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Los Angeles

Piety, Plata, and Place:

Civic Development and Devotion in Colonial Zacatecas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

by

JoAnna Michelle Reyes

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JoAnna Michelle Reyes

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Piety, *Plata*, and Place:

Civic Development and Devotion in Colonial Zacatecas

by

JoAnna Michelle Reyes

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Charlene Villaseñor Black, Chair

This dissertation provides the most comprehensive study to date of the eighteenth-century Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, the only well-preserved colonial church in Zacatecas, Mexico, an important silver mining center. The templo retains eight of its original eleven baroque altarpieces and seventeen paintings. The building is not ostentatious, yet clarity of design and sophistication mark its two-story elevation and simple configuration consisting of a single nave and two side aisles. I argue that by studying the monument, we can better understand how a community of laborers, believers, and miners coalesced to produce a civic and spiritual landscape

particular to the silver mining city. For the first time, I bring together previously distinct histories and fields of knowledge—art historical, economic, religious, and literary, in the service of a wholistic view of the socio-cultural milieu that gave rise to the monument. In preparing this work, I grappled with existing frameworks for classifying and understanding colonial art. In response, I theorize that colonial art can best be understood as a chimera; I trace this methodological approach in the introduction and enact it throughout the dissertation.

Zacatecas has been historically excluded from the art historical canon; part of the contribution I make in this work is bringing together the impressive collection of paintings that still adorns the templo's walls or have been dispersed into museum collections. I perform an iconographic analysis of these works and suggest a nuanced view of the program of religious imagery at the site. I further analysis already begun on its retablos by putting their imagery into conversation with the previously unknown sacristy paintings. Finally, I consider how the site acted as a locus of communal engagement by evaluating three contemporaneous descriptions of festivals memorialized in large part by the Jesuit fathers who lived and worshipped there.

Together, these descriptions paint a vivid picture of life in the silver city and demonstrate the important role the church played in civic culture.

The dissertation of JoAnna Michelle Reyes is approved.

Stefania Tutino

Dell Upton

Bronwen Wilson

Charlene Villaseñor Black, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

This dissertation is dedicated to my children Liliana and Julian and in loving memory of José Reyes de la Rosa

Y si vivo cien años Cien años pienso en ti

Table of Contents

Introduction	l
Historiography of the Site	3
Methodology	8
Historical and Artistic Context	11
Historiography of Mestizaje and Alternatives	17
Chapter Breakdown	26
Chapter One	
Unsettling Histories	28
Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús	29
Settlement of Nueva Galicia and the City of Zacatecas	30
Silver Strike and Settlement of Zacatecas	33
Four Founders	33
Encomienda: A Brief Overview	35
Labor and Immigration in Zacatecas	37
Life in Early Zacatecas: 1550 Map of Nueva Galicia	38
Census of 1550	41
Jesuit Arrival in Zacatecas	43
The Silver Boom and the Rise of the Patron Class in the Seventeenth Century	45
The Eighteenth Century	50
Patronesses	52
Conclusion	53

Chapter Two

Cantera y Plata	
Building plan	55
Façade	59
Paintings	62
Pendentives	63
Transept Lunettes	66
Sacristy	71
Framed Painting, in situ	72
Framed Paintings: Relocated	75
Retablos	77
Chapter Three	
Rituals and Festivals in Zacatecas	84
The Feast of San Sebastián: Iglesia de la Compañía and Nochistlan	85
"El dia de el glorioso martir San Sevastian"	86
"El Papaqui a San Sebastián"	90
Papal Concession of Guadalupe's Patronage of New Spain and Celebration, 1758	93
Symbolism in the Embarkation of the Carpenter's Float	100
A Note on Humanism in Eighteenth-Century Mexico	103
A Humanist Author in Zacatecas: Diego José Abad	104
Consecration of the Templo	106

Conclusion	110
Figures	114
Works Cited	168

List of Figures

	Pa
Figure 1.1. <i>Templo de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , façade, completed by 1749. Zacatecas, Zacatecas, Mexico. Photo by author, 2019	1
Figure 1.2. John Ogilby and Arnolbus Montanus, <i>Nova Hispania, Nova Galicia, Guatimala,</i> 1671. Engraving, (28 x 34 cm). Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Photo courtesy of loc.gov	1
Figure 1.3. Attributed to José de Ibarra, <i>Barbarian Indians (Indios bárbaros)</i> , c. 1730. Oil on canvas, 64 9/16 × 35 13/16 in. (164 × 91 cm). Private collection, Madrid. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., <i>Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici</i> . (New York: Prestel, 2017), 299	1
Figure 1.4. Attributed to José de Ibarra, <i>Mexican Indians (Indios mexicanos)</i> , c. 1730. Oil on canvas, 64 9/16 × 35 13/16 in. (164 × 91 cm). Private collection, Madrid. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., <i>Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici</i> . (New York: Prestel, 2017),	1
Figure 1.5. Antonio Rodríguez Beltrán, <i>María Luisa de Toledo with her Indigenous Companion</i> , c. 1670. Oil on canvas, 82 1/3 × 50 2/5 in. (209 x 128 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Image courtesy of museodelprado.es.	1
Figure 1.6. Anonymous, <i>Mapa de la Nueva Galicia</i> , 1550. Ink and wash on paper, 12 3/5 in x 17 1/3 in. (32 x 44 cm). Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain	
Figure 1.7. Anonymous, <i>Coat of Arms for the city of Zacatecas,</i> from the Royal Cedula, July 30, 1588. Ink on paper. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Image courtesy of University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research digital collection	1
Figure 2.1. Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019	1
Figure 2.2. Floor plan, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús. Schematic reproduced from Marco Díaz, La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982), 239	1
Figure 2.3. <i>Historical photograph of the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , late nineteenth century. Photograph in the Sescosse collection, Biblioteca real de Tierra Adentro, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019	1
Figure 2.4. <i>Interior with Neoclassical</i> altar mayor, <i>Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019	1
Figure 2.5. <i>Portal, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.	1
Figure 2.6. Portal, Parroquia de la Inmaculada Concepcion, Jerez, Zacatecas, mid-eighteenth century. Photo courtesy of Mexicoenfotos.com, 2016]

Figure 2.7. St. Ignatius of Loyola, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.8. St. Francis Xavier, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.9. Anton Wierix, <i>Portrait of Francis Xavier</i> , 1596. Print. Image courtesy of roberthall.pictures
Figure 2.10. St. Francis Borgia, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.11. St. Aloysius Gonzaga, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.12. Lateral portal of San José, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.13. <i>Detail of façade</i> , completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.14. <i>Lateral portal of San José, detail,</i> completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.15. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>St. Gregory (San Gregorio)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.15a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, <i>St. Gregory (San Gregorio)</i> , eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.16. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>St. Jerome (San Jerónimo)</i> by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.16a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, <i>St. Jerome (San Jerónimo)</i> , eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.16b. Francisco Martínez, <i>St. Stanislaus Kostka (San Estanislao de Kostka)</i> , first quarter of the 18 th century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Arte Sacro, Chihuahua. Image courtesy of inahchihuahua.gob
Figure 2.17. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>St. Augustine (San Agustín)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.17a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, <i>St. Augustine (San Agustín)</i> , eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.18. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>St. Ambrose (San Ambrosio)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.18a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, <i>St. Ambrose (San Ambrosio)</i> , eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.19. <i>View of the transept lunettes, Gospel side,</i> completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019

Figure 2.20. View of the transept lunettes, Epistle side, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019	133
Figure 2.21. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>Return from Egypt (El regreso de Egipto)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	134
Figure 2.22. Francisco Martínez, <i>The Blessing of the Table (Bendición de la mesa)</i> , 1722. Oil on canvas, 137 13/16 x 204 ¾ in. (350 x 520 cm). Convento e Iglesia del Carmen, Toluca, Mexico. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., <i>Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici</i> . (New York: Prestel, 2017), 28.	134
Figure 2.23. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, Allegory of the Immaculate Conception with the Infant Mary (Alegoría de la Inmaculada Concepción con la niña María), by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.	135
Figure 2.24. Schelte Adams Bolswert, after Gerard Seghers, <i>An Allegory of the Immaculate Conception, with the Infant Virgin between St Anne and St Joachim</i> , 1600-1659. Engraving, 13 2/5 x 19 4/5 in. (34 x 50 1/3 cm). National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh. Image courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.	135
Figure 2.25. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>Presentation of the Tilma to Zumárraga (La presentación de la tilma de san Juan Diego al obispo Zumárraga)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.	136
Figure 2.26. View of the Guadalupe lunette with retablo, by 1749. Photo by author, 2019	136
Figure 2.27. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, <i>Virgin of Loreto (Virgen de Loreto)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	137
Figure 2.28. <i>Camarín de la Casa de Loreto</i> , Colegio de San Francisco Xavier de Tepotzotlán, completed by 1733. Photo courtesy of https://arteycultura.com.mx/	137
Figure 2.29. Sacristy interior, by 1749. Photo by author, 2019	138
Figure 2.30. Francisco Martínez, <i>Last Supper (La Última Cena)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	139
Figure 2.31. Francisco Martínez, <i>Agony in the Garden (Agonía en el jardín)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	140
Figure 2.32. Francisco Martínez, <i>Arrest of Jesus (El prendimiento de Jesús)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	141
Figure 2.33. Francisco Martínez, <i>Mocking of Christ (Cristo rey de burlas)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	142
Figure 2.34. Francisco Martínez, <i>Christ at the Column (Cristo atado a la columna)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019	143

Figure 2.35. Francisco Martínez, <i>Christ Carrying the Cross (Jesús cargando la Cruz)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.36. Francisco Martínez, <i>Christ Nailed to the Cross (Cristo clavado en la Cruz)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.37. Francisco Martínez, <i>Pietà (Cristo en brazos de su Madre)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.38. Attributed to Antonio de Torres, <i>Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)</i> , 1709-1730. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.38a. Attributed to Antonio de Torres, <i>Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)</i> , detail. 1709-1730. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.38b. Antonio de Torres, <i>Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)</i> , c. 1720. Oil on canvas. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Image courtesy of lacma.org
Figure 2.38c. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)</i> , detail. c. 1740. Oil on canvas, 38 x 28 ½ in. National Museum of Mexican Art. Image courtesy of Nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org
Figure 2.38d (Right). Nicolás Enríquez, <i>Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)</i> , c. 1773. Oil on copper, 22 1/4 × 16 1/2 in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image courtesy of metmuseum.org.
Figure 2.39. Miguel Cabrera, <i>St. Joseph (San José)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.40. Miguel Cabrera, <i>St. Anne (Santa Ana)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.41. Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Immaculate Conception</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.42. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Birth of the Virgin (El Nacimiento de la Virgen)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.43. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Mary's Presentation at the Temple (Presentación de María en el templo)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.44. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Betrothal of Mary and Joseph (Desposorios de la Virgen y San José)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.45. Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Annunciation (Anunciación)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.46. Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Visitation (Visitación de María a Isabel)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.47. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Dream of St. Joseph (Sueño de San José)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalune, Zacatecas, Photo by author, 2019

Figure 2.48 Miguel Cabrera, <i>Nacimiento (Navidad)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.49. Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Circumcision (Circuncisión)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.50. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Adoration of the Kings (Adoración de los Reyes Magos)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.51. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Christ Among the Doctors (Cristo entre los Doctores)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.52. Miguel Cabrera, <i>Dormition of the Virgin (El Tránsito de María)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.53. Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Assumption (Asunción)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Image reproduced from Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia bulletin "Arriba obra de Miguel Cabrera al puerto de Acapulco," April 03, 2012
Figure 2.54. Attributed to Miguel Cabrera, <i>Coronation of the Virgin (Coronación de la Virgen)</i> , by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Image courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia's online media library
Figure 2.55. Felipe de Ureña, View of side aisle with lateral retablos. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.56. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Altar to St. Ignatius of Loyola</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.57. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Altar to St. Francis Xavier</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.58. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Altar with the Virgin of Refuge and female saints</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.59. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Detail of St. Bridget</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 2.60. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Detail of St. Teresa</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood. Photo by author, 2019.
Figure 3.1. <i>Title page, Libro de Actas de la cofradía de San Sebastián</i> , 1743-1790. Ink on paper. Archivo Parroquial, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 3.2. Felipe de Ureña, <i>Altar of the Holy Trinity, detail with St. Sebastian</i> , by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 3.3. Unknown, Sculpture of St. Ignatius of Loyola, detail, by 1749. Photo by author, 2019
Figure 3.4. Joaquin de Sotomayor, <i>Plan of Zacatecas (Descripción de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Zacatecas)</i> , 1732. Image taken from the URL: http://bernardodelhoyoc.blogspot.com/2018/05/la-alameda-de-zacatecas.html (Consulted February 2021)

Figure 3.5. Attributed to Miguel Cabrera, <i>The Papal Proclamation of the Patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain</i> , c. 1756. Oil on copper, 22 13/16 x 16 ¾ in. (58 x 42 ½ cm). Museo	
Soumaya, Fundación Carlos Slim, Mexico City. Photo reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., <i>Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici</i> . (New York: Prestel, 2017), 419	164
Figure 3.6. Unknown, <i>The Triumph of the Church</i> , eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Image courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Antropología	164
e Historia's online media library	164
Figure 3.7. Philippe Thomassin, <i>The Triumph of the Church (The Vessel of Mystical Contemplation)</i> , 1602. Engraving. Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome. Image courtesy of the PESSCA Archive	165
Figure 3.8, Anonymous, <i>Allegory of the Patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe over New Spain</i> , 1781, Oil on copper, Private collection, Mexico City	166
Figure 3.9. G.B. Galli, <i>Didacus Joseph Abad</i> , Engraving, 1893. University of Leuven	167

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Accepted	Cisneros, N. et al. "The Chords that Bind Fierce Mothers to our Sisters, Children, and Community" for Time, Urgency, and Collaboration in the Corporate University, <i>Feminist Formations</i> , special issue
2019	"Kris Lane's Potosí: The Silver City That Changed the World." in Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture, Vol. 1, No. 4, Oct. 2019 xvii

2018 "The Afterlife of Mexico's Last Emperor" published on *Unframed: The LACMA* blog. Accessible online at: https://unframed.lacma.org/2017/10/09/afterlifemexicos-last-emperor 2014 "Mapping Devotion to Guadalupe" published on *Unframed: The LACMA blog*. Accessible online at: https://unframed.lacma.org/2014/07/09/mapping-devotionto-guadalupe-2 SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/INVITED LECTURES 2021 "The Revivification of a Jesuit Church in Late-Colonial Zacatecas," ALAA sponsored panel, Annual International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, (virtual) 2020 "Cicero in the Land of Coatlicue: Renaissance Humanism in the Arts of Colonial Mexico," College Art Association Annual Conference, Chicago 2019 "Colonial a la Chicana: Queering Casta Paintings," Latino Art Now! Sightlines and Timeframes, IUPLR, University of Houston "Hybridity in Latin American Art: Some Thoughts and a Suggestion," 2019 Entanglements and the Spaces in Between, Latin American Graduate Organization, Tulane University 2019 "Sin mamás no hay revolución! Organizing for the Rights of Parenting Students," Critical Race Studies in Education Association, University of Southern California 2018 "Bridging the Divide: Images of Urbanism and Faith" Closing day lecture for the exhibition Virgin of Guadalupe: Images of Colonial Mexico, Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, California PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE Book Review Editor, Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, Chicano Studies 2016-19 Research Center, UCLA 2013-15 Research Assistant, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Latin American Art Department

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2016-20

Introduction

"No sé, que preeminencias tiene la Arquitectura, que en concurso de todas las otras Artes ha hecho privativo suyo el poderío de los milagros" l

In the capital city of the northwest Mexican state of Zacatecas, also called Zacatecas, an eighteenth-century church stands as the lone example of a house of worship from the colonial era that retains its original interior adornment. Today, it is called the Templo de Santo Domingo and it resides in the city's historic center, a street over from the cathedral. The *templo* is comprised of pink stone that is particular to the region and features two bell towers, a simply ornamented façade and lateral portal, and a dome at the crossing. Built in Zacatecas between 1746-1749, the church is a later construction of a Jesuit church; it was originally called the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, and for the purposes of this dissertation that is how I will refer to it.

The simple meditation above begins the anonymously authored description of the templo that was written upon its dedication in 1750. The author suggests that the other arts can convey the individual stories of miraculous events, but only architecture has the *potestad*—the power or authority—to *make* miracles. While miracles are beyond the reach of this work, I am interested in how monuments make meaning. The building to which he refers provides a fascinating case study in the history and visual culture of late colonial Mexico. The Templo de la Compañía de Jesús remains the best-preserved church in Zacatecas from the viceregal era. The templo

¹ "I don't know what preeminence architecture has, that in competition with all the other arts, it claims the power of miracles for its own." My translation, from the anonymously authored prologue in Diego J. Abad, Francisco J. Ribera Ibarreta, P. I., Antonio Tamayo Caballero, and Gregorio Zumalde, *Breve descripción de la fábrica, y adornos del Templo de la Compañía de Jesús de Zacatecas: con una succinta relación de las fiestas con ques se solemnizò su dedicacion: sacanla a luz, y la sonsagran al Ss. patriarcha Señor S. Joseph los seis ilustres caballeros, patronos de la solemnidad, u lucimientos de la dedicación (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1750).*

preserves eight of its original eleven baroque *retablos*, or altarpieces, as well as handsome eighteenth-century paintings. Their survival is a rarity in colonial Mexican art, as most of these works were disassembled and sold into collections. Their presence allows for an examination of style and iconography, all of which paints a compelling portrait of communal worship. In this dissertation, I argue that through a close study of the church, we can better understand how a heterogenous and fluctuating community of laborers, believers, and miners coalesced to produce a civic and spiritual landscape particular to this city that developed around the industry of silver mining.

Zacatecas was one of the most important cities in Mexico during the viceregal period, following only Mexico City and Guadalajara, the former the seat of the audiencia.² Yet most narratives about Zacatecas' history look at how its silver enriched the Spanish Empire.³ My dissertation inverts that construct by exploring how Zacatecas' mineral wealth enriched the city. Beyond performing iconographic and formal analyses of a little-known site and extant works, this work opens the study of the templo to new questions and possibilities concerning the scaffolding of colonial power structures that engendered the creation of such monuments. I also bring together previously distinct histories and fields of knowledge—art historical, economic, religious, and literary.

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² An *audiencia* was a Spanish court that served multiple functions in the colonies; they created and enforced laws, represented the king, and had political and administrative functions. For more, see J.H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 174-175.

³ See for instance Peter Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas,* 1546-1700 (Cambridge: University Press, 1971) and Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of Global Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 201-221.

Beyond gathering varied histories, I also draw upon a personal connection with the region. Like many scholars with recent immigration histories, I looked to my roots when forming a dissertation subject. My family comes from a former hacienda outside of the city of Zacatecas, a dirt-poor but culturally rich ranchito that I spent years trying to understand. I grew up visiting the bigger city of Zacatecas and not comprehending why, if there was so much silver here, there was such poor infrastructure. How did elaborate churches exist, even on the rancho, while there weren't paved roads, a grocer, or even a gas station? My grandfather José Reyes de la Rosa worked in the Mina Cinco Estrellas as a young man before immigrating to the United States as a *bracero*. His father Pablo Reyes da Silva was a loyal mineworker and former mayor of the municipality of Pinos who was killed in an agrarian uprising at the end of the Revolution. The mines of Zacatecas are in my blood. Telling their story and uncovering their contribution to the development of Mexican identity and culture in a nuanced way is of paramount importance to me.

Historiography

Despite the rich physical and historical record, a monograph has not been published on the templo. Several paragraphs relating to its individual features are scattered throughout Marco Díaz's 1982 survey of Jesuit architecture in New Spain.⁴ After briefly presenting a history of the Jesuits in New Spain, Díaz provides a chronologically ordered account of the churches and complexes there; it is unclear whether the works included are meant to be exhaustive or

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⁴ Marco Díaz. La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982).

representative. Buildings receive unequal treatment; some have elevations, others floor plans, and there are photos scattered throughout that don't correspond to the text. Some effort is made to address the issue of style in Jesuit construction as well, but the work is difficult to access due to its poor organization and unequal treatment of sites. Diaz's study contributes important information regarding connections between artworks that may have been relocated from the templo to the nearby Museo de Guadalupe, in Guadalupe, Zacatecas.

There are two unpublished theses pertaining to the templo that were completed at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas. The first, a history thesis, lays important groundwork for the history of the Jesuits in Zacatecas and various building stages at the site.⁵ Jesús Cardoso Pérez pieces together important secondary sources for the site and for Jesuit history in Zacatecas and discusses the 1750 document at length. This is an important first approach for the site, but it doesn't address the iconography, style, or social conditions that precipitated the church's construction. During a restoration project in 2009 that necessitated the removal of the church's floors, workers discovered forty-two mummified bodies dating as far back as the colonial era. Out of this restoration project, another UAZ student wrote a thesis on funerary practices and social stratification in Zacatecas.⁶ Cortés Escobedo situates the templo within the larger discourse of viceregal funerary practices using the discovery of mummified remains and their placement within the nave of the church as evidence. Secondary evidence employed includes testimony (wills), postmortem photography, and painting. Cortés's approach is anthropological

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⁵ Jesús Eduardo Cardoso Pérez, "Acercamiento a la arquitectura religiosa de la ciudad de Zacatecas en el siglo XVIII; el Templo de la Compañía de Jesús" (MPhil Thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 1996).

⁶ Abraham Cortés Escobedo, "Costumbres funerarias y estratificación social en la ciudad de Zacatecas, siglos XVII-XIX: el Templo de Santo Domingo" (Lic. en Antropología, Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2014).

with some philosophical rumination on death. He finds that the majority of interred bodies were infants (74% of the 42 bodies). He also suggests that proximity to the altar was highly desirable and he concludes, by examining the quality and elaborateness of the clothing on the bodies, that prime placement correlates with higher social standing. Six of the children were dressed as Jesuit novices and only one was dressed in the Dominican habit, suggesting that more of the burials dated to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Only one scholarly publication focuses exclusively on the site—a 2008 article written by Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja and Luis J. Gordo Peláez, both affiliated with a Spanish institution at the time of publication.⁷ In it, the authors attempt to reconstruct the original iconographic program of the church based upon the eight extant retablos and using the description noted earlier that was published upon the templo's consecration in 1750.⁸ Castillo and Gordo sketch out crucial information about the history of the templo and credit the development of the program to Father Ignacio Calderón, the director of one of the two Jesuit colegios in Zacatecas. The authors conclude that the majority of imagery relates to Mary and in turn surmise that the templo is an example of Jesuit devotion to the Virgin. In fact, the article mostly reads as an attempt to shoehorn the site into the canon by linking the imagery to already well-established cults and practices. Little attention is paid to the particularities of the site: the treatment divorces the templo from its unique social and historical context.

⁷ Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja and Luis J. Gordo Peláez, "Versos e imágenes: culto y devociones marianas en el templo de la Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas, México," *Homenaje al profesor Julián Gállego. Anales de Historia del Arte* (2008): 307-339.

⁸ Breve descripción.

Clara Bargellini wrote a monograph dedicated to the cathedrals of major mining towns (San Luis Potosí, Durango, Zacatecas) and parish churches of smaller towns (Pinos, Fresnillo, Sombrerete, Parral, and Cuencamé) that effectively surveys the northern mining region.

Bargellini argued for the development of a distinct regional architecture and notes compelling similarities in the construction of the works, including the preference for naturalistic stone carving, a union of the iconography of the façade with that of the interior, and an approach to Baroque ornament that has less to do with excess than emphatic communication of ideals. This book is useful for contextualizing the templo both temporally and regionally.

Local histories that emphasize mining provide important context for the monument. During the 1970s, British historians Peter Bakewell and David Brading authored foundational works on Zacatecas' mining history that continue to be the standard today. Bakewell's work focuses more on the silver boom of the sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries, and he carefully traces the various chains of resources that built the silver industry in Mexico and aided in the northern expansion of the colony. Brading addresses the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tracing important developments that led to the revival of the flagging silver industry during the eighteenth century — primarily improvements in technology and the reduction in cost of mercury, which was used to refine ore and over which the Crown had a monopoly. His book is useful for understanding the economic trajectory of late colonial Zacatecas.

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⁹ Clara Bargellini, *La arquitectura de la plata: iglesias monumentales del centro-norte de México*, 1640-1750 (Mexico City: UNAM, 1991).

¹⁰ Peter Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: University Press, 1971); and David A. Brading, *Mexican Silver-Mining in the Eighteenth Century: The Revival of Zacatecas* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies, Center for Latin American Studies, 1970).

Dana Velasco Murillo reframes the history of Zacatecas' Indigenous inhabitants through the colonial era by focusing on their status as citizens and examining their participation in civic life. Velasco Murillo amasses multiple documents and records in order to analyze patterns in Indigenous experience in Zacatecas. Her work seeks to disrupt the long-standing narrative of Indians in Zacatecas as merely a part and parcel of Spanish colonial ventures; instead, Velasco looks for the ways in which the Indians in Zacatecas carved out their own spaces, social structures, and identities. Aside from providing valuable historical information about colonial Zacatecas, this text is an important model of decolonial history. Further, her recent article on the role of Indigenous women in Zacatecas lays important ground for understanding their unique role in the mining city. 12

My work also relies on previous studies of Jesuit art and missions. Though there are many art historians working in this area, María del Consuelo Maquívar's work on the retablos of Tepotzotlán, a large Jesuit complex just north of Mexico City whose final elaboration is roughly contemporaneous with the templo, is especially useful.¹³ In this book, Maquívar considers the iconography of the numerous altarpieces at Tepotzotlán; her assessment relies on concentrated visual analysis and a deep understanding of Jesuit spiritual practice and hagiography. Luisa Elena Alcalá's 1998 PhD dissertation, which addresses the Jesuits and their impact on visual arts

¹¹ Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

¹² Dana Velasco Murillo, "Laboring above Ground: Indigenous Women in New Spain's Silver Mining District, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1620–1770," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93, no. 1 (2013): 3–32, https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-1902778.

