 following a strong earthquake that destroyed most of the buildings constructed of adobe. The Franciscans directed the construction of a monumental church and a cloister built in the form of a quadrangle. Reports written by the Franciscan missionaries described the development of the building complex. The Franciscans directed the construction of the monumental church between 1798 and 1892, and other structures included the residence for the missionaries, store rooms, a complex for the mission guard assigned to the mission, and an apartment for visitors to the mission. The Franciscans abandoned the conventional urban plan when they relocated the mission to a new site following the earthquake, and instead built the new church and other structures in a linear plan. The Franciscans had the new complex constructed between 1813 and the early 1820s, and included European-style housing for the native population built in the form of long barracks-like structures.[7] Two historic photographs taken around 1880 show the ruins of the mission complex at the first site before the development of Lompoc largely destroyed the remains. The first photograph taken from a hill above the ruins provides a panoramic view of the configuration of the mission complex in a quadrangle, and the ruins of the church (see Figure 49). The second photograph (see Figure 50) shows a part of the quadrangle and the ruins of the monumental church.

[7] For the chronology of the construction of the building complex at the two sites see. Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization,*158-159. Archaeologist Julia Costello did testing on the first mission site, and used the excavations and historic photographs to reconstruct the urban plan of the mission site: Julia Costello, "Putting Mission VIeja de la Purísima on the Map," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 7 (1994), 67-85.

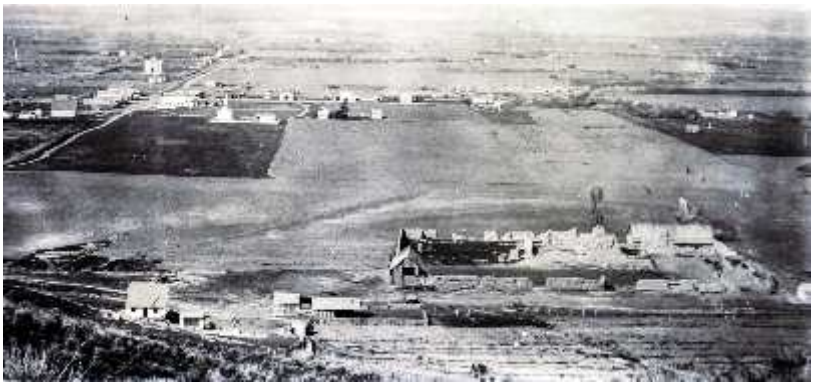

Figure 49: The ruins of the first site of la Purísima Concepción mission (Lompoc, California). Santa Barbara Historical Society.

Figure 50: A second photograph of the ruins of the first site of la Purísima Concepción mission (Lompoc, California). Santa Barbara Historical Society.

The Franciscans staffed the California missions for a much longer period of time than they did the Sierra Gorda missions. Moreover, Crown policy changed by the time the Franciscans arrived in California, with a greater emphasis placed on acculturation and integration of natives

residing on the missions and more accountability on the part of the missionaries, hence the requirement for more reports. This is not to say that the reorganization of the Sierra Gorda missions in the 1740s was a consequence of the earlier missionary failure to modify the Pames's way of life. It is conceivable that the Franciscans would have had European-style housing built for the Pames had they remained in the Sierra Gorda longer, as they later did on the California mission frontier.

A useful comparison can be made with the urban plan of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay in lowland South America (see Appendix 2). The Jesuits directed the creation of new centralized and nucleated communities from whole cloth. The new mission communities contained structures with different elements clustered around a central plaza. At the center was the church built on a monumental scale, the *colegio* or residence of the Jesuits and their offices and warehouses, and the workshops where the Guaraní produced textiles, leather goods, and other items for consumption in the mission or for export. The natives lived in a spatially compact village that consisted of rows of multi-apartment buildings. Each *cacique* (indigenous leader) controlled a block of apartments for the families of his or her *cacicazgo* (social-political jurisdiction). The *coti guazú* was a dormitory where widows lived. A c. 1756 diagram of San Juan Bautista mission (see Figure 51) and a c. 1767 diagram of Candelaria mission (see Figure 52) document the mission urban plan, which was similar to that of Santa Barbara mission in California discussed above.

The Jesuits expended considerable effort in the development of the mission complex at the final site of one mission, Los Santos Mártires. The first task was to create a level area for the mission buildings. This was a large terrace protected by a retaining wall which measured six meters at its deepest. The terrace appears in a 1792 diagram of the mission complex, and the remains of the retaining wall still exist at the site (see Figure 53).[8] A 1786 diagram documents the monumental three nave church and the sections of the *colegio* with the use of each room (see Figure 54). The 1792 diagram shows the church and main complex as well as the surviving rows of housing. The decline in the mission population and lack of maintenance resulted in the deterioration of some of the housing units which fell into ruin, and only a reduced number of units still existed in 1792. The tropical rain forest covered the mission complex following its abandonment, and only ruins exist today.

[8] Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival*. 93-94.

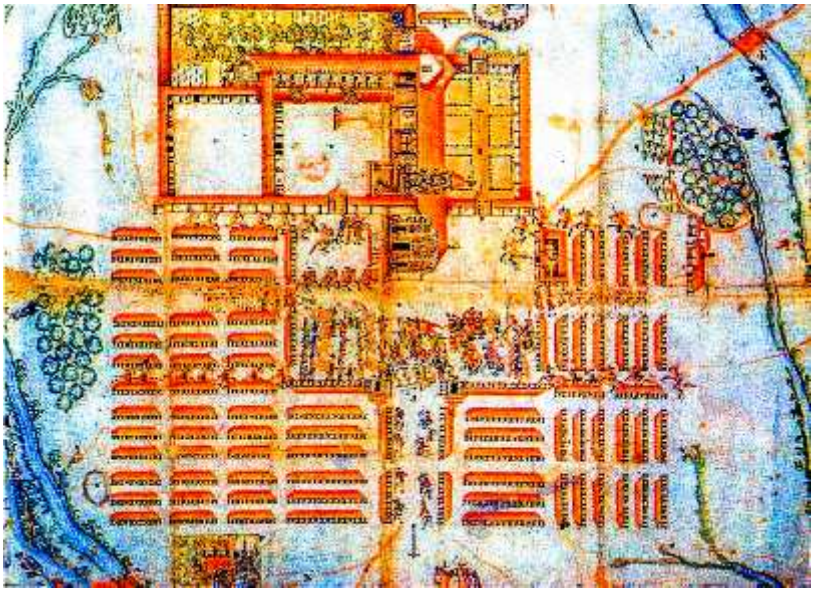

Figure 51: A c. 1756 diagram of San Juan Bautista Mission (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil)

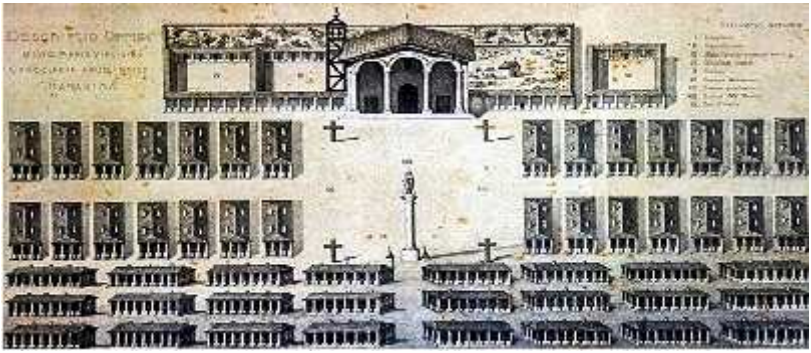

Figure 52: A contemporary diagram of Candelaria mission (Misiones, Argentina)

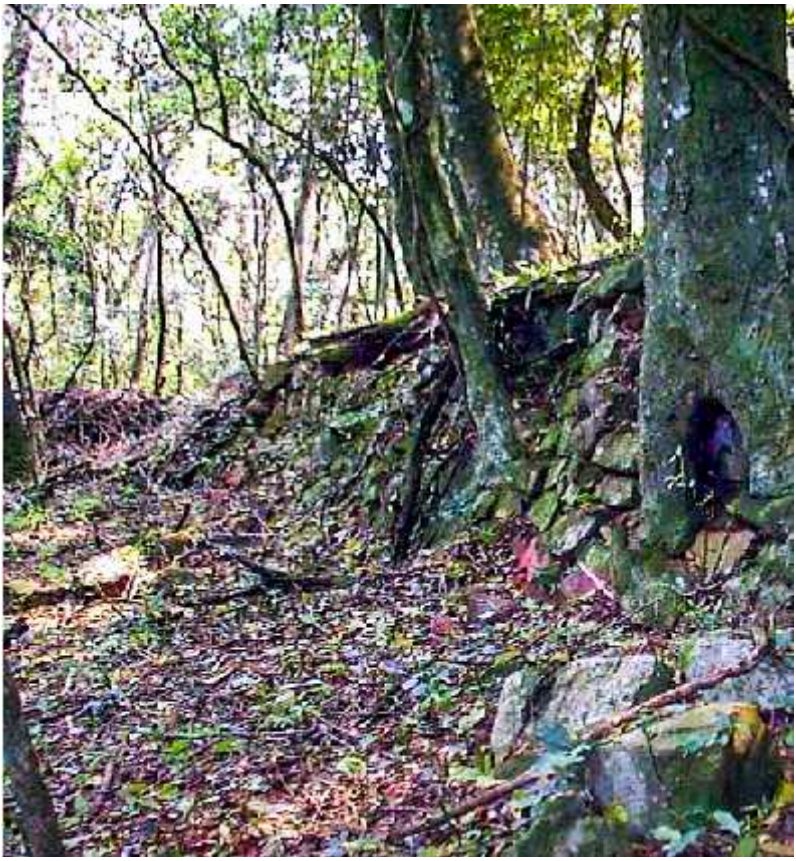

Figure 53: Remains of the retaining wall of the terrace the mission complex was built on.

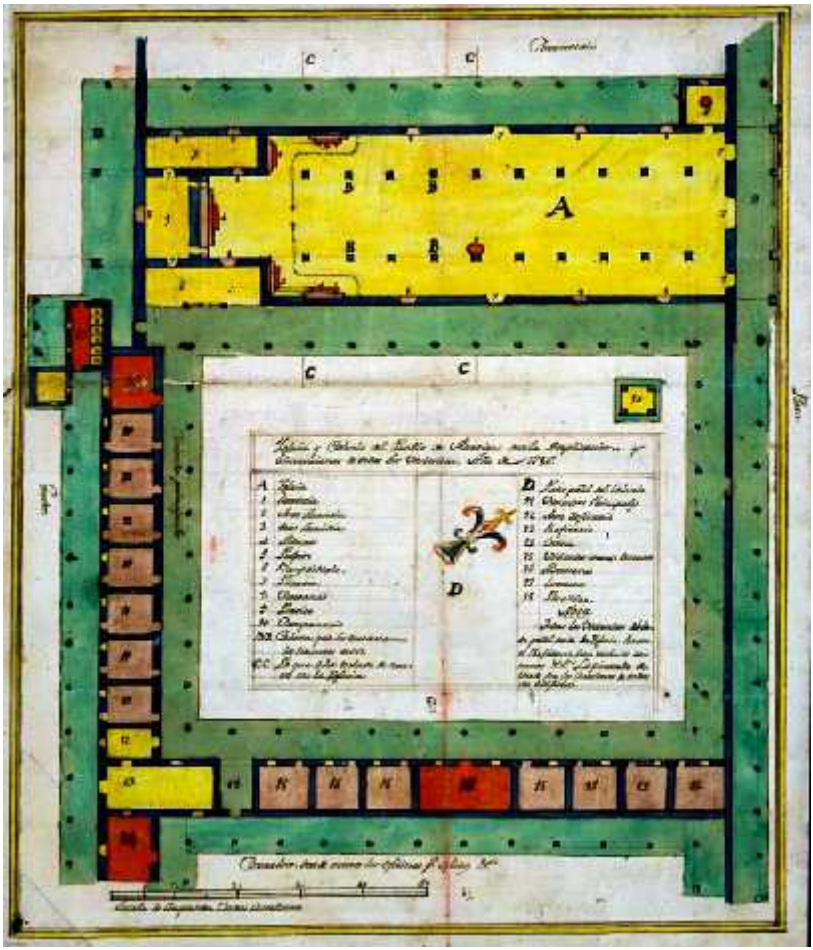

Figure 54: A 1786 diagram of the church and *colegio*.

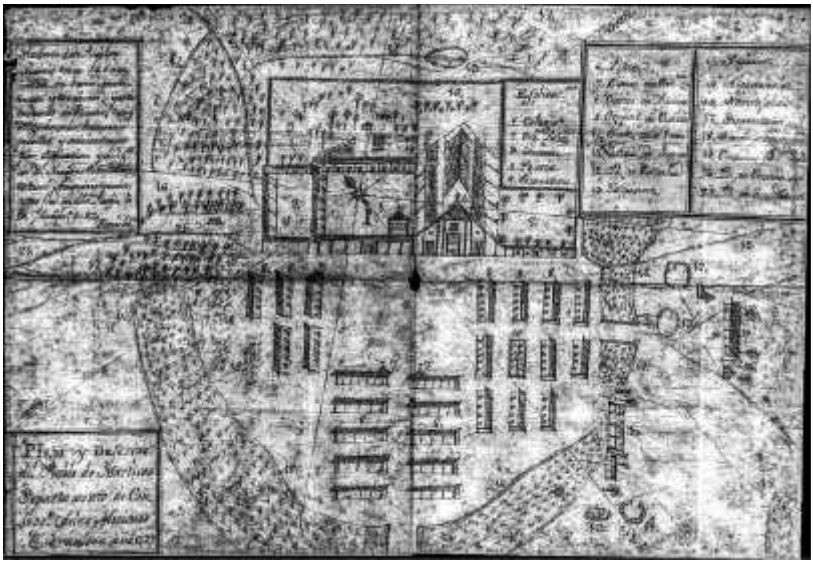

Figure 55: A 1792 diagram of the Los Santos Mártires mission complex showing the church, *colegio*, and surviving neophyte housing.

The Jesuit mission urban plan is important for understanding demographic patterns and particularly the effects of epidemics of highly contagious "crowd" diseases such as smallpox and measles. Thousands of Guaraní lived cheek to jowl in small apartments, and during the hot summer most likely spent free time in the corridors outside of the apartments or in other ways came into close contact with each other. Epidemics spread rapidly through the larger Río de la Plata on river transport, and once an epidemic reached the missions the contagion passed quickly from individual to individual with lethal results. The result was very high mortality that in some instances reached fifty percent or even 60 percent of the population of a mission community. The 1792 Los Santos Mártires mission diagram also shows small bodies of standing water (*aguadas*) located close to the Guaraní housing.[9] These bodies of water most likely bred mosquitoes and mosquito-born diseases may have also been a health issue as well.

The difference between the urban plan on the Sierra Gorda, California, and Jesuit Paraguay missions was the availability of labor. The populations

[9] Ibid, 85.

of the Paraguay and California missions were larger than the Sierra Gorda establishments, and thu there were more workers available for construction projects. A second factor was the longevity of the missions. The Franciscan staffed the Sierra Gorda missions for less than 30 years, and in that period focused on the construction of permanent churches and cloisters. If they had remained on the missions for a longer period of time, it is conveivable that they would have directed the construction of Europeam-style housing for the Pames population. The Jesuits staffed the Paraguay missions for more than a century, and directed different phases of construction that included housing for the indigenous population. Similarly, the same group of Franciscans staffed the California missions for more than 60 years, and during this period oversaw the construction of permanent monumental churches and cloisters. Onc construction of these building concluded the Franciscans had European-style housing built. This usually was 20 to 30 years or more following the establishment of a mission.

Evangelization

This section discusses the difficult question of religious conversion, or the extent to which indigenous peoples embraced Catholicism. It begins with the so-called “spiritual conquest” in sixteenth century central Mexico which provides context for the methods and outcomes, and is followed by a discussion of the Sierra Gorda missions. Although there were variations on a common theme, the argument here is that methods and outcomes were similar. The most significant difference was the political and social organization of the mission communities, and not the ways in which the missionaries attempted to convert the natives to Catholicism. The missionaries placed considerable importance on compliance with the sacraments, and believed that the ritual of baptism marked acceptance of Catholicism on the terms imposed by the missionaries. They quantified the number of sacraments administered, and presented these numbers as evidence of conversion.

The missionaries used visual aids and translated doctrinal guides and other texts into indigenous languages. Catechism was an important part of the conversion program, but the natives mostly learned to repeat statements of belief and prayers through rote memorization. The missionaries taught the same basic doctrinal points such as sin and the final judgment. They also measured the extent of conversion by the ability to repeat prayers learned in catechism classes. However, there is also

evidence that many natives did not fully embrace the new faith as the missionaries thought they should.