¹³ María del Consuelo Maquívar, Los retablos de Tepotzotlán (Mexico City: INAH, 1976).

in Mexico from the late seventeenth century to the expulsion, is an invaluable resource regarding Jesuit patronage and spiritual practice.¹⁴

Finally, scholarship on eighteenth-century Mexican art is slowly growing. The exhibition catalogue for *Pinxit Mexici* makes huge strides in contextualizing the art and architecture of this period. Though it centers on art of Mexico City, the catalogue provides important considerations of the stylistic and iconographic ingenuity of the eighteenth century. It also develops a canon of master painters, some whose works were "exported" to the mining frontier, such as Antonio de Torres, and addresses important Jesuit devotions including the feast of Corpus Christi, the Immaculate Conception, and the propagation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

Methodology

This dissertation is the result of years of focused research in international archives, multiple trips throughout Mexico, and extensive visual analysis of works of art and architecture. My curatorial and research appointments in museums with significant colonial Latin American collections, attendance and participation in conferences regarding art and architectural history, and conversations with colleagues about colonial art and Jesuit history shaped the direction of my research. My master's thesis research on the sixteenth-century retablo of Huejotzingo also laid the foundation for the chapter on the retablos at the templo and significantly informed my

¹⁴Luisa Elena Alcalá, *The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain, 1670-1767*, Thesis (Ph.D.), New York University, 1998.

¹⁵ Ilona Katzew, et al., *Painted in Mexico 1700-1790 Pinxit Mexici* (New York: Prestel, 2017).

approach concerning the economic considerations for creating monumental works under colonial administration.

As an art historian with training in colonial Latin American art, I closely read what my predecessors have written regarding New World religious architecture, the Jesuits' impact on visual culture, and theories of the baroque, particularly those pertaining to ornamentation and ritual. I also diligently read about Humanism in the New World, an important legacy of Jesuit thought, and the significance of the development of cities under Spanish administration. In developing a comprehensive approach, I have also looked beyond the field.

My work turns toward architectural histories by Dell Upton and Helen Hills as models for approaching my site and as useful methods of inquiry.¹⁷ Upton's work brings eighteenth-century Virginian life into focus with brilliant detail using close readings of Anglican parish churches, their contents, and seemingly mundane documents that, when handled adeptly, humanize history.

¹⁶ Seminal works on colonial architecture include James Early, *The Colonial Architecture of* Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) and Jaime Lara, City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2004). On the Jesuits, aside from the works already mentioned, Ivonne del Valle, Escribiendo desde los márgenes: colonialismo y jesuitas en el siglo XVIII (Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores, 2009), Charles W. Polzer, ed. The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991) and Camacho R. Kuri, La Compañía de Jesús: imágenes e ideas: la axiología jesuita, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza y otros estudios novohispanos (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1996). On humanism and urbanism, see Diane M. Bono, and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, Cultural Diffusion of Spanish Humanism in New Spain: Francisco Cervantes De Salazar's Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre (New York: P. Lang, 1991), Tarsicio Herrera Zapién, Historia del humanismo mexicano: sus textos y contextos neolatinos en cinco siglos (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 2000), Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, Indice del humanismo mexicano (Mexico City: Seminario de Cultura Mexicana, 1944), and Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹⁷ See Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986); and Helen Hills, *Matter of Miracles: Neapolitan Baroque Sanctity and Architecture.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

His approach to social history and excellent archival sense have helped me conceptualize how to approach a building as a project and how to integrate various moving parts to form a cohesive study of a monument. I am also informed by his treatment of vernacular forms and his effort to break with the tradition of identifying simply with the elite classes in his approach to the sites and instead to assess the broad spectrum of social groups that contributed to the construction and the life of the buildings.

Though Hills' work provides many interesting points of inquiry, such as a fresh conceptualization of the baroque and a meditation on the global silver trade and local devotion, I am most intrigued by her theorization of the building as engine. Rather than treating a monument as a container that embodies a set of beliefs or meanings (leaving the art historian to crack it open, I suppose, like a time capsule), Hill argues that the function of the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro, Naples, was machinic rather than passive. This line of inquiry led me to consider the ways in which the templo actively produced not just cults and devotional practices, but civic and creole identity as well.

Upton's work helped articulate a particular dissatisfaction I've felt with histories of Mexican viceregal architecture—their study invariably favors a top-down approach that merely names and identifies the wealthiest donors, the most renowned spiritual leaders, and the most beloved master artists that can be identified with a site. This approach erases the colonial circumstances almost completely; for Mexican sites, it writes out the labor and agency of Indigenous and mixed-race actors that formed a demographic majority and upon whose backs the colony was built. Thus, a thrust of this dissertation is working toward a decolonial approach to the study of colonial art. My subfield study in Chicano art provided an opportunity to learn methodologies of Chicano studies that include de- and postcolonial theory, critical race theory,

and feminist and queer theory. This theory is not just useful, but essential to advance the study of colonial Latin American art.

I do this in part by employing Emma Pérez's theory of the Decolonial Imaginary.
Simply stated, Pérez theorizes the "Colonial Imaginary" as a pre-determined set of attributes (race, gender, language, religion, etc.) that frame the telling of history within a normative discourse. Dana Velasco Murillo has already begun to work against the colonial imaginary in her reframing of Zacatecan history by uncovering the unique Indigenous history of the city. I use her work as a model and resource for furthering the work from an art historical perspective.
In Mexico, the Colonial Imaginary has contributed to a nationalist history that favors European cultural antecedents and suppresses the groups now marginalized by the colonial framework.
For this reason, mestizaje, the cultural blending of Indigenous, African, Asian, and European forms, continues to be a contested issue within the field. After a brief consideration of the historical and artistic context of the monument, I'll turn to an abbreviated history of the study of mestizaje and Indigenous survivals and propose a framework for interpreting colonial art.

Historical and Artistic Context

The site, initially held by the Franciscans, housed a hermitage dedicated to San Sebastián beginning in 1577.¹⁹ The first Jesuits arrived in 1572 and took residence permanently in

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¹⁸ Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Much of the history of the site comes from Gerard Decorme, SJ, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial*, vol. I: Fundaciones y obras (Mexico City: Antigua Libreria Roberdo de Jose Porrua e Hijos, 1941) and Marco Díaz, *La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982).

Zacatecas in 1589; the Franciscans donated the property to the Jesuits in 1590, and soon after the Jesuit missionaries completed some construction on residence quarters. Within three years they opened a primary school for local children. Unusually, demographic information reflects that Zacatecas maintained roughly equal ratios of Indigenous, Spanish, and mixed race inhabitants.²⁰ The first new construction of a Jesuit sanctuary and colegio took place beginning in 1617. The new Temple and College of the Society of Jesus were dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and largely funded by Don Vicente Zaldivar Mendoza, a wealthy miner, and his wife Ana Temiño de Bañuelos. The final building phase took place from 1746-49 during a time of crisis in Zacatecas—the mines had quit producing silver, and a drought and failed corn crops caused a famine. During this construction, the church took on its modern appearance—the chapel was renovated and the plan was broadened to include two aisles that flank the nave. (Figure 5) The Jesuits were expelled from Spanish territories in 1767; an inventory dated August 8, 1767 documents the turnover of the templo and its contents to Felipe de Neve, including the numerous alhajas, precious liturgical objects.²¹ By 1786 the Dominicans took over the templo and colegio, renaming it the Iglesia de Santo Domingo.

The rare presence of significant works of art dating to the eighteenth century allows for an opportunity to study a nearly intact church in a silver city. The survival of eight lateral altarpieces, in particular, allows for an examination of style and iconography at a particular site. Sadly, the retablo mayor, or main altarpiece, which should be located in the apse of the church,

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²⁰ For more, see Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians*, op cit.

²¹ Located in the Archivo National de Santiago de Chile and transcribed in Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, *La Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas: documentos para su estudio* (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2010).

does not survive. A nineteenth-century work is in its place. Significantly, the church retains eight of its eleven original retablos, or retables. Retablos are uniquely important as an art form. Straddling categories of architecture, painting, and sculpture, they represent a microcosm of craft specialization, artistic interpretation, and collective organization. As a strictly European art form without a New World equivalent prior to colonization, their presence and status in colonial Mexico begs special consideration when delving into monumental artistic production. Though widespread throughout the colonial period, Mexican retablos have been subjected to piecemeal deconstruction in addition to general issues of poor conservation. Although the retablo mayor no longer exists, the eight extant retablos are important to study because they convey invaluable information about the important cults, devotional practices, and relics of the templo, all of which paint a compelling portrait of communal worship.

The retablos of the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús line the lateral aisles of the nave, tightly fitting into the architectural framework of the bays. Moving toward the main altar, the retablos express increasing elaboration of ornament. (Figure 6) The ones nearest the entrance, for example, feature basic framing elements with applied ornamental motifs including rocaille, vegetal swags, and egg and dart motifs. They display low relief sculptures, and few sculptures in the round. Overall, the retablos feature few paintings; instead, most of the iconography is conveyed by sculpture. This may have been a simple matter of taste and developing style, as even the grand retablos at Tepotzotlán feature few paintings. It may have also been a matter of necessity, as sculpture was less heavily regulated by artisans' guilds than religious paintings. Only two altarpieces include paintings and one of these is a modern stand in; the extant eighteenth-century painting features a sweetly painted Saint Anthony against a dark ground that recalls the work of José de Ibarra. Moving further up the nave, however, the framing elements of

the retablo become more ornate, incorporating more profuse grotesque forms such as floating cherub heads, corbels elaborated with polychromed heads, and estipite columns, which firmly mark the style as ultrabaroque.²² At the transept, each retablo is a tier taller than the others.

Dedicated to the two most important Jesuit saints, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, these grand retablos feature the most ornate elaboration of the form; one can imagine how spectacular the retablo mayor, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, would have been.

The settlement history of the region contributed to a unique social landscape in Zacatecas. The people Indigenous to the region—commonly called Chichimecas but actually Zacatecos, Guachichiles and Caxcanes—were non-sedentary or semi-sedentary. Unlike the Valley of Mexico, there were no large settlements, no large pool of labor from which to draft workers, and no existing tribute system to satisfy Spanish needs. Zacatecas was unlike other urban silver centers, Potosí or Taxco, for instance, in that there was no repartimiento or tribute labor; it became a city of Indigenous immigrants who were offered wages for their work.²³ The labor circumstances were much different in Zacatecas than in the Valley of Mexico, where monuments and monumental works were extracted as tribute or by a diversion of tributary labor and goods. Paid laborers became the norm much earlier in Zacatecas than elsewhere in New Spain, and "friendly" Indigenous groups were relocated to the region. Velasco notes that the

²² Estípite columns are a Mexican innovation; they look like inverted obelisks with bases that are significantly narrower than the body. For more see Fátima Halcón, *Felipe De Ureña: la difusión del estípite en Nueva España* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2012) and Víctor Manuel Villegas, *El gran signo formal del barroco; ensayo histórico del apoyo estípite* (Mexico City: Impr. Universitaria, 1956).

²³ Much of this comes from Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

immigration to the region by Indians was both voluntary and recurrent—in many cases, working in Zacatecas was preferable due to the avoidance of draft labor and tribute payment; additionally, workers were enticed to the region by being offered *partidas* (also called *pepenas*)—silver tailings which could be smelted at small unofficial furnaces. Tlaxcaltecas, Mexicas, Tarascans, and Texcocans moved to Zacatecas and were settled in four barrios around the city center, which was occupied by the Spanish and their servants (usually people of African or mixed descent). Nahuatl, which arrived in the territory at the same time as the Spanish language, became the lingua franca of the Indigenous groups there. Because the Indigenous emigrants were from disparate groups and they lacked kinship networks in their new community, they formed the first religious confraternity in 1561, which stood in for this network and also acted as a municipal council.²⁴ Notably, women and children were both allowed membership into the cofradías; in fact, in 1566 half of the new members were women.²⁵

At present, the study of Colonial Mexican art primarily focuses on the Valley of Mexico with sites within and proximal to Mexico City receiving the lions' share of attention.

Furthermore, the eighteenth century in colonial art has only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. The trajectory of the future of the study of colonial Mexican art points toward a move away from a focus on Mexico City as the epicenter and toward an understanding of how regions on the periphery participated in the development of creole visual culture and identity.

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²⁴ For more on confraternities in Zacatecas, see Lara Mancuso, *Cofradías mineras: religiosidad popular en México y Brasil, siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007).

²⁵ Velasco, 73.

²⁶ The Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition *Pinxit Mexici*, for which I served first as research assistant then as curatorial assistant, was the first major survey of art of the period and opens the door for future research.

Despite the region's rich history and impressive extant works of art and architecture, the literature is surprisingly thin and decent reproductions of artworks are also rare. By focusing on this eighteenth-century church in the city of Zacatecas, this dissertation is positioned on the forefront of the field and also brings to light important monuments and artworks that have been long neglected. Furthermore, an important aspect of decolonizing the study of viceregal art is de-centering the study of art and architecture—emphasizing the participation of "marginal" regions in creole visual culture.

While art history has engaged critically with globalism in the early modern era, it has not yet approached Mexican silver mining or its relationship to New Spanish cultural production rigorously. In 2010, the Museo Nacional del Virreinato organized an exhibition of Mexican silver called *Plata: Forjando México*. This show emphasized the global connections of Mexican silver; in fact the banner objects for the exhibition were nearly three-dozen liturgical objects of Mexican manufacture that had been kept in the Canary Islands for the previous three centuries. While the study of the expansive reach of Mexican craft and coin has helped contextualize the colony's importance in the machine of Spanish Empire and Spain's periods of dominance during the early modern period, this line of inquiry has done little toward understanding Mexico. Unexplored to this point are the ways in which Mexican silver mining communities were enriched by their mineral wealth. Like the very minerals extracted from their mines, the cities are treated as if they are merely a point on a commodity flow chart leading toward the metropole and beyond.

Though the bulk of the profit of silver extraction fed into the Spanish imperial effort, mining also created wealthy cities in the New World. Zacatecas, the capital city of the state of Zacatecas, was one of the most important cities during the viceregal period, following only

Mexico City and Guadalajara, the former the seat of the audiencia. A silver lode was discovered in Zacatecas in 1546, leading to the founding of the city, and at one point its mines produced one fifth of the world's total silver. Thanks to the mineral wealth of the region, Zacatecas is home to significant works of art and architecture—for instance, its cathedral is widely considered a masterpiece of Churriguresque style, yet the city, and its works, have remained under-studied by art historians.

The vital role of Indigenous people in Zacatecas' history and civic development also receives inadequate scholarly attention. This is part of a larger trend in the study of colonial art whose lineage I trace to call attention to problematic and unexamined histories. My intervention in this topic is the suggestion of a term and theoretical approach that offer new perspectives and departure points for Indigenous survivals in Latin American art. This approach is also key to my work on the templo.

Historiography of Mestizaje and Alternatives

Around the centenary celebration of Mexico's independence from Spain, and immediately after the Revolution, the Mexican *Secretaria de Hacienda* funded the research and publication of a series of books that investigated the colonial architecture of Mexico.²⁷ Artist *Gerardo Murillo*, better known by his self-appointed Nahua moniker Dr. Atl, along with renowned art historian Manuel Toussaint, wrote the text of the six volumes while Guillermo Kahlo, father of Frida, photographed the churches. A stated goal of the study was to uncover what was truly "Mexican" about the architecture—to discover what inherent properties characterized those buildings as distinct from their European counterparts.

²⁷Dr. Atl, Manuel Toussaint, and José R. Benítez. *Iglesias de México* (Mexico City: Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Hacienda, 1924-1927).

The catalyst for this line of inquiry lies in the spirit of post-Revolutionary nationalism that gripped Mexico in the first quarter of the twentieth century when, in an effort to build an identity as an independent country, the elite mined Mexico's Indigenous heritage as a source of authenticity and to lay claim to an ancient past. This is of course a very simplified summary of a complicated social process. The search for mestizaje in colonial architecture exposed their own rejection of the imported European tastes and styles that were a legacy of Spanish colonization and officially sanctioned under the Porfiriato. The latter term refers to the period of time in which Porfirio Diaz was president of Mexico, intermittently between 1876-1911.

I begin my thoughts on hybridity at this juncture because I believe that discussions of hybridity and Indigenous survivals are inextricably bound to contemporaneous notions of nationhood and race. The willingness to recognize and even celebrate the cultural contributions of racial and ethnic minorities under a colonial construct is a radical act—it is to question the colonial imaginary that made these cultures Other and its history of systematic oppression. It is worth noting that at the same time that colonial architecture came under this scrutiny, folk art of Indigenous communities, or *arte popular*, received attention from the cultural establishment when it was featured in its first ever exhibition. ²⁸ Catalogues were published afterward that included images not only of the works but also the people and communities that produced them. The recognition of the historical legacy of Indigenous visual culture arrived only after the contemporaneous folk arts were received as aesthetic objects.

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²⁸ The *Exposición de arte popular* opened in September of 1921 and was accompanied br Dr. Atl's *Las artes populares en México*, a publication that eventually comprised several volumes. The exhibition opened in Mexico City and traveled to Los Angeles in 1922.

Art and architectural historians have approached the theme of mestizaje and Indigenous survivals repeatedly since this early foray.²⁹ In an article dating to 1948, Alfred Neumeyer began to answer basic questions about the logistics of monumental building in New Spain, primarily outlining the extent and visibility of Indigenous labor.³⁰ The article marks an important moment in which historians began considering the vestiges of Indigenous visual culture in the former Spanish colonies alongside the practical realities of colonization. The breadth of the article, which attempts to unify architectural ornament of the colonies from Mexico to the Andes, is so wide-ranging that the article loses some of its impact. His article is notable, however, in that it argues for a greater sensitivity to Indigenous tradition and technique and concludes that the style of New Spanish art would simply not exist without the influence of the Indigenous craftsmen. Furthermore, Neumeyer states that in order to understand the native influence, one needs to look for their interpretation of European forms, such as in an atrial cross from Atzacoalco, rather than attempting to tease out specifically Indigenous themes. In essence, he argues for a processual approach to understanding the development of a New Spanish style. His tone toward the Indigenous workers is sympathetic; he criticizes, for instance, Spanish art historian Diego Angulo İñiguez for suggesting that Indigenous craftsmen should have more forcefully exerted their own styles, writing that he "asks from an unfree people that it act like the free masters."31 Here, then, we see a recognition of the repression of Indigenous forms that

²⁹ I am grateful to Charlene Villaseñor Black, in whose seminar I encountered these foundational works and for whom I wrote a qualifying exam in which I began to theorize this framework.

³⁰ Alfred Neumeyer, "Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration," *The Art Bulletin* 30, no. 2 (Jun. 1948): 104-121.

³¹ Ibid., 109.

occurred under Spanish colonialism without judgment of the value of those forms. This is an important distinction that is almost unparalleled in subsequent approaches.

George Kubler responded directly to Neumeyer in an essay that was supposed to explore the survivals of Indigenous motifs but which he reframed so that "readers would not expect any large remnants of the wreck of pre-Columbian civilization." Kubler argued that the domination of the Spanish over the Amerindians was complete and works of art, what he terms the "most tangible and permanent manifestations of culture," were completely eradicated and replaced by those of the Spanish. His tone is often caustic; near the conclusion of the essay, he wrote:

Powerful and numerous invaders can impose their religion at once upon a retarded and conquered people, whose own religious tradition then withers away. Art is the symbolic expression accompanying this displacement.³⁴

The author denied the significance of Spanish acquisition of Indigenous languages, stating that by learning it, the Spanish robbed the language of its power and made it another tool of the state. According to the author, like King Midas, anything the Spanish touched became marked irrevocably theirs and always served as a reminder of their own power and rectitude. Kubler rejects Neumeyer's argument, claiming that the formal variation found in New Spanish artwork has to do with a degradation of European design at the hands of Indigenous workers who simply copied them over and over.

³² George Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art," in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 14.

³³ Ibid., 15.

³⁴ Ibid., 34.

Kubler addresses the same spirit of revivalism and indigenismo I introduced this section with, however he bases the narrative completely upon the intervention of white American artists William Spratling and Truman Bailey, who set up silver workshops in Mexico and Peru, respectively, and drew from Indigenous traditions including the glyphs of pre-Contact manuscripts to create fresh modern design. Kubler claims that *indigenismo* itself lies fully within the bounds of European intellectualism. His reframing is shocking; again, he denies agency to the Mexican Indigenous people of the historical past and of his own time. This framing of history is harmful; it has the capacity to silence actors such as Xavier Guerrero, an Indigenous Mexican muralist who was a contemporary of Rivera and Orozco and had a significant role in the exhibition of arte popular. Kubler also excludes wholesale the Mexican attempt to recognize and recover Indigenous culture, ascribing it solely to a desire to profit financially from purely aestheticized forms. He either misunderstands or ignores the power of a state-sanctioned exploration into the forms of Indigenous material culture and its role in developing identity. Aside from archaeological excavations, state sponsored explorations include Adolfo Best Maugard's appointment under the SEP to develop a theory of design based on Indigenous motifs. A similar project was undertaken by Jorge Enciso, who reproduced the impressions from pre-Hispanic stone seals for design purposes. Surprisingly, Kubler rejects the term mestizaje due to its racial connotations and makes suggestions for alternatives including tequitqui, which he dismisses because as a Nahuatl term it would not serve for Peru or Central America. He settles for "folk art" and proceeds to discuss the signs of Indigenous survival, which he refers to as "death cries" of the extinction of Indigenous art styles.³⁵ According to Kubler, the presence of

³⁵ Ibid., 16-17.

Indigenous forms is indexical: it always points to its own extinction. He compares the extinction of Indigenous cultures to the fall of the Roman Empire, noting that the vestiges of Greco-Roman civilization remain due to their "overwhelming superiority."³⁶ The implication, of course, is that the Indigenous cultures, and their art forms, were technically and morally inferior to the Spanish ones. He claims that the rare crafts that do survive only exist due to their ability to generate income; they are devoid of symbolic meaning and instead tied to practical or sentimental value. His position reflects the lasting effect of the creation of the subjectivities of the Conqueror and Conquered, part of the Colonial imaginary theorized by Emma Pérez.³⁷ Kubler's approach falls firmly into this mentality to the detriment of a comprehensive understanding of the colonial situation. By treating colonization and Indigenous people as relics of the past, he receives a myopic view of both subjects. At best, he glaringly omits the contemporary existence of an Indigenous community in Mexico; at worst, he implies that they are backward and inferior.

The study of the meeting of Spanish and Indigenous cultures makes great strides when combined with postcolonial theory.³⁸ The question of seeing and naming Indigenous survivals is thoughtfully explored by Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, who use a postcolonial framework to take on the more recent term of choice—hybridity.³⁹ The authors make several strides in their

³⁶ Ibid., 32.

³⁷ See Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Pres, 1999).

³⁸ Though not included here in the broader discussion, Charlene Villaseñor Black's recent essay on the racialized classification of colonial art provides a nuanced discussion of the seminal texts here and advances the discussion of the topic. See "Race and the Historiography of Colonial Art," *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela A. Patton (Brill, 2015), 303-322.

³⁹ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review*

work on Indigenous survivals. The first is their recognition of hybridity as a social process rather than a simple question of stylistic continuity. They recognize that objects had meaning both in the colonial context—in essence, how objects and practices produced meaning in their original context—and in the contemporary one—how we define and construct those historical contexts.

The authors write about the deception of seeing hybridity, noting the limitations in the idea that native or Indigenous people have to remain culturally pre-Hispanic to be recognized as such and they state that the visibility of extant objects allows one to recognize the influence of native cultures in a limited way (as the conquered rather than survivor.) They also point out the importance of invisible hybridity—the cases in which Indigenous labor goes unrecognized due to the apparently orthodox appearance of the final object. They conclude that the object of hybridity lies not within the things produced, rather the stories we tell about them. In effect, an object doesn't inhere hybridity: the context or setting in which it circulates does.

This framing of the issue of hybridity has profound relevance for the field. In fact, much of the article aims at underlining the ways in which traditional art history is ill-equipped to address hybridity. Leibsohn and Dean question the classificatory impulse that underlies traditional forms of art history. Whose history, they ask, are we telling when we speak of confluence? They note that neither style alone, observed through formal analysis, nor archival research can fully describe the hybrid object. In the end, their statement on hybridity functions as a fly in the ointment—rather than defining it, they tease out hybridity's multivalence. They

^{12,} no. 1 (June 2003): 5-35. Their work leans upon Homi Bhabha's theorization of hybridity. See Homi K. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1994).

question the drive to seek purity and origins in objects, noting that appearances can be deceiving and historical records scarce. What, then, do we make of colonial artistic production?

In fact, hybridity is an inadequate descriptor of the character of colonial art. In the first place, it suggests an equivalence to art history's reception of the hybridized forms-Indigenous and European art-that simply does not exist. Indigenous art and visual culture, especially from the period before colonization, is most often displayed as ethnographic or anthropologic evidence; if not, it is ghettoized in distinct institutions. In order for colonial art to be a hybrid form, to follow the taxonomic metaphor, the art forms would need to come from at least the same genus. Art history barely recognizes them as belonging to the same kingdom. This is a problem that underlies the more general difficulty in classifying colonial art—from the outset, the task is impossible because the forms of cultural production are treated so unevenly. To work in the field of colonial art, then, requires us to consider not just the colonial repression of Indigenous forms, but to also recognize their impeded acceptance as art within the present-day discipline. Therefore, we need to adopt a term and methodological approach that begins with the recognition of the historical inequality in the study of the art forms and encompasses the mixed quality of the object. I propose we consider colonial art as a chimera.

The Chimera was a fearsome creature of divine origin recounted in Greek mythology.

According to Apollodorus, it had the head and forequarters of a lion, the hindquarters of a dragon with a snake for a tail, and a midsection of a she-goat with a fire-breathing goat's head.⁴⁰ The Chimera and chimerical object deny easy classification and question taxonomic systems in their very existence: they disturb the normal order. To speak of colonial art as chimerical is to begin

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⁴⁰ See Apollodorus, James G. Frazer, ed. *The Library*, 2015. Internet resource. Book 2 Chapter 3 for the description of the Chimera and her slaying by Bellerophon.

by acknowledging its composite nature *a priori* rather than treating it as a degenerate form of European art.

My consideration of this term is inspired by Lorraine Daston, who outlines a frame for the chimerical object in her evocative work, *Things that Talk*. As a historian of science, Daston conceptualizes chimerical objects as those that bridge boundaries such as: art and nature, person and thing, or objective and subjective. Harvard's glass flowers, for instance, are an example of the first type. Commissioned for the botany department of the university in the nineteenth century, the glass flowers are a marvel: their breathtaking verisimilitude at once speaks of handcraft and countless hours in the Blashka's studio but also appears to be more natural than nature itself. According to Daston, for the chimerical object, "The differences in species must be stressed: the composites in question don't just weld together different elements of the same kind...they straddle boundaries between kinds." She iterates that chimerical objects adhere materiality and meaning, making an attempt to consider one without the other impossible.

Recent methods of art historical inquiry attempt to erase the distinction of "kinds" that makes the discussion of colonial art challenging. Studies on materiality and facture, for instance, attempt to rectify the inequality in the approaches to Indigenous and European art by approaching works from a purely objective stance. However, in seeking a lowest common denominator between Indigenous tradition and colonial production, we open ourselves up to another form of erasure. Colonial art is an art of rupture. It is *ni aquí ni allá*. Rather than our study fragmenting colonial art, panning for "pure" elements in order to better fit it within art

⁴¹ See Lorraine Daston, *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 21. Daston primarily looks at objects that blend art and nature; the discussion of the chimerical object as a colonial construct is my own.

history's preferred frameworks, art historians must adopt a new approach that can adequately envision the fantastic beast that is colonial art.

A final note on the word chimera: unlike hybrid, which was adopted as a scientific, objective term, the word chimera comes from a myth. *Mythos*, related to the oral tradition, stands in direct opposition to *logos*, the rational or real. Chimera is a more adept term to discuss colonial art whose heart lies not only in the objective qualities of its physical form, but in the subjective experience of the colonial condition.

Within this dissertation, I highlight colonial subjectivities as a means of exposing the chimerical nature of the material culture produced from it. In doing this, I reject the longstanding narrative that minimizes or denies the importance of women and African-descended, Indigenous, and Asian people in the visual culture of colonial Mexico. Further, the established narrative of Indigenous survivals scantly addresses cultural diffusion in extra metropolitan communities. By examining the visual culture, civic institutions, and social cohesion (or discord) of the heterogenous urban city, we gain a new view of how colonial citizens were made.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter One: Unsettling Histories

This chapter outlines the unique historical and physical landscape of Zacatecas and highlights the difference in its settlement versus that in Mexico City. It argues that the settlement of this region elucidates how disparate colonial subjects formed an urban creole culture in a way that is difficult to see when studying from the center. The arrival of the Jesuits and the construction (and reconstruction) of the templo are examined among contemporaneous

historical events, including silver booms and busts. Finally, it considers how women contributed to the construction and maintenance of the site.

Chapter Two: Cantera y Plata

This chapter considers the physical appearance of the templo, both its architectonic features and ornament. I perform an iconographic analysis of the extant paintings and identify and catalog dispersed paintings currently located in museum collections. This chapter furthers the work done by Gordo and Castillo by moving beyond the retablos to consider the paintings in the sacristy and making comparative analyses between the site and other local churches and nearby Jesuit sites.

Chapter Three: Rituals and Festivals

This chapter considers the role of the church among the broader festival culture of New Spain. In this chapter, I examine three contemporary sources that describe festivals held in Zacatecas. I consider how the templo participated in new devotions and important celebrations, such as the weeks long celebration of the naming of Guadalupe as patroness of New Spain.

27

Chapter One: Unsettling Histories

This chapter situates the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús in the city of Zacatecas, a vital settlement in the New Spanish province of Nueva Galicia in northern Mexico. The location of the church, its patronage, and the built environment of the city, more broadly, were all marked by the laborious process of developing the previously unsettled region. In this chapter, I explore the social and economic foundation of the church against the broader backdrop of provincial settlement. I find that the practical necessities of labor and survival on the frontier under colonial administration created an interdependent relationship between Indigenous, mixed-race, and Spanish citizens. The mining industry also necessitated an itinerant labor force and created a new class of local patrons; I show that patronage at the templo is closely tied to both of these circumstances and especially pertinent to the issue of women as patrons.

<u>Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús</u>

Today, the former Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús resides at the heart of the historic center of the city of Zacatecas. Facing southwest, the church is comprised of a single nave with two side aisles, two towers, and a façade that draws on *retablo* design and is executed with the local pink *cantera* stone. (Figure 1) The southern tower is obscured awkwardly by the façade of the former Jesuit *colegio*, which abuts it, nearly bisecting the tower vertically at its center. This design choice may reflect that the land acquired by the Jesuits to realize an expanded church and school was insufficiently matched to their grandiose plans.

The site upon which the church stands was initially held by Franciscan missionaries and housed a hermitage dedicated to San Sebastián, an important patron saint of miners. The first new construction of a Jesuit sanctuary and colegio took place beginning in 1617. The new Temple and College of the Society of Jesus were dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and largely funded by Don Vicente Zaldivar Mendoza, a wealthy miner, and his wife Ana Temiño de Bañuelos. Though little is known about this initial iteration, records indicate that it was a simple single nave church with one tower and a retablo mayor with paintings by Luis Juárez. The final building phase took place from 1746-49 during a time of crisis in Zacatecas—the mines had quit producing silver, and a drought and failed corn crops caused a famine. During this construction, the church took on its present form.

The Settlement of Nueva Galicia and the City of Zacatecas

The story of the provinces that would make up the Spanish viceroyalty in the New World and the present-day country of Mexico is more complex than just the tale of the fall of Tenochtitlan, an event that stands as shorthand for the colonization of Mexico. Beyond the great city, swaths of land to the north and west of the Valley of Mexico were the ancestral homeland of nomadic or semi-sedentary Zacatecos, Guachichile and Caxcanes Indigenous groups. (Figure 2) These territories were both unsettled and unsettling to the Spanish; they represented the

⁴² Much of the history of the site comes from Gerard Decorme, SJ, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial*, vol. I: Fundaciones y obras (Mexico City: Antigua Libreria Roberdo de Jose Porrua e Hijos, 1941) and Marco Díaz, *La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982).

⁴³ See Díaz, 99.

hinterlands of an already strange land, where warlike "indios bárbaros" could be found. Called "Chichimecas" first by the Nahua and then by the Spanish, these tribes were contrasted with "Indios Mexicanos"—the more "civilized" Indigenous groups, who were depicted with differentiated *traje*, or dress, in viceregal art, especially notable in *casta* paintings.⁴⁴ (Figures 3 & 4)

Immediately following the fall of Tenochtitlan, the Crown dispatched conquistadores on expeditions to explore Mexico and to secure resources. The search for the famed Seven Cities of Cíbola led explorers to the north and west of Mexico City and as far north as the Texas panhandle. Opportunistic Spaniards were eager to become *encomenderos* and took advantage of any chance to obtain grants. By 1525, one such man, Nuño de Guzmán, had arrived in New Spain, partially to check Cortés's power there. Guzmán would quickly earn a reputation as an ostentatious and particularly cruel man who was overly concerned with status seeking. Reports taken as part of testimony against him in various charges state that he surrounded himself with a large entourage that usually included enslaved people sometimes numbering in the hundreds, always forced to walk on foot.

⁴⁴ For more on castas, see Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). Early accounts of the Chichimecas are recorded in early chronicles, such as the Manuscript Tovar, also known as the Ramírez Codex, a late sixteenth-century relación attributed to Jesuit priest Juan de Tovar. For more, see Juan de Tovar, Manuel Orozco y Berra, and José Fernando Ramírez, *Códice Ramírez: manuscrito del siglo XVI intitulado: relación del origen de los indios que habitan esta Nueva España, según sus historias* (Mexico City: Innovación, 1979).

⁴⁵ See Stephen Clissold, *The Seven Cities of Cibola* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1961).

⁴⁶ Donald E. Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Pánuco in New Spain 1518-1533* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co: 1967), 181. These reports came from a *pequisa secreta*, or secret inquiry, that was called in response to complaints against Guzmán as governor of Pánuco.

In 1529, the same year that he was denied admission into the Order of Santiago, Guzmán began a vicious six-year long campaign into what became the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, which he governed from 1529-34.⁴⁷ In order to pay the expenses of the expedition, Guzmán extorted extreme tributes from Indigenous people in Huejotzingo, including demanding the creation of a particularly opulent featherwork standard to bring on the campaign.⁴⁸ The excessive tribute demands were documented both in a lawsuit brought by Cortés against Guzmán and in a letter sent from Juan de Zumárraga to the Crown in 1529.⁴⁹ Without extant *encomenderos* to challenge his claims or well-established religious centers to check his behavior, Guzmán was allowed to run rampant across the frontier. He went on to settle numerous cities in Nueva Galicia, including Compostela, which became the seat of an *audiencia* in 1542.

Yet Spanish settlement in northwest Mexico was inhibited by both geography and Indigenous resistance. Bands of Indigenous warriors carried out raids against travelers bound to overland routes in the arid, landlocked region and descended upon fledgling Spanish cities, such as Guadalajara, which had been settled by a man in Guzmán's command, Cristobal de Oñate, in 1531. In 1540, Caxcanes peoples mounted an uprising from a stronghold in Zacatecas that was

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 $^{^{47}}$ See Donald E. Chipman, "New Light on the Career of Nuño de Guzmán," *The Americas* 19 no. 4 (April 1963): 342.

⁴⁸ The cost of creating the standard was so great that twenty enslaved people were sold to acquire the necessary supplies. No longer extant, an image of the banner is recorded in the Huejotzingo Codex and is itself considered to be one the oldest extant representation of the Virgin Mary created by Indigenous hands. I discuss the lawsuit and standard at length in my MA thesis; see JoAnna Reyes Walton, *Where Taxation Meets Acculturation: Making Monumental Art in Colonial Huejotzingo* (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University, 2012).

⁴⁹ Zumárraga states that men, pregnant women, and children were forced to travel eighteen leagues through a snow-covered pass to bring excessive quantities of fowl, eggs, wood, maize, and more to the homes of Guzmán and two other oidores; the journey was so treacherous that one hundred and thirteen carriers had died in the process. See Simpson, 217 for more.

only ended after two years of fighting; the Spanish used thirty thousand Aztec and Tlaxcalan warriors and at one point the viceroy himself took the field.⁵⁰ By 1542, the resistance had been largely quelled, and Spanish explorers were able to move more freely further north in search of resources to support the growing settlements in Nueva Galicia. Simultaneously, smaller silver strikes occurred in settled cities such as Compostela, yet the ores were exhausted quickly.

Silver Strike and Settlement of Zacatecas

At the behest of Cristobal de Oñate, a band of Spanish explorers and enslaved Indigenous people led by Juan de Tolosa made numerous exploratory trips from Nochistlán, Zacatecas.

After being shown pieces of ore that appeared to be rich in silver in Tlaltenango and asking where they came from, Tolosa was directed toward what is the present-day city Zacatecas.

There, Tolosa and his men gathered several carts of ore, which were taken back to Nochistlán for analysis. In Nochistlán, Tolosa garnered the interest of Diego de Ibarra, who agreed to help support the mining effort; the two returned within days and began to solicit settlers and laborers to the region.

Four Founders

In addition to Tolosa and Ibarra, Cristobal de Oñate and Baltasar de Temiño de Bañuelos are credited as the founders of Zacatecas. Though neither of the latter was present for the initial strike, they were key to Zacatecas' early settlement—Oñate supplied needed funds to encourage

⁵⁰ Mendoza's participation on the field was a unique occurrence in all of the viceregal period of Mexico. See Bakewell, 5.

⁵¹ Bakewell, 8.

prospective miners to move there while Temiño appears to have serendipitously arrived in 1548 when Zacatecas was formally founded as a mining district, or *real de minas*, called Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas. The founders were all Basque, except Temiño, held administrative positions and *encomiendas*, made money in silver, and lost most of it by the time they were elderly due to the expenses of mining operations and defending the city.⁵² The Zacatecos mounted little resistance to the settlement of the city, and for the first several years it was able to develop relatively free of attack. The danger lay instead in the silver routes, where recurrent raids threatened supplies and endangered the lives of both Spanish and Indigenous travelers.

During expeditions and raids, Spanish men captured and enslaved Chichimecas, even though this behavior was supposedly illegal. A letter signed by Luís de Velasco, second viceroy of New Spain (r. 1550-1564), grants freedom to one such woman, María Castaño, who had been taken near Saltillo, Coahuila, by one Gaspar Castaño and forced to serve in Zacatecas.⁵³ The letter relates that Castaño had enslaved several Indigenous people and loaned them to citizens in Zacatecas to labor in personal service. By some means, María was able to make a complaint that reached the viceroy, who ruled that she was neither a criminal nor prisoner of war and therefore could not be legally enslaved by the Spaniard. He ordered that she be released immediately and not pressed into service again.

Little is known about traffickers such as Castaño, but a seventeenth-century portrait of María Luisa de Toledo, daughter of Viceroy Antonio Sebastián de Toledo (1656-1707), reflects the continued use of Chichimeca people as personal servants. (Figure 4) María Luisa spent her

 52 For more, see Juan J. Zaldivar Ortega, $Los\ fundadores\ de\ Zacatecas$ (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Impre-Jal, 2016).

⁵³ Center for Southwest Research, MSS 841 BC, AGI, Indios, Legajo 6, Part 1, Expediente 166. https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/Manuscripts/id/7776.

childhood and teenage years in Mexico while her father served as viceroy. Mexico City painter Antonio Rodríguez Beltrán (active 1650-1692) presents the young noblewoman in a richly decorated brown and gold brocade gown and numerous pieces of jewelry. She wears a cuffed leather glove on her right hand and places her bare left hand upon the head of an Indigenous woman of small stature. The woman has been identified as Chichimeca due to her facial tattooing. Her adornment also includes an intricately woven huipil worn over moderately full European sleeves and jewelry and hair accessories that mirror Toledo's but in materials of poorer quality. The painting immediately recalls Diego Velázquez's contemporaneous court portraits that also included little people (dwarfs), yet the Mexican portrait connotes a greater power disparity between its subjects due to their racial difference and social standing due to the colonial order. It is probable that the woman was brought to the capital to work for the young woman more as a curiosity than a necessity.

The lack of a sizable permanent settlement near the newly established mining district meant that the Spanish were unable to press laborers in large numbers from an existing tribute pool as was done in the Valley of Mexico. Early on, enslaved people were forced to work in the mines, yet the miners realized quickly that the dangerous labor was a poor financial choice for the valuable slaves. Instead, the founders enticed free wage Indigenous laborers from central and western Mexico, especially the Tlaxcalans. This practice lies in direct opposition to the established and preferred labor arrangement in colonial Mexico—the encomienda system.

Encomienda: A Brief Overview

Beginning with Hispaniola, a European settlement since Columbus's arrival in 1492, the Spanish devised a method for controlling Indigenous labor and extracting the maximum profit

from it: the *encomienda* system. The system was made legal by royal *cédula* in December of 1503, and in theory it was to be analogous to European serfdom—the Crown granted a high-ranking Spaniard a grant of a specified number of peoples from whom tribute could be extracted by way of goods or labor.⁵⁴ In return, the *encomenderos* would provide protection to their wards, instruct them in the Catholic faith, and pay a tax to the crown on the tribute they received. In theory, the *encomienda* system satisfied the equally important tasks of spreading the faith to the New World and exploiting its material wealth.⁵⁵

In practice, however, differences in culture, race, and language quickly allowed the *encomienda* to decline into a brutal arrangement of abuse not reached in the European system.⁵⁶ Due to ongoing debate regarding its morality, the Crown did not intend for the *encomienda* system to continue into New Spain. Without waiting for approval from the crown, upon his entry into Mexico in 1519, Cortés divvied up parcels of Nahua people to his men as reward for

⁵⁴ Lesley Bird Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), 13. Tribute of personal service was banned in 1549. See Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain 1521-1555* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996), 16. It should be noted that in regions under Aztec rule prior to Spanish incursion, tributary payment to the ruling class was an established practice; see Alonso de Zorita, *Life and Labor in Ancient Mexico: The Brief and Summary Relation of the Lords of New Spain*, translated by Benjamin Keen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994). Tribute payments were recorded in codices such as the Codex Mendoza. See Frances Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁵⁵ For more, see Timothy J. Yeager, "Encomienda or Slavery? The Spanish Crown's Choice of Labor Organization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America," *The Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 4 (Dec. 1995): 842-859 and Mario Pastore's response, "Government, Taxation, Coercion, and Ideology: A Comment on Yeager," *The Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 2 (June 1998): 511-520.

⁵⁶See Simpson, 15.

their support, retaining significant portions for himself.⁵⁷ The debate regarding the necessity of the system went on, and in a letter to Charles V in October 1524, Cortés himself wrote a strong case in its support. Primarily, Cortés argued that the Spanish could not sustain themselves without native assistance, and that collection of tribute in kind was the only way the new lands could pay tribute to the crown, as they did not have money. Cortés had witnessed the encomienda on the islands and guaranteed the Crown that he, as governor, would prevent the same mistakes from occurring in New Spain.⁵⁸

Apart from the legal challenges that arose in the mid-sixteenth century, the encomienda system was never possible in Zacatecas due to the absence of laborers. The nomadic tribes that traditionally hunted in and moved freely across the region were not arranged into tribute labor groups, as were the Nahuas of the Valley of Mexico. Instead, the need for workers was filled by a rotational pool of people that migrated voluntarily to the city.

Labor and Immigration in Zacatecas

Diana Velasco Murillo explains that wages alone weren't enough to attract Indigenous laborers—the crown offered honorific titles and granted privileges, such as the right to carry a weapon and wear European clothes, as enticement.⁵⁹ Aside from these benefits, their

⁵⁷ According to Himmerich, at one point Cortés may have held as many as fifty major centers that included up to a million tributaries. See Himmerich, *Encomenderos*, 146. Also, per Himmerich, more than two thirds of the encomienda grants distributed during the first generation after conquest were given to half of the survivors of the original conquest and some "senior veterans of the Indies" who arrived after the fall of Tenochtitlan, 61.

⁵⁸ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, "The Fourth Letter," Anthony Pagden, ed. and trans. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 282-337.

⁵⁹ Velasco Murillo, 38.

employment in the mines of Zacatecas, though dangerous and difficult, may have been better than the work extracted as tribute in their home communities and would have left them with personal financial gain. Finally, Spaniards were forbidden from organizing the Indigenous workers into *repartimiento* and Indigenous citizens did not face widespread forced labor during this period. For these reasons, immigration to Zacatecas was recurrent and voluntary; Indigenous immigrants entered into verbal agreements with miners and were either paid weekly wages or paid by the volume of ore they produced. Initially Indigenous and Spanish citizens occupied temporary shelters near each other, but eventually the city donated a land grant to the Indigenous community, who formed the barrio, then town, of San Josef.

Life in Early Zacatecas: 1550 Map of Nueva Galicia

A painted map of Nueva Galicia from 1550 provides some insight into early settlement of the region by capturing a wealth of data including geographic, historical, and ethnographic information.⁶¹ (Figure 6) The map, which is roughly twelve by seventeen inches, is oriented to the east; it encompasses a region bordered on the top by the mining camp of Zacatecas, on the bottom by the Pacific Ocean, to the right the province of Michoacan, and to the left by the city of Centispac (in present-day Nayarit.) The map is one of around five hundred Indigenous codices

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⁶⁰ Velasco Murillo, 40. Repartimiento is forced labor that was meant to be time-limited but often exceeded the limits.

⁶¹ Víctor Téllez, Cynthia Miranda, and Víctor Fregoso, "La construcción de paisajes políticos en la pintura del Nuevo Reino De Galicia," *Letras históricas* 20 (September 2019): 239-298, https://doi.org/10.31836/lh.20.7092.

created after the incursion of Spanish colonizers into Mexico. 62 Many of these codices survive due to their inclusion as evidence in Spanish legal cases; they remained a valuable asset primarily because the Spanish recognized their usefulness and accuracy and frequently requested new paintings be made for census purposes, often in response to legal complaints. 63 In this case the map was created as part of a successful petition to move the audiencia and seat of the church from Compostela to Guadalajara. 64

Aside from the expected topography, hydrography, settlements, and the indication of ports and mines that one would expect to see, the map also depicts dozens of Indigenous people who are characteristically nude, wielding bows, arrows, and clubs.⁶⁵ They are confined to the upper and lower extremities of the image and without exception present imminent threat; every figure either stands training their bow in the direction of a Spanish settlement or actively dismembers, clubs, or beheads one of three victims. Yet the figures are not meant to be generic representations of the warlike Chichimecas; instead, their appearance here provides an early

⁶² See Elizabeth Hill Boone, "In Tlamatinime: The Wise Men and Women of Aztec Mexico," *Painted Books and Indigenous Knowledge in Mesoamerica: Manuscript Studies in Honor of Mary Elizabeth Smith*, Elizabeth Hill Boone, ed. (Tulane University: New Orleans, 2005).

⁶³ Censuses were generally completed in order to assess tribute. The Matrícula de Huexotzinco and the Codex Chavero were both created to this end. See Elizabeth Hill Boone "Pictorial Documents and Visual Thinking in Postconquest Mexico," *Native Traditions in the Post Conquest World*, 149-199 and *Stories in Red and Black*, 245.

⁶⁴ See José María García Redondo and Salvador Bernabéu, "Sobre cartografía y fascinación de la frontera: el mapa de la Nueva Galicia (circa 1550)," in Salvador Bernabéu, *Poblar la inmensidad: sociedades, conflictividad y representación en los márgenes del imperio hispánico (siglos XV-XIX)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Invesigaciones Cientificas, 2010), 129-178.

⁶⁵ Representations of mine locations would actually become scarce, as the Spanish wanted to keep their locations secret. For more, see Thomas Hillerkuss, "Las minas de la Nueva España en los mapas del siglo XVI. ¿Un secreto del estado?" *Apuntes. Revista de estudios sobre patrimonio cultural* 26, no. 1 (2014), https://doi.org/10.11144/javeriana.apc26-1.mnen.

exhaustive list of Indigenous groups in northwest Mexico. The gloss names at least ten distinct groups: Coras, Guaynamotecos, Xuxuctectequanes, Tequales, Tepeguanes, Tepecanos, Caxcanes, Zacatecos, Chichimecas, and Tezoles as well as two Indigenous caciques, Tenamaxtli and Guaxicar, who were important leaders in resistance against Spanish colonization. ⁶⁶ Further, Indigenous ceremonial centers at Mixtón, Nochistlan, Juchipila, and Teúl are labeled, and in the case of the lattermost site, a ballcourt is elaborated on the map. ⁶⁷ The inclusion of this information evidences an apparently intimate familiarity with the nomadic tribes; one scholar suggests that the *tlacuilo* (scribe) was an ally that fought in the Mixtón War alongside the Spanish. ⁶⁸ If this were the case, it would be an important indicator of the relationship between the scribe and the Spanish administrators with whom he worked in various capacities.

The map of Nueva Galicia clearly depicts apprehension about the threat that nomadic groups posed to Spanish settlement and expansion. The image juxtaposes the settlements, some of which have a cross designating their jurisdiction under the audiencia of Mexico, with the regions afflicted by war. Here, the Rio Grande River demarcates the boundary between the civilized and wild. The map also makes a claim for the power of Spanish administration. In this case, the map depicts Guadalajara as a superior location for the audiencia and bishopric by

⁶⁶ See Téllez, 267 and Miguel León-Portilla, Francisco Tenamaztle: primer guerrillero de América, defensor de los derechos humanos (Mexico City: Editorial Diana, 2015) and Phil C. Weigand and Acelia García de Weigand, Tenamaxtli y Guaxicar: las raices profundas de la rebelión de Nueva Galicia (Zamora, MC: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996). The term cacique was a Taíno term the Spanish encountered in the Bahamas and they applied it to the roughly equivalent Indigenous leaders in Mexico.

⁶⁷ For more on the spiritual role of the sites, see Daisy Ocampo, "Spiritual Geographies of Indigenous Sovereignty: Connections of Caxcan with Tlachialoyantepec and Chemehuevi with Mamapukaib," Ph.D. Dissertation (UC Riverside, 2019).

⁶⁸ Téllez, 263.

coding it as a proper Spanish city built on a grid—it is the only city represented as several clusters of buildings placed on a quadrant.⁶⁹ This detail suggests the influence of a Spanish administrator, as it is unlikely the Indigenous scribe would have depicted Guadalajara in such a manner.

Though details about Zacatecas are scarce, the map of Nueva Galicia nonetheless imparts information about the status of Indigenous-Spanish relations around the time of the city's settlement. For one, it represents visually the role of Indigenous pueblos as intermediaries between the Chichimecas and Spanish settlements. In fact, the resettled Indigenous laborers acted as emissaries between the Spanish and nomadic groups, sometimes engaging in trade and other negotiations with them. Following the early disastrous Spanish raids and mass killings, the Leyes Nuevas issued in 1542, and the effectiveness of what might be termed guerilla warfare tactics of the nomadic groups against Spanish settlers, a more cooperative relationship was sought that relied less upon Spanish brutality and more upon diplomacy. The Leyes Nuevas, or New Laws, both aggregated preexisting ordinances regarding rulership in the New World and issued new ones that were influenced by philosophical inquiries undertaken at the School of Salamanca under Francisco de Vitoria. Though not routinely applied or enforced, impactful changes included limitations placed on the encomienda system and the prohibition against enslaving Indigenous workers even if a crime had been committed. It is notable that modern American legal code still allows penal enslavement.

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⁶⁹ Karen Melvin notes that the imposition of the grid and central plaza marked New World cities as Spanish. See Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

The ongoing and mutable alliance with Indigenous people of the Valley is notable.

Though the circumstances under which the *tlacuilo* worked are unknown, the map speaks to a unity of purpose—the victims of the nomadic groups are other Indigenous people, not Spaniards, thus the groups shared a common threat—and its style shows the influence of Indigenous and European pictorial conventions.

Finally, we consider Zacatecas itself, a mining encampment at the time of the creation of the map, labeled only with a Latin gloss among the Llanos de los Chichimecas. A handful of unlabeled houses suggests the fledgling Indigenous settlements that sprung up informally around sites of silver strikes, while the mountains and rivers exaggerate the natural protection afforded to the region. Zacatecas lacks major rivers, and even streams are scarce outside of rainy seasons and while the city rests at a high elevation, it is not mountainous. For the purposes of the map, the location of Guadalajara nearer the promising "rich mines" of Zacatecas was undoubtedly a boon as was Zacatecas' proximity to the major thoroughfare running to Mexico City and the Port of Navidad.

Census of 1550

In April 16, 1550 Alonso de Santacruz, the *alguacil mayor* (high sheriff) of the mining camp of Zacatecas carried out a census of the city and its environs that provides more details about the early settlement. This census was done at the behest of judge Hernando Martínez de la Marcha, the same person that commissioned the previous map. The census does not provide an exhaustive list of the city's residents; it does provide a who's who of the early miners and other vocations in the fledgling town. Founder Cristóbal de Oñate is listed first and possessed thirteen stamp mills and smelters, one hundred and one homes for enslaved workers, and a church

"where all the people from the mine attend mass." Another founder, Juan de Zaldivar, owned twelve smelters and mills and only twelve houses for enslaved people. In total, there were seventy-two residences, two hundred and thirty-five houses for enslaved people, twenty-seven crushing mills, forty-one smelters, fourteen refineries, and five churches, which were most likely more like private chapels. There were thirty-nine mine and mill owners, two or three priests, three foremen, two traffickers, three merchants, one blacksmith, one butcher, one carpenter, eleven men without a settled occupation, and one man with a wife.