Rethinking the "Spiritual Conquest"

Robert Ricard's[10] strictly Eurocentric interpretation of the so-called "spiritual conquest" of central Mexico has given way in recent decades to new interpretations of native culture under colonial rule, social life, and religion based on documents written in indigenous languages.[11] Scholars have also offered new interpretations of Spanish documents, such as records of investigations of native religious practices that did not conform to Catholic orthodoxy. There were early high profile cases in the first decades following the Spanish conquest of Mexico, such as the trial and execution of Don Carlos or the Yanhuitlán-Coatlán inquisition investigation in the Sierra Mixteca of Oaxaca. However, violations of Catholic orthodoxy continued throughout the colonial period, and included cases of "idolatry" such as making sacrifices to pre-Hispanic deities including Tláloc or Zahui, sorcery, or practicing traditional rites for initiating the

[10] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ of California Press, 1974).

[11] In addition to the sources already cited, see Miguel León Portilla, *Los antiguos mexicanos a través de sus crónicas y cantares* (México, D.F.: Fondo de cultura económica, 2005); James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the conquest: A social and cultural history of the Indians of Central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: postconquest Central Mexican history and philology*.. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Matthew Restell, *The Maya world: Yucatec culture and society, 1550-1850*. (Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1999); Matthew Restell, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano. *Mesoamerican Voices: Native Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui history, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Robert Haskett, *Indigenous rulers: An ethnohistory of town government in colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Sarah Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600: A social history of an Aztec town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Sarah Cline and Miguel León Portilla, eds. *The testaments of Culhuacan*. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), among others.

agricultural cycle or of the birth of a child.[12] The Crown supported the activities of extirpators and the repression of practices that did not conform to orthodoxy.

The following sections examine examples of evidence for the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs, cultural norms, and world view. The first is a discussion of the creation of knowledge and particularly geographic knowledge and information about pre-Hispanic beliefs in the context of evangelization and Spanish colonization citing the case of the Franciscan *doctrina* in Calpulalpan (Tlaxcala). It is followed by a discussion of the incorporation of indigenous sacred colors in what ostensibly was a Christian mural program, and the use of embedded pre-Hispanic stones as site markers in defining a sacred landscape in traditional religious terms.

The Creation of Colonial Knowledge: The Relaciones Geográficas

The Spanish Crown faced the dilemma of having to create a colonial system and administer that system over long distances. In administering its possessions in the Americas the Crown relied on information provided by royal officials, clerics and missionaries, Spanish colonists, and the indigenous populations and their leaders. Knowledge was power, and the documents created to acquire information about New Spain and the other American territories provide important details regarding the early evangelization campaign and particularly the administrative organization of the early missions and their social, economic, and political context. The Crown was particularly interested in fiscal information such as the number of tributaries and the amount they paid in tribute. The *suma de visitas,* for example, was a summary of a series of reports that documented indigenous tribute payments, but it also provided information useful for understanding the context of evangelization. Reports drafted by ecclesiastical officials and the missionaries themselves also contained tribute information in addition to details on the missions.

The first generation of missionaries initiated the evangelization campaign with one arm figuratively tied behind their backs. The rank and file missionary knew little or nothing about pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and practices, and it was only in the following generation that missionaries such as Bernardino de Sahagún, O.F.M. and Diego Durán, O.P. began to

[12] For a detailed analysis of the persistence of pre-Hispanic practices see David Tavárez, *The Invisible War: Indigenous devotions, discipline, and dissent in colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

document indigenous culture and religion. The growing evidence of the persistence of indigenous pre-Hispanic religious practices, what the missionaries classified as "idolatry," made the collection and dissemination of information important and necessary.

In the late 1570s, the Crown initiated a project to systematically collect geographic, economic, and cultural information on the different jurisdictions of New Spain including Guatemala. A number of the *relaciones geográficas* reports exist, and some also include maps that incorporate both indigenous and European concepts of cartography.[13] The project also represented the first comprehensive effort to collect information on pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and practices. The Crown sent out a questionnaire to local officials, and one part of question 14 asked "…What forms of worship, rites, and good or evil customs did they practice?"[14] The drafters of the individual reports provided varying degrees of detail in response to the question, perhaps based, at least in part, on the amount of information they were able to elicit from indigenous informants.

The report for Tlacolula (Oaxaca), for example, noted that:

> They worship[[ed the demon and in his name they had an idol named *Coque Cehuiyo* [the rain deity Pitao Cocijo] to which they offered and sacrificed dogs and fowl and Indians, and completed the sacrifice they became drunk and danced in their way; it was very common [and their] custom to become drunk.[15]

The report on Tilantongo (Oaxaca) provided more complete information on religious practices that included the practice of self-sacrifice of blood that figured in the Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca) inquisition investigation in the mid-1540s.

> And the gods that they worshipped were idols of wood and stones, that were called *Qhyosayo* in the Mixtec language and *Teul* in Mexicano [Náhuat] that in Castillian means "God," and they had the idols on a man-made hill and there was a chapel [*ermita*] on the hill, very large and covered in thatch [*paja*], and all of the community came to the chapel and church they had to pray and in said church they had their priests that were called *Taysaqul* in the Mixtec language and *Totazi* in Mexicano and that

[13] Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[14] Ibid., 228.
[15] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España: Segunda Serie Geografía e Estadística, Tomo IV Relaciones Geográficas de la Diócesis de Oaxaca* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadavia", 1905), 145.

> means "Priest" in Castillian, that cared for the idols and before whom they [made] sacrifices and had sacrifices night and day and these priests did not sleep at night and all of the time [the people] came to [make] sacrifices they burned copal, and offered quail, mountain doves, fowl, dogs, and deer to the idols, and finishing this they sacrifice two or three people who they opened [up] and took out the heart while alive and they offered it [the heart] to the priest so that he would offer it to his idols, and the other Indians came to their chapel six times day and night and sacrificed themselves before the priest, taking blood from the ears and tongue with a lancet blade.[16]

The question remains, however, how effective was the dissemination of this information to those responsible for imposing the new religious orthodoxy. The rank and file cleric and missionary certainly recognized the overt practice of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs such as blood sacrifices made in caves. However, one can imagine that it was more difficult to detect those practices when they were driven underground, or were masked by what were ostensibly Catholic practices and rituals.

Mapping was a key element of the *relaciones geográficas* project, and one objective was to create a detailed map of Mexico.[17] The existing series of reports is incomplete, and not all existing reports still have the appended maps. However, a representative number of maps exist. Most were prepared by native artists employing a mix of indigenous and European cartographic elements, including elements from pre-Hispanic codices such as the *Tira de la Perigrinación* that depicts the Culhua-Mexica migration to the Valley of Mexico. One example is the incorporation of footprints to show the movement of people. The maps are particularly useful for documenting the political-religious organization of jurisdiction with head towns and subject communities. Some maps contain stylized representations of churches and *doctrina* building complexes, but others depicted the new sacred complexes accurately. Examples of the latter include the map of Yuririapúndaro reproduced in this volume, Zempoala (Hidalgo), and Cholula (Puebla).

A mural located in the cloister of the Franciscan *doctrina* at Calpulalpan (Tlaxcala) appears to be a reproduction of the missing *relación geográfica* map of the jurisdiction. The mural contains many of the stylistic elements found in the maps, and depicts the church and convent as well as the subject communities-*visitas* identified with pre-Hispanic place glyphs, including one of a jaguar. Other map-murals may have existed at one time. Although located in what today is Tlaxcala, the

[16] Ibid., 73-74.
[17] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain.*

Franciscan *doctrina* San Judas y Simón Calpulalpan was a part of the jurisdiction of the *doctrina* located in Tetzcoco first as a *visita* and later an independent *doctrina* established around 1569.[18] Kubler noted that Calpulalpan is located on what in the sixteenth century was the most important route to Veracruz, and that it was also an important source of lime used for construction projects in Mexico City. He dated the construction of the convent to the 1580s, but also noted that the existing church has the date 1608 on the façade.[19]

Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M. described the convent in the mid-1580s. He reported that:

> The convent was not completed, nor did it have a church, rather [it had] a temporary [structure]; the lower cloister was built, with an upper room and part of another. It has a very large cistern and a beautiful orchard. Two missionaries [*religiosos*] lived there.

Figure 56 shows the completed *doctrina* complex as it is today, and offers a point of comparison to the depiction of what appears to be the earlier "temporary" church that Antonio de Ciudad Real described in 1585. The map mural depicts the *portería* and what appears to be an "open chapel." The church is a smaller structure with a single bell tower (see Figure 57). The map mural also shows the location of at least eight *visita* chapels in neighboring communities, several of which exist today (Figure 58-59). The Franciscans may have initially directed the construction of free standing "open" chapels that would have been rebuilt or replaced at a later date. Santiago Cuaula is typical. The *visita* complex consists of a chapel and a small cloister that served as a residence when the Franciscans visited (see Figure 60). The Franciscans had the location of a community named Sultepec shifted to a new site roughly one kilometer from the site of the pre-Hispanic community (see Figure 62). The Instituto Nacional de Antropologia y Historia recently rehabilitated the ruins of the pre-Hispanic community.

[18] Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain,* revised edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 313.
[19] Kubler, *Arquitectura Mexicana del siglo XVI*, 106, 557.

Figure 56: The church and *doctrina* complex at Calpulalpan (Tlaxcala).

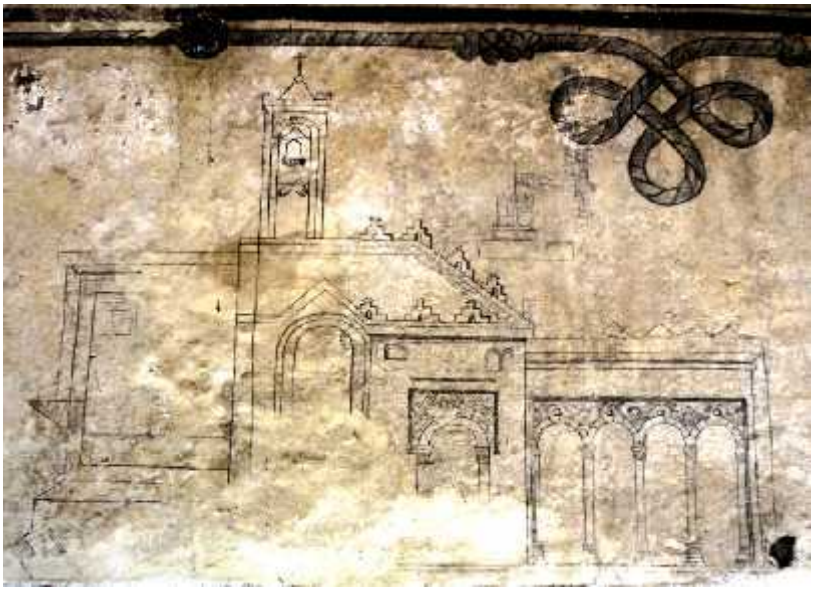

Figure 57: Detail of the map mural depicting the “temporary” church mentioned by Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M., what appears to be an “open chapel,” and the *portería*.

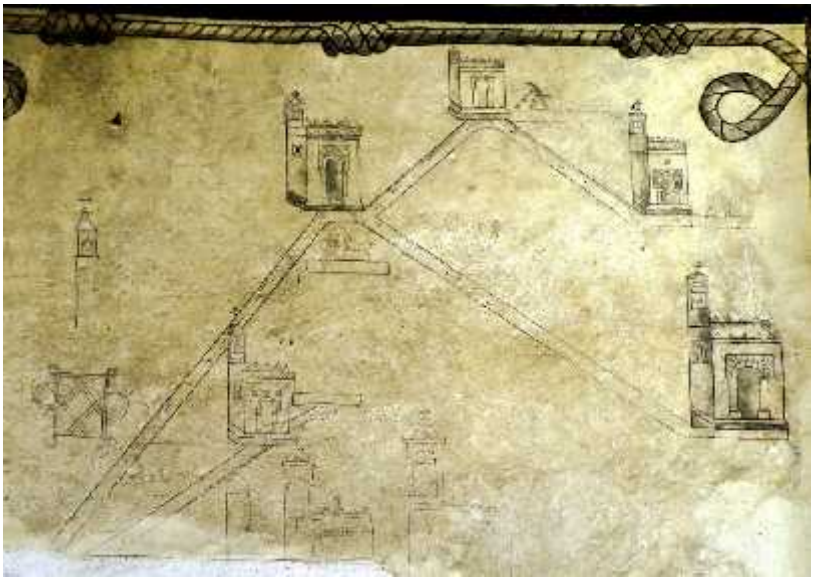

Figure 58: Detail of the map mural depicting *visitas* of Calpulalpan. One *visita* is identified by a place glyph of a jaguar.

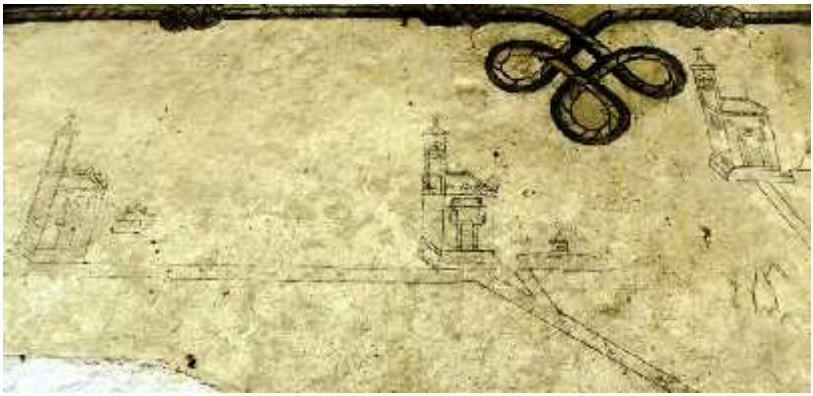

Figure 59: Detail of the map mural depicting *visitas* of Calpulalpan.

Figure 60: The *visita* of Santiago Cuaula (Tlaxcala).

Figure 61: The *visita* of San Felipe Sultepec (Tlaxcala).

Figure 62: The ruins of the pre-Hispanic town of Sultepec-Tecoaque (Tlaxcala).

The Spanish attempted to reshape the structure of native society and impose new cultural and religious norms. The colonists radically changed the landscape, and shifted communities and populations. The project of the *relaciones geográficas* was an attempt to systematically collect information regarding Mexico, and in particular to visually depict the physical and cultural landscape. The drafting of maps was an important part of the project, and enables us today to visualize the geographic landscape of evangelization. The existence of the Calpulalpan map mural suggests that the effort to create knowledge was more extensive than the drafting of reports and maps. Native artists created the mural to have a local map of the political and religious organization of the region, most likely to assist in local political and religious administration.

Painting the Desert Blue

Native artists also created their own brand of knowledge on the walls of *doctrina* complexes by shaping what was ostensibly Christian iconography in their own terms. An example of this can be found in the lower cloister of the Augustinian *doctrina* San Juan Evangelista Culhuacán (Mexico City). The artists converted a *tebaída* mural program into something quite different, a landscape with a sacred mountain that

shares space with symbols of the crucifixion. A *tebaída* was a uniquely Augustinian iconographic theme that depicted hermits in the desert in the early period of Christianity in the Old World, thus establishing a claimed link from Saint Augustine to the sixteenth century order. *Tebaída* murals, such as those at Actopan (Hidalgo) and Zacualpan (Morelos) were painted in brown tones that one would expect to find in a desert. However, the Culhuacán *tebaída* series depicts a landscape painted in what is called "Maya Blue," one of the basic Mesoamerica colors used in sacred iconography. According to Wake, blue and red were a metaphor for the source of life, water and blood. They were "…fluids that course through the cosmos[.]"[20] Moreover, the mural program depicts the Cerro Huixachtecatl (*Cerro de la Estrella*) which was the site of the rekindling of the first fire at the beginning of a new 52 year calendar cycle, and that was also associated with the water religion and the deity Tláloc. There is a cave in the hill that would have been used for making sacrifices to Tláloc.[21] Moreover, it was only one of a number of murals that depicted local sacred landscapes. Regarding this Eleanor Wake noted that:

> …they manipulate European graphic sources to construct local landscapes in accordance with the native vision and/or bear strong projections of the meaning of these landscapes for the native world.[22]

Culhuacán *tebaída* series contains the conventual elements of the genre, as in the mural at Zacualpan (see Figure 66). Black robed Augustinians are seen in an austere landscape, along with wild felines and deer. The only difference is that the desert environment has been converted into a pre-Hispanic sacred landscape with details of the sacred mountain and the blue background color. The mural program originally covered the eight corers of the lower cloister, and may have covered the entire wall space of the lower cloister. Patches of blue background color also exist under the existing murals in the *sala de profundis*, showing that the mural program also covered that space. The *relación geográfica* map of Culhuacán still exists, and stylistically is similar to the murals in the lower cloister of the convent.[23] This is most apparent in the depiction of the Cerro de Huixachtecatl with the caves there. Wake suggests that the same native

[20] Eleanor Wake, *Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 110.
[21] Ibid, 184.
[22] Ibid., 183.
[23] Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 185.

artist painted the map and was involved in the painting of the *tebaída* murals.