Each mill owner would build his works (mill, smelter, residence, and quarters for enslaved workers) near his mines. Frederico Sescosse notes that each of the units necessarily functioned as an "isolated self-contained community" and likely consisted of adobe structures that bore sentry posts on the roofs with corrals, storerooms, and sheds, all protected within iron gates.⁷¹ The mills would also have machinery and washers in addition to the furnace buildings and ore cribs, simple storage pens that were filled with ore while awaiting processing.

In 1551, de la Marcha made a favorable report about Zacatecas' rapid growth and prosperity. By this year, there were five churches and over four hundred houses in the city; the Spanish made up a demographic minority of about one sixth of the total population.⁷² Over the next decades, a pattern of recurrent and voluntary immigration to Zacatecas by wage laborers was established that helped the mines remain productive and allowed the city to flourish. The Indigenous contribution to the successful settlement and growth of the mining city cannot be

⁷⁰ Transcribed in full by Frederico Sescosse; see "Zacatecas in 1550," *Artes de México*, 194/195 (1978): 114-18, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24324488.

⁷¹ Sescosse, 117.

⁷² See Velasco, *Urban Indians*, 46.

overstated; Velasco notes that at the close of the 1550s, Zacatecas was as much an Indigenous city as a Spanish one due to their demographic majority, participation in self-governance, and establishment of communities with others of shared ethnic and linguistic groups.⁷³ Both Spanish and Indigenous settlements continued their growth, and in 1585, King Philip II decreed Zacatecas a city. Three years later it was issued a coat of arms and given the honorary title of Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Zacatecas. (Figure 7)

Jesuit Arrival in Zacatecas

The first Jesuits arrived in Zacatecas in 1572 and took residence permanently in 1589. The Franciscans, who had arrived in the mining camp first, donated a property to the Jesuits in 1590 that had for thirteen years housed a hermitage dedicated to San Sebastián. Almost immediately, the Jesuit missionaries completed some construction on residence quarters. Within three years they opened a primary school for local children. Unusually, demographic information reflects that Zacatecas maintained roughly equal ratios of Indigenous, Spanish, and mixed race inhabitants. The Jesuit order had established its mission of education early in their arrival in the New World.

⁷³ Velasco, 52.

⁷⁴ Much of the history of the site comes from Gerard Decorme, SJ, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial*, vol. I: Fundaciones y obras (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1941) and Marco Díaz, *La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982).

⁷⁵ For more, see Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

The Jesuit order was founded in Italy a decade after the fall of Tenochtitlan; its earliest missionaries were dispatched to three continents during its founder's lifetime. The first Jesuits arrived in Mexico in 1572 and began working with Indigenous communities in the Valley of Mexico; by 1580 they had established a school for the sons of Indigenous nobility at Tepotzotlán and by 1586 they opened the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City which differed from extant schools in that it taught the children of *macehuales* in addition to nobility. The macehuales were the lowest class of free Indigenous people; they comprised the majority of the tributario population. Because they had arrived later than other orders, the Jesuits had to adjust to preestablished conventions for religious institutions that had been especially influenced by the Franciscans' early missionary ventures. They recognized an unmet need for urban education and drew on their significant success in Europe to instate a comprehensive classical education that included the teaching of grammar, logic, and rhetoric.

The Silver Boom and the Rise of the Patron Class in the Seventeenth Century

At the close of the sixteenth century, King Philip II issued his *Ordenanzas*, which instructed Spanish administrators to survey the land and status of New World holdings and report them back to the Crown. Using a standardized form consisting of fifty questions, the administrators also turned to Indigenous *tlacuiloque* to create illustrative texts to accompany the written description. The resulting *relaciónes geográficas* provide a wealth of information about New Spain half a century into colonization. The majority of the responses were filed before 1585, yet due to the relatively late settlement of Zacatecas, it does not have a *relación* dating to

⁷⁶See Mónica Díaz, "The Education of Natives, Creole Clerics, and the Mexican Enlightenment," *Colonial Latin American Review* 24, no. 1 (February 2015): 60-83, https://doi.org/10.1080/10609164.2015.1009280.

this period. However, in episcopal visits undertaken from 1602 to 1605, Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, the recently named bishop of Guadalajara, traveled throughout his diocese and gathered information to answer the questionnaire. He dedicated his *Descripción geográfica de los reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizacaya y Nuevo León* to the president of the Council of the Indies, Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos.⁷⁷

Mota y Escobar's description of Zacatecas provides a vivid view of the city, while his positionality as a Mexican born and educated priest who earned a doctorate at the University of Salamanca should be taken into consideration. Prefacing his description of the city is his almost fantastical description of the land, which he compares to a "great bellybutton in a flat belly" with its ravines "of living rocks in whose veins are innumerable seams of silver" and numerous "fountains and springs of marvelous waters." He notes that the land was already changed by the mining enterprise—while there were numerous trees upon Spanish incursion into the region, they had been cut down to fuel the foundries; of natural flora only wild palms, varied fragrant flowers, and cacti remained, which provided copious *tunas*. The matter of deforestation points to the early establishment of a lasting problem in the mining city that is characteristic of an extraction

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⁷⁷ Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Ms. 99, accessible online at https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=397632.

⁷⁸ "un ombligo eminente en un vientre raso," "de peñas vivas, en cuias venas estàn inumerables vetas de metales de plata," "fuentes, y manantiales de maravillosas aguas." Mota y Escobar 76v and 77r. Translation is mine.

⁷⁹ Tunas, the fruit of the nopal cactus, sometimes called prickly pears, remain a major agricultural export from Zacatecas. Later, he notes that Spanish fruit trees and vegetables grow well there; thus we shouldn't infer that there were no trees or vegetation, just that they were cultivated ones. Ibid., 83r.

economy—due to the limited availability of some natural resources, the city was highly dependent on trade to supply basic needs, and residents paid a premium for them.⁸⁰

After briefly telling the history of Tolosa's silver discovery and settling the city, Mota y Escobar moves on to describing Zacatecas. He notes its seemingly slapdash quality:

The spirit of the Spaniards who first settled here was never to remain in this place, but only to get as much silver as they could, and so they built their houses, or better to say shacks, like pilgrims who left their country, but they have put so much money in this city that it has never been abandoned, and it has remained with short and low houses, and without order of streets.⁸¹

The humble homes of the early settlement period, of which he counts over three hundred, reflect their utility and the concerns of the settlers—low, flat-roofed homes were better able to withstand attack from raiding, and due to the paucity of wood, homes were usually made of adobe, though he notes that a few stone high roofed homes stood. Mota y Escobar goes on to note that the city had six short streets and one long that ran the length of the city from north to south, four plazas, and a parochial church dedicated to the advocation of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.⁸²

Of the city's citizens, Mota y Escobar counts over one, and sometimes up to two hundred Spaniards and sixty to seventy local born Spanish children, who were able to pursue studies, or

 $^{^{80}}$ Mota y Escobar notes that firewood in particular was very expensive because it came from eighteen leagues away. See ibid., 77r.

My translation: "el animo de los espanoles que qui poblaron primero nunca fue de permanecer en este puesto, sino solo de sacar la maior cantidad de plata que pudieran y ansi hicieron sus casas, o por mejor decir tugurios, como gente peregrina, y que iba de paiso, pero ha se metido tanta prenda en esta ciudad, que no se desampara, jamas, y ha se quedado con casas cortas, y vajas, y sin orden de calles." Ibid., 78v.

⁸² Ibid., 79v. Tolosa arrived on Sept. 8, the feast day that celebrates the birth of Mary.

pursue vocations of becoming *mineros* or running *haciendas del campo*. He had more to say about the people born there as well:

The Spanish people who are born and raised here are known by experience to be stronger, more hardy, and of greater labor than those of other parts, and they show themselves in the trades and exercises to which they are inclined and give themselves; and those who pursue learning study longer, and with more perseverance, and not with so much injury to their health, as those of New Spain, and thus it is common opinion here, that the people born and raised in Zacatecas are very similar to those of Castile both in sharpness of wit, and in strength of person...⁸³

He notes that ten to twelve Portuguese or Italian residents lived in the city and questions whether their reasons for being there were known to the Crown. Hota y Escobar states that there were around eight hundred enslaved Black and mixed-race men and women in the city, and an unspecified number of free African descended people that worked as itinerant laborers that were hired to work with cattle, on farms, or in mining works. Finally, he discusses the Indigenous population, which he notes is difficult to count because of their propensity to come and go from the city. Nonetheless, he notes that there were around fifteen hundred Indigenous residents that lived near the mines and serve the Spanish citizens "in all trades." He closes by discussing the linguistic variety of the city—though Spanish was the lingua franca, he notes that because there

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⁸³ Ibid., 83r-83v. "La gente Española, que aqui nasce, y se cria, se sabe por experiencia, que son mas fuertes, mas recios, y de maior [sic] trabajo, que no los de otra partes, y ansi señalan en los oficios y exercicios a que se inclinan, y dan; y los que siguen las letras, estudian mas tiempo, y con mas perseverancia, y no con tanta lesion en la salud, como los de nueba España; y ansi es acà comun opinion, que la gente nacida, y criada en Zacatecas es muy parecida a la de Castilla assi en agudeza, de ingenios, como en fortaleza de persona..." My translation. This claim is part of a broader dialogue regarding American degeneracy that would continue into the eighteenth century.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 81r. "habra segun supe en esta ciudad diez o doce estrangeros portugeueses e italianos, no se si compuestos con su magestidad en razon de vivir en este reino."

were "Mexicanos, Otomies, Tarascos and [people] of other nations" some Indigenous residents spoke their own languages.⁸⁵

Of course not all of the residents worked in the mines. Mota y Escobar recounts various vocations, including city scribes and officials, as well as trades such as shoemaker, carpenter, and blacksmith. Interestingly, he notes that the latter trades are occupied by Spanish, mixed race, and Indigenous people, and that the carpenters and masters of the stamp mills made the most money. On the subject of money, he also notes that the nobility living in Zacatecas were rarely wealthy; the cost of running mines, even maintaining horses, was high, and while the area was in a bonanza, there had yet to be a boom in silver production. Instead, the wealthiest citizens tended to be what he calls "intermediary people"—creole merchants that came from Mexico and brought clothes, linens, silks, wine, oil iron and spices from Spain and clothes and silk from Mexico and China, which traveled over land by carts and wagons. He notes that the poorer merchants worked in their own shops while the wealthiest ones hired Spanish shopkeepers, and that in addition to the finer goods mentioned above, some shops sold trinkets and items of less value.

Mota y Escobar's description of Zacatecas provides a rich view of the newly established city. While his writing is nuanced and interesting—at one point he admonishes the creoles for calling Spain "España" rather than "Castilla"—it also brings the city to life with surprising details. Within a few decades, Zacatecas developed beyond mining camps and into a community

⁸⁵ My translation: "hay Mexicanos, Otomies, Tarascos, y de otras naciones," ibid., 81v. Note Mexicanos likely refers to any of the Indigenous groups from the Valley of Mexico, including Tlaxcalans, Cholulans, and Texcocans.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 82v.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 82r.

that supported a variety of vocations and commerce. One can imagine the bustling city where at least six languages were spoken and people dressed in current fashions and fine silks from as far as China. The availability of wage labor jobs brought a stream of willing workers, demographically mostly Indigenous people but also African descended ones, and was key to the city's continued success.

According to Mota y Escobar, Zacatecas was never destined to be a beautiful Spanish city due to its location in a long, narrow ravine—the natural topography hardly lent itself to the sprawling plazas, orderly grid layout, and idealized vistas that marked an ordered city. Yet an imminent silver boom would reshape the city in accordance with the desire of *vecinos* who wanted their city to reflect the wealth that it produced and to have the amenities expected of an urban hub.

From 1615-1635, Zacatecas experienced a boom in silver production. Combined with strategic alliances made via marriage, the early seventeenth century saw the second generation of mineros in Zacatecas amassing unprecedented wealth and land holdings. Maestro de Campo Vicente Zaldivar Mendoza and his wife Ana Temiño de Bañuelos exemplify this trend. Children of Zacatecas' earliest conquistadores turned miners, they gathered such wealth that in 1616 they donated 100,000 pesos to the Jesuits to establish a colegio for the local children and a new church.⁸⁸

The Jesuit presence grew alongside silver production in the city. Construction on the site began almost immediately to the west of the parish church and main plaza. According to the Jesuits' records, there were four fathers in residence in Zacatecas in 1595; this number grew

⁸⁸ Less than a third went to the building project, while the remainder was used to increase the Jesuits' land holdings. See Bakewell, 46.

steadily until 1632, when fifteen fathers were in residence.⁸⁹ From here, a local confraternity, the Congregation of the Annunciation, was founded in 1617.⁹⁰ It is important to note that the Jesuit presence fluctuated with the boom bust cycle of mining and its demographic changes. In the middle of Zacatecas' long bust that lasted from 1635-1670, there were only six Jesuit fathers counted in the city.⁹¹

Throughout the seventeenth century, the city continued to grow and proved capable of weathering periods of poor silver production and an epidemic. Three Indigenous pueblos grew around the Spanish city and were self-governed with their own cabildos, or town councils. This adaptation took the place of traditional Indigenous practice of lineal descendance and reflects the ability of Indigenous citizens to adapt Spanish institutions to suit their needs. Plack and mixed people continued to live in the Spanish settlements near their Spanish slavers; less is known about where the free Blacks resided.

The Eighteenth Century

Population counts varied widely in Zacatecas due to the nature of itinerant laborers and the boom-bust cycles of mining. During a long bust that lasted from 1732 to 1770, the Jesuits nonetheless secured funding to expand the church and to expand the colegio to include a

⁸⁹ Catalogo triennale de la Provincia Mexicana. 1580-1663 Mex. 04, Zacatecanum, fols. 80v and 308v, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI).

⁹⁰ See Velasco Murillo.

⁹¹ Catalogo triennale de la Provincia Mexicana. 1580-1663 Mex. 04, Zacatecanum, fols. 80v 489r-489v, ARSI.

⁹² Velasco Murillo, 100.

seminary. During that span of time, the population of Zacatecas dropped from a high of forty thousand to around sixteen thousand people. 93 However, the record shows that Indigenous people continued to migrate to the city from outlying regions and continued to marry. Finding a significant number of women and children registered to social organizations, such as lay religious confraternities, or as parties in marriage petitions and baptisms suggests that families were settling in the region and laying down roots, creating a permanent community. 94 From the records at the templo, we see that Spanish women, independent of their husbands, remained through a significant downturn and shaped the architectonic and ritual fabric of the city through patronage of the Jesuit church.

<u>Patronesses</u>

The 1750 description names Ana Temiño de Bañuelos, as the "first author" of the church. Doña Ana and her husband, Maestre de Campo Vicente Saldivar, funded the first iteration of the Jesuit church which was built in 1617, just two years into Zacatecas' first silver boom. While Saldivar is referred to as the church's founder, the choice to not only mention Temiño by name but also to refer to her as first author is striking and indicative of the importance that woman held as patrons.

⁹³ See Velasco Murillo.

⁹⁴ Of course women also made up a significant portion of the workforce, though not likely in the mines. For more, see Dana Velasco Murillo, "Laboring above Ground: Indigenous Women in New Spain's Silver Mining District, Zacatecas, Mexico, 1620 – 1770," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 93:1 (2013). For more on confraternities in Zacatecas, see Lara Mancuso, *Cofradías mineras: religiosidad popular en México y Brasil, siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007).

⁹⁵ Breve descripcíon, 10.

Alongside the description of the new church, the text goes on to name two contemporary women that significantly shaped the revival of the Jesuit templo. The first, Doña Isabel Rosa Villegas, was the widow of the Count of San Mateo de Valparaíso, Fernando de la Campa. The author credits her with "heroic generosity" and notes that she made possible the expansion of the plazuela so that the exterior of the church could be as impressive as the interior. Surviving documents confirm that the countess granted permission for several homes to be torn down to allow for the expansion.⁹⁶

Finally, the text notes that a Doña Josepha de Noriega funded the local devotion to the cult of the Sacred Heart, including a "sumptuous" annual celebration that she endowed in order to spread the devotion in the city. 97 The historical record is thin regarding Noriega, but we know that she, like Doña Isabel, was a widow of a Spanish administrator; her husband, Antonio de León, had been an official on the town council. 98 Aside from the *Breve descripcion*, other inventories and records note that women gave valuable items to the church, including a home in the case of Doñas Agustina and Rosa Ordoñez y Botello. 99 Several women provided regular patronage of special masses and novenas or septenarios; this is the case for Doña María

⁹⁶ Some time before his death, the Count had donated a substantial sum to establish a professorship at the future seminary of San Luis Gonzaga, yet this isn't mentioned in the *Breve descripcion*. This is recounted in an inventory made by Felipe de Neve upon taking command of the church after the 1767 expulsion. See Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, *La Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas: documentos para su estudio* (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2010) 64 and 71.

⁹⁷ Breve descripcion, 11.

⁹⁸ Recendez, 110.

⁹⁹ Recendez, 63.

Guadalupe de Ribeira Osorio, who supported the masses for Nuestra Señora de Loreto. ¹⁰⁰ It isn't surprising that women were integral to the revivification of the church, to its regular and ongoing operation, and to civic life, more broadly; it is notable that their contributions were recognized and recorded in this way. Though the Jesuits had an established pattern of currying favor from aristocratic women, I believe that the emphasis upon women and their role in bringing the church to fruition is due, at least in part, to the special status women held in mining cities. ¹⁰¹

Conclusion:

Numerous barriers inhibited Spanish aspirations for settling the region. I argue that the impediments to settlement in the northern province had profound and lasting effects on Zacatecas as it developed from a mining encampment to a city. Women and Indigenous people played key roles in the status of the city as a permanent and enduring settlement. I develop the theme of women as patronesses over this and the next chapter, while I return to a consideration of the role of Indigenous people in festival culture in the third chapter. The historical foundation laid out in this chapter is necessary to parse out the complex social relationships that marked colonial expansion in Zacatecas, a crucial part of my chimera framework.

¹⁰⁰ Recendez, 71.

¹⁰¹ See Olwen Hufton, "Altruism and Reciprocity: The Early Jesuits and Their Female Patrons," *Renaissance Studies* 15, No. 3 (Sept. 2001): 328-353.

Chapter Two Cantera y Plata

A well-worn dicho, or saying, describes the city of Zacatecas as possessing "un rostro de cantera y corazón de plata" (a face of cantera, the local pink stone, and a heart of silver.) The Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús embodies this saying; its handsome façade, expertly wrought from the local cantera stone, is elegant and spare, especially as compared with the riotous façade of the city's Churriguresque cathedral. (Figure 1) Yet the templo's silver heart is buried deep within the history and formation of this monument. This chapter considers the physical appearance of the templo, both its architectonic features and decorations. The site has been addressed piecemeal previously—I provide a comprehensive description of the site by looking at its painted and sculpted elements, including a full cataloguing of its unstudied and relocated paintings. I consider how the site's complex iconographical program, carried out under the father guardian Ignacio Calderon, responds both to Jesuit rhetoric and local devotion. Yet the orthodoxy of the iconography and style of the works, brought about by enlisting Mexico Citybased artists and craftsmen, elides the circumstances of their creation in the mining city. I show that while the church's rich imagery follows typical contemporaneous Jesuit iconographic programs, it also makes a significant departure by centering women. I argue that this indicates the importance of women patrons at the site.

Building Plan

The church as it stands today marks Zacatecas' expansion from a *real de minas* to a bustling urban city. The eighteenth century saw the city and its citizens enriched through mineral wealth. This is reflected in part by the Jesuits' land holdings. In 1590, the Jesuits possessed just a small hermitage gifted to them by the Franciscan friars. By 1710, the local Jesuit

church was endowed with twenty-seven land grants around the city, the largest of which measured 1,755 hectares, and ten *caballerias* of land in the nearby region of Sombrerete.¹⁰² Unfortunately, the source of these endowments is unknown, yet their assignment to the church suggests that local citizens had accumulated ample wealth. In 1727, an *alcalde*, or mayor, of Zacatecas named Fernando de la Campa y Cos was granted the title of Count of San Mateo de Valparaíso; after his death, his wife remained in Zacatecas and donated some of their land to the Jesuits to allow for the expansion of the humble chapel.¹⁰³

The additions to the church reflect the desires of the citizens and clergy. The new structure significantly increased the size of the church, added aisles, and added a second tower complete with a clock, an object that spoke of the city's wealth and technological advancement. The interior ritual space was more abundant and able to accommodate more devotees and devotions. Rather than one principal altar with paintings by a master Mexico City artist, the new church boasted eleven altars. The overall form of the building is rectangular, yet the interior mimics a cruciform plan due to the placement of the antesacristy and side chapel.

¹⁰² A *caballería* was a unit of land measurement used during the Spanish viceroyalty that is equivalent to about 111 acres. This information is via Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial. Vol. I: fundaciones y obras* (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1941), 103-125.

¹⁰³ See Marco Díaz, La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982), 99.

¹⁰⁴ The author of the *Breve descripción* proudly notes that the clock is mechanical and intended for the people of the noble city. See Diego J. Abad, Francisco J. Ribera Ibarreta, P. I., Antonio Tamayo Caballero, and Gregorio Zumalde, *Breve descripción de la fábrica, y adornos del Templo de la Compañía de Jesús de Zacatecas: con una succinta relación de las fiestas con ques se solemnizò su dedicacion: sacanla a luz, y la consagran al Ss. Patriarcha Señor S. Joseph los seis ilustres caballeros, patronos de la solemnidad, u lucimientos de la dedicación* (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1750), 6.

(Figure 2) The church was built on a raised foundation and requires the use of stairs to enter, and until the early twentieth century, a wall surrounded a small *atrio*, or courtyard, in front of the church. (Figure 3) Elegantly adorned composite piers line the tall nave, both demarcating and obscuring the aisles and offering glimpses of ornate retablos within bays that read to the visitor as small discrete chapels. (Figure 4) The most notable feature of the church, however, is its octagonal sacristy. According to Clara Bargellini, this feature is exceedingly rare in Mexican churches, though there is another at the Franciscan church in Toluca that slightly predates the completion of this building. The church at Toluca was designed by Felipe de Ureña, who signed contracts to create the retablos for the templo in Zacatecas. Thus, we can infer that Ureña was likely the architect of the templo as well.

Felipe de Ureña was a master retablo assembler, yet he also worked on projects in which he acted as sculptor, architect, and civil engineer. According to Fatima Halcón, Ureña was responsible in large part for spreading the estípite style beyond the capital and throughout Mexico.¹⁰⁷ Estípite is one offshoot of Mexican Baroque style, sometimes treated as an order, whose name is drawn from the unique pilaster that narrows from the top to bottom. The Retablo de los Reyes at the Catedral Metropolitana in Mexico City is widely recognized as the point of introduction of the style in Mexico. Born just west of Mexico City in a town called Toluca in 1697, Ureña grew up in the family workshop begun by his father, who was a sculptor

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¹⁰⁵ This image also reflects that during the nineteenth century, the colegio was used as a prison and judicial complex; the sign reads "Bastion of Liberty" ("baluarte de la libertad.")

¹⁰⁶ Clara Bargellini "Iglesia de la Purisima Concepción y Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga" in Luisa Elena Alcalá et al., *Fundaciones jesuíticas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 2002).

¹⁰⁷ This section is based upon the recent monograph by Fátima Halcón, *Felipe de Ureña: la difusión del estípite en Nueva España* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2012).

(entallador). The younger Ureña completed his earliest works, retablos, in his hometown in 1726-1729; because the works incorporate estípite columns, Halcón suggests that Ureña was familiar with the retablo in Mexico City's cathedral, completed in 1718 by Jerónimo de Balbás. Ureña continued the practice of a family atelier and included his brothers and later his son in law in projects. Their works are found from Durango in the north to Oaxaca in the south in a region that spans over eight hundred miles. 108 By working outside of Mexico City, where ordinances were less strictly enforced, Ureña was able to exceed his guild approved role of master assembler and act as an architect. 109 Because he was of Basque descent, Ureña was more easily able to connect with the powerful Basque families that settled the mining regions, including Zacatecas; this connection may have begun with an early Basque patron and miner, Francisco de Fagoaga, who commissioned Ureña to work on a retablo in the church of St. Catherine in Mexico City in 1737. 110 While it isn't possible to positively confirm the reason that Ureña was chosen for the site, it is important to consider the myriad social connections that influenced choice; Basques notoriously maintained a unique cultural and ethnic identity even among *peninsulares*, or those born in Spain. 111 Through this means or another, Ureña was commissioned to begin work on the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰⁹ Halcón notes that while it is unknown when he passed his guild certification, he is listed as a master sculptor and assembler in his earliest contracts, a master gold leaf artist beginning in 1739, and finally as a master architect and carpenter beginning in the early 1760s. See ibid., 48.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 52-53. Fagoaga had mines in Zacatecas city and in nearby Sombrerete yet resided in Mexico City.

¹¹¹ This is exemplified, dramatically, by the war that broke out between Basques and creole Spanish men in Potosí, Bolivia, in the seventeenth century. For more see Kris Lane, *Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

new church in Zacatecas by 1747. This is the date of the earliest contract for Ureña to complete a retablo; a contract for the architecture is not extant.

Façade

Rising from its cobblestone-paved plaza in blushing pink cantera, the templo presents an elegant façade to the contemporary viewer. (Figure 5) Though far from austere, the façade's relatively restrained ornamentation of fluted columns, male saints in shell niches, and pilasters whose carved bases nod to the popular estipite style, belies the intricacy of the works within. The overall design closely resembles the façade at the nearby Parroquia de la Inmaculada Concepción in Jerez, Zacatecas, which was also built by the Jesuits in the mid-eighteenth century. (Figure 6) The architect of Jerez's church is unknown, yet the similarity in the appearance of the facades suggests a shared regional style. Jerez's façade is carved from white cantera stone yet the walls are plastered over, likely because they were made of an inferior stone, whereas the templo in Zacatecas features pink cantera stone throughout its construction. The façades are meant to mimic retablo design; this choice is perhaps a reflection of both taste and necessity at the Templo de la Compañía in Zacatecas as the architect also designed the retablos. Both facades feature two levels (*pisos*) and three vertical divisions (*calles*). At the center, they feature the portal, rectangular choir window, and a recessed niche for a sculpted saint.

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¹¹² Cantera stone is abundant and varies naturally from white and shades of pink, common in Zacatecas, to greens, which are more common in southern Mexico.

¹¹³ For more on the retablo façade, see César Guillén-Nuñez, "The Façade of St. Paul's Macao: A Retable-facade?" *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41 (2001): 131-188, and Humberto Rodríguez Camilloni, "The Retablo-façade as Transparency: A Study of the Frontispice of San Francisco, Lima," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 16, No. 62 (1991): 111-122.