Figure 63: A panel of the lower cloister Culhuacán *tebaída* series that depicts the Cerro Huixachtecatl (*Cerro de la Estrella*).

The native artists framed what essentially was a European Christian theme into a pre-Hispanic one by depicting a desert landscape in watery blue turquoise color, thus creating a sacred landscape in their own terms. This is one example of many examples of how the indigenous population of central Mexico accommodated the new faith into their religious beliefs and world view on their own terms. This and other evidence seriously calls into question the markedly Eurocentric interpretation of Ricard regarding the "spiritual conquest," which was not facile, nor rapid.

Figure 64: A detail of the mural depicting the hill and cave, Augustinians, and a deer. Wild animals are a characteristic feature of *tebaída* murals.

Figure 65: Detail of a second panel of the lower cloister Culhuacán *tebaída* series depicting the local landscape, Augustinians in a blue desert landscape, deer, and three wild felines.

Figure 66: The *tebaída* mural in the *sala de profundis* of the Augustinian *doctrina* at Zacualpan (Morelos). Local parish officials had this mural and a second depicting Jesus on the cross painted over with white paint.[24]

[24] The photograph taken here dates to 2007 and my first visit to Zacualpan, shortly after the mural and a second in the *sala de profundis* had been restored by the

Figure 67: The *relación geográfica map of* Culhuacán that shows similarities to the *tebaída* murals in the lower cloister of the convent.

Instituto Nacional de Antropologia y Historia. The second mural depicts Jesus on the cross. On subsequent visits I discovered an act of what I call parroquial vandalism. I was surprised to find that the two murals and ceiling design elements had been completely painted over in white paint. This priceless historical patrimony has been lost because of the act of vandalism by parish officials, and occurred during the administration of the pro-clerical Partido de Ación Nacional.

Marking the Sacred Landscape: Embedded Pre-Hispanic Stones

In a provocative hypothesis Eleanor Wake argued that pre-Hispanic stones embedded in early colonial churches and related structures served as site lines to important locations in a sacred landscape dominated by sacred mountains and axial alignments of the sun on the horizon. These alignments also marked sacred time, such as the beginning of the planting season, and the feast days of pre-Hispanic deities. Embedded stones also served as markers of specific calendared dates.[25]This was one way in which the indigenous peoples continued to organize their world on the basis of their old beliefs that the new religion failed to displace.

Wake cited examples of of where embedded stones marked site lines, including the bell-tower of the Augustinian *doctrina* San Andrés Mixquic located southeast of Xochimilco. There is a stone with the face of Tláloc in the bell-tower staircase, and flowers and *chalchihuitl* on the upper corners of the tower. Wake suggested that one site line was to the Cerro Cuilama that may have been used locally for the rites that initiated the rainy season and continued to be a ritual site following the Spanish conquest. The stones in the upper tower may also have been a solar market for April 18 to signal preparations for the rituals associated with the rainy season.[26] For the majority of the people who were farmers the rituals associated with rain and the fertility of the soil were the most important, and the Christian gods did not provide sustenance.

This echoed the sentiment of one traditional religious leader brought before the inquisition in the 1530s. The defendant Mixcoatl asserted that the missionaries did not provide for the physical needs of the natives because:

> …they do not know us and we do not know them [the missionaries]. Did our grandfathers and our fathers perhaps know these Fathers? Did they perhaps see what they preach, and what is that God they mention? This is not so, for they lie. We eat what the gods give us; they sustain you, and bring you up.[27]

The missionaries and their deity could not automatically replace pre-Hispanic deities that had provided rain and harvests to Mesoamerican society for centuries. Inquisition and Crown officials relied on the threat of

[25] Ibid., 161-169.
[26] Ibid., 168.
[27] Quoted in Tavárez, *The Invisible War*, 43.

Figure 68: An embedded stone with the face of Tláloc. Photograph courtesy of Eleanor Wake.

Figure 69: An embedded flower stone on the upper bell-tower.

punishment in the face of the failure to win the meaningful conversion of the native populations, because they could not automatically replace the old gods in the hearts and minds of the people. The Mesoamerican religious tradition had room for the incorporation of new gods, but not to the exclusion of the old ones as the missionaries expected and demanded.

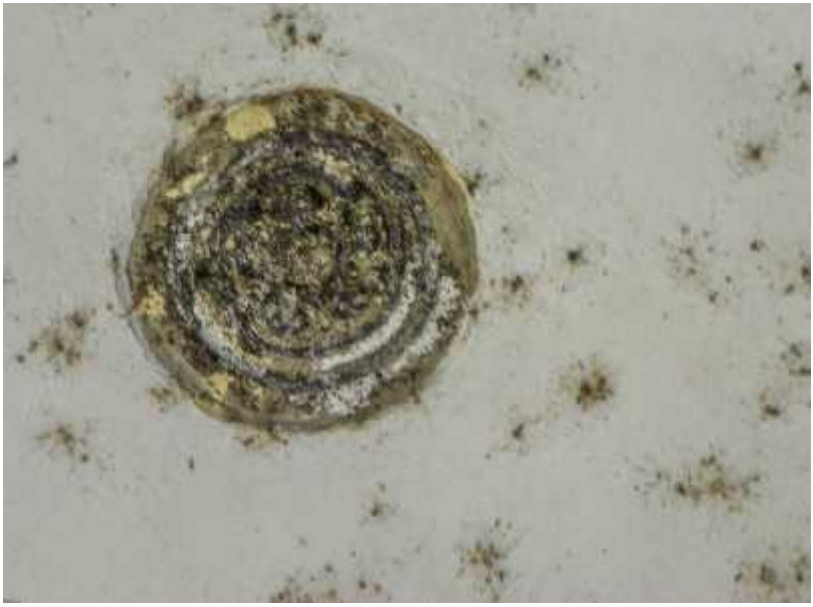

Figure 70: An embedded *chalchihuitl* stone in the lower bell-tower.

Embedded stones may have also served to mark and convert what ostensibly was a Christian sacred space into one with a dual meaning, in this case associated with the deities Tláloc and Xipe Tótec. It was a common pre-Hispanic practice to decorate temples with ritually significant stones, and the bell-tower at Mixquic offers an example of this practice following the introduction of Iberian Catholicism. In addition to the stones that Wake identified on the upper tower, there are flower and *chalchihuitl* stones in the lower tower, and particularly in a section of the *portería* underneath the tower where there are also the remains of a mural that depicts Jesus and angels. The inclusion of the pre-Hispanic stones marked this as the sacred space of the Christian gods along with Tláloc and Xipe Tótec in a belief system that incorporated the old and new deities.

Mixquic is not an isolated example of the incorporation of pre-Hispanic stones in churches and related structures. There are examples in Xochimilco. There is a series of stones in the nave of the *doctrina* church San Bernardino de Siena Xochimilco most likely taken from the temple the Franciscans chose as the site for the mission. The stones are representations of skulls and flowers related to the pre-Hispanic temple that was believed to be a portal to the underworld.[28] They are a unique example of embedded stones found in the interior of a church, since in the majority of cases they are found on exterior walls. The even spacing of the stones supports the contention that their placement was not random.

Figure 71: San Bernardino de Siena Xochimilco.

[28] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*, 138-140.

Figure 72: The interior of the church.

Figure 73: An embedded stone depicting a skull.

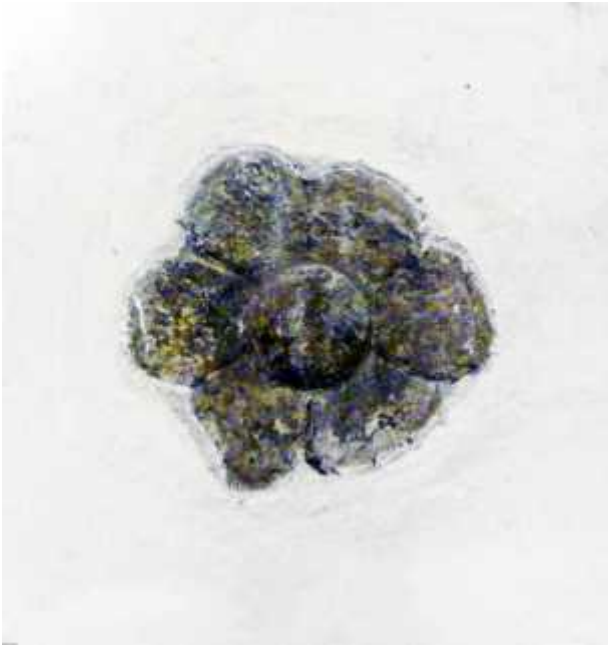

Figure 74: An embedded flower stone.

Several *barrio* chapels in Xochimilco contain clusters of embedded stones aligned in such a way that they also were not randomly placed. One example is the chapel of Dolores Xaltocan. There is a group of three stones at the rear of the bell-tower, and another at the back of the chapel. The stones on the bell-tower include *chalchihuitl* associated with Tláloc and a flower which was a symbol of Xipe Tótec. The chapel of San Juan Tlaltentli has several clusters of stones also aligned in a way that wass not random, including one group that are in a straight line. There are flowers and *chalchihuitl*, and a head of a native man. Wake analyzed the site lines of the embedded stones in the chapel of Dolores Xaltocan, and identified five alignments with important sites in the sacred landscape.[29]

[29] Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 166.

Figure 75: Three embedded stones at the rear of the bell-tower of Dolores Xaltocan.

Figure 76: An embedded stone of a corn plant at the rear of Dolores Xaltocan.

Figure 77: The barrio chapel San Juan Tlaltentli.

Figure 78: Embedded stones: a *chalchihuitl* amd the head of a native man.

Figure 79: Embedded stones: a snail, a cross, and a flower.

Wake also analyzed the site lines from a cluster of three stones in the bell-tower of the Franciscan *doctrina* San Luis Obispo Tlalmanalco (Edo. de Mexico), and suggested the site line was to the Cerro de Tepozteco in

Morelos.[30] In a recent study I suggested a possible alternative of a site line to a nearby mountain known locally as the "Hill of the Stone."[31] There are other embedded stones in the lateral and rear walls of the church that include *chalchihuitl* associated with Tláloc and a flower which was a symbol of Xipe Tótec. Tlalmanalco is located in what was a particularly important sacred landscape close to the Cerro de Tláloc which was the site of the principal temple to the rain deity and the site of an important ritual that marked the beginning of the rainy season. It is also close to the two volcanoes important in astronomical observations and marking sacred time.[32]

Figure 80: San Luis Obispo Tlalmanalco.

The indigenous leaders of communities also incorporated pre-Hispanic iconography in their structures. The *tecpan* structures in several communities offer evidence of this. One is the *tecpan* in Meztitlán (Hidalgo). There is a mural depicting an eagle grasping a scorpion which was a representation of a pulque deity. A second is the *tecpan* in Tlayacapan (Morelos). There are embedded pre-Hispanic stones on the upper façade of the building, and a group of seven of the stones are aligned in a straight line. The embedded

[30] Ibid., 166.
[31] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*, 91-93.
[32] Ibid., 94-95.

stones include that include *chalchihuitl* associated with Tláloc and flowers associated with Xipe Tótec.[33]

Figure 81: Three pre-Hispanic embedded stones in the bell-tower forming a site line to a local sacred mountain.

Figure 82: Embedded *chalchihuitl* stone in the lateral wall of San Luis Obispo church.

[33] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*, 108-110.

A Mural in the Casa de la Cacica

The *casa de la cacica* (Teposcolula, Oaxaca) discussed above also incorporates pre-Hispanic iconography. It was an *aniñe* or the residence of a ruling lineage. I previously discussed the structure in connection with the design element located on the upper façade, what James Kiracofe identified as a "disk frieze" and what I suggested was a form of *chalchihuitl* associated with Tláloc. Similar design elements were found on other *tecpan* structures, such as Tlatelolco and Mexico-Tenochtitlán. A similar design element is found on the upper façade of the ruins of a *barrio* chapel located in what today is the municipal cemetery (see Figures 83-84). It is a representation of a flower and a symbol of Xipe Tótec.

As already discussed in the previous chapter, the Dominicans had Yucundáa relocated from its mountain-top location to the valley floor, and developed a new urban plan and directed the construction of a new sacred complex. The *cacica* collaborated with this plan, and had her new residence built a short distance from the *doctrina* complex. The monumental *capilla de indios* is one of the principal features of the *doctrina* complex, and sits next to the baroque-style church (see Figures 85-86). A mural uncovered in the *casa de la cacica* appears to be a representation of the *capilla de indios* and of the church when first constructed in the mid-sixteenth century (see Figure 87).[34] There is a second mural fragment in the same structure (see Figure 88), and both are unique because of the use of crimson red which, as noted above, was one of the basic colors use to depict the pre-Hispanic sacred. The murals in the *casa de la cacica* may have documented the creation of the new community and sacred complex. The mural program employed pre-Hispanic iconographic norms, and not European.

[34] This is the hypothesis of Richard Perry in his "Colonial Mexico" blog: http://colonialmexico.blogspot.mx/2016/09/arts-of-oaxaca-teposcolula-and-its.html. Perry also suggests that the church was later rebuilt.

Figure 83: Ruins of a barrio chapel located in the municipal cemetery of Atotonilco de Tula (Hidalgo).

Figure 84: Detail of the design element.

Figure 85: The *capilla de indios.*

Convent murals employing European iconographic norms frequently employed black as the base color, and not crimson red. Typical is the mural program in the *sala de profundis* of the Franciscan *doctrina* San Miguel Huejotzingo (Puebla). Figure 89 shows a detail of one section of a mural depicting the life of Saint Francis. The Calpulalpan map mural discussed above is another example. There are also examples of polychrome mural programs that employed crimson red, but generally to depict the demon as in the case of the depiction of hell in the "open chapel" murals at Actopan (Hidalgo), or in the *portería* at Izamal (Yucatan).

Figure 86: The *Casa de la Cacica.*

The "tree of life" mural in the *portería* of the Augustinian *doctrina* San Mateo Apóstol Atlatlahucan (Morelos) is a notable exception that also incorporates pre-Hispanic iconographic norms similar to those employed in the Culhuacán *tebaída* murals and in the *casa de la cacica*. The mural depicts Saint Augustine and different important Augustinian figures. The background color is turquoise blue similar to the color employed in the Culhuacán murals. Saint Augustine holds a book which is a representation of his text "The City of God Against Pagans" (***De Civitate Dei contra***

Paganos), and above it a depiction of a church, but the church is painted in pink and not colors typical of European iconography. This is similar to the *relación geográfica* map of Acapistla (Yecapixtla), also located in Morelos, that shows the priory church San Juan Bautista in a stylized form and painted in pink.[35]

Figure 87: Mural in the *casa de la cacica* of the church and *capilla de indios*.

[35] Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 19.

Figure 88: A second mural in the *casa de la cacica*.

Figure 89: Detail of a mural in the *sala de profundis* of the Franciscan *doctrina* San Miguel Huejotzingo (Puebla) depicting the life of Saint Francis. It is painted in black, which was typical of many sixteenth century murals.

Figure 90: The “tree of life” mural at the Augustinian doctrina Atlatlahucan (Morelos).

Figure 91: Detail of the mural showing a church painted using pre-Hispanic iconographic norms.

The above discussion of iconographic evidence of the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs following the Spanish conquest of central Mexico provides context for a discussion of the evangelization of the Sierra Gorda region during the tenure of the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando. The Pames and Jonaces did not build monumental religious architecture, and there is no evidence that they incorporated pre-Hispanic iconography in the churches and new sacred complexes the Franciscans had built. However, as is discussed below, there is evidence of the survival of the old beliefs some 200 years after the first missionaries entered the region.

Evangelization in the Sierra Gorda Missions

In his short report on the Chichimecas, Guillermo de Santa María wrote that:

> Of their rites and customs they do not have idolatry or pyramids [cués], or any type of idolatry sacrifices and prayers. At most there are dialogues [exclamaciones] to some stars in the sky to be freed from thunder and lightning.[36]

Later missionaries were to discover that, at least in the case of the Pames that lived in the Sierra Gorda region, religious beliefs were more complex, and they maintained temples and had idols, such as idols of the fertility deity *Cachum.*

The evangelization of the Sierra Gorda stared in the 1530s and 1540s, and continued up until the end of the colonial period in the early nineteenth century. Despite efforts to change their way of life, the Pames and Jonaces frequently resisted or at best settled on missions only for short periods of time. The Augustinian responses to the report written by José de Escandón and his critique of the Augustinian mission program provide a clear picture of the status of evangelization efforts at the point of the transfer of the Augustinian missions to the Franciscans. In a letter directed to José De Escandón, Lucas Cabeza de Vaca, O.S.A., the last Augustinian stationed on the mission at Xalpa, identified the pattern of Pames resistance to evangelization. He noted that many Pames did not come to catechism or mass, and that non-attendance was particularly a problem at the *visitas* of Pisquintla and Amatlán. Moreover, Pames continued to stage ritual dances at which they consumed wine and *tepache* (a fermented alcoholic beverage). Cabeza de Vaca suggested that two or three soldiers

[36] Santa María, *Guerra,* 198.

be stationed at Xalpa to help force the Pames to congregate on the mission.[37]

José Francisco de Landa wrote the Augustinian response to José De Escandón's 1743 report. De Landa's document echoed the frustration of the Augustinians, and conflicts between the missionaries and Spanish settlers, and particularly hacienda owners. José De Landa highlighted problems with two hacienda owners. The first was Cayetano de la Barreda, who also held the title of *protector de indios*. The Augustinians claimed that De la Barreda had not supported their mission, and also noted that he had some 300 mules pastured on mission land at Pacula. The report further claimed that the Jonaces who lived at Pacula returned to the mountains because Spaniards had usurped their lands.[38] Moreover, José De Landa complained that De la Barreda provided soldiers to help the Franciscans force Jonaces to settle on Vizarrón, but did not provide the same assistance to the Augustinians.[39] The second hacienda owner was Gaspar Fernández de la Rama, who owned the *trapiche* (sugar mill) and hacienda at Concá, close to the *visita* of Xalpa mission. Fernández de la Rama reportedly employed Pames, and provided his workers with alcohol. José De Landa's report also alleged that Fernández de la Rama forced natives to work on his mill and hacienda.[40]

The report also challenged José De Escandón's contention that the Augustinians had failed to teach the Pames and Jonaces Catholic doctrine. The report charged that the Jonaces living on the Dominican missions of San Miguelito and Soriano, the Franciscan missions San José de Vizarrón, San Pedro Tolimán, San Juan Bautista Xichú de Indios, and the Jesuit mission San Luis de la Paz also did not know doctrine.[41] As the report emphasized, "…the Indians that don't know the doctrine are the *mecos* that are dispersed throughout the mountains."[42] However, the defensive tone of José de Landa's report and the finger pointing masked the reality that the Pames and Jonaces resisted the mission program of directed social change and evangelization regardless of the order that supplied missionaries, and preferred to live on small settlements in the mountains.

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[37] Lucas Cabeza de Vaca, O.S.A. to José de Escandón, Xalpa, January 23, 1743, in Alipio Ruiz Zavala, O.S.A., *Historia de la provincia agustina del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México,* 2 volúmess (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1984), I: 530-531.

[205] José Francisco de Landa, Mexico City, July 11, 1743, in Ibid., I:536.

[39] Ibid., I: 538.

[40] Ibid., I: 544.

[41] Ibid., I: 535.

[42] Ibid., I: 544.

José de Escandón sent soldiers to try to convince the Pames and Jonaces to settle on the missions, but many reportedly did not want to, and did not want to learn doctrine nor have their children catechized.[43] However, once the Franciscans established the five missions, they resettled thousands of Pames, often by force. Local officials sent soldiers to the mountains to burn the residences of the Pames to pressure them to relocate to the mission communities.

A 1752 incident that Junípero Serra, O.F.M. reported, the discovery and destruction of the temple dedicated to *Cachum*, points to another form of Pames resistance to the imposition of a new religion and world view, and this some 200 years following the first visits by missionaries to the region and eight years following the establishment of the five Franciscan missions. Francisco Palou, O.F.M., described the discovery and destruction of the site. The Pames had incorporated Spanish elements into the rites associated with the deity as seen in the practice of making offerings in the form of paper.

> The name which they gave to this idol in the native tongue was Cachum that is Mother of the Sun, who was venerated as a god. An old Indian took care of it and exercised the office of minister to the demon, and there the people would come in order to ask the Mother of the Sun for any remedy for which they were in need, such as rain for their crops, or health in times of sickness, or good luck in their journeys, or success in war, or the obtaining of a wife. In order to obtain these things they would come to the old man with a piece of white paper in their hand on which nothing was written, as they did not know either how to read or write, but which served as a means of communication. As soon as the false priest received this the parties were considered as thereby married. Whole basketfuls of these papers were found, together with a great many small idols, and these were all burned up with the exception of the principal idol. The later was regarded by the old man who took care of it as very sacred, and he kept it covered up and hidden away and allowed only a few people to see it, and then only to such of the pagans as came in pilgrimages from long distances to worship and to bring their votive offerings and to ask for help in their necessities.[44]

Pames who had been baptized gave Serra a statue of *Chacum* that the Franciscan in turn took to the apostolic college of San Fernando as a

[43] Ibid., I: 544.

[44] George Wharton James, ed., *Francisco Palou´s Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California* (Pasadena: Private Printing, 1913), 34-35.

trophy of the evangelization campaign.[45] However, the act of taking the statue to Mexico City did not eradicate the fertility religion. Rather, the practice of the fertility religion among the Pames persists, albeit in modified form, today. Archaeologists have documented a complex located on the Cerro de Sapo near Tilaco, used in ritual dances associated with the fertility religion.[46] José Guadalupe Soriano, O.F.M., stationed on Tilaco in the early 1760s noted that:

> They also perform their dances that are called *mitotes* in Castillan…These dances they perform when they plant, when the [corn] in the field is ripening [*en elote*], and when they harvest the corn, which is called *monsegui*, which mean maiden field [*milpa doncella*], and they dance this *mitote* to the music of a small round drum and pipes and with pauses they begin to play sad and melancholic songs [*sones*]; in the middle the shaman [*hechicero*] or *cajoo* sits with a small drum in his hands, and making a thousand grimaces, he fixes his gaze on the [dancers], and with a lot of space they stand and after dancing for many hours they sit on a bench, and with a spine he pierces his calf [*pantorrilla*] and sprinkles that blood on the field as a blessing.[47]

A modified form of the ritual fertility dance purists to this day at Tilaco, and is staged to coincide with the harvest. While essentially pre-Hispanic, the dance is cloaked in Catholic trappings. For example, the dancers confess and take communion before dancing. However, the dance remains indigenous and essentially non-Catholic.[48] At about the same time (mid eighteenth century) a native named Francisco Andrés lead rituals at San Juan Bautista Xichú de Indios based on but that also paralleled Catholic mass. The parallel rituals included the use of peyote also known as Rosa María, and corn tortillas instead of the host. Francisco Andrés also declared himself to be the *Cristo Viejo* ("Old Christ"). Francisco Andrés was involved in this parallel religion from the 1730s to the 1760s.[49]

In 1752, the Franciscans also reported what they identified as the "horrible crimes of sorcery, witchcraft, devil worship, and they have pacts

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[45] Ibid., 35.

[46] María Teresa Muñoz Espinosa and José Carlos Castañeda Reyes, "Los Bailes" un santuario para el culto de la fertilidad en la Sierra Gorda de Querétaro, Mexico," *Arqueología* 40 (enero-abril, 2009), 153-177.

[47] Quoted in ibid., 172.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Lara Cisneros, "La domesticación del cristianismo," 180-186. María Teresa Muñoz Espinosa and Juan Carlos Castañeda Reyes, "La diosa Chacum, un numen de la fertilidad de la Sierra Gorda queretana," *Arqueología* 38 (mayo-agosto, 2008), 51-64.

with the devil and others" by settlers and some natives. Serra specifically named two women that included Melchora de los Reyes Acosta and Cayetana. Serra described the activities of:

> a large group of *gente de razón* ["people of reason"-non-indigenous] at the mission [Xalpa], that is to say non-Indians, engaged in these activities (although some Indians also are involved). These *gente de razón* fly through the air at night and are in the habit of meeting in a cave in a hill near a rancho named El Saucillo. This rancho, which is at the core of these missions, is where they worship and offer sacrifices to the demons, who appear in the form of *chivatos* and other things of that sort.[50]

The persistence of traditional practices alongside Catholicism was common in Mesoamerica and beyond the Chichimeca frontier, and, as discussed above, included the incorporation of pre-Hispanic religious iconography related to fertility and other similar themes in ostensibly Catholic and other colonial structures. One example comes from Sonora in the eighteenth century. The design element on the façade of the church of the Jesuit mission at Opodepe includes representations of the pre-Hispanic fertility deity known as the "Flute Player."[51] The mostly Spanish-born Franciscan missionaries faced the challenge of popular beliefs that did not conform to Catholic orthodoxy. It was this reality that the Franciscans attempted to eliminate in the Sierra Gorda with mixed results.

What evangelization methods did the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando employ on the Sierra Gorda missions? José de Escandón's critique of the Augustinians called for a new approach to evangelization that implied greater social control of the Pames and Jonaces. The handful of existing reports on the missions provide clues to the methods used, methods that the same group of Franciscans later employed when they assumed responsibility for the former Jesuit missions in Baja California in 1768 and on the California missions established after 1769. The Franciscans placed greater emphasis on promoting the economic dependence of the Pames and Jonaces, which was also seen as the key to keeping the natives congregated on the missions. The Franciscans attempted to transform the natives into sedentary agriculturalists. The missionaries required them to work on communal projects that included agriculture,

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[50] Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkiewicz, *Junípero Serra: California, Indians, and the Transformation of a Missionary* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 92-93. The authors translated the 1752 letter from Serra to the inquisition dated September 1, 1752 that brought the allegations of what the Franciscan identified as demon worship.

[51] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*, 107-122.

tending livestock, and building projects. Moreover, the Franciscans assigned the individual heads of household individual subsistence plots where they reportedly grew corn and frijol for their own subsistence.[52] The Franciscans had communal crops stored in a granary under their control, and distributed a daily food ration.[53] The purpose of the food ration was to prevent the Pames from leaving in search of food, and to enhance economic dependence on the missions.

The Franciscans concentrated their evangelization efforts on children, which was a common mission strategy. It was easier to indoctrinate children. Moreover, the persistence of pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and the pattern of resistance to evangelization demonstrate that it was difficult to convince adults to abandon their belief system. In the daily routine on the missions the Franciscans had the adults brought to the church before sunrise for catechism where they learned basic points of doctrine, and prayers and statements of faith through rote memorization and repetition. Following catechism the adults went to work. Children above the age of four attended catechism twice daily in the morning and afternoon.[54]

What the reports did not describe are the resources used in attempting to teach the natives basic Catholic doctrine. However, the Franciscan most likely employed the same techniques pioneered by missionaries in the sixteenth century forward. It was common to study native languages and prepare grammar studies and vocabulary lists in order to translate doctrinal guides into native languages. However, key Christian concepts could not easily be translated, and commonly were introduced in Spanish or Latin.[55] These key culturally embedded concepts were perhaps the most difficult doctrinal element to teach. Some missionaries learned native languages,

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[52] José Ortés de Velasco, O.F.M. to Juan Figueras, O.F.M., Querétaro, December 5, 1746, in Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 213.

[53] The series of reports on the missions from 1758 described this practice. See, for example, Joachín Fernández, O.F.M., Concá, October 11, 1758, Razón del estado que ha tenido y tiene esta Misión del glorioso principe Señor San Miguel de Concá, in ibid., 225.

[54] Juan Ramos de Lora, O.F.M. and Antonio Paterna, O.F.M., Tancoyol, October 13, 1758, Razón individual y verídica de el estado de esta Misión de la Virgen Santísima de la Luz de Tancoyol, in ibid., 227.

[55] For a study of Franciscan studies of Otopame languages see Joaquín García-Medall,. "Los franciscanos y el estudio de las lenguas otomangueanas en Nueva España (s. XVIII)." *consultado en línea [14.06. 2011]*.[url: http://www.traduccion-franciscanos.uva.es/archivos/3.Garcia-Medall.Lenguas%20indigenas.pdf]. Also see Otto Zwartjes, editor, *Las Gramáticas Misioneras de Tradición Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Amsterdam: Ediciones Rodopi B.V., 2000), and particularly Yolanda Lastra, "El arte de la lengua Otomí de Fray Pedro de Cáceres," 97-106.

but those that did not relied on translators, which posed other problems. Neophytes may not have learned the doctrinal points as the missionaries intended, or worse interpreted religious concepts in line with their own established belief system.

Missionaries employed visual guides in the process of indoctrination. In the sixteenth century visual aids commonly took two forms: pictorial catechisms translated into native languages such as Náhuatl, and murals painted in the public spaces of convents such as in open chapels. One example is a sixteen century pictorial catechism written in Náhuatl that explains the trinity and the humanity of Jesus, and the Immaculate Conception and virginal birth of Jesus to Mary. The document presents these concepts in simple terminology for a general audience.[56] Another example of a visual aid is the mural program in the open chapel at the Augustinian *doctrina* at Actopan (Hidalgo). The missionaries introduced rituals that were in effect a form of public theater to replace similar pre-Hispanic rituals. Processions were important prior to the conquest, and the missionaries introduced several types of processions. One example in the central Mexican *doctrinas* was the *santo entierro* procession staged during Easter Week (usually on Good Friday) to re-enact the lowering of Jesus's body from the cross and it being carried to the tomb. *Cofradias* (confraternities-lay brotherhoods) often organized the processions. Another form was the penitential procession in which penitents engaged in self-flagellation to scourge their bodies of sin. Penitential processions were often staged at moments of crisis such as during epidemics, and some *santo entierro* processions also included self-flagellation.[57]

The Franciscan reports do not specifically mention the organization of processions in the Sierra Gorda missions, but there is indirect evidence of the practice. The central Mexican convent complexes included small chapels usually located at the four corners of the atrium that were known as *capillas posa*. Processions generally started in the church, and then exited and moved counter-clockwise around the atrium. The procession stopped at each of the *capillas* where the missionary presented a mini-sermon on a doctrinal point, or prayers. Modern-day processions follow the same practice. The five Franciscan mission building complexes have experienced change over more than two centuries. However, *capillas posa*

[56] Miguel León-Portilla, *Catecismo náhuatl en imágenes* (Mexico, D.F.: Cartón y Papel de Mexico, SA, 1979). Also see Louise Burkhart, "The "Little Doctrine" and Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 94:2 (2014), 167-206. Burkhart argues for a later date for the so-called testerian manuscripts.

[57] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*, 150-158.

still exist at Tilaco and Tancoyol missions, and most likely existed at the other three missions.

Figure 92: *Capillas posa* at Tilaco mission.

The Franciscans maintained registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials. What information do the baptismal registers contain? The amount of information varies from site to site, and depending on what each missionary chose to record. A baptismal entry from 1763 from the Sierra Gorda mission Tancoyol was typical. The translation of the entry reads:

> On the eighth day of the month of February of One Thousand, Six Hundred and Sixty Three in the Church of the Holiest Virgin of the Light of Tancoyol I solemnly baptized a *Parvulo* [young or new-born child] who was born at about twelve at night, legitimate son of Diego Lucas Ojeda and of Maria Ana Ojeda his legitimate wife, Pame Indians of this Mission of the *barrio* of Soyapilca. The said *Parvulo* was named Juan Tomas Ojeda; his Godparents were Martin Pirineo and his Wife Maria Agustina, both Pame Indians of this Mission of the New *barrio* here, who I admonished of the Spiritual Relationship and Obligation they had contracted, and to attest I signed it in this [Mission] of Tancoyol on the referenced day, month, and year.
> Fr. Antonio Paterna[rubric][58]

[58] Tancoyol Baptismal Register, Landa de Matamoros Parish Archive, Landa de Matamoros, Querétaro.

The baptismal entry identified the parents of the new-born child, their residence in one of the *barrios* or neighborhoods of the mission community, the approximate time of birth, and the names of the God Parents that can be used to reconstruct social relationships in the missions. A perusal of the sacramental registers can also be used to establish the tenure of the missionaries, since they signed each entry. The Tancoyol baptismal register also records the transition in 1770 from the Franciscan missionaries to the administration of secular parish priests.

Imperial politics resulted in the secularization of the five Sierra Gorda mission in 1770. Three years earlier the Crown ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish territories, and the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando replaced them in the Baja California missions. Secular priests assumed responsibility for the five missions. However, despite the claims of the Franciscans, the Pames and Jonaces had acquired only a very thin veneer of Christianity during their 26 year tenure. Groups of Jonaces and Pames continued to live in dispersed settlement patterns, or abandoned the missions such as the group of Jonaces that fled from Vizarrón in 1748. The process of evangelization was incomplete.