The sculpted saints offer a starting point for considering the iconographic program at the site. At the templo, the door is flanked by sculptures of the two Spanish men who, along with Peter Faber, founded the Jesuit order. (Figures 7 and 8) St. Ignatius of Loyola appears on the left and is distinguishable by his cassock and ferraiolo, or cape; he also holds his attribute of a book. St. Francis Xavier appears on the right with a flaming heart, his attribute, featured prominently on his breastbone. His sleeves are carved with stylistically rendered accordion pleats while his face seems to be closely modeled after a well circulated print of his bust-length portrait by Anton Wierix. 114 (Figure 9) The second level features St. Francis Borgia and St. Aloysius Gonzaga. (Figures 10 and 11) Though the figure is missing his head, Borgia's sculpture holds a skull with protrusions that undoubtedly represented a skull with a diadem, his attribute. Named the patron saint of students in 1729 upon his canonization, Gonzaga is also considered to be a patron of plague victims because he died, aged twenty-three, after caring for them. The sculpture's smooth features and full hair suggest the subject was youthful. The pairing of Gonzaga with Borgia, the patron saint of earthquakes, may suggest an apotropaic intention for the city, which had been subject to numerous waves of pestilence by the mid-eighteenth century in addition to the dangerous conditions of mining, which included methane explosions and falls—the above ground effects of which might resemble earthquakes. The uppermost niche features a sculpture of the Virgin Immaculate, an important Jesuit devotion during the eighteenth century. Finally, the three carved medallions at the pinnacle of the portal feature Jesuit martyrs. 115

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¹¹⁴ For more on this print, see Grace A. H. Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, No. 1 (1979): 48–60, https://doi.org/10.2307/1482014.

¹¹⁵ This is according to Díaz, who doesn't specify which martyrs they represent. See *Arquitectura de los jesuitas*, 100.

The lateral portal features a simplified version of the same format and additional opportunities for interpretation. Díaz identified the saints on either side of the uppermost niche as John Berchmans and Stanislaus Kostka, however they have since lost their heads and are not legible. 116 (Figure 12) Kostka was canonized the same day as Gonzaga, December 31, 1726. Thus at the time of the church's construction, both would have been fairly new saints whose canonization would glorify the Jesuit order. By including three saints on the exterior of the church that were patrons to students and novices—Gonzaga, Kostka, and Berchmans—the Jesuits also made a clear signal of their intention to develop a seminary in the city. 117 The two young saints are accompanied by St. Joseph. St. Joseph had been named the patron saint of Mexico in 1555 and held this title until 1746 when the Virgin of Guadalupe was named copatron of the Americas; this was the same year that construction began on the templo. Joseph's position of prominence on the portal reflects his continued special status, yet his pairing with the young saints, whom I have already suggested would have held a special appeal to the church's future novices, may also nod to Joseph's status as a surrogate father figure. 118

The sculpture on the exterior of the templo reflects skillful technique, a good command of the locally available stone, and sparing and elegant use of baroque ornamentation. The Virgin is flanked by ornate faux caryatids that have intricately carved baskets upon their heads while a

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 102.

¹¹⁷ For more, see Rosalina Ríos Zúñiga, *La educación de la colonia a la república: El Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga y el Instituto Literario de Zacatecas* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios sobre la Universidad, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002).

¹¹⁸ For more on Joseph's important status in Mexico, see Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

pair of S scrolls grace the wall beside the window. Finials shaped like amphorae with flames arising from the neck dot the uppermost rim of the façade while tracery work adds visual interest and highlights slight modulations in the façade's projection. (Figure 13) The carvers and sculptors, whether brought to the region by Ureña or natives to the region, took care to adhere to established iconography and potentially used print sources to ensure the figures were clearly legible for a largely uneducated public. Some elements, such as the billowing ferraiolo worn by Ignatius or the washboard pleats of Aloysius' sleeves, reflect an interest in naturalistic depiction. Others, such as the decorative scrolls on the façade or the carved stone tassels that appear to hang over Joseph's head at the lateral portal, signal an attentiveness to detail and visual interest. (Figure 14) The iconographic program of the exterior of the church emphasizes Jesuit history and glory while also indicating the emergent plan to create a seminary in Zacatecas. In doing this, it brings together the past and future of the order and presents it to the viewer in a legible and pleasing way.

Paintings

Numerous extant paintings remain in situ and provide compelling information about devotion at the *templo*. While the retablos have been previously researched, the paintings have received no prior scholarly attention. All but one of the extant paintings are defined by the constraints of their architectural location or presence in a retablo. Paintings that remain in situ

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¹¹⁹ Gordo Peláez and Castillo Oreja mention the lunette paintings obliquely but do not thoroughly discuss them or properly identify their subject matter. Díaz notes that paintings are present but doesn't discuss their content. See Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja and Luis J. Gordo Peláez, "Versos e imágenes: culto y devociones marianas en el templo de la Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas, México," *Anales de Historia del Arte*, volumen extraordinario, *Homenaje al profesor Julián Gállego* (2008): 307-339 and Díaz, *Arquitectura de los jesuitas*.

reside on the four triangular pendentives, in lunettes at the transept, and in the recessed niches of the octagonal sacristy, six of these full length, almost human scale, and two of them occupying the odd alcoves above doors. The lone free painting is a canvas painting of la Virgen de Guadalupe. The eight paintings in the sacristy were signed by Francisco Martinez (active 1717-1758, Mexico City) and contemporary signage in the church notes his authorship of the sacristy paintings; I believe he painted the lunettes and pendentive paintings as well. Martínez, like many established artists of his time, is associated with many roles as an artist and craftsman; he was a painter and guilder but also assembled retablos and worked on ephemeral architecture for festivals. 120 Martínez was a prolific artist who worked extensively, but not exclusively, with the Jesuits before Cabrera earned their favor. Though his works are too prolific to enumerate here, it is important to note that he gained high profile commissions prior to working at the templo. He worked as the guilder of the retablo mayor in the Catedral Metropolitana in Mexico City, besting his celebrated peer José de Ibarra to the commission; he also painted one lunette in the chapel dedicated to St. Joseph in the Jesuit compound at Tepozotlán. ¹²¹ Martínez's and Cabrera's commissions overlapped at the templo; Martínez appears to have supplied the largest paintings that occupy architectural niches while Cabrera painted a series of framed paintings that were relocated to the Museo de Guadalupe, a former Franciscan monastery compound.

Pendentives

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¹²⁰ For more on Martínez, see Ligia Alethia Fernández Flores, "El pintor y dorador Francisco Martínez (ca. 1692-1758)" (PhD Diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Nov. 2017) and Luisa Elena Alcalá, "La obra del pintor novohispano Francisco Martínez," *Anales del Museo de América 7* (1999): 175-187.

¹²¹ See Alcalá, ibid., 178.

The pendentive paintings, which depict the Latin doctors of the Church, reflect the Jesuits' interest in scholarly authority and theological rigor, an apt choice considering the plan to develop a seminary at the site. Each pendentive depicts a solitary male saint standing atop a marble pedestal, each wearing differentiated vestments, and each holding a white plume that indicates his importance as an author of the Church. (Figures 15-18) The paintings have darkened with age and their high placement makes them difficult to read today, yet their sensitive treatment is apparent in the figures' emotive expressions and finely rendered clothing. Due to the constraints of the small area that generally calls for just one figure in each of the four triangular spaces, decoration of pendentives in colonial churches tends to be prescriptive. Contemporaneous churches, such as the Jesuit church at Tepotzotlán, often depicted the four evangelists in this space. These figures, however, represent St. Gregory, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose—the Latin doctors of the Church. A remaining set of three paintings of the Latin doctors remains in the nearby Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. They are included here as useful comparisons due to their shared iconography and stylistic conventions, yet I believe that the pendentives at the templo were also authored by Martínez. 122

The pendentive paintings share qualities with those signed by Martínez in the sacristy, including a common color palette and sensitive rendering of figures typified by the finely painted faces that skew toward clear and pink complexions. A comparison with one of Martínez's signed works, commissioned in the first quarter of the eighteenth century as part of a series for

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¹²² The recently released dissertation by Fernández Flores, cited above, corroborates this finding. She includes the Zacatecas paintings in Martínez's catalog due to an unpublished attribution by Rogelio Ruiz Gomar and compares the works to European prints; my contribution differs in that I argue for the attribution based upon stylistic considerations and draw comparisons with other works by Martínez.

the Jesuits in Chihuahua, reveals further common traits. (Figures 16 and 16b) In both paintings, Martínez fills the background with frothy clouds in smoky violet, peach, and blue-green and places the figures, adorned in pure reds, blacks, or whites, at the front of the picture plane. This representational strategy creates a lively and commanding rendering of each saint; the background adds visual interest without adding extraneous detail and alludes to the celestial realm. Luisa Elena Alcalá notes that Martinez's work is often overlooked because he worked between two schools whose work garners ample attention—the older generation is typified by Cristóbal del Villalpando (c. 1649-1714), the younger by Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768). Martínez's work bears out this liminal position—the frothy pastel skies and loose brushwork recall Villalpando, whose own work looks toward Italian Mannerism more than the somber Spanish Baroque. Yet Martínez's interest in Academic painting, evidenced by his attention to physiology and inward turned emotion, is also apparent. 124

The chosen iconography and style of the saints indicates that both tradition and local taste influenced their depiction. St. Gregory, who wears the papal tiara and holds a ferula, gazes over his left shoulder looks at a dove, his attribute. St. Jerome, in an anachronistic yet common representation as a red-robed cardinal, holds an open bound book and looks toward a trumpet which descends from the heavens, a reference to a vision in which he heard the trumpet of the Last Judgment and saw Christ on the cross appear before him. St. Augustine's visionary experience is suggested by a red glowing triangle, which represents his meditation on the Holy Trinity, that floats in the upper left-hand corner of the pendentive painting; he wears black and

¹²³ Ibid., 175.

¹²⁴ According to Alcalá, Martínez had advocated for an academy of fine arts in Mexico in 1753, just after Spain's first academy of San Fernando had been created. Ibid., 178.

white robes and holds an open book. The final painting, St. Ambrose, is in the poorest state of repair; the robes are faded and read as a washed out grey and there is some loss in the overall painting. Though he lacks firm attributes here, his representation closely mirrors the painting of St. Ambrose housed in the Museo de Guadalupe, thus we can infer through this likeness and through his inclusion with the other Doctors of the Church that the identification is correct. (Figure 18a).

<u>Transept Lunettes</u>

The terminus of the barrel-vaulted side aisles on the exterior wall of the sacristy and side chapel allows for an elaboration of lunettes on either side of the apse. The facing walls on the interior of the apse also contain lunette paintings, all oil paintings on canvas that is fitted closely to the architectural framework. (Figures 19-20) Because the original structure was a simple single nave church, we know these paintings were created for the extant iteration of the templo; their content and style also point to a mid-eighteenth-century date. Though I was unable to examine these paintings closely for a signature, I argue that they were also painted by Francisco Martínez due to their style and similarity with a lunette painting created for the Iglesia del Carmen in Toluca, discussed more fully below. Though Martínez was already associated with the site due to the sacristy paintings, adding the transept paintings and lunettes to his oeuvre expands our understanding of the large commissions he undertook in the later part of his life.

The paintings that face each other across the apse both feature scenes from the life of the Virgin. The lunette on the north side (also called the *lado de evangelio*) depicts the Return of the Holy Family from Egypt. (Figure 21). This image presents both Joseph and Mary as younger parents who walk alongside the Christ child; they are mirrored by the Holy Trinity depicted

directly above them. According to the gospel of Matthew, the holy family had fled to Egypt to escape Herod and returned to Nazareth in Jesus' childhood after the king's death. The painting captures the family flanked by angels and traveling on foot in a countryside marked as Middle Eastern by a palm tree at the far right. It shares a strong affinity with Martínez's *Blessing of the Table* (Figure 22), especially regarding its palette, likenesses of the Holy Family, and composition. Also painted originally as a lunette for the Templo del Carmen, in Toluca, the Blessing of the Table shares the compositional strategy of placing the most important figures in a single register in the lower half of the image and draws attention to Mary by placing cherubs or God and the Holy Spirit emerging from the heavens directly above her head.

Facing this painting is an apocryphal image in which Mary appears to be a young child, about the age at which her presentation at the temple is typically depicted in Life of the Virgin painting cycles. (Figure 23) Yet this image reflects no rabbi or built structure that evokes a temple. Instead it is, like the Return from Egypt, a pastoral scene that presents a tender and quotidian representation of the holy figures. This image is unusual in that Mary is endowed with attributes typically seen in depictions of the Immaculate Conception—she stands upon a crescent moon, wears a white gown and blue cloak, and has twelve stars surrounding her head. Angels fly overhead ready to place a crown upon her head, yet the crown they bear is a crown of roses and not a metal crown as typically seen in Inmaculada images. This allegorical representation

¹²⁵ These specific attributes are based on the description of the Apocalyptic woman from Revelation which reads "And then a great wonder appeared in heaven: There was a woman who was clothed with the sun, and the moon was under her feet. She had a crown of twelve stars on her head." (Revelation 12:1 ERV). The images are also inspired by descriptions of beauty in the Song of Songs; I'm grateful to Charlene Villaseñor Black for calling this to my attention.

¹²⁶ Mary's coronation with roses is sometimes seen in images of St. Anne teaching her to read.

of the Immaculate Conception with the Virgin as a child is very uncommon but not without precedent; it is found in another Jesuit church in Puebla. Particle García traces the Puebla painting to a single Northern print source from the seventeenth century; comparing it with the lunette painting reflects the degree to which the artist exerted choice and invention. Pigure 24) For instance, Martínez has modeled Joachim's head off of the head of God the Father from the print. He has also created a horizontal composition by adding figures and landscape. These paintings, as well as the two in the other lunettes, emphasize narratives of movement and flux, an appropriate theme for a new iteration of a church on a frontier that regularly saw the exchange of Jesuit fathers and the rotation of laborers and citizens through the city due to mining boom and busts.

Since the lunette paintings present Mary and Jesus at comparable ages they immediately beg a comparison. Importantly, both images represent the holy figures in configurations that are deeply humanizing and emphasize the nuclear families centered upon young children. This iconography was explored by Charlene Villaseñor Black, who explains that a shift occurred during the seventeenth century in which the holy family was presented for the first time as a

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¹²⁷ Gordo Peláez and Castillo Oreja misattribute this image as Mary's coronation. A recent article dedicated to the topic completely leaves out this image type, suggesting the scene is relatively unknown. See Iraida Rodríguez-Negrón, "Emblem of Victory: The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Colonial Painting of the Viceroyalty of New Spain," *Athanor* XXII (2004): 67–75, https://journals.flvc.org/athanor/article/view/126617/126118. Suzanne Stratton Pruitt's seminal work on the iconography of the Immaculate conception, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), also does not include an example or description of this representation.

¹²⁸ See Sergi Doménech García, "La Concepción de María en el tiempo. Recuperación de fórmulas tempranas de representación de la Inmaculada Concepción en la retórica visual del virreinato de Nueva España," *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 69, no. 1 (June 30, 2014): 53-76, https://doi.org/10.3989/rdtp.2014.01.003.

nuclear family with Joseph occupying a position of more prominence. ¹²⁹ According to Villaseñor Black, this change was championed by the Church, who worked to promote Joseph as the ideal father, spouse, and head of the family. She also notes that Jesuit co-founder Ignatius Loyola "recognized the connection between patriarchal families and obedience to authority" which was "one of the major benefits of devotion to the Holy Family."¹³⁰ Against this broader background, however, the importance of the nuclear family in the specific context of the mining city cannot be overstated. Families meant more people to help ensure long term settlement of the city that would help it weather the mining busts. They also meant a host of sacraments to be carried out at the church, including marriages, baptisms, and confirmations. Families, in short, meant security on many levels. For this reason, the lunette images mark the concerns of their local community, the Jesuit order, and the Catholic Church, more generally.

The remaining lunettes represent popular eighteenth-century advocations of Mary that are related in their emphasis upon mystical relocation. In the lunette to the left of the altar, Juan Diego appears before bishop Juan de Zumárraga to present proof of his miraculous encounter. (Figure 25) This image is typically presented as the final scene in the narrative of Guadalupe's apparition. After being told by the Virgin to gather Castilian roses to take to the bishop, Juan Diego gathers the flowers in his tilma and carries them to the church. As he unfolds his tilma to drop the flowers at the bishop's feet, Juan Diego reveals the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, miraculously imprinted upon the garment. The image is dynamic; Juan Diego grasps the edges of the garment and prepares to spill the roses forth—because the gathered cloak obscures the lower half of the Virgin, this representational strategy allows the artist to focus on the face and clasped

¹²⁹ Villaseñor Black, Creating the Cult, 64.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 79.

hands of Guadalupe, making her easily recognizable in a space where a full presentation of her form might get obscured due to the available vantage point. Accompanying the main figures are three members of the clergy to the left and two Spanish men on the right. Behind the three clergy, a desk with three quills underscores the importance of the witnesses in recording and disseminating the story of the miraculous apparition. Mary's "relocation" to New Spain through this apparition signaled that the land was sanctified and a special territory under Catholic Spanish administration. Its location above the sacristy places it adjacent to the altar dedicated to Guadalupe, which allows for an interesting interplay between the sculpted Guadalupe and the narrative scene. (Figure 26)

The final lunette, which presents the Virgin of Loreto, completes the pairing of images that involve mystical relocation. (Figure 27) The lunette painting is a straightforward representation that presents a half dozen angels and cherubs lifting a house; above it, the Virgin and Child oversee the action. According to the legend, during the thirteenth century angels mystically transported Mary's home to an Italian seaside city to prevent it from falling prey to Muslim invaders. The home itself was a sacred site; it was the place where the Annunciation took place and where the Holy Family lived upon their return to Nazareth. In Italy, the faithful venerate both the remnants of the home and a statue purportedly carved by St. Luke. ¹³¹ The Jesuits had championed the cult of the Virgin of Loreto in the Iberian world since the seventeenth century. ¹³² In other Mexican cities, the Jesuits created facsimiles of Mary's home in

¹³¹ For more, see Luisa Elena Alcalá et al., "On the Path to Good Health: Representing Urban Ritual in Mexico City during the Epidemic of 1727," *Miradas* 4 (April 2018): 51-72, https://doi.org/10.11588/mira.2018.0.7607.

¹³² For more on the Virgin of Loreto and the Jesuit's promotion of the cult, see Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

special chapels; the most elaborate one remains at the Jesuit complex in Tepotzotlán and dates to the first half of the eighteenth century. (Figure 28)

Sacristy

The octagonal sacristy, the small room that stores the priests' vestments and other liturgical objects, features a series of paintings that depict the Passion and include events from the Last Supper through Christ's descent from the cross. (Figures 29-37) The story of the Crucifixion is laid out in several books of the Bible, yet there are few details that lend themselves to artistic interpretation. Artists seeking to create deeply affective representations of Biblical narratives looked to the more richly descriptive accounts provided by mystics, whose visions of Biblical events shed light on details that the Gospels don't provide. The artist Francisco Martínez drew inspiration from one such account, Sor María de Ágreda's *Mystical City of God*. ¹³³ María was a Spanish Franciscan nun that lived during the seventeenth century. She believed that she received revelations about the life of the Virgin Mary directly from Mary herself and recorded the visions in a multivolume work that would be published five years after her death.

The imagery is affective and would have aligned with the Jesuits' emphasis on meditation and contemplation of the Passion. The somber tone of the *Agony in the Garden*, for instance, is achieved through the composition, which is largely open and suggests the loneliness

 $^{^{133}}$ A forthcoming dissertation by Miranda Saylor, UCLA, addresses the influence of Ágreda in eighteenth-century New Spanish visual culture.

that Christ felt. (Figure 31) His single outstretched hand and upturned eyes suggest a gentle plea for God to let the cup pass from Him. In contrast, the turmoil and violence of the Crucifixion are brought to the fore in *Christ Nailed to the Cross* by the jumble of bodies in motion; muscled centurions labor at each of Christ's extremities to affix him to the wood. One centurion, presumably Longinus, gestures at the scene with a long spear. The figures of the shirtless laborers allow Martínez to depict naturalistic bodies and musculature and evoke his interest in academic painting. Though the artist turns away from explicit depiction of the Crucifixion, the spear and a basket holding the instruments of the Passion imply the trials that followed this scene. Certain details from the text, such as the serving vessel at the last supper appearing to be made of emerald, the detail of the centurion pulling Christ's second arm with a chain to affix it to the cross, and Mary's presence at several moments along the via crucis and especially her stoicism as she watched Christ carry his cross are all direct quotations from Ágreda's visions. 134 (Figures 30, 36, and 37)

Framed Painting, in situ

There is only one framed eighteenth-century painting that remains in the church—a well-used painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe that I attribute to Antonio de Torres (1667–1731, Mexico City), a capitol painter that is known for painting works for export, both throughout the Mexican province and beyond. (Figure 38) Because Guadalupe images are prescriptive,

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¹³⁴ See María de Jesús and Geo J. Blatter, *The Mystical City of God: The Divine History and Life of the Virgin Mother of God, Our Queen and Our Lady, Most Holy Mary, Expiatrix of the Fault of Eve and Mediatrix of Grace; the Miracle of His Omnipotence and the Abyss of His Grace*, vol. 3 (Rockford, IL: Tan Books & Publishers, 2006).

¹³⁵ For more on Torres, see Lázaro Gila Medina, "Aproximación a la vida y obra del pintor novohispano Antonio de Torres (1667-1731) y estudio de una serie inédita mariana del convento

making a firm attribution proves difficult. Nonetheless, in comparison with his contemporaries, Torres depicted the Guadalupe with a wider neck, delicately rendered fingers and hands that show the back left hand almost fully turned to the viewer, facial planes that are smooth and well-proportioned, and a tassel that matches the cerulean cloak. (Figure 38a-b) Contrastingly, Miguel Cabrera, for instance, painted the Virgin with a bulbous forehead, thin neck, and burgundy tassel, while Nicolas Enriquez tended to paint the Virgin with a longer, sorrowful face and recessive chin. (Figures 38c-d)

The painting presents a standard and beautifully rendered Virgin of Guadalupe against what most likely was a light blue field with oval lozenges in each of the corners representing one scene of her apparition to Juan Diego. The varnish has yellowed and darkened overall, and in some places the red underpainting shows through; in each of the scenes of the apparition the Virgin's face has been rubbed away, perhaps through years of touching it, as has the crown. Further, there is loss and abrasion to the upper paint layers in some sections. This has the effect of making readily visible the techniques of modeling employed, for instance in the hollow created by the Virgin's raised left knee. Nonetheless, we can make out the expected conventions in the image—the starry cloak and parti-colored gown which is graced with a light estofado pattern allover, the clasped hands and downcast eyes, the rayonnant mandorla that surrounds her form, and the crescent moon held aloft by a cherub. An elongated oval lozenge occupies the space beneath the Virgin's feet and presents a view of the sanctuary and environs at the base of the hill of Tepeyac, the site of the Virgin of Guadalupe's apparition.

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de la Encarnación de Granada de franciscanas clarisas," *Anales del Museo de América* XXIII (2015): 82-113 and José María Torres Pérez, "Dos pinturas de la Virgen de Guadalupe firmadas por Antonio de Torres," *Principe de Viana* 66, no. 235 (2005): 341–351.

Elsewhere, I have argued that the inclusion of these small cityscapes in Guadalupan paintings speaks to the urbanized image of Mexico and the importance of pilgrimage in developing the cult of Guadalupe during the eighteenth century. ¹³⁶ They are a frequent addition to the Guadalupe paintings, which were exported to Spain by the hundreds, and there are extant examples by Antonio de Torres and others. Examples include a Torres in LACMA's collection, another by Juan de Villegas in the Museo de América, Madrid, and another by Nicolas Enríquez in the Denver Art Museum. ¹³⁷ Sometimes, the details of these scenes serve to date the painting; in this case, the cityscape depicts the Virgin's new sanctuary, the white building with towers, that was completed in 1709, thus the painting must have been created after its completion. Another intriguing detail of the painting is the gloss that reads: Señor Don Benito Crespo granted to this Our Lady of Guadalupe 40 days of indulgence to those who say a prayer for the conversion of the unfaithful to the faith and he grants these [be] perpetual indulgences. ¹³⁸ Benito Crespo was the bishop of Durango (1723-1733) and of Tlaxcala (1734-1737). His title was conferred in Mexico City and he would have traveled through Zacatecas on his way to his new bishopric. ¹³⁹ It

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¹³⁶ See my forthcoming entry "Antonio de Torres' *Virgen de Guadalupe*," *Handbook of LACMA's Collection of Viceregal Art* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art), ed. Ilona Katzew.

¹³⁷ See, among others, Francisco Montes González, *Sevilla guadalupana*: *arte, historia y devoción* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 2016), 209–213. Torres Pérez counts roughly three thousand paintings of Guadalupe in Spain that were painted in Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹³⁸ "El Sr. Dn. Benito Crespo consedio a esta Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe 40 dias de yndulgencia a los que resar en una salve por la coversion de los infieles a la Fee y estas yndulgencias perpetuas las concedio." Translation is mine.

¹³⁹ Though on a map today it doesn't quite seem right due to Durango's lateral position, passing through Zacatecas on the silver road before reaching Durango was the preferred route; a contemporaneous letter from Jesuit Philipp Segesser confirms this. See Raymond Harris Thompson, "Letters from Eighteenth-Century Sonora: Father Segesser Writes to His Family in Switzerland," *Journal of the Southwest* 53, no. 2 (2011): 225-237.

is possible that while passing through the city on the way to Durango, or perhaps on one of his visits in 1725 or 1730, Crespo was asked to confer status to this image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which was to be used as an aide while praying for the conversion of the unfaithful. He cause the gloss firmly places the painting in the first half of the eighteenth century, and because the Jesuits especially championed the Virgin's status, it is likely that this canvas is the one that was walked in procession through the city during the celebration of the conferral of Guadalupe's status as patroness of the Americas in 1758. This celebration will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

Framed Paintings: Relocated

According to the *Breve descripción*, a series of sixteen oval-shaped paintings from a brush of "superior boldness" hung along the church's interior.¹⁴¹ Marco Díaz identified these as a cycle of images of the Life of the Virgin by Miguel Cabrera that currently reside in the Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas.¹⁴² (Figures 39-53) Díaz notes that the life of the Virgin is expressed over fourteen scenes and that Cabrera added an image each of St. Anne and St. Joseph. This choice is not hard to understand as it would provide an even distribution of paintings for the four-bay layout of the building. The cycle is missing one image; because few images of the Life of the Virgin are prescriptive, it is difficult to say with certainty which is gone. Still, a complete

¹⁴⁰ A recent publication addresses the role of images in the granting of indulgences; see Miyako Sugiyama, *Images and Indulgences in Early Netherlandish Painting* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller / Brepols, 2021).