The Franciscans established several missions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in an attempt to congregate groups of Jonaces and Pames. In 1776, José Guadalupe Soriano, O.F.M., who already had experience at Tilaco, established La Purísima Concepción de Bucareli mission at a site near the former Dominican mission at Ranas. Soriano was a veteran missionary who had previously been stationed on Jiliapa mission administered by the apostolic college of Pachuca. He attempted to congregate Jonaces and Pames. Soriano later relocated the mission to a site known as Plátano not far from the former Dominican mission at Pinol de Amoles. In 1793, the mission had a population of 291, mostly Jonaces and other Chichimecas. The church reportedly was a structure of stone and adobe.[59] A second example was La Purísima Concepción de Arnedó established by the Franciscans in the first years of the nineteenth century at a site located between San Luis de la Paz and Xichú de Indios (construction of the church began around 1808). The Franciscans attempted to congregate Pames on the new mission.[60]

[59] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 153-158.
[60] Gerardo Lara Cisneros, Personal Communication, February 23, 2015.

Figure 93: La Purísima Concepción de Arnedó (Arnedó, Guanajuato).

Evidence does not exist to measure the degree of success of the Franciscans effort to impose a new religion and world view on the Pames in the Sierra Gorda, other than their own assertions that the neophytes knew prayer and doctrine learned through rote memorization and repetition. José Guadalupe Soriano, O.F.M., rejected the claim of conversion, and instead documented the persistence of pre-Hispanic beliefs. In 1767, he wrote that: "Most of them are inclined to idolatry, they still have many abuses, and most of them still believe in shaman (*hechiceros*) and charlatans (*embusteros*).[61] The Franciscans had failed to achieve the objective of conversion.

The Economy of the Sierra Gorda Missions

The Franciscans organized the mission economy on the Sierra Gorda missions to enhance the economic dependence of the Pames on the missions as a strategy of social control and evangelization. The Franciscans wanted the Pames to remain living on the missions, and to not return to their traditional way of life.

[61] Quoted in Lara Cisneros, *El cristo viejo*, 76.

The existing reports on the Sierra Gorda missions provide few details regarding the mission economies. However, we can construct a general picture of a dual economy as also functioned on the Paraguay missions. When the Franciscans established the missions in 1744, the act of foundation included the recognition of a grant of land that the missionaries were to administer on behalf of the neophytes. Francisco Romero, for example, confirmed the grant of land at the establishment of Tilaco mission on May 2, 1744. The grant included a spring and a lake in Tilaco Valley, and lands that measured one league (2.6 miles) in each direction (north, south, east, and west). The land grant provided abundant irrigated and unirrigated lands.[62]

The neophytes provided labor for communal production. This included agriculture, tending the mission livestock, and for construction projects. The main crops grown on communal lands were corn and *frijol* (pinto beans), and the missions had granaries for the storage of communal crops. As already discussed above, the missionaries provided food rations to the needy, and when crop production was sufficient to feed the general population. The missions also had small numbers of livestock that were also communal property. A report on Concá, for example, noted that the mission owned 80 yoke of oxen for tilling the fields, and some 300 head of cattle.[63] The inventory prepared in 1770 at the secularization of Tilaco missions recorded a total of 665 cattle and oxen, 44 mules, 101 horses, 2 donkeys, and 703 sheep and goats.[64]

The individual neophyte heads of household received plots of land known as *solares* for the construction of their homes and for agricultural production on their own account. They reportedly produced corn, *frijol*, chile, cotton, sugar cane, and bananas. The Pames disposed of their crops as they wanted, and many sold surpluses in local markets. Individual families also owned small numbers of livestock including fowl, cattle, goats and sheep, and swine. The Pames also produced artisanries for sale locally, such as baskets made from palm fronds. Both men and women produced artisanries, but the mission reports noted that women marketed their products while the men tended the crops.[65]

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[62] Meade, *Huasteca*, 408.

[63] Joachín Fernández, O.F.M., Concá, October 11, 1758, Razón del estado que ha tenido y tiene esta Misión del glorioso príncipe Señor San Miguel de Concá.

[64] Juan Enrique Ponce Olguín, "San Francisco de Tilaco: Su reorganización como misión franciscana en el siglo XVIII," unpublished thesis for the licenciatura, Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, 2015, 73-74.

[65] The series of reports on the missions from 1758 described the mission economy. Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda*, 221-235.

The Sierra Gorda was still a sparsely populated frontier region and land was abundant. The parcels the neophyte heads of household received from the mission lands were large enough for their houses and for growing crops and keeping livestock. The officials who oversaw the secularization of the missions confirmed the lands to the heads of household. The size of the parcels varied from mission to mission, and depended on the topography (flat or hilly) and quality and characteristics of the lands (irrigated or unirrigated, rocky) at each site. For example, Tilaco and Tancoyol are located in valleys with level land, whereas Xalpa is located in a narrower valley. The heads of household at Tilaco received parcels that measured 858 square *varas* (602.9 square meters), and the land most likely was of higher quality than the larger parcels granted at other missions, such as at Xalpa. At Tancoyol the parcels measured 1,400 square *varas* (984 square meters), at Landa 1,200 square *varas* (842.2 square meters), at Concá the parcels measured 1,250 square *varas* (877.8 square meters), and at Xalpa 2,400 square *varas* (1,685 square meters).[66]

Conclusions

The goal of the Franciscan mission program was to create stable communities of Christians and loyal subjects of the King. The missionaries directed the construction of building complexes with the church at the center of nucleated communities. The Pames living on the Sierra Gorda missions continued to live in traditional housing made from poles and thatch. At the point of the secularization of the missions the Franciscans had not had European-style housing built. The mission economies generally provided for the needs of mission administration, and the individual families produced for their own consumption or sold surpluses. On the Sierra Gorda missions, the Franciscans provided food rations as a strategy to keep the Pames on the missions. Because of the long history of non-cooperation of the Jonaces and Pames with the missionaries and the government mandate to congregate the natives and keep them on the missions, the Franciscans attempted to enhance economic dependence as a means of achieving this goal.

The extent of the evangelization of the native populations is one aspect of the creation of utopia that was problematic. It is difficult to measure the beliefs of the natives, and if they embraced the new faith at all. The

[66] María Teresa Álvarez Icaza Longoria, "Un cambio apresurado: La secularización de las misiones de la Sierra Gorda (1770-1782)," *Letras Históricas* 3 (otoño-invierno, 2010), 28-30.

missionaries measured conversion by compliance with sacraments, and generalizations about the fervor of the converts, their attendance at mass, and the recitation of prayers and statements of faith learned through rote memorization. In the Sierra Gorda missions there is ample evidence that the Pames did not embrace Catholicism in the ways that the missionaries intended and believed, and continued to practice their traditional religion nearly 200 years after the first missionaries entered the region. The creation of communities from whole cloth was also a part of the overall strategy to change their way of life. However, the Franciscans ultimately failed to create stable communities.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS ON THE SIERRA GORDA MISSIONS

This chapter documents demographic patterns on the Sierra Gorda missions. Augustinian, Franciscan, and Dominican missionaries attempted to evangelize the nomadic natives living in the Sierra Gorda region for nearly two centuries. Small colonies of sedentary natives coexisted with bands of nomadic natives collectively known by the Spanish by the derogatory term *Mecos Barbaros*. They lived in small bands scattered across the mountainous region, and the missionaries failed to convince them to abandon their way of life and settle on permanent mission communities.

In 1743, José de Escandón conducted a survey of the Sierra Gorda region. Lucas Cabeza de Vaca, O.S.A., administered the Augustinian mission at Xalpa. The mission district consisted of Xalpa, the settlements of San Juan Pisquintla San Juan Sagav, Atamcama, Santiago de Tongo, Santo Tomás de de Sollapilca, San Agustín Tancoyol, San Nicolás Malitlaand, San Antonio Amatlán, and San Nicolás Concá, which was also an hacienda that belonged to one Gaspar Fernández del Pilar de Rama. There were 13 small settlements described as *rancheriías.* The Augustinian churches were described as *jacales***,** or wattle and daub construction. De Escandón described and enumerated the missions in the region staffed by Dominicans, Franciscans, and the Augustinians. The Augustinians administered several larger Pames settlements classified as *rancherías* that they visited periodically from the missions at Xilitlán, Pacula, and Xalpa.

Fray José Ortés de Velasco, O.F.M., from the Apostolic College of San Fernando, visited the Sierra Gorda in 1739, and in the following year convinced 73 Jonaces to settle on the re-established mission at San José de Vizarrón (previously San José del Llano). The Franciscans from San Fernando administered the mission at Vizarrón differently than did the Franciscans from Pachuca who staffed the Jonaces mission at Tolimán located close to Zimapán. The missionaries expected the Jonaces settled

on Vizarrón to radically change their way of life in a short period of time, and in particular to become a disciplined labor force to work in communal agricultural production and ranching. The Jonaces did not respond well to this approach of directed social-cultural change, and the majority had abandoned the missions by 1748. In response, royal officials sent soldiers to recapture the fugitives, and distributed the natives among *obrajes* (textile mills) in Querétaro as forced laborers. [1] In contrast, the Jonaces at Tolimán continued to collect wild foods, and were not subject to the same pressures to change their way of life and to become a disciplined labor force.[2] The Franciscans from San Fernando experienced a similar problem with the nomadic hunter-gatherer group known as the Guaycuros, who lived on Todos Santos mission in southern Baja California. The Fernandinos tried to convert the Guaycuros into a disciplined labor force after they replaced the Jesuits in Baja California in 1768, but the Guaycuros also resisted the forced and rapid change in life-style. The Franciscans ended up having to hire non-native laborers to work the Todos Santos mission lands.[3]

De Escandón gave the Fernandinos jurisdiction over the Augustinian mission at Xalpa and the *visitas* at Tancoyol and Concá, and ordered the establishment of new missions at Landa and Tilaco. The Franciscans congregated thousands of Pames on the new and reorganized missions. A census prepared in 1744 enumerated 3,767 Pames congregated on the five missions, with the largest number settled on Xalpa.[4] Periodic epidemics decimated the mission populations, and flight was one common response to the outbreak of contagion.

There were two severe epidemic outbreaks in the Sierra Gorda missions during the first two decades of the Franciscan administration. A report drafted about 1748 noted that in four years 1,422 Pames had died at four of the missions (there is no data for Tancoyol).[5] Martín de Heredia, O.F.M., Juan de Urinate, O.F.M., and Lucas Ladrón de Guevara, O.F.M., all died during the 1746-1747 outbreak.[6] A smallpox epidemic in 1762

[1] Álvarez Icaza Longoria, "Un cambio apresurado."
[2] Ibid., 25.
[3] Robert H. Jackson, "The Guaycuros, Jesuit and Franciscan Missionaries, and José de Gálvez: The Failure of Spanish Policy in Baja California," *Memoria Americana: Cuadernos de Ethnohistoria* 12, (2004), 221-233.
[4] Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda: Un típico enclave misional*. 95-105.
[5] José Ortés de Velasco [1748], Razón de las misiones que el Colegio de San Fernando tiene en Sierra Gorda, alias Sierra Madre, y el estado que al presente tienen, in Ibid, 215-220.
[6] Ibid, 137.

killed hundreds of Pames, as well as three Franciscan missionaries. Some 200 Pames died from smallpox in 1762 at Tilaco.[7] The Franciscans attempted to maintain the population levels of the missions through the congregation of small numbers of non-Christians, although the populations of the missions slowly declined (see Appendix 1F). However, the fragility of the mission populations becomes evident on examining the net balance between baptisms and burials on the missions. Several reports summarize the total number of baptisms and burials recorded between 1744 and 1764 (see Appendix 1G). Over two decades there were 1,782 more burials than baptisms. During the same period of population of Xalpa dropped from 1,445 in 1744 to 869 in 1762. The recruitment of non-Christians buffered to a certain extent the decline on the other missions. Flight from the missions which reflected the unwillingness of many Pames to abandon their way of life was also a problem.[8]

Burial registers do not exist for the Sierra Gorda missions. However, the extant reports recorded the total number of burials in rough age groups, *párvulos* (under age six) and adults including children over age six. The data for Tancoyol is incomplete, because a fire in April of 1747 destroyed the church and the baptismal and burial registers. Burials at Tancoyol between 1747 and 1758 totaled 292 adults and 239 *párvulos*.[9] The 1758 report for Landa recorded burials of 303 adults and 329 *párvulos* between 1744 and 1758.[10] The total reported for Tilaco was 286 burials of adults and 348 of *párvulos* in the same years.[11] Finally, burials at Xalpa totaled 601 adults and 721 *párvulos.*[12] Prior to the concerted effort to congregate the natives on the five Franciscan missions, the Pames lived in a dispersed pattern in small and often isolated settlements in the valleys and mountains. This settlement pattern most likely limited somewhat the effects of epidemics. Once brought to live on larger nucleated communities,

[7] Ibid., 124.
[8] Ibid., 131.
[9] Juan Ramos de Lora, O.F.M., and Antonio Paterna, O.F.M., Tancoyol, October 13, 1758, Razón individual y verídica de el estado de esta Misión de la Virgen Santísima Luz de Tancoyol, in ibid., 226-229.
[10] José Campos, O.F.M., and Miguel de la Campa, Landa, October 14, 1758, Razón individual y verídica de el estado de esta Misión de la Puríssima Concepción de Agua de Landa, in ibid., 230.
[11] Juan Crespi, O.F.M., and Antonio Cruzado, O.F.M., Tilaco, October 13, 1758, Razón del estado que ha tenido y tiene esta Misión de N.S.P. San Francisco del Valle de Tilaco, de indios Pames, in ibid., 232.
[12] José Herrera, Xalpa, October 14, 1758, Razón individual y verídica de el estado de esta Misión de Santiago de Xalpan de indios Pames, sita en la Sierra Gorda, in ibid., 234.

on the other hand, contagion more readily spread from mission to mission and within mission communities and mortality was higher among more of the population, both adults and children that was particularly susceptible because it had not been previously exposed.

Two crude measures show a dynamic with smaller numbers of children in relation to the total population. The first is the calculation of the average family size (A.F.S.), which gives a general idea of family size. Appendix 1H summarizes the A.F.S. on the Sierra Gorda missions in selected years, and in most years showed an average of only one child per family. Families of this size were too small to guarantee the reproduction of the population. The calculation of children (under the age of 15) as a percentage of the total population shows that children constituted a small percentage of the population, and in some instances less than a third of the total. Several factors perhaps explain this pattern. Infant and child mortality rates were likely high, and increases in the number of children resulted from birth rates but also the periodic baptism of small numbers of non-Christians. This last perhaps explains the increase in the percentage relationship of children to the total population at Concá and Landa in the 1760s (see Appendix 1I). In the absence of more complete records, the explanation offered here for the causes of the patterns observed on the Sierra Gorda missions is more a hypothesis.

Comparisons can be made between the Sierra Gorda missions and other missions located on the northern frontier of New Spain with similar types of populations, in this case the Pimeria Alta, Baja California, and California. The natives congregated on the Pimeria Alta missions were sedentary agriculturalists that also practiced seasonal transhumance for the collection of wild plant foods and also for hunting. Periodic epidemics reduced the mission populations that also experienced high infant and child mortality rates. A family reconstitution of a sample of 123 children born on Guevavi-Tumacacori mission in the years 1773-1825 shows that 46 percent died within the first year and only seven percent reached age ten.[13] The Jesuits and later the Franciscans who replaced them following the expulsion maintained the mission populations largely by congregating non-Christians.

The natives living on the Baja California missions were nomadic hunters and gatherers, and more closely resembled the Pames congregated on the Sierra Gorda missions. The populations experienced high epidemic mortality and chronically high infant and child mortality rates, and rapid demographic collapse within several generations. A series of reports

[13] Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*, 65.

prepared by the Jesuit missionaries in 1744 recorded the total number of baptisms at individual missions up to the point of the drafting of the reports, as well as the populations. Baptisms at eight missions reportedly totaled 14,830, and the population of the same missions was 4,220. This indicates a decline of 72 percent from the number of people the Jesuits had baptized.[14] A family reconstitution of Santa Rosalia de Mulege mission showed that of a sample of 142 children born to 75 women between 1771 and 1835, 50 percent died before reaching age one and only six percent lived to age ten.[15] The native populations reached the point of near biological and cultural extinction within 100 to 150 years of the establishment of the first mission in the Peninsula.

The final example is the pattern of high mortality and particularly high infant and child mortality on five missions established in California among the group known today as the Chumash. The populations of the five missions only increased during periods of the resettlement of large numbers of non-Christians, and rapidly declined once the number of new converts settling on the missions dropped. Most children born on the missions did not live to age ten, and the mission populations were not demographically viable. In other words, they did not grow through natural reproduction. They more closely paralleled demographic patterns on the Sierra Gorda missions.[16]

The most complete record among the five Sierra Gorda missions exists for Tilaco and Tancoyol, and includes detailed censuses prepared in 1744 that enables the construction of a detailed profile of the population when the Franciscans arrived, as well as baptismal registers. The 1744 censuses prepared when José de Escandón oversaw the establishment of the five Franciscan missions divided the population into family groups, and also identified widowers and widows and their children as well as single adults. The censuses also differentiated between those couples married by the Catholic Church, and those that were not. The number of cases of relationships of couples not in Church sanctioned marriages totaled 49 at Tancoyol, or 23 percent of the families enumerated. The figures at Tilaco were even higher. Of 184 families enumerated at Tilaco, El Lobo, and Laguna Grande, 121 or 66 percent were not in Church sanctioned marriages. None of those congregated at Tilaco had been married by the Church, whereas the majority at El Lobo and Laguna Grande were. A substantial number of Pames had formed families along traditional lines, and particularly those that preserved their traditional way of life in small

[14] Ibid., 18.
[15] Ibid., 71.
[16] Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival*, 150.

settlements in the mountains. The majority of the couples at Tancoyol, Soyapilca, and El Lobo, and Laguna Grande, communities with a longer period of contact with missionaries and sedentary natives, had been married by the Church. [17]

The act of possession at Tilaco on May 1, 1744, provides more details regarding the family structure and the large numbers of couples in traditional relationships not sanctioned by Catholic marriage some 200 years following the first visits by missionaries to the region. The Augustinians stationed on the *doctrina* at Xilitlán had had jurisdiction over the sedentary natives at El Lobo and Laguna Grande. Luis de Trejo, O.S.A., who presided over the transfer of the Augustinian jurisdiction to the Franciscans, noted that he could not turn the original sacramental registers over to the Franciscans, since they also contained the baptisms, burials, and marriages of the Otomí and Náhuas, who remained under their jurisdiction. The Augustinian offered to have a copy made of the records for the Pames, who were now the Franciscans' responsibility. The same was the case with the church ornaments that the Augustinians retained for their Otomí and Náhuas congregants.[18] A 1571 report on the Augustinian *doctrina* at Xilitlán noted that the population of Tilaco at that time was predominately Otomí, and did not indicate that the Augustinians attempted to evangelize the Pames.[19] It is not clear if the natives enumerated at El Lobo and Laguna Grande were all Pames, or were also Otomies and Náhuas. The Augustinians had had jurisdiction over the valley where the Franciscans established Tancoyol, but did not participate in the establishment of that mission.[20]

The censuses reveal subtle differences in the family structure of the communities enumerated. The majority of couples had no children, or only one or two. Appendices 1J and 1K summarize the information on the size of families. At Tancoyol and Soyapilco, 65 percent and 75 percent of the families respectively had two or fewer children. Similarly, 72 percent of the families at Tilaco had two or fewer children, 65 percent at El Lobo, and 60 percent at Laguna Grande. Two factors most likely explain this pattern. One was the small size of families in nomadic populations, coupled with high infant and child mortality. The Franciscans may have encouraged larger families, but could not solve the problem of high mortality rates.

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[17] Meade, *Huasteca*, 408-413, 425-431.
[18] Ibid., 403-404.
[19] Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion*, 166-167.
[20] Meade, *Huasteca*, 422-423.

To maintain population levels, couples would have to have had two children survive to adulthood, and three or more for population growth. There were a number of larger families with three, four, or five children enumerated in the 1744 censuses. The populations of Tancoyol, Soyapilca, and Tilaco counted 28 percent, 25 percent, and 26 percent of families having three to five children. The populations of El Lobo and Laguna Grande evidenced a somewhat different dynamic with a larger number of families with three or more children; 35 percent and 40 percent respectively. This may indicate a difference between the structures of the population of Otomí and Náhuas.

How did the structure of the populations of Tancoyol and Tilaco compare to the populations of Jesuit missions of lowland South America? Detailed tribute censuses of the Paraguay missions (Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil) also divided the population into family groups. The most valid comparison can be made based on censuses prepared in years that did not evidence mortality crisis. A comparison is made based on a 1759 count of the population of Corpus Christi mission (Misiones, Argentina). Corpus Christi had a high fertility and high mortality population with high birth rates and robust growth. Moreover, it was a young population. Children and adolescents under the age of 19 constituted 58 percent of the population. The family size on the mission ranged from two to nine, and there were families larger than those documented for Tancoyol and Tilaco. Moreover, families with three to seven children constituted 47 percent of all families, a higher percentage than on the two Sierra Gorda missions.[21]

Baptismal registers exist for Tancoyol and Tilaco missions, and provide additional information regarding demographic patterns on the missions. The register for Tancoyol records the first baptisms in 1747, but the Franciscans only started recording complete information on those baptized in 1754. In other words, they only began to record information in the individual baptismal entries as to whether it was a new born child or a non-Christian resettled on the mission. The Franciscans stationed on Tilaco only began to record the complete information in 1753. Therefore, the analysis of baptismal patterns is limited to these years.

Between 1754 and 1770, the year that the Franciscans turned the mission over to parish priests following the secularization of the five Sierra Gorda establishments, they baptized 383 children born on the mission and several other *rancherías* administered from Tancoyol. That was an average of 23 births per year. The summary of the number of burials at Tancoyol indicates that the Franciscans on average buried 39

[21] Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival*, 101-103, 225.

natives per year. The number of deaths was greater than the number of births. There were still a small number of unbaptized natives in the Tancoyol district. The Franciscans baptized 31 adults and 23 young children who were non-Christians. Between 1752 and 1765, the Franciscans stationed on Tilaco recorded 435 births, or an average of 31 per year. The crude birth rate can be calculated for several years. It was 39.1 per thousand population in 1759, 35.3 in 1762, and 45.5 in 1765. The Franciscans recorded an average of 57 burials per year. From 1750 to 1765, the Franciscans baptized 56 adults who previously had not been baptized. Even with the influx of small numbers of non-Christians, the population of Tilaco constantly declined as the number of deaths was consistently greater than the number of births and baptisms of non-Christians.[22]

Conclusions

The analysis of demographic patterns on the Sierra Gorda missions shows the relative fragility of nomadic populations when brought to live on missions administered by missionaries who sought to radically change their way of life. The populations of Pames and Jonaces congregated on the Sierra Gorda missions were not demographically viable. The evidence suggests that the families of nomadic indigenous groups tended to be smaller than those of sedentary natives, as shown through the comparative analysis of the family structure of the mission populations. José de Escandón criticized the Augustinians for having failed to congregate the Pames and Jonaces on the mission communities. However, it was this failure that contributed to the demographic and social-cultural survival of the small bands that lived scattered in the mountains. This dispersed settlement pattern provided some protection against the spread of contagion for some 200 years. Once brought to live on the missions in large communities, however, the Jonaces and Pames experienced high mortality and death rates higher than birth rates in the 1740s, 1750s, and 1760s. Had this pattern persisted, the populations would have faced virtual biological extinction within several generations as occurred, for example, on the Baja California missions populated by nomadic hunters and gatherers living in small bands. The secularization of the Sierra Gorda missions in 1770, however, modified the demographic dynamic, although mortality among the Pames was higher than birth rates even after the Franciscans left the missions.[23]

[22] Ibid., 140-143.
[23] Ibid., 133-143.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Although the record is incomplete, there is evidence to support hypotheses that there were differences in the demographic patterns of the non-sedentary and sedentary indigenous populations in the Sierra Gorda and Paraguay mission frontiers, and other mission frontiers. Non-sedentary populations proved to be demographically fragile, which means that once brought on the missions they failed to grow through natural reproduction, and experienced collapse. The Pames population in the Sierra Gorda had survived several centuries of contact with Spanish settlers and missionaries because they resisted attempts to be relocated to nucleated communities on the model of the *pueblos de indios* in central Mexico. The Pames lived in small hamlets scattered across the rugged mountainous region, and the missionaries who attempted to evangelize them complained that the Pames would not cooperate and come live on the mission communities. However, this pattern of resistance also accounts for their demographic survival, since the dispersed settlement pattern and geographic isolation buffered the population from epidemics. Once congregated, however, the Pames population experience heavy epidemic mortality, and declined. The evidence for the Sierra Gorda missions shows that the Pames mission populations experienced catastrophic epidemic mortality, and higher death rates than birth rates. The congregation of the Pames on the Franciscan missions accelerated the process of demographic collapse, and the same occurred among other non-sedentary indigenous populations.

The demographic patterns on the five Franciscan missions in the Sierra Gorda were not unique. There are many other examples of non-sedentary populations that experienced demographic collapse when brought to live on missions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the frontiers of Mexico there are numerous examples. The Chichimeca groups, including the Pames and Jonaces, disappeared over time. The populations of the Coahuila-Texas frontier, Baja California, and California experienced a similar fate.[1]

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[1] See Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival*, 125-160.

The early missions established beyond the Chichimeca frontier attempted to use the methods and organization already employed in central Mexico. The missionaries also focused on the colonies of sedentary natives established in Chichimeca territory. One strategy was to work closely with the leaders of the indigenous communities. The leaders of the *pueblos de indios* in sixteenth century central Mexico retained local autonomy, and the missionaries grafted their missions onto existing communities and had to establish a working relationship with the indigenous leaders. In the 1520s and 1530s the first generation of Franciscan missionaries attempted to impose religious orthodoxy on indigenous leaders, and this resulted in the executions of *tlatoque* in Tlaxcala orchestrated by Martín de Valencia, O.F.M., in 1527 and culminated with the 1539 execution in Tlatelolco of Don Carlos on the orders of Juan de Zumárraga, O.F.M., who was the first Bishop of Mexico and also had inquisitorial authority. However, the hysteria of the early Franciscan morals campaign threatened the stability of the colonial order being created in central Mexico that relied on the cooperation of indigenous leaders, and the Crown had Zumárraga stripped of his inquisitorial authority and prohibited further executions. Three decades later Diego de |Landa, O.F.M., who orchestrated the *auto de fé* at Maní in the Yucatán in 1562, could not impose the death penalty on the indigenous leaders he accused of idolatry.[2]

The approach of the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando reflected the changing demands of royal bureaucrats who wanted more results and greater accountability on the part of the missionaries. What did this imply? In his 1743 report on the Sierra Gorda missions José de Escandón set the tone for what was to follow, and ironically José de Escandón empowered the Franciscans to take measures that the last Augustinian stationed at Xalpa complained he had been unable to do, namely to force the Pames to congregate on the missions and abandon their traditional religious beliefs. The discovery of the shrine dedicated to *Cachum* in 1752 reflected the problem that José de Escandón's mandate to get the job done was designed to achieve. José de Escandón posted more soldiers in the Sierra Gorda to support the new mission program. Soldiers discovered the shrine by accident when they were burring Pames houses in the mountains, which was one method used to force the Pames to relocate to the missions. Once on the missions the Franciscans imposed tighter measures of social control and the exploitation of labor, and attempted to create dependence on the mission economy as a way to keep the Pames on the missions.

[2] Jackson, *Visualizing the Miraculous*.

The underlying failure of the earlier Sierra Gorda missions was the use of methods adapted from the earlier experience among the sedentary populations of central Mexico, methods that did not work beyond the Chichimeca frontier. The Augustinians, for example, concentrated their missionary activity on colonies of sedentary natives, Náhuas and Otomies, living beyond the frontier at places like Xilitlán.[3] They achieved little success among the non-sedentary Chichimecas, such as the Pames and Jonaces, and the nexus of this failure can be seen when the Franciscans assumed responsibility for the mission at Tilaco. The Augustinians retained responsibility for the sedentary natives who lived in the Tilaco Valley, and proverbially washed their hands of the Pames. The efforts to evangelize the Jonaces proved equally difficult, and Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans established what proved in most cases to be ephemeral missions that lasted for only short periods of time.

What was the outcome of the method José de Escandón and the Franciscans introduced in the Sierra Gorda missions? In the short-run the Pames congregated on the missions, but the secularization of the five Franciscan missions in 1770 effectively ended the mission program after only 27 years. There were still bands of Jonaces and Pames living outside of effective Spanish control, and Franciscans later established several missions in an effort to evangelize them. The experience of the Jonaces was quite different, and reflected the contentious relationship between the natives and Spanish authority. The effort to use military force to congregate the Jonaces in the second decade of the eighteenth century backfired, as it resulted in the destruction of the Dominican mission La Nopalera and the dispersion of the Jonaces congregated on the mission. The Franciscan mission at Vizarrón had a similar fate. The Jonaces congregated there did not respond well to the methods of the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando, and particularly the labor demands. In 1748, the Jonaces abandoned the mission as they had in the past, but in this instance Spanish soldiers tracked many of them down, and consigned them to forced labor in the *obrajes* (textile mills) in Santiago de Querétaro. Some of the fugitive Jonaces resettled on the mission at Tolimán administered by the Franciscans from the apostolic college of Pachuca, who used different methods and methods from the Franciscans from San Fernando.

Junípero Serra, O.F.M., and the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando moved on to the ex-Jesuit mission in Baja California in

[3] On the Augustinian missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier see Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion.*

1768, and a year later participated in the colonization of California. Serra designed the mission program in both regions in conjunction with another royal official, José de Gálvez, who had the same philosophy as José de Escandón, namely to get the job done. This meant to integrate the native populations into colonial society as quickly as possible, and to do so in a cost effective fashion consistent with the Bourbon reform agenda that aimed to make the American territories economically self-sufficient. The outcome in Baja California was similar to the experience of the Jonaces at Vizarrón in the 1740s. The Franciscans, for example, attempted to implement Gálvez's mandate to put the Guaycuros in southern Baja California to work on the well-watered lands of Todos Santos mission, which generated resistance and ended with the government hiring non-natives to work the land. During the Jesuit period the non-sedentary Guaycuros continued to live as they had prior to the arrival of the missionaries, and largely supported themselves by hunting and collecting wild plant foods.

In 1769, Serra and the Franciscans opened a new mission frontier in California, and the Franciscans administered the missions for 69 years. They established a total of 21 missions. Serra and his successors designed a mission program in California based on the methods they first developed in the Sierra Gorda missions, and that also responded to the Bourbon mandate to incorporate the natives into colonial society in an accelerated program that was also designed to put the natives to work to help defray the costs of colonization. Moreover, Serra and the Franciscans imposed their moral and social norms on California natives, and implemented harsh measures of social control that included the use of corporal punishment such as flogging and the segregation of segments of the population and particularly girls and women in unhealthy communal dormitories. The social norms and methods of social control were alien to pre-Hispanic California indigenous culture, and contributed to demographic collapse.[4]

[4] On the organization of the California mission system see Robert H. Jackson, "Population and the Economic Dimension of Colonization in Alta California: Four Mission Communities," *Journal of the Southwest* 33 (1991), 387-439; Robert H. Jackson, "The Changing Economic Structure of the Alta California Missions: A Reinterpretation," *Pacific Historical Review* 61:3 (1992), pp. 387-415; Robert H. Jackson with Anne Gardzina, "Agriculture, Drought, and Chumash Congregation in the California Missions (1782-1834)," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 19 (1999), pp. 69-90; and Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

Serra designed the California mission program on the basis of his earlier experience in the Sierra Gorda missions.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1:
Demographic Indicators of the Sierra Gorda Missions

Appendix 1A: Population of the Augustinian Missions in the Sierra Gorda in 1743

Mission/Visita	Native Group	Number of Families	Population
Xilitlán	Pames	105	
Pacula	Pames	74	304
Tras Pacula	Pames	72	276
Mecatlán de los Montes	Pames	73	282
Epopuzco/Giliapa	Pames	84	372
Xalpa	Nahuas	25	122
Tancoyol	Pames	66	255
Tongo/Agua de Landa	Pames	153	562
Concá	Pames	57	234
Piscuintla	Pames	35	159
Tancama	Pames	161	652
Soyapilca	Pames	100	386
Malila	Pames	147	599
Amatlán	Pames	88	260

Source: Robert H. Jackson, "The Chichimeca Frontier and the Evangelization of the Sierra Gorda, 1550-1770," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 47 (2013), 62.

Appendix 1B: The Dominican Missions in the Sierra Gorda Region, c. 1700

Mission	Heads of Household(Vecinos)/Families	Population
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores Zimapán	120	
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Nopalera	50	
Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo de Guzmán Soriano		600
San José del Llano	70	
San Miguel de la Cruz Milagrosa de Palmas	100	
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Ahuacatlán	50	
Puxinguia	130	
Santa Rosa de las |Minas de Xichú		
Total		3,220#

#Total population excluding Santa Rosa.

Source: Santiago Rodríguez López, O.P., "Los Dominicos en Querétaro: Tierra facunda de vocaciones religiosos," in *Los Dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo Siglos XIX-XX. Actas del quinto Congreso Internacional, Querétaro, Qro (Mexico) 4-8 Septiembre 1995* (Salamanca, Spain: Editorial San Esteban, 1997), 205-206.

Appendix 1C: Population of the Dominican Missions in the Sierra Gorda in 1743

Mission/Visita	Native Group	Number of Families	Population
Santo Domingo de Guzmán Soriano	Otomí Mecos	57 48	160 171
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Ahuacatlán	Jonaces	57	183
San Miguelito	Jonaces	52	224

Source: Robert H. Jackson, "The Chichimeca Frontier and the Evangelization of the Sierra Gorda, 1550-1770," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 47 (2013), 62.