¹⁴¹ Abad, Breve descripción, 10.

¹⁴² Marco Díaz, *La arquitectura de los jesuitas*.

Antonio de Torres provides some clues; it includes three scenes that this set excludes: the Pentecost, Mary's baptism, and her coronation. Because the images chosen to represent Mary emphasize her glory and triumph, I argue that the Coronation is the missing image from the templo and suggest that the missing painting currently resides at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán. (Figure 54). During the nineteenth century, this image underwent alterations in order to make it a rectangular format, yet the original oval canvas is clearly still demarcated. 143

It is curious that the paintings receive such little attention in the *Breve descripción*. Only the pendentive and sacristy paintings are identified with their subject; the lunettes are simply mentioned without further description of their content. Perhaps to the author, their subjects were so easily recognizable that they needed no elaboration. Notably absent from the ornamentation of the church are images of the crucifixion. Even the Passion cycle avoids depicting Christ's crucified body or his physical trials, a prevalent theme in devotional imagery of the time, which was often quite graphic. Because the Jesuits' spiritual practice encouraged them to meditate deeply upon Christ's suffering, the departure from crucifixion imagery is notable. This choice could simply reflect the preference of the donors and fathers; it might also suggest a low tolerance for imagery of a mangled male body in a city whose primary occupation involved dangerous physical labor.

Retablos

¹⁴³ Information regarding the addition is per the Museo Nacional del Virreinato.

The templo houses eight retablos that date to the original construction of the templo; the extant main altar, or retablo mayor, dates to the nineteenth century. The eight surviving Baroque retablos that remain in the templo are the only original ones in the city dating to the colonial era. (Figures 56-63) Their singular status among the local churches is enough to merit attention, yet they also express a unity of design and function so optimally in the space that they demand further attention. (Figure 55) Mexican churches conceal their solid stone walls with revelatory screens that present, hierarchically, their most important cult figures and biblical narratives. At the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús, the retablos increase in both size and ornamentation as one moves from the entrance toward the altar; they fit tightly into their stone framework and blur the distinction between architecture and ornament. The retablos reward long looking but also complicate that process in their brilliance; they catch and throw light around the interior of the templo, making the space seem alive and vibrant. Their form is also intimately tied to the performance of the mass, thus formal innovation often sheds light upon key aspects of worship.

Retablos grew out of more simple painted altar frontals following a change in liturgy around the year 1000 that required the priest turn his back to the congregation and stand in front of the altar while raising the Eucharist. 144 During the first half of the fourteenth century, Spanish retablos were modestly sized and their imagery included a central figure flanked by narrative episodes. By 1360, a tripartite format developed for the retablo consisting of body, banco, and guardapolvos, while the retablo became larger and more elaborately framed. The apex of retablo production in Spain occurred during the fifteenth century, however they continued to be produced in Spain into the seventeenth century. The next major change in retablos occurred after the Council of Trent established Transubstantiation as doctrine and established the Adoration of

¹⁴⁴ Judith Berg-Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 5.

the Sacrament as a distinct practice from the mass; as an effect, the Eucharist, and its tabernacle, became even more important and ornate.¹⁴⁵

The templo's missing retablo mayor possessed an interesting feature that exemplifies the interest in theatrical presentation of the sacrament. According to the *Breve descripción*, the tabernacle possessed a sort of lathe that allowed it to turn to reveal the sacrament at the appropriate moment in mass; mirrors were included to reflect light and make the revelation more dramatic. When the sacrament was not visible, a silver plate engraved with an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was revealed.

To date, the eight retablos are the only works within the templo that have received thorough study, when they were addressed as a group by Luis Gordo Peláez and Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja. The authors conducted an iconographic analysis that emphasized the Jesuit devotion to the Virgin. Fátima Halcón located contracts for several of the templo's retablos in archives and included a brief discussion of them as a part of a monograph on their creator, Felipe de Ureña. The altarpieces were commissioned by Manuel Colón de Larreátegui, who served as the vicar and ecclesiastic judge in nearby Aguascalientes, and made with Felipe de Ureña and his son in law Juan García de Castañeda. Larreátegui was an important patron who supported

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¹⁴⁵ For more, see J. J. Martín González, "Sagrario y manifestador en el retablo barroco español," *Imafronte*, 12-13 (1998): 25-50.

¹⁴⁶ Abad, Breve descripción, 9.

¹⁴⁷ For more, see Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja and Luis J. Gordo Peláez, "Versos e imágenes."

¹⁴⁸ See Fátima Halcón, previously cited.

¹⁴⁹ Halcón, ibid., 87.

the creation of numerous works throughout the mining region; his portrait is included in a painting of the Transfer of the Virgin of Loreto in the Aguascalientes Cathedral. The first contract, dated 1747, covers the retablo mayor and larger altars to St. Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. According to the description, the retablo mayor was to include fourteen large sculptures with the Immaculate Conception occupying the central space, Christ as Salvator Mundi, and the twelve apostles; it specified that they were to have glass eyes, estofados, and gilding.¹⁵⁰ The same requirements are made for the sculptures on the Jesuit saints' altars, which were to include six medallions and nine sculptures.¹⁵¹

The labor specifications reflect the challenges of creating works of monumental art in Zacatecas; one provision required that Larreátegui provide, in addition to wood and gesso, a house for the guild workers to stay in while they travel to and from Mexico and a structure for them to complete the work.¹⁵² It also exposes an interesting motivation—the contract states that the workers will execute "better and more advanced work and effort" than was carried out in their commission at the parochial church.¹⁵³ The rapid completion of the templo, along with this information, suggests an air of competition surrounding the completion of the two churches.

Of the eleven original retablos, four were dedicated to the cult of the Virgin Mary and two others prominently featured representations of her. Combined with the other Marian images in the templo, this suggests a clear and compelling iconographic program related to established

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 87.

¹⁵¹ I was unable to view the contracts myself; Halcón doesn't state whether the subject matter of the sculptures was set at this point.

¹⁵² Halcón, *Ureña*, 88.

¹⁵³ Halcón quotes "superior y más adelantada obra y labor," ibid., 88. Translation is mine.

Jesuit devotion. Yet Marian devotion doesn't account for the degree to which other women are centered in the church's visual program; I'll examine this in two of the retablos.

To begin, I'll consider one of the lateral altarpieces, which is dedicated to the Virgin of Refuge. (Figure 58) The advocation of the Virgin of Refuge was both contemporary and placespecific at the time of the church's rebuilding; the Jesuits had brought this devotion to New Spain during the second quarter of the eighteenth century and it became remarkably popular in northwestern Mexico. 154 The altarpiece is interspersed with sculpted medallions of what appear to be nuns wearing differentiated habits; thanks to the 1750 book, we know they are meant to be saints. The figure on the lowest register and on the far left must be St. Bridget of Sweden, a mystic and the only woman to establish her own religious order. (Figure 59) Bridget, who lived during the fourteenth century, is recognizable by her distinctive crown, whose five red gems symbolize the wounds in the crucified Christ's hands, feet, and side. Beginning at the age of ten, when she saw a vision of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, St. Bridget experienced and recorded some seven hundred visions that were later published as her "Revelations." Her writings were popular, attracting the commentary of Torquemada and Martin Luther, among others. Just before the reconstruction of the church, Basque Spaniards established a convent of her cloistered order in Mexico City in 1745, and it attracted a pool of well-heeled Spanish women to its ranks. 155

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¹⁵⁴ For more, see William B. Taylor, "Advocations of the Virgin Mary in the Colonial Period," Chapter in *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 245–306, https://doi:10.1017/CBO9781316212615.006.

¹⁵⁵ See Josefina Muriel and Anne Sofie Sifvert, *Crónica del convento de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, Santa Brígida de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001).

Another sculpted roundel presents St. Teresa of Ávila. (Figure 60) St. Teresa was a Spanish Carmelite nun that lived during the sixteenth century; her fervent desire for a spiritual union with God culminated in visions which she wrote about using passionate, even erotic, language. Her visions were validated by Jesuit confessors, so Teresa was linked with the Jesuits since her own lifetime. She wrote multiple religious texts and poems, began a movement to reform the Carmelite order, founded several convents, and maintained a correspondence with King Phillip II of Spain. The 1750 description of the church takes care to describe her as a Doctor of the Church; this honorific denotes her significant contribution to the Catholic Church and her place within the Scholastic tradition. It's notable that the title wasn't officially conferred to St. Teresa until 1970, when Pope Paul VI recognized her as an important teacher of the faith, thus the Jesuit author took some liberty in naming her a Doctor.

Another female mystic was represented in a dedicated retablo, but unfortunately it no longer survives. According to the 1750 descriptive text, an altar dedicated to St. Gertrudis, or Gertrude the Great, once stood along a side aisle. Gertrude is considered one of the great mystics of the thirteenth century; her visions began around the age of twenty-five, and she recorded them and wrote spiritual treatises. Also pertinent to the present context is that St. Gertrude was an early devotee to the Sacred Heart, which she wrote about most extensively in her work *The Herald of Gods Loving-Kindness*. The cult of the Sacred Heart was particularly championed by the Jesuits in the New World during the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁶

The centrality of women in the imagery at the templo beyond Marian imagery further underscores the importance of patronesses at the site. The iconographic program includes

¹⁵⁶ See Lauren G. Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ or Unholy Idol? The Sacred Heart in the Art, Religion, and Politics of New Spain* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

portraits of women mystics that recall their authority as scribes and mystics. Further, quoting Sor María de Ágreda's work in the cycle of Passion imagery in the sacristy reflects the respect given to the nun's intellectual labor. Beyond the three patronesses named in the *Breve descripción*, outlined in the first chapter, the historical record reflects that women also enriched the church through other donations, such as jewels and through recurrent cash donations meant to fund annual masses or feast days. An inventory dating June 25, 1767 counts several pieces of jewelry donated to the church by female citizens including a Doña Manuela de Santa Cruz and Manuela Paula Bastardo. 157 The role of these women as integral members of the local aristocratic community is in step with flourishing humanistic ideals of the age, which also saw women taking over printworks and writing books. In fact, the Jesuits chose Antonia Rossa de Tobedo, the widow of Mexico City printer Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, to print the *Breve descripción*. 158

I have spent the chapter tracing important lineages of artworks and considering their stylistic continuity in relation to works that are located in the same region or that share common authorship. Yet it is important to remember that these linkages can also have the effect of concealing what is unique, or at least particular, to the site. After all, one could travel to any major colonial city and find works by the artists identified in Zacatecas. I've sought to bring depth to the interpretation of the chosen iconography at the templo by highlighting the local

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¹⁵⁷ Emilia Recéndez Guerrero, *La Compañía de Jesús en Zacatecas: documentos para su estudio* (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2015), 11 and 13.

¹⁵⁸ Tobedo had inherited the press upon her husband's death in 1741 and apparently operated it for at least a decade. Arielle D. Steimer-Barragán has begun work on the general topic of women printers in Mexico at CSULA; she recently presented "Las Viudas de las letras: Women Printers in Colonial Mexico," 2020. Research on Hogal and Tobedo is mine.

devotions, uncommon iconography, and patronage. The demand for a new monument in the silver city illustrates how expansion and accumulation disseminated a common visual language, yet the site's patronage demonstrates its singularity. Colonial art, after all, is not only marked by the confrontation of a new dominating culture with a Native one, it also denotes emerging and complex social relationships.

The Templo de la Compañía de Jesús provides an important example of baroque visual culture in Zacatecas. Through descriptions provided in the *Breve descripción*, and by the restoration of its relocated paintings, we can glean a more complete view of how the church appeared in its full glory. The imagery utilized throughout the church pays tribute to Mary during multiple phases of her life and in varied advocations that were of special interest to the Jesuits. This doesn't mean that male saints received short shrift; the lunette paintings and sculpture of St. Joseph on the lateral portal suggest a special interest in family values and paternal devotion. In order to realize this precious monument, the local Jesuits enlisted Mexico City based architect and retablo designer Felipe de Ureña and commissioned paintings from some of the most "valiant brushes" of their time. They also sought out, and received, the support of local women as patrons, which influenced the iconography in the church's interior. In the chapter that follows, I'll consider how their efforts helped to realize community affirming festivals in the city.

Chapter Three

Rituals and Festivals in Zacatecas

"I resided in that rich country and trod its silvered soil. And I always admired the magnificence, splendor, and brilliance, with which that illustrious City always shone in its displays" ¹⁵⁹

Written by a Jesuit priest that lived in Zacatecas during the mid-eighteenth century, the quote above demonstrates that by the late colonial period, Zacatecas had a vibrant festival culture. In this chapter, I consider the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús' role in Zacatecas' festival culture by examining three primary sources that have never been discussed in correlation with each other: the minutes book of the confraternity of St. Sebastian, the account of the festival held in the city to celebrate the Virgin of Guadalupe's patronage of the Americas, and an account of the festival held to consecrate the church upon its completion. While the physical record at the templo provides a perspective of the city's devotion, the historical record of its public ceremonies provides a glimpse both of devotion and the processes by which a civic identity developed in the city. ¹⁶⁰ In recounting the first ritual, I seek to illuminate how Indigenous practices were continued or adapted to meet colonial Spanish festivals. In the second, I consider how local festivals connected with broader New Spanish celebrations. Finally, with the perspective of both of the previous festivals in mind, I look at the celebration of the templo itself

^{159&}quot;...residia en aquel rico paìz, y pisaba su argentado suelo. y admiraba siempre la magnificencia, esplendor, y vizarria, conque en todos sus alardes resplandecia aquella siempre ilustre Ciudad." Joseph Paredes, "Aprobacion" from *Breve noticia de las fiestas, en que la muy ilustre ciudad de Zacatecas explicò su agradecimiento en la confirmacion del patrono de Nra. Sra. de Guadalupe, el mes de septiembre 1758* (Mexico City: Herederos de Doña Maria de Rivera, 1759), unnumbered pages. Translation is mine.

¹⁶⁰ A concise account of this process is provided in Arjan Zuiderhoek, "Civic Ritual and Civic Identity," *The Ancient City* (November 2016), 94-105, https://doi.org/10.1017/9780511979224.006.

as an important part of the site's history. By approaching colonial festival culture through this lens, I enact my chimerical framework. My scholarship gives equal weight to sources gleaned from contemporary ethnographic analogy and primary source material; it acknowledges the myriad ways in which indigenous culture survives and is memorialized and brings these considerations to bear in an analysis of one important aspect of colonial culture. While the thrust of this chapter is the exploration of how the templo participated in festival culture, it is also an example of how a chimerical understanding of colonial arts can provide a more nuanced view of cultural production.

The Feast of San Sebastián: Iglesia de la Compañía and in Nochistlan

The architectural and historical records provide a wealth of information about worship and ritual in Zacatecas. In the case of the feast day of St. Sebastian, we can compare the celebration within the Spanish confraternity of San Sebastian, formed at the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, and the Indigenous community of the nearby pueblo of Nochistlan. ¹⁶¹

Unfortunately, the ritual practices of Indigenous groups in Nueva Galicia prior to colonization are poorly studied and understood; even studies of post-invasion festival culture in the region are sparse. ¹⁶² Only recently has the state sought to recognize and preserve Indigenous practices as

¹⁶¹ I have briefly mentioned the importance of confraternities within Indigenous communities. For more see Susan Verdi Webster, "Art, Ritual and Confraternities in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 70 (1997): 5-43.

¹⁶² One example is Cheryl English Martin, "Public Celebrations, Popular Culture, and Labor Discipline in Eighteenth-Century Chihuahua," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, William E. French, and Cheryl English Martin (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1997), 95-114. Festival culture of Mexico City is much better understood; see Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) and Patricia Lopes Don, "Constructing the Colonial Order. Carnivals, Triumphs, and Rain

intangible cultural heritage.¹⁶³ Emerging scholars from the Caxcanes communities in Zacatecas advance the study of Indigenous cultural practices and history.¹⁶⁴ In order to consider how the Spanish community celebrated the fiesta, I will examine the *Libro de Actas de la Cofradía de San Sebastián*, whose entries date from 1743, just before the church underwent reconstruction, to 1790.¹⁶⁵ (Figure 1). It records membership for each year, describes how the lay religious organization celebrated mass and special feast days, and provides a glimpse of how the space of the church and the city were activated through ritual movement.¹⁶⁶

"El dia de el glorioso martir San Sevastian"

According to the actas, the celebration for the feast day of Saint Sebastian, January 20, was a multiple day affair that followed a common prescribed series of events that included the performance of music at vespers, a procession, a mass, and a sermon. Spanish religious processions had been held in Zacatecas as early as 1550; according to Mota y Escobar, these

Gods in the New World: A Civic Festival in the City of México-Tenochtitlán in 1539," *Colonial Latin American Review* 6, No. 1 (1997): 17-40.

¹⁶³See Comisión Legislativa de la Cultura, Editorial, y Difusión, Decreto #637: La fiesta de San Sebastián de Municipio de Nochistlán de Mejía como Patrimonio Cultural inmaterial del estado de Zacatecas § (2016). This report serves as a major source of information for this section.

¹⁶⁴ Daisy Ocampo at CSUSB and Jennie Luna at CSU Channel Islands, cited in this chapter, are two such scholars.

¹⁶⁵ Libro de Actas de la Cofradía de San Sebastián, 1743-1790, Archivo Parroquial de Zacatecas, Libros y actas, Caja 153, Expediente 1.

¹⁶⁶ For the importance of processions as religious spectacle, see Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

processions were generally carried out by confraternity members.¹⁶⁷ The constitution for this confraternity details how the feast should be celebrated. It reads:

It is ordered that every year the main feast of this confraternity be celebrated with all solemnity in the College of the Society of Jesus on the day of the glorious martyr St. Sebastian. As has already been done, alms will be given, and as for the parochial duties of the priests, twenty-three fathers must go in procession with these alms from the parish church to the Jesuit College where they must sing the vespers. The servants [members of the confraternity] must go in procession to the parish with the statue of the saint where it will be until the morning. They will return it to the school in procession and there they will sing the mass, there will also be a sermon that another father of the school will preach. This same day, with the approval of the illustrious lord bishop, we choose to grant a plenary indulgence to all the members of the confraternity who, having confessed and received communion, will pray in the church of the Society of Jesus, asking for the exultation of the holy church, the removal of heresies, the conversion of the infidels and heretics from among the Christian princes... 168

Though the date isn't specified, the vespers, or nightly prayers, were likely sung the evening of January 19th, the day before Sebastian's proper feast day. Though little has survived

¹⁶⁷ See Mota y Escobar, fol. 80r.

¹⁶⁸ Actas, 13: "Se ordena el que todos los años se celebre con toda solemnidad en el Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus la fiesta principal de esta cofradia el dia de el glorioso martir San Sevastian, como se ha hecho hasta aqui, dando de limosna, y por derechos parrochiales a los señores curas, veinte y tres padres quienes por esta limosna han de ir en procession, des de la iglesia la parroquial mayor a IHS (jesuit) Colegio en el han de cantar visperas ya criadas estas sacaran en procession para la parrochia al santo donde estara hasta la mañana, en la que lo volveran al colegio en procession y allí cantaran la missa, tambien habra en ella (or entre la) sermon que predicara uno de los padres de otro colegio y este mismo dia siendo de la aprovacion de el ilustro senor obispo, elegimos para ganar la indulgencia plenaria concedida a todos los cofrades que confessados y comulgados hicieren oración en otra iglesia de la compania de ihs pediendo par la exultación de la santa iglesia estirpación de las heregias, conversión de los infieles y hereges por entre los principes Xplianos de el ilustro senor obispo, elegimos para ganar la indulgencia plenaria concedida a todos los cofrades que confessados y comulgados hicieren oracion en otra iglesia de lal compania de ihs pediendo par la exultación de la santa iglesia estirpación de las heregias, conversion de los infieles y hereges por entre los principes Xplianos." Xpliano is an old Spanish abbreviation for Christian; see José de Fonseca, Dictionnaire français-espagnol et espagnol français: avec la nouvelle orthographe de l'Académie espagnole. (Paris, France: Chez Thiérot, 1842): 640. Translation is mine.

of Jesuit choral arrangements from the region, scholars believe that the music performed at Vespers was unaccompanied plainsong, harmonized or monophonic spiritual songs, or liturgical hymns. The description specifies that after the performance of the vespers, the priests and confraternity members, the latter of whom were both men and women, would move in a procession to the parish church, bearing the statue of the saint aloft.

An inventory taken upon the expulsion of the Jesuits reports that there were fifteen saints' statues located in the sacristy in addition to a statue of St. Sebastian, carved in full with his entire body and wearing a silver diadem, in the altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The silver diadem on this figure suggests the benefit of regular and ongoing patronage by the confraternity, which also paid to have a mass said every Tuesday in front of this altar. Today, a freestanding fully sculpted statue of St. Sebastian, minus the silver diadem, rests in the lateral altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity, yet it appears to have undergone significant restoration or possibly replacement. (Figure 2) An extant original sculpture of St. Ignatius of Loyola, though in poor repair, offers an approximation of what the original finish and polychrome on the statue may have looked like. (Figure 3)

Thanks to a map dating to 1732, we can trace a likely route that the saint would have been carried along during a procession. (Figure 4) The map, signed by Joaquin Sotomayor, defines the greater area of Zacatecas at the end of a third significant silver boom and at the apex of its economic growth and population count during the eighteenth century; forty thousand

¹⁶⁹ See John Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001): 1-53, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrma/126.1.1.

¹⁷⁰ June 27, 1767 inventory by Felipe de Neve, reprinted in Recendez, 36.

¹⁷¹ Actas, np.

residents were counted in the census during this year.¹⁷² According to the map, which is oriented with east at the top, the city is bound on the east by the Cerro la Bufa, on the north by the Indigenous pueblo Mexicapan, on the west by the mining camp of Quebradilla, and on the south by buildings simply labeled Barrio Nuevo.¹⁷³ We observe that Mota y Escobar's critique remains partially true; the city has one large thoroughfare that runs through it laterally and whose exit is labeled "highway of the huertas and haciendas;" we can surmise that the road leads away to the farmland and large estates that supported the bustling city. The gloss also makes clear the importance of these extra-urban settlements in relation to conceptualizing the city as a whole. Constricted by the natural formations around it, Zacatecas stretches through the ravine with haphazardly arranged buildings. Resting along the main thoroughfare, the Jesuit church and colegio, labeled with the letter F, are to the center and lower section of the image; the parish church is marked with the letter G and is located roughly at center.

It is likely that the confraternity members gathered in the small courtyard in front of the church and heard the vespers sung by the priests. Then, they would have entered the church and retrieved the statue of St. Sebastian. It is unlikely they would have pursued the short direct alleyway between the churches, which would render the public procession useless. Instead, I think they proceeded to the left once outside to follow the main thoroughfare toward la Veracruz and the Franciscan church at the north end of the city, then continued down a street roughly parallel to the main thoroughfare that led to the parish church, where the statue would be left for the evening. The following morning, the saint would be retrieved by the confraternity members

¹⁷² See Velasco *Urban Indians*, 117 and 161.

¹⁷³ The toponym Mexicapan designates that the pueblo's residents were likely Mexica, of the Nahua cultural group and from the region around Mexico City. Later maps still refer to Barrio Nuevo by the same name.

then perhaps carried south, maybe doubling back quickly to pass by the Augustinian church or proceeding further toward the Dominican church at the far southeast edge of town to complete a circuit of the city's churches before returning to the home church. After a mass was performed there, a sermon was to be spoken by a different priest; this insistence is interesting and perhaps suggests a desire to add a sense of grandeur to the event. Finally, the confraternity members are instructed to engage in specific prayers in order to receive a plenary indulgence that day.¹⁷⁴

The appeal for the confraternity members to carry themselves with solemnity responds to the Bourbon Reform-era concern with Spanish citizens' propriety and differentiation from African and Indigenous descended people via their social bearing. Public festivals, in general, allowed the social groups to mingle, and sometimes, as we will see momentarily, required the participation of both Spanish and Indigenous confraternities and community members. The celebration of the feast of St. Sebastian in Zacatecas, as described in the confraternity's *Actas*, appears to have been a more solemn affair that didn't allow for the participation of other groups. ¹⁷⁵ But devotion to San Sebastian was popular and had been celebrated in the nearby Indigenous pueblo of Nochistlan since the sixteenth century with an elaborate festival that drew on both Caxcan and Spanish tradition. It may shed light into how the celebration looked, in practice, in the larger city, and exemplifies the chimerical nature of colonial festival culture.

"El Papaqui a San Sebastián"

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¹⁷⁴ The plenary indulgence was a way to reduce the amount of penance a believer had to pay, either on earth or in purgatory, for the sins they committed during their lives.

¹⁷⁵ Of course it is possible that the feast would have been more elaborate in practice than is explicitly detailed here; unfortunately I have yet to find a contemporaneous colonial description of the celebration.

The annual celebration, or *papagui* in Nahuatl, in honor of St. Sebastian in Nochistlan Zacatecas remains a large and well-known event. Celebrated in the city since the sixteenth century, the fiesta merges Caxcanes ritual practices with Catholic Spanish fiesta culture. Prior to the invasion of the Spanish, the Caxcanes community celebrated their close connection to the natural world; on January 17, they performed an annual fertility ritual in which they cut down the tallest tree and brought it in a procession to the Barrio Alto.¹⁷⁶ The tree would be placed there vertically where it would later be burned while the men that had traveled with it in the procession danced around it alongside women, called *malinches*, who wear special white dresses with red accents. This celebration has survived as an important component of the annual festival for San Sebastian. Since the eighteenth century, the festival has been divided in two—activities have been categorized as either church-sanctioned or "folk" or referred to as the "Fiesta de adentro" and the "fiesta de afuera," or inside (church) and outside (popular/folk.)¹⁷⁷ Today's festivities are agreed to be directly descended and relatively unchanged from those carried out during the eighteenth century, and the titles bestowed upon festival organizers, such as the *mayordomo*, correspond to colonial offices. The church activities last from January 11 to the 21st and include the recitation of novenas, special rosaries, and pilgrimages.

The Indigenous festivities officially begin on January 17 with the "entrance of the wood," though the preparations begin months in advance with the naming of leadership roles and organization of committees. For several days, citizens prepare special foods, including picadillo

¹⁷⁶ Primary source for this history is the government report *La fiesta de San Sebastián de Municipio de Nochistlán de Mejía como Patrimonio Cultural inmaterial del estado de Zacatecas*, previously cited. See also Lupe Ojeda, "Caxcan Truth Found in Nochistlan, Zacatecas: in Xochitl in Cuicatl, El Mexico Profundo" (MA Thesis, CSU Long Beach, 2016).

¹⁷⁷ The division of the eighteenth century was formalized in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century by the archdiocese of Guadalajara. See *La fiesta*, 10.

and menudo, and give them to the members of the confraternity that perform in the festivities in gratitude for their piety. On the evening of the 17th, bonfires are prepared around the Barrio Alto and music and dances are performed, including the performance by the *malinches*. Throughout the days of the celebration, the saint, who is affectionately called "Güerito," a slang term for a light skinned man that may allude to the statue's European features, is carried in the procession to various locations, like the houses of the confraternity members, given offerings, then returned to the temple. On January 20th, the procession carries the statue of the saint to the church then fireworks are set off among a carnival atmosphere that includes food stalls, cascarones (confetti filled eggs), and dancing.

The feast day of St. Sebastian provides a unique opportunity to examine how the same celebration was carried out in different colonial contexts, and perhaps offers an opportunity for analogy. In Zacatecas, the confraternity of San Sebastian stipulated a solemn ritual for the feast day that invoked music and movement that brought processions of believers to and from the templo and showcased its priests' oration. In addition to the performance of the public ceremony, prescribed individual behavior would achieve a spiritual boon for the Spanish *cofrades*. Yet, it is probable that the festival was enriched and marked by the Indigenous community, who outnumbered the Spanish 1.4:1 during the mid-eighteenth century. According to the padrón of 1754, the population split as follows: 33% Spanish, 47% Indigenous, 20% other.¹⁷⁸ The colloquial dichotomy of "inside and outside" associated with the festivities in Nochistlan provides a useful metaphor for how colonial festivities in Zacatecas may have been celebrated, in practice. In the first chapter of this dissertation, I traced the interdependence of

¹⁷⁸ See Velasco, *Urban Indians*. 162.

Spanish and Indigenous communities in Zacatecas based on the practical necessities of labor and survival. This relationship extended to the celebration of public ceremonies and aided in the formation of civic culture. An account of the fiestas celebrated to commemorate the papal concession of the Virgin of Guadalupe's Patronage of New Spain demonstrates more fully the integration of Indigenous and Spanish citizens in public ritual in Zacatecas as well as the same division of the fiesta into popular and religious.

Papal Concession of Guadalupe's Patronage of New Spain and Celebration, 1758

When the Virgin of Guadalupe was adopted as the patroness of Mexico in 1746 then officially recognized by the Pope in 1754, it was cause for great celebration across the viceroyalty. The New Spanish Jesuits had played a central role in the papal confirmation. At a gathering of the Mexican Provincial Congregation in 1751, Jesuit Juan Francisco López was chosen as the *procurador* to visit Rome and Madrid. A former chair in philosophy at the Colegio in Zacatecas, López had been born in Venezuela but was educated in Mexican schools and held positions throughout New Spain.¹⁷⁹ His appeal to Pope Benedict XIV is memorialized in a devotional painting attributed to Miguel Cabrera. (Figure 5)

The painting is didactic and includes both imagery and text, a feature shared by many images created for Jesuits. This devotional work depicts, at the center, the Pope handing his bull to López, who kneels on a busy decorative carpet and gazes out at the viewer. Directly above López's head, two cherubs suspend the tilma bearing the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe;

93

¹⁷⁹ See Juan Luis Maneiro, Valenzuela Alberto Rodarte, and Osorio Ignacio Romero, "Vidas de algunos mexicanos ilustres," in *Vidas de algunos mexicanos ilustres* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Instituto de investigaciones filológicas, 1988), 343-357.

beneath her feet, the phrase "Patrona Nova Hispania" appears. In the foreground, Juan Diego, the Indigenous man to whom the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared, kneels on the plain tile ground and gazes toward the scene of papal confirmation, while Juan de Zumárraga, the bishop that Juan Diego sought regarding the apparition, stands behind López and looks over his left shoulder toward three cardinals that stand nearby. In the left foreground, two seated cardinals watch the scene as well. This representation of the papal audience is formulaic; typically, the pope is depicted seated in an armchair raised by a dais with a red cloth baldachin and often accompanied by several cardinals. Roundels bearing images of ten advocations of Mary frame the image; each image is encased in faux wooden tracery, a common technique for items meant for the north, and labeled with the name of the advocation. The advocations depicted are Our Lady of: Loreto, Refuge, the Misericordia (of Panama), the Rosary, Remedies, Misericordia (of the Capuchin nuns in Mexico), the Conception (of the Capuchins nuns in Choro), of Soterraña, and Carmen. Jaime Cuadriello suggests the men presented in cardinal red robes are likely inner-circle Mexican canons that advocated for the concession. 180

The image roughly captures the historic event; on April 24, 1754 Pope Benedict XIV conceded papal approval to Guadalupe's status as patroness of Mexico and the Congregation of Rites granted her a feast day in New Spain's liturgical calendar. López traveled in Europe and returned to Mexico in 1757, where he was named Rector of the "Colegio Maximo"—the College of San Pedro and San Pablo, a position he held for four years before moving along to Puebla, where he stayed until the expulsion.

¹⁸⁰ For more see Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Pinxit Mexici*, 420.

The year after López's return, Zacatecas mounted a sumptuous two-week long celebration in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe's papal sanctioned status and feast day which called on all the city's religious orders, several merchant guilds, and confraternities. The celebration was held in Zacatecas later than in other cities due to its sorry financial state; Mexico City celebrated the papal concession in 1756 while cities like Puebla and San Luís Potosí celebrated in 1757. A book published in 1759 catalogues the festivities held in Zacatecas and closely details each day of the fiesta for the first week, giving a sense of the celebration's grandeur. It also makes clear the important role the Jesuits had in bringing attention to the Virgin of Guadalupe; the *Aprobación* and *Parecer* for the entire work were both penned by Jesuit priests from the Casa de la Profesa in Mexico City. The extensive licenses and approvals that preface the book also evidence the censure of printed material in Mexico during the eighteenth century; they also makes clear one of the means by which happenings in Zacatecas were made known in the capital.

¹⁸¹ Breve noticia de las fiestas, en que la muy ilustre ciudad de Zacatecas explicò su agradecimiento en la confirmación del patrono de Nra. Sra. de Guadalupe, el mes de septiembre 1758 (Mexico City: Herederos de Doña Maria de Rivera, 1759). I accessed the book at the BNM; other copies are known but poorly catalogued. Mexican scholar María Fernández wrote a dissertation on this work. See Margarita María Fernández Larralde, "Discurso e iconografía Guadalupana en la Nueva España: un festejo del siglo XVIII en Zacatecas" (PhD Dissertation, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 2012).

¹⁸² Usually referred to as la Profesa, this is currently the Church of San Felipe Neri; like the templo, it was renamed after the expulsion. The *aprobación* and *parecer* denote that the material had been read and approved by authorities. There are additional pareceres to print sermons from the six priests that had given sermons during the fiestas, including a local Jesuit priest, yet the approval of the entire work was up to the Jesuits in Mexico City.

The author of the description of the fiesta is named simply as "an enthusiast of Zacatecas" but has been identified as Jesuit priest Xavier Alejo Orrio. Recording to historian María Fernández, Orrio was born in Pamplona in 1715, came to the New World at a young age, and taught in Puebla before coming to Zacatecas. Ref. His description recounts the lengthy festival with interesting detail, occasional humor, and many classical allusions. Like the feast of St. Sebastian, the fiesta commenced with the procession of a cult statue beginning at vespers on September second. Orrio notes that when the bells were rung for the vespers, the sound resonated through the streets and in the plazas. After the vespers, a comedy called *El escándolo de Grecia* was performed, sponsored by the guild of blacksmiths.

Sound appears to be an important part of the fiesta; Orrio also notes that beginning at nine in the morning on the first day, the town council members and commissioners were ushered into the plaza with four *timbaleros* (kettledrum players) and two *clarines* (buglers or trumpeters).¹⁸⁷ Elsewhere, he writes of the music, bells, and fireworks combining to make a

¹⁸³ Referred to on the title page only as "...un apassionado de dicha Ciudad de Zacatecas," Orrio was identified by Mexican scholars; see Carlos Herrejón Peredo, *Del sermón al discurso cívico: México 1760-1834* (Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003), 158. My research at ARSI confirms his presence at the Colegio in 1758; see Catálogo Triennale de la Provincia Mexicana, Mex. 08, fol. 123v.

¹⁸⁴ See Fernandez, "Discurso," 90. According to the Catálogo Triennale record of 1758, his age is listed as 40, putting his birth year closer to 1718; it also states that he entered the Society at the age of 18.

¹⁸⁵ Breve noticia, 13.

¹⁸⁶ The play's full title is "El escándalo de Grecia contra las santas imagenes." Written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), it was reprinted in Spain throughout the eighteenth century.

¹⁸⁷ Breve noticia, 14.

"devout confusion." During the first day, a mass and panegyric were both performed in the morning, then a comedy, sponsored by the guild of shoemakers, was performed in the plaza. Thanks to Orrio's attention to detail, we know that the comedy performed was *La escala de la gracia*. This comedy was written by a Spanish *converso* author and published in 1753, making it a fairly recent work at the time of its performance in Zacatecas. Set in biblical times, the play relates key moments in the life of the Virgin Mary. According to Glen F. Dille,

...the play's focus is narrowed to the Virgin, relating the miraculous nature of her conception and birth to Anna and Joachim, and her election as mother of the Messiah. As in [Enríquez's] other biblical plays, there is great stress on the linking of Judaism and Christianity, here evidenced by the play's title—in Mary will be explained and fulfilled Jacob's vision of the stairway (Gen. 28:12); Mary will be the *escala de la gracia*, the intermediary by which we may approach heaven. ¹⁹⁰

The comedy would have likely held broad appeal for the city's residents. Dille takes particular interest in the author's *converso* status and the way in which he writes about Christianity and Judaism; that theme may have also been pertinent to residents of Zacatecas, a number of whom were also of Jewish descent.¹⁹¹ As previously discussed, Marian devotion was

¹⁸⁸ "una confusión devota," *Breve Noticia*, 36. Translation is mine.

¹⁸⁹ Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *La escala de la gracia: comedia famosa*. (Madrid: Impr. de A. Sanz, 1753).

¹⁹⁰ Glen F. Dille, "The Christian Plays of Antonio Enríquez Gómez," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 64, no. 1 (1987): 39-50.

¹⁹¹ A thorough exploration of this theme is beyond the scope of my dissertation; a number of sources discuss the history of Jewish people in northern Mexico, who, like the Indigenous migrants, often followed mining booms and were afforded some freedoms in the frontier cities. See Schulamith C. Halevy, and שולמית ה'הלו "מ'חודאיסמו 'ל'ספרדיסמו 'דיאלקטיקה של פחד בצפון מקסיקו ('Trom Judaísmo to Sefardismo: Dialectics of Fear in Northern Mexico," *Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies* איגוד :מבחר מאמרים במדעי היהדות יד (2005): 96-85, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23533543 and Stanley Hordes, *The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain*, 1620-1649: A Collective Biography (PhD Dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA: 1980) and Arnold Wiznitzer, "Crypto-Jews in Mexico during the Seventeenth

highly popular in Zacatecas and encouraged by the Jesuits; the comedy immersed the large public audience with a moving portrayal of Mary's life and presented her as "a sum total of all the illustrious heroines of the Old Testament." Mary's role as an intermediary extended beyond the relationship between the hopeful faithful and eternal salvation. While Mary was an intercessor through whom the average person could reach heaven, the advocation of Guadalupe held additional meaning for the eighteenth-century Creole viewer. The Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to an Indigenous peasant and had darker skin, wavy hair, and spoke Nahuatl. For *criollo* Spanish and mestizo citizens, she represented a homegrown saint, "our lady," a mother to the mestizo and *criollo* people. In the *Aprobacion* to the publication, Joseph Paredes, a Jesuit priest from La Profesa, states that the apparition of Guadalupe marked a second birth for all of the Americas. Her apparition on the hill at Tepeyac signaled to the clergy that their evangelization campaigns were legitimate—they took this as a sign that the New World was indeed fated to be a Christianized land. 194

Century," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1962): 222-322, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23874312.

¹⁹² Dille, 45. Marian devotion was universally popular; for more on Indigenous devotion to Mary see William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain: An Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 1, Frontiers of Christian Evangelism (Feb., 1987): 9-33.

¹⁹³ "Y siendo la Virgen de Guadalupe como un segundo nacimiento para toda nuestra America..." *Breve noticia*, np. Translation is mine.

¹⁹⁴ The bibliography on Guadalupe is extensive; essential sources include D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Joaquín González Moreno, ed. *Imágenes guadalupanas: Cuatro siglos* (Mexico City: Fundación Cultural Televisa, 1987), Francisco de la Maza, *El guadalupanismo mexicano* (Mexico City: Tezontle/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), Stafford Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe:*

The first day proved to be spectacular, with the performance of the comedy, a bullfight, and brilliant fireworks. Orrio notes that benches were occupied by the town council, lords, and the "most lucid people" of the city; though unstated, the common townsfolk would have likely stood and walked about to observe, and possibly perform in, the festivities. On this day, and for the first five days, various fireworks and pyrotechnics were employed; throughout the text, the author refers to castillos, cohetes, and arboles de fuego. Masses were also performed daily during the first week, each said by a different religious order, and there were plays, comedies, and processions funded by various guilds and confraternities; I will take a closer look at one such guild presentation momentarily.

The first week of festivities culminated on September 8, Mary's birthday, the day the city traditionally celebrated its foundation. The main event was a grand procession which seems to have been designed to showcase every facet of the city vis a vis a parade of its saints, who all preceded the canvas painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The procession included individual men and women who brought saints from private altars, the confraternities who presented their saints, and the religious orders who presented their most important saints. There was a sense of pomp and pageantry in the display. The Mercedarians, for instance, accompanied their statue of San Pedro Nolasco, who fought the Moorish army, with eight men meticulously dressed as "Turks." A group of children carrying chains and shackles also participated in the procession; Orrio writes that their irons were symbolic of their freedom from bondage through salvation and

The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁵ "vestido con la mayor diligencia," 38. Translation is mine.

their chains linked them to the hearts of the viewer.¹⁹⁶ The procession also included performances from dancers from each of the city's four Indigenous pueblos; according to Orrio, each pueblo had its own standard and the Indigenous people, accompanied by violins, performed dances while dressed in their traditional *traje*.¹⁹⁷

During the second week, the festivities turned away from the religious presentations and processions and instead to popular entertainment which included bullfights and equestrian displays, the details of which Orrio leaves largely unstated. The festivities ended with a masquerade in which twenty-four men of distinction dressed up as women. The inversion of social norms, such as men dressing as women, was a hallmark of European masquerades since the medieval era; its inclusion in this fiesta points to the continuation of continental baroque culture in this New World context. ¹⁹⁸

Symbolism in the Embarkation of the Carpenter's Float

On the second day of the festival, the guild of carpenters sponsored what we might call a parade float that passed through the town in procession. A closer look at this aspect of the overall festival reveals much about the allegorical world, the role of the Jesuits in shaping this imagery, and the availability of this material to the general public. According to Orrio, the *carro* sponsored by the carpenter's guild was meant to represent a ship peopled with religious figures embarking upon a voyage; its connotation as part of a procession in the festival likens this to a

¹⁹⁷ Breve noticia, 37.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 39

¹⁹⁸See Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 97-123.

spiritual journey. Representing the Church as a ship was a popular motif typified by a painting held at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato Tepotzotlán (Figure 6). ¹⁹⁹ Commissioned for the Jesuits, the painting is based on an engraving printed in Rome in 1602 (Figure 7). The image presents a ship at its center, labeled "Navis Misticas Contemplationis," which ferries male saints (founders of the church, doctors of the church, and more) through various crises, including the Schism, the conversion of various nonbelievers, and individual heretics, such as Arius. ²⁰⁰

The ship would have undoubtedly held significant meaning for the colonial viewer, many of whom had themselves immigrated from the Old World, most of whose lives were increasingly dependent on the global trade that had grown from the extraction of silver in Zacatecas, and all of whose lives were drastically changed by the success of Spain's naval prowess. The ship, then, was a natural choice as a vessel for this symbolic presentation. The characters presented upon the ship of the carro de carpinteros, according to Fernández, drew allegories between Greek gods and figures more pertinent to the contemporaneous viewer. For instance, Cupid, represented here by a young Indigenous person with bow, arrow, and quiver doubled as an allegory for the Americas, while a beautiful nymph was meant to represent Europe.²⁰¹

The strategy of representing the Americas as an Indigenous youth was popular in contemporaneous art; an example can be seen in a mid-eighteenth-century painting by an

¹⁹⁹ For more on this iconography, see Rafael Gaune and Olaya Sanfuentes, "Editorial. El mar y la nave. Construcción de saberes y variaciones iconográficas-históricas en las Alegorías del Triunfo de la Iglesia Católica," *Razón Crítica*, 10 (January 1, 2021): 17-31. https://revistas.utadeo.edu.co/index.php/razoncritica/article/view/1718.

²⁰⁰ Arius, the founder of Arianism challenged the notion of the Trinity. He appears both on the print and the painting, though some figures have been replaced or relabeled with others. Pelagius, for instance appears on the print but not here.

²⁰¹ Fernández, 109-110.

unknown artist. (Figure 8) Based on a print created for the Jesuits by German engravers the Klauber brothers, the painting depicts, at its center, the Virgin of Guadalupe, who is surrounded by scenes from the story of her apparition. In the right foreground, at the bottom of the image, a richly dressed Indigenous woman gazes toward the Pope, who rolls his eyes heavenward while gesturing to the Guadalupe at center. The woman wears a white huipil with gold bands at the seams; loose white sleeves from an undergarment peek out from the edges of the huipil while a voluminous light pink skirt gathers around her legs and feet. While the gesture, facial expression, and skirts are classicizing elements that make the figure resemble a sybil, the huipil, olive skin tone, and headdress signal the figure's Indigenous lineage; an escutcheon resting beneath her right hand bears the eagle, snake, and cactus that further identify the woman as a native of Mexico. The Pope's personal coat of arms marks his escutcheon, which mirrors that of the woman.

Whether a local Indigenous person was asked to perform the role in the fiesta is unknown as the language is unclear, but the possibility is intriguing. The most important person on the float, according to Fernández, was the figure who Orrio describes as like Thetis before determining she was most likely Venus; in either case, the goddess, who had ties to the sea, was meant to represent Mary, also known as Stella Maris, here in her advocation as Guadalupe.²⁰² This complex layering of Classical and Christian imagery is typical of Mexican Humanism, which saw a renaissance in the eighteenth century due to the Jesuits' intellectual pursuits. The allegorical float reflects that humanist thought was a part of popular culture as well. Spanish Renaissance humanism had arrived in Mexico with the first *conquistadores* and remained an

²⁰² Ibid., 110.

important part of the literary discourse through the end of Spanish administration.²⁰³ I'll briefly address this tradition during the eighteenth century before turning to the final fiesta of this chapter, the consecration of the templo.

A Note on Humanism in Eighteenth-Century Mexico

The eighteenth century in Mexico saw a clear expression of creole identity, forged in part in response to the restrictive Bourbon reforms and also in response to anti-American propaganda. Creole authors translated Horace and Juvenal or composed original poetry in Latin and Spanish, however the real source of the continued florescence of Humanist thinking were the Jesuits. ²⁰⁴ In 1745, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, mentioned earlier in this essay, published *Biblioteca Mexicana*, a monumental work that gathered biographies of Mexican Humanists and serves as a guide to intellectual achievement in Mexico since the Conquest. He went further in another publication called *Anteloquia*, which collects the achievements of pre-Hispanic times; according to Andrew Laird it "conferred a classical status upon the Indigenous Mexicans...particularly the Aztecs and Tlaxcaltecs, who were shown to have used hieroglyphs, built monuments, and

²⁰³ There is a large body of literature on this subject. The following works were especially important for my study: Diane M. Bono, and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Cultural Diffusion of Spanish Humanism in New Spain: Francisco Cervantes de Salazar's Diálogo de la Dignidad del Hombre* (New York: P. Lang, 1991), Tarsicio Herrera Zapién, *Historia del humanismo mexicano: sus textos y contextos neolatinos en cinco siglos* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 2000), Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *Indice del humanismo mexicano* (Mexico City: Seminario de Cultura Mexicana, 1944).

²⁰⁴ The Jesuit's expulsion from Mexico in 1767 paradoxically led to a broader audience for their Latin works about Mexico, many of which were authored in Mexico, as they were published in Europe. For more, see Andrew Laird, "Patriotism and the Rise of Latin in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: Disputes of the New World and the Jesuit Construction of a Mexican Legacy," *Renaissance Forum 8* (2012): 231-262.

practiced oratory."²⁰⁵ Andrew Laird argues that this monumental work was intended to create a legacy for Mexicans similar to the Greco-Roman history of Spain.²⁰⁶ Though no one took on the task of continuing the project, authors kept publishing in Latin, a move that Laird suggests is a nationalistic one.

A Humanist Author in Zacatecas: Diego José Abad

Diego José Abad was at one time a teacher of Rhetoric at the Colegio in Zacatecas. ²⁰⁷ A Mexican-born Jesuit scholar and poet, Abad wrote a fierce defense of the abilities of creole Spaniards and other inhabitants of the Americas during the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Begun in Mexico and completed and published in Italy following the Jesuit expulsion, the *Dissertatio* took on pseudo-scientific Enlightenment authors Cornelius De Pauw and Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon, who posited that nothing originating in the Americas could be fully or properly developed due to the poor climate there. ²⁰⁸ Abad retorted that the climate in the Americas wasn't just temperate; it was, in fact, so nice as to be conducive to genius. He continued with the statement: Sed si verum facere judicium volumus et seposita amoris

²⁰⁵ Laird, 251.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ See Francisco Sosa, "Diego José Abad" in *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos* (Mexico City: Secretaria de Fomento, 1884), 1-3.

²⁰⁸ Buffon's theory of American degeneracy was well known in his own time as well as today; his *Histoire naturelle* circulated widely and generated multiple responses in the New World. Georges Louis Le Clerc Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, *générale et particulière*, *avec la description du Cabinet du Roy* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1749).

affectione decernere, ubi homines natisimus, ex eodem luto coagmenti sumus omnes: regardless of the place of one's birth, we are all human.

For Abad, of course, this argument held particular significance. Born in 1727 in the state of Michoacán to a peninsular Spanish father and creole mother, Abad faced a degree of prejudice as a son of the New World. An engraving reproduced in a nineteenth century book of exemplary Jesuits depicts the scholar in his prime, though he arrived in Italy in his forties and died there at the age of fifty-two. ²⁰⁹ (Figure 9) Abad is the only Mexican born Jesuit included in this illustrious group. We can see that his portrait is framed by text that names the Jesuit in Latin, Didacus Joseph Abad Mexicanus age 52. But the man is preceded by his work—an open book in the foreground lists, in Latin, a selection of his published works. These works include a two-part poem in Latin titled *De Deo heroica*; a treatise in Spanish on the knowledge of God; an algebra compendium, and a Spanish translation of Virgil; Abad also published in Italian. Standing between the man and his intellectual achievements is a shield bearing the Mexican coat of arms, and if that weren't enough, a Latin gloss claiming his Mexican roots, or stemma mexicanos. To the left of the plaque, a globe displays the western hemisphere and creates an interesting juxtaposition of the Nahua conception of place, represented by the eagle sitting on the cactus, and the European cartographical tradition, represented by the globe.

Abad's considerable intellectual talent was put to good use as he penned an epic poem in praise of the new construction of the templo. His *Rasgo epico* was printed in the 1750 *Breve*

²⁰⁹ Alfred Hamy, Galerie illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus: album de 400 portraits choisis parmi les plus beaux, les plus rares ou les plus importants, et reproduits, en héliogravure (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1893). The image is from the University of Leuven's copy.

descripción, which I turn to now in order to consider the celebration held upon the consecration of the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús.

Consecration of the Templo

The Breve descripción's summary of the celebrations held in honor of the templo's consecration is brief but provides ample evidence that the fiesta was a noteworthy event for the city. Though construction was completed in 1749, the consecration was postponed until 1750 and took place on May 24, a day the author describes as a day that is "exceptionally happy" as it was dedicated to the feast of the Holy Trinity.²¹⁰ The author begins by naming the six gentlemen of Zacatecas that funded the publication of the book before listing the names and roles of the officials that took part in the festivities. Like the other festivals mentioned in this chapter, the event began with vespers the evening before. The author seems interested in emphasizing the levity of the event and the degree of anticipation in the consecration of the church. Unlike the description of somber performance of the vespers in the feast of St. Sebastian, here, the author notes that on the day of the vespers, the city was awakened at daybreak by "the noisy and festive salvoes of bells, rockets, trumpets, drums, and many other military instruments and musicians that signified the public's shared jubilation."211 The music continued at noon, and louder, before, in a solemn procession, Manuel Colón Larreátegui, the benefactor of the retablos at the templo and cura of Aguascalientes, carried the sacrament from the parish church to the new templo.

²¹⁰ Breve descripción, 18. This feast day moves annually and falls on the seventh Sunday after Easter.

²¹¹ Ibid. "lo madrugaron las ruidosas, y festivas salvas de campanas, cohetes, clarines, atambores y otros muchos instrumentos militares, y musicos con que significo el publico su comun alborozo." Translation is mine.

Larreátegui was given the honor of saying the first vespers at the new templo, accompanied by the most somber musical performance and cacophony of jubilant voices. He notes that the altars were already adorned with hand tied bouquets of flowers and dressed with tablecloths that declared the generosity of Zacatecas' donors. In another show of the expense involved, the author notes that an abundance of candles burned on the retablos for all three days of the festival. At the end of the vespers, lanterns and beacons were lit between the templo and the parish church and fireworks were set off. Though unstated, it is likely that there was a festive atmosphere with other fair activities; the author seems fairly concentrated on events directly involving the church itself.

Surprisingly, few details of the remainder of the festival are given, with the exception that he notes that fireworks were performed on the two subsequent evenings, and they were both more inventive and more impressive than the first night's. Instead, the author lists the officials that attended the consecration of the church and reports that priests from other local churches were invited to both the altar and pulpit as part of the consecratory activities. Notably, the closing vespers were performed by an Inquisition official. While the description doesn't elaborate upon the role of most individuals in preparing for or participating in the event, it gives enough information to suggest that the consecration was a festive occasion that would have been well attended.