Appendix 1D: Population of the Franciscan Missions in the Sierra Gorda in 1743

Mission/Visita	Native Group	Number of Families	Population
San José Vizarrón	Jonaces	36	121
Tolimán	Jonaces	24	67
San José de Valero, Arroyo Sarco, Mesa Alta#	Jonaces	68	249

#located in the jurisdiction of San Juan Bautista de Xichú de Indios.
Source: Robert H. Jackson, "The Chichimeca Frontier and the Evangelization of the Sierra Gorda, 1550-1770," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 47 (2013), 62

Appendix 1E : The Number of Soldiers stationed in the Sierra Gorda in 1743

Location of Garrison	Number Officers and Soldiers
San Pedro Tolimán	63
Cadereyta	200
San José de Vizarrón	7
Zimapán	47
Pacula	40
Xalpa	30
Between Xalpa and Concá	42
San Juan Bautista de Xichú de Indios	10
Total	439

Source: José de Escandón, Querétaro, February 23, 1743, in Lino Gómez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda: Un típico enclave misional en el centro de Mexico (siglos XVII-XVIII)* (Querétaro: Provincia Franciscana de Santiago, 2011), 197-198.

Appendix 1F: Population of the Sierra Gorda Missions, in selected years

Mission	1744	1746	1758	1761	1764
Xalpa	1,445	1,205	980	985	-
Concá	449	248	423	407	365
Landa	564	401	646	407	537
Tilaco	659	416	894	935	704
Tancoyol	574	207	547	515	253

Source: Robert H. Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the Sedentary Populatiions on the Jesuit Mission Frontiers of South America: The Formation and Persistence of Misssion Communities in a Comparative Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 139.

Appendix 1G: Baptisms and Burials recorded in the Sierra Gorda Missions, 1744-1764

Mission	Baptisms	Burials	Net +/-
Santiago de Xalpa	1,277	1,772	-495
San Miguel Concá	338	699	-361
Agua de Landa	780	952	-172
Tilaco	877	1,138	-306
Tancoyol*	336	784	-448
Total	3,608	5,390	-1,782

*1747-1764.

Source: Joséph de la Madre de Dios Hererra, Santiago de Xalpan, October 14, 1758, Informes sobre las Misiones de Concá, Tancoyol, Landa, Tilaco y Xalpan; . Juan Ramos de Lora, Tancoyol, November 15, 1764, Razon de el estado en que se hallan las cinco misiones de Sierra Gorda que están al cuidado y cargo de los Religiosos de el Appostolico Colegio de Propaganda Fide de San Fernando de Mexico, hoy dia 15 de Noviembre de el años de 1764. In Lino Gomez Canedo, *Sierra Gorda: Un típico enclave misional en el centro de Mexico (siglos XVII-XVIII),* 3rd edition. (Querétaro: Provincia Franciscana de Santiago, 2011), 221-236, 251-255.

Appendix 1H: The Average Family Size on the Sierra Gorda Missions, in selected years

Mission	c. 1748	1758	1761	1764
Xalpa	3.1	3.4	3.6	-
Concá	2.8	3.2	4.0	4.1
Landa	3.0	3.5	3.6	3.6
Tilaco	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.7
Tancoyol	2.4	3.2	3.3	3.6

Source: Sources in Tables 32 and 33.

Appendix 1I: Children as a percentage of the Total Population on the Sierra Gorda Missions

Mission	1758	1761	1764
Xalpa	36	37	-
Concá	36	45	44
Landa	37	40	40
Tilaco	37	36	41
Tancoyol	29	33	38

Source: Sources in Tables 32 and 33.

Appendix 1J: Structure of the Population of Tancoyol Mission in 1744

		Tancoyol				
Family Size	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
# Families	40	23	22	8	8	2
# People	80	69	88	40	48	14
		Their Children				
Widowers	5	8				
Widows	1	1				
Single	10					
		Total Population: 364				
		Rancheria de Soyapila				
Family Size	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
# Families	29	29	3	8	2	0
# People	58	87	12	40	12	0
		Their Children				
Widowers	0	0				
Widows	o	0				
Single	1					
		Total Population: 210				

Source: Joaquin Meade y Sainz Tapaga, *La Huasteca Queretana* (Mexico, D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, 1951), 425-431.

Appendix 1K: Structure of the Population of Tilaco Mission in 1744

		Tilaco				
Family Size	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
# Families	22	35	43	18	3	1
# People	44	105	172	90	18	7
		Their Children				
Widowers	4	7				
Widows	0					
Single	0					
		Total Population: 448				
		Rancho de El Lobo				
Family Size	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
# Families	10	11	11	8	2	0
# People	20	33	44	40	12	0
		Their Children				
Widowers	0					
Widows	0					
Single	0					
		Total Population: 149				
		Laguna Grande				
Family Size	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
# Families	5	1	6	5	0	0
# People	10	3	24	25	0	0
		Their Children				
Widowers	0					
Widows	0					
Single	0					
		Total Population: 62				
		El Humo				
Families: 20		Total Popuation: 90		Average Family Size: 4.5		

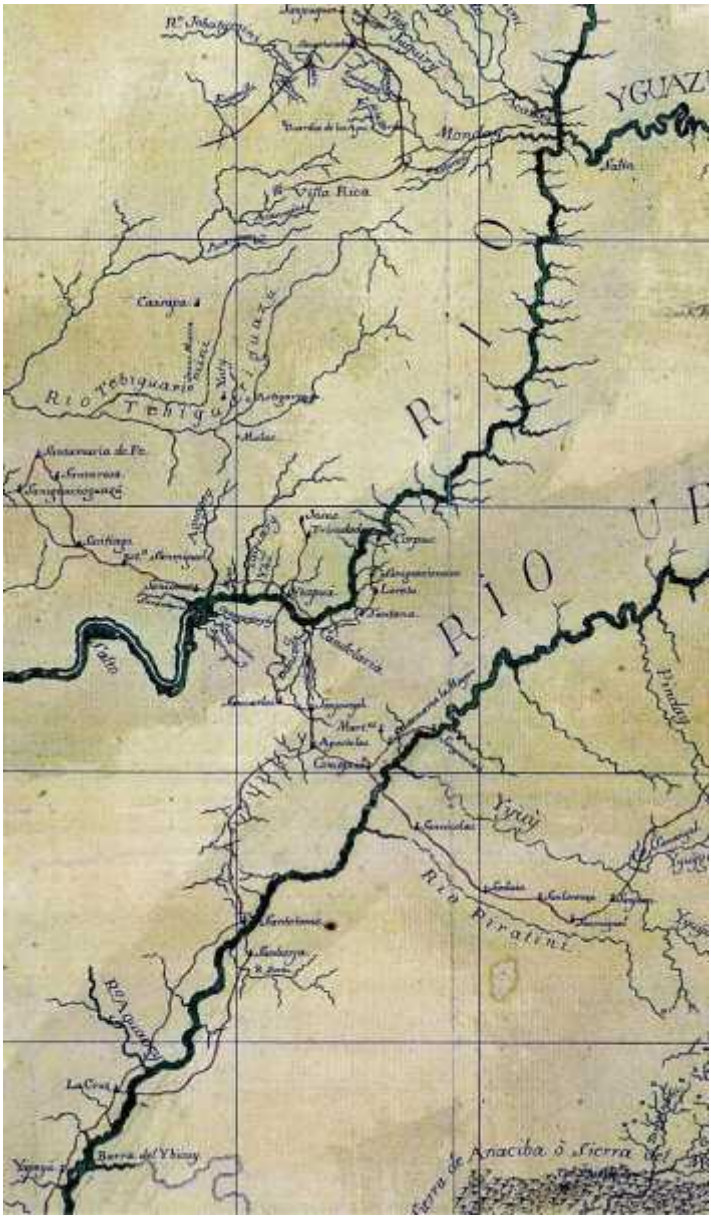
Source: Joaquin Meade y Sainz Tapaga, *La Huasteca Queretana* (Mexico, D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, 1951), 408-413.

Appendix 2: The Jesuit Missions among the Guaraní of the Río de la Plata Region: A Visual Catalog

In 1607, the Jesuits in the Río de la Plata region established the missionary Province of Paraguay. It was a large jurisdiction that eventually embraced the 30 missions established among the Guaraní, the Chaco region, and the Chiquitos region of eastern Bolivia in the modern department of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Two years later, in 1609, they established the first Guaraní mission San Ignacio Guazú. The population of this mission was partially held in *encomienda*, which was a grant of jurisdiction that gave the holder the right to collect tribute and receive labor. However, the Black Robes focused their evangelization campaign on Guaraní communities not subject to *encomienda*.

Between 1610 and 1635, the Jesuits expanded the mission frontier into areas on the fringes of Spanish settlement. The missions were located in Guaira (Parana, Brazil), Uruguay and Tape (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), and Itatin (northern Paraguay). The Río de la Plata borderlands was a contested frontier, and Portuguese colonists from Sao Paolo known as *bandeirantes* attacked the missions in the 1620s and 1630s, and enslaved thousands of Guaraní. The Jesuits relocated the survivors to the district between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers (Corrientes and Misiones, Argentina) and southeastern Paraguay, closer to Spanish settlements. After 1680, the Jesuits re-established missions east of the Uruguay River in what today is Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, an action taken in response to the Portuguese establishment of Colonia do Sacramento in what today is Uruguay.

The Guaraní missions have the distinction of being the most populous on the frontiers of colonial Spanish America. In 1643, following the relocation of the missions in response to *bandeirante* raids, there were 22 missions with a total population of 39,493. The Jesuits prepared numerous population counts for their superiors and royal officials, including detailed censuses of tributaries that generally recorded the population by family group. The mission populations experienced robust growth over the next 90 years interrupted by periodic epidemics. The Black Robes also established eight new missions, including the establishments located east of the Uruguay River, by transferring population from existing establishments. In 1732, 30 missions had a total population of 141,182, or an average of 4,706 per mission. This was the highest recorded population. In contrast, the highest recorded population of the 21 California missions was 21,063 in 1820, or an average of 1,053 per mission.



Detail of a c. 1780 map showing the location of the Jesuit missions.

The high population densities on the Guaraní missions contributed to high mortality during smallpox and measles epidemics that occurred about once a generation, or about every 20 years. The years 1733 to 1740 saw two lethal epidemics: measles in 1733, and smallpox from 1738 to 1740. In the same period royal officials mobilized thousands of men to serve in the militia on campaign, and there was a severe subsistence crisis in the years 1734 to 1736. Measles killed more than 18,000 Guaraní in 1733, and smallpox claimed the lives of more than 30,000 in 1738 and 1739: another 2,400 died from smallpox at San Juan Bautista mission in 1740. However, unlike the Sierra Gorda and California missions, the Guaraní mission populations recovered and grew through natural reproduction following major mortality crises.

Demographic patterns on the Guaraní missions facilitated recovery. Unlike the Sierra Gorda and California missions, the Guaraní mission populations did not evidence gender imbalances. Rather, females and particularly women of child bearing age were the majority. An extreme example of gender imbalances in the California missions can be seen in the case of Santa Cruz (established in 1791). From the date of its foundation to 1832, the Franciscans baptized some 1,100 girls and women, yet in 1832 only 87 females survived and lived on the mission and they constituted a mere 31 percent of the total mission population. The populations of the Sierra Gorda and California missions and other missions on the frontier of northern Mexico were not viable, which meant that they did not grow through natural reproduction, whereas the populations of the Guaraní missions did.

The Río de la Plata borderlands remained a contested frontier until about 1830, and the conclusion of a series of conflicts between the newly independent countries in the region motivated by disputes over territory. Armed conflict in the region resulted in the physical destruction of many of the mission complexes, and the forced relocation of thousands of Guaraní. Mission residents also participated in the frontier wars, and the Jesuits organized and maintained a militia that royal officials mobilized on numerous occasions for military campaigns against the Portuguese, hostile indigenous groups, and rebellious colonists. Royal officials recruited mission residents on other frontiers to serve as cannon fodder, but the Guaraní mission militia was unique in its existence with a formal and permanent military structure complete with a hierarchy of military positions that paralleled the autonomous Guaraní political hierarchy on the missions.

The former Jesuit missions are largely in ruins today. Rampaging armies damaged and destroyed a number of missions in the first decades of

the nineteenth century. In 1818, for example, a pitched battle between local militia and invading Portuguese troops that lasted several days largely destroyed San Carlos mission. The Guaraní missions were founded in an area of tropical rainforest, and the forest spread over and grew on the mission complexes once abandoned, often completing the job started by the armies. The former missions exist today in different states of conservation, and several mission sites in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil have been added to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites list.

Contemporary diagrams documented the Guaraní mission urban plan, which was similar to that of the California missions (see Figures 51 and 52). At the center of the mission community was the church built on a monumental scale and the *colegio*, which was a compound that included the residence of the missionaries, their offices, storerooms, an armory where weapons were stored for the use of the mission militia, and workshops. Surrounding the mission plaza were rows of long buildings with small apartments to house Guaraní families. Unlike the Sierra Gorda and California missions, the Guaraní leaders known as *caciques* governed their *cacicazgos* autonomously, and each *cacique* had a block of apartments assigned for his or her subjects. The symbol of Guaraní political autonomy was the *cabildo* (indigenous municipal building), the structure where the Guaraní met to govern their communities. Finally, the mission communities included a *coti guazú*, a residence for widows. This installation, however, did not have the same negative characteristics and consequences as the dormitories for single women and older girls built on the California missions.

Significant vestiges of the mission complexes exist at most of the mission sites and a number are protected as national monuments in Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Seven are on the UNESCO list. They are Trinidad and Jesús in Paraguay, San Ignacio Miní, Santa Ana, Loreto, and Santa María la Mayor in Argentina, and San Miguel (Sao Miguel) in Brazil. This visual catalog presents a selection of photographs of the more important mission sites. The first is the group of seven located in Paraguay.

San Ignacio Guazú

The church is a modern structure, and one mission-era building survives that was a Guaraní housing unit. A small building in a modern building houses religious art.

The existing mission-era building.

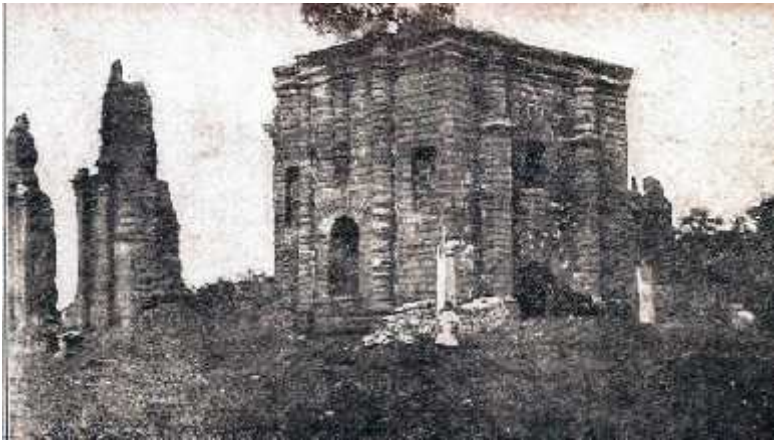
Nuestra Señora la Fe

The church is also a modern construction, and the surviving mission-era building which was also Guaraní housing is now a museum of religious art.

The existing mission-era building.

Santa Rosa de Lima

The Loreto chapel with 18th century murals, the unique bell tower, and a long structure that was Guaraní housing exist. The modern church has four decorated columns that originally graced the façade of the mission-era church.



An historic photograph of the ruins of the mission-era church and bell tower.

The modern church that incorporates the columns from the façade of the colonial-era church.

The bell tower.

The structure that was Guaraní housing.

Santos Cosme y Damián

The Jesuits relocated the mission to this site in 1760. Several mission-era structures exist, including the temporary church that has been restored, the portal that features a statue of a bat, and the two-story *colegio*. Ruins of the larger unfinished church can still be seen, and buildings that were Guaraní housing survive.

The church and portal.

Detail of the portal.

The two-story *colegio.*

A second view of the *colegio.*

Jesús de Tavarangue

In the late 1750s the Jesuits started the construction of a monumental three nave stone church that was never completed. The ruins of the church and the ***colegio*** are the main features of the site. There are also remains of Guaraní housing.

The unfinished church.

The interior of the church.

The *colegio*.

Trinidad

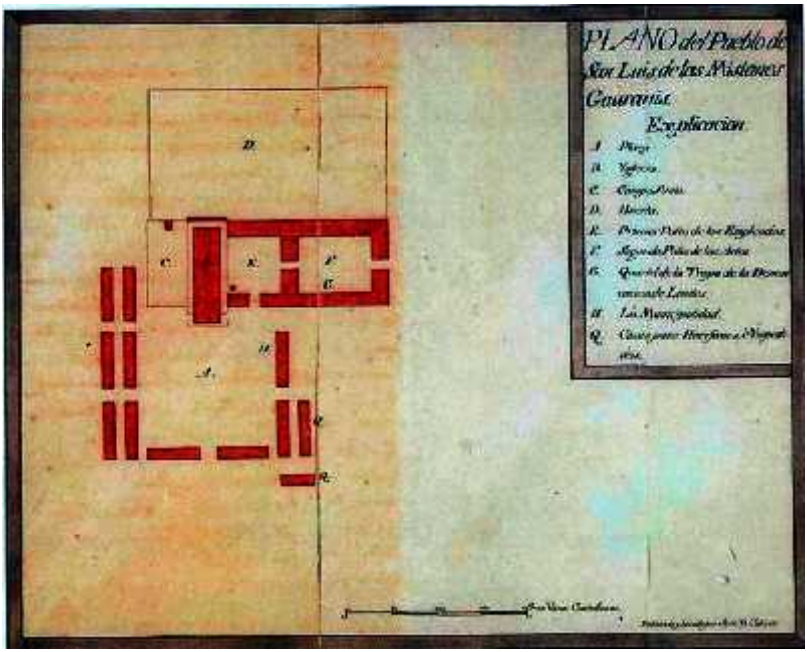
The Trinidad ruins are among the most extensive of the mission sites. They include the first church with its bell tower, a larger second church built in the 1730s, the *colegio,* and housing units that were also built of stone.

The ruins of the first church and its bell-tower.

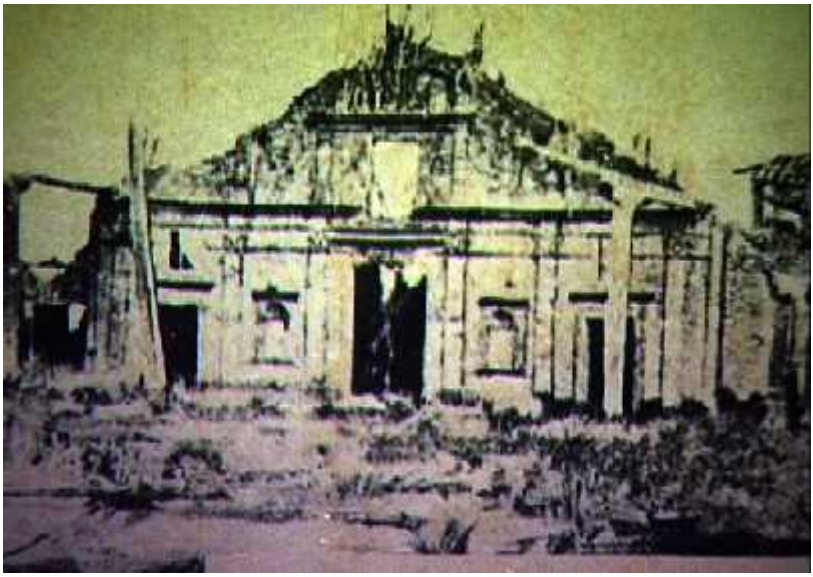
The ruins of the second church.

Guaraní housing.

The second group of missions is those located in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Vestiges exist at five sites: San Miguel, San Juan Bautista, San Lorenzo Mártir, San Nicolás, and Santo Angel Custodio. The complexes of San Luis Gonzaga and San Francisco dee Borja have disappeared.

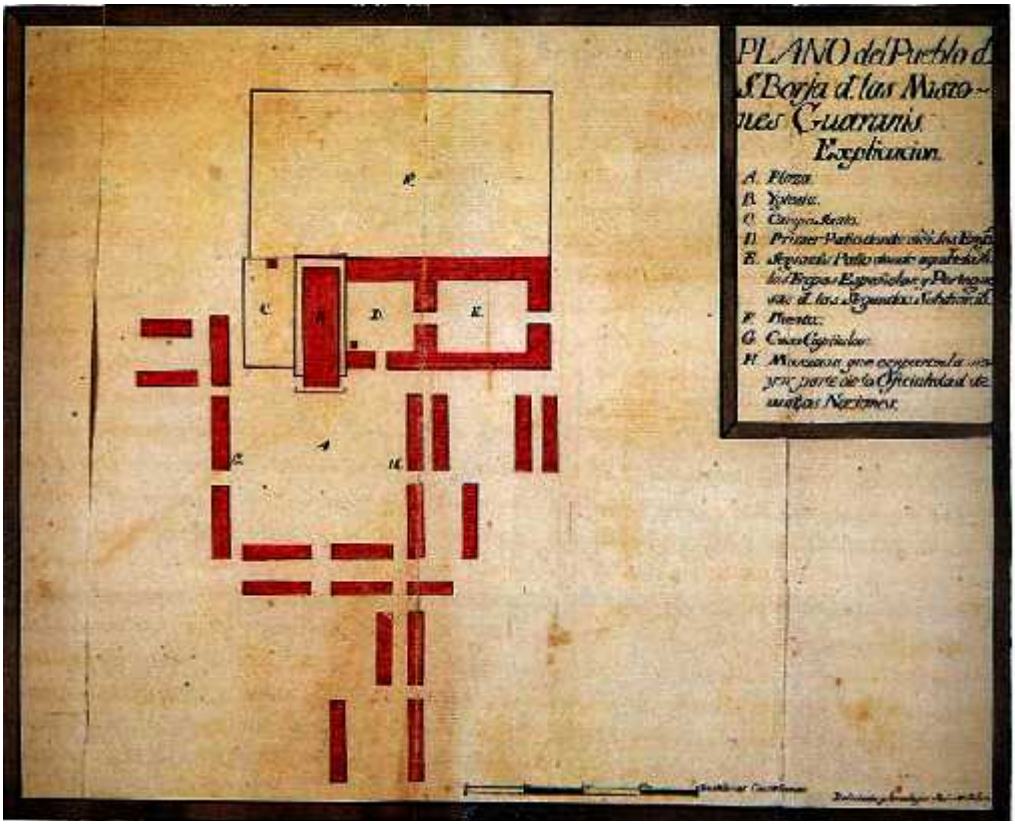


A 1784 diagram of San Luis Gonzaga.



A late 19th century photograph of the ruins of the mission-era church at San Luis Gonzaga.

A model of San Luis Gonzaga.



A 1784 diagram of San Francisco de Borja.

San Miguel

The ruins at this site include the monumental three nave church that dates to the 1730s and the *colegio*. There is also a fountain that was a part of the water system. A small site museum houses examples of religious art.

The ruins of the church.

The interior of the church.

The ruins of the *colegio.*

The fountain that was a part of the water supply.

San Juan Bautista

The ruins of the church and *colegio* that are still partially covered by vegetation are the main features of this site.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the *colegio*.

San Lorenzo Mártir

The ruins of the church and *colegio* are the main features of this site.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the *colegio*.

The ruins of the *colegio.*

San Nicolás

The ruins at this site include the church with original tile floor, the *colegio*, and the *cabildo* structure.

An aerial photograph of the church ruins.

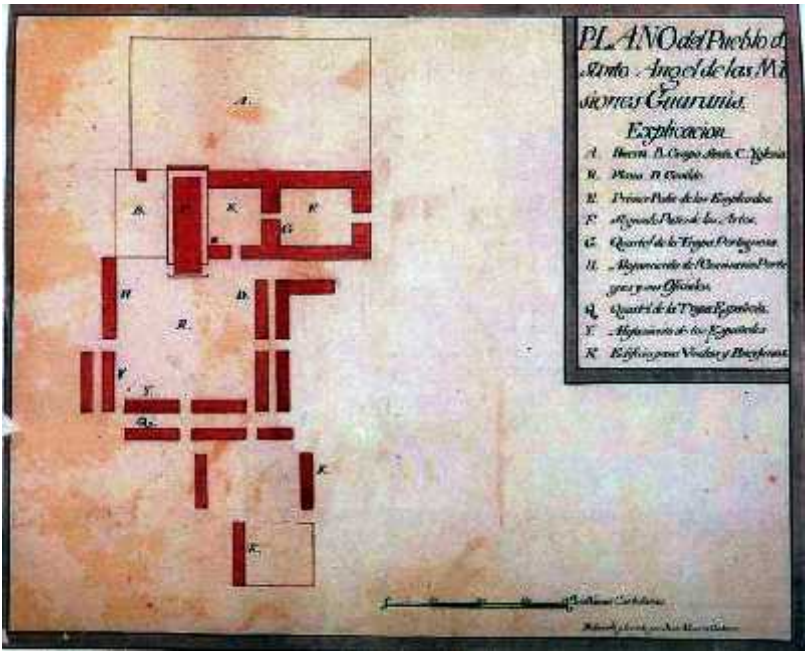
The church ruins.

The ruins of the *colegio*.

The cabildo.

Santo Angel Custodio

A small museum incorporates the remains of the last mission-era building.



A 1784 diagram of Santo Angel Custodio.

The museum.

A model of the mission.

The largest group of mission sites is located in the Argentinian provinces of Corrientes and Misiones. The mission complex of Santo Tomé has largely disappeared, and very little remains at the other three sites San Carlos, Yapeyú, and La Cruz. In Misiones province the complexes of Corpus Christi, San Francisco Xavier, San José, and Apóstoles have largely disappeared as well.

Missions in Corrientes

San Carlos

As already noted, the mission complex was largely destroyed during a battle in 1818. However, there are still mission-era orchard walls.

A mission-era wall.

A mission-era wall.

Yapeyú

The remains of the mission church are on the grounds of a small museum. Several other ruined structures remain, including the residence where independence leader José de San Martín is believed to have been born.

Remains of the church.

The ruins of a mission-era structure.

La Cruz

Several ruined walls and a Jesuit sundial are all that remain of this mission.

A mission-era wall.

The ruins of a mission-era structure.

Missions in Misiones

Santos Mártires

The ruins of this mission are covered by vegetation. It has been studied archaeologically.

Ruins of the church.

Ruins of the mission.

Concepción

Very little remains of this mission. However, a museum houses a model of the mission complex and a selection of decorated stones. Several mission-era walls remain. Archaeologists have excavated the remains of the mission church that are on display.

An historic drawing of the church façade.

A model of the mission complex.

The remains of a mission-era wall and a house built on the foundations of a mission-era building.

A mission-era portal.

Santa María la Mayor

The ruins of this complex include the church that was destroyed by fire in 1739, the *colegio* and workshops, and housing units. There is a small site museum, and one of the exhibits is a replica of the printing press the Jesuits had built and the remains of which were discovered during archaeological excavations.

The ruins of the church.

The *colegio*. One room has been converted into a chapel.

Ruins of the workshops.

The replica printing press.

Candelaria

The ruins of the *colegio* are located on the grounds of a penal colony. Jurisdiction over the ruins was recently transferred to the municipal government. The site can be visited, but has yet to be developed for tourism.

The mission-era ruins.

The mission-era ruins.

Columns from one wing of the *colegio*.

Five kilometers north of Candelaria is one of the sites of Santos Cosme y Damián mission only recently identified by archaeologists. A tree farm covers the site.

Santa Ana

Extensive ruins exist at this mission site including the church, *colegio*, and Guaraní housing. There is a small site museum.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the *colegio.*

Guaraní housing.

Loreto

Vegetation covers the extensive ruins of this mission, which include the church, *colegio*, Loreto chapel, and Guaraní housing. There is a small site museum.

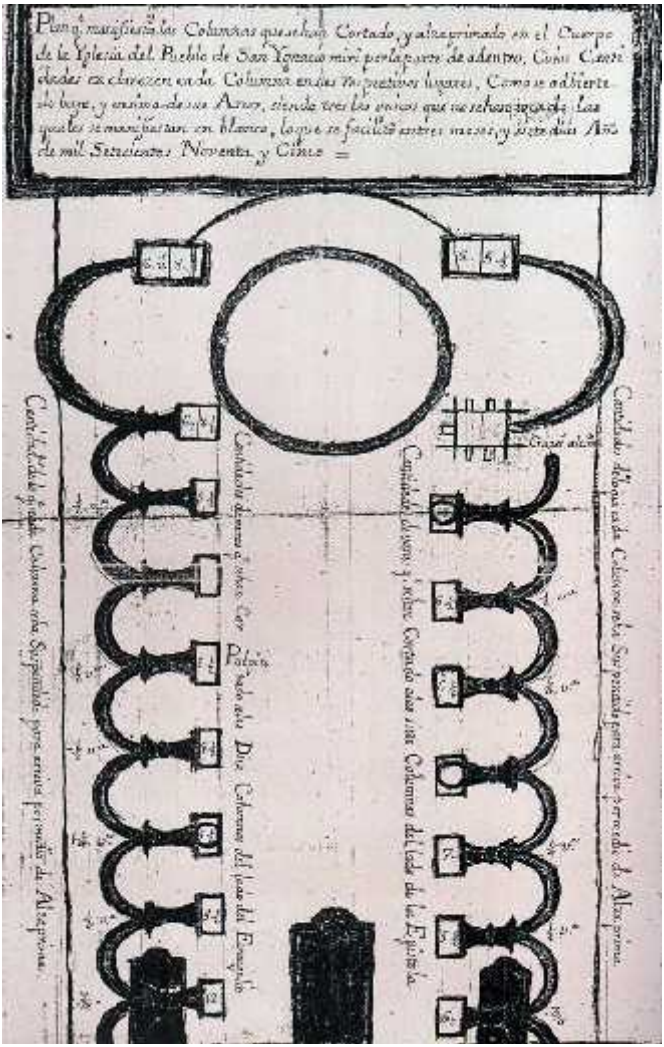
The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the church.

The ruins of the workshops.

San Ignacio

The extensive ruins of San Ignacio have been stabilized and in some cases partially rebuilt. They include the church, *colegio*, *cabildo*, and Guaraní housing. There is also a site museum.



A late 18th century diagram of the three nave church.

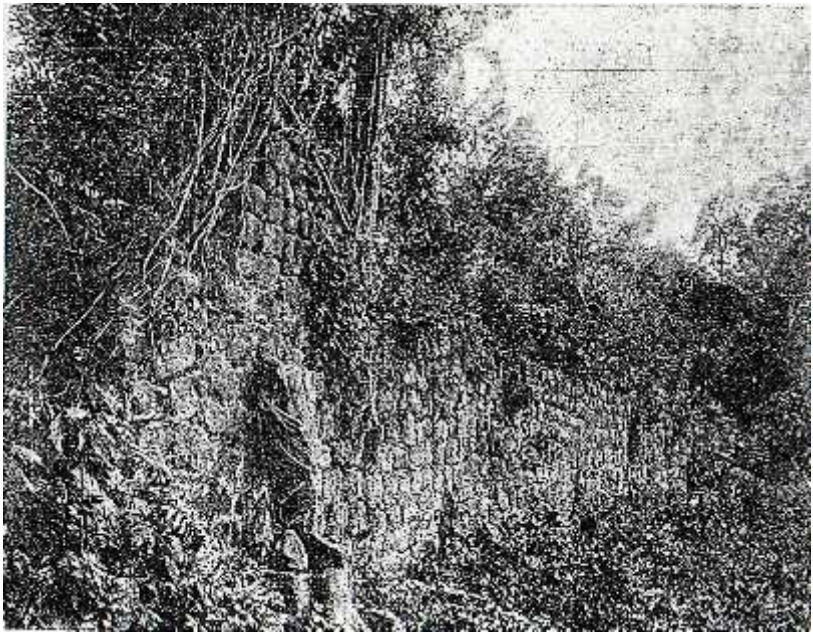
The ruins of the church.

The *colegio*.

Guaraní housing.

Corpus Christi and Apóstoles

Little remains of the mission complexes of Corpus Christi and Apóstoles, but historic photographs provide details of the extent of the mission ruins in the early twentieth century. The first group is from a collection of photographs of Apóstoles taken around 1903. The first shows the ruins of a wall, perhaps of the church, covered in vegetation. The second is of a group standing in front of a side entrance to the church that is similar to San Ignacio mission.



An historic photograph of the ruins of Apóstoles mission.

An historic photograph of the ruins of Apóstoles mission.

A worked stone from the original church at the base of the modern church.

The remains of Corpus Christi mission are covered in vegetation, and the town cemetery occupies a part of the site. Other remains are on private property. An historic photograph shows a family group posing in front of the church ruins, which is also similar to the façade of the church at nearby San Ignacio mission.

An historic photograph of the ruins of Corpus Christi mission.

The ruins of the church covered in vegetation.

San Joaquín

In the 1740s, the Jesuits established two missions in the Tarima region of what today is northeastern Paraguay. The two missions were designated San Estanislao and San Joaquín. The Jesuits included information on the Tarima missions in the censuses they prepared in the 1750s and 1760s. The Jesuit church in San Joaquín still exists.

The Jesuit church in San Joaquín (Paraguay).

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