The historical record reflects that Zacatecas had a burgeoning festival culture in the eighteenth century. Thanks to the Jesuits, records of several colonial festivals from the city

²¹² Throughout the description, the text regularly interrupts the description of the event with nods to the expense incurred and lauds the generosity of the donor, suggesting another impetus for the book's publication—glory for the donors.

²¹³ Breve descripción, 19.

remain, yet had not previously been brought together. Individuals, such as Diego Abad, distinguished themselves through scholarship, some in service to this templo. But more broadly, they had championed the papal concession of Guadalupe as patroness of the Americas and undoubtedly had a leading hand in planning the local festival including its complex allegorical program. Their correspondence with the larger Jesuit complexes in and around Mexico City, evidenced not least by the publication of works such as the *Breve noticia*, ensured that their efforts were in dialogue with the metropole.

The Jesuits would celebrate fiestas and hold masses at their exquisite new church for fewer than twenty years. In 1759, after years of attempts to suppress Jesuits in Portugal, the first Marquis of Pombal expelled them from the country. Choiseul, France's foreign minister, would follow suit in 1764. On February 27, 1767, Charles III issued a royal decree for the Jesuits' expulsion from Spain and Spanish territories. This news would reach Mexico in June of the same year. At the time of the expulsion, there were fourteen Jesuit fathers at the colegio in Zacatecas and two more assigned to its nascent seminary. ²¹⁴ By the time of the expulsion, Diego José Abad had moved on to Mexico City and Ignacio Calderon, the rector who oversaw the construction of the templo, had moved to Queretaro. ²¹⁵ The majority of Zacatecas' Jesuits moved to Bologna after the expulsion. Three of them died in coastal cities within months of the order, possibly falling ill while awaiting a ship.

Upon the expulsion, management of the church was turned over to Felipe de Neve, whose administration of the site is noted in several correspondences to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of

²¹⁴ See Rafael Zelis, *Catalogo de los sugetos, que formaban la Provincia de Mexico el dia del Arresto 25 de Junio del 1767* (Mexico City: Imprenta de I. Escalante, 1871.)

²¹⁵ Ibid.

New Spain. As early as 1771, people pursued official channels to remove items of religious or economic value from the church. An unsigned letter addressed to the new viceroy, Antonio María de Bucareli, requested that objects from Jesuit missions be distributed among churches throughout the diocese of Zacatecas. In 1785, Pedro Morando, a commissioner of the treasury, noted that Juana Francisca Tagle y Bracho had requested the return of various objects she had previously donated to the church. Similarly, a priest named Joseph Manuel Silva wrote in 1786 to request that the church's various relics be redistributed to churches that were less fortunate. Beginning in 1779, Zacatecas' Dominicans petitioned the Alcalde to allow them to take over the Jesuits' church and school; in 1786 their request was granted. To date, the church retains the name Templo de Santo Domingo, the monogram of the Society of Jesus on the facade the most obvious sign of its history.

²¹⁶ Letters dating to 1768 reside in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN). See Expediente 027, Jesuits Caja 0224.

²¹⁷ Borrador de carta: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1771, Bancroft Library, Mexican Miscellany, UC Berkeley.

²¹⁸ AGN, Expediente 015, Temporalidades Caja 1359.

²¹⁹ Expediente 018, Temporalidades Caja 1359.

²²⁰ "Sobre aplicacion de colegio e iglesia de los jesuitas de Zacatecas," AGN, 29853, Volumen 94.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I intervene in existing scholarship by considering how silver wealth enriched the city of Zacatecas instead of looking at how it enriched the Spanish empire. I do that through a close reading of the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, whose appearance reflects the one-time opulence of the silver city and its citizens. The city's mining history is important and inextricable from any discussion of its past. I address that history by considering the processes by which an irregular settlement of mining works became a community. Mining created a new patron class of minero families, and their generosity is remembered through their ongoing support of the church. I show that the settlement history and fluctuations of population due to the mining industry created a unique social situation in Zacatecas, as seen most notably in the role of women. I show that women's special status is distinct and especially profound in the patronage of the templo, in the choice of iconography, and in regular and ongoing support of masses and feast days.

Further, I have advanced Dana Velasco Murillo's important work on the key role of Indigenous citizens in Zacatecas' sustained development and settlement. As I discuss in the first chapter, Zacatecas' Indigenous citizens were key to its continued prosperity, not just due to their labor but also due to their intermediary role between the Spanish and the Chichimecas. Because there wasn't a permanent Indigenous settlement in the city, the physical record doesn't reveal dramatic confrontations between native and Spanish architecture or visual culture. Instead, we look at the ways that Indigenous people engaged in public life and find that they maintained their own traditions and social order, accommodated Christian ones, and participated fully in community-affirming festivals. The continuation of some of these fiestas into the present day

reveals the durability of Indigenous identities and cultural practices despite centuries of attempts to repress or otherwise force assimilation upon them.

The well-preserved site and its paintings, retablos, and sculptures offer a unique opportunity in the city of Zacatecas to evaluate popular devotion and monumental patronage during the colonial era. The rich extant works of art at the templo, from the façade to the sacristy, reflect that while a Jesuit iconographic program is legible, especially on the exterior and transept, regional style and donor preference also played key roles in the church's final appearance. Marian devotion is particularly evident inside, as imagery utilized throughout the church pays tribute to her and her various advocations, but other women, including saints and visionaries, are also prominent. I argue that this is due to the influence of wealthy women patrons. The Jesuits commissioned Mexico City based architect and retablo designer Felipe de Ureña to realize the monument and enlisted the most famous painters from the city as well, thus its style is linked directly to the capital. I have gathered and cataloged known paintings that have been removed from the church and provided attributions to the paintings when possible. This work allows a more complete view of the iconographic program on the templo; it also calls for a reconsideration of Francisco Martínez's oeuvre and opens the door for specialized study on monumental painting in Zacatecas, a topic that has been largely ignored.

Baroque culture is also evidenced in the festivals held in the city. Thanks to Zacatecas' Jesuits, records of several colonial festivals from the eighteenth-century city remain. I brought these accounts together for the first time to consider the Jesuits' role in furthering civic identity through communal activity. I also show that their Humanistic enterprises shaped the city and its public discourse, whether as individual authors, such as Diego Abad, or as the silent hand behind allegorical processions and plays. The Jesuits also championed the papal concession of

Guadalupe and helped to bring her cult to the city, in what remains an enduring legacy. Their correspondence with the larger Jesuit complexes in and around Mexico City as well as their publication of works such as the *Breve noticia*, ensured that their efforts remained in dialogue with the metropole and that it was recorded for posterity.

I have attempted to address the church in a comprehensive way, but there are further avenues of research. More remains to be done concerning the relics from the templo, including a detailed account of their devotion and hopefully their present whereabouts. I would also like to turn to the history of the colegio in order to further explore how the Jesuits carried out their mission of education in the city. A deeper exploration of archival documents, including records of the Jesuits' landholdings, financial records, and personal correspondences would also enrich the study and provide an even more comprehensive view of how life and worship were carried out in the city. Finally, records exist for the fathers that lived in Zacatecas since the site's inception; a study of their movement throughout Mexico and the world would better situate the complex global network represented in the humble logs of the church's registries.

This dissertation comprises the first focused study of the Templo de la Compañía de Jesús in Zacatecas. I proposed attributions for the architecture and in situ paintings using stylistic considerations and regional models as comparatives. Beyond attribution, I interpreted the paintings and identified little known iconography. I also identified quotations from Sor María de Ágreda's work in the sacristy's Passion cycle. I also identified a painting that was separated from the series of the Life of the Virgin that once hung in the templo and positively confirmed its attribution to Miguel Cabrera. I completed iconographic analyses on interior and exterior sculptures, addressing the portals and retablos, respectively, as important locations for propagating Jesuit rhetoric. My reading of the site is rooted in the history of the city's settlement

and growth. I recount that history here as an important foray into the expansion of the field into the provinces; this history is not commonly considered in surveys of colonial art and history, yet I show that it has much to teach us about how a common visual language spread throughout the colonized Americas. This local focus also allows an exploration of patronage that grew out of the local economy; I trace numerous female patrons as both donors to the construction of the church and important retainers that ensured certain masses and festivals continued annually. Further, I bring together, for the first time, important accounts that shed light on how the church participated in festival culture, which I argue helped build civic culture. Finally, I contribute the theorization of colonial art as a chimera. In this framework, the repressive nature of colonialism and its lasting legacy of knowledge production foreground any interpretation of the work produced within it. Colonial art, as chimera, refuses taxonomic processes, releasing the study of colonial works from the shackles of interpretation that are rooted in its adherence to "pure" European ideals or indigenous forms. Instead, my framework opens the door to studying colonial art as a fantastic beast of its own design.

Figures



Figure 1.1. *Templo de la Compañía de Jesús*, façade, completed by 1749. Zacatecas, Zacatecas, Mexico. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 1.2. John Ogilby and Arnolbus Montanus, *Nova Hispania, Nova Galicia, Guatimala,* 1671. Engraving, (28 x 34 cm). Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Photo courtesy of loc.gov.



Figure 1.3. Attributed to José de Ibarra, *Barbarian Indians (Indios bárbaros)*, c. 1730. Oil on canvas, 64 9/16 × 35 13/16 in. (164 × 91 cm). Private collection, Madrid. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., *Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici*. (New York: Prestel, 2017), 299.



Figure 1.4. Attributed to José de Ibarra, *Mexican Indians (Indios mexicanos)*, c. 1730. Oil on canvas, 64 9/16 × 35 13/16 in. (164 × 91 cm). Private collection, Madrid. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., *Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici*. (New York: Prestel, 2017), 299.



Figure 1.5. Antonio Rodríguez Beltrán, *María Luisa de Toledo with her Indigenous Companion*, c. 1670. Oil on canvas, $82\ 1/3 \times 50\ 2/5$ in. (209 x 128 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Image courtesy of museodelprado.es



Figure 1.6. Anonymous, *Mapa de la Nueva Galicia*, 1550. Ink and wash on paper, 12 3/5 in x 17 1/3 in. (32 x 44 cm). Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

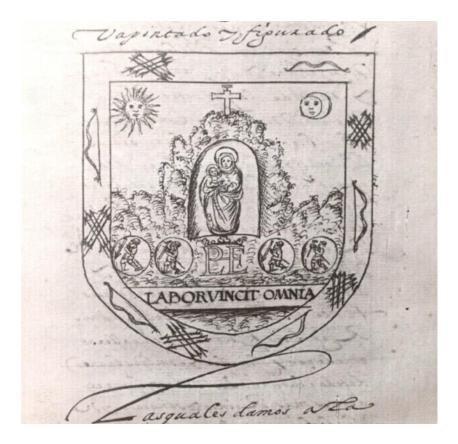


Figure 1.7. Anonymous, *Coat of Arms for the city of Zacatecas*, from the Royal Cedula, July 30, 1588. Ink on paper. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Image courtesy of University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research digital collection.



Figure 2.1. Templo de la Compañía de Jesús, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.

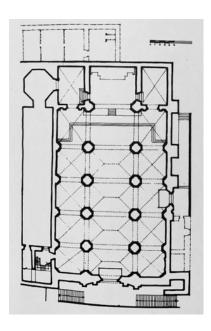


Figure 2.2. Floor plan, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús. Schematic reproduced from Marco Díaz, La arquitectura de los jesuitas en Nueva España: las instituciones de apoyo, colegios y templos (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1982), 239.



Figure 2.3. *Historical photograph of the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús*, late nineteenth century. Photograph in the Sescosse collection, Biblioteca real de Tierra Adentro, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.

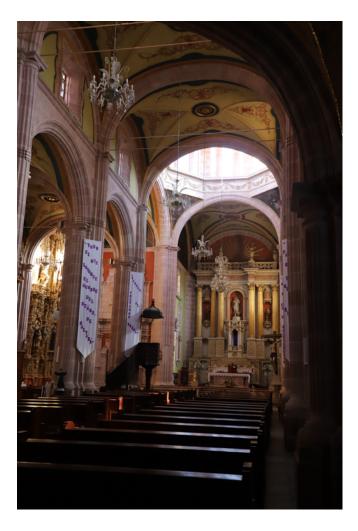


Figure 2.4. *Interior with Neoclassical* altar mayor, *Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús*, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.5. *Portal, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús*, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.6. *Portal, Parroquia de la Inmaculada Concepcion, Jerez, Zacatecas*, mid-eighteenth century. Photo courtesy of Mexicoenfotos.com, 2016.

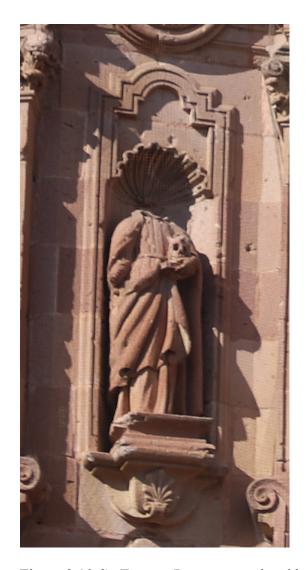




Figure 2.7 (left) *St. Ignatius of Loyola*, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019. Figure 2.8 (right) *St. Francis Xavier*, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.9 Anton Wierix, *Portrait of Francis Xavier*, 1596. Print. Image courtesy of roberthall.pictures.



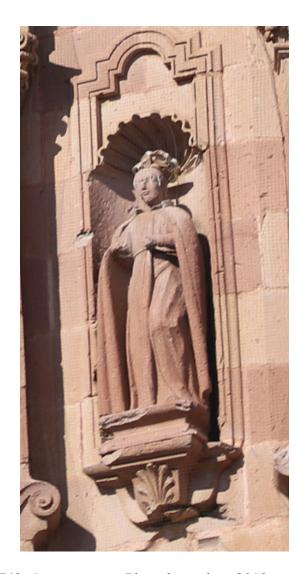


Figure 2.10 St. Francis Borgia, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.

Figure 2.11 St. Aloysius Gonzaga, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.12. Lateral portal of San José, completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.13. Detail of façade, completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.14. *Lateral portal of San José, detail,* completed by 1749. Cantera stone. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.15. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *St. Gregory (San Gregorio)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.15a Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *St. Gregory (San Gregorio)*, eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.16. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *St. Jerome (San Jerónimo)* by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.16a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *St. Jerome (San Jerónimo)*, eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.16b. Francisco Martínez, *St. Stanislaus Kostka (San Estanislao de Kostka)*, first quarter of the 18th century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Arte Sacro, Chihuahua. Image courtesy of inahchihuahua.gob.



Figure 2.17. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *St. Augustine (San Agustín)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.17a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *St. Augustine (San Agustín)*, eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.18. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *St. Ambrose (San Ambrosio)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.18a. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *St. Ambrose (San Ambrosio)*, eighteenth century. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.19. *View of the transept lunettes, Gospel side,* completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.20. *View of the transept lunettes, Epistle side,* completed by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.21. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *Return from Egypt (El regreso de Egipto)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.22. Francisco Martínez, *The Blessing of the Table (Bendición de la mesa)*, 1722. Oil on canvas, 137 13/16 x 204 ³/₄ in. (350 x 520 cm). Convento e Iglesia del Carmen, Toluca, Mexico. Image reproduced from Ilona Katzew et al., *Painted in Mexico 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici*. (New York: Prestel, 2017), 28.



Figure 2.23. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception with the Infant Mary (Alegoría de la Inmaculada Concepción con la niña María)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.24. Schelte Adams Bolswert, after Gerard Seghers, *An Allegory of the Immaculate Conception, with the Infant Virgin between St Anne and St Joachim*, 1600-1659. Engraving, 13 2/5 x 19 4/5 in. (34 x 50 1/3 cm). National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh. Image courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.



Figure 2.25. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *Presentation of the Tilma to Zumárraga (La presentación de la tilma de san Juan Diego al obispo Zumárraga)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.26. View of the Guadalupe lunette with retablo, by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.27. Attributed to Francisco Martínez, *Virgin of Loreto (Virgen de Loreto)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.28. *Camarín de la Casa de Loreto*, Colegio de San Francisco Xavier de Tepotzotlán, completed by 1733. Photo courtesy of https://arteycultura.com.mx/



Figure 2.29. Sacristy interior, by 1749. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.30. Francisco Martínez, *Last Supper (La Última Cena)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.31. Francisco Martínez, *Agony in the Garden (Agonía en el jardín)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.

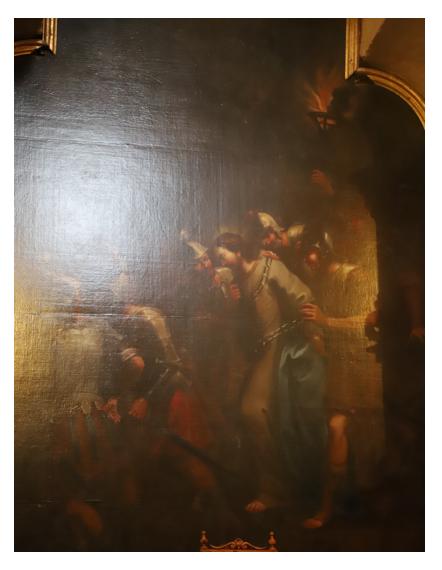


Figure 2.32. Francisco Martínez, *Arrest of Jesus (El prendimiento de Jesús)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.33. Francisco Martínez, *Mocking of Christ (Cristo rey de burlas)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.

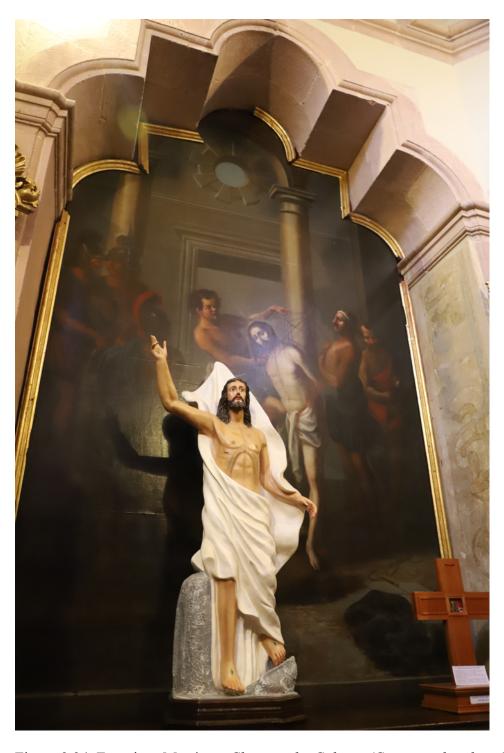


Figure 2.34. Francisco Martínez, *Christ at the Column (Cristo atado a la columna)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.35. Francisco Martínez, *Christ Carrying the Cross (Jesús cargando la Cruz)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.36. Francisco Martínez, *Christ Nailed to the Cross (Cristo clavado en la Cruz)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.37. Francisco Martínez, *Pietà (Cristo en brazos de su Madre)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.38. Attributed to Antonio de Torres, *Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)*, 1709-1730. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.





Figure 2.38a (Left). Attributed to Antonio de Torres, *Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)*, detail. 1709-1730. Oil on canvas. Photo by author, 2019.

Figure 2.38b (Right). Antonio de Torres, *Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)*, c. 1720. Oil on canvas. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Image courtesy of lacma.org.





Figure 2.38c (Left). Miguel Cabrera, *Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)*, detail. c. 1740. Oil on canvas, 38 x 28 ½ in. National Museum of Mexican Art. Image courtesy of Nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org

Figure 2.38d (Right). Nicolás Enríquez, *Virgin of Guadalupe (Virgen de Guadalupe)*, c. 1773. Oil on copper, 22 1/4 × 16 1/2 in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image courtesy of metmuseum.org



Figure 2.39. Miguel Cabrera, *St. Joseph (San José)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.40. Miguel Cabrera, *St. Anne (Santa Ana)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.41. Miguel Cabrera, *The Immaculate Conception*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.42. Miguel Cabrera, *Birth of the Virgin (El Nacimiento de la Virgen)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.43. Miguel Cabrera, *Mary's Presentation at the Temple (Presentación de María en el templo)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.44. Miguel Cabrera, *Betrothal of Mary and Joseph (Desposorios de la Virgen y San José)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.45. Miguel Cabrera, *The Annunciation (Anunciación)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.46. Miguel Cabrera, *The Visitation (Visitación de María a Isabel)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.47. Miguel Cabrera, *Dream of St. Joseph (Sueño de San José)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.48. Miguel Cabrera, *Nativity (Navidad)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.49. Miguel Cabrera, *The Circumcision (Circuncisión)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.50. Miguel Cabrera, *Adoration of the Kings (Adoración de los Reyes Magos)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.51. Miguel Cabrera, *Christ Among the Doctors (Cristo entre los Doctores)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.52. Miguel Cabrera, *Dormition of the Virgin (El Tránsito de María)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.53. Miguel Cabrera, *The Assumption (Asunción)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo de Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Image reproduced from Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia bulletin "Arriba obra de Miguel Cabrera al puerto de Acapulco," April 03, 2012.



Figure 2.54. Attributed to Miguel Cabrera, *Coronation of the Virgin (Coronación de la Virgen)*, by 1749. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Image courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia's online media library.



Figure 2.55. Felipe de Ureña, View of side aisle with lateral retablos. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.56. Felipe de Ureña, *Altar to St. Ignatius of Loyola*, by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019.

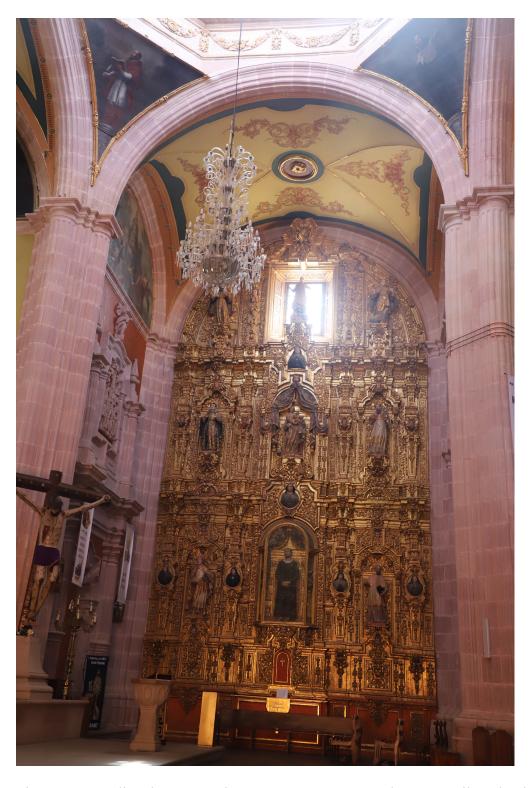


Figure 2.57. Felipe de Ureña, *Altar to St. Francis Xavier*, by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.58. Felipe de Ureña, *Altar with the Virgin of Refuge and female saints*, by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood with glass. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.59. Felipe de Ureña, *Detail of St. Bridget*, by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 2.60. Felipe de Ureña, *Detail of St. Teresa*, by 1749. Gilt and polychromed wood. Photo by author, 2019.



Figure 3.1, Title page, *Libro de Actas de la cofradia de San Sebastian*, 1743-1790, Archivo Parroquial, Zacatecas.



Figure 3.2. Anonymous, *Retablo de la Santissima Trinidad*, detail with St. Sebastian, Polychromed and gilded wood, by 1749 with later restoration and modern painting. Photograph by author, 2019.



Figure 3.3, Anonymous, *Sculpture of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, detail, Polychromed wood, 18^{th} century. Photograph by author, 2019.

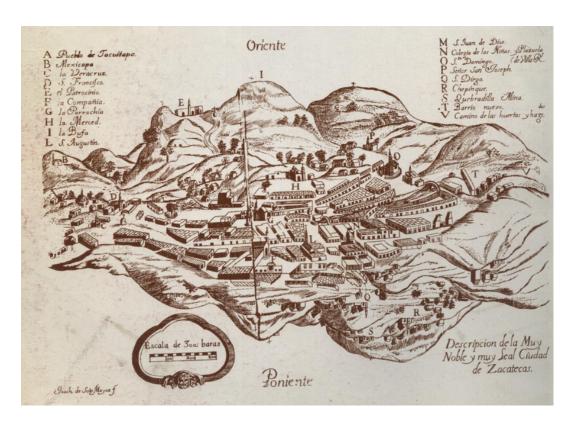


Figure 3.4, Joaquin de Sotomayor, *Descripcion de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Zacatecas*, 1732, Biblioteca de la Tierra Adentro.



Figure 3.5. Att. Miguel Cabrera, *The Papal Proclamation of the Patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain*, c. 1756, Oil on copper, Museo Soumaya, Fundación Carlos Slim, Mexico City.



Figure 3.6, Unknown, after an engraving by Thomassin, *The Triumph of the Church*, 18th century, Oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico.

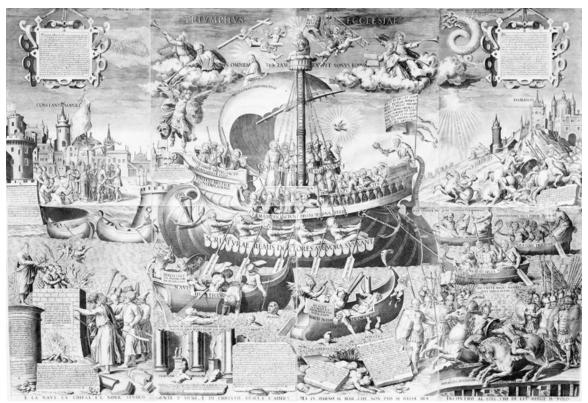


Figure 3.7. Philippe Thomassin, *The Triumph of the Church (The Vessel of Mystical Contemplation)*, 1602, Engraving, Biblioteca Casanatense.



Figure 3.8, Anonymous, *Allegory of the Patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe over New Spain*, 1781, Oil on copper, Private collection, Mexico City.

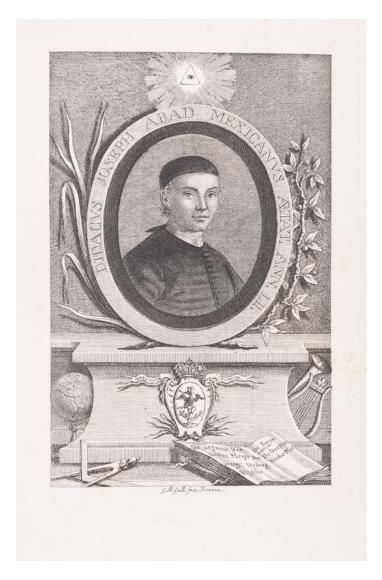


Figure 3.9. G.B. Galli, *Didacus Joseph Abad*, Engraving, 1893. University of Leuven.

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